
Z B O R N I K U Č A S T

Draginji Pervaz

**ENGLESKI JEZIK
I ANGLOFONE KNJIŽEVNOSTI
U TEORIJI I PRAKSI**



**Novi Sad
2014**

Ovaj zbornik objavljuje se u sklopu
obeležavanja 60-godišnjice Filozofskog fakulteta.
60 godina širimo znanje!

ZBORNIK U ČAST
Draginji Pervaz

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U TEORIJI I PRAKSI

FESTSCHRIFT IN HONOUR OF

Draginja Pervaz

**ENGLISH LANGUAGE
AND ANGLOPHONE LITERATURES
IN THEORY AND PRACTICE**

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2014

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Draginji Pervaz

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FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET, UNIVERZITET U NOVOM SADU

Engleski jezik i anglofone književnosti u teoriji i praksi. Zbornik u čast Draginji Pervaz

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Dr Draginja Pervaz (Edinburg, Škotska, 1958)

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UVODNA REČ UREĐIVAČKOG ODBORA

Zbornik koji se čitaocima stavlja na uvid nastao je povodom 60-godišnjice osnivanja Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Novom Sadu i njegovog Odseka za anglistiku, a u čast prof. dr Draginji Pervaz, njegovog suosnivača i višedecenijskog istaknutog profesora.¹ Doprinos Profesorki Pervaz jugoslovenskoj i srpskoj anglistici nemerljiv je, kako u naučnom i stručnom, tako i u pedagoškom smislu. Generacije kojima je predavala na Filozofskom fakultetu u Novom Sadu predmete iz oblasti dijahrone i sinhronone nauke o jeziku, prevashodno Istoriju engleskog jezika, Leksikologiju i Morfologiju engleskog jezika, pamte njen pronicljiv osećaj za detalj, radost u prenošenju svog ogromnog znanja i motivaciju koji su pratili svako putovanje u tajne engleskog jezika, književnosti i kulture, na koja je tokom svojih predavanja i seminara znalački vodila studente. Njena sistematičnost, strogost i pravičnost uvek su bile podsticajne za kolege i studente, a saznajne perspektive koje im je otvarala budile su u njima nova interesovanja ne samo za Istoriju engleskog jezika, Leksikologiju i Morfologiju engleskog jezika, nego i za staru englesku književnost i prevođenje, počev od staroengleskih tekstova, poput Beovulfa i Anglosaksonske hronike, preko elegijskih aliterativnih pesama, pa sve do srednjoengleskih dela Čosera i Gauera.

U svojstvu šefa tadašnje Katedre za engleski jezik i književnost i njenog dugogodišnjeg nastavnika, Profesorka Pervaz učestvovala je u stvaranju njenih planova i programa, te u utemeljivanju njene kadrovske strukture i pomnom, ali nenametljivo, usmeravanju rada i napredovanja saradnika brojnih generacija. Profesorkina naučna pedantnost, oštroumnost i neugasla radoznalost ostaju i danas kao putokaz generacijama akademskih građana koji žive u drugačijem svetu, svetu interaktivnosti i komunikativnosti, čiji se postulati u potpunosti razlikuju od onih koji su vladali pre ekspanzije moćnih digitalnih tehnologija.

Kao mali, ali iskren, znak zahvalnosti za sve što je učinila za razvoj Fakulteta i Odseka inicirano je pripremanje ovog zbornika u Profesorkinu čast – *Engleski jezik i anglofone književnosti u teoriji i praksi*. Pored Profesorkinog uvodnog, reprezentativnog rada, *Zbornik* sadrži ukupno 47 priloga: 32 iz oblasti engleskog jezika u teoriji i praksi i 15 iz oblasti anglofonih književnosti u teoriji i praksi. U Prvom delu obrađuju se teme iz istorijske lingvistike, fonetike, fonologije, morfologije, tvorbe reči, sintakse, semantike, pragmatike, leksikografije, teorije prevođenja i metodike nastave jezika, dok se u Drugom delu proučavaju dela od srednjoengleske poezije, preko Šekspira, do savremenih književnih ostvarenja u svetlu najnovijih teorija.

¹ Detaljniji podaci o istorijatu, ustrojstvu i delatnostima Odseka za anglistiku nalaze se na adresi http://www.ff.uns.ac.rs/fakultet/odseci/fakultet_odseci_anglistika.html.

Svi radovi pisani su sa jednom zajedničkom motivacijom, ma koliko im teme istraživanja bile različite: u svakom od priloga, bilo da ih pišu Profesorkine kolege, nekadašnji studenti ili pak mlađi naučni radnici koji tek stasavaju, očigledna je snažna namera da se dokaže kako anglistika predstavlja neiscrpno polje izazova i mogućnosti – izazova da se upozna svet jedne duhom bogate kulture i mogućnosti da se uspostave veze anglofonih vrednosti sa akademskom zajednicom na prostoru današnje Srbije i nekadašnje Jugoslavije.

Ovom prilikom Uređivački odbor *Zbornika* najsrdačnije zahvaljuje svim autorima priloga, kolegama sa univerziteta u Makedoniji, Hrvatskoj, Bosni i Hercegovini i Srbiji, alumnima Odseka za anglistiku u inostranstvu, našim cenjenim profesorima u penziji, kao i aktivnim nastavnicima i saradnicima Odseka, koji su svojim priložima uveličali obeležavanje 60-godišnjice našeg odseka i fakulteta. Zahvaljujemo, takođe, timu od 20 anonimnih recenzenata, čije su korisne primedbe i sugestije doprinele dodatnom kvalitetu svih priloga. Posebnu zahvalnost izražavamo uvaženim recenzentkinjama *Zbornika*, prof. dr Slavici Perović i prof. dr Vesni Lopičić, koje su svojom pozitivnom ocenom potvrdile da se sav uloženi trud u njegovu pripremu nesumnjivo isplatio.

U godini velikog jubileja, 60-godišnjice osnivanja Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Novom Sadu i njegovog Odseka anglistiku, *Zbornik* koji nas podseća na doprinos Profesorke Draginje Pervaz radu i razvoju ove naučno-obrazovne institucije jeste način da se vrednosti stvorene u univerzitetskom okruženju sačuvaju od propadanja i zaborava.

U Novom Sadu, septembra 2014.

U ime Uređivačkog odbora:

Vladislava Gordić Petković,
šefica Odseka za anglistiku

Maja Marković,
zamenica šefice Odseka za anglistiku

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Predrag Novakov

КОЛОКАБИЛНОСТ СИНОНИМА¹

Познато је да се речи, по правилу, не јављају изоловано, већ у комбинацијама које одражавају с једне стране граматичке, а с друге стране лексичке односе међу њима. У првом се случају ради о колигацијама, а у другом, у ономе што чини предмет овог рада, о колокацијама. Да подсетимо: лексеме се јављају у мање-више устаљеним комбинацијама, у одређеном „друштву” (Firth), заснивајући та своја „другарства” на афинитетима значењске природе, при чему се појава једног колоката у тој мери везује на онај други да се овај лако може предвидети, да се заправо очекује, поготово код лексема са малим колокационим распоном, као што је, на пример, случај са *a hoarse (voice)* – промукао (глас).

Као и друге речи, тако и синоними показују склоност ка „дружењу” са одређеним лексемама. Питање је, међутим, да ли се они комбинују са истим лексемама, или, пак, не. Ако пођемо од становишта да су синоними речи истог значења, на што упућује сам термин, онда очекујемо да имају исти колокациони распон, да колоцирају са истим лексемама, што, наравно, често и јесте случај, али изгледа да није увек. Будући да се колокације заснивају на значењу колоката, разлике у реализованим колокацијама требало би да указују на постојање извесних разлика у значењу синонимних лексема, а самим тим и да оправдају реформулацију дефиниције синонима од „речи истог значења” у „речи истог или сличног значења”. У ствари и ова дефиниција, иако у суштини тачна, не задовољава у потпуности јер не прецизира када мала сличност прелази у малу разлику у значењу синонима. Будући да је добро познато да апсолутни синоними представљају велику реткост, као и то да се у већини случајева пре ради о њиховој употреби него о њиховом значењу, не би се на овоме требало овде дуже задржавати.

Исто је тако добро познато да енглески језик обилује синонимима, претежно из историјских разлога и посебно због утицаја француског језика којем је столећима био изложен. Постојање великог броја синонима, у сваком, па и у енглеском језику, намеће читав низ могућних питања у вези са њима, од којих је једно питање њихове заменљивости у свим, или само у неким контекстима,

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језичким или вањјезичким. Колокације које се заснивају на значењу колоката, представљају такав лингвистички контекст који уједно омогућује да се анализом дође до значења датих лексема.

У англистичкој литератури о синонимима и колокацијама појављују се, и понављају, делимичне анализе синонимних придевских парова *strong/powerful* (јак/снажан), *weak/feeble* (слаб), и *deep/profound* (дубок), премда исто толико пажње заслужују и парови као што су *bare/naked* (го/наг), *short/brief* (кратак), *main/chief* (главни), *high/tall* (висок) и многи други парови али и низови од три, нпр.: *happy/lucky/fortunate* (срећан) или више синонима, као нпр.: *quick/rapid/fast/swift/speedy* (брз/хитар) и многи други.

С обзиром на овакво стање ствари, разумљиво је да је до неке селекције морало доћи, при чему је овом приликом избор пао на синонимни пар BROAD/WIDE. Иако у енглеском језику има више придева са значењем „широк”, BROAD и WIDE су одабрани с обзиром на то да су присутни у енглеском језику од самог његовог формирања, да су, могло би се рећи, старији од њега самог, будући да вуку корен из његове далеке германске прошлости, те се налазе и у другим германским језицима, што отвара могућност поређења. Поред тога, семантичке разлике између њих, судећи по речницима, изгледа да и нема, јер један објашњавају другим. BROAD са WIDE, а WIDE са BROAD. Семантичка истоветност, или блискост врло високог степена, ових двају придева потврђује се и чињеницом да им придев NARROW служи као једини и заједнички антоним. Што се, пак, граматичке структуре тиче, ПРИДЕВ + ИМЕНИЦА, чини се с разлогом врло погодном за анализу колокација, пре свега с обзиром на модификаторску функцију коју придев у њој врши, што опет претпоставља његову компатибилност с именицом, али и с обзиром на чињеницу да се из њега изводе остали граматички облици истог корена (именице, глаголи, прилози).

Анализа колокација у којима се ови придеви јављају као колокати показује да се оне могу сврстати бар у две групе:

(1) колокације у којима се уз исту именицу може јавити било BROAD било WIDE, оне у којима су ова два придева заменљива један другим, те се чини да међу њима нема разлике у значењу;

(2) колокације у којима се јавља само BROAD или само WIDE, оне у којима ова два придева нису међусобно заменљива, што упућује на закључак да међу њима ипак има неке разлике у значењу.

У прву групу, дакле, спадају колокације као што су: BROAD/WIDE *avenue* (авенија), *street* (улица), *road* (пут); *canal* (канал), *river* (река), *sea* (море), *ocean* (океан); *shoulders* (рамена), *hips* (кукови), *forehead* (чело).

Другу групу чине колокације као што су: BROAD *back* (леђа), *chest* (грудни кош), *bosom* (прса), *nose* (нос), *face* (лице); *smile* (смешак; cf. *to smile*

broadly, али и *smiling widely*), *grin* (осмех); *fields* (поља), *plains* (равнице), *lawn* (утрина); *axe* (секира), *blade* (сечиво; алат); *brim* (обод); *leaf* (лист); *gauge* (колосек), односно *WIDE eyes* (очи), *mouth* (уста), *nostrils* (ноздрве); *wings* (крила); *bed* (постеља), *ribbon* (врпца, трака); *gate* (капија); *opening* (отвор), *crater* (кратер), *gulf* (понор; залив), *gap* (јаз); *wound* (рана); *skirt* (сукња), *sleeves* (рукави), *trousers* (панталоне).

Ови придеви, међутим, не колоцирају само са именицама чија је ширина мерљива, која се да исказати у јединицама за меру, већ и са именицама чија је ширина фигуративне природе, а то ће рећи са апстрактним именицама. Па ипак, и ове би се колокације, по истим критеријима, такође могле, сврстати у две групе.

У првој се групи, дакле, налазе колокације као што су: *BROAD/WIDE difference* (разлика), *distinction* (разликовање), *generalization* (уопштавање), *range* (опсег), *interests* (интересовања), *selection* (селекција), *sense* (смисао), *opinions* (мишљења), *views* (погледи), *knowledge* (знање, познавање), *experience* (искуство), *definition* (дефиниција).

Другу групу чине колокације као што су: *BROAD agreement* (споразум, договор), *coalition* (коалиција), *outline* (преглед, приказ), *idea* (идеја), *education* (образовање), *introduction* (увод), *feeling* (осећање), *mind* (ум; cf. *broad-minded* – широкогруд), *suggestion* (сугестија), *support* (подршка), односно *WIDE culture* (култура), *space* (простор), *influence* (утицај), *distribution* (расподела), *intervals* (размаци), *limits* (ограничења), *variety* (разноликост), *choice* (избор), *scope* (опсег), *horizon* (видокруг), *political issues* (политичка питања), или, пак, *audience* (слушаоци), и *public* (публика: cf. *reading public* – читалачка публика).

Овде би можда требало поменути да се *BROAD* и *WIDE* јављају такође у комбинацијама са именицама за које се појам ширине или пространства никако не може везивати. У свим таквим случајевима они имају нека друга значења, најчешће добијена ширењем првобитног, и немају *NARROW* као антоним. Такве су, на пример, комбинације: *Broad Church* – либерална црква, *a broad joke* – груба, вулгарна шала, *a broad hint* очигледан наговештај; *broad accent* – веома изражен дијалекатски изговор. Овакве се комбинације не могу сматрати колокацијама, јер не одговарају критеријима који су усвојени за онакве колокације о каквима је овде реч. Још мање се могу сматрати колокацијама идиоматски изрази као што је, на пример, *in broad daylight* (усред бела дана), будући да њихово значење не произилази из збира значења појединачних лексема које улазе у његов састав, за разлику од колокација у којима сваки колокат задржава своје сопствено значење.

Враћајући се на оно што јесу колокације, или бар оно што се обично сматра колокацијама, треба поново констатовати да лексеме *BROAD* и *WIDE* по-

казују разлике у колокабилности, у својим колокационим распонима, што опет треба да значи да се они у већој или мањој мери могу разликовати и по свом значењу. Кад је то тако, онда се нужно намеће и питање да ли се ради одиста о истом значењу тих придева и у случајевима када се јављају у комбинацији са истим именичким колокатима. Другим речима, поставља се питање да ли увек мислимо на апсолутно исто када кажемо, на пример, BROAD SHOULDERS и WIDE SHOULDERS, односно да ли имамо у виду исту врсту ширине. Јер ширина се може схватити линеарно, као растојање између две крајње тачке (нпр. бочне стране, ивице, обале и сл.), дакле, једнодимензионално, што је домен придева WIDE, или као површина, дакле вишедимензионално, што је домен придева BROAD. Отуда је BROAD SHOULDERS (широка рамена) упоредиво са BROAD BACK (широка леђа), док WIDE SHOULDERS асоцира на ширину од једног рамена до другог, ону, дакле, коју мери кројач или кројачица када „узима меру”. Будући да од консултованих речника само један новоди и BROAD и WIDE у истом контексту са SHOULDERS (COBUILD: *He was tall, with broad shoulders* и *He was a tall man, with wide shoulders*), док сви остали наводе само broad shoulders, а Fowler чак изричито тврди *shoulders are broad, not wide*, можда би се разлика између ових колокација могла потражити не у придевима BROAD и WIDE него у именици SHOULDERS. При томе би се она са BROAD односила на рамена као део тела, а она са WIDE на рамена као део одеће који покрива тај део тела, као што је случај у примеру: *Wide shoulders are fashionable nowadays* (Данас су модерна широка рамена). То би значило да немамо колокацију коју можемо представити као BROAD/WIDE SHOULDERS, већ две по значењу потпуно различите колокације, дакле: BROAD SHOULDERS и WIDE SHOULDERS (Уп. *wide sleeves, skirts, trousers*).

Као што је већ речено, речници третирају BROAD и WIDE скоро као апсолутне синониме, илуструјући то и примерима као што су: *A river may be a half mile wide or broad at a given point* (WEBSTER).

Они речници који у посебним напоменама обрађују разлике између ова два придева, указују пре свега на неке разлике у њиховој употреби. Тако се каже да WIDE представља технички термин за исказивање ширине као димензије (AHD, OALD), док се BROAD употребљава када се ширина не спецификује (што не потврђују примери као што су: *The road is 8 metres wide* и *The road is 8 metres broad* – LLCE J63), или, пак, када се има у виду ширина као површина (AHD, LDEL). Једни приписују емфатичност придеву WIDE (LDEL), а други придеву BROAD (AND, RAN); неки указују на конотације придева BROAD који сугерише снагу (LDCE), на његову употребу у литерарним и поетским текстовима (LDCE), као и на његову употребу са фигуративним значењем (LLCE). Неки речници указују на специфичну употребу ових придева, као

нпр. BROAD уз именице које означавају делове тела (OALD, LLCE N307), а WIDE уз именице које означавају отворе разних врста (LDCE, WEBSTER), указују, дакле, на њихов колокациони распон. У неким се речницима истиче да су ова два придева често заменљива, али да има случајева када се само један од њих учврстио у идиоматској употреби (AHD: *broad smile, wide mouth*).

Управо у оваквим случајевима, када се један од ова два придева више учврстио у идиоматској употреби, Fowler види трећу могућну групу комбинација ових придева са одређеним именицама и наводи следеће примере:

- (дајући предност придеву BROAD) *expanse* (пространство), *brow* (обрва), *forehead* (чело), *lands* (земљишни посед), *estates* (поседи), *acres* (јутра, оранице), *brim* (обод), *mind* (ум), *gauge* (колосек).

- (дајући предност придеву WIDE) *opening* (отвор), *gap* (јаз), *gulf* (понор; залив), *culture* (култура).

Иако се дистрибуција BROAD и WIDE како је види Fowler не слаже у свим појединостима са оном која произилази из коришћених речника, а они су углавном новијег датума, те се разлике могу објаснити било протоком времена у коме су се придеви могли идиоматски определити и учврстити, било разликама у употреби појединаца, Fowlera и лексикографа, или, чак, разликама у британској и америчкој употреби, које се ту и тамо дају наслутити, али се том аспекту овде није поклањала посебна пажња.

Посебан осврт, међутим, изискују они случајеви када оба придева колоцирају са истом именицом, боље рећи они у којима се разлика у употреби не може објаснити евентуалном разликом у значењу именског колоката, као што је то случај са именицом SHOULDERS. Fowler, тако, очигледно прави разлику између BROAD и WIDE, илуструјући је следећим примерима: *a broad river shows a fine expanse of water* (широка река представља велико водено пространство) и *a wide river takes long to cross* (да се пређе широка река треба дуже времена).

Разлику у значењу између BROAD и WIDE у колокацијама са апстрактним именицама није увек лако уочити, па самим тим ни објаснити. Речници у оваквим случајевима најчешће прибегавају објашњавању једног придева другим, или, пак, и један и други дефинишу скоро истим речима. Тако, на пример, COBUILD s.v. BROAD: *Broad is used to describe something such as a range of things or a survey that consists of, deals with, or is concerned with a large number of different things. (5) – She had a broader range of interests than Jane, a s.v. WIDE: A wide variety, range, selection etc. is one that includes a lot of different tilings or quality. (5) – ...a wide range of interests*. Fowler, међутим, указујући на разлику између придева BROAD и WIDE уз исту именицу, између осталих, даје и објашњава следеће примере: *a broad generalization disregards unimportant exceptions* (занемарује неважне изузетке) и *a wide generalization*

covers many particulars (обухвата многе појединости). Разлика би, према томе, могла бити у томе што BROAD описује особину именице уз коју стоји занемарујући детаље, док WIDE усмерава пажњу управо на појединости. Отуда би се она могла свести на то да BROAD описује ствари „уопштено” и „у главним цртама”, док WIDE то чини „обухватно” и „свестрано”.

Основе за тумачење значења BROAD и WIDE као оних придева којима се описује просторна, односно линеарна ширина, има и у етимологији ових лексема, будући да BROAD потиче од речи којом се означавало нешто што се „простире”, а WIDE од речи којом се означавало нешто што је „растављено” или „раздвојено” (Buck, 12.61; cf. *divide*), нешто, дакле, што је омеђено стварним или имагинарним границама. У овом другом случају, када границе нису доступне оку већ су присутне само у машти, подсвести или свести, придев означава даљину или удаљеност, те добија управо оно значење које је попримио немачки придев WEIT (далек), оставивши BREIT да означава ширину и у једном и у другом смислу. То је значење присутно и у енглеској лексеми WIDE, што доказују изрази као што су: *the wide world* (далеки, бели свст), *to travel far and wide* (путовати надалеко и нашироко) или, пак, *to be wide of the truth* (бити далеко од истине).

Енглески језик, дакле, прави разлику између просторне, вишедимензионалне с једне и линеарне, једнодимензионалне ширине с друге стране. Та се разлика не огледа само у придевима BROAD и WIDE, него и из њих изведеним именицама (BREADTH, WIDTH), глаголима (BROADEN, WIDEN) и – уз извесне рестрикције и нешто другачију дистрибуцију – у прилозима (BROAD, BROADLY и WIDE, WIDELY). Отуда колокације као што су, на пример: *a broad river* (широка река), *the breadth of the river* (ширина реке), *they will have to broaden the river* (мораће проширити реку), *the river broadens out at this point* (река се шири на овом месту), или, пак, *wide difference* („широка” разлика), *widely different views* (погледи који се „широко” разликују), *to differ widely* („широко” се разликовати). Одсуство таквих примера као што су *+the breadth of a joke* или *++to broaden the joke* доказују да *a broad joke* није колокација у правом смислу речи, нити је то *the wide world* с обзиром на одуство *+the width of the world* или *+to widen the world*, премда постоје комбинације као што су *to be known world-wide* (бити познат широм света).

Аутори који су се посебно бавили питањима колокација истичу, нарочито Mitchell, да се формирање колокација врши на апстрактном плану, на нивоу корена, као носиоцу значења, а да се реализују на плану граматике као различите врсте речи. Тај граматички потенцијал колокација представља прави критериј, и прави тест, за то да ли је нека комбинација речи истовремено и колокација или није, другим речима, да ли неке комбинације лексема представљају стално „друштво” или само случајне сапутнике.

Правећи разлику између двају појмова ширине, енглески језик изворним говорницима тога језика пружа могућност да се прецизно изразе, док оне којима није матерњи језик доводи у ситуацију да врше избор између лексема BROAD и WIDE и да се у том избору не одреде увек за ону која одговара ситуацији, или, чак, њиховој намери. Истина, овакво стање ствари неизворним говорницима не представља скоро никакве тешкоће на плану разумевања, али им зато ствара тешкоће у употреби тога језика око прецизног изражавања, поготово ако се таква разлика не прави у њиховим матерњим језицима. А то је случај како са немачким, тако и са француским језиком, у којима једна лексема покрива оба појма. У немачком језику је то, као што смо видели, BREIT, а у француском LARGE, који се у речницима наводе као главни преводни еквиваленти енглеских придева BROAD и WIDE. Овде треба приметити да, позајмљен из француског језика, енглески придев LARGE представља само још један од могућних синонима за значење „широк”.

Што се нашег, пак, језика тиче, могло би се рећи да енглеским придевима BROAD и WIDE одговара наш синонимни пар ШИРОК и ПРОСТРАН, с тим што ШИРОК у највећем броју случајева обухвата значења оба енглеска придева, док ПРОСТРАН има далеко мањи колокациони распон, чак и од енглеског BROAD, са којим показује већу семантичку сличност. Тако, на пример, ми не говоримо о „пространим раменима” као што Енглези говоре о *broad shoulders*, нити, пак, о „пространом знању, познавању” према енглеској колокацији *broad knowledge*, већ о „широким раменима” и „широком знању, познавању”. Међутим, ваља додати да ШИРОК и ПРОСТРАН нису једини преводни еквиваленти ових енглеских лексема, као што се дало запазити у примерима *wide differences* (велике разлике), *to differ widely* (јасно се разликовати) и *widely different* (веома различит), где се ниједан од њих не може употребити.

Најзад, можда би вредело напоменути да пада у очи да знатном броју енглеских синонима у нашем језику врло често одговара једна лексема, што би могло створити утисак да је синонимија карактеристична за енглески, а полисемија за српски језик. Но ваља рећи да су утисци само утисци, док су за ваљане судове и закључке потребни ваљани докази.

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AHD	<i>The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language</i> . William Morris. Editor. American Heritage Publishing Co., Inc. and Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston/New York. (1969) 1973.
BUCK	Buck, Carl Darling. <i>A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages</i> . The University of Chicago Press. Chicago and London (1949). Paperback edition. 1988.
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COLLOCABILITY OF SYNONYMS

Summary

The article deals with similarities and differences in the collocational ranges of the lexemes BROAD and WIDE in English. An analysis of collocations containing them shows at least two distinctive groups: (a) where these adjectives are, or seem to be, interchangeable (a broad/wide river), and (b) where only one of them may be used (his broad face, her wide mouth). This second group exemplifies a difference in meaning, that of “expanse” and “distance” respectively. A closer examination of the first group reveals the same distinction between a broad river (expanse of water) and a wide river (distance between the two banks). A similar grouping may be established for cases when the nominal member is an abstract noun: (a) broad/wide difference, and (b) broad policy and wide intervals. The question here is whether to interpret cases such as a broad generalization and a wide generalization as two collocations, meaning “generalization disregarding particulars” and “generalization covering many particulars”, or to treat them as one collocation with interchangeable adjectives but no difference in meaning, i.e. a broad/wide generalization. The Serbian equivalents ŠIROK and PROSTRAN are found to have different distributions, the former covering both meanings of the English synonymous pair, while the latter has a much narrower collocational range than its semantically closer equivalent BROAD has in English.

Prvi deo:

**ENGLESKI JEZIK
U TEORIJI I PRAKSI**

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COGNITIVE ANALYSIS IN POETRY ACROSS LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

“The science of cognitive linguistics can also expand our
awareness of the way that poetry reaches out to us.”
(Lakoff & Turner, 1989)

According to Lakoff and Turner 1989, one of the major tenets of cognitive linguistics is the idea that poetic language employs the same underlying conceptual metaphors as the ordinary ones. For the purpose of cognitive analysis, two English poems (written by a well-known contemporary Nigerian author Aderemi Raji-Oyelade) were selected and their Croatian and German translations were provided and further qualitatively analysed. Within the framework of the cognitive theory of metaphor and metonymy, the authors investigate the potential universality of some conceptual processes involved in creation and translation of the poetic language. More specifically, it is hypothesized that some types of conceptual metaphors and metonymies based on human physiology and human relations will be expressed linguistically in much the same way in all three languages under study. It follows that both cognitive mechanisms are at work not within a language, but also across languages in the translations process.

Key words: cognitive analysis, poetry, translation, conceptual metaphor, metonymy

1. Introduction

It is a well-known fact that cognitive poetics uses linguistic models in literary interpretation in order to investigate the universalities and idiosyncrasies in reading experiences based on cognitive scientific insights into the relationships between the language, mind and the world. One of the basic tenets of cognitive linguistics is that a language is an integral part of a general cognitive system. Since cognitive linguistics is concerned with the conceptual workings of the embodied mind, all perspec-

tives (of the poet, of the reader, of the text) and all aspects of human behaviour and experience should be taken into consideration in the creation and interpretation of literary works.

The high productive power and strong motivational force behind the two conceptual mechanisms – conceptual metaphor and metonymy – assigned them a prominent status in cognitive linguistics research. Due to their conceptual character, they are even more crucial in our understanding of reality. The term “motivation” in this paper refers to what Irujo (1993: 217) calls “semantic transparency”. It arises from knowledge of the cognitive mechanisms (conceptual metaphor, metonymy, knowledge of the world) and their ability to link the figurative meaning to the literal words. Over the years, cognitive linguistics has challenged the traditional conception of metaphor and metonymy as rhetorical devices with a decorative function (Ullmann 1962). Against this view, cognitive linguists argue for the status of metaphor and metonymy as cognitive processes.

Within the cognitive linguistic framework, metaphor and metonymy have been contrasted with respect to several points of difference. A traditional view has been that metaphor is a matter of similarity between source and target items, and metonymy a matter of contiguity between them. In line with the traditional view, Stephen Ullman (1962: 218ff) defines the underlying relation in metonymy as “contiguity of senses,” i.e., an association between (intralinguistic) semantic features of two words. Unlike metaphor, says Ullmann (*ibid.*), “metonymy [...] arises between words already related to each other.” Additional difference between the two cognitive mechanisms is to be found in the domain-internal nature of metonymic mappings, which contrasts with the domain-external nature of metaphorical mappings. Moreover, metonymy involves a “stand for” conceptual relationship between two entities, while metaphor involves an “is” or “is understood as” relationship between two conceptual domains. In most of the cases, elements from the physical world are mapped onto the social and mental world. Although essentially different kinds of processes, the omnipresent and often overlapping character of metaphor and metonymy would not let them be observed as completely opposite mechanisms, but rather as prototypical processes along a metaphor-metonymy continuum. Both processes will be analysed in detail in the following sections.

Most of the researchers (Johnson 1987, Kövecses 1986, Lakoff 1987, Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Lakoff & Turner 1989) apply conceptual metaphor theory within the framework of cognitive linguistics. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 6) claim that “metaphor is not just a matter of language, that is, of mere words.” For them, metaphor pervades our conceptual system and plays a central role in defining our everyday realities (*ibid.*: 3). They strongly support the idea of the universality of conceptual metaphors, based on the premise that the concepts which emerge directly from bodily experience serve as the basis for the conceptualisation of abstract concepts

(e.g. emotions, thoughts, time). As evidence for such claims, they suggest that the same conceptual metaphors may exist in different languages and function in the same way, as they are grounded in bodily experience. However, more cross-linguistic studies are needed to provide evidence from languages other than English.

Even though the three languages under consideration belong to three different branches of the large Indo-European language family (English and German to the Germanic Branch and Croatian to the South Slavic group) and, accordingly, to the three different cultures (African, German and Croatian), we still expect some commonalities and systematicity regarding the linguistic instantiations of the original and translated versions of the poems to emerge. The hypothesis rests upon the following assumptions: (i) the universal existence of some types of conceptual metaphors is based on human physiology (i.e. embodied experience) [Kövecses 2005: 35], but can also reflect personal experience, environmental settings and cultural beliefs, (ii) potentially universal conceptual metaphors include such cases as the EMOTIONS, the TIME and the SELF metaphors (Kövecses 2005: 64) and tries to answer the following questions: (a) what types of metaphorical and metonymic expressions do the languages under study have for the concepts of LOVE, TIME, and SELF? (b) do the languages under study share the same conceptual metaphors and are they expressed by the same linguistic instantiations? and more specifically (c) to what extent are translations of the underlying conceptual metaphors/metonymies in poems different from/similar to the original?

This paper proceeds as follows: First, we describe the methodology and the scope of the study. Second, we provide detailed cognitive analysis of the two English poems and their Croatian and German translations. In conclusion, we discuss the analysis results and provide answers to the above-stated questions regarding the potential confirmation/rejection of the initial hypotheses.

2. Cognitive linguistics and translation studies

The first question that should be asked when reading this study regards the choice of genre and method for doing a research on the elements and influence of different cultures. The reason for choosing poetry as a means of research lies in the genre itself. Poetry as a form of literary art evokes much of the poet's culture and beliefs and thus tends to be subjected to different interpretations, which are most probably reflected in different translations. Reflecting on the art of translation, Kuzmić 2005¹ claims that "the translation of great works of literature requires special literary skills - it is not something a mediocre professional translator would

¹Translation MAV. Original text: "Prevođenje velikih literarnih djela zahtijeva specijalnu literarnu vještinu – ono nije nešto što prosječni profesionalni prevoditelj obično pokušava."

normally attempt.” It follows that the translator’s work is much more complex and difficult than that of the poet’s. The poet has to be faithful only to himself and to his language, whereas the translator has to be faithful to the poet’s original idea, to the source culture and to the target language. Translation thus implies not only poet’s knowledge of syntax, semantics, stylistics but also knowledge of general linguistics, comparative and cognitive linguistics. In other words, a carefully tailored translation requires a skilful translator who is equipped with a good knowledge and understanding of relevant cognitive theories and their ramifications and applications in translation. In the process of translation, several elements should be taken into consideration: common cognitive markers specific to the source culture, cultural differences, cultural models, target culture specificities. The work of the translator, in a way, requires reconstruction of his own sense of reality according to the clues provided by the poet. The problem arises when the poet’s experiences, expressed by conceptual metaphors in the source language, could not be rendered into the same conceptual metaphors in the target language. In other words, the image in the source language cannot always be retained in the target language. In this particular situation, the knowledge of the cognitive mechanisms at work and the exploration of the appropriate translation strategies can be of enormous help in the translator’s search of the closest equivalent in the target language. The most productive translation strategies in the literature are:

- metaphor into same metaphor – direct translation or perfect equivalence;
- metaphor into different metaphor - substitution of the image in the source language text by a target language metaphor with the same or similar sense and/or same or similar associations;
- metaphor into sense – paraphrase – shift to a non-figurative equivalent.

Which of the following translation strategies prevail in the analysis of the chosen poems is to be answered in the following sections. We may conclude that a “good” translation is possible and rests on the assumption of the so-called common thinking patterns, cultural overlap or universal experience.

3. Nigerian author and cross-linguistic/cultural perspective

Guided by the assumption that every country has its own and specific culture, and if we assume that Croatia and Germany are two different European cultures (Slavic and Germanic), for the purpose of this research there was a non-European poet needed, whose works have been translated into several European languages, including Croatian and German. The final decision, fell onto one of the most successful contemporary Nigerian scholars, academics, cultural activists and literary

organizers Aderemi Raji-Oyelade², whose work has been acknowledged through many invitations to lectures and literature festivals in Europe, as well as abroad. Out of 521 languages that have been spoken in Nigeria (nine of which are now extinct), the official language of Nigeria, English, the former colonial language, was chosen to facilitate the cultural and linguistic unity of the country. The poet's communicative, academic and poetic language is English. He has published six collections of poems. He comes from the Yoruba culture in Nigeria, but has spent a considerable amount of time in Europe and America and is therefore familiar with the German and Croatian cultures and languages as well. The latter characteristic appeared to be of great significance during the process of translation and especially rewarding during the conduct of this research regarding the poet's insightful contributions, clarifications, or simple comments.

4. On the choice of poems and translators

When choosing the poems whose translations are going to be analyzed in the course of our research, we were led by our categorization of Remi Raji's poems and the author's opinion of them expressed in a private interview (2009), which provided the final choice, namely the analysis of the German and Croatian translations³ of two of his poems, *Dreamtalk* and *I will find you*. The poems are taken from his 5th collection *Gather my blood rivers of song* (Table 1).

The German translator, Marcela Knapp, has an MA in literary studies, and is familiar with the Yoruba culture. She is a native speaker of German and has met the poet in several occasions. The Croatian translator, Rajna Mayer, has an MA in German and English studies, and is specializing in translatology. She is a native speaker of German and Croatian. She is not familiar either with the Yoruba culture or with the African continent in general. The translations of the two poems have been published before.

5. Analysis

One of the most important claims of cognitive metaphor theory is that any language contains connected systems of conventional metaphorical expressions instantiating basic conceptual metaphors, which are shared because they derive from

²for further reference to the poets CV and academic work, see <http://web.archive.org/web/20110202184349/http://remiraji.com/>

³ Cf. Aleksa Varga, M.; Molnar, D. (2010) for further analysis of the same translations from a morpho-syntactical-pragmatic point of view

common experience with the world and serve as ‘part of our conceptual apparatus’. (Lakoff and Turner 1989). Conceptual metaphors usually function as the connecting element between an abstract domain (such as *love*, *time*, etc) and a more physical domain (e.g. *journey*, *natural force*, etc.). Conceptual metaphors exist and serve as links between two otherwise independently existing conceptual domains. In this way, by means of the cognitive system of association conceptual metaphors allow us to use terms from one domain to talk about another (for instance, *fire* to talk about *love*).

Within the scope of this study, we first extract the metaphorical expressions and then classify potentially universal cognitive mechanisms – conceptual metaphors and metonymies - in two of the selected poems and their Croatian and German translations. The nature of the analysis is inherently qualitative and introspective, with the view to uncover some cross-linguistic/cultural commonalities/specificities. The following sections focus on results of the analysis.

5.1. Metaphor analysis

The universal existence of some types of conceptual metaphors is based on embodied experience (Kövecses 2005: 35). In conceptual metaphor, there is a set of systematic correspondences between the source and the target in the sense that constituent conceptual elements of B correspond to constituent elements of A. Technically, these conceptual correspondences are often referred to as mappings. The following subsections will present the main metaphorical mappings extracted from the selected poems and their translations based on the target domain classification.

5.1.1. The metaphorical conceptualisation of LOVE

Emotion concepts and concepts denoting personal relationships are particularly susceptible of metaphorical understanding. After examining the poems for metaphorical linguistic expressions (MLE), we identified the following conceptual metaphors with the target domain LOVE:

LOVE IS A JOURNEY

(in *Dreamtalk*⁴, line 21 (later 21D) *When you reach the **crossroads**/Kada stigneš na **raskrižje**/Wenn du **die Kreuzung** erreichst, 40D I will go back to the **crossroads**/Vratit ću se na **raskrižje**/Ich werde zurückkehren zur **Kreuzung**, 22D Then you will read the **road map** on my face/čitat ćeš **kartu puta** sa moga lica/wirst du **die Karte** in meinem Gesicht lesen, in I will find you⁵, line 12 (Later 12I), 15D I will **wait** at*

⁴ further in text: D, combined with the line number (e.g. 21D = 21st line of Remi Raji's poem *Dreamtalk*)

⁵ further in text: I, combined with the line number (e.g. 12I = 12th line of Remi Raji's poem *I will find you*)

the dock of your roundtrip pretence/Čekat ću te kod doka tvoje izlike putovanja/
Ich werde warten am Dock deiner vollständigen Verstellung)

LOVE IS A NATURAL FORCE

(36D In the volcano of valiant passion/U vulkanu smione strasti/Im Vulkan tapferer Leidenschaft, 2I A hurricane of desires/orkan strasti/ein Sturm des Verlangens, 18I in the hurricane/u orkanu/in dem Sturm, 22I all mean less than the remembrance of fire/sve znači manje od sjećanja na vatru/bedeutet alles weniger als die Erinnerung des Feuers)

LOVE IS A PERMANENT STATE/PASSION IS A TEMPORARY MOVING OBJECT

(2I A hurricane of desires will pass me, unknown/orkan strasti proći će me, neprimijećen/ein Sturm des Verlangens wird unerkant Entschwinden

LOVE IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS/PHYSICAL DISTANCE IS EMOTIONAL DISTANCE

(4I Draped, in the absolution of your absence/ogrnut u oproštaj tvoje odsutnosti/verhüllt in der Begnadigung deiner Absenz)

LOVE IS FEAR — NEGATIVE EXPERIENCE IS A NON-PLEASURABLE PHYSICAL SENSATION

(9D For you I tremble to speak like the restless trombone/Za tebe dršćem kako bih govorio poput nemirnog trombona/Ich zittere darum, für dich zu sprechen wie die ruhelose Posaune)

LOVE IS SACRIFICE — LOVE IS PAIN

(3I And I the anchor, martyr to your trance/A ja, sidro, mučenik tvoga transa/Und ich der Anker, Märtyrer deiner Absenz, 19D And because ours is a deep-scarred cataract of anguish/I zbog toga što smo mi duboko ranjena kiša boli/Und weil unseres ein tief-genarbter Katarakt der Pein ist)

LOVE IS INSANITY

(39D in this trance/u ovom transu/in dieser Trance, 19I in the liberty of the trance/in der Freiheit der Trance/u slobodi transa)

LOVE IS WAR

(4D hidden bleeding images/skrivenih slika koje krvare/versteckt-blutenden Abbilder, 7D I am the last tomb of an invisible age of the dead/ja sam posljednji grob nevidljivog vremena smrti/Denn ich bin die letzte Gruft einer unsichtbaren Zeit der Toten, 19D And because ours is a deep-scarred cataract of anguish/I zbog toga što smo mi duboko ranjena kiša boli/Und weil unseres ein tief-genarbter Katarakt der Pein ist)

KNOWING IS BEING ABLE TO SEE/ATTENTION IS LOOKING/PART OF THE BODY ARE CONTAINERS FOR EMOTIONS

(3D behold the irises wherein you hide/promatraj šarenice u kojima se skrivaš/erblicke die Schwertlilien, in denen du dich versteckst)

WORDS ARE CONTAINERS FOR IDEAS/WORDS ARE LIVING ORGANISMS

(1I Tonight my verse will find you dancing alone/Noćas će te moji stihovi naći kako plešeš sama/Heute Nacht werden meine Strophen dich alleine tanzend find-

en, 12I Tonight **my verse** seeks you/Noćas te **moj stih** traži/Heute Nacht sucht dich **meine Strophe**, 24I **my song** will fill you/**moja pjesma** će te pronaći/**meine Strophe** dich finden wird)

We have analysed in some detail some of the best-known conceptual LOVE metaphors in the cognitive linguistic literature. As the analysis has shown, the same target domain LOVE could be explained through multiple source domains (NATURAL FORCE, JOURNEY, WAR, etc.). In the case of the LOVE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor, we can see how elements of the source domain are mapped onto elements of the target domain. The linguistic instantiations give us three constituent elements of journeys: the travellers, the travel or the journey as such, and the destination. The conceptual metaphor itself consists of “primary metaphors” that are based on universal human experiences and is therefore in congruence with another cognitive metaphor PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS. In both conceptual metaphors a source domain includes experiences of travelling through time and space toward a destination.

Three languages may share a conceptual metaphor and the conceptual metaphor may be expressed by largely overlapping metaphorical expressions, but the expressions can reveal subtle differences in the cultural-ideological background in which the conceptual metaphor functions. This is clearly evident in the poet’s repetitive choice of linguistic expressions related to illness (e.g. *cataract*, *ultrasound*, *bleeding*, *cholera*, etc.), war and sacrifice. This choice seems to be justified and easily influenced by poet’s socio-cultural environment and personal experiences that appear to be deeply entrenched and widespread in his culture. Even though some divergences in human experience and different aspects of the social dimension (such as differentiation of society into men and women) might produce subtle variations in metaphorical conceptualisation, both translators remain faithful to the original. As can be noticed, translators have no problem preserving the same cognitive background while choosing the direct equivalent translation strategy. In most cases where English has a metaphorical word or expression with a particular literal meaning, German and Croatian also have a word or expression with the same or similar literal meaning.

The first part of the analysis related to the metaphorical mappings with the target domain LOVE brings us to the following conclusions:

- love metaphors are expressed linguistically and conceptually in much the same way in all three languages under study;
- they are cognitively highly motivated and potentially universal;
- poet’s life experience is reflected in the preference for certain metaphorical conceptualisations (choice of the source domains);
- people in love are perceived differently (*women* – indifferent, immature, inconsistent, cynical, but active; *men* – reliable, patient, confident, pas-

sionate, but rather passive (poet's words are active rather than the poet himself);

- decisions to go a certain way are metaphorically understood as choosing a path;
- moving, especially fast, is not valued as being positive in the poet's culture.

5.1.2. *The metaphorical conceptualisation of TIME*

Time is often described and conceived of in terms of spatial phenomenon. It can be linear (continuous) or circular (repetitive). In all Indo-European languages the observer is in the present, the future is ahead, and the past is behind.

The results of the analysis point to the following TIME metaphors:

TIME IS A BOUNDED SPACE/CONTAINER

(14D *In a leap year/u prijestupnoj godini/in einem Schaltjahr*, 20D *in this age of hate and cholera/u ovo doba mržnje i kolere/in diesen Zeiten des Hasses und der Cholera*)

TIME IS A POINT IN SPACE

(23I *In that hour/baš taj čas/in dieser Stunde*, 24I *in that second/baš tu sekundu/in dieser Sekunde*)

SOMETHING MOVING TOWARDS US

(17I *The hour will come/doći će čas/die Stunde wird kommen*)

TIME IS A CIRCLE

(14D *the extra day in a leap year/kao dodatni dan u prijestupnoj godini/wie ein zusätzlicher Tag in einem Schaltjahr*).

Definition of time is often reflected by the culture. Whereas some cultures, such as British and German emphasise schedules, a precise reckoning of time, and promptness, some others, such as Croatian and other Slavic cultures, emphasise the involvement of people rather than a rigid adherence to the clock. The metaphorical mappings with the target domain time brings us to the following conclusions:

- time metaphors are grounded in bodily experience and expressed linguistically the same in all the languages under study;
- poet is in the present, facing the future, with the past behind him;
- they are in congruence with the conceptualisation of love agents in a relationship, and part of the so called THE MOVING TIME METAPHOR (i.e. 2I *a hurricane of desires will pass me, unknown/an hour will come*). The poet is the ground and serves as a reference point.
- THE MOVING OBSERVER METAPHOR (40D *I will go back to the crossroads*, 31D *We will walk a thousand years back, back*, 14I *I always find you in the*

finesse of sand, 5I You for whom I have wandered in uncertain pines). The observer is the figure and time is a ground.

5.1.3. The metaphorical conceptualisation of SELF

Lakoff and Johnson (1999) argue that language users have a complex Subject-Self metaphor system, based on our experiences in the physical and social world, available to be mapped onto the abstract concept Self, i.e. their own and others' inner lives. As social beings, people often interact with one another, assuming different inter-personal roles that could eventually be mapped onto the others or themselves. By the same analogy, language users not only divide themselves, but also divide others, using the culturally available DEVIDED PERSON conceptual metaphor. According to Lakoff & Johnson (1999: 269), Subject-Self metaphor system involves dividing the person into a Subject, "that aspect of a person that is the experiencing consciousness and the locus of reason, will and judgment, which, by its nature, exists only in the present," and a Self, which includes "the body, social roles, past states, and actions in the world." Here are some of the self metaphors the poet and the translators produces:

THE OBJECTIVE STANDPOINT METAPHOR

(1D *I will like to turn you inside out /Volio bih ti izvrnuti kožu/Ich würde dich gerne von innen nach außen kehren)*

THE MULTIPLE SELVES METAPHOR – SUBJECT PROJECTION METAPHOR (Emphatic projection)

(34D *In your shadow I will see myself and you in mine/Vidjet ću sebe u tvojoj sjenia ti sebe u mojoj/In deinem Schatten werde ich mich sehen und du in meinem)*

(29D *And when I open my mouth, the voice will be yours/I kada otvorim usta, glas će biti tvoj/Und wenn ich meinen Mund öffne, wird die Stimme deine sein).*

5.2. Metonymy analysis

In cognitive linguistics conceptual metaphor is not the only motivational force behind the rich poetic language. Much like metaphor, metonymy is ubiquitous in language and is mostly based on bodily experience. Metonymic concepts are systematic in the same way that metaphoric concepts are. In fact, the grounding of metonymic concepts is in general more obvious than is the case with metaphorical concepts, since it usually involves direct physical or causal associations (Lakoff and Johnson: 39). Metonymy, as kind of a mental shortcut, can maximize people's communicative success by minimizing their linguistic effort. The following section represents all the metonymic patterns we identified in the course of our analysis.

When the meaning is constructed through chained metonyms, multiple conceptual shifts are involved. Several recent studies in cognitive linguistics, including Ruiz de Mendoza and Diéz (2002), show its continuing relevance.

CHAINED METONYMS (according to Ruiz de Mendoza and Diéz, 2002: 512)

Words (medium) > work (poetry) > author (poet)

PRODUCT FOR PROCESS

(1I *Tonight my verse **will find** you dancing alone/Noćas će temoji stihovi **naći** kako plešeš sama/Heute Nacht werden meine Strophen dich alleine tanzend **finden**, 12I *Tonight my verse **seeks** you/Noćas te moj stih **traži**/Heute Nacht **sucht** dich meine Strophe, 24I *my song **will find** you/moja pjesma će te **pronaći**/meine Strophe dich **finden** wird)***

SYMPTOM FOR DISEASE>SYMPTOM FOR CAUSE >EFFECT FOR CAUSE

(10I *on **a parched tongue**, or your **seismic filament**/na **sprženom jeziku**, ili tvoj **seizmički filament**/auf **einer ausgedörrten Zunge**, oder deinem **bebenden Faden**)*
Speech organ > speaking > speech

INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION – SPEECH ORGAN FOR SPEECH

ACTION FOR RESULT – SPEAKING FOR SPEECH

Dreamtalk/Govor u snu/Traumgespräch (talk from to talk)

(23D *And **out of my lips** will fall the seductive words of life/A **sa** **mojih usana** past će zavodljive riječi života/Und **aus meinen Lippen** werden die verführerischen Worte des Lebens fallen)*

PART FOR WHOLE (FACE>HEAD>PERSON/SKIN>BODY>PERSON)

(T22D *Then you will read the road map on my **face**/čitat ćeš kartu puta sa moga **lica**/Dann wirst du die Karte in meinem **Gesicht** lesen)* – PHYSICAL STANDS FOR EMOTIONAL

(1D *I will like to turn **you** inside out /Volio bih ti izvrnuti **kožu**/Ich würde **dich** gerne von innen nach außen kehren, 3D *behold the irises wherein you hide/ promatraj šarenice u kojima se skrivaš/erblicke die Schwertlilien, in denen du dich versteckst)**

PART OF THE SCENARIO FOR THE WHOLE SCENARIO

(16D *grandfather's ageless stool in the square/djedove bezvremenske stolice na trgu/Großvaters alterloser Schemel auf dem Platz)*

CROSSROADS STAND FOR DECISION MAKING

(21D *When you reach **the crossroads**/Kada stigneš na **raskrižje**/Wenn du **die Kreuzung** erreichst)*

PHYSICAL CLOSENESS STANDS FOR INTIMACY

(4I *Draped, in the absolution of your **absence**/ogrnut u oproštaj tvoje **odsutnosti**/verhüllt in der Begnadigung deiner **Absenz**).*

6. Conclusion

Cognitive analysis of poetry across three different languages and cultures confirmed the initial hypothesis and provided evidence to show that poetic language employs much the same underlying conceptual metaphors as the ordinary ones. By linking poetic analysis with the processes of the human mind, a cognitive approach to literature shows how human creativity can be supported by reading poetry. We believe that the analyses of metaphorical language in poetry have certain implications for a variety of issues both for the study of poetry and that of human cognition in general. First, it surpasses the mere stylistic analysis and offers an additional source of metaphorical creativity in poetry. Second, the findings support the most dominant version of conceptual metaphor theory which emphasises the importance of primary metaphors that arise from well-motivated correlations between bodily and subjective experiences⁶. Third, the analysis of the poems clearly suggests that embodied cognition can be influenced not only by the universal correlation in experience, but also cultural, social and personal experiences of the individual poet⁷. Forth, some conceptual metaphors and metonymies related to the concepts of LOVE, TIME and SELF are highly motivated cognitively. As the wealth of examples in the selected poems indicates, the conceptual metaphors are not limited to a single linguistic expression, but make themselves manifest in a large number of expressions. This might point to the cross-linguistic existence of some basic domains of knowledge such as journeys, people, fire, containers and more that we make extensive use of in understanding more abstract domains of experience such as emotions, time and self.

Our further attempt was to throw more light on the benefits and practical aspects of applying the insights of cognitive linguistics in translation studies. As for the translation strategies, the analysis pointed to a remarkable degree of consistency in translation by direct equivalents and successful preservation of the cognitive background. It follows that translators in both languages, when facing multiple number of linguistic expressions in the target language referring to the same concept in the source language, tend to choose the most similar, if not the same one. Finally, the analysis shows that the same cognitive mechanisms are at work not within a language, but also across languages in the translations process, which is another piece of evidence in support of their universal character.

Whether poet's creativity in writing and translators' effort to remain faithful to the original are successful or not will be left to the readers to decide.

⁶ Cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1999, Grady 1997

⁷ Cf. Kövecses 2005

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KOGNITIVNA ANALIZA U POEZIJI IZMEĐU JEZIKA I KULTURA

Rezime

Prema Lakoffu i Turneru 1989, jedna od osnovnih postavki kognitivne lingvistike leži u ideji da se u jeziku poezije koriste iste konceptualne metafore kao i u svakodnevnom. Za potrebe kvalitativne kognitivne analize izabrane su dvije pjesme na engleskom jeziku (poznatog suvremenog nigerijskog autora Aderemi Rajija

– Oyeladea) i njihovi prijevodi na hrvatskom i njemačkom jeziku. Oslanjajući se na okvire kognitivne teorije metafore i metonimije, autorice propituju potencijalnu univerzalnost pojedinih konceptualnih procesa u nastajanju i prevođenju jezika poezije. Nadalje, pretpostavlja se da su neki tipovi konceptualne metafore i metonimije utemeljeni na ljudskoj fiziologiji i međusobnim odnosima lingvistički oprimjereni na prilično sličan način u sva tri jezika. Slijedi, dakle, da oba kognitivna mehanizma djeluju ne samo unutar jednoga jezika nego između jezika u procesu prevođenja.

Ključne riječi: kognitivna analiza, poezija, prevođenje, konceptualna metafora, metonimija

Dreamtalk (with musical accompaniment: drum, cello or guitar) 1. I will like to turn you inside out and step into your skin 2. To be, that sober shadow in the mirror of indifference 3. Look at me, slowly, behold the irises wherein you hide 4. Wherein lies the ultrasound of hidden bleeding images 5. And because you shift, you shift, you shift and shift 6. I can tell you cringe to see the hypnosis of your own silence 7. For I am the last tomb of an invisible age of the dead 8. I am the first to spread the resilience of resurrection 9. For you I tremble to speak like the restless trombone 10. I thirst to contain songs like the basket of chants	Traumgespräch (mit musikalischer Begleitung: Trommel, Cello oder Gitarre) Ich würde dich gerne von innen nach außen kehren und eintreten in deine Haut Um zu sein dieser nüchterne Schatten im Spiegel der Gleichgültigkeit. Schau mich an, langsam, erblicke die Schwertlilien, in denen du dich versteckst Worin der Ultraschall der versteckt-blutenden Abbilder liegt Und weil du dich bewegst, bewegst, bewegst und bewegst Kann ich sehen, dass du zurückschreckst, um die Hypnose deiner eigenen Stille zu erblicken Denn ich bin die letzte Gruft einer unsichtbaren Zeit der Toten Ich bin der Erste, die Zähigkeit der Auferstehung zu verbreiten Ich zittere darum, für dich zu sprechen wie die ruhelose Posaune Es dürstet mich, Lieder zurückzuhalten wie der Korb der Gesänge	Govor u snu (glazbeno popraćeno sa: bubnjem, čelom ili gitarom) Volio bih ti izvrnuti kožu i ući u nju Da budem ona trijezna sjena u ogledalu ravnodušja Pogledaj me, polako, promatraj šarenice u kojima se skrivaš u kojima leži ultrazvuk skrivenih slika koje krvare Jer ti se mijenjaš, mijenjaš, mijenjaš i mijenjaš Mogu ti se ulagivati da vidim hipnozu tvoje vlastite tišine Jer ja sam posljednji grob nevidljivog vremena smrti Prvi ću širiti žilavost uskrснуća Za tebe dršćem kako bih govorio poput nemirnog trombona Čeznem da imam pjesme poput košare melodija

11. But you shift, you shift 12. You shift like the cynical child of an impatient father 13. You shift because you fear to hear your own mimicry 14. You shift and run like the extra day in a leap year 15. I will wait at the dock of your roundtrip pretence 16. Or like grandfather's ageless stool in the square 17. I will wait never to abandon you to this deafness 18. I will like to tell you things you know but never know. 19. And because ours is a deep-scarred cataract of anguish 20. I will love you still in this age of hate and cholera	Aber du bewegst, bewegst dich Du bewegst dich wie ein zynisches Kind eines ungeduldigen Vaters Du bewegst dich, weil du befürchtest, dein eigenes Echo zu hören Du bewegst dich und rennst wie ein zusätzlicher Tag in einem Schaltjahr Ich werde warten am Dock deiner vollständigen Verstellung Oder wie Großvaters alterloser Schemel auf dem Platz Ich werde warten, dich niemals zu verlassen in diese Taubheit Ich werde es mögen, dir Dinge zu erzählen, die du weißt, aber niemals weißt Und weil unseres ein tief-genarbter Katarakt der Pein ist Werde ich dich noch immer lieben in diesen Zeiten des Hasses und der Cholera Wenn du die Kreuzung erreichst, wo nichts bedeutet Dann wirst du die Karte in meinem Gesicht lesen	Ali ti se mijenjaš, mijenjaš se Mijenjaš se poput ciničnog djeteta nestrpljivog oca Mijenjaš se jer se bojiš zvuka vlastitog prilagođavanja Mijenjaš se i bježiš kao dodatni dan u prijestupnoj godini Čekat ću te kod doka tvoje izlike putovanja ili poput djedove bezvremenske stolice na trgu Čekat ću da te nikada ne prepustimelj gluhoći Volio bih ti reći stvari koje znaš ali nikada nećeš znati I zbog toga što smo mi duboko ranjena kiša boli I dalje ću te voljeti u ovo doba mržnje i kolere

21. When you reach the crossroads where nothing means 22. Then you will read the road map on my face	Und aus meinen Lippen werden die verführerischen Worte des Lebens fallen Weil der Tod nichts ist als unmögliche Stille	Kada stigneš na raskrižje gdje ništa nema značenja čitat ćeš kartu puta sa moga lica
23. And out of my lips will fall the seductive words of life 24. Because death is nothing but impossible silence	Und aus deinen Lippen die ersten Silben des Lichts Das erste Theorem des Entzückens, das erste Verlangen vergessener Wünsche	A sa mojih usana past će zavodljive riječi života jer smrt je samo nemoguća tišina
25. And out of your lips the first syllables of light 26. The first theorem of delight, the first desire of forgotten desires	Gemeinsam werden wir die Welt des Geistes überraschen Gemeinsam werden wir der Neid der Welt des Fleisches	A sa tvojih usana prvi slogovi svjetla prvi teorem oduševljenja, prva žudnja zaboravljenih žudnji
27. Together we shall surprise the world of the spirit 28. Together we'll be the envy of the world of the flesh	In deinem Schatten werde ich mich sehen und du in meinem Und kein Spiegel wird die Sehnen unseres Abbildes zurückhalten	Zajedno ćemo oduševiti svijet duša Zajedno ćemo biti zavist svijeta mesa Vidjet ću sebe u tvojoj sjeni a ti sebe u mojoj I niti jedno drugo ogledalo neće sadržavati snagu našega lika
29. In your shadow I will see myself and you in mine 30. And no one mirror will contain the sinews of our image	Wir werden tausend Jahre zurück gehen, zurück Zu den Hügeln, Tälern und dem Strand des Anbeginns	Hodat ćemo tisuću godina unazad, natrag brjegovima, dolinama i plažama početaka
31. We will walk a thousand years back, back 32. To the hills, valleys and the beach of beginnings	Du wirst meine Stimme gebrauchen, um neue Lieder zu komponieren Und wenn ich meinen Mund öffne, wird die Stimme deine sein	

33. You will use my voice to compose new songs 34. And when I open my mouth, the voice will be yours 35. In the fresh frenzy in the lyrical light 36. In the volcano of valiant passion, in these- 37. We will dream dreams and our dreams will become 38. The cushion stones of new times, new seeds, new fruits 39. Our dream, my dream, but where are you in this trance 40. I will go back to the crossroads I'm sure you're waiting...	In der frischen Aufregung im lyrischen Licht Im Vulkan tapferer Leidenschaft, in diesen- Wir werden Träume träumen und unsere Träume werden Die gepolsterten Steine neuer Zeiten, neuer Samen, neuer Früchte Unser Traum, mein Traum, aber wo bist du in dieser Trance Ich werde zurückkehren zur Kreuzung, ich bin sicher, du wartest... Marcela Knapp	Koristit ćeš moj glas da stvaraš nove pjesme I kada otvorim usta, glas će biti tvoj U svježem gnjevu liričnog svjetla U vulkanu smione strasti, u njima Ćemo sanjati snove i naši snovi postat će udobne stijene novih vremena, novo sjeme, novi plodovi Naš san, moj san, no gdje si ti u ovom transu Vratit ću se na raskrižje gdje me sigurno čekaš... Rajna Mayer

I will find you 1. Tonight my verse will find you dancing alone 2. A hurricane of desires will pass me, unknown. 3. And I the anchor, martyr to your trance, 4. Draped, in the absolution of your absence. 5. You for whom I have wandered in uncertain pines 6. You for whom I have sacrificed my limbs in open mines. 7. You for whom I have many names... 8. What delights me more this very moment: 9. your laughter, salty as the rain's chemistry 10. on a parched tongue, or your seismic filament, 11. which gives fullness to your minted mystery.	Ich werde dich finden Heute Nacht werden meine Strophen dich alleine tanzend finden ein Sturm des Verlangens wird unerkant entschwinden. Und ich der Anker, Märtyrer deiner Trance verhüllt in der Begnadigung deiner Absenz. Du, für die ich umher gestreift bin durch ungewissen Kiefern Du, für die ich in offenen Minen geopfert habe meine Glieder. Du, für die ich viele Namen habe... Was mich in diesem Moment mehr entzückt ist dein Lachen, salzig wie des Regens Chemie auf einer ausgedörrten Zunge, oder deinem bebenden Faden, der deinem dir eingepprägten Rätsel Fülle gibt.	Pronaći ću te Noćas će te moji stihovi naći kako plešeš sama, orkan strasti proći će me, neprimijećen. A ja, sidro, mučenik tvoga transa, ogrnut u oproštaj tvoje odsutnosti. Ti zbog koje sam lutao u nesigurnoj borovoj šumi Ti zbog koje sam žrtvovao svoje udove u otvorenima rudnicima. Ti, za koju imam više imena... Što me oduševljava ovaj tren: tvoj smijeh, slan poput kiše na sprženom jeziku, ili tvoj seizmički filament, što upotpunjuje tvoju iskovanu tajnu. Noćas te moj stih traži, ali ja sam čestica sna.

12. Tonight my verse seeks you but I'm a speck of dream. 13. In the middle of it all, when you are not there 14. I always find you in the finesse of sand 15. in the sounds of stones, rivers, and in the clouds' jeer 16. in the waves, in the foams and dunes of the land. 17. We will not know the day but the hour will come 18. in the hurricane and the dance 19. in the liberty of the trance 20. in this serration 21. and that imagination 22. all mean less than the remembrance of fire. 23. It is in that hour that my verse will find you 24. It is in that second that my song will fill you.	Heute Nacht sucht dich meine Strophe, aber ich bin der Fleck eines Traums. Wenn du nicht da bist, in der Mitte des Ganzen werde ich dich immer finden in der Feinheit des Sandes in den Klängen der Steine, Flüsse, und in dem Hohn der Wolken in den Wellen, im Schaum und in den Dünen des Landes. Wir werden den Tag nicht wissen, aber die Stunde wird kommen in dem Sturm und dem Tanz in der Freiheit der Trance in dieser Trennung und jener Vorstellung bedeutet alles weniger als die Erinnerung des Feuers. Es ist in dieser Stunde, dass meine Strophe dich finden wird Es ist in dieser Sekunde, dass mein Lied dich erfüllen wird. Marcela Knapp	U središtu svega, kada ti nisi tu uvijek te nađem u finoći pijeska u zvukovima kamenja, rijeka i u zadirkivanju oblaka u valovima, u pjeni i dinamama zemlje. Nećemo znati kada, ali doći će čas u orkanu i plesu u slobodi transa u tom rezu i toj mašti sve znači manje od sjećanja na vatru. Baš taj čas moj stih će te naći Baš tu sekundu moja pjesma će te pronaći. Rajna Mayer

Table 1: Selection of Remi Raji's poems and their corresponding translations into German and Croatian

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WHY DO WE COOK UP STORIES, SPICE THEM UP, AND SERVE THEM WITH RELISH: SOME OBSERVATIONS ABOUT METAPHORS

Metaphors are an inseparable part or important “ingredients” of our understanding and expressing abstract ideas and often rely on very concrete and common processes, such as cooking and preparing food for consumption. The study has been conducted on a corpus composed of phrases and sentences containing verbs which describe different processes of preparing food taken from a number of monolingual and bilingual dictionaries. Firstly, literal meanings of English verbs and their Serbian equivalents were analysed. Secondly, examples of their extended meanings have been classified on the basis of underlying metaphors related to one target domain: that of ideas. The aim of such classification is to discuss metaphorical meanings of English and Serbian verbs of cooking in order to see whether the two languages use same metaphors to account for same abstract ideas and whether their formal correspondents have similar underlying metaphors.

Key words: metaphor, verbs of cooking, source domain, target domain, mental processes, ideas, English, Serbian

1. A cup of cognitive theory: Introduction

In order to come up with an ideal recipe for cooking metaphors, it is necessary to start from some basic ingredients: a cup of cognitive theory. Dealing with language as a cognitive phenomenon is becoming more and more interesting not only to psychologists, but to linguists as well. Bearing in mind that language is an integral part of overall psychological organization (Klikovac 2004: 9), we should not be surprised by the fact that human mind tries to explain all the things that could not be easily grasped by using familiar, tangible things which are available to our senses, things that are a part of our knowledge of the world which surrounds us.

Therefore, conceptual metaphors, which have various uses, are realized by different metaphorical expressions in language, and most importantly, these expressions do not only serve poets and writers to depict their thoughts in a more colourful way and thus achieve a certain effect. On the contrary, we can find such expressions in our everyday vocabulary, and we are very often not even aware that we use these expressions in everyday communication. How often have you heard a girl saying: “I was baking in the sun the whole day – I hope I’ll get a nice tan!”? Or if a lawyer in a popular television series says: “He’ll fry for murder”, do you immediately think: “Wow, they really know their metaphors”? Of course you do not. It is because metaphor is an integral part of our everyday speech, a tool that people employ in order to create concepts on the basis of their physical, perceptual, emotional, and intellectual experience with the world around them (Klikovac 2004: 9).

Cognitive linguistics places metaphor in the thought process itself, where it appears as one of the organizing principles of the human conceptual system (Klikovac 2004: 11). A metaphor can be defined as understanding of one concept (or conceptual domain) with the help of another concept (or conceptual domain) with which the concept we want to understand shares a certain feature. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 5) say: “the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another”. Such conceptual metaphor is created on the basis of the existing similarity between the two concepts at issue.

Having in mind that metaphor implies mapping the structure of one concept (or conceptual domain), which is usually perceptual and familiar, with the structure of another concept (or conceptual domain), which is usually abstract, distant and non-tangible, we can easily understand the motivation behind, for example, the conceptual metaphor which refers to preparing food. This everyday process of doing something in order to fulfil one of the basic human needs – the need for satiation of hunger, and thus preservation of life – will be the topic of this short study. In this case, COOKING is a concept or conceptual domain which borrows its structure to other concepts or conceptual domains which are abstract and is thus called a source domain. Kövecses (2002: 18) states COOKING AND FOOD as one of the most common source domains (along with human body, health and sickness, animals, plants, buildings and construction, machines and tools, games and sports, money and work, heat and cold, light and darkness, forces, movement and direction), which is understandable since the process of preparing food and consuming it is as old as the humankind. This is a very simplified system which is based on perception through senses. On the other hand, the domain which needs to be understood in this way is called the target domain and the list of such domains is endless. The most common target domains which are explained through the use of the source domain of COOKING are knowledge, ideas, thoughts, strong feelings and some gradual

processes which at some point reach their peak or the final result (e.g. quarrels and arguments, education and training, etc.).

Conceptual metaphor implies that there is a set of systematic ontological correspondents between source and target domains where elements of one domain correspond to elements of another domain (Klikovac 2004: 13). This means that certain elements of meaning of a target domain correspond to some elements of meaning of source domains. The aim of this study is to detect those elements in the meaning of a source domain which serve to explain target domains. What is important about metaphor is that it highlights only one element in meaning of the target domain which can be mapped onto the element in meaning of the source domain putting aside all the other elements.

2. A teaspoon of lexical semantics: Verbs of cooking

Since cooking includes different phases and processes of preparing food, those different procedures and phases needed to be classified in a certain way. A lexical field is based on the grouping of lexemes according to the similarities in their meanings, i.e. specifically and objectively determinable semantic relations (Prčić 1997: 108). Among these relations the most important is the relation of hyponymy which organises the whole system on the basis of one superior or superordinate member which is taken to be the prototype of the category. Lexical fields are based, primarily, on the contrasts between a number of lexemes (Prčić 1997: 108), in this case, verbs which denote different procedures in preparing food for consumption, i.e. cooking food in order to eat it. As the superordinate member or the typical representative of this lexical field, dictionaries offer the verb COOK. As its primary meaning, *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (2006) offers the following definition: “to prepare food for eating by using heat”. Moreover, it offers other verbs in a box below the lexeme which constitute its lexical field: FRY, BOIL, BAKE, ROAST, MICROVAWE, GRILL/BROIL, STEAM, TOAST, SIMMER, POACH, BARBECUE, STIR-FRY, SAUTE, CHARGRILL. However, all these lexemes differ from the superordinate one to a certain extent.

Each member of the lexical field has its set of diagnostic features which determine its meaning and use. Each member of the field can have more than one meaning which are organised so that each meaning represents the category of sub-meaning, which can be perceived as different but yet connected in a certain way. The centre of the field is always occupied by the prototypical meaning which is followed by other, less typical or completely atypical, marginal meanings. Metaphorical meanings are such atypical and marginal meanings. Metaphor is thus one

of the main mechanisms used to make lexemes polysemic, i.e. in this way they acquire their polysemic structure (Klikovac 2004: 30).

In order to cook an item of food, we need to employ different processes. We must actively combine ingredients, do preliminary preparation of the ingredients in order to process them easily, or at least put the food in the pot or oven in order for the heating process to start. After such preparatory tasks are performed, we often need to wait to allow heat and/or time to make the food ready (Tomlinson, 1986: 61). Thus, the cooking process does not only consist of procedures related to applying heat to food, but it also consists of different procedures leading to that final stage and/or some procedures in between. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, a significant part of a huge lexical set related to cooking was taken into consideration. This part consists of verbs denoting different procedures employed in the process of preparing food for consumption, and according to which stages in food preparation the verbs denote, they can be classified into four categories, or four different lexical fields:

- 1) Processes denoting the preparation of ingredients: **CUT**, **MINCE**, **GRIND**, **CHOP**, **JULIENNE**, **SHRED**
- 2) Processes denoting combining ingredients together: **MIX**, **STIR**, **BEAT**, **WHIP**, **WHISK**
- 3) Processes denoting applying heat to the ingredients: **COOK**, **BREW**, **SIMMER**, **STEW**, **BAKE**, **ROAST**, **FRY**, **GRILL**, **GRIDDLE**, **BOIL**, **PAR-BOIL**, **POACH**, **SAUTÉ**
- 4) Processes denoting adding ingredients while waiting for the transformation to finish or after (and even before) the transformation has taken place: **SEASON**, **SALT**, **PEPPER**, **SPICE**, **SWEETEN**, **STUFF**

The first verb in each field represents the superordinate member of that field, or its prototypical meaning. Since these lexical fields are quite wide, for the purpose of this study, only a few most prominent representatives of each category will be analysed. Some future studies should analyse all the members of these lexical fields.

2.1. Preparing the corpus: Aims of the study

The corpus for the present study was assembled from a number of dictionaries which included both monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, general and specialised, standard and encyclopaedic, as shown in Chart 1:

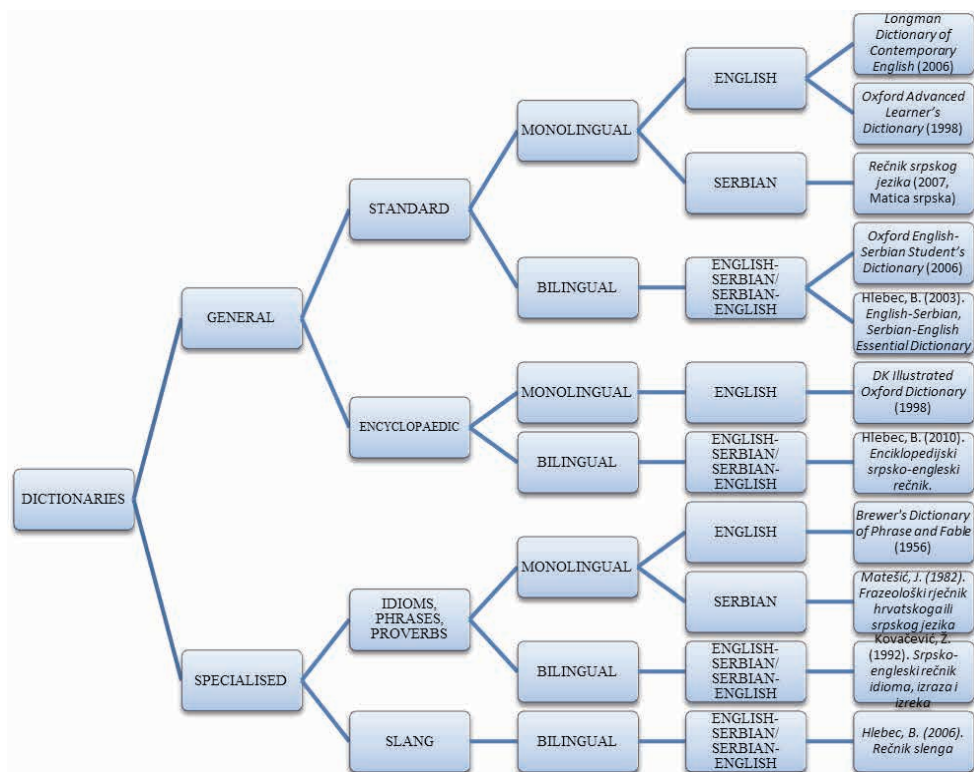


Chart 1: Dictionaries used in assembling the corpus for the study

Various examples of usage of these verbs were gathered with the special emphasis on their extended meanings and examples showing the use of verbs in metaphorical contexts. These extended meanings are the main focus of the study since we want to discover all the conceptual metaphors underlying them. Obviously, the treatment of such meaning is different in different types of dictionaries but this will not be dealt with here.

Components or elements of meaning of lexemes are determined on the basis of their diagnostic features which are taken from their dictionary definitions (Radić-Bojanić 2005: 120), while their formal correspondents in Serbian were obtained from a number of bilingual dictionaries. The elements of meaning of their Serbian correspondents were also analysed according to their definitions taken from a monolingual dictionary (Rečnik srpskog jezika, 2007). In this particular study, such an analysis is presented for no other purpose than to detect and emphasize those elements in meaning which participate in metaphorical mapping (for

further analysis of this lexical field, see Radić-Bojanić 2005).¹ We are particularly interested in those cooking lexemes which have a different set of diagnostic features than their formal correspondents in Serbian since there is a possibility that due to these different features, the two lexemes express different conceptual metaphors.

VERB	using heat	in boiling water	in other hot liquid	in hot fat or oil	using dry-heat	in a closed dish	in an oven	using direct heat	slowly	gently
COOK	X									
BREW	X	X								
<i>KUVATI</i>	X	X								
SIMMER	X		X						X	X
<i>KRČKATI</i>	X		X						X	X
STEW	X		X			X			X	
<i>DINSTATI</i>	X		X			X			X	
BAKE	X				X		X			
ROAST	X				X		X	X		
<i>PEĆI</i>	X				X		X	X		
FRY	X			X						
<i>PRŽITI</i>	X			X						

Table 1: Verbs denoting processes in which we apply heat to the ingredients

As it can be seen from the two tables, Serbian formal correspondent of the English verb COOK has one more element to its meaning: “in boiling water”, and more appropriate term in English would be BREW, although it has some limitations when its collocates are concerned (e.g. in English, we can BREW only coffee or tea, while we use the Serbian correspondent for anything that can be prepared in boiling water). Additionally, Serbian lexeme *PEĆI* is used to account for both preparing food in an oven and by using direct heat, while English uses different lexemes for the two processes: you BAKE food in an oven, but you ROAST it using direct heat, and they have different collocates as well. Similar situation is with the Serbian term *MLETI* which is used to account for both MINCE and GRIND in English, but the only difference between the two English lexemes is related to their collocations (e.g. we MINCE mostly meat, and GRIND coffee beans or corn). Moreover, STUFF in English only includes adding certain mixtures into other ingredients like

¹ Serbian correspondents are given in italics, as well as all the Serbian examples throughout the paper.

chicken or peppers before they are cooked in order to add flavour to them, while its Serbian correspondent *FILOVATI* includes also putting ingredients onto other ingredients, like putting cream onto a cake, after a part of it has been processed by using heat.

VERB	preparing ingredients before exposing them to heat	adding ingredients after or while cooking	preparing ingredients by mixing them together	preparing ingredients by cutting them into pieces	putting ingredients into or onto other ingredients	adding extra flavour	using a machine
MINCE	X			X			X
GRIND	X			X			X
<i>MLETI</i>	X			X			X
STUFF	X				X	X	
<i>FILOVATI</i>	X	X			X	X	
SPICE	X	X				X	
<i>ZAČINJAVATI</i>	X	X				X	
PEPPER	X	X				X	
<i>BIBERITI</i>	X	X				X	
SALT	X	X				X	
<i>SOLITI</i>	X	X				X	
STIR	X		X				X
<i>MEŠATI</i>	X		X				X

Table 2: Verbs denoting processes in which we either prepare ingredients before we apply heat, combine the ingredients together, or add ingredients while, after or even before the heating process has started

A large number of cooking verbs in both English and Serbian have their additional meanings, i.e. they pattern in other lexical fields as well as the cooking field (Lehrer 1969: 53). For example, some of them are used in the field of emotional states, particularly related to having strong feelings of rage, anger, or agitation (e.g. BOIL, SIMMER, STEW, BURN, etc., like in the example “He was left simmering with rage”), then a number of them is related to the field of torture (e.g. FRY, GRILL, like in the abovementioned example “He’ll fry for murder”, or in Serbian *DINSTATI*, Eng. STEW, like in an example taken from a popular television show called “Državni pos’o”: “*Da l’ da mu kažemo il’ da se još dinsta?*” Eng. Should we tell him or let him stew some more?), showing physical discomfort, especially caused by heat (e.g. BAKE, COOK, ROAST, as shown in the example given above

“I was baking in the sun the whole day – I hope I’ll get a nice tan!”), etc. One of the most common fields to which cooking verbs pattern is the field of ideas, i.e. thinking, planning, or any type of processing ideas in our minds. This paper aims to show only a small part of research done in this field so the corpus will be limited to this target domain in particular. For some future, more extensive studies, the corpus should include all the elements of these lexical fields which constitute the lexical set of cooking, or at least all those representatives which have their extended, metaphorical meanings, in order to list all the underlying conceptual metaphors and exemplify them.

Moreover, we can use the two tables showing the elements of lexical meanings of cooking verbs to determine elements in the meanings of these verbs which were used in mapping onto the elements in meaning of the target domain we are trying to explain. We can use this to determine whether the two languages under study, English and Serbian, use the same elements in this mapping and thus whether the two languages have the same conceptual metaphors related to similar verbs. The verbs with extended meanings which encompass the underlying metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD are analysed and exemplified in the following way:

IDEAS ARE FOOD	ENGLISH EXAMPLES	SERBIAN EXAMPLES
THINKING IS COOKING/ PREPARING FOOD	He’s always coming out with these half-baked ideas which will never work. Let me stew over that for a while. Ideas are simmering in the back of my mind. Tom didn’t mince words and told me straight away that I had failed. The poem succeeds in stirring the imagination.	<i>Ispeci pa reci.</i> (Eng. Think before you speak) <i>Ideje se krčkaju, fermentiraju i imaju svoj život.</i> (Eng. Ideas are simmering , fermenting, and they have a life of their own.)
PLANNING IS COOKING	the plan that Graham and Dempster had cooked up What happens now will depend on a strategy cooked up by parliament. Mary cooked an interesting party up at the last minute.	<i>Planovi za narednu godinu već se uveliko krčkaju.</i> (Eng. Plans for next year are already being cooked/ prepared.)

PLOTTING IS COOKING	Something's cooking. I can't prove it but I can feel it in my bones. They've got something cooking, and I don't think I like it. Something is brewing up. Those boys are brewing mischief. Brew (up) a wicked plot	<i>Nešto se kuva.</i> (Eng. Something's cooking. Something bad is being prepared.) <i>Celu stvar su zakuvali naši neprijatelji.</i> (Eng. The whole situation was started by our enemies.)
WRITING AND MAKING UP STORIES IS COOKING/ PREPARING FOOD	He grinds out cheap romantic stories at the rate of one a week. He cooked up a story that nobody believed. She cooked up an excuse for not arriving on time.	<i>Začiniti večer pričama</i> (Eng. to spice up the evening with stories; to make an evening more interesting, lively, etc. with stories)
CRITICIZING IS COOKING	The critics really roasted her new play.	
ADDING IDEAS AND DETAILS TO A STORY IS ADDING FLAVOUR TO FOOD WHILE COOKING	To salt a narrative, etc. A speech peppered with amusing stories She was probably adding details to spice up the story. He spiced up the story with some intrigue. A horror movie spiced with dark humour	<i>Soliti pamet nekome</i> (Eng. To give someone unnecessary or unwanted advice) <i>Svaku morati posoliti</i> (Eng. Someone has to add some humoristic details or allusions to every story.); <i>On kad priča uvek malo zasoli.</i> (Eng. Whenever he tells something, he always spices up the story.) <i>Zabiberiti članak, zabiberiti šalu</i> (Eng. to add satiric details or allusions to an article/ joke) <i>Niko ne zna da nafiluje priču kao on.</i> (Eng. No one knows to spice up a story like he does. No one knows how to add intriguing details to a story like he does.) <i>Treba reći istinu a ne "filovati" priču zbog gledanosti.</i> (Eng. The truth should be told and not some spiced up story for ratings.)

Table 3: Examples of conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD

3. Only a slice of results: Corpus analysis

A metaphor is created when one element of meaning of the source domain is used in understanding some target domain which is usually abstract and hard to perceive with our senses. What is extremely important here is the fact that the mapping is done on the basis of similarities between the two domains, i.e. from all the elements of meaning of the two domains only one is selected that is common to both systems. Thus, a metaphor highlights only one side of an abstract concept, while covering all the others. For instance, in the Serbian proverb *Ispeci pa reci* (Eng. Think before you speak) the process of thinking is observed in the same way as the process of cooking, which as a result has completely processed food which could be consumed as such compared to a completely processed idea which could be successfully verbalised and thus employed. In this particular case, the source domain of cooking is mapped onto the target domain of thinking. The mapping of the two processes has been done on the basis of similarity between them which concerns the complexity of both processes resulting in final products which can be consumed or verbalised respectively. This example emphasizes the similarity between the process of thinking and the process of cooking which can be seen in the fact that in order to enjoy good food, as well as in order to successfully verbalize one's thoughts, it is necessary to bring these two processes to an end, to the final goal, i.e. to prepare food well is as important as to think carefully about what you want to say, what you want to "serve" to other participants in communication in order to be understood and for your words to have significance. In case we lack the final result, as a consequence, we can end up having a meal which is not tasty and is often difficult to digest, on one side, and misunderstanding or even disapproval from our interlocutors, on the other side.

3.1. IDEAS ARE FOOD – *thinking, planning, processing ideas and verbalizing thoughts*

The IDEAS ARE FOOD conceptual metaphor establishes similarities between ideas and food. Not only do we swallow or even devour both of them, but we also need to digest them, sometimes even to warm them over, and finally they both can be half-baked or they can nourish us. Moreover, processing ideas and thoughts in our mind is compared to processing food, especially slowly, gently and for a long time. This careful process of food preparation when compared to the process of thinking highlights the necessity of careful processing ideas in order for them to be valid and useful. On the other hand, food prepared very quickly, using too much heat is often burned, or undercooked if it has not been processed long enough, and thus inedible. Similarly, ideas which are not processed carefully and blurted out

without spending much time thinking about are usually useless or sometimes even harmful for people around us. These two processes are also similar in that they imply careful preparation of certain stages which lead to reaching the final goal, which are carefully considered ideas and their final verbalization and realization, and a well-prepared and tasty dish which could be enjoyed.

Thus, in the English example “Ideas are simmering in the back of my mind”, or a corresponding Serbian example “*Ideje se krčkaju [...]*”, the elements of meaning of the verb SIMMER which include “gently” and “slowly” are used here in order to compare it to the thinking process. If we do not think carefully and for some time about our ideas, or if we neglect to let the food simmer gently for some time in a closed dish, just near the boiling point, we will not get a satisfying end-product. We would be left with a burned meal or half-baked ideas which do not serve their purpose – we will stay hungry, either for the food or for a good and well-processed idea to use.

On the other hand, in examples like “He spiced up the story with some intrigue”, or Serbian example “*Niko ne zna da nafileuje priču kao on*” (Eng. No one knows how to add intriguing details to a story like he does), stories are dishes that are being prepared by adding certain ingredients or flavours to make them better or more “tasty” for people to swallow and digest them. However, there is a difference between the two languages in this sense. Obviously, in both cases, the process of adding flavour to a dish is mapped onto the process of adding ideas to make a story richer. However, in order to do this, English adds ideas as spices to enhance the flavour, while Serbian stuffs stories with a thick layer of paste or cream to enrich them (adding flavour being the element of meaning common to both processes and resulting in the same conceptual metaphor). Moreover, in both languages it is evident that such a process makes a story, a narrative, a joke, etc. more humoristic, satirical, or intriguing by adding such details, which we can compare to a dish becoming more piquant or acquiring different taste when we add spices to it.

The process of “mincing” words is a process of careful thinking what you want to say and how you want to say it in order not to speak so plainly and directly if what you have to say can hurt the person you are speaking to. Not doing so and not processing your words well enough can cause problems or it may not have the same effect, the same as large chunks of meat can be more difficult to prepare or swallow. Serbian, however, does not have a corresponding cooking term for this but it rather sees this process as “measuring” words (either measuring their length, like in the example “*Dvaput meri, jednom seci*”, Eng. Think twice before you do something, or their weight, like in “*Izvaži šta ćeš reći*”, Eng. Mince your words; be careful what you want to say) before verbalizing them. Anyhow, both languages stress the need for good preparation of either food or any material before some transformations take place, in this case verbalizing thoughts or decision making.

What is interesting about the use of cooking vocabulary in the field of thought processes is that extended meanings of the verbs COOK or BREW in English and their Serbian correspondent *KUVATI* (or its perfective variant *ZAKUVATI*) have negative connotations. For instance, to “cook something”, “cook up a story or an excuse”, “brew a (wicked) plot or mischief”, or in Serbian “*kuvati/ zakuvati nešto*” means to prepare or make something bad or dishonest for someone, something you know is widely unacceptable. In this sense the two languages are very similar. It is possible that either the use of heat (raising the temperature) to transform food while cooking or the complexity of the entire process could be responsible for perceiving the idea of spending time thinking about how to do something bad to someone as doing the cooking.

4. A spoonful of discussion: Why cooking?

The conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD has its extension in the metaphor WRITING IS COOKING, among others listed above. This particular metaphorical extension has been interesting to cognitive linguists (Tomlinson 1986, etc.) due to the parallelism between the two complex processes like cooking food and writing with a finished, completed outcome which can be “consumed”. In order to conceptualize the rich and overwhelmingly complex reality of the writing process, very often difficult to grasp and therefore describe, we employ metaphor. One of the points of view on this process compares it to the complexity of food preparation which involves mixing different ingredients/ putting things together, transforming them to suit our needs, either using various tools and/or machines or using a special state, i.e. heat, and waiting for that transformation to take place (Tomlinson, 1986: 62). As it has been previously mentioned, metaphor tends to highlight certain aspects of the writing process, hiding or neglecting other aspects. In the case of cooking, these processes of mixing, preparing, and transforming are highlighted. Same as we prepare and process food in order to prepare a tasty meal, we need to carefully obtain quality ideas, as we do with quality ingredients, delicately develop them, the same as we process our obtained ingredients, and we need to be in an appropriate state in order for their transformation to take place. “The novel, the essay, the poem are created by the heat, emerge from the heat, are controlled by the heat” (Tomlinson, 1986: 63). If we choose poor quality ideas, mix them in inappropriate proportions or prepare them inadequately, and if that state is not appropriately set, the same as if we do not adjust the heat so it is not too hot or too cold for ingredients to transform the way we want them to, we would end up with a poor writing outcome, and the critics would have us or our work “roasted” for it. If the cooks are responsible for the food they are preparing, the process of writing is largely under the writer’s control (Tomlinson, 1986: 76), the same as the cooking food is.

5. A tasty dish (almost) prepared: Final remarks

The aim of this study was to discuss metaphorical meanings of English verbs of cooking and their Serbian equivalents in the context of processing and expressing ideas and thoughts. The paper presents examples in both languages which have one source (COOKING AND FOOD) and one target domain (IDEAS). It also identifies similarities and differences between the two languages and their conceptual systems. Some future studies should include more verbs and analyse all conceptual metaphors which are hidden behind the verbs of cooking in both languages. Such target domains include also strong feelings, gradual processes, physical discomfort, etc. Special attention should be paid to Serbian verbs since the perception of food and food preparation is extremely important in Serbian tradition, which would consequently presume much more examples of such verbs used to explain some abstract ideas in Serbian than it is provided in bilingual (and some monolingual) dictionaries. Therefore, a pinch of sociolinguistics would be a nice “final touch” to our tasty story on cooking metaphor in English and Serbian.

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ZAŠTO ZAKUVAVAMO SITUACIJU SERVIRAJUĆI NAFILOVANU PRIČU S GUŠTOM: NEKOLIKA OPAŽANJA O METAFORI

Rezime

S obzirom na to da je metafora sastavni deo i vrlo važan „sastojak“ u kreiranju našeg poimanja apstraktnih pojava, ne treba da čudi sve veća zainteresovanost ne samo psihologa već i lingvisti za nju. Ovakvo poimanje stvarnosti oslanja se na objašnjavanje svega što je teško dostupno našim čulima pojavama i procesima koji su konkretizovani, kao što je proces pripremanja hrane i njeno konzumiranje zarad zadovoljenja jedne od osnovnih ljudskih potreba – potrebe za utoljavanjem gladi i produženjem života. Svrha ovog kratkog istraživanja jeste da pokaže da pojedini glagoli koji se koriste za opisivanje različitih procesa pripremanja hrane imaju i svoja metaforička značenja koja za ciljni domen imaju čulno nesaznatljiv, apstraktan proces razmišljanja i obrade ideja. Korpus sačinjen od nekolicine ovakvih glagola i primera upotrebe njihovih metaforičkih značenja, uzetih iz nekoliko jednojezičnih i dvojezičnih rečnika, pokušao je da ilustruje upotrebu ove konceptualne metafore i u engleskom, i u srpskom jeziku, kako bi ustanovio sličnosti i razlike između ova dva jezika kada je u pitanju ovakva vrsta poimanja stvarnosti.

Ključne reči: metafora, glagoli kuvanja, izvorni domen, ciljni domen, mentalni procesi, ideje, engleski, srpski

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KONFERENCIJSKI SAŽECI AUTORA SA ANGLOFONO I SRPSKOG GOVORNOG PODRUČJA – KONTRASTIVNA ANALIZA¹

Predmet ovog rada je analiza strukture konferencijskih sažetaka iz oblasti primenjene lingvistike sa anglofonog govornog područja i njihovo upoređivanje sa sažecima srpskih autora, pisanim na maternjem jeziku, za potrebe prijavljivanja na domaće konferencije. Za analizu ove strukture korišćen je model ukrajinske lingvistkinje Tatjane Jakhontove (Yakhontova 2002), koji je primenila pri upoređivanju konferencijskih sažetaka anglo-američkih i ukrajinskih/ ruskih autora, nakon čega je donela i zaključke o 'slovenskom' tipu konferencijskog sažetka. Primenom istog modela kod upoređivanja konferencijskih sažetaka anglofonih i srpskih autora, želimo da preispitamo navedene zaključke, ali i da uporedimo strukturu konferencijskih sažetaka srpskih autora sa strukturom sažetka koji se od njih očekuje prilikom prijavljivanja na konferencije izvan njihove nacionalne akademske zajednice, a koji se, po pravilu, piše na engleskom jeziku. Upoznavanje sa strukturom sažetka iz anglofone pisane kulture i usvajanje načina na koji se piše, može biti od pomoći srpskim istraživačima kada žele da prijave svoja izlaganja na konferencijama van zemlje, a prvi korak u tome je da odgovarajući odbori tih konferencija prihvate njihove konferencijske sažetke.

Ključne reči: konferencijski sažetak, primenjena lingvistika, anglofoni autori, autori sa srpskog govornog područja

1. Uvod

Objavljivanje naučnih radova već dugi niz godina predstavlja najrasprostranjeniji način razmene znanja među članovima akademske, odnosno naučne zajednice,

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kako u nacionalnim, tako i u međunarodnim okvirima. Uporedo sa intenziviranjem ove aktivnosti, javlja se zainteresovanost primenjenih lingvista za istraživanja koja se odnose na jezičku realizaciju ovog oblika naučne diseminacije, koja vremenom postaju sve intezivnija, menjajući, pritim, fokus svojih analiza. Analize naučno-istraživačkog rada, na početku su bile su usmerene na opisivanje funkcionalnog stila i specifičnog registra ovog akademskog žanra, dok se od 90. ih godina prošlog veka, zahvaljujući pionirskim radovima Džona Sveilza (Swales 1990), u centar istraživanja naučnoistraživačkih radova stavljaju njihove žanrovske osobenosti.

Naučnoistraživački rad počinje da se analizira kao prominentna vrsta žanra akademske zajednice čiji je cilj da prenese novo znanje svojim članovima i da ih ubedi da iznete tvrdnje i rezultate istraživanja prihvate kao vrstu novog saznanja (Hyland 2000).

Analiza žanra, kao novi metod lingvističke analize, otvorila je vrata brojnim komparativnim i kontrastivnim istraživanjima i dala smernice i predložila modele po kojima su se dalja istraživanja mogla odvijati, s tim što su istraživači za potrebe konkretnog istraživanja, (npr. da li se radi o upoređivanju jednog akademskog žanra sa drugim, upoređivanju struktura akademskih žanrova autora iz različitih jezičkih zajednica, ili iz različitih akademskih disciplina), često modifikovali postojeće modele analize ili sami konstruisali nove modele koji su odgovarali predmetu njihovog istraživanja.

Sažetak, odnosno, apstrakt naučnoistraživačkog rada, kao njegov obavezan i integralni deo, takođe postaje predmet interesovanja primenjenih lingvista, koji svoja razmatranja, sledeći opšte smernice žanrovske analize, usmeravaju ili na kontrastivna istraživanja strukture sažetka autora iz različitih jezičkih zajednica (*cross-linguistic approach*) ili na upoređivanje retoričkih obrazaca sažetaka naučnoistraživačkih radova iz različitih akademskih disciplina (*cross-disciplinary approach*) ili čak iz različitih vrsta nauke (prirodnih, društvenih i lingvističkih). Na isti način se izučava i konferencijski sažetak, pošto je po svojoj funkciji i sadržaju gotovo identičan sažetku naučnoistraživačkog rada, s tim što nije njegov integralni deo, već se objavljuje odvojeno od njega, u *Knjizi sažetaka*, pre konferencije na kojoj će rad biti usmeno predstavljen. Kako konferencijski sažetak predstavlja vrstu 'ulaznice' autora naučnog rada na konferenciju jer se na osnovu njega i odlučuje da li će autor pristupiti konferenciji ili ne, osmišljavanje i pažljivo oblikovanje ove vrste akademskog žanra može imati presudan značaj za autorovo učešće na konferenciji. Ovo je pogotovu važno kada je u pitanju međunarodna konferencija, gde se, po pravilu, sažeci pišu na engleskom jeziku i očekuje se da budu strukturirani po modelu koji je ustaljen u anglofonoj akademskoj zajednici, a koji je, u isto vreme, blizak i prepoznatljiv međunarodnoj akademskoj zajednici.

Motivisanost da predmet ovog istraživanja bude konferencijski sažetak, a ne sažetak naučnoistraživačkog rada koji je već prihvaćen i odobren za objavljivanje,

počiva na ideji da se kod konferencijskih sažetaka mogu jasnije uočiti interkulturalne varijacije, i da upravo ovaj žanr daje vernu refleksiju akademskog stila koji se koristi u jednoj nacionalnoj kulturnoj zajednici. Ne može se, naravno, poreći da se iste varijacije ne mogu identifikovati i u sažecima objavljenih naučnoistraživačkih radova, međutim, u našem istraživanju polazimo od pretpostavke da su konferencijski sažeci ‘siroviji’ materijal za analizu nego sažeci naučnih radova, te stoga i pogodniji za predmet i cilj našeg istraživanja. Ukratko rečeno, predmet ovog rada odnosi se na upoređivanje konferencijskih autora sažetaka iz anglofone sredine sa konferencijskim sažecima autora iz srpske govorne sredine sa ciljem da se ispita da li postoje neke strukturne osobenosti kod ovih drugih, a koje bi njihove autore moglo da stavi u inferioran položaj u odnosu na ostale učesnike neke međunarodne konferencije, naravno, ukoliko sažetke svojih radova (na engleskom jeziku) pišu na način koji je ustaljen u njihovoj nacionalnoj akademskoj zajednici.

2. Konferencijski sažetak kao nosilac interkulturalnih osobenosti

Konferencijski sažetak se može smatrati akademskim žanrom koji je po svojoj strukturi identičan sažetku naučnoistraživačkog rada, s tim što njegovu dužinu često određuju organizatori konferencije. U proseku, on sadrži 150 do 200 reči.² Zbog svoje kratkoće, sažetak naučnoistraživačkog rada poseduje veći stepen kondenzovanosti jezičkog izraza, dok je konferencijski sažetak nešto opširniji i detaljniji. S druge strane, konferencijski sažetak, kao kratak izveštaj o usmenoj prezentaciji koja se predlaže organizatorima konferencije i koji konkuriše za svoje mesto na konferenciji zajedno sa predlozima drugih istraživača, mora da poseduje izrazitu crtu samo-reklamiranja, kako to navode Berkenkotter i Hakin (Berkenkotter & Huckin 1995). Ova crta se najčešće postiže fokusiranjem na nešto *novo* u radu: novinu koja se tiče teme istraživanja ili metodologije primenjene u istraživanju, ili se odnosi na novi, interesantan način prezentacije. Stoga ovi lingisti smatraju da zanimljivost i intrigantnost treba da budu važni elementi konferencijskog sažetka.

Brojni su primenjeni lingvisti koji se bave analizom sažetka naučno istraživačkog rada (Salager-Meyer 1992, Santos 1996, Lores 2004, Hyland, 2000, 2002, Samraj 2002, Pho 2008, Yakhontova 2000, 2002, i dr.). Jedan od njih, Hajlend (Hyland 2000, 2002), koji za svoje analize koristi izuzetno obiman elektronski korpus, kaže da promovisanje naučnog članka i počinje njegovim sažetkom (Hyland 2000:70), i da je „sažetak, opšte uzevši, prvi susret čitaoca sa akademskim članom, tako da često predstavlja tačku na kojoj čitalac odlučuje da li će datom članku

² Međutim, organizatori konferencija često insistiraju na sažecima dužine i do 500 reči, što je dvostruko više od prosečnog sažetka naučnoistraživačkog rada, sa ciljem da naprave što bolju selekciju predloženih radova.

pokloniti svoju pažnju i razmotriti ga, ili će odustati od daljeg čitanja.“ (Hyland 2002: 63). Na osnovu ovoga može se zaključiti da je funkcija sažetka slična funkciji reklame: sažetak treba da najavi neki kvalitet vredan naše pažnje. No, odmah treba reći da istraživači na ovom polju ističu da je ‘marketinška’ funkcija sažetka, ili bar viđenje ove funkcije sažetka na takav način, karakteristična za autore sa anglofonog govornog područja koje se odlikuje dugom tradicijom pragmatičkog pogleda na svet i oštrom konkurencijom među članovima naučne zajednice, primoranim da ulažu velike napore u promovisanju svojih naučnoistraživačkih radova. U istom smislu, Jakhontova (Yakhontova 2002) naglašava, da, dok sažeci autora iz anglofone sredine imaju funkciju da ‘prodaju’ (*selling*) ono što će uslediti, sažeci autora iz slovenske sredine nastoje da ispričaju (*telling*) ono što sledi. Otuda ona i smatra da *selling/telling* opozicija predstavlja osnovnu liniju razdvajanja ove dve grupe konferencijskih sažetaka. Autorka je postavila svoj model za kontrastivnu analizu konferencijskih sažetaka autora iz anglofone sredine i sažetaka autora iz ukrajinskog i ruskog govornog područja i uspešno ga primenila na sažetke iz dve različite discipline, primenjenoj lingvistici i matematici (Yakhontova 2002, 2006).

3. Model strukture konferencijskog sažetka primenjen u istraživanju

Analizirajući konferencijske sažetke kako u prirodnim, tako i u društvenim naukama, Jakhontova (Yakhontova 2002) je došla do zaključka da su sažeci autora sa anglofonog područja najčešće konstruisani pomoću pet retorička koraka (*moves*), koji predstavljaju konstitutivne delove ovog žanra, odnosno faze koje slede jedna drugu u procesu njegovog kreiranja, kao što su npr., korak 1: Označavanje istraživačkog polja, korak 2: Navođenje opravdanosti istraživanja, i tako redom. Neki od ovih koraka mogu se realizovati na više načina, odnosno pomoću retoričkih strategija (*steps*)³, koje predstavljaju konkretne diskursne radnje koje se preduzimaju u datom retoričkom koraku. Tako npr., prvi retorički korak može se realizovati sa nekoliko retoričkih strategija (npr. oslanjanje na već postojeće znanje, i/ili označavanje prethodnog istraživanja, i sl.). Neki od retoričkih koraka, međutim, ne uključuju posebne retoričke strategije, već se izjednačavaju sa strategijom koju koriste, što će se videti pri analizi modela koji predlaže Jakhontova (Yakhontova 2002), a isto tako, ukazaće se i na fraze koje su tipične za ove retoričke korake.

Inspiraciju za svoje istraživanje konferencijskih sažetaka Jakhontova (Yakhontova 2002) je našla u analizi uvodnih delova naučnoistraživačkih radova Džona

³ Za razliku od Lakića (1999) koji je *move* prevodio kao ‘stav’, a *step* kao ‘faza’, autorka ovog rada se odlučila za termine ‘korak’ (*move*) i ‘retorička strategija’ (*step*) da bi njihovim izborom naglasila dinamičnost u kreiranju strukture sažetka, (u prvom slučaju), i funkcionalni karakter elemenata kojim se koraci realizuju (u drugom slučaju).

Sveilza (Swales 1981, 1990), koji je ukazao na visok stepen strukturne uniformnosti uvoda u naučnoistraživačkim radovima autora iz anglofone sredine, dok je model koji je ona predložila u direktnoj vezi sa modelom strukture sažetaka naučnoistraživačkih članaka M.B.D. Santoša (Santos 1996), a koji je ona modifikovala da bi poslužio analizi druge vrste akademskog žanra.

Kod procene vrste modela koji bi se mogao koristiti u istaživanju za potrebe ovog rada⁴, a u cilju njegovog upoređivanja sa prethodnim istraživanjima istog tipa, uzeta su u obzir dva faktora: da je model već primenjivan u nekom kontrastivnom istraživanju konferencijskih sažetaka i da je istraživanje sprovedeno u okviru iste akademske discipline – primenjene lingvistike. Iz tog razloga odabran je model koji je Jakhontova (Yakhontova 2002: 137) koristila za svoje istraživanje, a čije je rezultate generalizovala, naglašavajući da dok sažeci anglofonih autora imaju ... ‘jasno uočljivu kognitivnu i formalnu strukturu, sažeci slovenskih autora više su okrenuti samom sadržaju rada, nedostaju im markeri za tekstualnu organizaciju i formalnu strukturiranost i inkliniraju teoretisanju i generalizaciji (pomoću globalnih iskaza i tvrđenja na početku teksta). (Yakhontova 2002: 156).”

Upravo ovo tvrđenje u vezi sa sažecima anglofonih i slovenskih autora čini polaznu hipotezu u istraživanju sprovedenom za potrebe ovog rada. Ta hipoteza bi se mogla formulisati u vidu sledećeg pitanja: da li konferencijski sažeci srpskih autora ispoljavaju iste karakteristike kao i sažeci koje pišu ukrajinski i ruski autori, odnosno, da li se način njihovog pisanja uklapa u akademske pisane konvencije i navike, koje po Jaktonovoj, pripadaju autorima iz slovenske pisane kulture? U predloženom modelu, koji bi se po početnim slovima retoričkih koraka mogao označiti kao O-N-U-K-P struktura, ili obrazac, identifikovana su pet retorička koraka, od kojih se prvi, drugi i peti mogu realizovati pomoću jedne, ili više retoričkih strategija⁵:

I Označavanje istraživačkog polja

- Strategija 1: Oslanjanje na već postojeće znanje (*It is widely proved that the Chinese writing system has had great influence on the Japanese, Korean and Vietnamese writing systems*).
- Strategija 2: Oslanjanje na značajno tvrđenje (*A key issue regarding the acquisition of language in bilingual children is the extent to which the two languages the child is learning influence each other in development*).
- Strategija 3: Označavanje prethodnog istraživanja, kao u primeru: *ELF research is receiving growing recognition as an established field of equ-*

⁴ Poznat je i Hajlendov model (Hyland 2000:67), koji se takode može uspešno primeniti i za potrebe analize konferencijskih sažetaka, i sastoji se od pet retorička koraka: 1) Uvod, 2) Cilj, 3) Metod, 4) Proizvod, i 5) Zaključak.

⁵ U cilju ilustracije retoričkih strategija navedeni su primeri iz istraživačkog korpusa.

tery that overlaps with Applied Linguistics, Sociolinguistics and other long-established areas.

II Navođenje opravdanosti datog istraživanja/proučavanja

- Strategija 1: Ukazivanje na prazninu u ranijim istraživanjima (*Despite recent increased attention to interdisciplinary research (Aboelala et.al 2007) little is known about the extent of international students participation*).
- Strategija 2: Nuđenje kontra-tvrđenja (*Disagreements about EFL have, however, uncovered points that need to be accounted for; adapted to, or refuted*).
- Strategija 3: Uvođenje novog gledišta, kao u primeru: *It is our feeling that the best way forward is through constructive, meaningful and self-reflective dialogue between researchers with different background, inerests and orientations*.
- Strategija 4: Postavljanje retoričkog pitanja (*How can we understand the complexity of EFL attitudes?*)

III Uvođenje rada koji će biti predstavljen na konferenciji

This paper reports the study of examplars of two scientific genres in the interdisciplinary field of climate science:the academic research article and the popular science research.

IV Kratak pregled rada

*The paper begins by illustrating some real life problems in communication in the provision of mental health services in the UK. It accordingly reviews the literature of iner-disciplinary and interprofessional cooperation. We then report the results of an applied linguistics study which uses collocati-
ons of closed-class keywords to reveal the differing perspectives and episte-
mologies found in the corpus. We finally relate the results of the analysis
to the tree-part framework of cooperation and discuss the implications for
training for inter-professional cooperation.*

V Potenciranje postignuća/rezultata istraživanja

- Strategija 1: Ukazivanje na dostignuća/rezultate istraživanja (*The analysis has shown that the visual cognitive instruments are a poweful peruasive tool which journalists gladely resort to in order to familiarize the readership with the magnitude and seriousness of the global financial crises*).
- Strategija 2: Ukazivanje na mogućnost primene rezultata (*Research results will also point to the variations of the studied metaphors, including conceptual mappings in the opposite direction, wherby something physically small can can represent something positive, i.e. important and valuable*).
- Strategija 3: Davanje preporuka i sugestija za dalje istraživanje (*In additi-
on, some further analyses should include the relationship between motiva-
tion and anxiety with respect to the college campus environment*).

Po ovoj autorki, prvi, drugi i treći korak konferencijskih sažetaka, identični su sa prva tri koraka u *Uvodnom delu* naučnoistraživačkog rada, kako ih je naveo Sveilz (Swales 1990), dok četvrti korak predstavlja kratak pregled rada koji će se predstaviti na konferenciji. Poslednji, peti korak, *Potenciranje postignuća/rezultata istraživanja*, često samo označava najznačajnije rezultate i njihovu moguću primenu. Ono što je tipično za sažetak kao vrstu akademskog žanra jeste da se prvi i drugi retorički korak (*Označavanje istraživačkog polja* i *Navođenje opravdanosti datog istraživanja*) najčešće nalaze u prvom pasusu, dok se u narednom, drugom pasusu, obično nalaze treći i četvrti korak (*Uvođenje rada koji će biti predstavljen na konferenciji* i *Kratak pregledje rada*). Treći, zaključni pasus, služi da naglasi značaj rezultata istraživanja.

I na kraju, treba reći da je osnovna jedinica u analizi sažetka – rečenica, a svaka rečenica ima oznaku retoričkog koraka kojem pripada. Međutim, zbog kondenzovane prirode sažetka, često jedna rečenica može sadržati dva ili tri koraka, ali isto tako i koraci se mogu realizovati uz pomoć jedne ili više rečenica. Iz tog razloga može se reći da generička analiza sažetka nikako nije mehanička aktivnost, već često zahteva dodatna razgraničavanja i preciznosti.

4. Primer analize strukture sažetka sa anglofonog govornog područja⁶:

- 1) *Označavanje istraživačkog polja*
ELF (English as lingua franca) communication, perhaps more than any other form of intercultural communication, challenges our understanding of the relationships between languages and cultures and their role in communication. (*Retorička strategija: Oslanjanje na značajno tvrđenje*):
- 2) *Navođenje opravdanosti datog istraživanja/proučavanja*
Whereas previously languages were associated with particular cultures, usually at the national level, this is clearly not relevant to languages used as a lingua franca where users of the language may identify with a multitude of cultures. (*Retorička strategija: Ukazivanje na prazninu u ranijim istraživanjima*). **However, this does not render ELF communication culturally neutral.** (*Retorička strategija: Nuđenje kontra-tvrđenja*) All communication takes place in particular contexts and

⁶ Sažetak je preuzet iz *Knjige sažetaka (Book of Abstracts)* sa 45. konferencije Britanskog društva za Primenjenu lingvistiku, održanoj od 6-8 septembra 2012. godine na Univerzitetu u Sautemptonu, Velika Britanija, a nalazi se na 23-24. strani te knjige. Autor sažetka je Will Baker, University of Southampton, a naslov rada je: "Culture, complexity and emergence: understanding culture in English as a lingua franca."

involves participants with identities and purposes none of which are culturally 'neutral'. **Thus, culture needs to be viewed as a complex phenomenon which may or may not be drawn upon in ELF communication in dynamic and emergent ways, moving between and across individual, local, national and global associations.** (*Retorička strategija: Uvođenje novog gledišta*).

- 3) *Uvođenje rada koji će biti predstavljen na konferenciji*

This paper will explore how theories of complexity and emergence can aid our understanding of the nature of culture in ELF communication.

- 4) *Kratak pregled rada*

Drawing on the notions of complex adaptive systems (CAS) and emergentism, the paper will suggest that culture should be seen as a dynamic, open and emergent 'system'. It will be discussed that such a conception of culture entails a tension between fluidity and fixity as an inherent part of the system keeping it always in process and avoiding the utilizing structuralism of other attempts to describe cultures.

- 5) *Potenciranje postignuća/rezultata istraživanja*

This perspective on culture encompasses multiple cultural systems which exist in a network of relationships, eschewing essentialist binary oppositions such as 'our' culture – 'their' culture. (*Retoričke strategije: Ukazivanje na novi pristup primenjen u istraživanju*). **However, a number of limitations and unresolved issues in viewing culture as a CAS will also be raised, in particular the danger of reductionism and false analogies with CAS in the physical sciences.** (*Retorička strategija: Ukazivanje na ograničenja u pristupu*)

Navedeni primer konferencijskog sažetka odabran je po principu slučajnog uzorka, no, i povrh toga, kod njega se jasno mogu identifikovati svi retorički koraci i strategije koje smo prethodno naveli. Brojna istraživanja strukture ovog žanra dovela su do zaključka da se autori akademskih radova iz anglofone sredine u značajnoj meri pridržavaju navedene strukture, što je, svakako, rezultat duge tradicije akademskog pisanja na tim prostorima kao i postojećeg stava da je akademsko pisanje, za razliku od kreativnog pisanja, pre svega, veština koja se uči sistematskom i preciznom obukom i uvežbavanjem, a ne puki izraz autorvih kreativnih potencijala⁷.

⁷ Analizom istraživačkih radova iz društvenih nauka sa srpskog govornog područja često ne nalazimo na razgraničenja ova dva stila, već njihovo mešanje, što se, po proceni autora sa anglofonog govornog područja, smatra neprikladnim. (Blagojević 2012)

U prilog rečenom možemo navesti i istraživanje Jakhontove (Yakhtonove 1997: 135) na osnovu kojeg je ona utvrdila da studenti master studija u Ukrajini smatraju da je pisanje sažetka stvar ‘nadarenosti’, ali da se ta nadarenost, ili talent, može povećati odgovarajućim ‘treningom’, odnosno uvežbavanjem pisanja sažetka uz sistematične i adekvatne instrukcije. U tom smislu, od velike pomoći bi bilo ukazivanje na tipične izraze kojim počinju retorički koraci, kao što su: za 1. retorički korak (Označavanje istraživačkog polja): *It is a well-known fact, ... A great number of previous investigations, ...* itd., za 2. retorički korak (Navođenje opravdanosti datog istraživanja/proučavanja): *Although the prevous research..., However, little is known about ...,* za 3. retorički korak (Uvođenje rada koji će biti predstavljen na konferenciji): *This paper describes/ explores/ discusses...,* za 4. korak: *First, the paper suggests ..., then..., finally,* itd., i za 5. korak: *The obtained results indicate,... Further implications...,* itd.

5. Istraživački korpus i metodologija istraživanja

Kako je predmet ovog istraživanja utvrđivanje strukture konferencijskog sažetka autora iz dva različita govorna područja, to smo zbog postizanja većeg stepena komparabilnosti, u istraživački korpus našeg istraživanja uvrstili konferencijske sažetke dužine do 250 do 300 reči, koji pripadaju istoj akademskoj disciplini, primenjenoj lingvistici. Dva istraživačka korpusa – prvi sastavljen od sažetaka anglofonih autora, obeležen je kao istraživački korpus SAA, a drugi, sa sažecima srpskih autora, obeležen je kao istraživački korpus SSA. Oba korpusa sadrže podjednak broj sažetaka, po 25. Sažeci koji čine prvi korpus uzeti su iz *Book of Abstracts, 45th Annual Meeting of the British Assiciation of Applied Linguistics*, University of Southtampton, September 6-8, 2012., i imena njihovih autora pažljivo su proveravana da bi se utvrdilo da autor pripada anglofonom govornom području. Sažeci iz SSA istraživačkog korpusa uzeti su iz dve knjige sažetaka⁸: *Book of Abstracts, 4th International Congress Applied Linguistics Today – Challenges of Modern Times*, Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade, 12-14 October 2012, i *Knjga sažetaka: Jezik, književnost, marginalizacija*, Filozofski fakultet, Niš, 26 -27 april 2013.

Svaki sažetak je analiziran primenom navedenog modela, odnosno obrasca strukture, a rezultati su uneti u tabele kako bi se direktno sagledao broičani odnos elemenata koji su identifikovani u dvema grupama analiziranih sažetaka.

⁸Veliki broj sažetaka u tim knjigama bio je na engleskom jeziku, jer se reč o međunarodnim konferencijama, pa su odabrani samo sažeci na srpskom jeziku, i to samo iz oblasti primenjene lingvistike. Prilikom odabira sažetaka nije se vršila distinkcija njihovih autora na angliste i neangliste, ali bi istraživanje u cilju utvrđivanja u kojoj meri su sažeci anglista bliži sažecima anglofonih autora u poređenju sa sažecima neanglista, mogla biti nova i vrlo zanimljiva tema istraživanja.

6. Rezultati istraživanja

Upoređivanje strukture konferencijskih sažetaka anglofonih autora (SAA korpus) i srpskih autora (SSA korpus) vršeno je, najpre, upoređivanjem njihovih osnovnih konstitutivnih delova na osnovu identifikovanja prisutnosti retoričkih koraka, a rezultati ovog upoređivanja dati su u Tabeli 1. Posle toga je izvršeno upoređivanje retoričkih strategija pomoću kojih se najčešće realizuju prvi, drugi i peti retorički korak (Tabele 2, 3, i 4)⁹. Zastupljenost utvrđenog redosleda retoričkih koraka u svakoj grupi analiziranih konferencijskih sažetaka (O-N-U-K-P obrazac), dato je u Tabeli 5.

	Anglofoni autori / Srpski autori	
<i>I Označavanje istraživačkog polja</i>	25	21
<i>II Navođenje opravdanosti datog istraživanja</i>	20	13
<i>III Uvođenje rada koji će biti predstavljen</i>	25	25
<i>IV Kratak pregled rada</i>	18	9
<i>V Potenciranje postignuća / rezultata istraživanja</i>	21	22

Tabela 1: kvantitativna distribucija retoričkih koraka u konferencijskim sažecima iz SAA i SSA KORPUSA

	Anglofoni autori / Srpski autori	
Oslanjanje na već postojeće znanje	8	16
Oslanjanje na značajno tvrđenje	8	5
Oslanjanje na prethodna israživanja	9	4

Tabela 2: kvantitativna distribucija retoričkih strategija u **prvom** retoričkom koraku (*Označavanje istraživačkog polja*)

	Anglofoni autori / Srpski autori	
Ukazivanje na prazninu u ranijim istraživanjima	17	5
Nuđenje kontra-tvrđenja	3	5
Postavljanje pitanja	3	6
Nastavljanje tradicije u istraživanju	2	5

Tabela 3: kvantitativna distribucija retoričkih strategija u **drugom** retoričkom koraku (*Navođenje opravdanosti datog istraživanja/proučavanja*)

⁹ Prilikom ove analize identifikovane su i retoričke strategije koje navedeni model Jakhontove (Yakhontova 2003) nije sadržao, te će se o njima raspravljati u *Diskusiji* ovog rada.

	Anglofoni autori / Srpski autori	
Naglašavanje dostignuća/rezultata istraživanja i njihova moguća primena	16	12
Izvođenje zaključka i davanje preporuka za dalje istraživanje	17	11

Tabela 4: kvantitativna distribucija retoričkih strategija u **petom** retoričkom koraku (*Potenciranje postignuća / rezultata istraživanja*)

Ono što se na osnovu priloženih tabela ne može videti, ali je takođe važno, jeste da se jedan retorički korak ne realizuje samo pomoću jedne retoričke strategije, već često pomoću dve, a ređe i pomoću tri (drugi retorički korak), koje jedna drugu ne isključuju. Ovo je naročito evidentno u petom koraku, gde se paralelno sa strategijom *Naglašavanje dostignuća/rezultata istraživanja i njihova moguća primena*, može često uočiti i strategija *Izvođenje zaključka, ili Davanje preporuka za dalji rad*.

	Broj sažetaka sa ONUKP obrazcem	%
SAA korpus	20	80%
SSA korpus	11	44%

Tabela 5: zastupljenost O-N-U-K-P obrazca u svakoj grupi analiziranih sažetaka

Pored navedenog kvantitativnog podatka o zastupljenosti O-N-U-K-P obrazca u svakoj od grupa obrazaca, po 25 na svakoj strani, uočene su brojne varijacije u redosledu pojavljivanja retoričkih koraka u sažecima autora sa srpskog govornog područja, što ukazuje na odstupanja od obrasca O-N-U-K-P. Tako npr., uočeno je da se peti korak, *Potenciranje postignuća/rezultata istraživanja*, može naći u središnjem delu njihovog sažetka, odmah posle retoričkog koraka *Uvođenje rada*. Upoređivanjem broja zastupljenih retoričkih koraka u analiziranim sažecima, došlo se do podatka da je isti retorički korak – korak broj tri (*Uvođenje rada koji će biti predstavljen*) prisutan u svim analiziranim sažecima iz oba korpusa, kao što je i četvrti korak (*Kratak sadržaj rada*), najčešće izostavljeni korak iz analiziranih sažetaka iz oba korpusa, mada dvostruko češće u SSA korpusu nego u SAA korpusu.

7. Diskusija

Kod detaljnije analize retoričkih koraka, odnosno utvrđivanja retoričkih strategija kojima se oni realizuju, još na samom početku upoređivanja konferencijskih

sažetaka autora iz dva govorna područja, pokazalo se da se u sažecima iz SSA korpusa mogu naći retoričke strategije koje Jakhtonova nije navela u svom modelu, a čije je identifikovanje pomoglo stvaranju preciznije, kulturno uslovljene slike obrasca konferencijskog sažetka autora iz srpske govorne sredine. Tako, npr., u sažecima iz SSA korpusa uočena je strategija detaljnog definisanja i obrazlaganja predmeta istraživanja na samom početku sažetka, kao i često korišćenje strategije postavljanja pretpostavki u okviru prvog retoričkog koraka *Označavanje istraživačkog polja*. Takođe je uočeno da se u okviru ovog istog retoričkog koraka, strategiji koju je Jakhtonova definisala kao *Oslanjanje na već postojeće znanje*, u sažecima iz SSA korpusa posvećuje mnogo više pažnje, (na osnovu broja rečenica kojima se ova strategija ostvaruje), nego što je to slučaj u sažecima SAA korpusa. Na osnovu ovoga može se zaključiti da srpski autori pridaju veliki značaj teorijskoj osnovi svog rada i često se oslanjaju na poznata teorijska tvrđenja na samom početku svog konferencijskog sažetka, u prvom njegovom retoričkom koraku. Navedeno zapažanje u saglasnosti je sa zaključkom Jakhontove da autori sažetaka iz slovenske sredine pokazuju приметnu sklonost ka naglašavanju teorijske zasnovanosti svog istraživanja

S druge strane, upadljivo odsusvo, ili retko prisustvo strategije *Ukazivanje na praznine u prethodnim istraživanjima* u sažecima iz SSA korpusa, ključne u pobuđivanju zainteresovanosti konferencijske publike za rad koji će biti prikazan na konferenciji, ukazuje da se kod autora iz srpske govorne sredine mnogo više uočava njihova sklonost ka tipu istraživanja koje je u skladu sa postojećom istraživačkom tradicijom, nego spremnost za uvođenje nekih potuno novih tema istraživanja, (ili se barem to tako može tumačiti na osnovu njihovih sažetaka). I ovde se može potvrditi zapažanje Jakhontove (Yakhontova 2003) da se sažecima slovenskih autora pre kazuje o radu koji će se predstaviti, nego što se taj rad promoviše, 'prodaje', čime ova autorka aludira na marketinšku crtu u sažecima anglofonih autora.

Uporedna analiza sažetaka iz dva istraživačka korpusa dovelo je do saznanja da model Jakhontove ne uključuje dve retoričke strategije, a koje su se svojom frekvencijom nametnule, i koje se mogu formulisati na sledeći način: 1) *Ukazivanje na ograničenja primenjenog metoda/istraživačkog korpusa*, (kao u primeru: *However, the analysis of relevant examples of translated books has shown that onla two out of seven of Beaugrande's (1981) criteria of textuality have been achieved*), i 2) *Nuđenje sugestije u vezi sa ograničenjima u istraživanju*, (kao u primeru: *This poses a particular challenge for TESOL progrmmes delivered out of situ to integrate contextual factors in the application of SLA theories and concepts*). Obe strategije su podjednako zastupljene kako u SAA, tako i u SSA korpusu. Ovaj nas podatak navodi na zaključak da model Jakhontove, osmišljen pre više od jedne decenije, treba upotpuniti i navednim retoričkim strategijama u okviru petog retoričkog koraka, pa je potrebno modifikovati i njegov naziv u: *Potenciranje postignuća istraživanja i/*

ili ukazivanje na nedostatke i ograničenja. Ovakav, neznatno modifikovan model, omogućava autorima konferencijskih sažetaka da pruže više relevantnih podataka o radu koji će predstaviti na konferenciji.

8. Zaključak

Na osnovu sprovedenog istraživanja može se zaključiti da konferencijski sažeci srpskih autora, za razliku od onih koje pišu njihove kolege sa anglofonog područja, ne poseduju jednobraznu strukturu, već se karakterišu upotrebom manje-više slobodnog redosleda retoričkih koraka. Ovakva pojava može se povezati sa akademskom praksom u Srbiji koja se ogleda u tome što ne postoji tradicija u učenju pisanja za akademske svrhe, te su autori naučnih tekstova, kao i konferencijskih sažetaka, potuno samouki na tom polju. Svakako da se ovde ne može osporiti činjenica da i ovako neuniformisana struktura konferencijskih sažetaka srpskih autora savim dobro služi svojoj svrsi i primarnoj funkciji jer ne odudara od diskursnih očekivanja¹⁰ članova srpske akademske zajednice, koji su navikli na takve tipove konferencijskih sažetaka, a i sami ih na isti način proizvode. Iz tog razloga, zalaganje za usvajanje anglo-američkog modela konferencijskih sažetaka moglo bi se protumačiti kao favorizovanje i nametanje tog modela srpskoj akademskoj zajednici, što i nije namera autora ovog rada. Nasuprot: cilj i svrha komparativnog pristupa u analizi konferencijskih sažetaka autora iz ove dve pisane kulture je da autorima iz srpske govorne sredine ukaže na njihovu različitost, ali i potrebu da sažetke svojih radova pišu po već utvrđenom modelu sažetaka sa anglofonog govornog područja ukoliko žele da učestvuju na međunarodnim konferencijama na kojima se radovi predstavljaju na engleskom jeziku. U suprotnom bi sebe mogli da dovedu u opasnost da njihova 'ulaznica' za konferenciju, u vidu konferencijskog sažetka, bude nevažeća.

Važno je napomenuti da je kod autora akademskih tekstova sa srpskog govornog područja buđenje 'retoričke svesnosti' (Swales 1990) o postojanju različitih tipova konferencijskih sažetaka prvi korak ka njihovom uspešnom prilagođavanju diskursnim očekivanjima međunarodne akademske zajednice. U tom smislu, preporuka ovim autorima, ukoliko, bila bi da sažetke za međunarodne konferencije konstruišu po obrascu od pet retoričkih koraka, da naglase ono što je novo i zanimljivo u njihovom istraživanju, da ukažu na primenu rezultata svog istraživanja, a pre svega, da izbegavaju previše teoretisanja u njima.

I na kraju, treba reći da ideja koja se nameće na osnovu izvršenog istraživanja ukazuje na potrebu da se pokrene tema u vezi sa pisanjem sažetka u srpskoj aka-

¹⁰ Ovo je poznata sintagma australiskog lingiste Majkla Klajna i odnosi se na očekivanja pripadnika jedne kulture kako akademski diskurs treba da bude strukturiran (M. Clyne 1987).

demskoj zajednici i da se ukaže da je sažetak značajan akademski žanr čijem se pisanju treba ozbiljno i znalački pristupiti. Sticanje veštine pisanja sažetaka je, kako kaže Po (2008 a : 231), „pogotovu važno za onoga ko je početnik, da bi mogao da postane ravnopravan član diskursne zajednice iz svoje akademske discipline.“ Međutim, napisati dobar sažetak na engleskom jeziku za međunarodnu konferenciju izvan nacionalnih granica, veliki je izazov i za iskusne članove akademske zajednice. U tom smislu, smaramo da bi detaljnije upoznavanje sa žanrovskom strukturom sažetka koje pišu autori sa anglofonog područja mogao poslužiti kao dobar put ka ‘osvajanju’ ovog žanra.

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CONFERENCE ABSTRACTS WRITTEN BY ANGLOPHONE AND SERBIAN WRITERS – A CONTRASTIVE APPROACH

Summary

The paper investigates two groups of conference abstracts, the first one written by Anglophone writers, and the second written by Serbian authors in their mother tongue. These abstracts, coming from applied linguistics fields, are subjected to analysis by applying the research model of a Ukrainian linguist, Tatyana Yakhtanova (2002) designed for comparing conference abstracts written by English native speakers to those written by Ukrainian and Russian authors. On the basis of this research, Yakhtanova draws some conclusions about the 'Slavic' type of conference abstract, which is discussed in this paper after the same model has been applied in the research based on 25 English written conference abstracts and the same number of abstracts written by Serbian writers. Our research confirms Yakhtanova's conclusions, and at the same time, points at some characteristics of Serbian conference abstracts which differ from anglophone abstracts. This find-

ing serves to warn Serbian academics not to write the abstracts for international conferences in a manner of their national writing style, since they risk of not having their applications for international conferences accepted by conferences committees. Neither could these conference abstracts be appropriately appreciated by the international discourse community, accustomed to the English academic style.

Key words: conference abstracts, Anglophone writers, the 'Slavic' type of conference abstract, Serbian authors, international conferences

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ENGLISH IDIOMS IN THEORY AND PRACTICE: A PERSONAL ACCOUNT

This paper briefly examines the notion of idioms from linguistic and pedagogical perspectives, with examples from English and Serbian. Consideration of the linguistic aspect focuses on the fact that, due to their fixed and often metaphorical nature, idioms have proved to be a major challenge for linguistic theory, particularly of a generativist orientation. This is illustrated by referring to the basic relevant literature of the period and to the author's own treatment of the concept of idiomaticity in his theoretical work on the structure of English, in the late 1960s. The pedagogical aspect is presented through the experience of teaching English idioms, first as part of a family tradition, with the foreword and several idiomatic jokes cited from a 1938 book, and thereafter by recalling the author's own course in the subject at the very start of his academic career.

Key words: idioms, idiomaticity, idiomatic jokes, English, Serbian

1. Introduction

Idioms are a notoriously hard nut to crack, both theoretically and practically. From a theoretical point of view, they tend to defy precise definition and are among the most difficult aspects of language to account for. And in practice, as is well known, they present a major challenge in the process of mastering a foreign language, a skill that seems to come on top of the acquisition of grammar and lexicon: to speak correct English, for example, is one thing, but to speak idiomatic English is another. Among the less fortunate aspects of the global spread of English have been the falling standards of its international use. One is reminded here of the observation made some years ago by the leading American sociologist of language, Joshua Fishman, that it has become quite easy to speak English badly – and what we may miss in particular, amidst the rush to communicate in this language with

other non-native speakers, is precisely the idiomatic overlay of basic grammatical and lexical means of expression.

I do not propose, in this short essay, to offer a new general definition of idioms – nor is there any need for one, after the comprehensive and insightful treatment of the topic in Prčić (2008:158-168). Likewise, I cannot supply a blueprint for their effective use while conversing or writing in a foreign language. (One's mother tongue is a different matter, because its idiomatic usage comes as naturally as does the acquisition of words and grammatical constructions). All I can do here, then, is briefly recall, after several decades, my own encounter with the nature of idioms and idiomaticity as part of the theory of grammar, as well as some of my related practical experiences. For this limited purpose it will suffice to single out, from among the several meanings of the polysemous term *idiom*, the two that are relevant to the present discussion – the linguistic and the pedagogical.

2. A linguistic approach

In linguistic terms, idioms are usually defined as conventional expressions whose meanings cannot be derived from the literal or dictionary meanings of their individual constituents. In other words, the whole is different from – and more than – the sum of its parts, and must therefore be interpreted integrally, as a self-contained unit. In this sense, even a minimal construction like *Monday week* is an idiom, for there is nothing in it which explicitly indicates that its meaning is 'a week after next Monday' (rather than, say, 'a week before last Monday'). Furthermore, being conventional, idioms are peculiar to a given language and hence as a rule untranslatable, apart from possible cultural equivalents. An example of these are English *six of one and half a dozen of the other* vs. Serbian *nije šija nego vrat*, where the two idiomatic proverbs employ different ways of expressing the notion of identity, one in terms of numbers and the other in terms of body parts. The English slang expression *kick the bucket* evokes a hanging scenario, as against the similarly colourful Serbian *otegnuti papke*, which rather suggests the death of a hoofed animal. A further example is English *first come first served* vs. Serbian *ko pre devojci njegova je devojka*, demonstrating that in Anglo-Saxon culture the expression refers to being served, whereas in Serbian culture it refers to grabbing girls – surely a notable cultural difference!

However, in strictly linguistic terms the fundamental feature of idioms is that they tend to be petrified expressions, allowing little or no lexical or grammatical freedom: lexical units contained in them cannot normally be replaced with others, nor can the order of their constituents, the tense of their verbs or number of their nouns, etc., be changed. Thus a prisoner may be said to *spill the beans* but hardly to **spill*

the peas. In another register, a similar notion may be expressed by *let the cat out of the bag* but not by **let the dog out of the bag* or **let the cat out of the sack*. Likewise, *raining cats and dogs* does not admit of an equivalent **raining dogs and cats*. If I do something wrong I may self-critically say *I put my foot in it*, but if I repeat the mistake I will not say **Now I put both my feet in it* (except, of course, jokingly, thus consciously departing from normal idiomatic usage for special effect). The expression *kick the bucket*, noted above, cannot be expanded into a statement such as **John was kicking the ball while his father was kicking the bucket*. And so on.

Similarly, in Serbian we say *kupiti mačku u džaku* and *slažu se kao rogovi u vreći*, but the two synonyms for ‘sack’ are by no means interchangeable, as nobody says **kupiti mačku u vreći* or **slažu se kao rogovi u džaku*. Incidentally, idiomatic expressions in their received form cannot be “corrected” even when they seem to defy nonlinguistic logic. My favourite example of this is the common Serbian saying *presipati iz šupljeg u prazno*, which is so well established, having been handed down through generations of speakers, that nobody seems to notice that the point would be made more forcefully in the inverted form *presipati iz praznog u šuplje*, where the absurdity of the act so characterised is doubly highlighted.

3. A theoretical quandary

It is precisely this fixed nature of idioms that has proved to be a major stumbling block for linguistic theory, especially for the once-popular generative grammar. This general approach to the structure of natural languages was based on the conception of grammars as devices freely generating, out of finite means and by a system of rules, an infinite number of sentences. However, this potential, known as linguistic creativity, tended to grind to a halt whenever it hit idioms as “frozen” and often metaphorical constructions, thus providing a serious challenge for grammatical theory. The problem was examined critically and in some detail in noted publications of the 1960s and early 1970s, bearing characteristic titles like “Idiomaticity as an anomaly in the Chomskyan paradigm” (Chafe 1968) and “Problems in the analysis of idioms” (Weinreich 1969).

Chafe argued that Chomsky’s syntax-based transformational paradigm was inadequate for the treatment of idioms and should therefore be replaced with a semantically based one. Weinreich, in his turn, pointed out that complex idiomatic structures could not be naturally generated by any known explicit machinery, observing also that discussion of idioms was curiously lacking in contemporary works on semantics. (This reference to Weinreich reminds me that I had the privilege of reading a pre-publication version of that influential article while attending his graduate seminar on semantics at Columbia University, in the middle of which

he so unfortunately died of blood cancer, on 30 March 1967, just two weeks after I had reported in that seminar on my ongoing research on English prepositions. He was buried at a Jewish cemetery in New Jersey, with Roman Jakobson delivering a moving speech over his grave and me listening in the background, with a mixture of grief and awe. For my recollections of these events see Bugarski 1969b).

But rather than go any further into this theoretical discussion, which would be out of place here anyway, I will simply note that I myself, in research leading to my Ph.D. dissertation in the late 1960s, but for the most part independently of the generative approach, postulated the criterion of idiomaticity as the inverse of grammatical potential, in an original analytical framework featuring also sentence pattern and lexical range as interlocking dimensions of sentence structure (Bugarski 1968, 1969a). I was gratified in subsequent years to see that this work had attracted a certain amount of attention and was cited in the international scholarly literature dealing with idioms and idiomaticity, along with contributions by established authorities such as Weinreich, Chafe, Charles F. Hockett, Igor Meljčuk, and others (see, for example, the accounts in Lipka 1974 or Bolinger 1976).

4. A pedagogical resource

As to the far better known pedagogical acceptance of the term *idiom*, it will be enough simply to say that it indicates ways of expression peculiar to a given language and reflecting the culture it serves, hence being the most difficult aspect of a language for foreign learners to master. While these are usually successful in acquiring a degree of grammatical competence, the acquisition of what may be termed idiomatic competence is much more difficult. Having delivered myself of such a general statement, I may now turn to more practical and personal matters. First off, concern with English idioms is in my case something of a family tradition. My father, Dušan Bugarski, a teacher of several foreign languages and early enthusiast of English in particular, authored a pioneering bilingual book on English idiomatic expressions with their Serbo-Croatian equivalents, based on his extensive teaching experience (Bugarski 1938). This little anthology of idiomatic jokes, followed by colloquial and translation exercises and a section on comparative idioms and phrases (the Serbo-Croatian sayings and proverbs mainly taken from Vuk's collections), was published in Sarajevo shortly before the outbreak of World War II, at a time when English was little known or used in this part of the world.

The book carried a short Foreword by none other than Professor Vladeta Popović, founder of the Department of English at the University of Belgrade. (I now regret never having asked my father exactly how this cooperation came about). It was quite popular at the time, but was never reprinted as a result of the war and of

post-war developments; to my knowledge it is not available in libraries, and it has long been an extremely rare collector's item. With this in mind, I reproduce the Foreword verbatim, both in appreciation of its characteristic flavour as a text and a record of the times, and in the belief that it might be of interest for the history of English studies in Yugoslavia:

Here is a book which will be welcome to all serious Yugoslav students of English. The style of good English writers is always idiomatic, and therefore of special difficulty to those who know only the grammar and the literal meaning of the language. A study of the idiomatic phrases, many of them picturesque in themselves and full of associations, which give colour to a writer's style and liveliness to conversation, is at the same time an initiation into the spirit of the English people. Just as the wisdom of our own folk is concentrated in their proverbs, so the idioms of the English contain much of the characteristic humour and practical good sense of the race, and something of their imaginative outlook.

English students of Serbo-Croatian, too, will be able to learn much from this book, as the Serbo-Croatian equivalents given are good colloquial phrases, and the translation exercises may be taken in either order.

As a contribution to the development of mutual understanding between the English and the Yugoslavs, this little book cannot fail to be of service.

And for illustration of the book's contents, I cannot resist quoting a few of the 50 jokes contained and explained in the volume, just so as to give the readers an idea of what they were like. So here is a small sample:

(1)

Master: "John, in my wardrobe there are..."

Servant: "Cigars, sir."

Master: "*How did you find them?*"

Servant: "Excellent, sir."

(2)

"Doesn't your wife *miss you* when you stay out till 3 in the morning?"

"Occasionally – but usually her aim is perfect."

(3)

Doctor: "This is a very sad case, very sad indeed. I much regret to tell you that your wife's mind is gone – completely gone."

Mr. Henpeck: "I am not at all surprised, doctor. *She has been giving me a piece of it every day for fifteen years.*"

(4)

First child: "Our hen *laid three eggs* yesterday."

Second child: "That's nothing. Mummy *laid a foundation stone* the day before."

(5)

Frenchman: "Ah, you climb the Matterhorn! That is *a foot to be proud of*."

Englishman: "Pardon me, sir, you mean '*feat*'".

Frenchman: "So you climb it more than once, eh?"

To my mind, humorous exchanges like these may serve as refreshing exercises in developing a sense of – and a taste for – the peculiar idiomatic character of English. Acquiring this level of competence, then, is another instance of what I described at a recent conference in Novi Sad as "learning as we laugh" (Bugarski 2011).

5. A personal recollection

This potential of idiomatic jokes, and of idioms generally, was not lost on me early in my academic career, when I took up my duties as an assistant lecturer in the Department of English, University of Belgrade, in February 1961. Among my very first assignments was a course in English idioms, to which I applied myself with not a little enthusiasm. After more than half a century I cannot recall many details of this experience, but I do remember vividly one rather bizarre episode. Namely, the story went round the Faculty of Philology that its English Department was surely unique in the entire world, because it offered a course in Bulgarian idioms! Now how did this happen? The answer turned out to be quite simple, and the clue revealed itself by a mere look at the timetable posted on the wall, containing in its slots the surname of the lecturer above the name of the course. My slot naturally read as follows:

BUGARSKI
IDIOMI

So this was how I unwittingly made my Department a laughing stock! No wonder I still remember the incident...

6. Dedication

This recollection of my first year at Belgrade seems an appropriate place to record my indebtedness to the scholar whom we are honouring with the present volume, Professor Draginja Pervaz, who was instrumental in bringing me here in

the first place, along with Professors Mary Stansfield-Popović and Vida E. Marković. They had taken note of me during their visits as lecturers in the newly founded Germanic Department at the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo, where I was a first-generation student of English and German language and literature. So when an opening appeared in Belgrade I was advised to apply and got elected. Professor Pervaz (fondly addressed as Dragica by colleagues and friends) and I coincided on the regular Belgrade staff for a year or so before she moved to Novi Sad to establish an English department there, and I have pleasant memories of the kindness and understanding with which she welcomed the newcomers, including myself. My sincere best wishes remain with her as I close this small contribution.

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ENGLESKI IDIOMI U TEORIJI I PRAKSI: IZ LIČNOG ISKUSTVA

Rezime

U ovom prilogu sažeto se razmatra pojam idioma iz lingvističke i pedagoške perspektive, sa primerima iz engleskog i srpskog jezika. Lingvistički ugao posmatranja ističe u prvi plan činjenicu da su se usled svoje fiksirane i često metaforičke prirode idiomi pokazali kao krupan izazov za lingvističku teoriju, posebno onu generativističkog usmerenja. Ovo se ilustruje osvrtom na osnovnu relevantnu literaturu tog perioda, kao i na autorov sopstveni pristup pojmu idiomatičnosti, u teorijskom proučavanju strukture engleskog jezika tokom kasnih šezdesetih godina XX veka. Pedagoški aspekt predstavlja se kroz iskustvo sa podučavanjem engleskih idioma, najpre kao delom jedne porodične tradicije, uz navođenje predgovora i nekoliko idiomatskih šala iz jedne knjige štampane 1938. godine, a potom i kroz sećanje na autorov kurs iz tog predmeta na samom početku njegove akademske karijere.

Ključne reči: idiomi, idiomatičnost, idiomatske šale, engleski, srpski

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DEIKTIČKE ODLIKE EPISTEMIČKIH MODALNIH OPERATORA KAO MARKERA DISTANCE U ENGLESKOM JEZIKU

Ovaj rad se bavi kvalitativnom analizom epistemičkih modalnih operatora kao markera distance u engleskom jeziku. Oslanjajući se na teorijski okvir funkcionalne lingvistike i interpretaciju epistemičke modalnosti sa stanovišta teorije deikse, cilj rada predstavlja identifikaciju i klasifikaciju epistemičkih modalnih operatora u engleskom jeziku, sa naglaskom na pragmatičkim aspektima njihove upotrebe kao strategije uspostavljanja distance kojom se u procesu komunikativne interakcije, prema teoriji obraza P. Brown i S. Levinson-a, štite potrebe „negativnog obraza“ sagovornika, uključujući potrebe za autonomijom mišljenja, delanja i izražavanja. Rezultati analize ukazuju na širok spektar epistemičkih modalnih operatora čijom upotrebom govornik uspostavlja distancu ili otklon prema sadržaju svog iskaza, odnosno sagovorniku, uključujući centralne i distalne modalne glagole, modalne partikule, perceptualne glagole, katenativne glagole i nefektivne glagole mišljenja i kognicije. Uz to, uočeno je da epistemički modalni operatori u određenim kontekstima impliciraju evidencijalne semantičke ekstenzije, što može predstavljati polaznu tačku za buduća istraživanja kompleksnog odnosa epistemičke modalnosti i evidencijalnosti.

Ključne reči: epistemička modalnost, deiksa, učtivost, distanca, evidencijalnost

1. Uvod

S obzirom da jezik posmatramo kao sredstvo društvene interakcije u toku koje se odvija neprekidni proces pregovaranja značenja između učesnika komunikativnog događaja, teoretski okvir ovog istraživanja se zasniva na postulatima funkcionalne lingvistike koja jezik posmatra iz perspektive uzajamnog odnosa pojedinca i društvenih faktora impliciranih kontekstom govorne situacije (Halliday 1970; 1985). Polazeći od interpersonalne funkcije jezika definisane u okviru funkcional-

ne lingvistike (Halliday 1970; citirano u Nichols 1984), u ovom radu se fokusiramo na identifikaciju i klasifikaciju markera distance u engleskom jeziku, realizovane posredstvom jezičke kategorije epistemičke modalnosti, sa naglaskom na pragmatičkim efektima njihove upotrebe. Ističući korelacije između strukture jezika i konteksta, teorijski okvir istraživanja uključuje interpretaciju epistemičke modalnosti kroz prizmu deikse. Nakon definisanja suštinskih odrednica deiktičkih sistema i njihove realizacije u domenu epistemičke modalnosti, razmatramo vezu između fenomena deikse i učtivosti, uz sažimanje najznačajnije teorije učtivosti – teorije “obraza”. Ističući kategoriju epistemičke modalnosti kao oblast u okviru koje se deiksa najeksplicitnije reflektuje, analiziramo široku lepezu primera epistemičkih modalnih operatora kao markera distance i objašnjavamo njihovu upotrebu iz perspektive jedinstvenog semantičko-pragmatičkog interfejsa, upućujući na kontekstualno uslovljenu interpretaciju značenja epistemičkih modalnih operatora.

2. Deiksa kao jezički fenomen

Imajući u vidu da funkcionalni pristup u prvi plan ističe ulogu govornika kao centralne figure u komunikativnom događaju i „egocentrični“ karakter tumačenja fenomena deikse u odnosu na „kanonski kontekst situacije“ – govornikovo „ovde i sada“ pri čemu govornik predstavlja deiktički centar (Lyons 1977: 637; Levinson 1983: 63; Frawley 1992: 275), u ovom radu uspostavljamo jedinstveni teorijski koncept deikse zasnovan na semantičko-pragmatičkim principima koji najtransparentnije oslikava odnos strukture jezika i društvenog konteksta.

S obzirom da ista rečenična struktura određenog semantičkog sadržaja može u različitim kontekstima vršiti funkcije različitih govornih činova, deiksa se tumači kao interfejs u okviru kog se prepliću granice pragmatike i semantike (Lyons 1977; Levinson 1983; Frawley 1992). U tom svetlu, fenomen deikse možemo posmatrati kao način enkodiranja svih mogućih diverziteta kontekstualnih aspekata iskaza, ali i same unutrašnje strukture iskaza. Postavlja se pitanje na koje sve aspekte konteksta se deiksa odnosi prilikom interpretacije značenja određenog iskaza¹. Nezavisno od gramatičke strukture kojom se deiksa manifestuje, tj. deiktičkih markera, kontekst, koji pritom utiče i na istinitost propozicije iskazane datim iskazom, obuhvata

¹ Najrasprostranjenije tumačenje deiksu predstavlja kao funkciju mogućih kontekstualnih svojstava koje služe kao tačke vezivanja (*anchoring points*) koje određuju vrste deikse (Frawley, 1992: 274). Pored tradicionalnih vrsta deikse (lične, prostorne i vremenske), Lyons (1977) i Levinson (1983) dodaju još dva tipa deikse, diskursnu ili tekstualnu deiksu i socijalnu deiksu. Diskursna deiksa (*discourse deixis*) se bavi enkodiranjem relacija između sadržaja iskaza i delova teksta/diskursa u kom se pomenuti iskaz stvara. Konačno, socijalna deiksa se bavi tumačenjem društvenih razlika u odnosu na uloge učesnika komunikativnog događaja, naročito u okviru odnosa govornika i sagovornika ili govornika i određenog referenta.

niz spoljašnjih faktora kao što su identitet govornika i primaoca poruke, predmeti, vreme ili mesto na koje se upućuje, ali i unutrašnje markere, prisutne u samom iskazu (Lyons 1977: 637-638; Levinson 1983: 58). Definišući kontekst kao skup pragmatičkih koordinata ili navedenih referentnih tački, zaključujemo da se značenje iskaza izvodi na osnovu povezanosti konteksta i propozicije, čime se ostvaruje veza između značenja propozicije u mogućim svetovima i njene istinosne vrednosti, što se prevashodno odražava u domenu epistemičke modalnosti.

3. Tumačenje epistemičke modalnosti iz perspektive teorije deikse

Polazeći od pretpostavke funkcionalne lingvistike o međusobnom reverzibilnom uticaju pojedinca i društva posredstvom jezika kroz komuniciranje interaktivnog odnosa pojedinca prema sadržaju propozicije (Verstraete 2001: 1506), zaključujemo da epistemička modalnost kao gramatička kategorija u velikoj meri doprinosi ostvarenju interpersonalne funkcije jezika u smislu odražavanja društvenih odnosa između učesnika interakcije. Uzimajući društvene aspekte konteksta kao deiktički centar, u ovom radu upućujemo i na elemente socijalne deikse (Levinson 1983: 89) implicirane pragmatičkim efektima epistemičkih modalnih operatora.

Deiktički karakter epistemičke modalnosti se zasniva na deiktičkim kategorijama izvora/pravca znanja i skalarnih vrednosti jačine znanja (Frawley 1992: 412). U deiktičkom smislu, modalnost se definiše kao način na koji jezik enkodira poređenje između izraženog sveta sa referentnim svetom (Chung i Timberlake 1985, prema Frawley 1992: 387) ili kao „funkcija strukturnih i semantičkih sredstava koje govornik ima na raspolaganju kako bi izrazio sud o faktualnom statusu i izvesnosti nekog stanja stvari, tj. o izvesnosti konvergencije izraženog i referentnog sveta“ (Trbojević 2004: 60).

U skladu sa osnovnim deiktičkim pojmovima, izraženi svet (neaktualizovano stanje stvari sadržano u propoziciji) predstavlja epistemički ekvivalent locirane deiktičke tačke, dok referentni svet (stvarni svet u kome nastaje iskaz, govornikovo ovde i sada) predstavlja ekvivalent deiktičkog centra. Sa stanovišta deiktičkih tačaka, epistemički centar ili glavnu deiktičku tačku čini izvor znanja koji može biti sam govornik (*self*) ili drugo lice (*other or nonself*) kao sastavna komponenta konteksta datog diskursa (Frawley 1992; Huddleston 2002). Međutim, jezici uglavnom sadrže i dodatne kategorije izvora znanja nastale kombinacijom deiktičke kategorije pravca i izvora – od govornika, ka govorniku, od drugog lica, ka drugom licu (Frawley 1992: 412).

Epistemički sudovi zasnovani na procesima zaključivanja na osnovu dostupnih dokaza ili poznatih činjenica koje mogu, ali ne moraju biti prisutne u samom iskazu mogu u celini imati svoj izvor u govorniku, kao što je istaknuto u primeru (i)

(Coates 1983: 41; Nuyts 2001: 386). Sa druge strane, epistemički stavovi mogu poticati iz dokaza koje govornik prima putem čula iz spoljašnjeg sveta (ii), pri čemu se dokazi kategorizuju kao direktni ili senzorni, orijentisani ka govorniku (Palmer 1986: 49), ili u slučaju da znanje proističe iz drugog lica (izveštaji, glasine, navodi, itd.), dokazi se kategorizuju kao indirektni (iii) (Aikhenvald 2004).

- (i) *There **must be** a lot more to it, then...I am sure, because they appear to get on very well.*
- (ii) *She's **assuredly** pounding rice.* (I can hear it)
- (iii) *I was being told you **may have** a degree but you are not a better waiter than I am.*

Kada su u pitanju skalarne vrednosti na osnovu kojih se karakterišu epistemički sudovi, postoje različita shvatanja. Palmer (1986: 47-49) pravi distinkciju između direktnih i indirektnih dokaza, a Givón (1982; citirano u Frawley 1992) ih rangira na osnovu njihove emanacije iz kanonskog izvora, tj. govornika ka spoljašnjem svetu. Frawley (1992: 413) ove postavke dopunjuje deiktičkom komponentom udaljenosti na osnovu čega se javljaju sledeće skalarne vrednosti: kada je govornik u manjem stepenu opredeljen prema propoziciji, dokaz je slabiji ili u manjem stepenu direktan, stepen govornikovog uverenja u istinitost propozicije je niži, a distanca između deiktičkih tačaka, referentne i locirane tačke je relativno velika. O udaljenosti između izvora znanja, tj. referentnog sveta i objekta znanja, odnosno, izraženog sveta, možemo govoriti u smislu govornikovog uverenja, opredeljenosti ili jačini njegovih uverenja u istinitost propozicionog sadržaja (Frawley 1992: 413). Stepenu udaljenosti dva sveta je obrnuto srazmeran govornikovom uverenju da će se izraženi svet, tj. stanje stvari aktualizovati, ostvariti; što je taj stepen udaljenosti viši, to je slabije govornikovo uverenje u aktualizaciju sadržaja propozicije.

Na osnovu definisanja epistemičke modalnosti posredstvom deiktičkih komponenti, dolazimo do zaključka da epistemička modalnost implicira semantičke ekstenzije evidencijalnosti, gramatičke kategorije kojom se u određenim jezicima markira izvor informacije i koja u engleskom jeziku ne postoji kao distinktivna morfološka kategorija. Stoga, otvara se pitanje identifikacije i statusa evidencijalnosti kao zasebne gramatičko-semantičke kategorije ili integrativne komponente epistemičke modalnosti u engleskom jeziku, o čemu još uvek ne postoji konsenzus među proučavaocima ove specifične gramatičke kategorije.

4. Teorija „obrazā i realizacija strategija negativne učtivosti

Polazeći prvenstveno od pragmatičkog shvatanja kooperativne komunikativne interakcije kao sredstva odražavanja društvenih odnosa u datoj govornoj zajednici i

uspostavljanja društvene harmonije (Brown i Levinson 1987: 56; Meier 1995: 382-383), a uz osvrt na sociolingvističke postavke o uticaju društvenih i kulturnih varijabli na jezičko ponašanje (Watts 2003: 20), učtivost u ovom radu definišemo kao kontekstualno uslovljen odabir komunikativnih strategija u cilju ostvarenja kooperativne interakcije, odnosno društvenog ekvilibrijuma. Brown i Levinson (1987) kooperativnu interakciju definišu na osnovu tri koncepta: obraz (*Face*), činovi koji ugrožavaju obraz (*Face threatening acts*) i strategije za očuvanje i odbranu obraza (*Facework*).

Obraz predstavlja apstraktni koncept kojim se odlikuje uzoran govornik (*Model Person*) kao učesnik interakcije. Reč je, zapravo, o dijadnom konstrukt koji odražava potrebe koje učesnici komunikativnog događaja pripisuju jedno drugom i koje se konstruišu u procesu interakcije. U skladu sa dva tipa potreba, potrebom za divljenjem, odobravanjem i poštovanjem od strane drugih pripadnika društvene zajednice, i potrebom za ličnim prostorom i autonomijom, Brown i Levinson (1987: 62) su ustanovili dva tipa obraza – pozitivni i negativni, što je dalje doprinelo podeli činova koji ugrožavaju obraz na one koji ugrožavaju pozitivan ili negativan obraz, i strategija na strategije pozitivne i strategije negativne učtivosti.

Pod pojmom čina koji ugrožava obraz pomenuti autori smatraju svaku komunikativnu nameru u verbalnoj ili neverbalnoj komunikaciji koja svojom unutrašnjom strukturom, formalnim obeležjima ili pragmatičkim efektima narušava ili dovodi u opasnost potrebu govornika ili slušaoca (Brown i Levinson 1987: 65).

Pri izvršenju čina, a u cilju očuvanja i zaštite obraza sagovornika, kao i sopstvenih potreba, govornik ima na raspolaganju čitav arsenal strategija za ublažavanje i izbegavanje potencijalne pretnje koju određeni govorni čin može sadržati. Strategije pozitivne učtivosti umanjuju pretnju po obraz uverenjem sagovornika da su neke njegove potrebe poželjne za govornika i uključuju tvrdnje o zajedničkim stavovima, interesima i brizi o sagovorniku (iv), shvatanjima i zajedničkom pripadničtvu istoj grupi između govornika i sagovornika (v), kao i strategije izražavanja optimizma i uspostavljanja saradnje (vi).

(iv) *You **must be** hungry, it's a long time since breakfast.*

(v) *...and your Lordship **may think** ("I think that she indulged...") that she indulged to some extent in fantasy.*

(vi) ***You'll** lend me your lawnmower for the weekend, won't you?*

Sa druge strane, strategije negativne učtivosti su usmerene ka očuvanju potreba sagovornika za autonomijom ličnosti i slobodom delanja i podrazumevaju izbegavanje direktnih strategija, uvažavanje i ukazivanje poštovanja sagovorniku putem formalnosti (vii), rezervisanog stava (viii) i uspostavljanja distance između učesnika komunikativnog događaja (ix).

- (vii) *I wonder if **I could leave** a message for her.*
 (viii) ***It may not be** perfect, but at least it has some of the qualities.*
 (ix) *If you feel you would rather have a flat, we will enquire, but **I think it would be** cheaper to stay with somebody ...*

Posmatrajući teoriju učtivosti u kontekstu deikse, možemo reći da odnos govornik-sagovornik korelira sa deiktičkim centrom, sa primarnim fokusom na potrebama sagovornika, što bi moglo da sugerise potencijalni nedostatak teorije učtivosti u smislu rekonstrukcije teorije u vidu inkorporiranja strategija za očuvanje „obrazu“ govornika kao centralne figure komunikativnog događaja definisane kao **Model Person**.

5. Analiza pragmatičkih efekata epistemičkih modalnih operatora u funkciji strategija negativne učtivosti

Analiza korpusa je zasnovana na jedinstvenoj teorijskoj sintezi tumačenja epistemičke modalnosti sa stanovišta deikse i funkcionalne lingvistike, uz osvrt na pragmatičke efekte učtivosti i distance. Korpus primera je sačinjen na osnovu intervjua u popularnom diskursu vodećih ženskih časopisa na engleskom jeziku, kao što su *Vanity Fair*, *Female First*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Marie Claire*, *Ask Men*. Odabir intervjua je uslovljen dijaloškom, interaktivnom formom intervjua, kao simulirane neposredne komunikativne situacije.

Cilj analize je da, u svetlu funkcionalne lingvistike, pokažemo da epistemički modalni operatori eksplicitno enkodiraju govornikov stav prema sadržaju propozicije u smislu epistemičke kvalifikacije njihove opredeljenosti prema istinitosti propozitivnog stava, čime se sugerise aktivno učešće govornika u komunikativnom događaju i ostvaruje interpersonalna funkcija jezika (Verstraete 2001: 1507). Stoga, markere epistemičke modalnosti u ovom radu tretiramo kao mehanizam kojim govornik uspostavlja distancu, otklon prema sadržaju iskazane propozicije i njenoj aktualizaciji (Frawley 1992: 421; Trbojević 2004: 35).

U našem korpusu evidentirani su sledeći tipovi jezičkih konstrukcija sa epistemičkim modalnim operatorima posredstvom kojih govornici ostvaruju efekat distance:

- **Distalni modali *would/could* + subj. + glagol u indirektnim pitanjima**
 (1) *And just finally, Pierce Brosnan's mentioned the idea of Mama Mia 2. **Would you be willing to sign on** if they said yes?*

- (2) *You are Britain's most successful female canoeist ever, so **how would you sum up** your career when you look back on it now?*
- (3) *One investment that looks like a buy-low opportunity are the Los Angeles Dodgers. **Could you see** yourself owning the franchise and reviving them?*
- (4) ***Would you mind if we talked** exclusively about curse words?*
- (5) *So how did you find stepping into the musical world? Is it something that you have enjoyed and **would possibly try** again?*
- (6) ***I was going to say, wouldn't** that make you either angry or so introverted that you **couldn't function**?*
- (7) *How **would you describe** your style?*
- (8) *What advice **would you have** for guys who are still on the fence in their relationships?*

- **Ograde – Epistemičko May/Might sa koncesivnim značenjem/Would+glagol/Perhaps/Maybe**

- (9) *It has experienced its ups and downs, **as you might imagine**, because it's a forest products-based economy, largely.*
- (10) ***I wouldn't say** we have a great deal to do in Batman, and I don't physically work with him in the Hillcoat movie...*
- (11) ***I wouldn't say** that I am making a transition into movies, but I am stretching my wings in the thing that I always imagined I would end up doing.*
- (12) *You've proven you can do it, so **you would think** your track record **would** speak for itself.*
- (13) *You **may be** reserved, but **I wouldn't call** you shy.*
- (14) ***Maybe** we **could have embraced** it a little bit, **I would have liked to have seen** some of the Scottish players in there, great characters as are the Northern Irish.*
- (15) ***Some may see** Harry's behaviour as letting off a bit of steam – others in the Army will not.*
- (16) *That **may sound** horrible but I don't mean it to be, it's just the sheer weight of her talent...*
- (17) *The Brangelina wedding **may not have materialised** this weekend, but another pair of tabloid sweethearts has declared to they're ready to make their romance official.*
- (18) *Was it at any point necessary to do Eklund management, to have him as a resource, but **perhaps** not allow him to interfere?*

- **Evidencijalna modalnost (Glagoli mišljenja i kognicije + „that“ klauza/ markeri senzorne modalnosti (perceptualni glagoli/katenativni glagoli seem i appear)/reportativi)**

- (19) *Do you think that having such a strong personality works against women sometimes?*
- (20) *After having done six series of Britain's Got Talent, do you think there'll be any acts left out there that will be able to shock you?*
- (21) *Do you think that inspiration will be the real legacy of the Games, not the facilities?*
- (22) *So, that, I guess, was maybe not surprising because that's the way I've always felt about the people of Forks is that they're great people.*
- (23) *You sound so passionate about the area and that seems to be the way most people feel who are from New Orleans and the surrounding communities.*
- (24) *This sounds like a good date movie.*
- (25) *And what about X-man 3? We've also heard there's somebody not coming back.*
- (26) *And speaking of rumours, we had heard that Michael Chiklis was in the running for a role in Fantastic Four?*
- (27) *We heard a rumour today that you might be mentoring on the X Factor this year...*
- (28) *I read there's actually someone in Forks who gets mistaken for Bella.*
- (29) *But to an outsider, it's sometimes difficult to understand why no one seems to want to leave.*
- (30) *A movie cast, and I'm sure it's the same with TV as well, seems a lot like a baseball team when it comes to camaraderie.*

- **MUST sa značenjem epistemičke nužnosti u deklarativnim klauzama sa upitnom intonacijom**

- (31) *You do look like you're having fun! The video shoot must have been a tiring day, though...*
- (32) *That must've helped you in your preparation for the dramatic acting, too, right?*
- (33) *It must have been a natural choice to become one of the company's ambassadors, then.*

6. Diskusija

Istraživanja upućuju na značajnu rasprostranjenost upotrebe epistemičkih modalnih operatora kao različitih diskursnih strategija, između ostalog i strategija pozitivne i negativne učtivosti (Coates 1983; Palmer 1986; Turnbull i Saxton 1997; Nuyts 2001). U fokusu ovog istraživanja su strategije negativne učtivosti koje služe kao „nadoknada“ ili „iskupljenje“ za sve one govorne činove kojima govornik

nameće obavezu sagovorniku ili ga stavlja pod pritisak da izvrši dati čin, očekuje sagovornikovu zahvalnost ili pokazuje težnju ka posedovanju sagovornikovih materijalnih dobara ili karakternih osobina. Brown i Levinson (1987: 131) navode deset tipova podstrategija negativne učtivosti, a mi smo u našem korpusu evidentirali sledeće tipove – strategije konvencionalne indirektnosti (1-8), pitanja/ograda, kojima se minimalno pretpostavljaju potrebe sagovornika (9-19), ukazivanje poštovanja/izbegavanje nametljivosti (1, 4, 6, 14), opcionalnost – sagovornik ima izbor/mogućnost da ne izvrši čin (31-33), obezličavanje i pasivizacija (33).

Epistemička modalnost se u okviru strategija negativne učtivosti javlja kao glavni marker konvencionalne indirektnosti, nezavisno od toga da li su intervjuisane ličnosti glumci, pevači, sportisti, reditelji, književnici, stariji ili mlađi, manje ili više poznati, pri čemu doprinosi promeni ilokucione sile određenog iskaza, ostvarujući efekat distance, učtivosti i ukazivanja izvesnog stepena poštovanja prema sagovorniku. U cilju izbegavanja direktnih strategija, govornik u engleskom jeziku prvenstveno koristi hipotetičke distalne modale *could* i *would* (1, 2, 3, 7, 8), jer se promenom vremena iskaza, premeštanjem iz sadašnjosti u prošlost, odnosno, upotrebom distalnih modalnih glagola ublažava ilokuciona sila iskaza (Coates 1983: 212) i jačina govornikovog zaključivanja, tj. ostvaruje distanca prema istinitosti propozicije (Quirk 1985: 220; James 1982 citirano u Frawley 1992: 353).

Takođe, stepen distance se može povećati upotrebom distalnih modala u harmoničnim kombinacijama sa modalnim pridevima/prilozima ili modalizovanom upotrebom prošlog vremena (4, 5, 6, 14). S obzirom na deiktičku prirodu kategorije glagolskog vremena i modalnosti, sasvim je opravdana činjenica da vremenska distanca može poslužiti kao zamena za modalnu distancu (Frawley 1992: 416). Sadašnje vreme se dovodi u vezu sa neposrednim dokazima jer sadašnjost zapravo enkodira nedostatak vremenske udaljenosti između referentnog i lociranog vremena. Sa druge strane, prošlo vreme se vezuje za udaljavanje, distanciranost, te se ono prevashodno upotrebljava za ublažavanje jačine dokaza (Frawley 1992: 417). Stoga, nameće se zaključak o preklapanju pomenutih gramatičkih kategorija pri markiranju stepena govornikove opredeljenosti prema verovatnoći aktualizacije stanja stvari predstavljenog propozicionim sadržajem.

Uz konvencionalnu indirektnost, strategijama negativne učtivosti pripadaju i ograde (*hedges*). Ograde služe ublažavaju ilokucione sile iskaza i počivaju na kršenju Grice-ovih maksima kooperativnog principa (Brown i Levinson 1987: 146). Govornik upotrebom ograda izbegava obavezivanje prema istinitosti propozicije i udaljava se od aktualizacije sadržaja izrečene propozicije (Brown i Levinson 1987: 151-153; Turnbull i Saxton 1997: 155). Autori poput Coates (1983) i Palmer (1979) ističu hipotetičke upotrebe glagola *would* u funkciji ograde prilikom izricanja stavova (10, 11, 12), kao i koncesivnog značenja glagola *may/might* (9, 13, 15, 16), čijom upotrebom govornik ublažava svoje tvrdnje dopuštajući mogućnost istinitosti

suprotnih tvrdnji. Takođe, modalne partikule *maybe/perhaps* se sinonimno upotrebljavaju kao način markiranja stepena uverenosti/pouzdanosti govornika u odnosu na istinitost sadržaja iskaza (14, 18).

Deiktički aspekt markiranja distance se manifestuje posredstvom evidencijalne modalnosti, odnosno udaljavanjem od izvora informacije, tj. govornika kao referentne tačke. U okviru korpusa identifikovana su tri mehanizma udaljavanja govornika od sadržaja iskaza koji nije prezentovan kao činjenica – spekulacija, senzorna percepcija i kvotacija² (Palmer 1986: 51). Posredstvom spekulacije, govornik sadržaj izrečene propozicije posmatra kao mogućnost i ostvaruje distancu upotrebom nefaktivnih glagola mišljenja i stava: *think, consider, guess, assume, believe*, koji ne impliciraju istinitost/neistinitost propozicije, već njenu moguću istinitost/neistinitost (Trbojević 2004: 88). Upotrebom ovih glagola koji uvode propoziciju, govornik zauzima otklon prema sopstvenim stavovima, ne opredeljuje se ni prema istinosti ni prema neistinosti, već, umesto direktnog izricanja, svoje stavove vidi kao stavove ili mišljenje sagovornika. U našem korpusu dominira glagol *think* kojim se govornik ne opredeljuje prema istinitosti propozicije, već spekulativno ispituje stavove i mišljenja sagovornika (19-21).

U slučaju senzorne modalnosti realizovane posredstvom perceptualnih glagola *hear* i *sound*, izvor informacije je lociran u govorniku koji posredstvom čula dolazi do iste, te se njegova distanca u odnosu na sadržaj propozicije povećava, jer čula nisu nepogrešiva (23-26). S obzirom na činjenicu da upotrebom ovih oblika govornik izbegava upućivanje direktnog pitanja/komentara, konstrukcije sa perceptualnim glagolima se mogu tumačiti kao potencijalno učtive u odgovarajućem kontekstu. Katenativni glagoli *seem* i *appear* (29, 30) u engleskom jeziku takođe imaju funkciju lingvističkih markera distance, s obzirom na njihovu blisku semantičku povezanost sa perceptualnim glagolima (Trbojević 2004: 93-95).

Kada je reč o kvotaciji, izvor informacije nije govornik, što implicira izmeštanje deiktičkog centra. Centar je van govornika koji uspostavlja distancu izricanjem nefaktivnih iskaza čiji izvor može biti neka druga osoba. Najčešći vid manifestacije ovakvih iskaza predstavlja navođenje tuđih reči ili glasina (27, 28).

Za razliku od epistemičke modalnosti, posredstvom koje govornik izražava stepen uverenja u aktualizaciju stanja stvari izraženog propozicijom kao mogućeg u višem ili nižem stepenu, zauzimajući na taj način otklon prema istinitosti propozicije ili udaljavajući se od iste, kod evidencijalne modalnosti reč je o nefaktivnim iskazima u kojima se govornik udaljava od činjeničnog stanja koje bi bilo ekvivalentno referentnom svetu.

² Prema eng. *quotation* – navođenje tuđih reči i *quotative* – iskaz kojim se navode tuđe reči (Trbojević 2004: 36)

Iako se deklarativne rečenice smatraju nemodalizovanim iskazima kojima se saopštava činjenično stanje stvari (Huddleston 2005: 174), moguće je da se, u određenim kontekstima, ovi tipovi rečenica jave kao nosioci određenog stepena distance. U našem korpusu, deklarativne rečenice se javljaju u dva oblika – kao implikacije pitanja bez upitne intonacije i adekvatne interpunkcije ili kao implikacije pitanja sa interpunkcijskim znakom upitnika, a potvrdnim redom reči. U oba slučaja, unutrašnji kontekst iskaza, prisustvo modalnog operatora *must* sa značenjem epistemičke nužnosti koji implicira najjači stepen govornikovog uverenja u istinitost propozicije (Palmer 1979: 43) doprinosi postizanju efekta distance. Govornik traži slaganje sagovornika tj. potvrdu sopstvenih stavova, izbegava direktno upućivanje pitanja, sugerise da je sagovornik u boljoj poziciji u odnosu na njega i na neki način ukazuje izvesno poštovanje prema datom sagovorniku (31-33). Uglavnom se javljaju u razgovorima o privatnom životu, škakljivim pitanjima, i uopšte temama prema kojima sam govornik ima rezervisan stav. S obzirom da deklarativne konstrukcije ovog tipa indirektno impliciraju direktna pitanja, odnosno, direktno izvršenje čina, a nisu stekle poziciju u opštoj upotrebi, za njih se može reći da imaju status nekonvencionalizovanih indirektnih govornih činova.

7. Zaključak

U ovom radu smo pokušali da uspostavljanjem jedinstvenog pragmatičko-semantičkog teorijskog okvira zasnovanog na principima funkcionalne lingvistike ukažemo na interpersonalne funkcije jezika ostvarene upotrebom epistemičkih modalnih operatora. Pored analize deiktčkih odlika epistemičke modalnosti, jedan od ciljeva analize pragmatičkih funkcija markera epistemičke modalnosti je bio da istaknemo potrebu za dopunjavanjem i rekonstrukcijom teorije „obrazā koja se pokazuje neadekvatnom i nedovoljnom kada je reč o strategijama za zaštitu govornikovih potreba, s obzirom na orijentisanost funkcionalnog pristupa, teorije deikse i same teorije učtivosti na ličnost govornika.

Na osnovu rezultata sveobuhvatne kvalitativne analize epistemičkih modalnih operatora kao markera distance u okviru korpusa primera popularnog diskursa, možemo zaključiti da sama forma interakcije, forma standardizovanog intervjua ne utiče na izbor strategija učtivosti, kao ni na stepen distance koji bi zapravo predstavljao konstantnu vrednost i odliku novinarskog govornog stila. Nije utvrđena nikakva pravilnost u upotrebi posebnih tipova strategija u odnosu na temu razgovora, a rezultati sugerisu da u ovoj vrsti interakcije društvene varijable statusa, starosti, porekla, profesije, ne igraju značajnu ulogu.

Osim prethodno navedenih pragmatičkih implikacija, ovo istraživanje može poslužiti kao temelj istraživanja interaktivnog odnosa gramatičkih kategorija epi-

stemičke modalnosti i evidencijalnosti, o čemu svedoče brojna istraživanja ovog fenomena u tipološkim i kontrastivnim studijama engleskog i drugih jezika. Rezultati ovog istraživanja impliciraju status evidencijalnosti kao integrativne komponente epistemičke modalnosti i njen uticaj ne samo na propozitivni sadržaj iskaza, već i na epistemičku evaluaciju u celini, dok u širem, sociolingvističkom smislu, sugerisanje izvora informacije, odnosno upućivanje na neposredne ili posredne dokaze na kojima se temelji sadržaj propozicije može uticati na konstrukciju ne samo govornikovog identiteta, već i kolektivnog mišljenja i identiteta govorne zajednice kojoj dotični govornik pripada.

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DEICTIC FEATURES OF EPISTEMIC MODAL OPERATORS USED AS DISTANCE MARKERS IN ENGLISH

Summary

The paper deals with qualitative analysis of epistemic modal operators used as distance markers in English. Within the realm of functional linguistics and deictic interpretation of epistemic modality, the aim of the article is to identify and classify epistemic modal operators in English, along with an emphasis on the pragmatic aspects of their usage as distance markers and negative politeness facework, functioning to protect both personal and social autonomy of the speaker. The results highlight a wide range of epistemic modal operators as means of establishing distance between the speaker and propositional content or the interlocutor, including central and distal modal verbs, modal particles, perceptive and cognitive verbs. Furthermore, we emphasise the possibility of epistemic modal operators to imply evidential semantic extensions in certain contexts due to their deictic features, which can represent a starting point for prospective studies of the complex interrelation of epistemic modality and evidentiality.

Key words: epistemic modality, deixis, politeness, distance, evidentiality

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SVOJSTVA HIBRIDNOG SRPSKO-ENGLESKOG JEZIKA MEĐU SRPSKOM DIJASPOROM U KANADI: NACRT ZA ISTRAŽIVANJE

Ovaj članak je kraća verzija poglavlja o metodama istraživanja u sklopu doktorske disertacije čija je izrada u toku. U njemu se daje prikaz metoda koje se koriste u proučavanju srpsko-engleskog ili englesko-srpskog hibridnog jezika koji upotrebljavaju pripadnici srpske dijasporu u Kanadi, prvenstveno u Vankuveru. Prvu fazu istraživanja čini pregledanje pisanih izvora na srpskom jeziku, od kojih su najvažniji i najobimniji novine *Kišobran* koje su 15 godina izlazile u Vankuveru. Time će se steći početna slika leksičkih, pragmatičkih, ortografskih, morfoloških i sintaksičkih svojstava sergliša. Drugu fazu čine upitnik i intervju sa pripadnicima generacije 1,5 i druge generacije imigranata. Podaci dobijeni intervjuom i upitnikom korpusu će dodati govornu komponentu na osnovu koje će se izvesti zaključci o fonološkim karakteristikama jezika, kao i sociolingvističku sliku ove grupe, a zadaci u upitniku ispituju znanje i upotrebu srpskog jezika na navedenim nivoima.

Ključne reči: sergliš, generacija 1,5, druga generacija, bilingvizam, hibridni jezik, Vankuver, Kanada, dijaspora

1. Uvod

Uticaj engleskog jezika na jezik srpskih iseljenika na engleskom govornom području je relativno malo proučavan. Doktorska disertacija Jovane Dimitrijević (2005) i niz članaka Jovane Dimitrijević Savić (2004, 2008a, 2008b, 2010) bave se jezikom pripadnika srpske dijasporu u Australiji, dok radovi Jelene Savić (1995, 1996) istražuju hibridni jezik srpskih iseljenika u Americi. Mnogo manje je istražena lingvistička i sociolingvistička situacija među predstavnicima srpske dijasporu u Kanadi (Dimitrijević Savić 2012; Trenčić 2012). Pre toga je Milan Surdučki (1978)

dao lingvistički opis jezičkog kontakta između engleskog i srpskohrvatskog jezika među Srbima i Hrvatima iseljenicima u Kanadi, usredsređujući se na rečnik i morfološku analizu.

Sociolingvistička istraživanja pokazuju da migracija dovodi do novog sistematskog načina govora (Auer 2005). Bilingvali u dijaspori žive između dva sveta i dva jezika i prirodno je da to stanje izražavaju kroz govor. U ovom radu se razmatraju svojstva hibridnog srpsko-engleskog ili englesko-srpskog jezika koji se upotrebljava među pripadnicima novije generacije srpske dijasporu u Kanadi, posebno u Vankuveru. Namera je da se na osnovu podataka dobijenih ovim istraživanjem izvedu generalizacije u pogledu jezičkih svojstava ovog hibridnog jezika. Istraživanje obuhvata i aktivnu i pasivnu upotrebu govornog i pisanog jezika¹ na semantičko-pragmatičkom, morfološkom, sintaksičkom, grafološkom i fonološkom nivou. Na grafološkom nivou, ispituje se način pisanja reči (upotreba velikog i malog slova, odvojeno i sastavljeno pisanje reči, upotreba dijakritičkih znakova, upotreba ćirilice i latiničnog pisma i interpunkcija); na morfološkom planu, ispituje se način obrazovanja gramatičkih oblika imenica, glagola i prideva, kao i način tvorbe novih reči; na fonološkom, izgovor pojedinačnih glasova i reči; na sintaksičkom nivou cilj je da se utvrde načini formiranja rečenica, pogotovu redosled rečeničnih elemenata i tematska organizacija; na semantičko-pragmatičkom nivou ispituju se značenje reči i novine u njihovoj upotrebi, uključujući novonastala značenja, širenje i sužavanje značenja, metaforičko i metonimijsko prenošenje značenja, kao i obrazovanje kolokacija.

2. Elementi istraživanja

U pogledu naziva ovog jezika, autorka je prihvatila predlog Biljane Mišić Ilić (2011), koja navodi dva varijeteta datog hibridnog jezika koji se razlikuju po sociolingvističkim i lingvističkim kriterijumima. Da razgraniči dva varijeteta ovog hibridnog jezika, Mišić Ilić (2011) predlaže korišćenje termina **anglosrpski** i **sergliš**. **Anglosrpski** je naziv koji su uveli Vasić, Prčić i Nejgebauer (2001), a posebno definisao i opisao Prčić (2011). Termin **sergliš** je slivenica koja se prevashodno koristi među iseljenicima, a pripovetkom *Govorite li serglis?* Nebojše Milosa-

¹ Raspravljajući o tipovima dvojezičnosti, Baetens Beardsmore (1982) navodi pojam *receptivnog* i *produktivnog bilingvizma*. Receptivni bilingvizam (u literaturi se takođe sreće i termin pasivni bilingvizam) je situacija u kojoj osoba koja svoj drugi jezik razume u pisanom i/ili govornom obliku, ali ne mora biti u stanju da ga govori ili da piše na tom jeziku. Produktivni bilingvizam, nasuprot tome, odnosi se na situaciju u kojoj osoba ne samo da razume dva ili više jezika, nego ih i govori i možda i piše na njima. Koncept receptivnog i produktivnog bilingvizma odgovara konceptu receptivnih i produktivnih jezičkih veština u nastavi jezika.

vljevića (2012) ušao je i u književnost. Na osnovu jednog od sociolingvističkih parametara, Mišić Ilić (2011) predlaže da se **sergliš** koristi da označi varijetet koji se koristi među pripadnicima srpske dijaspor na engleskom govornom području (SAD, Kanada, Australija, i Novi Zeland²), a **anglosrpski** onaj koji koriste govornici koji žive na srpskim govornim područjima. Ostali sociolingvistički kriterijumi kojima se rukovodi Mišić Ilić (2011) su status engleskog i srpskog jezika tamo gde se govori određeni varijetet (zvanični ili strani jezik, odnosno jezik porekla), ko su govornici koji koriste određeni varijetet (stanovnici zemalja srpskog govornog područja ili iseljenici u zemlje engleskog govornog područja), motivacija za korišćenje engleskog jezika ili anglicizama, motivacija za korišćenje srpskog, stepen dvojezičnosti govornika koji koriste određeni varijetet, situacije u kojima se određeni varijetet koristi, stav govornika prema srpskom jeziku, razlozi za nastajanje određenog varijeteta i koliko je određeni varijetet razumljiv prosečnim izvornim govornicima srpskog jezika. Lingvistički parametri koje navodi Mišić Ilić (2011) su: medijum (usmena ili pisana komunikacija), ortografija i pisanje (ćirilica ili latinica, sa dijakritičkim znacima ili bez njih), fonologija i izgovor, morfologija, sintaksa fraze, sintaksa rečenice, leksika i semantika i pragmatika. Sledeći ove kriterijume i terminologiju, varijetet koji se ispituje u ovom radu je *sergliš*, hibridni jezik koji koriste pripadnici srpske dijaspor.

2.1. Ispitanici

Izbor ispitanika vrši se prema sledećim demografskim kriterijumima: starost i vreme dolaska u Kanadu. Svi ispitanici su pripadnici „sledeće” generacije, odnosno deca osoba koje su se iselile u Kanadu devedesetih godina XX veka, kada je veliki broj ljudi emigrirao iz Srbije. Mnogi od njih imali su decu školskog, uglavnom ranog osnovnoškolskog uzrasta, dok su se drugima deca rodila po dolasku u Kanadu. Deca iz obe podgrupe odrasla su sa dva jezika: sa jezikom roditelja, koji se, kako se pretpostavlja, koristi kod kuće, i jezikom zemlje u kojoj odrastaju i školuju se. Pomenuta istraživanja uticaja engleskog jezika na srpski među srpskom dijasporom obuhvatala su iseljenike koji su dolazili u raznim talasima emigracije tokom dvadesetog veka, kao i prvu i drugu generaciju iseljenika. U ovom radu, autorka je odabrala da se usredsredi na poslednji veliki talas iseljavanja u Kanadu i to specifično na decu iseljenika i da, ispitavši svojstva srpskog jezika koji ta generacija koristi, utvrdi u kojoj meri i na koji način engleski jeik vrši uticaj na srpski. Clyne (1991: 76) navodi da postoji značajna međugeneracij-

² Mišić Ilić navodi SAD, Kanadu, Australiju i Novi Zeland, gde je srpska dijaspora svakako najbrojnija. Međutim, broj srpskih iseljenika u Južnoj Africi nije zanemarljiv: prema Vikipediji, ima ih preko 20 000, mada se nezvanično računa da ih ima i više desetina hiljada. Međutim, izgleda da hibridni jezik srpskih iseljenika u ovoj zajednici nije proučavan.

ska razlika u prepuštanju jezika³, to jest, da je generacijski faktor veoma značajan u procesu prepuštanja. Uobičajeno je da se pri tom misli na prvu i drugu generaciju (roditelji – doseljenici i njihova deca). Međutim, u literaturi, prvenstveno onoj koja se tiče nastave jezika, često se pominje podgrupa druge generacije, takozvana generacija 1,5. Generaciju 1,5 čine deca koja su na relativno ranom, predškolskom ili osnovnoškolskom, uzrastu došla s roditeljima na ovo englesko govorno područje, a drugu generaciju čine deca imigranata rođena i odrasla na ovom govornom području. Prema Marshallu (2010: 51), u akademskim krugovima pojam **generacija 1,5** „odnosi se na nekoga ko je došao u Kanadu na ranom uzrastu, ovde završio školovanje i živi na kulturnom prostoru negde između prve i druge generacije imigranata”. Jedan od ciljeva ovog istraživanja je da se ispita jezik koji koriste pripadnici ovih dveju, naizgled bliskih, a verovatno prilično različitih generacija. Na osnovu prikupljenih podataka upoređiće se razumevanje i korišćenje srpskog i engleskog od strane pripadnika obe grupe da bi se utvrdilo da li postoje razlike u razumevanju i upotrebi govornog i pisanog jezika, u kojoj meri kod jedne i druge grupe dolazi do mešanja kodova, u kojoj meri je došlo do prepuštanja jezika i koji faktori utiču na upotrebu jednog ili drugog jezika i na mešanje kodova.

2.2. *Identitet istraživača*

To što autorka pripada istoj zajednici i što ispituje upotrebu srpskog jezika u toj zajednici može da bude i olakšavajuća i otežavajuća okolnost. Moguća prednost činjenice da pripada istoj zajednici je ta da to može da pomogne u pronalaženju ispitanika (takozvani proces grudve snega). S druge strane, to što ispituje svojstva varijeteta srpskog jezika koji ispitanici govore može prouzrokovati nelagodnost i preterano obraćanje pažnje na to kako govore; osim toga, može se javiti strah da će im se tražiti greške u govoru i prebacivati im se mešanje dvaju jezika. Ova predubedenja mogu bitno da utiču na rezultate istraživanja i treba ih imati u vidu prilikom analize (Cameron 2001: 54). Takođe postoji mogućnost da neko odbije da bude subjekat u istraživanju pod izgovorom da ne govori srpski ili ga ne govori dovoljno dobro. Kako bi se izbegla ili bar ublažila negativna percepcija koju ljudi uglavnom imaju o zameni i mešanju kodova, važno je ispitanicima dati na znanje da su zamena i mešanje kodova u lingvistici prihvaćen diskursni stil, te da je cilj da se utvrde karakteristike jezika, a ne da se osuđuje način upotrebe.

³ Termin „prepuštanje jezika“ za „language shift“ predložio je T. Prčić u prepisci sa autorkom.

2.3. Etika

Pored praktičnih elemenata sprovođenja istraživanja, analize dobijenih podataka i izvođenja zaključaka, od značaja su i etičke implikacije rada sa pisanim izvorima i ispitanicima i toga kako se oni predstavljaju u dobijenim saznanjima.

U svrhu ispitivanja materijala iz zvaničnih publikacija, dobijeno je odobrenje vlasnika lista *Kišobran* koji je izlazio u Vankuveru od 1997. do 2012. godine, kao i elektronske kopije *Kišobrana* od februara 2008. do oktobra 2012, ukupno 41 broj.

Učešće ispitanika u intervjuu i u odgovaranju na pitanja i zadatke iz upitnika je dobrovoljno. Zbog toga je važno da ispitanici budu obavešteni o tome šta njihovo učešće podrazumeva. U tu svrhu, ispitanicima će se dati pismeno objašnjenje istraživanja (kratak opis cilja i procesa). Obaveza istraživača je da poštuje anonimnost ispitanika, pa će obaveštenje sadržati i potvrdu da su podaci iz intervju a i upitnika poverljivi i da će identitet ispitanika biti zaštićen u najvećoj mogućoj meri, odnosno da će biti poznat samo istraživaču, a da će se rezultati istraživanja sumirati i predstaviti kao grupni podaci. Takođe će biti naznačeno da je učešće dobrovoljno i da ispitanik može da odustane u bilo kom trenutku ukoliko to želi. Na kraju će se navesti podaci o tome kako mogu stupiti u kontakt sa autorkom ukoliko je potrebno ili ukoliko žele da saznaju rezultate istraživanja. Obaveštenje će biti na srpskom i engleskom. Pre početka intervju a ili rada na upitniku, ispitanicima će usmeno biti objašnjene sve bitne stavke iz obaveštenja, a zatim će im se dati da ga pročitaju i potpišu saglasnost za učešće u istraživanju i odobrenje da se dobijeni podaci koriste isključivo za potrebe ovog istraživanja.

3. Prikupljanje i obrada podataka

Kako je svrha ovog istraživanja da se ispituju struktura i modeli funkcionisanja sergliša na induktivan način i da se da prikaz ovog hibridnog jezika na osnovu rezultata istraživanja, autorka se opredelila za kvalitativnu metodu koja obuhvata analizu građe iz pisanih izvora i iz intervju a i upitnika.

3.1. Korpus

Materijal koji se koristi za analizu sergliša sastoji se iz dve celine. Prvu celinu, kojom je započeto istraživanje, čini korpus pisane, kako organizovane, tako i spontane, upotrebe jezika. Najznačajniji i najobimniji izvori podataka su zvanične lokalne štampane publikacije: srpske novine *Kišobran* i *Srpski poslovni imenik*. Pored toga, koristi se materijal iz dostupnih foruma i časakaonica na internetu, elektronske pošte, SMS poruka, blogova, društvenih mreža, te stranica Crkvenoškola.

skih opština Sveti Sava i Sveti Arhanđel Mihajlo u Vankuveru. Pregledan je ukupno 41 broj *Kišobrana* od februara 2008. do oktobra 2012. Priloge za *Kišobran* pisali su profesionalni novinari, kao i dopisnici i saradnici – amateri, koji su i sami čitaoci *Kišobrana*. Teme i žanrovi tekstova koji se pretražuju obuhvataju reč urednika, kulturu, medicinu, zdravlje i način života, sport, film, putopise, istoriju, recepte, horoskop i omladinsku rubriku. Forum sa kojeg se crpi materijal za istraživanje je forum srpske zajednice u Vankuveru na stranici *yahoo.com*, a materijal iz časakonica je sa stranice *serbiancafe.com*. Izvor podataka iz blogova je blog *Priče iz Vankuvera*. U korpus se uvršćuju primeri anglicizama – leksički, morfološki, grafološki i sintaksički – koji se u izvorima pojavljuju više puta, te se mogu smatrati ustaljenima, ali i oni koji predstavljaju hapakse, odnosno jednokratne tvorevine, koje su primeri zamene koda ili mešanja kodova. Takve tvorevine, kad se jednom pojave, imaju mogućnost da vremenom pređu u ustaljene pozajmljenice, pa su zbog toga interesantne za ovo istraživanje.

Drugu celinu korpusa čine upitnik i snimljeni intervjui sa ispitanicima. Za pronalaženje ispitanika u Vankuveru koristiće se princip grudve snega (Milroy i Gordon 2003) ili kako ga nazivaju Hammersley i Atkinson (1995), uzorkovanje putem mreže poznanstava⁴. Polazeći od mladih osoba koje poznaje preko svojih prijatelja i preko svoje dece, autorka se oslanja na širenje mreže putem njihovih preporuka svojim prijateljima i poznanicima kako bi pronašla 30–50 ispitanika ravnomerno podeljenih na generaciju 1,5 i drugu generaciju. Što se tiče godina starosti ispitanika, pripadnici generacije 1,5 su u kasnim dvadesetim i ranim tridesetim godinama i uglavnom su završili školovanje, rade ili su na postdiplomskim studijama. Pripadnici druge generacije uglavnom se još uvek školuju. Kako bi starosna i obrazovna struktura jedne i druge grupe bila što približnija, uzorak druge generacije ograničiće se na uzrast stariji od 17 godina, što predstavlja omladinu u završnom razredu srednje škole i one koji su završili srednju školu i rade ili nastavljaju školovanje na koledžu ili univerzitetu.

3.2. Metodologija

Namera je da se ispitanicima pruži prilika da otvoreno govore, da se njihovi odgovori ne svedu samo na odgovore na unapred pripremljena pitanja. Stoga će se u drugom delu istraživanja koristiti kvalitativni metod intervjua. Podaci dobijeni na ovaj način koristiće se za fonološku analizu sergliša, kao i za dopunu korpusa dobijenog iz pisanih izvora. Intervju je odabran jer pored podataka o govornom jeziku, pruža mogućnost da se istraže stavovi ispitanika o engleskom i srpskom jeziku i iskustva odrastanja i života u dvema različitim kulturama. Birajući između inter-

⁴ network sampling

vjua zatvorenog tipa, sa unapred određenim pitanjima i praćenjem stroge strukture i intervju otvorenog tipa, gde pitanja nisu unapred formulisana, odabran je kompromisan pristup. Pripremljena su pitanja koja predstavljaju smernice, a koristiće se da bi se usmeravao tok intervju, kako se ne bi previše rasplinio i postao haotičan. Svrha intervju u ovom istraživanju je da se ispitanici navedu da što slobodnije pričaju da bi time pružili što približniju sliku o tome kako se srpski i engleski koriste u govoru dve navedene generacije ispitanika i kako i u kojoj meri govornici mešaju i zamenjuju⁵ kodove, pa je namera da se pitanja koriste kako bi se probio led i dobili neki sociolingvistički podaci koji se neće tražiti u upitniku, a da dalji tok intervju određuju sami ispitanici, govoreći o svojim interesovanjima i iskustvima. Da bi se to postiglo, potrebna je fleksibilnost kako istraživača, tako i istraživačke metode da bi mogli da se slede važni tokovi ispitivanja koji mogu da iskrsku tokom intervju (Kvale i Brinkmann 2009; Mason 1996; Waterstone 2008). Važno je napomenuti da intervju nije idealan način da se izvuče prirodan govorni jezik konverzacije, samim tim što se, po prirodi intervju, očekuje da jedna osoba postavlja pitanja, a druga odgovara. Intervju karakteriše diskursna struktura koje nema u spontanoj konverzaciji (Milroy 1987). Pri tome je mala verovatnoća da će ispitanik postavljati pitanja, pa je teško dobiti sliku o nekim aspektima jezika kao što je formiranje upitnih rečenica. Za intervju kojim se želi postići prirodnost i otvorenost veoma je važno da se od prvog trenutka između ispitivača i ispitanika uspostavi poverenje (Richards 2009). Milroy i Gordon (2003) navode strategije koje istraživač može da koristi da bi podstakao prirodniji govor, tokom kojeg postoji mogućnost da se pojave konstrukcije i vidovi diskursa koji se inače ne pojavljuju tokom intervju. Jedna od strategija je da se povede razgovor o temama koje interesuju ispitanike jer o njima opuštenije razgovaraju. Druga je da se dinamika intervju promeni i da se vodi grupni intervju, sa jednim ispitivačem i dva ili više ispitanika ili čak sa više ispitivača. Što se tiče prve strategije, s obzirom da je srpska zajednica u Vankuveru relativno mala i da neke od mogućih ispitanika poznaje kao prijatelje svoje dece ili kao decu svojih prijatelja, autorka veruje da u tim slučajevima neće biti suviše teško navesti ih da slobodnije pričaju i svesti osećaj veštačkog razgovora na (naj)manju meru. J. Dimitrijević (2005: 118) navodi da nije imala uspeha s drugom strategijom jer ispitanici nisu dobro prihvatili intervju sa više učesnika. Umesto prirodnog razgovora, i dalje su se pridržavali forme intervju, čekajući svoj red da odgovore na pitanje, opominjući one koji bi se ubacili preko reda i izvinjavajući se zbog upadanja u reč, a ubeđivanje ispitivača da je slobodno učestvovanje dobrodošlo smatrali su pukim izrazom učtivosti. Međutim, pošto intervju sa više učesnika otvara mogućnosti slobodnijeg razgovora, nastojaće se da se organizuju takvi intervju sa osobama koje

⁵ Termin „code switching” se kod nas različito prevodi: zamena kodova, promena koda, prebacivanje kodova, preključivanje kodova, smenjivanje kodova.

se međusobno poznaju i druže. Pošto se radi o mladim ljudima, očekuje se da će biti manje sputani društvenim konvencijama i da će spontanije učestvovati u razgovoru. Intervjui će se snimati i trajaće 30–60 minuta. Pitanja koja će se koristiti kao smernice za vođenje intervjuja su relativno otvorenog tipa i sadržaće pitanja vezana za jezik i obuhvatiće stavove ispitanika o engleskom i srpskom, u koje svrhe, u kojim situacijama i koliko često koriste srpski i engleski (kod kuće, sa prijateljima, susedima, u školi, na poslu, sa rodbinom u Srbiji i u Kanadi) i koliko su često i na koji način u kontaktu sa srpskim jezikom. Pitanja o društvenim vezama odnosiće se na to da li su članovi sportskih klubova, folklornih društava ili drugih organizacija u okviru srpske zajednice. Ukoliko ispitanici pokažu interesovanje da o nekom od navedenih pitanja opširnije govore, to će se prihvatiti i podsticati, kao i digresije i teme koje ispitanici sami nametnu. Da se izbegne uspostavljanje striktnog odnosa ispitivač – ispitanik na samom početku intervjuja težiće se da se izbegne standardna forma pitanja. Prema iskustvu Richardsa (2009), započinjanje intervjuja rečima: „Recite mi/Objasnite mi...“ dobro funkcioniše u tu svrhu.

Po završetku intervjuja, ispitanicima će se dati upitnik koji će se sastojati iz dva dela.⁶ Prvi, sociolingvistički deo sadržaće pitanja o bitnim nelingvističkim faktorima kao što su lični podaci (ime, prezime, pol, zanimanje, datum rođenja, država u kojoj su rođeni i porodično stanje), zatim stepen obrazovanja ispitanika i njihovih roditelja, uzrast na kojem su došli u Kanadu ukoliko nisu rođeni ovde, koliko razreda su završili pre dolaska u Kanadu, da li u kući ima srpskih knjiga, novina i časopisa, da li se u kući gleda srpska televizija i sluša srpski radio, te da li su pohađali srpsku školu u Vankuveru i koliko dugo. Neka od pitanja su otvorenog tipa, na koja ispitanik treba da da kratak odgovor, dok su druga zatvorenog tipa, sa ponuđenim odgovorima, kako jednostavnim DA i NE, tako i rangiranim (na primer, stepen obrazovanja i uzrast pri dolasku u Kanadu).

Drugi, najduži deo upitnika usredsređen je na lingvističke aspekte. Ispitanicima će se dati zadaci koji obuhvataju ortografiju (velika i mala slova i interpunkciju), leksiku i pragmatiku (pojedinačne reči i kolokacije), morfologiju (rod, broj i padež imenica i prideva, glagolsko vreme i rod i tvorbu reči) i sintaksu (red reči u rečenici i tematsku organizaciju rečenice). Svaki zadatak sadrži, u rečeničnom kontekstu, 10–20 primera jedinice koja se ispituje. Ponuđeni odgovori su u vidu višestrukog izbora, spajanja jednog dela s drugim (na primer, spajanje komponenata kolokacija ili reči sa značenjem), ispravljanja grešaka, popunjavanja praznina i sastavljanja rečenica od izmešanih reči. Kako prilikom rešavanja zadataka ispitanici ne bi razmišljali o tome da li, i gde, greše, pitanja su formulisana tako da od ispitanika traže

⁶ Autorka smatra da je preporučljivije početi sa intervjuom jer je manje strukturiran i očekuje se da će ispitanici biti opušteniji kada predu na rešavanje pitanja u upitniku. Ukoliko bi se počelo sa upitnikom, postoji mogućnost da se ispitanici umore i izgube interesovanje, te da će intervju biti manje uspešan.

njihovo mišljenje i izbor oblika koji bi oni upotrebili, umesto da se izjašnjavaju koji odgovor smatraju tačnim ili šta u određenom zadatku nije dobro. Primeri koji se koriste u zadacima uzeti su iz građe dobijene analizom pisanih izvora, a koriste se i primeri upotrebe koji se često čuju u govoru srpske dijaspore u Kanadi.

4. Zaključci

U ovom radu prikazan je proces istraživanja i u glavnim crtama su opisane metode prikupljanja podataka za analizu sergliša, jezika koji koriste pripadnici srpske zajednice u Kanadi, posebno u Vankuveru. Namera je da ovo istraživanje da potpuniju sliku jezičke prakse na ovom govornom području, pogotovu među pripadnicima dece imigranata, navedene druge i generacije 1,5, te da otvori put daljim istraživanjima. Ono što se očekuje da će rezultati ovog istraživanja pokazati je da je uticaj engleskog na maternji jezik manji kod generacije 1,5 nego kod druge generacije, da do prepuštanja jezika dolazi u manjoj meri, te da je time zadržavanje maternjeg jezika kod generacije 1,5 jače.

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CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HYBRID SERBIAN-ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN THE SERBIAN DIASPORA IN CANADA: AN OUTLINE OF A RESEARCH PROJECT

Summary

This paper is a shorter version of a chapter on research methodology as part of a doctoral dissertation which researches the hybrid English-Serbian language used by the members of the Serbian community in Vancouver, Canada. The first stage of the research focuses on written sources, primarily Serbian-language newspaper *Kišobran*, which was published in Vancouver for 15 years. The information from these sources will provide an initial insight into the semantic, pragmatic, orthographic, morphological and syntactic characteristics of Serglish. The second stage consists of a questionnaire and interviews with generation 1.5 and second generation of Serbian immigrants. The data collected using these methods will add the phonological component to the corpus, as well as some sociolinguistic information about this population. The tasks in the questionnaire are aimed at examining the knowledge and use of Serbian at the mentioned levels.

Key words: Serglish, generation 1.5, second generation, bilingualism, hybrid language, Vancouver, Canada, diaspora

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PREVOĐENJE ENGLESKIH SPECIJALIZOVANIH SLOŽENIH LEKSEMA NA SRPSKI JEZIK I NJIHOVI PREVODNI OBRASCI

U radu su posmatrane 23 engleske terminološke složene lekseme kako bi bili ustanovljeni prevodni obrasci karakteristični za englesko-srpski transfer značenja u oblasti saobraćajnog inženjerstva. 16 obrazaca dobijenih analizom pokazuje da su moguće različite kombinacije elemenata u sastavu engleskih višechlanih leksičkih jedinica i njihovih srpskih ekvivalenata. U obrascima su predstavljeni uočeni redosledi elemenata pri prevođenju koje obezbeđuje očuvanje specifičnosti značenja leksema u specijalizovanim upotrebama. Rezultati istraživanja mogu da imaju teorijske i praktične implikacije. U teoriji prevođenja, obrasci mogu da budu deo osnove za ustanovljavanje pravila i strategija pri prevođenju terminoloških složenih jedinica, u prevodilaštvu da pomognu u procesu dolaženja do adekvatnih prevodnih ekvivalenata, a u nastavi engleskog jezika struke da olakšaju predavanje i usvajanje višechlanih leksema.

Ključne reči: engleske terminološke složene jedinice, srpski prevodni ekvivalenti, prevodni obrasci, saobraćajno inženjerstvo

1. Uvod

Sve je veći broj novih pojmova koji nastaju u brzom razvoju nauke i tehnike. Za njih je potrebno odrediti adekvatne termine. Stalno je prisutan i problem njihovog prevođenja. Kako je jedna od karakteristika naučnog i stručnog engleskog jezika česta upotreba višechlanih leksema, naučnici i stručnjaci u različitim oblastima, leksikografi i prevodioci suočavaju se s teškoćama pri traženju odgovarajućih ekvivalenata u drugim jezicima. Studenti nefiloloških fakulteta, koji uče engleski kao strani ili drugi jezik, takođe imaju poteškoće pri usvajanju i prevođenju specijalizovanih složenih leksema.

U literaturi se za složene jezičke jedinice koriste sledeći termini: *višečlane leksičke jedinice* (*multi-word lexical units* – Zgusta 1971), *složene lekseme* (*compound lexemes* – Lyons 1977), i u skorije vreme *višečlani izrazi* (*multiword expressions* – Sag et al. 2002). Hadlston i Pulum (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1647) tvrde da su binominalne endocentrične složenice bez glagolskog elementa najproduktivniji tip nastajanja reči u engleskom jeziku, a Klajn (2002: 15) ukazuje na činjenicu da slovenski jezici, pa samim tim i srpski, imaju malu produktivnost kada je reč o složenicama. Verovatno će se produktivnost stvaranja složenica u srpskom jeziku vremenom povećavati. Iako razlike u strukturi dva posmatrana jezika postoje (smatra se da je engleski sintetički a srpski analitički tip jezika), transfer značenja iz jednog u drugi jezik mora da bude precizno izražen. Rad ima za cilj da pokaže da semantika složenih leksema ukazuje da složene leksičke jedinice imaju klauzalnu prirodu u engleskom jeziku, i da je to u saglasnosti s načinom predstavljanja značenja višečlanih jedinica u prevodnim ekvivalentima u srpskom jeziku. Benveniste (1966: 92) definiše višečlane lekseme, *sinapsije* (od grčke reči *synapsis* – *a union* – *spoj*), na osnovu sedam osnovnih obeležja koja su uglavnom zasnovana na sintaksičkom odnosu između elemenata. Jespersen (Jespersen 1942: 134) i Marčand (Marchand 1969: 11) određuju **složenu leksemu** kao jedinicu koja predstavlja jedan termin iako su u njenom sastavu dva dela ili više delova. Ovakvo određenje složenih jedinica odgovara definiciji složenice Kverka i saradnika koja glasi „Složenica je leksička jedinica koju čini više od jedne osnove i koja funkcioniše i gramatički i semantički kao jedna jedinica“ (v. Quirk et al. 1985: 1567). Ova definicija će moći da posluži kao polazište u našoj analizi. Imajući u vidu činjenicu da se u radu traga za prevodnim obrascima, kriterijum koji ćemo uzimati u obzir biće, dakle, semantički u kombinaciji sa strukturnim.

2. Analiza korpusa

Korpus čine engleske složene lekseme s dva, tri i četiri elementa i njihovi srpski ekvivalenti. U radu neće biti posebno posmatran morfološki sastav elemenata analiziranih složenih leksema (o tom aspektu problema v. Dimković-Telebaković 2013: 51-58, Dimković-Telebaković 2014: 10-16), već ćemo pokušati da ustanovimo prevodne obrasce, koji pokazuju kako se ostvaruju semantički transferi između dva jezika. Razmatraćemo korpus koji čine 23 engleske složene lekseme. Engleske višečlane jedinice uglavnom su nastale postupkom primarne tvorbe, dok se srpske lekseme oblikuju kao najpogodniji prevodni ekvivalenti engleskih leksičkih jedinica. Analizirani termini su u upotrebi u oblastima telekomunikacionog, poštanskog, vazdušnog, drumskog, vodnog i železničkog saobraćaja, kao i u logistici (integralnom transportu). Primeri engleskih terminoloških složenih leksema iz ovih oblasti

odabrani su nasumce iz *Englesko-srpskog rečnika*, koji je sastavni deo udžbenika *English in Transport and Traffic Engineering* (Dimković-Telebaković 2009: 369-410), ali se nastojalo da njihov sastav bude raznovrstan kako bi se dobilo više tipova prevodnih obrazaca.

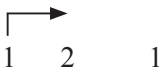
2.1. Engleske specijalizovane složene lekseme s dva elementa

Engleske terminološke složenice sastavljene od dve komponente mogu da se pišu kao jedna reč (*breakdown* – kvar, *carriageway* – kolovoz, *runway* – pista), dve reči sa crticom (*station-wagon* – karavan (tip kola), *up-link* – veza prema gore (ka satelitu), *first-in* – prva uneta roba, *first-out* – prva izneta roba, *take-off* – uzletanje, poletanje aviona), ili kao dve odvojene reči (*trunk call* – međumesni razgovor, *buffer coating* – zaštitni sloj (optičkog vlakna), *copper wiring* – bakarni vodovi, *driving gear* – pogonski zupčanik, *powering notch* – stepen regulacije, *bleeping sound* – zvuk obaveštenja o zelenom svetlu, *staggered crossing* – pešački prelaz sa središnjim razdelnim ostrvom). Navedeni primeri pokazuju da engleske složene jedinice s dva elementa daju u srpskom jeziku leksičke jedinice s jednim elementom, ukoliko se složenice u engleskom jeziku pišu kao jedna reč, ili jedinice s dva elementa ili više elemenata, ako se engleske složenice pišu kao dve reči. Lekseme s crticom u engleskom jeziku rezultiraju u leksičke jedinice s jednim elementom, ili dva ili tri elementa. Idealni prevod engleske složenice je jedna reč. Naša ranija istraživanja pokazala su da je karakteristika srpskog jezika česta upotreba relativnih klauza u ekvivalentima terminoloških leksema, što se može nazvati *deskriptivnom semantizacijom* (v. Dimković-Telebaković 2014: 11). Ova karakteristika srpskog jezika je u skladu s analitičkim tipom jezika, u koji se ubraja i srpski. Takođe je uočeno da su predložke fraze često prisutne, naročito kada se prevode engleske frazne složene lekseme (v. Dimković-Telebaković 2014: 15). To pokazuju gore navedeni primeri *zvuk obaveštenja o zelenom svetlu* i *pešački prelaz sa središnjim razdelnim ostrvom*.

Pokušaćemo da predstavimo neke od prevodnih obrazaca koji se javljaju između dva analizirana jezika pri prevodenju složenih leksema s dva elementa.

Prvi prevodni obrazac (1 2 → 1) dobija se u slučajevima kada dva elementa u engleskom daju jedan element u srpskom, što se može predstaviti kao u I.

I



1 2 1

breakdown = kvar
station-wagon = karavan
parking lot = parkiralište

Drugi obrazac ($1\ 2 \rightarrow 1\ 2$) javlja se kada imamo isti broj elemenata u oba jezika, kao u primerima navedenim u II. U ovom obrascu se prvo prevodi prvi element u nizu, pa drugi, pri čemu se prva komponenta prevodi u srpskom kao pridev.

II



1 2 1 2

copper wiring = bakarni vodovi

driving gear = pogonski zupčanik

control tower = kontrolni toranj

Treći prevodni obrazac ($1\ 2 \rightarrow 1\ 2\ 3$) ima u srpskom jednu komponentu više nego u engleskom jeziku, kako je prikazano u III. Semantika složenih leksema uslovala je uvođenje dodatne komponente, imenice *roba* u srpskom jeziku, koja je označena brojem manje veličine (3). I u ovom obrascu se pri prevođenju ide od prvog elementa ka drugom.

III



1 2 1 2 3

first-in = prva uneta roba

first-out = prva izneta roba

Sledeći obrazac ($1\ 2 \rightarrow 1\ 2\ 3$) sadrži pridev *razdelno*, drugi element u prevodnom ekvivalentu, kao dodatnu komponentu, što je prikazano u IV.

IV



1 2 1 2 3

central island = središnje razdelno ostrvo

Peti tip obrasca ($2\ 1 \rightarrow 1\ 2\ 3\ 4\ 5$) i šesti tip obrasca ($2\ 1 \rightarrow 1\ 2\ 3\ 4\ 5\ 6$) javljaju se u slučajevima kada dva elementa postaju pet ili šest elemenata, što je vidljivo iz primera u V i VI. Primeri pokazuju da se pri prevođenju ovih engleskih složenih leksema na srpski polazi od glavne reči (*head – sound* ili *crossing*) i ide unazad. Primeri takođe otkrivaju da je upotreba predloških fraza u prevodnim ekvivalentima karakteristična za srpski jezik. Predlozi (*o* i *sa*) su ovde dodatni elementi i obeležavaju se brojevima manje veličine (3). U obrascu V dodata su tri elementa

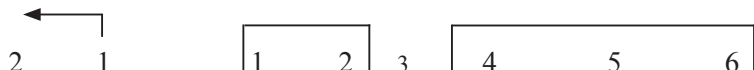
(3 4 5), dok se u obrascu VI iz semantičkih razloga povezuju elementi 1 2 i 4 5 6 u srpskom ekvivalentu ($\overline{1\ 2}$ i $\overline{4\ 5\ 6}$).

V



bleeping sound = zvuk obaveštenja o zelenom svetlu

VI

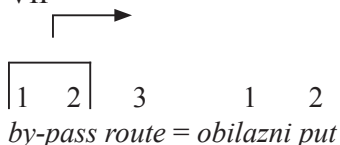


staggered crossing = pešački prelaz sa središnjim razdelnim ostrvom

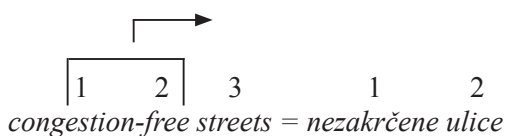
2.2. Engleske terminološke složene lekseme s tri i četiri elementa

Engleske specijalizovane složene lekseme s tri elementa mogu da daju obrazac sa samo dva elementa u srpskom jeziku, kao u VII. U primerima datim dalje u tekstu, prva dva elementa se spajaju jer imaju jedinstveno značenje (kao u *by-pass* i *congestion-free*) i prevode se pridevom.

VII



by-pass route = obilazni put



congestion-free streets = nezakrčene ulice

Engleske terminološke složene leksičke jedinice s tri i četiri komponente daju komplikovanije prevodne obrasce u srpskom jeziku. Obrazac VIII (1 3 2 → 1 2 3) ilustrujemo na sledeći način:

VIII



automatic train control = automatsko vođenje voza

automatic train protection = automatska zaštita voza

Obrazac IX ima strukturu $1\ 3\ 2 \rightarrow 1\ 2\ 3\ 4\ 5$, u kojoj se predlog *s* (3) i imenica *dejtvm* (5) javljaju u ekvivalentu kao dodatne komponente kako bi precizno označile značenje složene lekseme. U ovom i u prethodnom obrascu redosled prevodenja elemenata je od prvog u nizu ka poslednjem, pa onda središnjem.

IX



bucket continuous unloader = *vedrični istovarivač s neprekidnim dejstvom*

Obrazac X ($3\ 2\ 1 \rightarrow 1\ 2\ 3\ 4\ 5$) ima jedan element u srpskom ekvivalentu, označen malim brojem (3), koji se ne pojavljuje u engleskoj složenoj leksemi. To je predlog *s*. Značenje prvog i drugog elementa u ekvivalentu čini celinu (*saobraćajna nezgoda*), dok se samo *damage-only* prevodi kao *materijalna šteta*. Primer pokazuje koliko proces prevodenja zahteva znanja i veštine da bi se došlo do pravog smisla termina, odnosno koliko je lako pogrešiti. Smer prevodenja pojedinih elemenata je ovde od poslednjeg ka prvom.

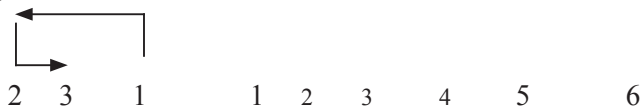
X



damage-only accident = *saobraćajna nezgoda s materijalnom štetom*

U sledećem obrascu ($2\ 3\ 1 \rightarrow 1\ 2\ 3\ 4\ 5\ 6$) postoje tri dodatne komponente koje se javljaju u ekvivalentu na srpskom jeziku, i to su $2\ 3\ 4$ (*s prenosom u*). U ovom obrascu i obrascu XII, prevodi se prvo poslednji element u nizu, zatim prvi i na kraju središnji.

XI



baseband systems = *sistemi s prenosom u osnovnom opsegu*

Obrazac XII ima kombinaciju elemenata ($2\ 3\ 1 \rightarrow 1\ 2\ 3\ 4\ 5$), gde je dodatni element predlog *za*.

XII



conveyor handling system = sistem transportera za premeštanje robe

Obrazac XIII (1 2 3 4 → 1 2) pokazuje da engleska složena leksema s četiri elementa može da da srpski prevodni ekvivalent s dva elementa. Smer prevođenja je od početka ka kraju složene lekseme, što je slučaj i u obrascima XIV i XV.

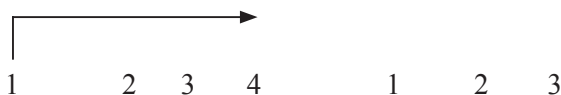
XIII



off-street car park = vanulično parkiralište

Moguć je broj elemenata u odnosu 4:3, što je prikazano u obrascu XIV (1 2 3 4 → 1 2 3).

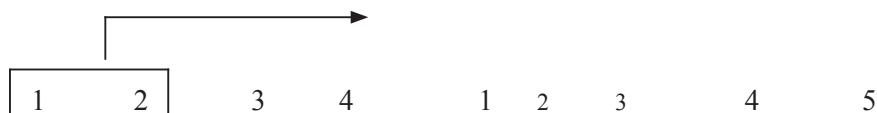
XIV



despatching office of exchange = početna pošta razmene

Četiri komponente u sastavu engleske složene lekseme mogu da daju pet elemenata u srpskom ekvivalentu, kao u obrascu XV (2 1 3 4 → 1 2 3 4 5). Ovaj obrazac pokazuje da nije uvek neophodno prevesti sve elemente iz engleske složene lekseme. Izostavljanje lekseme *conveyorised* pri prevođenju bilo je moguće, jer se značenje ove lekseme podrazumeva u kombinaciji sa *barge*. Međutim, dodavanje elemenata *sa sopstvenim* je bilo neophodno kako bi se tačno odredilo o kakvom se tipu potisnice radi.

XV



conveyorised barge loading system = potisnica sa sopstvenim utovarnim sistemom

Prevod engleske složene jedinice *cut and cover tunnel* je *tunel građen otvorenim iskopom*. Ustanovljeni prevodni obrazac može se predstaviti na sledeći način: 2 3 4 1 → 1 2 3 4, iz koga se jasno vidi da se pri prevodenju kreće od poslednjeg elementa, zatim se prevode prvi elementi u nizu. U ovom slučaju imamo isti broj komponenti u oba jezika. Potrebno je, međutim, istaći da značenje elemenata u engleskoj složenoj leksemi ne odgovara značenju pojedinih elemenata u prevodnom ekvivalentu. Primer pokazuje da se prevodenje s jednog jezika na drugi ostvaruje na osnovu smisla celine a ne na osnovu značenja pojedinačnih komponenti. Zato smatramo da Zgusta nije u pravu kada kaže da semantički kriterijum nije osnovni kriterijum za višočlane leksičke jedinice (up. Zgusta 1971: 144-148). Moguće je zaključiti da se pri prevodenju termina upravo polazi od značenja koje se izražava odgovarajućim strukturama, karakterističnim za jezik s kog se prevodi na ciljni jezik, tako da dobijeni obrasci u radu predstavljaju semantičko-strukturne obrasce.

XVI



2	3	4	1	1	2	3	4

cut and cover tunnel = *tunel građen otvorenim iskopom*

3. Zaključak

Na osnovu analize 23 engleske složene lekseme, ustanovljeno je 16 prevodnih obrazaca koji pokazuju kako se od engleskih višočlanih jedinica može doći do adekvatnih srpskih prevodnih ekvivalenata, koji precizno izražavaju značenje posmatranih engleskih složenih leksema. Obrasci pokazuju da se u srpskim prevodnim ekvivalentima često javljaju dodatni elementi (v. obrasce III, IV, V, VI, IX, X, XI, XII, XV i XVI), koji su najčešće predlozi (*za*, *sa*, *s*, *o*), odnosno predloške fraze (npr. *o zelenom svetlu*, *s prenosom u*), a mogu da budu i imenica (*roba* u obrascu III) i pridev (*razdelno* u obrascu IV). Ponekad se pri prevodenju engleske složene jedinice izostavlja neki element, kao na primer *conveyorised* u *conveyorised barge* u obrascu XV, jer drugi element u složenoj leksemi sadrži njegovo značenje u sebi. Dobijeni obrasci otkrivaju različitost struktura dva analizirana jezika. Uočeno je da engleski jezik ima tendenciju sažetog načina izražavanja značenja koji se postiže upotrebom složenih leksičkih jedinica, a da srpski jezik često koristi predloške fraze, deskriptivnu semantizaciju, što je u skladu s tipovima kojima pripadaju engleski i srpski jezik. Bilo bi dobro da nastavnici engleskog jezika struke i nauke ukazuju svojim studentima na moguć redosled pojedinih sastavnica složenih leksema pri

prevodenju, da usmeravaju studente ka traženju rešenja koja imaju smisla u ciljnom jeziku, u našem slučaju u srpskom jeziku, i da ih nauče da se termini ne prevode reč za reč, već da se prevodi smisao koji mora biti izražen odgovarajućim oblicima u srpskom jeziku. Uvažavanje pomenutih smernica se čini ispravnim postupkom i pri standardizovanju termina u različitim disciplinama. Analizirani prevodni obrasci našli su primenu u radu sa studentima Saobraćajnog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu, gde je uočeno da obrasci mogu da pospešuju usvajanje engleskih složenih leksema i olakšaju proces dolaženja do adekvatnih srpskih prevodnih ekvivalenata. Pozitivni rezultati dobijeni u praksi upućuju na dalja istraživanja koja će, moguće je, još više unaprediti nastavne i prevodilačke aktivnosti, i doprineti razvoju teorije prevodenja u ustanovljavanju pravila i strategija za prevodenje složenih leksičkih jedinica. Imajući u vidu činjenicu da se radi o leksemama koje su sve prisutnije u jezicima i koje stvaraju probleme kako u teoriji tako i u praksi, ozbiljno razmatranje pitanja vezanih za temu rada može biti višestruko korisno.

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TRANSLATING ENGLISH SPECIALISED COMPOUND LEXEMES INTO SERBIAN AND THEIR TRANSLATION PATTERNS

Summary

The aim of this paper was to establish translation patterns for only 23 English specialised compound lexemes as employed in traffic engineering fields. 16 patterns developed in this analysis show the exact number of components contained in the English terminological compound lexemes and their Serbian equivalents, and reveal possible sequences of elements in the process of translation. The results suggest that Serbian equivalents often have additional elements, normally prepositions, i.e., prepositional phrases, or sometimes nouns and adjectives, whose occurrence is caused by the semantics of English specialised compound lexemes and structural characteristics of the Serbian language. We therefore conclude that the translation patterns, set in this study, are semantico-structural patterns, and that they may have theoretical and practical implications, since they may help establish strategies for translating terminological compound lexemes and create adequate translation equivalents, as well as facilitate teaching and learning English specialised compound lexemes. We believe that these findings are also applicable to compound lexical units used in General English.

Key words: English terminological compound units, Serbian translation equivalents, translation patterns, traffic engineering

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POJMOVNE METAFORE U REKLAMAMA KOJE PROMOVIŠU BANKARSKJE USLUGE NA ENGLESKOM JEZIKU¹

U ovom radu predmet izučavanja su reklame na engleskom jeziku koje na inidirektan način promovišu bankarske usluge. Kognitivnolingvistička teorija pojmovne metafore predstavlja glavni teorijski okvir za razmatranje na koje načine i iz kojih razloga se usluge koje nude banke, kao što su štednja, krediti i kreditne kartice, promovišu na jedan specifičan, implicitan način. Cilj ovoga rada je da se ustanove pojmovne metafore koje dominiraju u pomenutom registru kao i da se ukaže na to koje karakteristike banaka se na ovaj način žele istaći. Očekuje se da će rezultati pokazati da je osnovni ciljni pojam u ovim reklamama pojam FINANSIJSKOG NEOSKUDEVANJA, tj. značajnih FINANSIJSKIH MOGUĆNOSTI koji banke pružaju, a da se on najčešće izražava kroz izvorne domene koji podrazumevaju poziciju ili kretanje ka NAPRED, zatim gornji deo vertikalne dimenzije (GORE), kao i ŽELJE ili SNOVE.

Ključne reči: bankarske usluge, pojmovne metafore, implicirano značenje, izvorni domen, ciljni domen

1. Uvod

U ovom radu predmet izučavanja su moderne reklame kojima se promovišu bankarske usluge na engleskom jeziku. Pokazalo se da su ove reklame veoma interesantne i provokativne budući da često ono što spada u domen banaka, kao što su krediti, kreditne kartice, štednja i sl. povezuju sa drugim, nepovezanim domenima iskustva. Na primer, banka se predstavlja kao vodič na putovanju, kao mađioničar, i slično. Otuda se analizi reklama pristupa iz kognitivnolingvističke perspektive (Lakoff i Johnson 1980/2003).

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Reklame imaju za cilj da privuku pažnju potencijalnih kupaca i predstave proizvode ili usluge u pozitivnom svetlu kako bi ih navele na kupovinu. Kao takve, uspešne reklame se zasnivaju na AIDA formuli (attention-interest-desire-action = pažnja-zainteresovanost-želja-delovanje, tj. kupovina) (Strong 1925). Ova formula označava četiri faze procesa prodaje: prvo bi trebalo skrenuti pažnju potencijalnih kupaca, zatim ih zainteresovati, tj. održati im pažnju, potom stvoriti im želju za proizvodom ili uslugom, a na kraju dolazi njihovo delanje, tj. kupovina, kojom bi trebalo da zadovolje svoje želje.

U moderno doba se pokazalo da su uspešne reklame gotovo po pravilu one u kojima je primenjena **blaža reklamna strategija** (eng. soft selling),² koja podrazumeva indirektno, suptilnije prenošenje poruke, tj. prikriveno ubeđivanje, za razliku od **žešće reklamne strategije** (eng. hard selling), koja podrazumeva otvoreno isticanje prednosti proizvoda i direktan poziv na kupovinu (videti u Cook 2001: 15).

Ovde izučavane reklame u domenu banaka su primer blaže reklamne strategije budući da na indirektnan način, pozivajući se na domene koji nisu povezani s domenom finansija ukazuju na finansijske dobitke koje banke omogućavaju svojim klijentima. Na primer, u reklami za banku Barclays, gde piše: *A rate to make your savings flourish* na slici je prikazana biljka kako raste, a umesto cveta na stabljici je dukat. Implicirano značenje ove reklame je sledeće: "U banci Barclays oročeni novac se brzo i sigurno uvećava, jer je kamatna stopa veoma povoljna, tj. visoka". Klikovac 2008: 131 ima na umu ovakve reklame kada kaže da one danas često uopšte i ne informišu, nego samo deluju na potencijalne kupce, i to često na njihove emocije i podsvest. I Silaški 2009: 931-932 pominje apelovanje oglašivača na osećanja potrošača. Tako, u modernim reklamama u kojima je primenjena blaža reklamna strategija daje se dovoljno elemenata na osnovu kojih primalac sam može izvesti pozitivnu poruku reklame. Klikovac 2008: 131 čak kaže da je jezik reklama toliko poseban da bi se mogao smatrati i posebnim funkcionalnim stilom. Drugim rečima, ovde izučavane reklame zasnivaju se na implikaturi, u čijoj je osnovi narušavanje Griceovog principa kooperativnosti (Grice 1975).³ U tom smislu Myers 1994: 76 ističe da je moć reklama upravo u onome što nije rečeno, u onome što je implicirano. Tako u pomenutoj reklami za banku Barclays prekršena je maksima istinitosti, jer novac ne može da cveta.

Glavna polazišna ideja u ovom radu je da su reklame koje promovišu bankarske usluge na jedan kreativan i indirektnan način tipično zasnovane na pojmovnim metaforama, pri čemu se na taj način, naravno, u prvi plan stavljaju pozitivne osobine banaka, kao što su pouzdanost, visoke kamate na štednju i druge različite

² Silaški 2009: 931-932 govori o „mekim” tehnikama reklamiranja.

³ O narušavanju ovog principa u reklamama videti u Filipović-Kovačević 2013: 37-41, 47, 106-188.

finansijske povoljnosti. Stoga, glavni cilj u ovom radu je analizirati **kako** i objasniti **zašto** su bankarske usluge u reklamama predstavljene indirektno, a sve to u kognitivnolingvističkom teorijskom okviru pojmovne metafore. Još preciznije, dva su cilja ovog istraživanja: a) ustanoviti koje pojmovne metafore dominiraju u pomenutom reklamnom domenu, i b) objasniti koje se karakteristike bankarskih usluga na taj način ističu.

2. Korpus i metodologija

Korpus se sastoji od 17 reklama koje na jedan indirektan, neeksplicitan, te stoga vrlo zanimljiv i kreativan način promovišu usluge sledećih britanskih banaka: Fortis, Citi, Barclays, Continental Savings i HSBC. Reklame su sakupljene sa interneta ukucavanjem sledećih reči u google pretraživač: bank ads, credit card ads. Bankarske usluge koje se promovišu u ovim reklamama su sledeće: krediti, kreditne kartice i štednja. Od mnogo pregledanih reklama odabrane su one najrepresentativnije za svaku uočenu i predstavljenu kategoriju u delu rada koji se tiče analize, pri čemu svaka kategorija beleži jednu tematsku grupu pojmovnih metafora nazvanih prema izvornom domenu kojim se ističe određeni pozitivni aspekt banke, npr. metafora KRETANJA, metafora ŽELJA, ...

Pre nego što se opiše metodologija kojom su prikupljene i obrađivane reklame trebalo bi navesti elemente iz kojih se sastoji reklama. Prema Vestergaardu i Schøderu 1985: 49-58 reklama se sastoji iz:

(1) *Naslova* (eng. *headline*), koji je najupečatljiviji element reklame, jer vrlo jezgrovito, u nekoliko reči, i na interesantan, često neobičan način, izražava reklamnu poruku. Njegova svrha je da privuče pažnju. Stoga, on je najčešće u inicijalnoj poziciji u reklamama, mada može biti i u sredini i na kraju. Takođe, gotovo po pravilu, on je ortografski najistaknutiji po veličini, boji ili tipu slova. Silaški 2004: 270-271 konstatuje da su i na engleskom i na srpskom jeziku naslovi najzastupljenija etapa reklamnih oglasa (preko 90%).

(2) *Pratećeg teksta* (eng. *body copy*), koji je duži od naslova i detaljnije opisuje predmet reklamiranja. Tu se konkretno iznose podaci o proizvodu, o njegovom učinku i ceni.

(3) *Slike* (eng. *illustration*), koja vizuelno predstavlja reklamirani proizvod i/ili ono sa čime se on dovodi u vezu.

(4) *Slogana* (eng. *slogan*), koji se ne javlja uvek, a najčešće je pri dnu reklame uz naziv proizvoda. On je neka vrsta promocije kompanije po kome se proizvod pamti. Slično naslovu, on često sažima reklamnu poruku.

U ovom radu prilikom analiziranja u obzir se uzima naslov, kao najistaknutiji jezički element, koji sažima reklamnu poruku, ali i vizuelni element, budući da je

prema kognitivnolingvističkom shvatanju značenje pojmovna struktura koja se manifestuje kroz jezik, ali i kroz druge medijume, na primer, sliku. Izabrani jezički i vizuelni elementi služe kao signali za konstatovanje dominantnih pojmovnih metafora, koje su potom podeljene u kategorije prema dominantnom izvornom domenu. Konstatovano je sedam kategorija, a to su: metafore KRETANJA, POLOŽAJA, TEČNOSTI, BILJKE, ŽELJA, BOJE i ČULA. U okviru ovih metaforičkih kategorija analizirane reklame grupisane su po sličnosti pojmovnih metafora koje su u njihovoj suštini.

3. Teorijski okvir: teorija pojmovne metafore

Ovaj deo rada ukratko prikazuje najznačajnije elemente i postulate teorije pojmovne metafore, kao jedne od teorija značenja u kognitivnolingvističkom okviru.

Prema shvatanju u kognitivnoj lingvistici značenje nije u samim rečima, nego u pojmovima koje obrazujemo na osnovu svog enciklopedijskog znanja. S tim u vezi, reči su samo signali koji aktiviraju odgovarajuće pojmove u umu čoveka. Jedna od najuticajnijih teorija u kognitivnolingvističkom okviru je pomenuta **teorija pojmovne metafore** (Lakoff i Johnson 1980/2003), prema kojoj metafora predstavlja važan mehanizam za organizovanje čovekovog pojmovnog sistema. Stoga, u osnovi ove teorije je pojam metafore, ali shvaćen na nov način. Ovde se metafora vidi kao kognitivni fenomen, kao način na koji čovek interpretira svet i organizuje iskustvo, a ne samo kao jezički, stilski fenomen, kako je bila tradicionalno definisana.

Najkraće rečeno, pojmovna metafora je način na koji se jedan pojam ili **pojmovni domen**⁴ razume pomoću drugog pojma. Mehanizam pojmovne metafore podrazumeva **preslikavanja** (eng. mapping) strukture jednog pojma, koji je obično čulno saznatljiv i dobro poznat (**izvorni domen**; eng. source domain) na drugi pojam, koji je tipično apstaktan i čulno nesaznatljiv (**ciljni domen**; eng. target domain) (Klikovac 2004: 11-12, 14). Na ovakav način mi poimamo složene pojmove pribegavajući pojmovima iz našeg svakodnevnog fizičkog ili senzomotornog iskustva, koje nam je svakako bliže. Stoga, bitno je naglasiti da su pomenuta preslikavanja, tj. korespondencije između entiteta u različitim pojmovnim domenima (Evans 2007: 130) jednosmerna. Mnogi autori su se do sada bavili pojmovnom metaforom i konstatovali uobičajene domene iskustva koji se evociraju radi lakšeg razumevanja. Među njima najvažnije je istaći sledeće: Lakoff i Johnson 1980/2003,

⁴ Pojmovni domen (eng. *conceptual domain*) (Langacker 1987 i Lakoff 1987) je shematizacija iskustva (struktura znanja), koja je predstavljena na pojmovnom nivou i skladištena u dugoročnoj memoriji, a dovodi u vezu elemente i entitete koji pripadaju jednom konkretnom kulturološkom scenariju, situaciji ili događaju iz ljudskog iskustva. Na primer, domen PUTOVANJA obuhvata i povezuje putnike, prevozna sredstva, put, odredišta, prepreke na putu i sl. (Evans i Green 2006: 211).

Kövecses 2002, 2006 i Lakoff, Espenson i Schwartz 1991, od kojih poslednjepomenuta publikacija predstavlja najkompletniju listu metaforički povezanih pojmovnih domena koji su sakupljeni i prikazani izdanju nazvanom *The Master Metaphor List*.

Pojmovna metafora se tipično predstavlja na sledeći način: CILJNI DOMEN JE IZVORNI DOMEN. Na primer, u engleskom jeziku uobičajeno je da se o besu govori kao o vatri BES JE VATRA (ANGER IS FIRE): ⁵ *a fiery temper*; ili da se sreća predstavlja kao nešto gore, a ne dole, na vertikalnoj prostornoj dimenziji SREĆA JE GORE (HAPPY IS UP): ⁶ *She's on cloud nine*, ili da se o razumevanju govori kao o viđenju RAZUMEVANJE JE VIĐENJE (UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING): ⁷ *He's not seeing things clearly*. (Spisak zabeleženih pojmovnih metafora u engleskom jeziku videti u Lakoff, Espenson i Schwartz 1991 i Lakoff i Johnson 2003).⁸

4. Analiza: tipovi pojmovnih metafora u reklamama

Najopštiji zaključak do koga se dolazi prilikom analiziranja reklama koje promovišu bankarske usluge je taj da su u njihovom fokusu popularne usluge koje dovode do uvećanja količine novca kojima pojedinci ili firme mogu da raspolaze, a to su konkretno štednja pod povoljnim uslovima, tj. sa visokim kamatama, povoljni krediti, tj. krediti s niskim kamatama koji omogućavaju potrošačima da ostvare sve što pozele, i kreditne kartice, koje, opet, omogućavaju potrošačima da dođu do svega što im je potrebno. Dakle, ove reklame eksploatišu pojmove IMANJA i NEOSKUDEVANJA.

Međutim, izbor izvornih pojmovnih domena pomoću kojih se u reklamama slikovito i kreativno prikazuje kako to banke omogućavaju da se ima ili da se ne oskudeva je raznolik. Jezički i vizuelni elementi u reklamama konkretizuju pojmove IMANJA i NEOSKUDEVANJA, i u tom smislu cilj predstojeće analize je upravo da pokaže koji izvorni domeni služe za konceptualizaciju banaka i njihovih usluga, kao i to koje se karakteristike banaka stavljaju u prvi plan pomoću ustanovljenih konceptualizacija.

⁵ Lakoff, Espenson i Schwartz 1991: 149.

⁶ Lakoff, Espenson i Schwartz 1991: 177.

⁷ Lakoff, Espenson i Schwartz 1991: 86.

⁸ U ovom delu rada sažeto su opisani značaj i mehanizam pojmovne metafore, a detaljnije o motivisanosti pojmovne metafore videti u Kövecses 2002: 69-77. O podeli metafora na strukturne, orijentacione, ontološke i slikovne videti u Lakoff i Johnson 1980/2003; o podeli metafora prema stepenu opštosti na metafore generičkog i specifičnog nivoa videti u Lakoff i Turner 1989; o podeli metafora prema stepenu konvencionalnosti na konvencionalne i nekonvencionalne videti u Lakoff i Johnson 1980/2003 i Lakoff i Turner 1989.

(1) Metafora KRETANJA

U reklami za banku Fortis⁹ naslov glasi: *Life is a curve. Here today. Where tomorrow?* Na slici su prikazane dve krivulje ili putanje, koje pokazuju gde se čovek trenutno nalazi u životu, a gde se može naći u budućnosti, gore ili dole, tj. u boljoj ili u lošijoj poziciji. Kod najviše pozicije prikazane putanje je još jedan natpis: *Fortis: getting you there*. Implicirana poruka ove reklame je sledeća: "Fortis banka je pouzdana; zahvaljujući uslugama ove banke čovek će biti u sve boljoj finansijskoj situaciji."¹⁰

U ovoj reklami život se dovodi u vezu s putovanjem, a Fortis banka je čovekov vodič koji ga vodi ka gore, tj. ka boljoj životnoj i finansijskoj situaciji. Implikacija je da je Fortis banka pouzdana jer upravlja čovekovim finansijskama na najbolji mogući način. Do ovakvog razumevanja reklame dolazi se zahvaljujući pojmovnoj metafori ŽIVOT JE PUTOVANJE (LIFE IS A JOURNEY)¹¹ koja povezuje određenu životnu fazu sa putanjom. Signali za ovu metaforu su imenica *curve* i slika uzlazne putanje. Ova metafora u bankarskim reklamama obuhvata sledeća metaforička preslikavanja: PROMENA FINANSIJSKE SITUACIJE JE PROMENA MESTA, BANKA JE VODIČ NA PUTOVANJU, ŽIVOTNA FAZA U FINANSIJSKOM SMISLU JE TAČKA NA PUTANJI.

Na pomenutu metaforu PUTOVANJA ovde se nadovezuje metafora DOBRO JE GORE (GOOD IS UP),¹² što rezultira sledećim metaforama specifičnog nivoa: DOBRA FINANSIJSKA SITUACIJA JE GORE, ODNOSNO LOŠA FINANSIJSKA SITUACIJA JE DOLE.

U reklami za banku Continental Savings¹³ naslov glasi: *Take control of your finances*. Na slici je novčanik na podu ispred banke, koga neki mladić svom snagom kanapom vuče ka banci. Implicirano značenje ove reklame je sledeće: "Novac, tj. keš se lako troši, a u banci Continental Savings on je pod kontrolom, siguran".¹⁴

Do ovog značenja dolazi se pomoću metafore IZAZVANA PROMENA JE IZNUĐEN POKRET (CAUSED CHANGE IS FORCED MOTION),¹⁵ koja je ovde konkretno realizovana kao POLAGANJE NOVCA U BANKU JE PRISILNO TEGLJENJE NOVCA, o čemu svedoči slika. Ove metafore signalizira izraz *take control*, kao i opisana slika. Na pomenutu glavnu metaforu nadovezuje se i metafora STVAR JE BIĆE (INANIMATE IS ANIMATE),¹⁶ a konkret-

⁹ <http://www.advertolog.com/fortis/print-outdoor/life-is-a-curve-202588/>

¹⁰ Ovu reklamu spominje i analizira Filipović-Kovačević 2013: 164-166, ali iz perspektive teorije pojmovne integracije.

¹¹ Lakoff, Espenson i Schwartz 1991: 36.

¹² Lakoff, Espenson i Schwartz 1991: 187.

¹³ http://www.coloribus.co./focus/selection_of_best_bank_ads

¹⁴ Ovu reklamu spominje i analizira Filipović-Kovačević 2013: 161-164, ali iz perspektive teorije pojmovne integracije.

¹⁵ Lakoff, Espenson i Schwartz 1991: 20.

¹⁶ Lundmark 2005: 160, 173, 175, 179.

no NOVČANIK JE ŽIVO BIĆE, jer beži, izmiče, a tu je i metonimijski odnos SADRŽALAC UMEŠTO SADRŽAJA (CONTAINER FOR CONTAINED),¹⁷ konkretno NOVČANIK UMEŠTO NOVCA.

U reklamama za specijalnu Visa kreditnu karticu (Priority Club Select Visa Card)¹⁸ naslov glasi: *Taking you further. A free night every year*. Nadalje, sitnijim fontom se nabrajaju pogodnosti, među kojima je i ova glavna koja je u prvom planu u reklamama, a to je jedno besplatno noćenje godišnje u luksuznom hotelu. Na slici je slamnata kućica na moru na nekom prelepom ostrvu, poput Maldiva, gde je more tirkizne boje. Implicirana poruka ove reklame je sledeća: "Ova Visa kartica čoveku pruža veće i bolje mogućnosti, tj. omogućava mu da napreduje". Za razumevanje ove poruke ključna je pojmovna metafora NAPREDOVANJE JE KRETANJE KA NAPRED (PROGRESS IS FORWARD MOTION),¹⁹ koju signalizira reč *further*.

U reklamama za kreditnu karticu Citi banke (Citibank's Credit Card)²⁰ naslov glasi: *Carry on! Grab your stylish trolley bag with Citibank's Credit Cards*. Na slici je putni kofer na točkice. Implicirano značenje reklame je slično onom u prethodno-navedenoj reklamama: "Uz ovu kreditnu karticu, čovek može sebi da priušti više, da napreduje bolje". U osnovi ovog značenja su pojmovne metafore ŽIVOT JE PUTOVANJE (LIFE IS A JOURNEY) i NAPREDOVANJE JE KRETANJE KA NAPRED (PROGRESS IS FORWARD MOTION). Izraz *carry on* doslovno znači 'nastaviti se kretati', a metaforički 'napredovati'; slika kofera takođe signalizira pomenute metafore PUTOVANJA i KRETANJA.

U reklamama za banku Barclays²¹ naslov glasi: *On your road to success, we'll never ask "Are we there yet?"* Na slici je prazan autoput koji se prostire preko velike vodene površine. Implicirana poruka je sledeća: "Zahvaljujući uslugama banke Barclays uspeh i napredovanje u životu su zagarantovani". Ova poruka temelji se, kao i u prethodnoj reklamama za City banku, na pojmovnim metaforama ŽIVOT JE PUTOVANJE i NAPREDOVANJE JE KRETANJE KA NAPRED. Signali za pomenute metafore su reč *road*, izraz *road to success*, kao i slika autoputa.

(2) Metafora POLOŽAJA:

Metafora POLOŽAJA pokazuje da povoljne finansijske prilike koje pružaju banke stavljaju čoveka u jedan od dva položaja a) ispred, tj. napred, ili b) gore, što će u nastavku biti ilustrovano primerima reklama.

¹⁷ Kövecses i Radden 1998: 58.

¹⁸ http://www communispace.com/uploadedImages/Clients_Section/Forrester_Groundswell/2010PCR_VisaCard.jpg

¹⁹ Lakoff, Espenson i Schwartz 1991: 16.

²⁰ http://www.whohaa.com/images/earnpoint_products/13856943556075.png

²¹ https://encrypted-tbn1.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:AND9GcRa3zz5DKxKcrszDGJUWY26HP29MKKP p0Bxb9inA_2XPz-O_QlrjQ

A) FINANSIJSKI OBEZBEĐEN JE NAPRED

U reklami za Citi banku²² naslov glasi: *Being up front is only bad at the movies.*

Implicirana poruka je sledeća: "Klijenti Citi banke su uvek u prednosti u odnosu na druge, tj. najbolje stoje u finansijskom smislu". Reklama kaže da je biti napred loša pozicija samo u bioskopu, pa se zaključuje da banka svojim klijentima omogućava ovu prednju poziciju, što je dobro. Signal za sledeće srodne pojmovne metafore na osnovu kojih se razume poruka je prilog *front*:

- (PROCENJIVAČKO) POREĐENJE STANJA U DINAMIČNOJ SITUACIJI JE POREĐENJE UDA-LJENOSTI ((EVALUATIVE) COMPARISON OF STATES IN A DYNAMIC SITUATION IS COM-PARISON OF DISTANCE)²³
- BITI BOLJI U DINAMIČNOJ SITUACIJI JE BITI DALJE NA PUTANJI (BEING BETTER IN A DYNAMIC SITUATION IS BEING FARTHER ALONG ON A PATH)²⁴

Pomenute metafore u ovom kontekstu mogle bi se svesti na metaforu FINANSIJSKI OBEZBEĐEN JE NAPRED. Ova metafora zastupljena je i u sledećim već analiziranim reklama: za Visa karticu u kojoj naslov kaže *Taking you further*, u reklami za Citi banku u kojoj stoji *Carry on*, u reklami za banku Barclays u kojoj se govori o ... *on your road to success* ..., kao i u reklami za banku Barclays u kojoj se govori o *catching the next wave*.

A) FINANSIJSKI OBEZBEĐEN JE GORE

Ovo je druga metafora položaja prema kojoj onaj ko je finansijski obezbeđen ili ima finansijsku sigurnost jeste gore. Ova metafora pojavljuje se u već analiziranoj reklami za banku Fortis za koju se tvrdi da čoveka vodi putanjom do najviše tačke na uzbrdici.

(3) Metafora TEČNOSTI

U reklami za banku Barclays,²⁵ koja promoviše uvećavanje bogatstva zahva-ljujući uslugama ove banke, naslov glasi: *Catching the next wave. Wealth. What's it to you?* Na slici je surfer koji s daskom izlazi iz vode. Prateći tekst glasi: *To take advantage of favourable currents and grow your wealth, you need to be in the right place at the right time. At Barclays Wealth we can help you position your portfolio with the right mix of assets, from cash to derivatives, from equities to bonds, to suit the cimate. To grow your wealth, call 0800 851 851, or visit barclayswealth.com today.*

²² http://files2.coloribus.com/files/adsarchive/part_958/9583255/file/citibank-customers-privileges-being-up-front-small-66677.jpg

²³ Lakoff, Espenson i Schwartz 1991: 57.

²⁴ Lakoff, Espenson i Schwartz 1991: 57.

²⁵ http://files2.coloribus.com/files/adsarchive/part_1476/14760355/file/barclays-wealth-catching-the-next-wave-medium-90853.jpg

Implicirano značenje ove reklame je sledeće: “Uz pomoć banke Barclays klijentima će uvek na raspolaganju biti najpovoljniji krediti i uslovi za pokretanje poslovanja, tj. mogućnosti za uvećanje kapitala”.

Nekoliko pojmovnih metafora je u suštini ove reklamne poruke; među njima dominira metafora TEČNOSTI, koja obuhvata sledeća metaforička preslikavanja, od kojih su neka izražena direktno, a neka indirektno:

BITI UKLJUČEN U DOGAĐAJE ZNAČI BITI U VODI (BEING INVOLVED IN EVENTS IS BEING IN WATER)²⁶ – klijent je u vodi i treba da uhvati sledeći talas;

BITI PORAŽEN JE DAVLJENJE (BEING DEFEATED IS DROWNING);²⁷

SPOSOBNOST DA SE IZAĐE NA KRAJ S PROBLEMIMA JE SPOSOBNOST DA SE ODRŽAVA NA VODI (ABILITY TO COPE IS ABILITY TO NAVIGATE)²⁸ – klijent hvata sledeći talas, tj. održava se na vodi

KEŠ JE TEČNOST (CASH IS A LIQUID)²⁹ – ovde NOVAC JE TALAS;

DOBITAK/GUBITAK NOVCA JE POKRET TEČNOSTI³⁰ – voda se kreće u vidu talasa i struja (*wave* i *currents*);

IMATI KONTROLU NAD FINANSIJSKOM SITUACIJOM JE IMATI KONTROLU NAD TEČNOŠĆU³¹ – klijent savladava uzburkanu vodu, tj. talase.

Poseban slučaj metafore TEČNOSTI je nova metafora TALASA koja je u ovoj reklamni ispoljena kako jezički (*the next wave, currents*) tako i vizuelno.

Uz ove metafore, u ovoj reklamni aktivne su i prethodno opisane metafore: metafora KRETANJA, i to PROMENA FINANSIJSKE SITUACIJE JE PROMENA MESTA i metafora POLOŽAJA, i to FINANSIJSKI OBEZBEĐEN JE NAPRED i FINANSIJSKI OBEZBEĐEN JE GORE, jer klijent hvata **sledeći** talas (eng. *the next wave*) i održava se na površini, tj. gore.

(4) Metafora BILJKE

U reklamni za banku Barclays³² naslov glasi: *A rate to make your savings flourish*. Na slici je prikazana biljka kako raste, a umesto cveta na stabljici je dukat. Implicirano značenje ove reklame je sledeće: “U banci Barclays oročeni novac se brzo i sigurno uvećava, jer je kamatna stopa veoma povoljna, tj. visoka”. U osnovi ovog značenja je pojmovna metafora STVAR JE E BIĆE (INANIMATE IS ANIMATE),³³ koja se ovde konkretno realizuje kao NOVAC JE BILJKA, jer prema reklamnom naslovu ušteđevina cveta (signalni za metaforu su glagol *flourish* i opisana slika).

²⁶ Lakoff, Espenson i Schwartz 1991: 41.

²⁷ Lakoff, Espenson i Schwartz 1991: 41.

²⁸ Lakoff, Espenson i Schwartz 1991: 41.

²⁹ Lakoff, Espenson i Schwartz 1991: 183.

³⁰ Lakoff, Espenson i Schwartz 1991: 183.

³¹ Lakoff, Espenson i Schwartz 1991: 183.

³² <http://www.barclays.co.uk>

³³ Lundmark 2005: 160, 173, 175, 179.

Ovde se pojavljuje i metafora VIŠE JE GORE (MORE IS UP),³⁴ koja se odnosi na rast biljke i uvećavanje novca. Kako je neminovno da biljke rastu, tako se i novac u ovoj banci neminovno, tj. sigurno uvećava.

U drugoj reklamici za banku Barclays³⁵ naslov glasi: *I plant the trees so my children get the shade. Wealth. What's it to you?* Na slici je malo dete koje mirno i bezbrižno spava. Implicirana poruka ove reklame je: "Ako u banci Barclays položite novac na štednju, bićete finansijski obezbeđeni i vi i vaša deca; banka donosi veliku finansijsku sigurnost".

Ova reklama zasniva se na pojmovnoj metafori STVAR JE BIĆE, odnosno konkretno NOVAC JE BILJKA, što signaliziraju izraz *plant the trees* i imenica *shade*. Takođe, uz nešto širu interpretaciju ovde je zastupljena i metafora VIŠE JE GORE, kao i u prethodnoj reklamici, jer kako drvo raste ono ide u visinu i širi krošnju, koja pravi hlad o kome se govori u reklamici, što se interpretira kao zaštita.

(5) Metafora ŽELJA

U reklamici za kreditnu karticu Visa³⁶ naslov glasi: *It makes you dream in digital, not analogue*. Na slici je glava sredovečnog čoveka, čije su oči zatvorene; on spava, tj. sanja. Implicirana poruka ove reklame je sledeća: "Sve želje koštaju, a banka omogućava da se dođe do novca". Nova metafora na kojoj se zasniva ova poruka je SNOVI/ŽELJE SU BROJKE ili SNOVI/ŽELJE SU NOVAC. Signali za ovu metaforu su imenica *dream*, pridev *digital* i slika usnulog čoveka.

U reklamici za Citi banku³⁷ naslov glasi: *Open a cravings account*. Na slici je samo znak Citi banke, koji izgleda poput duge, ali je potpuno crvene boje. Implicirana poruka je sledeća: "Pomoću usluga ove banke lako možete ostvariti sve svoje želje". U osnovi ove reklame je ponovo nova pojmova metafora konstatovana u prethodnoj reklamici ŽELJE SU BROJKE. Nju signalizira leksički spoj *cravings account*, koji u vezu dovodi želje i račun u banci, odnosno metonimijskim prenosom novac, te daljim metonimijskim prenosom brojke.

U drugoj reklamici za Citi banku³⁸ na slici je već pomenuti znak Citi banke, koji liči na crvenu dugu; ispod jednog kraja znaka piše *Dreams*, a ispod drugog *Realities*; znak kao da povezuje *Dreams* i *Realities*. Implicirana poruka ove reklame

³⁴ Lakoff, Espenson i Schwartz 1991: 58, 62.

³⁵ http://files2.coloribus.com/files/adsarchive/part_1476/14760605/file/barclays-wealth-i-plant-the-tree-medium-22602.jpg

³⁶ http://files1.coloribus.com/files/adsarchive/part_228/2285055/file/sony-visa-card-dream-small-66518.jpg

³⁷ https://encrypted-tbn1.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:ANd9GcQM2eUJ3krQImw_en8WY5nFqVWa1lkYr30 mX4xec7vmTpNTiJmIPA

³⁸ <https://encrypted-tbn3.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:ANd9GcQcsrifU4uxrc7R8Iv2zt2FtdWII0fpWmntP6k0nJ dfiSrDsECz>

je sledeća: “Zahvaljujući uslugama Citi banke svoje snove možete pretočiti u realnost; drugim rečima, finansijski uslovi u banci su tako dobri da sebi možete priuštiti sve što poželite”. Ova interpretacija poruke počiva na tri pojmovne metafore, od kojih su prve dve konvencionalne: UZROCI I POSLEDICE SU POVEZANI PREDMETI (CAUSES AND EFFECTS ARE LINKED OBJECTS)³⁹ i PROMENA JE ZAMENA (CHANGE IS REPLACEMENT),⁴⁰ jer znak banke povezuje snove i stvarnost, tj. snove pretvara u stvarnost. Potonja metafora u datom kontekstu daje još specifičniju novu pojmovnu metaforu BANKA JE MAĐIONIČAR, jer ostvaruje želje, a budući da banka daje novac, može se izdvojiti već pomenuta nova metafora specifičnog nivoa: ŽELJE SU NOVAC ili ŽELJE SU BROJKE.

U još jednoj rekami za Citi banku⁴¹ naslov glasi: *Put your dreams into our make-it-happenator*. Na slici je već opisani znak Citi banke, koji povezuje s jedne strane malu devojčicu, a s druge strane balerinu. Implicirana poruka reklame je opet: “Zahvaljujući uslugama Citi banke svoje snove možete pretočiti u realnost; drugim rečima, finansijski uslovi u banci su tako dobri da sebi možete priuštiti sve što poželite”. I u ovoj reklami, kao i u prethodnoj, ovo značenje proističe iz konvencionalnih metafora UZROCI I POSLEDICE SU POVEZANI PREDMETI i PROMENA JE ZAMENA, jer devojčice obično žele da postanu balerine, što ovde banka omogućava. Tu je i pomenuta nova metafora BANKA JE MAĐIONIČAR, koja je ovde još direktnije izražena pomoću izraza *our make-it-happenator*.

U poslednjoj reklami za Citi banku⁴² naslov glasi: *Change is in the air. Seen it? Show me*. Na slici je gusenica koja se pretvara u leptira. Implicirana poruka ove reklame je: “Citi banka sigurno uita na poboljšanje finansijske situacije svojih klijenata”. Do ovog značenja dolazi se na osnovu pojmovnih metafora koje su bile i u suštini prethodnih reklama u ovoj kategoriji, a to su: BANKA JE MAĐIONIČAR i PROMENA JE ZAMENA, jer leptir zamenjuje gusenicu, a ta pojava je neizbežna, te stoga interpretiramo da je povoljna promena do koje ova banka dovodi sigurna.

(6) Metafora BOJE

U reklami za ekskluzivnu crnu Visa kreditnu karticu,⁴³ koja omogućava luksuz, u naslovu stoji: *Introducing the exclusive black card*. Na slici je jedna Visa kartica crne boje. U pratećem tekstu su nabrojane privilegije kojima podležu korisnici ove

³⁹ Lakoff, Espenson i Schwartz 1991: 19.

⁴⁰ Lakoff, Espenson i Schwartz 1991: 18.

⁴¹ https://encrypted-tbn3.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:ANd9GcRa6Ni0r2jmHJ25-ILGVPMKyDQ86y6_ZcR8IEYvi9VW8Imj7E9y

⁴² https://encrypted-tbn1.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:ANd9GcQssDuI_zj0ICc3VerzMGa2XcLqtzX-TYk3cQqjorUrWOH3Dq

⁴³ <http://media5.starkinsider.com/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2009/03/visa-black-credit-card-ad-membership.jpg>

kartice. Implicirana poruka ove reklame je sledeća: “S ovom karticom klijenti imaju posebne pogodnosti i privilegije, tj. mogu živeti luksuzno”.

Za crnu boju tipično se vezuje negativno značenje, što je konstatovano i kroz konvencionalne pojmovne metafore: DOBRO JE SVETLO (GOODNESS IS LIGHT)⁴⁴ i LOŠE JE TAMNO (BADNESS IS DARKNESS),⁴⁵ na primer: *a black-hearted scoundrel, black magic*. Međutim, u ovoj reklamni crna boja se predstavlja iz drugačije perspektive, kao simbol elegancije i luksuza (za svečane prilike se nose crne haljine i odela, voze se crni automobili, i sl.). U tom smislu, može se konstatovati da crno označava i nešto pozitivno, što se može formulisati kroz sledeću novu pojmovnu metaforu: LUKSUZNO JE CRNO.

(7) Metafora ČULA

U reklamni za banku HSBC⁴⁶ reklamni naslov glasi: *80% of life on earth is in the ocean. We help you see the world's opportunities*. Na slici je more i prelepa peščana plaža, a u prvom planu je prodavac koji je na bicikl okačio raznorazne proizvode za uživanje na vodi: peraja, plastične lopte, šlaufe i slično. Implicirana poruka je sledeća: “Banka HSBC u finansijskom smislu omogućava klijentima da isprobaju razne mogućnosti koje im se nude (putovanja, poslove, i sl.)”.

Ovakva interpretacija reklamne poruke proističe iz pojmovne metafore RAZUMEVANJE JE VIĐENJE (UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING)⁴⁷ koju signalizira glagol *see* u izrazu *see the world's opportunities*. Tako, klijenti banke vide, tj. uviđaju sve mogućnosti, koje pomoću banke mogu iskoristiti.

U banci za banku Barclays⁴⁸ naslov glasi: *Your bank. We're listening. Got a bright idea? We'd love to hear it. Help shape everyday baking for everyone*. Na slici je deo lica kojim se pokazuje uvo jedne starije žene s borama oko oka. Implicirana poruka ove reklame je sledeća: “Banka Barclays je posvećena svakom svom klijentu i brižno vodi računa o njegovim finansijskim potrebama”. Ovo značenje se zasniva na sledećim pojmovnim metaforama: PERCEPCIJA JE RECEPCIJA (PERCEPTION IS RECEPTION),⁴⁹ koju signaliziraju glagoli *listen* i *hear* iz naslova, kao i uvo na slici; u ovom kontekstu savetnici u banci slušaju i čuju svoje klijente, i tom prilikom imaju puno razumevanje za njihove potrebe. U reklamni se pojavljuje i metonimijski prenos DEO

⁴⁴ Lakoff, Espenson i Schwartz 1991: 190.

⁴⁵ Lakoff, Espenson i Schwartz 1991: 190.

⁴⁶ http://files1.coloribus.com/files/adsarchive/part_1408/14080105/file/hsbc-bank-hsbc-1-small-42374.jpg

⁴⁷ Lakoff, Espenson i Schwartz 1991: 86.

⁴⁸ http://www.thedrum.com/uploads/drum_basic_article/117133/main_images/Barclays_0.png

⁴⁹ Lakoff, Espenson i Schwartz 1991: 127.

UMESTO CELINE, konkretno, UVO UMESTO SAVETNIKA. Pri tome, savetnik je iskusan, o čemu, opet na osnovu sličnog metonimijskog prenosa, svedoče bore.

5. Zaključna razmatranja

Na kraju, na osnovu rezultata sprovedene analize dolazi se do zaključka da se u izučavanim reklamama banke prikazuju u vrlo pozitivnom svetlu kroz usluge koje pružaju: kao neko ili nešto što pruža veliku finansijsku sigurnost i omogućava čoveku da vodi bezbrižan život u kome može da ostvari sve svoje želje i potencijale. Drugim rečima, a metaforički rečeno, banke čoveku omogućavaju da živi ružičast život ili da očekuje ružičastu budućnost, iako, interesantno, ružičasta boja ni kroz reči, ni kroz sliku nije zastupljena u ovim reklamama.

Kategorije metafora koje su zabeležene u ovim reklamama, a koje su nazvane prema izvornim domenima su sledeće: metafore KRETANJA, POLOŽAJA, TEČNOSTI, BILJKE, ŽELJA, BOJE i ČULA.

U okviru metafora KRETANJA i POLOŽAJA, govori se o kretanju ka napred ili ka gore, odnosno o poziciji ispred nečega ili na vrhu, pri čemu pomenute pozicije metaforički predstavljaju finansijski dobru situaciju. Stoga, kroz ove metafore akcenat je na tome da banke pružaju mogućnost za napredovanje u finansijskom smislu, za finansijsku obezbeđenost. U okviru metafore TEČNOSTI je i metafora TALASA koja govori o hvatanju sledećeg talasa, te se njome akcenat stavlja na to da banka čoveku ne dozvoljava da propušta prilike za finansijsku dobit. U okviru metafore BILJKE, novac se predstavlja kao biljka, što podrazumeva mogućnost za neminovan rast, a banke su neko ko brine i omogućava razvoj; stoga, kroz ovu metaforu akcenat je na pouzdanosti i posvećenosti klijentima. U okviru metafore ŽELJA, banke se predstavljaju kao mađioničari, kao neko ko ima uslove da ispuni sve želje. Stoga, kroz ovu metaforu akcenat je na tome da su banke veoma moćne. U okviru metafore BOJE, konstatovana je nova metafora LUKSUZNO JE CRNO. Najzad, u okviru metafore ČULA, banke se predstavljaju kao neko ko ima osećaja za klijente, ko ih pažljivo sluša i omogućava im da uoče sve mogućnosti; dakle, akcenat je na brižnosti i posvećenosti banaka.

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CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS IN ADVERTISEMENTS PROMOTING BANKING SERVICES IN ENGLISH

Summary

This paper studies advertisements in English which promote banking services, such as savings, credits and credit cards, in a creative, indirect fashion. The analysis of advertisements promoting five British banks (Citi, Continental Savings, Fortis, Barclays and HSBC) is set in the cognitivelinguistic framework of conceptual metaphor. The aim of this paper is to establish conceptual metaphors dominating in the specified register, as well as to point to the characteristics of banks which are highlighted in this way. The results of the research show that the main target concept in these advertisements is the concept of FINANCIAL ABUNDANCE. Seven metaphorical categories illustrating dominating source domains are pinpointed: the MOVING metaphor, the POSITION metaphor, the LIQUID metaphor the PLANT metaphor, the WISH metaphor, the COLOUR metaphor, the SENSES metaphor, which in different ways present banks as safe places that offer financial security and abundance.

Key words: banking services, conceptual metaphors, implied meaning, source domain, target domain

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REVISITING CONTINUING PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT FOR ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHERS IN SERBIA: HOW CONTINUAL IS IT?

This paper revisits the concept of continuing professional development (CPD) for teachers by providing a review of its definitions, types and stages. Moreover, the paper analyzes the CPD system in Serbia with the aim of investigating whether it ensures that English language teachers’ professional learning is continual and supported and whether it contains all recommended phases that contribute to its efficacy. The author concludes that even though CPD is legally formulated as an integral part of the teaching profession that requires the support of the institution in which the teacher works, it is not fully implemented in practice. Moreover, CPD is often viewed as the teacher’s individual endeavor pursued outside of school. As such, it does not contain all the recommended stages that would ensure its continuity, or efficacy.

Key words: CPD, English language teacher, Serbia, continuity

1. Introduction

In the fast-changing world in which we live, continuing professional development (CPD) for teachers seems to be of the utmost importance. What is more, it seems that it has never been more significant for teachers to engage in different forms of CPD than it is today. Even though there is a growing body of literature on various aspects of this concept, some authors (for example, Rose and Reynolds 2006) hold the view that it is still ambiguous, misunderstood and often ill-defined.

Despite the fact that the very concept may still be a matter of worldwide debate, a large volume of literature emphasizes the importance of teachers’ CPD. The relationship between teacher development and school development, and even teacher development and student success in learning, is now well established and

reinforced in literature (Metropolitan Life Insurance Company 2010; Carrol et al. 2010; Joyce and Showers 1995; Scheerens 2010; National Commission on Teaching and America's Future 1996).

Through their formal education, teachers acquire the knowledge and skills they will need in their future career, but these are by no means sufficient for an entire lifetime of teaching. Just 15 years ago, for example, computers started to appear on our market, yet those who were student teachers at the time were not instructed on how to incorporate these devices in their daily practice. Today, however, these same teachers are not only expected to be savvy computer users, but it has become commonplace even for them to deliver lessons in virtual classrooms and make use of smart boards, cell phones, iPads and iPhones, all of which were unheard of at the time in which they were pursuing their formal education. How did they then learn to incorporate technology into their teaching practice? Through CPD.

Moreover, as science advances and professional knowledge expands, teachers learn new things every day. It was not before the 1990s, for example, that we learnt that there are different teaching styles (Grasha 1994). Now, teachers are well aware of this fact and are, more often than not, skilled at adapting styles so as to make an acceptable environment for every student in their class. Also, inclusive education became an option for parents with a disabled child in 2009 and teachers have since needed to gather the appropriate skills and knowledge almost overnight to work with these students. How have they learnt what they need to know? Through CPD.

The significance of teacher CPD is thus indisputable. It should be seen as an inextricable component (Richards and Farrell 2008) of the teaching profession and should be incorporated in "the ethos of the profession of education" (Joyce and Showers 1995).

This paper aims at analyzing the CPD system in Serbia through revisiting the concept itself. More precisely, the aim of the paper is to investigate whether or not the CPD system in Serbia ensures continuity.

2. CPD: The concept

During the 1980s and 1990s a piecemeal approach to professional development prevailed worldwide. Most activities aimed at enhancing teacher competencies were one-shot events and research conducted on such professional development attested to its inefficacy. This gave rise to a reconceptualization of professional development which has since become widely accepted - it started to be perceived as "an ongoing and lifelong professional learning embedded in schools as a natural and expected component of teachers' professional activities and a key component of school improvement" (Scheerens 2010: 32).

CPD, as its very name suggests, presupposes a long-term teacher's active and willing engagement, continuous reflection and implementation of change. This teacher gladly embraces changes and, more often than not, initiates them himself. This teacher knows that it takes time for a desired change to happen. He does not merely receive information, but actively searches for it. Moreover, the teacher perpetually reflects on his own practice, looking for aspects that need to be improved. This teacher also understands that the teaching profession is rather dynamic and that he needs to upgrade his knowledge and skills relentlessly, as there is no teacher who knows everything.

This teacher gets support from his school since the institution understands that quality education is best achieved through quality staff. Moreover, the school supports the view that high-quality professional development contributes to creating a positive working environment that helps its students, as well as its staff, to thrive academically and professionally.

A diverse set of authors who write on CPD (e.g. Padwad and Dixit 2011; Guskey 2000; Joyce and Showers 1995; Scheerens 2010) agree that it is one of the most important factors contributing to good quality education through the development of individual skills, knowledge and expertise. They also believe that CPD may affect attitudes and approaches as well as bring about personal changes in the teacher. However, these, and many other, authors differ, to a lesser or greater degree, in their definitions of CPD.

In contemplating CPD, Padwad and Dixit (2011) state that there are two views of CPD – the narrow and the broad one. In the narrow sense, CPD means acquiring knowledge and skills needed for performing a certain task or job, e.g. using a new course book. In the broad sense, CPD is a more complex process “in which professionals continuously enhance not only their knowledge and skills, but also their thinking, understanding and maturity; they grow not only as professionals, but also as persons; their development is not restricted to their work roles, but may also extend to new roles and responsibilities” (Padwad and Dixit 2011: 7).

Guskey (2000: 16) believes that professional development should not be viewed as a remedy to deficiencies, but rather as recognition that education is an ever-changing profession. He points out that CPD is composed of three defining characteristics: it is intentional, ongoing and systemic. Quality CPD is a teacher's deliberate endeavor which presupposes the teacher has goals he wants to attain and knows how they can be assessed. Quality CPD is continuous; hence, every teacher is a lifelong learner as well. Quality CPD is also systemic in that it “considers change over an extended period of time and takes into account all levels of the organization” (Guskey 2000: 20).

On the other hand, Smith and Gillespie (2007) claim that there are two kinds of CPD: traditional and modern age. Traditional CPD encompasses workshops,

conferences, seminars and other short-term events, whereas the new age activities include various self-initiated, mostly collaborative, activities such as collaborative learning, interest groups, co-teaching, etc. The new concept of CPD enables the teacher to reflect on his practice and stresses the importance of teachers' joint activities or of his own individual actions that are aimed at improving students' learning or working conditions. These individual endeavors can include keeping a teaching log, maintaining a teaching or learning portfolio, reading professional literature and the like.

Additionally, Lieberman (1995) believes there are three models of CPD: (1) direct teaching (courses, seminars, etc.), (2) learning in school (collaborative models of CPD: peer observation, co-teaching, mentoring, etc.) and (3) out of school learning (visits to schools, etc.).

It has been stressed repeatedly in the literature on CPD that it requires all levels of the organization to be engaged in a teacher's development (Guskey 2000; Nolan and Hoover 2005; Sparks 1996). Wheeler (2001: 14) warns that even the best professional development program will yield no success if it is implemented in isolation. Moreover, it has been emphasized that not only individual development, but also organizational development is necessary for improvement, including "everyone who affects student learning" (Guskey 2000: 21).

Relevant literature (e.g. Edmonds and Lee 2002; Dadds 1997) has clearly demonstrated that teachers dislike the top-down model of CPD that presupposes delivery of the knowledge teachers should acquire and implement. Teachers prefer to be active participants in the CPD process and the best results are achieved when the institutional goals and teachers' needs coincide (Bolitho 1996). Mujis et al. (cited in Rose and Reynolds 2006: 220) observe that "An awareness of less formal and traditional forms of CPD is slowly growing, with calls for teachers to become more creative in their approaches to their own professional development, and move away from more traditional transmission-based methods."

3. CPD: Component parts

While in-service teacher training (INSETT) is still a prevalent means of professional development for teachers in some countries, there is as well a growing demand for more varied forms of development for "the shift in emphasis away from the provider and/or employer, towards the individual" (Gray 2005: 5). More precisely, in CPD the individual teacher is accountable for his own development that, needless to say, is expected to be in alignment with his school's professional development goals. However, Guskey (2000: 15) fears that professional development pursued outside the institution in which the teacher is employed "reinforces

the perception of professional development as separate from the ongoing, day-to-day tasks of educators.”

Literature on CPD mostly provides views on its separate notions rather than on all of its constituent parts. Ideally, CPD is a process that needs to be initiated through the teacher’s self-reflection. Once an individual teacher becomes aware of what needs to be improved, he looks at available learning opportunities. In order for his CPD to be effective, he needs his institution’s support. When he believes he has gathered sufficient knowledge or skill, the teacher works on overcoming a challenge, after which he shall perform self-evaluation aimed at providing himself with information on how successful his intervention was. Only after he has evaluated the impact of his recent CPD engagement can he proceed with his learning. What follows is a short description of each of these steps:

(1) Self-reflection. CPD requires that a teacher should be a lifelong learner and a reflective practitioner (Schön 1983). It starts with a teacher’s observation of an area concerning his own teaching, his students’ learning or the immediate working environment that needs to be improved. Hence, in CPD the teacher reflects on the teaching / learning process and makes decisions upon which he later acts. One of the major benefits of this phase of CPD is the setting of goals that a particular teacher wishes to attain. As stated by Branham (cited in Guskey 2000: 17), “Without clear purposes and goals, however, it is difficult to judge if progress is being made or even what the valid indicators of progress would be.”

(2) Considering available options for CPD. Once the teacher sets goals for his CPD, he needs to consider all available learning opportunities so as to decide which one(s) would aid him best in attaining his goal(s). Rose and Reynolds (2006: 219) claim that “Teachers’ perceptions of what activities constitute CPD is frequently limited to attendance at courses, conferences and whole-school INSET days, often to meet national requirements.”

The school should provide its teaching staff with INSETT opportunities. This certainly contributes to the whole institution becoming a learning community. Moreover, it provides the employees with the feeling that they are unified towards a common goal – improving the learning of their students. However, INSETT is often recognized as a set of delivery sessions requiring no activity on the part of the teacher. Still, Richards and Farrell (2008: vii) believe there are types of in-service teacher education that call for action on the part of the teacher: (1) engaging in self-reflection and evaluation; (2) developing specialized knowledge and skills about many aspects of teaching; (3) expanding a knowledge base in regard to research, theory, and issues in teaching; (4) taking on new roles and responsibilities, such as supervisor or mentor teacher, teacher-researcher, or material writer and (5) developing collaborative relationships with other teachers.

As Guskey (2000) suggests, the new concept of professional development has placed in the limelight some models of development that educators have in fact used for centuries. CPD, thus, includes (Guskey 2000: 22-29): training, observation/assessment, involvement in a development/improvement process, study groups, inquiry/action research, individually guided activities and mentoring.

In the report on European teachers' professional development, Scheerens (2010) recognizes three types of CPD activities: (1) more organized and structured, (2) more informal and (3) self-directed learning opportunities. The first group of CPD activities encompasses courses and workshops, seminars and conferences and qualification programs. More informal modes of learning include professional development networks, informal dialogues, collaborative research, mentoring, peer observation and the like. Individual development endeavors include reading professional literature, individual research, etc.

Honigsfeld and Dove (2010) are rather ardent advocates of the idea that teacher collaboration, especially co-teaching, is central to student success in modern times.

As can be seen, it is of the utmost importance for a teacher pursuing his development to have at his disposal a number of options from which to choose. No single option is suggested to be the best. Teachers need to be informed about the options that are offered, but they also need to be able to initiate their own forms of CPD should no available form meet their needs. If the offered INSETT program has not provided the teacher with what he needs, he can consider different options provided elsewhere. If still none of them proves satisfactory, the teacher can resort to initiating a collaborative form of CPD or pursuing development on his own. Quality professional development, thus, presupposes that teachers have a wealth of opportunities available and that they are equipped with the necessary skills and knowledge to engage in collaborative or self-directed development if they perceive it as the only option.

(3) Planning CPD. Planning one's professional development is beneficial in many ways. It helps the teacher organize, record and evaluate his development. As we live in the age of accountability, every personal action needs to be reasonable and efficient, both in terms of time and money. To be able to plan his development successfully, a teacher needs to be informed about all the available options and be capable of performing activities on his own should no available option meet his actual demands.

(4) System support. Amongst the extensive research on teacher professional development needs, Scheerens (2010) also inquired into what kind of support teachers may receive in their professional development pursuit. Types of support range from financial support and salary supplements to scheduled time for CPD engagement or the induction and mentoring of novice teachers. Guskey (2000) and Nolan and Hoover (2005) hold the view that key actors in high quality professional

development are the principal and other school administrators. It is the principal's role to create a shared understanding of the goals of development and their benefits as well as to support teachers in a myriad of ways in enhancing their potential. Also, it is the principal's responsibility to foster a positive climate that supports teacher change.

Moreover, high quality CPD support is also needed from the district and the country. If a country or a district enforces a regulation on CPD, it must be assumed that for its successful administration the means of meeting these new demands have been carefully thought over and that they will be provided. In other words, setting high, unrealistic demands upon schools and/or teachers alone will yield no success.

(5) Impact. The ultimate goal of any CPD is either reflection on one's own practice and/or positive change. A teacher may be uncertain about the effects of a certain teaching method/technique and may want to investigate it by employing action research, peer observation, self-observation, etc. However, in the majority of cases the primary goal of CPD is positive change, i.e. improvement. How does such change happen? Only through application of the newly acquired knowledge or skills. One of the crucial factors of CPD, thus, is the constructive use of what teachers learn. If teachers do not make use of what they learn in their CPD, the worthiness of their CPD engagement remains questionable. There may be occasions when teachers do not encounter anything new in a CPD activity. Even so, such an activity may reinforce what they already know or inspire them to reflect on their practice, both of which still qualify as worthy benefits of CPD.

The literature strongly emphasizes that the goal of CPD is the teacher's acquisition of something that should aid him in improvement. Harland and Kinder (1997) list as suitable outcomes of CPD gains in the following categories, stressing that they are non-hierarchical: materials and resources, information, new awareness, value congruence, affective outcomes, motivation and attitude, knowledge and skills, institutional outcomes and impact on practice. On the other hand, Joyce and Showers (1980) believe that the outcomes of CPD are linear and always happen in the following order: (1) awareness raising, (2) knowledge acquisition, (3) acquisition of principles and skills and (4) application and problem solving.

(6) Self-evaluation and evaluation. Nolan and Hoover (2005), Guskey (2000) and Smith (2002) stress the importance of evaluation as an integral part of high-quality CPD. Evaluation helps the teacher, and his institution, to assess whether the CPD goal set was achieved. Moreover, the data gathered through evaluation show the extent to which an area has been improved and how the improvement has affected student learning. This serves as an indicator to the teacher and/or the evaluator as to whether the teacher should proceed with his CPD or needs to work more on the issue in question. If the teacher does not get feedback on how successful

his intervention was, he will never know whether or not he has overcome a certain challenge.

Evaluation can be done in various ways. It may be the teacher's independent activity, in which case he needs to possess the adequate knowledge and skills needed to perform valid self-evaluation by the means of a journal, video-taping or the like. It can also be a collaborative activity of two teachers, where one observes the other and collects data regarding the desired change. Evaluation can also be more formal, in which case a school principal, or an in-house or external evaluator, visits the classroom for the purpose of collecting data on the outcomes of the teacher's CPD. In the latter case, evaluation is more part of the appraisal process than an assessment of the impact of the teacher's recent CPD engagement and usually takes place once in a longer period of time (a term, a school year, etc.). It is essential that all individuals performing evaluation possess sophisticated skills and knowledge of how such processes are performed (Nolan and Hoover 2005: 6).

4. CPD in Serbia

In Serbia CPD is mandatory for all teachers and it is regulated by the *Law on the Fundamentals of the Education System*. In accordance with the Law, the Minister of Education passes *The Rulebook on Continuing Professional Development and Acquisition of the Titles of School Teacher, Preschool Teacher and Expert Assistant*.

As required by the Rulebook, a teacher is obliged to acquire 120 hours of professional development in the course of 5 years by attending accredited CPD programs (100 hours) and by attending accredited conferences (20 hours). The Rulebook (Article 6) lists the following forms of CPD as those which have been recognized and approved of: accredited programs, undergraduate and graduate studies, conferences, round tables, discussions, winter and summer schools and professional travels. Accredited programs are offered to teachers through *The Catalogue of Professional Development Activities for Teachers, Preschool Teachers and Expert Assistants* (the Catalogue). These are mostly seminars, workshops and English language teachers' conferences. Organizers of all other forms of recognized CPD activities (e.g. round tables, winter and summer schools, etc.) need to seek permission from the accreditation institution if they want their attendees to acquire hours of professional development.

To aid teachers in their CPD process, the Rulebook makes a distinction between four types of competences and a teacher is required to acquire 16 hours of CPD for each competence, while to fulfill the remaining number of hours the teacher may make his own selection of activities. The four competences are: content

knowledge, teaching and learning, supporting the development of the child/student personality and communication and cooperation.

In the process of the accreditation of activities a top-down approach is applied. In other words, the accreditation institution does not perform a needs analysis of teachers' actual needs, but advertises for any activities and then makes a selection. The list of the recognized activities teachers are advised to undertake does not include collaborative or individual activities. The efforts of those teachers who engage in co-teaching, action research and the like are thus not recognized. Therefore, CPD is still perceived as an activity that happens outside the school and in most cases it is not a school-wide initiative and endeavor, but rather something teachers seek in external environments. Moreover, Pešikan et al. (2010a and 2010b) believe that the Catalogue contains numerous flaws that hamper teachers in selecting good quality activities. More precisely, the authors state that the format of an offering is not stated in the Catalogue, so teachers do not know if a given activity in the Catalogue is a lecture or a workshop. Additionally, who the trainers are is not very precisely stated, and their qualifications are not provided. The authors also believe that the time planned for some accredited activities is inadequate, in that very complex topics are covered in quite short sessions.

The Rulebook (Article 3) states that a teacher plans his own development based on the self-assessment of the competences he has developed. However, the question then arises of where teachers are supposed to learn about CPD planning and self-assessment. The review of the activities accredited since 2006 reveals no CPD opportunities for teachers to develop these skills. Ideally, quality INSETT is organized so that teachers can gain the skills necessary for planning and self-assessment.

Additionally, according to the Rulebook (Article 20), every teacher is obliged to keep a portfolio of his CPD activities and the institution in which a teacher works is required to be actively involved in its staff CPD by enabling them to exchange knowledge and experience, planning their CPD, monitoring their improvement, etc. Moreover, Articles 20 and 21 in the Rulebook state that a teacher is held responsible for self-evaluation of his own CPD. Furthermore, it is stated that the school needs to review the teacher's portfolio occasionally and evaluate the results of his CPD. The literature suggests that evaluators shall be people who are specially trained to perform this process. The question arises here of who performs the evaluation of teachers in Serbia and whether those who perform it possess adequate knowledge and skills. Moreover, it is uncertain as to how teachers should go about acquiring those skills necessary for performing such self-assessment as they are required to perform.

The Rulebook (Article 26) also requires that a teacher apply the newly acquired knowledge and skills by presenting to his colleagues what he has learned.

Even though the Rulebook makes this mention of the teachers' application of elements gained through CPD, it is a well-known fact that not all teachers do it. Namely, some pursue CPD just to formally meet the criteria and have already decided that there is nothing new they can learn. As there is no effective appraisal system in Serbia, those teachers who do not pursue their CPD or inquire about their practice and their student learning suffer no consequences whatsoever.

Despite the fact that the Rulebook suggests the school be actively engaged in the CPD of its teachers in different ways, it is more often than not the case that schools lack the necessary financial means and are thus unable to support their staff. Teachers often need to pay for pursuing their CPD from their own private funds. Moreover, English language teachers report discrimination when it comes to engaging in CPD. Even though they may be willing to pay for their own development, many teachers are not allowed to take a day off to attend an activity. They are advised to engage in development activities over the weekend so that the school does not need to find a replacement teacher for the day. Furthermore, there are believed to be too many CPD opportunities for English language teachers and teachers usually have to wait for their turn to be allowed to attend an activity. CPD is hence not seen as an integral part of the teaching career and the means planned and allocated for such development are insufficient for enabling and ensuring efficient CPD.

5. Conclusion

Based on the aforementioned views of CPD, the concept can be understood as a lifelong learning process that teachers, school authorities, policy makers and all those directly or indirectly involved in the education system should recognize as an integral part of the education process. Moreover, all these agents need to understand that they have equally important roles in CPD. Continuing professional development is also a process composed of different phases and only when all of these are included can it be regarded as continuing. If any one of the stages is missing, the continuity of the entire process is debatable.

A piecemeal approach to CPD is still adopted by many in Serbia. CPD is legally conceived as an integral part of the teaching career and as being central to quality teaching and learning. However, in reality it is seen as something that teachers do outside of school and which is solely their responsibility. Hence, the question of how some of the suggested phases are realized (planning, support, impact, evaluation, self-evaluation) is open to discussion. It is advisable that extensive research be done in order to gather accurate data that would direct the improvement of the situation.

In summation, unless it is generally understood and accepted as a turnkey systemic process encompassing stages and different agents with equally important roles, the question regarding the continuity of professional development for English language teachers in Serbia, and its efficacy in turn, will remain open to discussion.

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PONOVNO RAZMATRANJE POJMA STALNOG STRUČNOG USAVRŠAVANJA ZA NASTAVNIKE ENGLESKOG JEZIKA U SRBIJI: KOLIKO JE STRUČNO USAVRŠAVANJE KONTINUIRANO?

Rezime

Ovaj rad ponovo razmatra koncept stalnog stručnog usavršavanja za nastavnike kroz pregled različitih definicija pojma, njegovih oblika i faza. Takođe, u radu se analizira sistem stalnog stručnog usavršavanja u Srbiji sa ciljem da se utvrdi da li on nastavnicima engleskog jezika obezbeđuje usavršavanje koje je stalno i podržano i koje se sastoji od svih predloženih etapa koje doprinose njegovoj efikasnosti. Autorka zaključuje da iako pravni okvir nalaže da stalno stručno usavršavanje treba da ima podršku institucije u kojoj je nastavnik zaposlen, to nije u potpunosti tako u praksi. Štaviše, stalno stručno usavršavanje se često posmatra kao samostalna aktivnost nastavnika u koju se on uključuje van škole. Kao takvo, usavršavanje ne sadrži sve predložene faze koje bi obezbedile njegovu stalnost, pa i efikasnost.

Ključne reči: stalno stručno usavršavanje, nastavnik engleskog jezika, Srbija, stalnost

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THE TREATMENT OF POLYSEMY IN THE *OXFORD* *DICTIONARY OF ENGLISH*¹

This paper analyses the lexicographic practice of the *Oxford Dictionary of English* (ODE) employed in the treatment of polysemous lexemes. This analysis is focused on two important aspects of lexicographic practice: sense discrimination and the structure of dictionary entries. ODE is one of the main representatives of the contemporary lexicographic practice since its compilation is based on the principles of the contemporary cognitively oriented lexicological theory, which makes it quite different from traditional dictionaries. Thus, the aim of the paper is to determine the degree to which ODE consistently and systematically adheres to the principles of the cognitive linguistic theory in its treatment of polysemous lexemes. The results of the analysis are expected to show the path that the contemporary lexicographic practice should follow in order to keep up with the achievements of the contemporary lexicological theory since a solid theoretical foundation is necessary for the compilation of a modern and, above all, a reliable dictionary.

Key words: cognitive linguistics, prototype theory, lexicology, lexicography, polysemy, dictionary, entry, senses, sense discrimination, structure

1. Introduction

Atkins and Rundell (2008: 130) claim that a key prerequisite for tailoring a neat and an accurate dictionary entry is its foundation in relevant theoretical ideas, which emphasizes the significance of the interplay between lexicological theory and lexicographic practice. Consequently, if lexicographic practice tends to increase its effectiveness, user-friendliness and reliability of data offered in dictionaries, it needs to have a solid foundation in the contemporary lexicological theory,

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or, more precisely, the cognitively oriented lexicological theory. ODE represents a milestone in the development of the contemporary lexicographic practice since it breaks with the traditional principles of practice and turns to cognitive linguistic theory, or, in particular, the prototype theory as the basis for developing its new approach to tackle with challenging lexicographers' tasks, such as the treatment of polysemous lexemes. This paper is an attempt of determining the extent to which ODE consistently and systematically has applied the principles of the prototype theory in its actual practice.

2. Polysemy: A lexicological perspective

The initial step in this examination of the treatment of polysemy in one of the most influential English monolingual dictionaries is to arrive at the most comprehensive definition of the notion of polysemy and to understand the perception of polysemy in the contemporary cognitively oriented lexicological theory since forming a solid theoretical ground is a necessary tool in lexicographic practice, as it has already been pointed out in this paper.

2.1. The definition of the notion

Definitions of the notion of polysemy in linguistic, or more precisely, lexicological literature mainly boil down to a quite simplified formulation given by Lipka (2002: 92) according to which polysemy refers to the case in which a lexeme has several senses. However, Cruse (2004: 108) points out an additional, but a highly significant characteristic of polysemy referring to the fact that all senses of a single lexeme are mutually connected. The same characteristic is emphasized by Lyons (1990: 551) who uses the term *relatedness of meaning* referring to the fact that all senses of a single polysemous lexeme are mutually related since they are derived from the same basic sense by means of various mechanisms. In order to illustrate this claim, Lyons (1990: 551) refers to the noun *mouth* that has several related senses some of which are illustrated by the expressions *the mouth of the river*, *the mouth of the bottle* or *speak with somebody's mouth full*. In the last expression, the given noun is used in its basic or literal meaning that can be defined as *the part of the face which men and animals put food into or which they use for speaking* (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, 2009). Due to the figurative extension of meaning, this lexeme is also used for the reference to the part of the river where it joins the sea, or the open part at the top of a bottle. The inventory of the related senses of a lexeme forms its polysemous structure, the term used by Gortan-Premk (2004: 38).

The summary of the existing definitions of polysemy in lexicological theory can provide a comprehensive definition of the notion involving the key components

common for all or most of them: polysemy refers to the case in which a lexeme has several senses all of which are mutually connected due to their common base and presented within the same dictionary entry.

2.2. Polysemy in the contemporary lexicological theory: a cognitive linguistic view

The contemporary lexicological theory is dominated by the cognitive linguistic approach according to which meaning is a manifestation of a conceptual structure, which is a mediator between the world around us perceived by our senses on one hand and the language, on the other. This implies that a semantic structure in a language is based on a conceptual structure in our mind.

Sense as a key notion in the discussion of polysemy is a linguistic category and, as Dragičević (2007: 84) emphasizes, language is a part of the general human cognitive apparatus so that linguistic categories are organized as all other cognitive categories with the prototype as their core. In his attempt to define the notions of category and prototypicality, Geeraerts (1989) explains that prototypical categories exhibit degrees of typicality implying that all members within the same category are not equally representative for it. Thus, some members are more typical members of the category than others, while the best example of a category is regarded as its central member or the prototype which all other members of the category are compared with. Members of the same category are positioned closer to or further away from the prototype depending on the degree to which they are similar with it. The more similar they are to the prototype, the more central their position in the category is and vice versa, the less they are similar to the prototype, the more peripheral their position is so that categories are governed by graded membership. Another important feature of prototypical categories emphasized by Geeraerts (1989) is that their members are related by family resemblance, which means that they are mutually connected since they share some characteristics.

Such perception of a category organization has been introduced by the prototype theory that, as Dragičević (2007: 84) claims, can be successfully used for the analysis of lexical meaning including the cases of polysemy as well. A polysemous structure, as a prototypical category, is organized around its central member, the basic sense which the other senses are clustered around being classified into central and peripheral depending on the degree of their closeness to the prototype or the basic sense. Furthermore, according to the cognitive linguistic view, polysemy is generated from monosemy, which means that all senses in a polysemous structure are derived from the basic sense directly or indirectly through various derivational mechanisms including metaphor, metonymy, specialization, generalization etc. so that all senses within the same polysemous structure are mutually related due to the common base which all of them originated from, i.e. senses in the same polysemous structure are related by family resemblance.

The previously explained perception of a polysemous structure with the prototype in its centre is visually represented by the radial set model. Describing this model, Brugman and Lakoff explain that senses in a polysemous structure are clustered around the central member, the prototype or the basic sense and are related to it through various sense derivation mechanisms such as metaphor, metonymy, specialization, generalization, image schema transformations, etc. (as cited in Lewandowska-Tomszczyk 2007: 148). Lakoff (1987: 379) points out that noncentral members in a radial set are motivated by the central member being derived from it, but they are not necessarily predictable with respect to the prototype and they are not arbitrary either. The following illustration of a radial set contains the prototypical sense in the centre, while noncentral senses (also called peripheral) are grouped radially around it being connected to the central member by relational links showing how one sense is an extension of another:

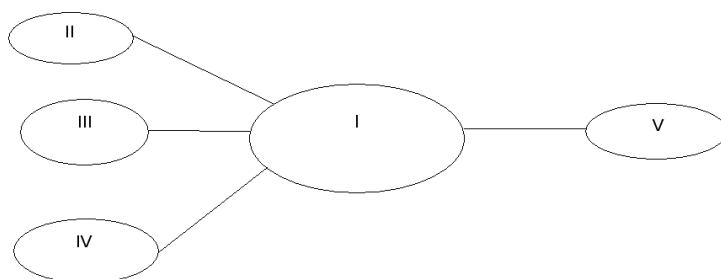


Figure 1: The visual representation of the radial set model given by Lewandowska-Tomszczyk (2007: 156)

The author of the paper suggests that senses derived from the prototypical sense can be divided into central and peripheral depending on the degree of their closeness to the prototype so that central senses are directly derived from the prototype while peripheral ones are directly derived from central senses that serve as their superordinates and only indirectly from the prototype. It should be noticed that peripheral senses could also be bases for further semantic derivation so that new peripheral senses are derived from them. According to this view, this process of semantic dispersion is recurrent since each new derived sense can become a base for the derivation of another sense or a set of senses ensuring the extension of the given semantic structure.

Such a classification of senses within a polysemous structure might be useful for lexicographers providing a firm theoretical base for sense discrimination and the structure and organization of a dictionary entry that reliably depicts the given semantic structure.

3. Polysemy: A lexicographic perspective

Since the subject of this paper is lexicographic treatment of polysemy, lexicographers' perception of polysemy cannot be neglected. What bothers lexicographers most, in the case of polysemous lexemes, is how to identify, and maybe even more importantly, how to discriminate various senses of a lexeme, which is one of the most challenging lexicographers' task subsumed under the term sense discrimination. This question is illustrated by Hanks' (2008: 126) attempt of discriminating the senses of the word *bank*:

How are we to regard expressions such as "data bank", "blood bank", "seed bank" and "sperm bank"? Are they to be treated as part of the "financial institution" sense? Even though no finance is involved, the notion of storing something for safe keeping is central. Or are we to list these all as separate senses (or as separate lexical entries), depending on what is stored?

Kilgariff (2008: 29) also suggests that there is no reliable way for determining the boundary between two senses of a lexeme, i.e. where the range of one sense ends and the range of another one begins.

Ayto (1983) perceives sense identification and differentiation as the process whose initial phase involves recognising the main uses of a lexeme as the superordinates in groups of related senses. After establishing groups of related meanings, it is necessary to define the criterion for differentiating individual senses within the given groups. The mentioned author offers the example of the lexeme *cup* and one group of its related senses whose superordinate is the sense 'container' within which there are two senses that could be differentiated: 'a sports trophy' and 'a container which it could be drunk from'. Within the latter sense, there are two senses that could be further differentiated: 'a ceramic cup' and 'a plastic cup for a coffee machine'.

The question that arises here refers to the degree to which it is advisable to differentiate senses or how detailed sense differentiation should be. Is it lexicographically justifiable to treat every contextual nuance as a separate sense? Sense differentiation is actually the matter of deciding on one of two available lexicographic strategies in this task: lumping (grouping of related senses or nuances into a single sense) or splitting (parsing of more general uses into several distinct, specific senses).

It is important to note that the process of sense identification is highly context dependant. Atkins and Rundell (2008: 296-307) emphasize the significance of the context as a source of sense indicators, which are, according to them, divided into external and internal ones. External indicators include extralinguistic factors such as: domain, dialect and temporal and cultural factors. For example, one use of a word can be characteristic only for a particular dialect of a language, which makes it specific enough to be recognized as a distinct sense and accordingly presented

within a dictionary entry. Internal indicators involve linguistic criteria for sense recognition including syntactical and lexico-grammatical features of a lexeme, collocations, typical referents etc. Both external and internal indicators can serve as reliable criteria for sense identification.

It can be concluded that lexicographers' main task in the treatment of polysemous lexemes is to form an inventory of all senses of a lexeme and differentiate among them properly, but this is not all. The next important step is to organize identified senses into a properly structured dictionary entry, which means to form a list of clearly differentiated, consecutively numbered senses that credibly reflects the given polysemous structure.

4. The *Oxford Dictionary of English*

This is a one-volume dictionary previously known as *The New Oxford Dictionary of English* published in 1998. However, the dictionary had a new edition in 2005 under the present title, which was followed by another edition in 2010 with the updated list of entries. The appearance of this dictionary is a significant milestone in the development of the contemporary lexicographic practice since it is the first dictionary based on the achievements in cognitive linguistics or, more precisely, cognitive semantics promoting, thus, a new, modernised approach to the treatment of polysemy and meaning in general. The new approach is announced in the introduction of this dictionary:

The *Oxford Dictionary of English* has been compiled according to principles which are quite different from those of traditional dictionaries. The approach to structuring and organizing within individual dictionary entries has been rethought... (The *Oxford Dictionary of English* 2005)

The innovation in the treatment of polysemy introduced by this dictionary is emphasized by the author Van Der Meer (2000: 421) while writing about NODE (the same lexicographic practice is continued in the later editions) and underlining that it shows that senses of a lexeme often "hang together" and are not completely independent so that entries in NODE are organized in such a way that the link among different senses of the same lexeme can be easily seen due to its suitable presentation. The main feature of ODE's practice concerning the treatment of polysemy is the differentiation between a lexeme's main uses labeled as core senses and their subsenses, i.e. more specific uses, which is confirmed in the introduction of the dictionary:

The general principle on which the senses in the *Oxford Dictionary of English* are organized is that each word has at least one core meaning, to which a number of subsenses may be attached... Core meanings represent typical,

central uses of the word in question in modern standard English, as established by research on and analysis of the Oxford English Corpus and other language databases. The core meaning is the one accepted by native speakers as the most literal and central in ordinary modern usage... The core sense also acts as a gateway to other, related subsenses. These subsenses are grouped under the core sense, each one being introduced by a solid square symbol... However, some entries are more complex and have different strands of meaning, each constituting a core sense. In this case, each core sense is introduced by a bold sense number, and each potentially has its own block of subsenses relating to it. (The *Oxford Dictionary of English* 2005)

The compilers of ODE also emphasize the logical relationship between each subsense and its superordinate, core meaning. This relationship is established on the basis of the fact that subsenses are derived from their superordinate, core sense through figurative extension, specialization, etc.

It can be concluded that the compilers of ODE had the tendency to create a dictionary whose structure and organization are based on the achievements of the contemporary, cognitively oriented lexicological theory in order to enable their users to readily find the desired sense but also to perceive the mutual relatedness of senses. The analysis that follows is expected to show the degree to which the compilers' attempt has been successful.

5. Analysis

The initial step in the analysis is to state the principles that should govern lexicographic practice with the foundation in the prototype theory. The statement of what is expected and the analysis of the degree to which the given expectations are fulfilled is the methodology applied in dictionary criticism, a branch of dictionary research.

In their attempt of arriving at a clear, neat, precise and reliable representation of a polysemous structure within a well-structured and organized dictionary entry, lexicographers need a firm grounding in the contemporary lexicological theory, which means a cognitively oriented theory, such as the prototype theory.

When applied in lexicographic practice, it is expected that the prototype theory sets forth the following major principles in tailoring a dictionary entry for a polysemous lexeme:

1) the primary sense, listed first in the entry, is established as the semantic core of the whole polysemous structure in question, i.e. as the basic use, the most literal one that has not been derived from any other sense in the structure by means of semantic derivational mechanisms but represents the semantic base from which all

other members of the given structure have been derived directly (central uses) or indirectly (peripheral uses),

2) hierarchical structuring of an entry (there are numbered paragraphs within an entry headed by the superordinate sense followed by its subsenses),

3) hierarchical structuring requires proper sense identification which implies following the paths of semantic derivation so that central senses are identified first as the senses closest to the prototype and as superordinates of the clusters of closely related senses; subsequently, peripheral senses are identified according to the levels of semantic derivation within the structure, from lower levels or the ones closer to the prototype towards higher levels or the ones further away from the prototype,

4) the proper identification of all senses in a polysemous structure implies the recognition of mechanisms through which senses have been derived; these mechanisms function as the criteria on the basis of which senses are identified,

5) proper fine sense differentiation which implies lumping of superordinate senses so that they are general enough to subsume all their subsenses and splitting of subsenses.

Such lexicographic practice with a solid theoretical grounding is expected to result in the creation of entries that will enable dictionary users to quickly and easily access the desired sense as well as to gain an insight into the status of a particular sense and its relatedness to other senses in the given polysemous structure.

The subject of the analysis set forth in this paper is the determination of the degree to which ODE consistently and systematically applies the principles of the cognitively oriented lexicological theory or, more precisely, the prototype theory in the treatment of polysemous lexemes. Moreover, this analysis will show how reliably ODE's lexicographic principles, when put into practice, reflect polysemous structures, the status of individual senses within them in terms of the oppositions central-peripheral senses, superordinate senses-subsenses, and relations among senses. The sample for this analysis includes three entries in the examined dictionary belonging to different parts of speech: the noun *head*, verb *fall* and adjective *hard*. These parts of speech have been selected as the samples for the given analysis since they frequently exhibit cases of polysemy and their polysemous structures can be rich and complex containing a number of senses derived by means of various mechanisms so that they represent a challenge for lexicographers in their task of tailoring neat and clear lists of consecutively numbered senses. Two aspects of lexicographic practice in ODE are analysed: sense discrimination including both identification and differentiation of senses and the structure of entries. Sense discrimination and the structure of entries are taken into account since they represent two aspects of lexicographic practice where the application of principles of the cognitively oriented lexicological theory is clearly reflected.

5.1. *Sense discrimination*

According to the guidelines for sense discrimination with the foundation in the principles of the prototype theory explained previously in this paper, the first step is to determine the semantic core of the given polysemous structure labeled as the primary sense and listed first in an entry being the most literal and the basic use that has not been derived from any other sense in the structure by means of figurative extension of meaning, specialization, generalization etc.

It is noticeable that ODE completely fulfills the first requirement in the procedure of sense discrimination regarding the identification of the primary sense. The primary senses in the analysed entries represent the semantic cores of the given structures or the most literal uses so that they are justifiably positioned as the heads of the given sense inventories (appendix, illustrations 1, 2, 3).

However, a thorough analysis of sense discrimination in ODE requires further examination of secondary senses in the given entries.

Generally speaking, the discrimination of secondary senses is detailed and in-depth since their inventory includes central uses as well as a significant number of peripheral uses mainly positioned as the subsenses of the mentioned central senses. This claim implies that the inventory of identified senses is comprehensive reliably reflecting the richness of the given polysemous structures.

Sense discrimination within the semantic structure of the noun *head* respects the principles of the prototype theory since each of the numbered senses, or the superordinate senses in the paragraphs, has the status of a central use representing a specific strand of meaning in the given polysemous structure directly derived from the basic sense or the prototype by means of various mechanisms, for example, sense 3 through metaphor extension based on the conceptual pattern *THE HEAD IS THE FRONT OR UPPER PART OF AN INANIMATE ENTITY*, sense 4 through both metaphoric (according to the pattern *THE HEAD IS THE GOVERNING PART OF THE BODY*) and metonymic extension (based on the pattern *THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE PERSON*) acting as complementary mechanisms, sense 6 by metaphor according to the pattern *THE HEAD IS THE MAIN PROCESSING COMPONENT OF AN ELECTRONIC DEVICE*, etc. (appendix, illustration 3).

Most of the numbered superordinate senses serve as the bases for further semantic derivation so that their paragraphs contain a list of subsenses or peripheral senses in the structure. The representative example is paragraph 2 in which the superordinate sense is derived through metaphoric extension from the basic sense, but it is also a base from which a number of peripheral senses have been derived through specialization or its narrowing to a particular entity or a set of entities, such as: ‘the flattened or knobbed end of a nail, pin, screw, or match’, ‘the ornamented top of a pillar or a column’, ‘a compact mass of leaves or flowers at the top of a stem, especially a capitulum’, etc. (appendix, illustration 3). The same paragraph is simultaneously a repre-

sentative example of properly balanced sense differentiation strategies – lumping and splitting. Lumping is used for establishing the superordinate sense so that its scope is general and wide enough to subsume all its subsenses, which are determined by the use of splitting so that each of them is a variation of the superordinate sense related to a very specific context while the distinctions among them are clearly defined.

However, in the entry for the adjective *hard*, sense identification does not consistently follow derivational paths. The first paragraph headed by the primary, basic sense contains two more senses, i.e. two metaphoric uses obviously perceived as the two uses more closely related to the prototype than the other central uses so that they are treated as the subsenses of the primary sense. Still, taking into account their figurative nature based on the patterns PHYSICAL HARDNESS IS MENTAL STRENGTH and PHYSICAL HARDNESS IS STABILITY, it can be claimed that the two uses in question are equally closely related to the prototype as the other numbered central uses in the entry, especially figurative ones, such as sense 4 derived according to the conceptual pattern BEING PHYSICALLY HARD IS BEING RELIABLE AND ACCURATE or sense 5 derived according to the pattern BEING PHYSICALLY HARD IS BEING OF GREAT INTENSITY (appendix, illustration 2). Thus, if sense discrimination procedure in the case of the adjective *hard* had consistently followed the derivational paths within this polysemous structure, the two mentioned figurative uses would have been established as separate and numbered central uses. In this way, their status within the given polysemous structure would have been properly and reliably reflected.

Furthermore, it should be noticed that sense 4 is unjustifiably positioned and labeled as a central use due to its scope including only a specific referent ('information'), which suggests that it could be treated as a subsense, together with the other two subsenses in the given paragraph, of a more generally defined superordinate sense and a central use – 'factually reliable' (appendix, illustration 2). Consequently, sense 4 would be treated as a result of specialization or narrowing of the mentioned superordinate sense, i.e. as a subsense related to a specific referent, just as the other subsenses in this paragraph are related to their own specific referents – 'a subject of study' and 'science fiction' (appendix, illustration 2). However, since the given superordinate sense has not been recognized, one step on this derivational path is omitted. Moreover, as for sense differentiation, a proper balance between lumping and splitting has not been achieved since the paragraph lacks the superordinate sense generalized enough to subsume the related subsenses.

A similar example is noticeable in the entry for the verb *fall* where the superordinate sense in the second paragraph does not represent a sense directly derived from the prototype and defined generally enough to subsume all its subsenses but it is one of possible specific variations of a more general, central use 'collapse' (appendix, illustration 1). Namely, sense 2 refers to an animate referent ('people') representing one strand of meaning defined as 'losing one's balance', while the other strand is related to inanimate referents such as 'trees', 'constructions' or

‘computer hardware and software’, while both strands represent the subsenses of the mentioned superordinate sense and central use. Positioning of sense 2 as the superordinate sense in the given paragraph signals the omission of one step on this derivational path, i.e. the general, central use ‘collapse’ has not been identified.

The analysis of sense discrimination in ODE leads to the conclusion that it is founded in the contemporary cognitive linguistic theory and that it adheres to the principles of the prototype theory to a high degree but not completely since there have been noticed the cases of deviation from this practice. Namely, certain steps on derivational paths have been neglected and, consequently, certain central uses have not been recognised. Moreover, certain peripheral senses are unjustifiably positioned as superordinate senses in paragraphs. There are, also, the opposite cases in which central uses are treated as subsenses, i.e. their status and position in the given polysemous structure has not been adequately recognised.

5.2. The structure of entries

One of the most prominent features of lexicographic practice with the foundation in the principles of the prototype theory is the hierarchical structure of entries since it clearly shows the different status of senses in a polysemous structure, i.e. it points out the distinction between superordinate senses and subsenses. The hierarchical structure of entries is characterized by grouping of senses that are closely related on the basis of family resemblance into the same numbered paragraph. In the given paragraph, the most generally defined sense is singled out and given a specific status of the superordinate sense followed by a list of subsenses derived from it and marked by letters (according to the principle 1a, 1b, 2a, 2b, 2c, etc). Thus, the structure of the whole paragraph is based on the relation of subordination between the superordinate sense on one hand, and its subsenses, on the other.

Even a quick glance at entries in ODE reveals that they are hierarchically structured since closely related senses are grouped and each group is headed by a numbered superordinate sense that is made prominent in this way. The superordinate sense acts as an “umbrella sense” for its subsenses that are given in an uninterrupted chain, one after another without being labeled by a number or a letter or being singled out into mutually separated subparagraphs (appendix, illustrations 1, 2, 3). This observation leads to the conclusion that ODE obeys the principles of the prototype theory regarding the structure of its entries which is hierarchical. However, the visual representation of ODE’s hierarchical structuring is not adequately realized to an expected extent since, due to their presentation within an uninterrupted chain, the list of subsenses is not clear and visually effective enough to enable easy spotting of a needed sense.

6. Conclusion

The analysis presented in this paper has shown that ODE could be justifiably considered as a landmark in the contemporary lexicographic practice since it introduces a new model for the treatment of polysemy theoretically founded in the principles of cognitive linguistics or, precisely, the prototype theory. This model is based on the analysis of the given polysemous structure in terms of determining its core or the prototype representing a base for the derivation of secondary senses divided into central senses directly derived from the prototype and peripheral senses directly derived from the central senses but indirectly from the core. Proper sense discrimination requires following each of derivational paths ranging from the prototype to peripheral senses least closely related to the core. In this way, the position and status of each sense in a structure are adequately identified. The analysis of sense discrimination in ODE has shown that this dictionary does not follow each path consistently so that certain central uses are not identified in which case a peripheral sense is unjustifiably positioned as the superordinate sense in the given numbered paragraph or a central use is identified but not in accordance with its status in the structure so that it is positioned as a subsense in the given paragraph. However, such cases are exceptions taking into account general sense discrimination practice in ODE since most of the derivational paths in the analysed polysemous structures are properly and completely identified including well-balanced sense differentiation so that lumping and splitting are adequately employed. Thus, it can be concluded that ODE's actual sense discrimination practice squares with the principles of the prototype theory to a high degree. This claim is also supported by the observation that primary senses in the analysed entries are properly identified as the cores of their polysemous structures whose richness is reliably reflected and presented within exhaustive sense lists. The mentioned model requires an adequate presentation of polysemous structures within entries, which is achieved by the hierarchical structure of entries that is present in ODE. Superordinate senses are made prominent by being numbered and positioned at the top of each paragraph that also contains a list of subsenses following the superordinate sense. Not only does hierarchical structure provide compilers with the possibility to reliably represent the status of each sense in a polysemous structure, but it also solves 'the problem of linearization' defined by Geeraerts (2001: 13) as the challenge of mapping the multidimensional nature of semantic structure onto the linear order of a dictionary. Namely, in a hierarchical structure of an entry, central uses are made prominent as superordinate senses in their paragraphs but peripheral uses are accessible as well in their position of subsenses, which reveals that a polysemous structure has several levels or dimensions of derivation ranging from the core sense to peripheral senses. The only noticed disadvantage in ODE's presentation of hierarchical structure is the fact that subsenses are not adequately mutually separated, which possibly harms an easy access to them.

Although the practice of this dictionary does not consistently and systematically square with the principles of the given theoretical basis to a full extent, it certainly provides a role model for future dictionaries in terms of presenting rich polysemous structures within user-friendly dictionary entries resulting from effective interrelatedness between lexicographic practice and the contemporary lexicological theory.

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Appendix

The analysed entries of ODE

1. fall

fall /fɔ:l/ 

► **verb** (past **fell** /fel/, past participle **fallen** /'fɔ:l(ə)n/) [no obj., with adverbial]

1. Move from a higher to a lower level, typically rapidly and without control: *bombs could be seen **falling from** the planes* | *my purse **fell out of** my bag* | (as adj. **falling**) *she was injured by a **falling** tree.*
 - (**fall off**) become detached and drop to the ground: *my sunglasses **fell off** and broke on the pavement.*
 - hang down: *hair that was allowed to **fall to** the shoulders.*
 - (of land) slope downwards: *the land **fell away** in a steep bank.*
 - [no obj.] (of someone's eyes or glance) be directed downwards: *Albert's eyes **fell**, and he blushed.*
 - [no obj.] (of someone's face) show dismay or disappointment by appearing to droop: *her face **fell** as she thought about her life with George.*
2. (of a person) lose one's balance and collapse: *she **fell down** at school today.*
 - throw oneself to the ground: *she **fell to** her knees and began to weep.*
 - (of a tree or structure) collapse to the ground: *after the earthquake, part of the city **fell down**.*
 - (**fall over**) **informal** (of computer hardware or software) stop working suddenly; crash: *the program **fell over** once when I clicked on the wrong control.*
3. Decrease in number, amount, intensity, or quality: *imports **fell by** 12 per cent* | *we're worried that standards are **falling**.*
 - (of a measuring instrument) show a lower reading: *the barometer had **fallen** a further ten points.*
 - (**fall away**) (in sport) play less well: *when he **fell** the whole team **fell away**.*
4. Be captured or defeated: *their mountain strongholds **fell to** enemy attack.*
 - **Cricket** (of a wicket) be taken by the bowling side: *more wickets **fell**.*
 - die in battle: *an English leader who had **fallen** at the hands of the Danes.*
 - [no obj.] (of a government or leader) lose office or be overthrown.
 - [no obj.] **archaic** yield to temptation: *it is their husbands' fault if wives do **fall**.*

5. Pass into a specified state, situation, or position: *many of the buildings **fell into** disrepair* | [with complement] *she **fell** pregnant*.
 - occur or take place: *when night **fell** we crawled back to our lines* | *her birthday **fell** on May Day*.
 - (**fall to doing something**) begin to do something: *he **fell to** musing about how it had happened*.
 - be drawn accidentally into: *you must not **fall into** this common error*.
6. Be classified in the way specified: *canals **fall within** the Minister's brief*.

Illustration 1: The entry for the verb *fall* in ODE

2. hard

hard /hɑ:d/ 

► adjective

1. Solid, firm, and rigid; not easily broken, bent, or pierced: *the slate **broke on the hard** floor* | *rub the varnish down when it's **hard***.
 - (of a person) not showing any signs of weakness; tough: *only a handful are **hard enough** to join the SAS*.
 - (of prices of shares, commodities, etc.) high and stable; firm.
2. Done with a great deal of force or strength: *a **hard** whack*.
3. Requiring a great deal of endurance or effort: *airship-flying was pretty **hard** work* | *it's **hard** for drummers these days* | [with infinitive] *she found it **hard** to believe that he could be involved*.
 - putting a lot of energy into an activity: *he'd been a **hard** worker all his life* | *everyone has been **hard** at work*.
 - difficult to bear; causing suffering: *times were **hard** at the end of the war* | *he'd had a **hard** life*.
 - difficult to understand or solve: *this is a really **hard** question*.
 - not showing sympathy or affection; strict: *he can be such a **hard** taskmaster*.
 - denoting an extreme or dogmatic faction within a political party: *the **hard** left*.
 - (of a season or the weather) severe: *it's been a long, **hard** winter*.
 - harsh or unpleasant to the senses: *the **hard** light of morning*.
 - (of wine) harsh or sharp to the taste, especially because of tannin.
4. (of information) reliable, especially because based on something true or substantiated: *hard facts about the underclass are maddeningly **elusive***.
 - (of a subject of study) dealing with precise and verifiable facts: *efforts to turn psychology into **hard** science*.
 - (of science fiction) scientifically accurate rather than purely fantastic or whimsical: *a **hard** SF novel*.

5. Very potent, powerful, or intense, in particular:
 - strongly alcoholic; denoting a spirit rather than beer or wine.
 - (of a drug) potent and addictive.
 - (of radiation) highly penetrating.
 - (of pornography) highly obscene and explicit.
6. (of water) containing mineral salts that make lathering difficult.
7. (of a consonant) pronounced as a velar plosive (as *c* in *cat*, *g* in *go*).

Illustration 2: The entry for the adjective *hard* in ODE

3. head

head /hed/ 

► **noun**

1. The upper part of the human body, or the front or upper part of the body of an animal, typically separated from the rest of the body by a neck, and containing the brain, mouth, and sense organs.
 - the head regarded as the location of intellect, imagination, and memory: *whatever comes into my head*.
 - **(head for)** an aptitude for or tolerance of: *she had a good head for business* | *a head for heights*.
 - **informal** a headache, especially one resulting from intoxication.
 - the height or length of a head as a measure: *he was beaten by a head*.
 - **(heads)** the side of a coin bearing the image of a head (used when tossing a coin to determine a winner): *heads or tails?*
 - the antlers of a deer: *stags yearly cast their heads in March*.
2. A thing resembling a head either in form or in relation to a whole, in particular:
 - the cutting, striking, or operational end of a tool, weapon, or mechanism.
 - the flattened or knobbed end of a nail, pin, screw, or match.
 - the ornamented top of a pillar or column.
 - a compact mass of leaves or flowers at the top of a stem, especially a capitulum: *huge heads of fluffy cream flowers*.
 - the edible leafy part at the top of the stem of such green vegetables as cabbage and lettuce.
3. The front, forward, or upper part or end of something, in particular:
 - the upper end of a table or bed: *he sat down at the head of the cot*.
 - the upper horizontal part of a window frame or door frame.
 - the flat end of a cask or drum.
 - the front of a queue or procession: *at the head of the queue*.

- the front of a queue or procession: *at the head of the queue.*
 - the top of a page.
 - short for headline.
 - the top of a flight of stairs or steps.
 - the foam on top of a glass of beer, or the cream on the top of milk.
 - the source of a river or stream.
 - the end of a lake or inlet at which a river enters.
 - [usu. in place names] a promontory: *Beachy Head.*
 - the top of a ship's mast.
 - the bows of a ship.
 - short for cylinder head.
4. A person in charge of something; a director or leader: *the head of the Dutch Catholic Church.*
 - Brit. short for headmaster, headmistress, or head teacher.
 5. A person considered as a numerical unit: *they paid fifty pounds a head.*
 - [treated as pl.] a number of cattle or game as specified: *seventy head of dairy cattle.*
 6. A component in an audio, video, or information system by which information is transferred from an electrical signal to the recording medium, or vice versa.
 - the part of a record player that holds the playing cartridge and stylus.
 - short for printhead.
 7. A body of water kept at a particular height in order to provide a supply at sufficient pressure: *an 8 m head of water in the shafts.*
 - the pressure exerted by a head of water or by a confined body of steam: *a good head of steam on the gauge.*
 8. Nautical a toilet on a ship or boat: *they were cleaning out the heads.*
 9. Grammar the word that governs all the other words in a phrase in which it is used, having the same grammatical function as the whole phrase.
 10. [mass noun] Geology a superficial deposit of rock fragments, formed at the edge of an ice sheet by repeated freezing and thawing and then moved downhill.

Illustration 3: The entry for the noun *head* in ODE

OBRADA POLISEMIJE U REČNIKU *OXFORD DICTIONARY OF ENGLISH***Rezime**

U ovom radu analizira se model leksikografske prakse u *Oxford Dictionary of English* (ODE) primenjen pri obradi višeznačnih leksema s težištem na njena dva važna aspekta: identifikaciji i diferencijaciji značenja i strukturi rečničkog članka. Pomenuti rečnik je jedan od glavnih predstavnika savremene leksikografske prakse s obzirom da je sastavljen prema teorijskom utemeljenju koje čine principi kognitivno orijentisane leksikološke teorije, što predstavlja inovaciju u leksikografskoj praksi uopšte. Stoga, cilj ove analize jeste utvrđivanje stepena u kome ODE dosledno i sistematično poštuje kognitivno-lingvističke principe prilikom obrade višeznačnih leksema, a nagoveštene u uvodu rečnika. Rezultati analize su pokazali da se ODE opravdano može smatrati prekretnicom u razvoju savremene leksikografske prakse s obzirom da pomenute teorijske principe s visokim stepenom uspešnosti i doslednosti primenjuje u svojoj praksi, mada ne i u potpunosti. Ipak, dati rečnik predstavlja uzor za buduće rečnike koji teže osavremenjivanju svoje prakse i potpunijem ispunjavanju potreba korisnika.

Ključne reči: kognitivna lingvistika, teorija prototipa, leksikologija, leksikografija, polisemija, rečnik, rečnički članak, značenja, identifikacija i diferencijacija značenja, struktura

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COMPLIMENT RESPONSES – A STUDY OF THE PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE OF ADVANCED EFL STUDENTS IN SERBIA

The paper presents the results of a study on compliment responses (CRs) produced by advanced L2 learners of English whose L1 is Serbian. The paper has three main goals: (1) to establish the similarities and differences between the CRs used by speakers of Serbian and speakers of English, (2) to explore the extent to which advanced Serbian L2 learners produce target like CRs in English and (3) to determine whether pragmatic transfer is shown to occur. Written discourse completion tests (WDCTs) were used to study the strategies employed when responding to compliments in the students' L1 and L2 (English). The findings suggest that Serbian expressions and strategies were sometimes used in English (L2), suggesting that due to lack of explicit instruction, learners do transfer some of their L1 pragmatic norms to L2, believing these to be universal among languages.

Key words: pragmatic competence, compliment responses, advanced EFL students, interlanguage pragmatics

1. Introduction

Bachman (1990) uses the term 'pragmatic competence' to refer to the knowledge of communicative action/ speech acts and how to carry them out (illocutionary competence) on the one hand, and the ability to use language appropriately according to context (sociolinguistic competence) on the other. Put differently, pragmatic competence is the ability to use language forms in a wide range of environments, affecting the relationship between the language users and the social and cultural context of the situation (Gass & Selinker 2001; Lightbown & Spada 1999, as cited in Yuan 2012).

Research into the pragmatic competence of adult foreign and second language learners has shown that grammatical development does not necessarily go hand

in hand with a corresponding level of pragmatic development (Bardovi-Harlig & Dörnyei 1997, as cited in Kasper 1997) and that even advanced learners may fail to comprehend or to convey the intended intentions and politeness values (Eslami-Rasekh 2005). And while learners often get a considerable amount of L2 pragmatic knowledge “for free”, either because it is universal or because it may be transferred from the learner’s L1, pragmatic ability still requires special attention in language teaching given that learners often fail to use their universal or transferable L1 pragmatic knowledge in L2 contexts.

Numerous studies of speech acts have established that speech act behaviour and realization is heavily influenced by sociocultural norms and constraints, which may result in significant differences between two cultures’ interactional style. It is not surprising then that speech acts in different social contexts are but one area where advanced EFL students typically show poor command. In this paper, we focus on the speech act of compliments, more specifically compliment responses. Compliments have been claimed to have an ambiguous interpretation (Brown & Levinson 1987). On the one hand, they are considered a positive politeness strategy and on the other hand, they also present a face threatening act against the hearer because they (may) express a desire of the speaker towards the hearer or his/her possessions. In other words, the speech act (compliments) is used as a way to be polite (politeness strategy) and at the same time as an act which can reverse their hearer-based framework (Karafoti 2007). Similarly, compliment responses are certainly among the more difficult speech acts to perform in L2, given that they are restricted by two conflicting conditions, “agreeing with the complimenter to be polite, and disagreeing with the complimenter to avoid self-praise” (Pomerantz 1978; Herbert 1989).

There is a substantial body of research in interlanguage pragmatics dealing with cross-cultural differences in the content of compliment responses (CRs). This phenomenon has been extensively investigated both by comparing CRs of native speakers of English with CRs of non-native speakers of various L1 backgrounds (American and Chinese in Chen 1993; British and Spanish in Lorenzo-Dus 2001; American and Thai in Cedar 2006; Australian and Chinese in Tang & Zhang 2009, as cited in Boonkongsan 2011, see also Al-Humaidi 2006 and Al Falasi 2007 for American and Arabic), as well as by studying the similarities and differences in the content of CRs produced by English learners of various L1 backgrounds, such as Korean (Han 1992), Chinese (Liu 1995; Qu & Wang 2005; Yu 2003, 2004), Turkish (Bulut & Ozkan 2005), Vietnamese (Tran 2007, 2008), among others (Phoocharoensil 2012). As pointed out by Cheng (2011: 2204), corpus studies have shown native English speakers to “apply multiple types of compliments in a wide range of contexts, such as initiating conversation, greetings, farewells and expressing gratitude. Responses to compliments usually mirror the social-cultural values and politeness varieties of the speakers. While acceptance of the compliment was shown

to be most commonly adopted by native English speakers (Chen 1993; Herbert 1986; Holmes and Brown 1987), downgrading and rejections were usually used by speakers of other languages, especially those from Asian regions such as China, Taiwan, Japan and Vietnam (Chen 1993; Baba 1996; Tran 2006; Yu 2004). This distinctive difference in CRs produced by speakers of different L1s was given as one of the main reasons for difficulties faced by L2 learners in producing target-like compliment responses (Baba 1996; Tran 2006; Yu 2004)". Thus, in the majority of cases, speakers transferred their L1 pragmatic and discourse knowledge to L2, which, according to Tran (2002), is likely to occur when L1 and L2 cultural norms differ noticeably. Since English and Serbian both belong to the common European culture, the CR strategies employed by advanced EFL learners whose L1 is Serbian were not expected to differ dramatically either from their CRs in English or from the typical CRs of native speakers of English. However, the expectation was that due to lack of explicit instruction and very limited exposure to real-life communication in English, EFL learners' CRs will largely reduce to *Thank you!* and that even in the rare cases where the CR production of the research participants was more extensive, it was expected to show very limited variation with respect to the strategies employed. The pragmatic production of the advanced EFL learners who participated in this research was thus predicted to be the result of pragmatic transfer and to be at a significantly lower level than their linguistic development.

The paper is structured in the following way: Section 2 gives a brief overview of Speech act theory, focusing on the speech act of compliments and compliment responses and presents the taxonomy of CRs which will be adopted in this research. Section 3 presents the research methodology employed, including the participants, the data collection instruments and the procedures, while Section 4 brings the results and findings of the research. Section 5 briefly recapitulates the main findings of the paper and gives pedagogical implications. Finally, Section 6 concludes the paper and suggests directions for future research.

2. The speech act of compliments and compliment responses

Speech act theory aims to account for how speakers use language to accomplish intended actions and how hearers infer intended meaning from what is said. Building on Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1969) theories, Cohen (1996) classifies speech acts into five groups based on the functions assigned to them. These are (1) representatives (assertions, claims, reports), (2) directives (suggestions, requests, commands), (3) expressives (apologies, complaints, thanks, compliments), (4) commissives (promises, threats, offers) and (5) declaratives (decrees, declarations). Clearly, there are other classifications of speech acts, but what most authors agree on is the important distinction

between direct and indirect speech acts, a distinction based on whether the speaker actually says what he means or whether he “communicates to the hearer more than he actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background information, both linguistic and nonlinguistic, together with the general powers of rationality and inference on the part of the hearer.” (Searle 1975: 60-61)

As already pointed out, CRs are an expressive speech act, in which the speaker has to balance two conflicting constraints, namely (1) to agree with the speaker and (2) to avoid self-praise. If the recipient of a compliment responds by agreeing with the speaker, the response goes against the sociolinguistic expectations of the speaker because it will contain self-praise. If, on the other hand, the speaker does not accept the compliment in order to avoid self-praise, the response will be face threatening for the speaker as it will violate the first condition (Pomerantz 1978). To mediate this conflict, recipients of compliments may resort to a variety of solutions. The taxonomy of CRs that will be employed in this paper was put forward by Holmes (1988, 1993), based on Pomerantz’s (1978) discussion. It involves three macro strategies (Accept, Reject and Deflect/Evade) and ten micro-strategies, as shown in Table 1.

Macro level CRs	Micro level CRs	Examples
Accept	Appreciation token	“Thanks”; “Thank you”; “Cheers”; “Yes”; “Good”
	Agreeing utterance	“I know”; “I am glad you think so”; “I did realize I did that well”; “Yeah, I really like it.”
	Downgrading/ Qualifying utterance	“It’s nothing”; “It was no problem”; “I enjoyed doing it”; “I hope it was ok”; “I still only use it to call people”; “It’s not bad.”
	Return compliment	“You’re not too bad yourself”; “Your child was an angel”; “I’m sure you will be great”; “Yours was good too.”
Reject	Disagreeing utterance	“Nah, I don’t think so”; “I thought I did badly”; “Nah, it’s nothing special”; “It is not”; “Don’t say so.”
	Question accuracy	“Why?”; “Is it right?”
	Challenge sincerity	“Stop lying”; “Don’t lie”; “Don’t joke about it”; “You must be kidding”; “Don’t, come on.”

Evade	Shift credit	“That’s what friends are for”; “You’re polite”; “No worries”; “My pleasure.”
	Informative comment	“It wasn’t hard”; “You can get it from [store name]”; “It’s really cheap.”
	Request reassurance	“Really?”

Table 1: Holmes’ (1988) taxonomy of compliment responses

In Section 4 (Results and discussion), the analysis of the CRs will be presented both with respect to the macro level and the micro level.

3. Research methodology

3.1. Participants

The overall aim of the present paper is to contribute to attaining a clearer picture of advanced EFL students’ pragmatic competence by examining the compliment responses they produce, specifically (1) by establishing the similarities and differences between the CRs used by speakers of Serbian and speakers of English, (2) by exploring the extent to which advanced Serbian L2 learners produce target-like CRs in English and (3) by determining whether pragmatic transfer is shown to occur. In line with these aims, there were two groups of research participants: group 1 consisted of 39 third-year students of humanities (29 female, 9 male, mean age: 21.63) whose L1 is Serbian and who completed the Serbian version of the questionnaire, while group 2 totalled 35 fourth-year students (31 female, 4 male, mean age: 22.71) of the English Department at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad, Serbia and they were given the English version of the questionnaire.

3.2. Data collection

The participants’ responses were elicited using a three-part questionnaire. In the first part, the respondents were required to state their sex and age. The aim of the second part of the questionnaire was to determine how often the research participants compliment others, what they most often compliment on (interlocutor’s appearance, ability/achievement or possession), as well as who they most often address compliments to. For all three questions a list of items was provided (see Appendix) and the respondents were asked to indicate their answers using the numbers 1 (often), 2 (sometimes) or 3 (never).

The participants' pragmatic competence was tested in the third part of the questionnaire, in the form of an open-ended written discourse completion test (WDCT), i.e. a questionnaire containing written prompts (brief descriptions of real-life situations) followed by a space in which the respondent was required to produce a response to a compliment.

This part of the questionnaire involved nine situations in which the situational setting was intertwined with the sociopragmatic variable of social power.¹ The first variable concerns the topic of complimenting (appearance, ability/achievement and possession), while the second one is related to the power of the complimenter over the complementee (more power, equal power or less power). Previous research (Manes 1983; Holmes 1986; Creese 1991) has shown that Americans tend to compliment most on appearance, but that ability is the largest category of compliments with the British (Creese 1991).² A great majority of compliments have been found to be addressed to people of similar age and status to the compliment giver (Knapp, Hopper, & Bell 1984). Given that to the best of the author's knowledge no research has been conducted in Serbian (but see Ivanetić 1999 on compliments in Croatian), in order to find out whether there is transfer to L2 it was necessary to learn more about the habit of complimenting in the research participants' L1.

An example of a WDCT used in the questionnaire is given below:

1. You are wearing a new Rolex watch. You meet a friend at your office.

Friend: Wow! What a nice watch! I wish I had one like that!

You: _____

Although WDCT, as a method of data collection has received criticism due to the fact that some situations may put the informants into roles with which they are unfamiliar and thus create unnatural utterances, as well as because the space provided on the sheets may constrain the length of the informant's response, it is also true that WDCTs are an effective means of gathering large amounts of data quickly and are fairly easy to administer.

3.3. Procedures

Research participants were asked to complete the questionnaire in order to determine their pragmatic competence in responding to compliments in their L1, Serbian (group 1) and in English (group 2), as their L2. For the responses collected in the second part of the questionnaire, the mean value was determined for each item

¹ Some of the situations were replicated from Yuan (2012).

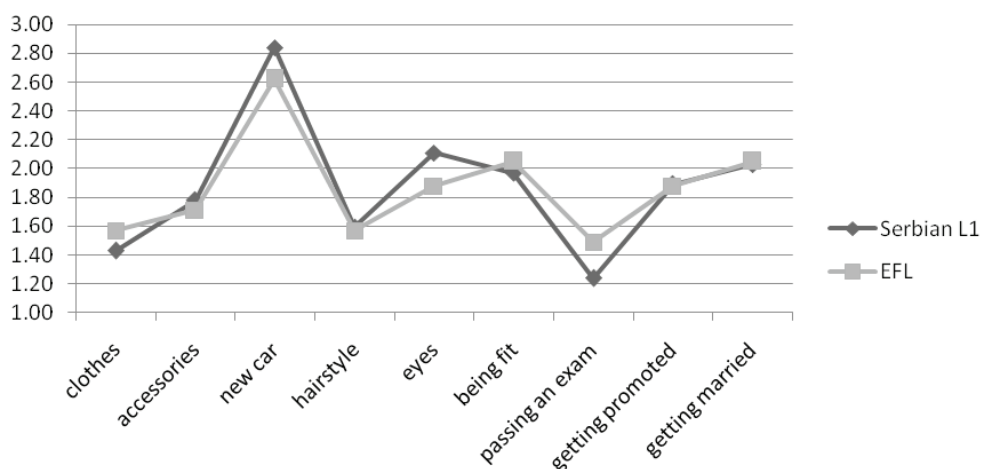
² In a corpus of 73 American compliments and 138 British compliments, Creese (1991) identifies 65.8% vs. 53% compliments pertaining to appearance, 32.9% vs. 54.3% concerning ability and only 1.3% vs. 7.3% of the compliments have to do with possession.

and the results of the two groups were compared. The participants' responses in the WDCTs were classified in line with Holmes' (1988) taxonomy of CRs given above in Section 2. Then, the total frequency and percentage of both the macro and the micro strategies used by the participants were calculated, both for Serbian and for English. Finally, these were compared with the findings reported in the literature on CRs in English (Creese 1991; Lorenzo-Dus 2001; Cheng 2011).

In the next section, we present the results along with a description and comparison of the results between the two groups of respondents.

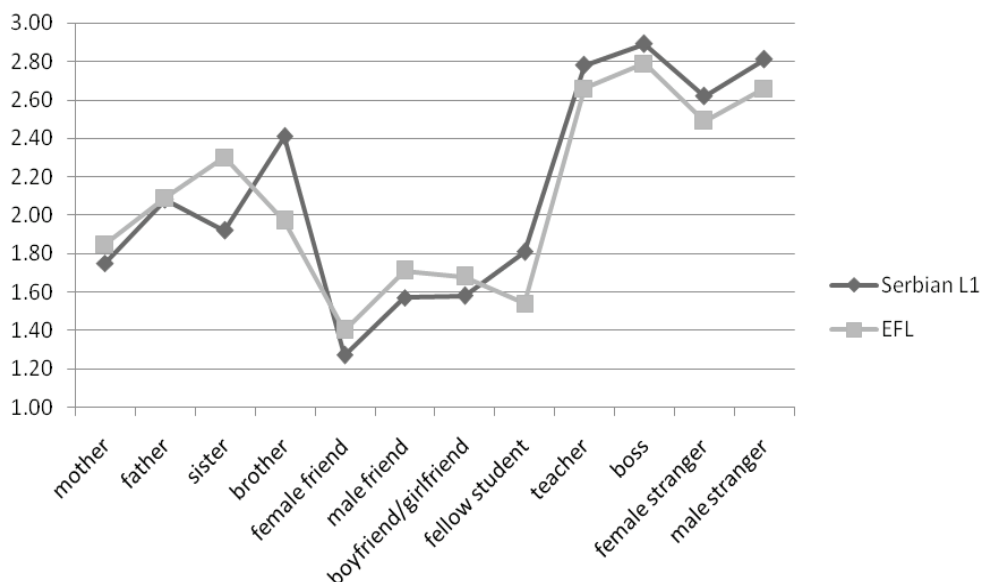
4. Results and discussion

The analysis of the complimenting behaviour of the two groups of respondents suggests that compliments are paid slightly more frequently in Serbian (1.53) than in English (1.8). It appears that in Serbian, achievements are the largest category of compliments (1.72), followed by appearance (1.77) and possessions (2.31), while in the participants' L2 appearance is complimented on most often (1.77), followed by achievement (1.80) and possessions (2.16). It has to be noted that the top four topics in both languages are passing an exam (which is understandable, given the population), hairstyle, clothes and accessories. An overview of compliment topic scores is given in Graph 1 below, where the vertical axis corresponds to the frequency of complimenting, ranging from 1 (often) to 3 (never) while the categories of compliments are listed on the horizontal axis.



Graph 1: Compliment topics in L1 and L2

Graph 2 shows the scores of the compliment addressees listed in the questionnaire for both groups of research participants. It is clear from the graph that in many cases the trend line for English follows the trend line for Serbian. Friends of both sexes, partners and fellow students are the typical recipients of compliments for both groups of research participants.



Graph 2: Compliment addressees in L1 and L2

Moving on to the WDCTs and the analysis of CRs, Table 2 shows the general patterns of CRs (macro strategies). Columns 2 and 3 give the data for Serbian (group 1) and and EFL (group 2), as established in the research presented here. The last two columns give comparative data for American and British NSs, as recorded in Creese (1991).

	Serbian	EFL	American	British
Accept	76.55%	73.95%	54%	45.9%
Deflect	21.68%	25.39%	29%	40.6%
Reject	1.77%	0.66%	17%	13.5%

Table 2: Comparative results of CRs in Serbian NS, EFL speakers and two English NS populations

Clearly, the CR production of the EFL students shows a striking similarity to the production of the participants in group 1, in their Serbian L1. Though there

is a significant difference in the distribution of macro strategies between the two English NS populations, too, especially with respect to the frequency of the evade/deflect strategy, it is obvious that the results of the EFL group show pragmatic transfer from L1.

Following Chen (2011) and Cheng (2012), the data obtained in the questionnaires were submitted to an analysis of the micro strategies used by the two groups of research participants. As mentioned earlier, the nine situations in the WDCTs varied with respect to the situational setting (i.e. the topic of complimenting) and the sociopragmatic variable of social power (which will, due to lack of space, not be commented on here). In what follows, we give an overview of the CRs for each compliment situation. Note that while the expected number of CRs should equal the number of participants multiplied by the number of situations (i.e. 342 for group 1 and 315 for group 2), the participants sometimes combined the micro strategies (e.g. appreciation token followed by an informative comment) and these were counted as two separate CRs,³ resulting in a larger total number of responses (452 for group 1 and 453 for group 2, respectively).

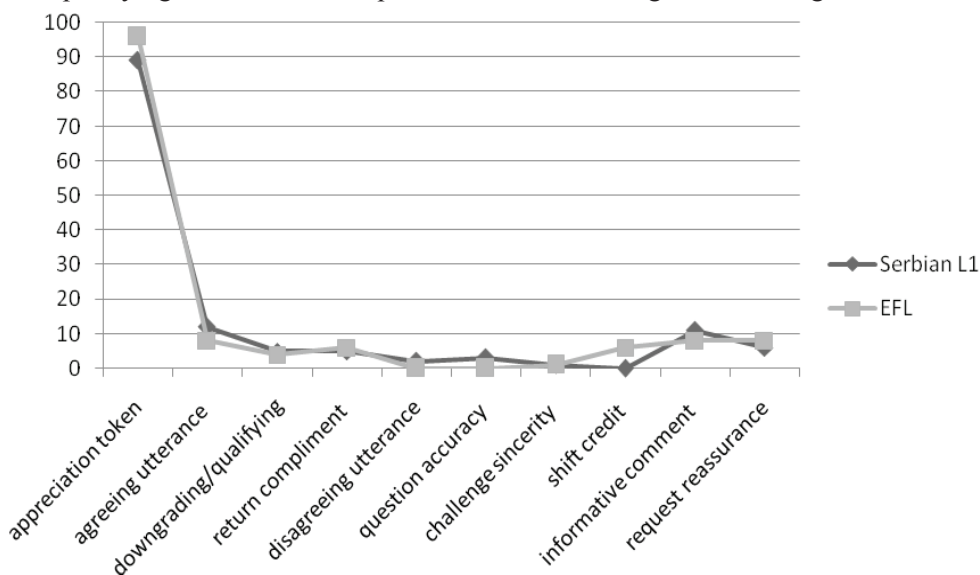
4.1. Responses to compliments on appearance

In responding to compliments on appearance, the majority of both groups of research participants showed appreciation (*Hvala! Thanks./Thank you.*), while other strategies were used fairly infrequently. In the Serbian data there are 12 examples of agreeing (e.g. *Hvala, i meni se sviđa!* 'Thank you, I like it, too!' in situation 5), and 11 instances of using an informative comment as a compliment evading strategy (e.g. *Hvala, kupila sam ga u second-hand prodavnici, jeftino.* 'Thank you, I bought it at a second hand shop, it was cheap.' in situation 3), while other micro strategies were few and far between, as shown in Graph 3. The second group of participants, whose EFL pragmatic competence was being tested, also used appreciation almost to the exclusion of all other micro strategies: there were only 8 examples each of acceptance (e.g. *Thank you, I think so too!* in situation 3, or *Thanks, everyone says that!* in situation 5), informative comments (e.g. *Thanks, I'll give you the number of my hairdresser if you want.* in DCT 5) and requesting assurance (e.g. *You think?* or *You really think so?* in situation 5).

In Cheng's (2011) data, the distribution of the micro strategies observed in the CRs of American NSs are approximately as follows: appreciation tokens 40%, in-

³ Cheng (2011:2207) treats such cases as the Combination macro strategy, which refers to a situation in which both Acceptance and Evasion are adopted in a single compliment response sequence. Note also that this author modifies Holmes' (1988, 1993) and Yu's (2004) categories of CR strategies and uses an adapted CR strategy framework, which consists of three macro strategies (Accept, Evade and Combination) and 11 micro strategies (for details see Cheng 2011).

formative comments and return compliments each about 20%, with downgrading and qualifying utterances and request reassurance totaling the remaining 20% of CRs.



Graph 3: CR micro strategies for appearance

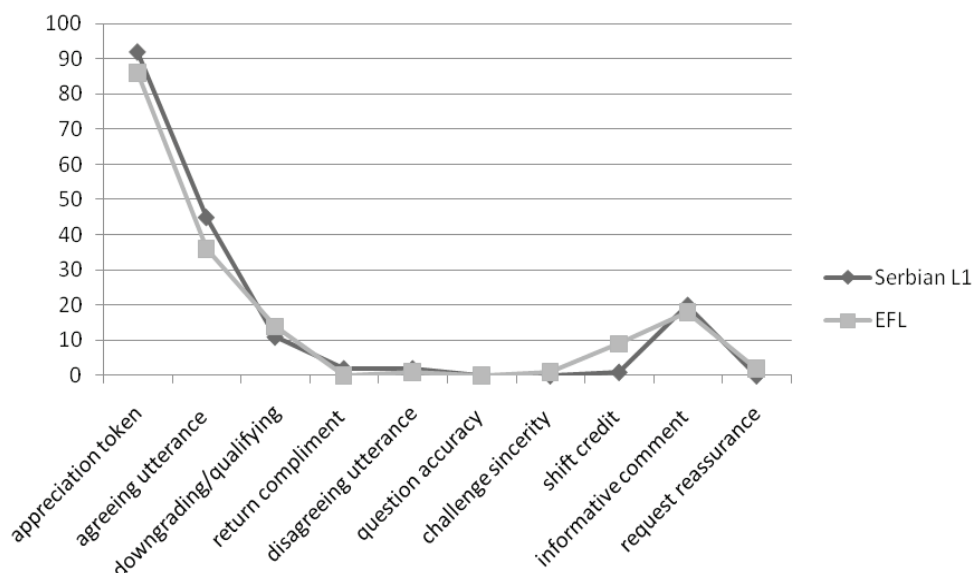
4.2. Responses to compliments on achievement

The trend lines representing the use of CR micro strategies in responding to compliments on achievement show a similar tendency for the two groups of participants. Though here, too (Graph 4), appreciation tokens are by far the most widely used strategy, a relatively large number of agreeing responses are found in the CRs of both groups of participants. Also worth mentioning is the occurrence of informative comments (mostly in situation 6 in both Serbian and English) and the occasional use of downgrading and shifting credit (the latter is only found in the EFL data). Note that there are only two examples of rejection strategies per language, which is unexpected given Creese's (1991) data.⁴

Cheng's (2011) results of the ability/work situation are comparable to the achievement situation tested here. According to this author, American NSs will use appreciation tokens just as frequently as qualifying utterances (each accounting for about 23% of the total CRs), followed by informative comments (15%), downgrading utterances and request reassurance (each about 12%), while agreeing utterances

⁴ Note that in the CR strategy framework put forward in Cheng (2011) the macro strategy of rejection does not figure at all.

and offering (an evasion strategy which does not exist in Holmes' (1988) taxonomy) are used even less frequently.



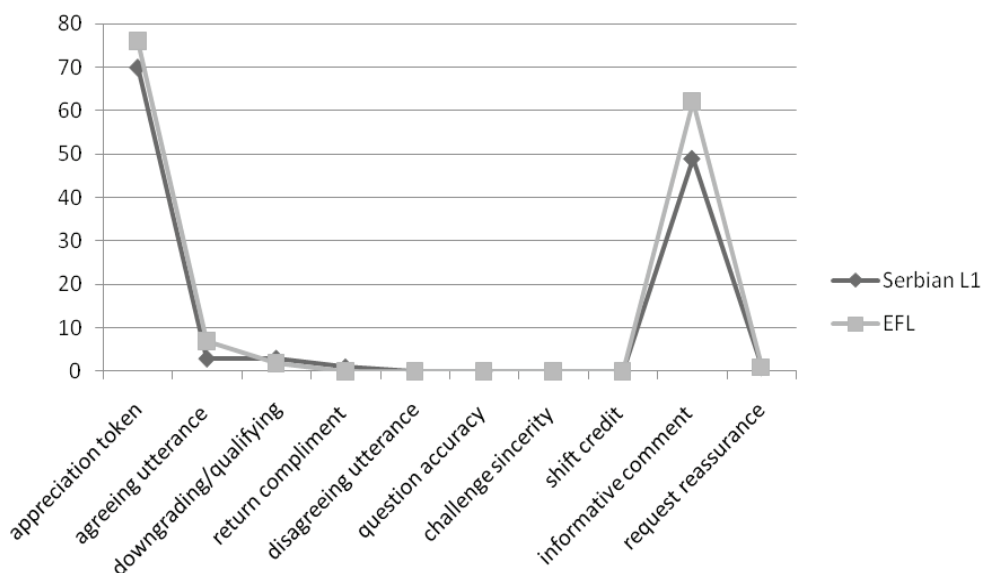
Graph 4: CR micro strategies for achievement

In this research, apart from appreciation, among the most frequent CRs on achievement were *Drago mi je da vam se sviđa!* ('I'm glad you like it') in Serbian and *I'm glad you liked it* in English – obviously, this is another instance of pragmatic transfer from the participants' L1 to their L2. Downgrading was most frequent in situation 2 in Serbian (complimenting on delicious cakes), with the usual CR being (variations of) *Jako ih je lako napraviti*. ('They are very easy to bake.').

4.3. Responses to compliments on possessions

This last group of data also shows a strong tendency towards using appreciation as the major CR strategy in both groups of research participants. In addition to this strategy, informative comments are used with considerable frequency in both languages, e.g. *Kupila sam ih u Beogradu* ('I bought them in Belgrade', referring to the boots in situation 4) or *Dobio sam ga na poklon* ('I got it as a present', in reference to the Rolex in situation 7) in Serbian. With the EFL respondents, the typical comments include e.g. *It is my father's* in situation 9 or *I got/You can buy them/it ...* in situations 4 and 7.

The trend line for the two languages under consideration shows a striking similarity, once again suggesting that the English data are the result of pragmatic transfer from the respondents' L1. Comparing the results in Graph 5 with the data reported in Cheng (2011) confirms this assumption, since American NSs are claimed to employ appreciation token, informative comments and agreeing utterances each in about 25% of the CRs analysed, whereas the EFL results obtained in this research replicate the Serbian compliment responding practice and make less use of informative comments (though strikingly more in this situational setting than in the other two) and employ agreeing utterances extremely rarely.



Graph 5: CR micro strategies for possessions

All the results presented here suggest that advanced EFL learners mostly rely on transferring their L1 pragmatic competence to their L2. It is clear that very little attention is paid to developing the communicative competence of EFL learners. And though it is true that some features of the EFL context hinder pragmatic learning, such as the narrow range of speech acts and realisation strategies, typical interaction patterns which restrict pragmatic input, large classes, limited contact hours and little opportunity for intercultural communication (Alcon-Soler 2005), this results in advanced EFL learners attaining a fair degree of linguistic competence but with little awareness of how to use language appropriately in various situations. In order to improve this situation, EFL learners must clearly receive explicit pragmatic instruction, some guidelines for which are suggested in the next section (see also Halupka-Rešetar 2014).

5. Pedagogical implications

The results of the analysis of CRs in the pragmatic production of NSs of Serbian and advanced EFL learners whose L1 is Serbian reveals that in the overwhelming majority of the cases, the CR either contains or reduces to an appreciation token while other CR micro strategies are employed significantly less frequently. Namely, in the Serbian data, appreciation tokens represent over 70% of the total accepting strategies, followed by agreeing (18.49%), whereas the other two strategies occur only occasionally. Among the evading strategies, informative comments are used almost to the exclusion of the other two strategies (i.e. in over 90% of the cases). The results of the second group (EFL) mirror these data: here, too, appreciation tokens top the list of compliment accepting responses (77%), agreeing is employed in just over 15% of the cases, whereas most deflecting responses contain an informative comment (76.52%), credit shifting and request assurance being used fairly infrequently (in 13% and 10.43% of the cases, respectively). The occurrence of all the other strategies in both groups of participants' responses can be attributed to chance.

The results of the research presented sharply contrast with the CR behaviour of native speakers reported in the literature (for a recent study, see Cheng 2011). Thus, it is clear that the results obtained in the current study confirm that the pragmatic competence of the advanced EFL learners who participated in this research is significantly below their linguistic competence and is the result of transfer from their L1. The pedagogical implications of the present study are obvious: the amount and type of materials contained in most syllabi for (advanced) EFL learners need to be supplemented with explicit instruction regarding the pragmatics of English (specifically, speech act behaviour and realization, with special focus on the differences between L1 and L2). This may be achieved by using authentic audiovisual input (video, films and TV) for various tasks, e.g. discussing, interpreting, analysing the input (and comparing it with the students' L1), role play, various discourse completion tasks (DCT), etc. (cf. Bardovi-Harlig & Mahan-Taylor, 2003).

6. Concluding remarks

The present study examines the use of CR strategies in two populations: NSs of Serbian and advanced EFL learners whose L1 is Serbian. The data analysed in the paper were elicited using a questionnaire, in which, in addition to general questions and three questions aimed at exploring the complimenting behaviour of the participants, there was also a Written Discourse Completion Test with 9 situations in which the variables of situational setting and social power were varied. The data were categorized using Holmes's (1988) taxonomy of CRs and the results were

compared to the CR behaviour of American NSs of English reported in Cheng (2011).

The results of the research confirm the initial hypothesis that the CR production of advanced EFL learners will show very limited variation and will mainly reduce to the appreciation token *Thank you!* Other strategies are rarely used, whether alone or in tandem with an appreciation token, though the sum of CRs representing the macro strategy evade/deflect adds up to a quarter of EFL CRs (which is actually quite close to the 29% of such responses reported in Creese (1991) for American NSs). However, a closer comparison of the micro strategies used by the two populations in this research reveals almost identical distribution, which means that even though strategies other than appreciation tokens do occur in the CRs of the EFL learners (agreeing utterances in 11.26% and informative comments in 19.43% of the total number of CRs), this happens most probably due to the fact that it is exactly these two strategies that speakers of Serbian tend to use in their L1 CRs (agreeing utterances in 14.16% and informative comments in 19.91% of the total number of CRs).

All the data presented in this small scale research point to the dire need to devote more attention to developing (advanced) EFL learners' pragmatic competence. While this is clearly not an easy task, it is hoped that the conclusions arrived at in this paper will help researchers, EFL teachers, educators and curriculum developers alike focus on the numerous areas of interlanguage pragmatics that are still understudied and thus bring considerable benefit to the realm of cross-cultural communication.

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Appendix

Questionnaire on EFL pragmatic competence

Instructions: as part of a research project, I would like you to complete the following questionnaire about your pragmatic competence in using English. Your answers will help me ensure the accuracy of the data. You do not need to write down your name. The information obtained will only be used for the purposes of academic research. Thank you very much for your help.

Sex: M / F Age:

Please indicate your answer to the questions below using the following scale:

1 – often

2 – sometimes

3 – never

How often do you compliment people in English?

Which of the following are you most likely to compliment people on?

 clothes

 accessories

 new car

 hairstyle

 eyes

 being physically fit

 passing an exam

 getting a promotion

 getting married

 other (please list:)

Which of the following people do you address compliments at?

 mother

 father

 sister

 brother

 female friend

 male friend

 boyfriend/girlfriend

 fellow student

- _____ teacher
- _____ boss
- _____ female stranger
- _____ male stranger
- _____ other (please list: _____)

Now read the following 9 situations and write a response in the blank after “you”. The questions are meant to investigate how you respond to a compliment in the real world in your daily conversations.

1. You have given a presentation in an English class. After the presentation one of your classmates comes to you.
Classmate: You did an excellent job! I really enjoyed your presentation.
You: _____
2. You are a teacher at a language school. You have invited a group of students to your house for coffee and cake that you baked.
Student: I didn’t know you were such a good cook! This cake is delicious!
You: _____
3. You work at an international company. After a business meeting with clients your boss approaches you.
Boss: This jacket looks amazing on you!
You: _____
4. You are a teaching assistant at a university department. One of your students approaches you after class.
Student: Your boots are absolutely gorgeous! I wish they were mine!
You: _____
5. You have just had your hair cut in a fashionable style and you bump into a friend in the street.
Friend: That haircut makes you look great! You look a lot younger!
You: _____
6. You started a computer course three months ago. At the end of a lesson your teacher comes up to you.
Teacher: You seem to be very intelligent and you certainly have a flair for computers. And I have noticed that you show a lot of interest in what we do in the lessons.
You: _____

7. You are wearing a new Rolex watch. You meet a friend at your office.
Friend: Wow! What a nice watch! I wish I had one like that!
You: _____
8. You have been appointed sales manager of a large department store recently. You are out of office with a group of colleagues. One of your employees says:
Employee: You've got beautiful eyes.
You: _____
9. The company you have just started working for has arranged an outing for employees. You arrive at the meeting point driving your father's Porsche. Your boss is surprised.
Boss: Now that's a car! I wish I had one like that!
You: _____

REAKCIJE NA KOMPLIMENTE – ANALIZA PRAGMATIČKE KOMPETENCIJE STUDENATA ENGLSKOG JEZIKA KAO STRANOG U SRBIJI

Rezime

U radu se predstavljaju rezultati istraživanja reakcija na komplimente (RK) kod dve grupe ispitanika: studenata čiji je maternji jezik srpski i studenata engleskog jezika. Cilj rada je višestruk: (1) da se ustanove sličnosti i razlike u reakcijama na komplimente na srpskom i na engleskom jeziku, (2) da se istraži da li je (i u kojoj meri) reakcija na komplimente kod studenata engleskog jezika u skladu sa očekivanim reakcijama (izvornih govornika engleskog jezika), te (3) da se odredi da li se uočava pragmatički transfer. Analiza je zasnovana na podacima koji su prikupljeni pomoću testa nadopunjavanja diskursa, koji je obuhvatao devet situacija u kojima smo varirali vrednosti za promenljive situacionog okruženja i društvene moći. Rezultati istraživanja potvrđuju početnu hipotezu da će produkcija reakcija na komplimente kod studenata engleskog jezika na naprednom nivou biti veoma ograničena u pogledu raznovrsnosti mikrostrategija koje se koriste (kako za prihvatanje, tako i za izbegavanje komplimenta). Obe grupe ispitanika su najčešće koristile izražavanje zahvalnosti, dok je distribucija ostalih strategija prilično ograničena i gotovo u potpunosti se poklapa kod dve grupe ispitanika. Iz ovoga sledi da je pragmatička produkcija studenata engleskog jezika na naprednom nivou u potpunosti rezultat pragmatičkog transfera iz maternjeg jezika i da je na znatno nižem nivou u odnosu na opšti jezički razvoj ovih studenata.

Ključne reči: pragmatička kompetencija, reakcija na komplimente, studenti engleskog jezika kao stranog, međujezička pragmatika

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ACOUSTIC DESCRIPTION OF ENGLISH AND SERBIAN AFFRICATES¹

This paper is a pilot study aimed at examining the most significant acoustic features of English and Serbian affricates. The acoustic analysis was done in the Praat program (version 5.1.35) with the focus on the following features: the presence of phonetic voicing, energy distribution, the range of CV F2 transitions, rise time and durational properties. Both English and Serbian corpus consisted of the words containing word-initial, word-final and medial intervocalic realizations of affricates. The subjects were 2 native speakers of English and 6 native speakers of Serbian, who were instructed to pronounce all the words in isolation. The results of the research point to rather significant differences in all of the analyzed features. Different acoustic behavior was observed among Serbian affricates characterized by different places of articulation as well as between the affricates shared by the phonemic inventories of English and Serbian.

Key words: affricate, phonetic voicing, phonological voicing, energy distribution, formant transition, rise time

1. Introduction

English and Serbian exhibit significant differences with respect to the complexity of the set of affricate consonants. Apart from the fact that the phonemic inventory of Serbian is far richer, there are also considerable differences in the production of the affricates which are present in both languages. The goal of this paper is to provide an acoustic description of English and Serbian affricates. However, considering that the acoustic features result from the articulatory ones as well as

¹ The present research was conducted as part of the project *Development of Dialogue Systems for Serbian and other South Slavic Languages* (TR32035), funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

in order to draw parallels between the two, the results of the acoustic analysis are presented after a brief articulatory description of the consonants in question.

2. Articulatory properties of English and Serbian affricates

The phonemic inventory of English includes the affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/, labeled as voiceless and voiced respectively. Their articulation involves the formation of the closure between a rather large area of the tip, blade and the front part of the tongue with the rear of the alveolar ridge and the front part of the hard palate (Collins and Mees 2005: 80). For this reason, they are described as palato-alveolar (Collins and Mees 2005: 80, Gimson and Cruttenden 2008: 185-186, Roach 1998: 52) or post-alveolar sounds (Ladefoged 2001: 102). As in the production of affricates in general, the closure is released slowly, creating a rather long passage where friction is generated. Considering the position of the lips, English affricates are often labialized (Collins and Mees 2005: 80, Roach 1998: 52) although the degree of lip protrusion strongly depends on the vocalic context, i.e. it is more significant if the following vowel is rounded (Gimson and Cruttenden 2008: 186).

As already mentioned, the set of Serbian affricates is more complex in comparison to English. In addition to /tʃ, dʒ/ (spelled as **č** and **đž** respectively), Serbian includes the affricates /tʂ, dʂ/ (spelled as **ć** and **đ** respectively)² as well as the affricate /ts/ (spelled as **c**), which is the only one without its voiced counterpart. The articulatory features of the affricates /tʃ, dʒ/ are rather different in English and Serbian. In contrast to English where the production of /tʃ, dʒ/ involves rather large portion of the tongue, resulting in apico-corono-frontal articulation, the production of their Serbian equivalents involves the closure between the tip of the tongue and the front part of the alveolar ridge, resulting in apical articulation, whereas the crucial similarity between them is the presence of lip rounding (Miletić 1933: 97, Miletić 1960: 40, Petrović and Gudurić 2010: 267, Miller-Ockhuizen and Zec 2003: 130). On the other hand, in the production of /tʂ, dʂ/ the tip of the tongue is rather passive and does not form a constriction. Instead, it is pressed against the inner side of the lower teeth, whereas the part of the tongue behind the tip forms the closure with either the alveolar ridge or the rear between the alveolar ridge and the hard palate, which varies from one speaker to another (Miletić 1933: 103, Miletić 1960: 41, Petrović and Gudurić 2010: 275). For this very reason, Miller-Ockhuizen and Zec 2003:

² The symbols /tʂ, dʂ/ are taken from Miller-Ockhuizen and Zec 2003, who derive them from the sibilant fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ respectively. The fricatives in question were first represented in this way by Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996: 161 and they stand for the “hissing-hushing sounds” between typical /s/ and /ʃ/ and typical /z/ and /ʒ/ respectively, which are found in some North West Caucasian languages such as Ubykh and Abkhaz.

138 point out that apart from lip rounding, which is present only in the articulation of /tʃ, dʒ/, the most consistent articulatory difference between Serbian affricates /tʃ, dʒ/ and /tʂ, dʑ/ is their apical and laminal nature respectively. The only Serbian affricate which does not have its voiced counterpart is /ts/. Similarly to the production of /tʂ, dʑ/, the tip of the tongue rests against the inner side of the lower teeth, whereas the part of the tongue behind the tip forms the closure with the front part of the alveolar ridge (Miletić 1933: 92-93, Petrović and Gudurić 2010: 261-262) and possibly the inner side of the upper teeth (Miletić 1960: 29-30).³ Considering that the production of /ts/ also involves neutral lip position, it can be concluded that the crucial articulatory difference between Serbian /ts/ and /tʂ, dʑ/ is more front point of articulation, which is observed in the former case.

Finally, it is worth to mention that English and Serbian affricates also differ with respect to voicing properties, which are universal for the entire sets of obstruents in the languages in question. It is commonly accepted that English phonologically voiced obstruents, i.e. voiced members of the contrast, are phonetically voiced, i.e. they are produced with the vocal fold activity, only when surrounded by phonetically voiced sounds. Their word-initial and word-final realizations are often completely devoiced, which causes the terms ‘fortis’ (also ‘strong’ or ‘tense’) and ‘lenis’ (also ‘weak’ or ‘lax’) to be more appropriate in comparison to the terms ‘voiceless’ and ‘voiced’ respectively (Gimson and Cruttenden 2008: 206, Roach 1998: 33, Yavas 2006: 58). In Serbian, on the other hand, the concepts of phonological and phonetic voicing tend to overlap, i.e. voiced members of the contrast, including voiced affricates, exhibit some degree of phonetic voicing regardless of the position within a word (see Petrović & Gudurić 2010: 273-274, Jakovljević 2012: 34).

3. Methodology

The corpus consisted of English and Serbian words containing affricates in word-initial, medial intervocalic and word-final position. The subjects were 2 native speakers of British English (1 male and 1 female) and 6 native speakers of Serbian (3 males and 3 females). The subjects were instructed to pronounce all the words in isolation. They were recorded in the soundproof room and the recordings were digitalized at 44.1 kHz sampling frequency. The acoustic analysis was done in the Praat programme (version 5.1.35) with the focus on the following features:

³ The place of articulation of the affricate /ts/ is sometimes compared to the one of the stop /t/, which could be another reason for describing /ts/ as a dental or alveolar-dental sound in both Serbian (Subotić 2005: 65) and Croatian (Bakran 1996: 109). However, the palatograms provided by Miletić 1933 clearly show the difference between the consonants in question.

(a) voicing properties, (b) energy distribution, (c) frequency range of CV F2 transitions, (d) rise time and (e) durational properties.

Except for voicing properties and formant transitions, the analysis was primarily based on medial intervocalic realizations of voiceless affricates. The presence of phonetic voicing in the production of phonologically voiced affricates was examined in all positions and the analysis of F2 transition, which is considered as most informative regarding the place of articulation (Fry 1979: 138), was conducted on word-initial realizations of voiceless affricates in front of English /i:/ vs. Serbian /i/ (long-rising accent) and English /ɒ/ vs. Serbian /ɔ/ (short-falling accent). The behavior of F2 transition was described in relation to the frequency range between the locus, i.e. the point where the transition begins, and the point where the steady state of a vowel is reached. The intra-linguistic choice of vowels in each language was determined by the differences in both the height and part of the tongue involved in the articulation, whereas the inter-linguistic selection resulted from their similarities in English and Serbian (Marković 2012: 75-80, 135-136). The analysis of energy distribution did not include affricates followed by rounded vowels due to the fact that the presence of lip rounding lengthens the front resonator, resulting in lower generation of friction. The measurements of rise time are presented in relation to the portion of friction interval where the maximum intensity is reached. Durational properties were examined intervocalically in front of an unstressed vowel considering that temporal differences linked to the place of articulation tend to be most prominent in this position (Miller-Ockhuizen and Zec 2003: 160) and they are expressed in the form of a ratio between the duration of friction and closure.

4. The results of the research

The results of the research are presented separately for English and Serbian. In both cases, the author draws parallels between articulatory features and their acoustic correlates.

4.1. English affricates

The results of the research show that English affricates indeed exhibit a significant discrepancy between phonological and phonetic voicing. Both subjects tend to produce the voiced member of the contrast as completely devoiced both word-initially and word-finally. However, full phonetic voicing was also rarely observed in medial intervocalic position. Most often, the vocal fold activity is present only during the closure, whereas it tends to be lost during the interval of friction (Figure 1).

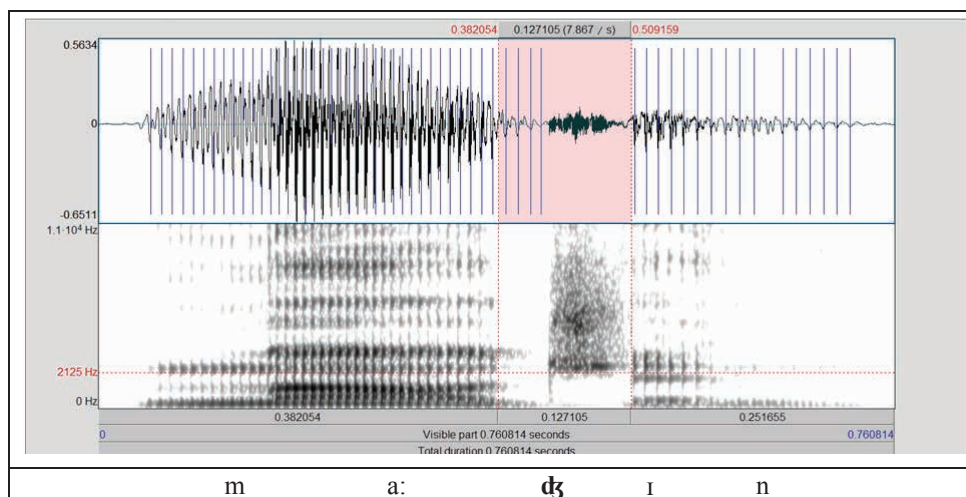


Figure 1: The word *margin*, produced by a female speaker

The most significant acoustic cues for the place of articulation are energy distribution and the behavior of F2 transition. The energy distribution depends on the size of the front resonator, i.e. the space between the constriction and the end of the vocal tract. Thus, a larger front resonator causes the friction to be generated at lower frequencies and vice versa. According to this analysis, the aperiodic energy of English affricates extends from 2000-2500 to 11000 Hz and possibly higher (Figure 1). However, the frequency where aperiodic energy becomes visible also depended on the subject. In the production of the male subject, the friction could often be observed at slightly lower frequencies, which can be accounted for by a larger size of the oral cavity and, consequently, the front resonator. It is also important to point to rather high sensitivity of spectral properties to the position of the articulatory organs. As in the articulation of fricatives, “a variation of one millimeter in the position of the target for the crucial part of the vocal tract makes a great deal of difference” (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996: 137). Accordingly, it is sometimes possible to observe rather inconsistent behavior in the production of the same subject.

The other significant indicator of the place of articulation of a given consonant is its influence on the formants of the following vowel. As Hayward 2000: 175 points out, “a consonantal constriction does not just happen” considering that the articulatory organs first move into their target position and then they move away to reach the target position for the following vowel whose formants reflect these movements. As previously mentioned, English affricates were examined with respect to F2 transition towards the steady state of the vowels /i:/ and /ɒ/ (Figure 2).

In the former case, it was possible to observe rather flat movement or, less frequently, a slight rise, not exceeding 100 Hz. Such behavior was present in the production of both subjects despite the fact that the average F2 was approximately 400 Hz higher in the production of the female subject. This indicates that the locus of English /tʃ/ and the average F2 frequency of the following vowel /i:/ tend to be rather similar regardless of the gender. On the other hand, the behavior of F2 transition towards the steady state of /ɒ/ is characterized by a significant fall, ranging from 300 to 600 Hz. In both cases, the variations in the production of the same subject were common, which further supports rather erratic behavior of friction intervals of affricates.

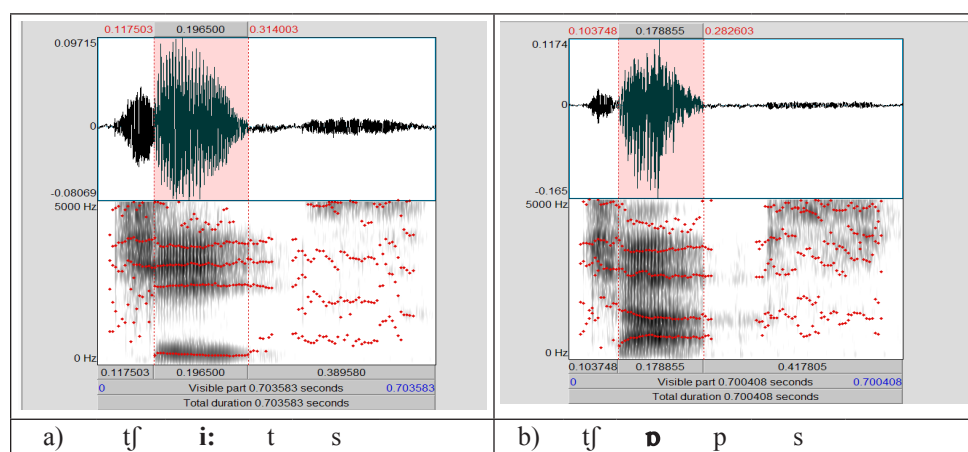
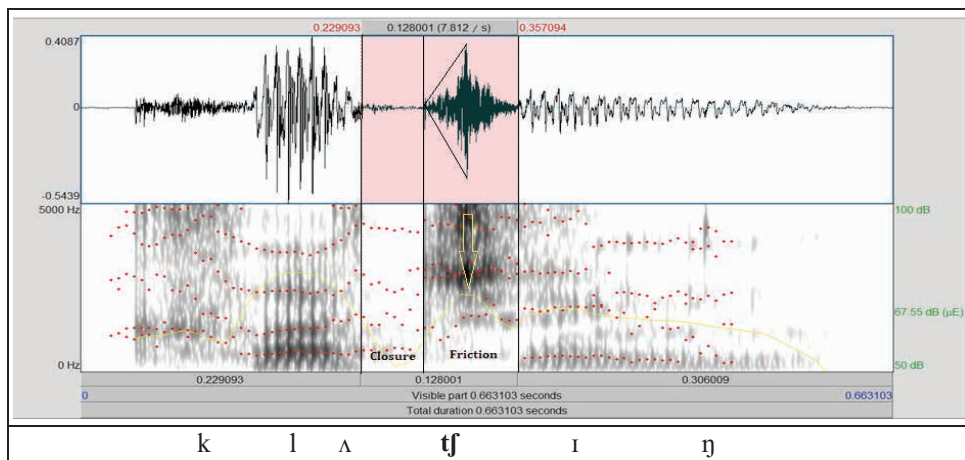


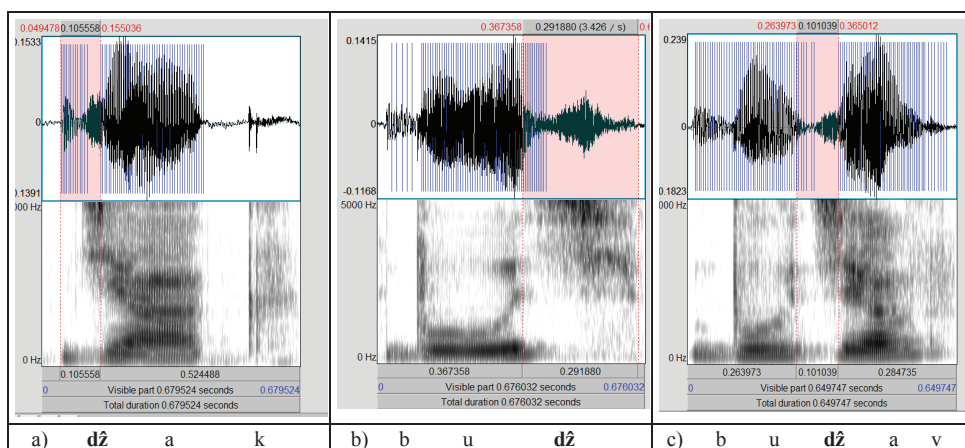
Figure 2: The word *cheats* and *chops*, produced by a male speaker

Finally, English affricates were examined with respect to rise time and durational properties. The concept of rise time refers to the interval between the point where friction appears and the point where its maximum intensity is reached. According to this analysis, the maximum intensity is most often reached in the middle of the friction interval (Figure 3), which was observed in the production of both subjects. As for durational properties, the results show that the interval of friction is rather consistently longer in comparison to the interval of closure (Figure 3). According to the measurements, the ratio ranges from 1.2 to 1.4, indicating that friction duration tends to be approximately 20-40% longer than closure duration.


 Figure 3: The word *clutching*, produced by a male speaker.

4.2. Serbian affricates

In contrast to English, Serbian phonologically voiced affricates indeed preserve phonetic voicing in all positions. What tends to be similar to the situation observed in English is rather consistent absence of the vocal fold activity during the interval of friction (Figure 4). Accordingly, Serbian voiced affricates are most often produced as phonetically voiced only during the interval of closure regardless of the phonological context.


 Figure 4: The words *đak*, *buđ* and *buđav*, produced by a female speaker

Different places of articulation of Serbian affricates result in rather significant differences with respect to energy distribution (Figure 5). Due to the fact that the production of the apical affricates /tʃ, dʒ/ involves the formation of a rather large resonator which incorporates the area both above the tongue in front of the constriction and below the tongue, the energy tends to be generated at rather low frequencies. According to the measurements, the aperiodic energy extends from 1500-2000 to 11000 Hz or higher (Figure 5a). The friction of the affricates /tʂ, dʒ/ becomes visible at higher frequencies, approximately at 2500-3000 Hz (Figure 5b). The generation of friction at higher frequencies results from the fact that the production of the affricates in question involves the process of pressing the tongue against the inner side of the lower teeth, which closes the area below the tongue and significantly reduces the size of the resonator. Finally, considering rather front constriction of the affricate /ts/ and, accordingly, rather small front resonator, the aperiodic energy starts to be visible at approximately 4000-5000 Hz (Figure 5c).⁴ As in English, the friction is commonly generated at lower frequencies in the articulation of male subjects.

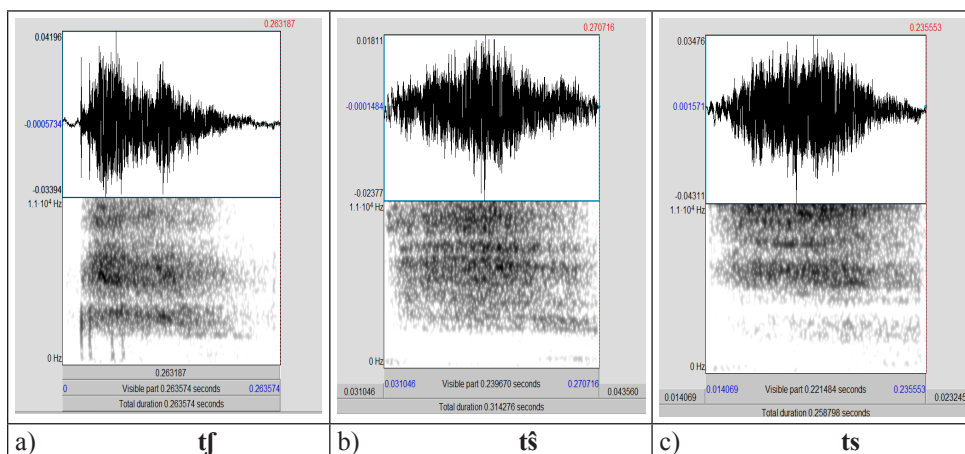


Figure 5: Friction intervals of Serbian affricates in the words *reč*, *peč* i *zec*, produced by a female speaker

Considering formant transitions, all Serbian affricates influence F2 transition towards /ð/ in a rather similar way. The analysis points to a considerable fall ranging from 300 to 500 Hz (Figure 6), which was observed in the production of both

⁴ The identical scale is given by Bakran 1996: 112 in the acoustic description of Croatian affricates.

male and female subjects. The fall is especially significant under the influence of /tʃ/, where it occasionally reaches 700 Hz.

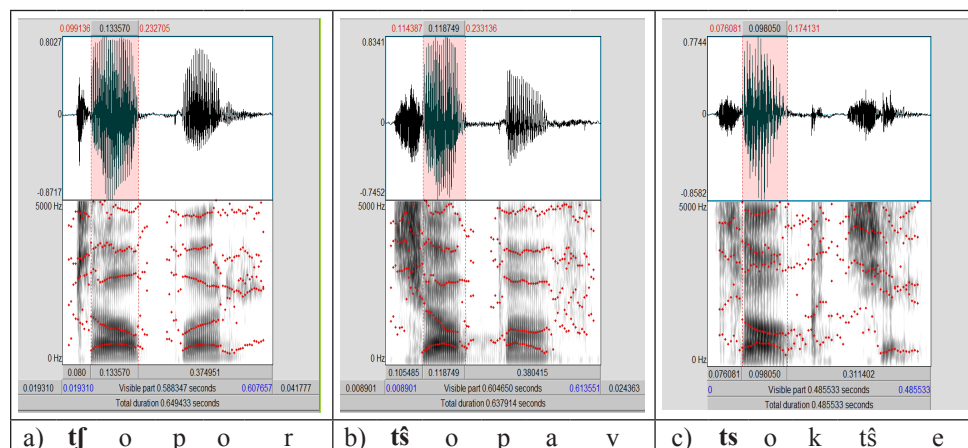


Figure 6: The words *čopor*, *čopav* and *cokće*, produced by a female speaker

However, the behavior of F2 transition towards the steady state of /i/ does depend on the preceding affricate. Despite the fact that the average F2 frequencies of English /i:/ and Serbian /i/ are almost identical according to the measurements, Serbian affricates /tʃ/ and /ts/ cause the rise of F2 within the range of approximately 200 to 300 Hz, indicating that their locus frequencies tend to be lower than the average F2 frequency of the following high front vowel. The affricate /tʃ/, on the other hand, most often causes rather flat formant movement, or possibly a slight rise up to 100 Hz (Figure 7). Accordingly, it can be concluded that in this aspect Serbian /tʃ/ considerably resembles English /tʃ/ (cf. Figure 2a and Figure 7b). As in the case of /ð/, this behavior was observed in the production of both male and female subjects.

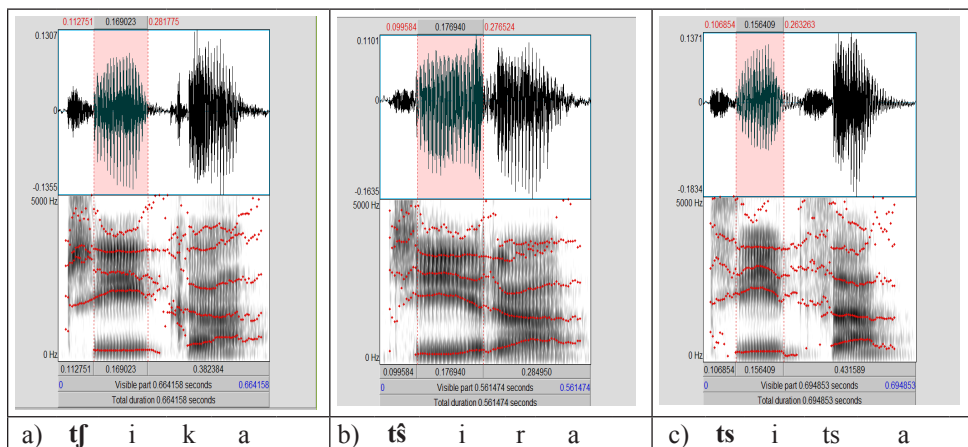


Figure 7: The words *čika*, *čira* and *cica*, produced by a male speaker

Finally, the research points to a rather similar behavior of the affricates /tʃ/ and /ts/ both with respect to rise time and durational properties. Considering the rise time of the affricates in question, the maximum intensity is most often reached in the middle of the friction interval, whereas in the case of the affricate /tʃ/, the intensity contour reaches its maximum earlier, rather often in the first 30% of friction (Figure 8). As for durational properties, the ratio for /tʃ/ is approximately 1.1, indicating that friction duration tends to be only 10% longer in comparison to closure duration, and rather often the differences in length between the intervals in question cannot be observed at all (Figure 8a). Considering the production of the affricate /tʃ/, the average ratio is within the range of 1.5 to 1.8, although friction can occasionally be as twice as long as closure (Figure 8b).⁵ Considerably longer friction in comparison to closure is also observed in the articulation of the affricate /ts/ (Figure 8c). According to the measurements, the average ratio is within the range of 1.3 to 1.6, indicating that the interval of aperiodic energy can be up to 60% longer in comparison to the interval of closure. Considering the abovementioned observations, it can be concluded that rise time and durational properties do not strongly depend on the point where the constriction is made, at least not as much as they depend on the part of the tongue involved in the articulation.

⁵ Miller-Ockhuizen and Zec 2003: 142 also point out that rise time and durational ratio between the intervals of closure and friction represent rather significant acoustic differences between the apical affricate /tʃ/ and the laminal affricate /tʃ/.

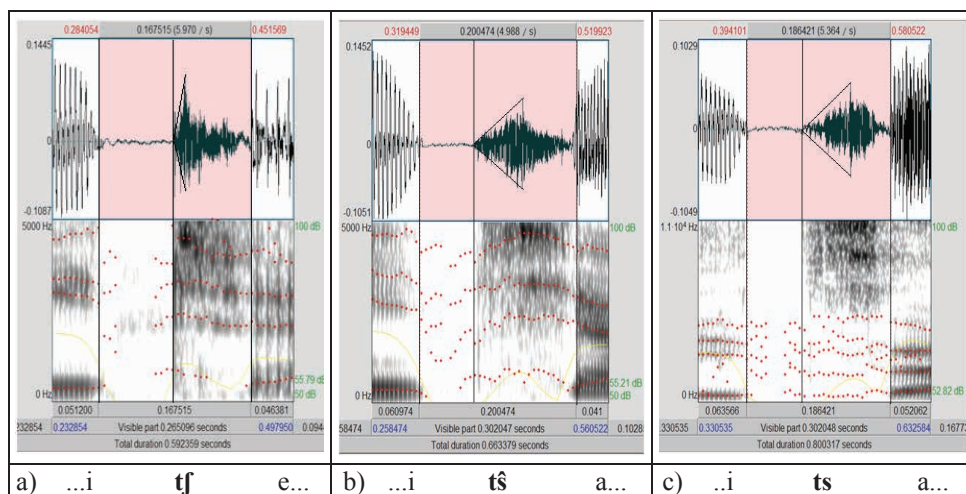


Figure 8: The words *liče*, *Mića* and *Cica*, produced by a female speaker⁶

5. Conclusions

The results of the research point to rather significant acoustic differences between the affricates present in the phonemic inventories of English and Serbian as well as among Serbian affricates characterized by different places of articulation. In both cases, the differences are observed in all of the analyzed parameters: energy distribution, the behavior of F2 transition, rise time and, finally, durational properties.

Considering the set of Serbian affricates, it was observed that the frequency of friction increases from /tʃ/ and /tʃ/, to /ts/ where it is the highest. Different places of articulation of Serbian affricates are also reflected in their influence on F2 transition towards the steady state of the vowel /i/, which rises if preceded by /tʃ/ and /ts/, whereas the affricate /tʃ/ most often causes flat F2 movement. Considering F2 transition towards the steady state of /ɔ/, it was not possible to identify significant differences. Finally, Serbian affricates consistently differ with respect to rise time and durational properties. While the friction of /tʃ/ and /ts/, which is consistently longer in comparison to the closure, tends to reach its maximum intensity in the middle of the interval, the maximum intensity of the apical affricate /tʃ/ is reached much earlier and the intervals of friction and closure often have the same duration. The only feature which applies to all Serbian affricates regardless of their place of

⁶ The frequency range of the spectrogram of the word *Cica* was increased to 11000 Hz due to the fact that aperiodic energy is not visible below 5000 Hz.

articulation is phonetic voicing. The production of voiced members of the contrast involves the vocal fold activity, which is observed in all positions. The vibrations of the vocal folds are consistently present during the interval of closure and they tend to be lost during the interval of friction.

Rather significant differences are also exhibited by the affricates shared by the phonemic inventories of English and Serbian. Apart from the differences in phonetic voicing between English and Serbian /dʒ/, it was possible to observe the following distinctions:

- a) the aperiodic energy of English /tʃ/ tends to be generated at higher frequencies in comparison to its Serbian equivalent;
- b) the locus frequency of English /tʃ/ is rather similar to the steady F2 frequency of the following high front vowel, resulting in a flat F2 transition, whereas the locus of Serbian /tʃ/ tends to be lower in this phonological environment, resulting in a rising F2 movement;
- c) the maximum intensity of English /tʃ/ is reached in the middle of the friction interval, whereas Serbian /tʃ/ reaches it considerably earlier;
- d) the interval of friction of English /tʃ/ is consistently longer than the interval of closure, in contrast to almost identical length of closure and friction of its Serbian equivalent.

Considering the abovegiven differences, it would be rather challenging to analyze the production of English affricates by Serbian native speakers in order to examine which adjustments they tend to make in order to acquire the articulation of English affricates successfully.

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AKUSTIČKI OPIS AFRIKATA U ENGLESKOM I SRPSKOM JEZIKU

Rezime

Rad predstavlja rezultate pilot istraživanja koje ima za cilj da ispita najbitnija akustička svojstva afrikata u engleskom i srpskom jeziku. Korpus se sastojao od reči koje su ilustrovale afrikate u inicijalnoj, intervokalskoj i finalnoj poziciji, a od engleskih i srpskih ispitanika tražilo se da svaku reč izgovore izolovano. Tako sačinjeni snimci podvrgnuti su akustičkoj analizi koja je podrazumevala ispitivanje prisustva fonetske zvučnosti, opseg inicijalnih F2 tranzicija, vreme uspona i odnos trajanja frikcije i okluzije. Rezultati istraživanja ukazali su na značajne razlike u svim analiziranim parametrima, koje su primećene kako između afrikata fonološkog sistema srpskog jezika, tako i između afrikata prisutnim u oba jezika.

Ključne reči: afrikata, fonetska zvučnost, fonološka zvučnost, distribucija energije, formantska tranzicija, vreme uspona

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DYSPHEMISMS IN SCRIPTED CONVERSATIONAL HUMOR

A growing body of research has indicated a high level of verbal aggression in television sitcoms. Bearing that in mind, in this paper we aim to isolate the aggressive element found in some humorous utterances, and to describe its linguistic manifestations and the role it plays in generating humor in the pre-fabricated conversations of sitcom characters. As units of conversational humor can range from lexemes to whole sentences and beyond, in the article we limit our attention to words and phrases. More specifically, of particular interest here are words and phrases that speakers typically use when they talk about people that they want to disparage or humiliate, the so-called “dysphemisms”. We discuss the ways dysphemisms are used in scripted conversations of television sitcoms with the purpose of generating humor. The examples used in the paper are taken from a variety of popular American sitcoms. The underlying viewpoint upheld in the paper is that, despite its fabricated and rehearsed character, the non-authentic language of television shows represents a valid source of linguistic information.

Key words: conversational humor, scripted humor, dysphemism, aggressive humor

1. Introduction

Conversational humor (Coates 2007, Dynel 2009, 2011a, b) or **humor in interaction** (Norrick and Chiaro 2010),¹ understood as humor “relevantly interwoven into conversations, both spoken and written, whether private, institutional or mediated” (Dynel 2011a: 4), has started to draw the attention of linguists relatively

¹ Conversational humor should not be equated with *conversational joking*, which is only one of its potential manifestations (see Dynel 2009).

recently.² Namely, mainly for reasons of methodological convenience (see Ritchie 2004: 15), a good number of authors have focused primarily on canned jokes as their object of study (see references in Attardo 1994, 2008). Where the point of interest is conversational humor, it is typically explored in everyday face-to-face interactions, mostly from discourse analytical perspective, with the accent on its social and psychological functions (e.g. Boxer and Cortes-Conde 1997, Kotthoff 2000, Hay 2000, Holmes 2000, Lampert and Ervin-Tripp 2006). Few authors have devoted their attention to the exploration of scripted (non-authentic, fictional) conversational humor (e.g. Dynel 2010, 2011a, b, Chovanec 2011), represented in its mediated form in the TV comedy, but also found in non-televised forms of fictional conversations (e.g. in comic narratives, drama).

The main focus of this article are dysphemisms in scripted conversational humor, as represented in the format of the situational comedy, a subgenre of the generic category of television comedy. Despite some authors' claims that the fabricated nature of scripted conversations makes them anti-empirical (see references in Dynel 2011b), in this paper we adopt the standpoint that scripted conversations represent a valid source of linguistic information. Following Tannen and Lakoff 1994, we see constructed dialog as "an internalized model or schema for the production of conversation – a competence model that speakers have access to" (1994: 139). Wherever possible, an attempt is therefore made to highlight both the similarities and the differences between the humorous verbalizations on television and the authentic conversational humor.³ One such prominent feature of humorous language on television which will be touched upon in the sections below is the element of aggression found in fictional sitcom conversations.

2. Sitcom humor as verbally aggressive humor

As the analyses of television programming have consistently documented, the world of television contains a great deal of violence and aggression (Potter and Ware 1987, Potter and Vaughan 1997). When TV comedy is concerned, several studies have shown that, compared to other television genres, sitcoms contain the highest rates of verbal aggression (Greenberg 1980, Potter and Ware 1987, Potter

² In this paper we adopt the anti-essentialist approach to the study of humor. Therefore, we shall not offer any definitions of the phenomenon (see Attardo 1994). As regards the indicators we used to identify humorous verbalizations, see section 2.

³ One of the obvious differences, which will not be addressed in this paper, is a much larger number of humorous utterances in fictional sitcom monologues, dialogues and polylogues than in real-life conversations.

and Vaughn 1997, Eyal and Rubin 2003, Chory-Assad 2004).⁴ From the perspective of linguistics proper, various facets of aggressiveness in humorous utterances can manifest themselves in the form of single-word lexemes, phrases, and sentences. Given space limitations in the paper, in this section we will limit ourselves to the most prominent examples of humorous aggression found at the level of words/phrases, notably the so-called **dysphemisms**. A dysphemism is “a word or phrase with connotations that are offensive either about the denotatum and/or to people addressed or overhearing the utterance” (Allan and Burridge 2006: 31). Whether or not a certain word is a dysphemism is determined on the basis of context. Allan and Burridge offer an example of the word “dog”, which is not a dysphemism when it is used to refer to a canine quadruped; however, when it is used to refer to a male human being the word acquires additional expressive or connotative meanings, namely of the male referent being worthless and despicable (2006: 31-32). In sitcom conversations, this context-dependent (pragmatic) aspect of meaning is exploited to the maximum for the purpose of generating what could be characterized as a rather unsophisticated form of humor (on sophistication in humor studies see Raskin 2008: 12-14).⁵

In the space below we discuss the most prominent examples of dysphemisms from our corpus comprising transcripts of 25 episodes from 5 different sitcoms. As it was already stated, no attempt will be made to define humor in this paper. We take it as sufficient evidence that a certain segment of conversation is an instance of humor if it is followed by canned laughter. Moreover, due to the relativity of humor indicators, in the process of the selection of sitcoms for our corpus, we purposefully neglected the formats that did not contain canned laughter. Following Dynel (2011c), we see each utterance, turn or interaction in sitcom discourse as the collective sender's⁶ product directed at the television audience (2011c: 1636). In that regard, we consider all the instances of offensive language in the corpus as carefully **designed** to induce laughter in the TV audience. In other words, there are no accidental insults, swearwords, etc. in sitcom conversations: the offensive language is the (intended) trigger of humor. It can be argued that, in the context of television sitcoms, offensive language loses all its other functions (such as “letting off steam”, alleviating anger or frustration, etc), or they become secondary to this primary function of inducing laughter.

⁴ One study mentions an increase in verbal aggression in sitcoms from 33.5 acts per hour in the mid-1970s to 41.9 acts per hour in 1994 (Potter and Vaughn 1997).

⁵ The aggressive aspect of humor is explored within social theories of humor, particularly the so-called “disparagement theory”, which interprets humor on the basis of the asymmetry between the one who laughs and the one laughed at (see Attardo 1994; Ermida 2008).

⁶ “Collective sender” is a technical term Dynel uses to refer to the producers, the camera crew, the cast, the director, etc. of a television show.

All the examples and turns are numbered, and the relevant contextual information is supplied in square brackets. The shorthands given in round brackets refer to the sitcom and the episode from which the example was taken. The complete list is supplied in the *References*.

2.1. *Terms of insult and swear words*

Probably the harshest form of dysphemistic language are the terms of insult. Insults are **intrinsically** dysphemistic expressions that “typically pick on and debase a person’s physical appearance, mental ability, character, behaviour, beliefs and/or familial and social relations” (Allan and BurrIDGE 2006: 79). Fictional sitcom conversations are often interspersed with the insulting expressions of one kind or another. Insults of this kind rarely appear in the course of non-humorous everyday conversations, due to the risk of face loss, potential conflict, etc. Verbal interactions on screen, on the other hand, generate humorous effect on the basis of breaking the linguistic taboo without consequences.

In (1) below, the speaker (line 2) uses the dysphemism “idiot”, as an epithet that invokes mental subnormality (Allan and BurrIDGE 2006: 82), to characterize the hearer. Expressions of this sort can be directed at the addressee who is present in the conversation, which is the case in our example. In such instances the addressee will not perceive the utterance as humorous (inasmuch as his/her reaction is shown on screen). The TV audience, on the other hand, is expected to appreciate the humorous potential of such verbal chunks and laugh at the **butt**. As regards their form, such expressions are typically nouns or nominalized adjectives (other examples from the corpus include “moron”, “tramp”, “bimbo”, “ass”, “jackass”, “boob”, “jerk”, “schmo”, “ninny”, “freak”, “dorks”, “ugly”, “stupid”, etc.):

(1) [Elaine, Jerry and George are in Jerry’s apartment. Jerry has just rejected Elaine’s acceptance of his earlier marriage proposal to her. He leaves.]

1. George: You know, all these years, I’ve always wanted to see the two of you get back together.

2. Elaine: Well, that’s because you’re an idiot. (SSN)

In the example (2), Ray uses the epithets “fat”, “big”, “pig”, and “fatty” (lines 5, 12) in reference to the addressee who is absent from the conversation (Chuck Wilson). The speaker also uses the addressee’s corpulence as a standard for his comparison to a pig, the word which typically carries the connotations of gluttony and slovenliness. This, in its turn, triggers the implication that the addressee (and the people who are overweight) cannot be attractive:

(2) [Debra and Ray are in bed. Ray asks Debra if she finds other men attractive.]

1. Ray: Who? Who? Who do you look at? Alright, look if it helps, I'm dead and you're a sailor.
2. Debra: Okay, well, there's that, Chuck Wilson.
3. Ray: Chuck Wilson? At my paper? The columnist?
4. Debra: Yea, yea, you know, his picture's right across from yours and I uh... he's kinda cute.
5. Ray: Wilson. Oh, he's a fat Wilson.
6. Debra: Well, he doesn't look fat in his picture.
7. Ray: That's from the head up. I'm telling you from the neck down, he's a carnival. Wilson, God. I thought you were gonna say Bon Jovi or something.
9. Debra: Oh right. I'm never gonna meet him.
10. Ray: Well, you sure as hell aren't going to meet Chuck Wilson now.
11. Debra: Oh, this is stupid, Ray, just forget it.
12. Ray: Wilson. Big, fat Wilson. He's a pig. He's a fatty. He's got a curly tail.
13. Debra: Sweet. (ELRLDT)

Sitcom discourse sometimes employs dysphemistic words from other languages, perhaps when there is a strong risk that the English equivalent might produce the perlocutionary effect of offense rather than mirth in the viewers. Consider the segment below:

(3) [Debra and Marie are discussing Ray's potential infidelity.]

1. Debra: Marie, I'm not worried about Ray.
2. Marie: Oh, I trust Ray, too. I don't trust that pizza parlor puttana. (ELRLDT)

The speaker (Marie) uses the expression "puttana" to refer to Angelina (who is absent from the conversation), the young and attractive waitress in the pizza parlor that her son (and Debra's husband) frequents. In the Italian language, the word is a vulgar term used to characterize female sexual behavior in a negative way (see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Italian_profanity). In the example above, Marie skillfully integrates the word into the phrase "pizza parlor puttana", thus generating humor on a double basis: through alliteration and through the same mechanisms that dysphemisms in general generate humor. Had the English alternative been used instead, the "sound effect" would have been lost.

Swear words are also a part of the verbal repertoire of sitcom characters. The use of swear words can carry shock value for some of the viewers, which could potentially trigger a humorous response in them (according to the release theory of humor; cf. Attardo 1994, 2008). Swear words perform a similar interpersonal function to the terms of insult, since, as Allan and BurrIDGE state, "[t]o swear at

someone or something is to insult and deprecate the object of abuse, as well as to use other kinds of dysphemism” (2006: 76). As far as their linguistic form, swear words belong to the group of the so-called **formulae**. Quirk *et al.* characterize swear words as expressions of anger or dismissal and expletives (1985: 852-853). Some typical examples from the corpus include “cram it”, “kiss my ass”, “hell”, “damn (it)”, “crap”.

Scripted sitcom humor often plays on the pragmatic factors revolving around the use of swear words, most of all, on the relative status of the interlocutors (i.e. their age, cultural background, gender, etc). In the exchange below, Evelyn (line 8) responds to Charlie’s sarcastic remark by using the idiomatic dysphemism “bite me”. Humorous potential of the offensive utterance is heightened with the help of the pragmatic elements of the speech situation, particularly Evelyn’s relationship to Charlie (i.e. being his mother), her gender and her age.

(4) [Charlie’s house. Evelyn, Alan and Charlie are in the living room.]

1. Evelyn: In case you’re at all interested, I have been seeing a man and he just may be the one.
2. Alan: Hey, five times the charm.
3. Evelyn: Four.
4. Alan: But what about the guy with the ...
5. Evelyn: That was annulled.
6. Alan: Oh.
7. Charlie: Oh boy, are we gonna have a new daddy?
8. Evelyn: Oh, bite me, Charlie. (THMCFM)

A different (metahumor) example of how sitcom discourse can draw on dysphemisms to produce laughter comes from the TV show “Seinfeld”. In the example below Jerry resorts to expletives (lines 1 and 5) to prove to his girlfriend that he can actually get angry. It can be said that the comicality arises from Jerry’s infelicitous use of dysphemisms: his dysphemistic speech acts misfire, due to the lack of fulfillment of the sincerity condition:

(5) [Monk’s Café.]

1. Jerry: Damn it, they gave me cream! I asked for nonfat milk!
2. Patty: I think they have 1% over there.
3. Jerry: 1%?! They can kiss 1% of my ass!
4. Patty: OK, Jerry, enough. I’m not buying it.
5. Jerry: You’re damn right you’re not buying it! (SSN)

2.2. *Inappropriate terms of address as dysphemisms*

The element of aggressiveness in humorous utterances does not have to be as “overt” as in the case of insults and swear words. Otherwise “neutral” expressions can sometimes be used in a derogatory way, as is the case in the next excerpt:

(6) [A beautiful woman Brenda has just moved in in the house across from the Bundys. She comes by their house and introduces herself to Peggy. Al is on the couch. At first he is indifferent, but after he hears that she is a striptease dancer he gets up and walks over to her. Brenda shakes his hand.]

1. Brenda: Hi, I'm Brenda Kostrowski. Peggy, do you mind if I borrow this big, strong guy?
2. Peggy: Yeah, okay, uh, just have him back by tomorrow. He has to perform brain surgery in the morning and he has a loafer sale in the afternoon.
3. Al: Ah, my mother worries so. (MWCDTS)

In the interaction above, the young and attractive Brenda asks for Peggy's permission to have Al help her move her couch. Peggy responds with a sarcastic jibe directed at her husband (line 2), to which Al reacts by referring to Peggy as his mother. In this instance of put-down humor, the otherwise neutral phrase “my mother” assumes offensive connotations through the pragmatic mechanism of presupposition (for a similar example see Norrick and Chiaro 2010: 39). Through the intentional misidentification of Peggy as his mother, Al jokingly dismisses the marital status of their relationship, signaling to Brenda that he is free to engage with her.

2.3. *Names as dysphemisms*

Proper nouns as personal names can also be instrumentalized for the purposes of humorous denigration. Consider the example below.

(7) [Frasier's apartment. The doorbell rings.]

Frasier: That'll be Nanette!

[He dashes over and opens the door to Nanette, wearing an evening dress. She grabs him.]

Frasier: Nanette!

Nanette: God, I could throw you down on this floor right now and... [sees the rest] Hi!

Frasier: Here, let me take your wrap.

Daphne: [aside to Martin] Isn't she the children's entertainer?

Martin: Yeah, SpongeBob Hotpants. (FCIA)

Nanette, who used to be married to Frasier, has not overcome her attraction to him, even though she is now married to another man. In this scene Frasier's father Martin, who never liked his (former) daughter-in-law, refers to her as "SpongeBob HotPants", which is a type of wordplay revolving around the last (part of the) name of the cartoon character SpongeBob SquarePants. In this example of an aggressive witticism, the structure "hot pants", denoting an intense sexual appetite, especially in women (<http://www.yourdictionary.com/hot-pants>), is used as a part of the personal name, in an attempt to disapprove/mock the behavior of the woman whose job is to entertain children.

Another interesting example of the role of proper nouns (names) to produce the mocking type of humor is given below. By likening himself to Fred Astaire (line 4), Martin attempts to avoid being perceived as old and to present himself as elegant and stylish. In an instance of aggressive teasing (line 5), Frasier ridicules his father's new "prop", by comparing him to Mr. Peanut, the name of the mascot of an American snack-food company, which triggers the connotations of silliness and "goofiness":

(8) [Frasier's apartment. Ronee, Niles, Frasier and Martin are in the living room.]

1. Niles: Dad, when'd you get the new cane?

2. Martin: Oh, Ronee got it for me.

[He stands up to show it off.]

3. Ronee: Yeah, he's too young for that old-man cane. This is much more his style.

4. Martin: Give me a top hat and I'm Fred Astaire.

5. Frasier: Add a monocle and you're Mr. Peanut. (FB)

3. Conclusion

In this paper we discussed the use of dysphemistic expressions to generate humor in the context of television comedy. Given space limitations, we narrowed our discussion to the units of words and phrases. The analysis illustrated only a small fraction of the ways these linguistic expressions can be used to achieve a two-fold effect: on the one hand to put down (denigrate, debase, and so forth), and on the other, to generate humor. The analysis suggested the need to further explore the ways linguistic form, particularly sentences, can be used to induce laughter, and offend at the same time.

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Website used for data collection: http://www.springfieldspringfield.co.uk/tv_show_episode_scripts.php

List of sitcoms and episodes used as corpus

1. *Married With Children*:

Married without Children (MWCMWC); Bud Hits the Books (MWCBHB); Buck Can Do It (MWCBDI); Do Ya Think I'm Sexy? (MWCDTS); How to Marry a Moron (MWCHMM)

2. *Two and a Half Men*:

Did you Check with the Captain of the Flying Monkeys? (THMCFM); An Old Flame With a New Wick (THMOFNW); I Can't Afford Hyenas (THMCAH); No Sniffing, No Wowling (THMNSNW); Pilot (THMP)

3. *Frasier*:

The Proposal (FP); Caught in the Act (FCIA); I'm Listening (FIL); Boo! (FB); Freudian Sleep (FFS)

4. *Everybody Loves Raymond*:

In-laws (ELRIL); Standard Deviation (ELRSD); Win, Lose or Draw (ELRWLD); Turkey or Fish (ELRTF); Look, Don't Touch (ELSLDT)

5. *Seinfeld*:

The Hot Tub (SHT); Serenity Now (SSN); The Frogger (STF); The Betrayal (STB); The Outing (STO)

ДИСФЕМИЗМИ У КОНСТРУИСАНОМ КОНВЕРЗАЦИЈСКОМ ХУМОРУ

Резиме

Како велики број студија указује на висок ниво вербалне агресивности у хумористичким серијама, у овом раду настојали смо да изолујемо елементар агресивности који се може уочити у неким хумористичким исказима, те да опишемо његове лингвистичке манифестације, односно улогу коју има у произвођењу хумористичког ефекта код телевизијске публике. Како се конверзацијски хумор може испољити у виду лексема, па и читавих реченица, и шире, то се у овом раду ограничавамо на ријечи и фразе. Прецизније, од посебног значаја су ријечи и фразе које говорници најчешће користе када говоре о људима које желе да омаловаже или понизе, односно такозвани „дисфемизми“. У раду ближе разматрамо начине на који се дисфемизми користе у конструисаним разговорима у хумористичким серијама с циљем генерисања хумора. Примјери који су се користили у овом раду узети су из популарних америчких хумористичких серија. У основи анализе стоји увјерење да се, упркос његовој конструисаној природи, неаутентични језик телевизијских серија може користити као вриједан извор лингвистичких информација.

Кључне ријечи: конверзацијски хумор, конструисани хумор, дисфемизми, агресивни хумор

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WAYS OF ADAPTATION OF FANTASY WORDS FROM ENGLISH IN SERBIAN: AN ANALYSIS OF A PARALLEL CORPUS OF TWO NOVELS BY J. R. R. TOLKIEN¹

This paper presents the findings of a pilot study which analyzed ways of adaptation of Tolkien's fantasy terminology in order to gain insight into the processes which underlie the translator's decisions. The English-Serbian parallel corpus contained *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*. The terminology was extracted by means of *SDL MultiTerm Extract*. A total of 162 English-Serbian term pairs were then analyzed with respect to adaptation methods used in Serbian renditions of the terms (direct translation, structural translation, functional approximation and transcription). The results of this analysis revealed that the translator used different adaptation methods to render related terms into Serbian and sometimes rendered the same term using different adaptation methods in different contexts. These oscillations between different adaptation methods may represent observable manifestations of a translational version of Optimality Theory as a general translation theory underlying the translation process.

Key words: corpus linguistics, parallel corpora, terminology, translation procedures, theory of translation, Optimality Theory, English, Serbian

1. Introduction

This paper presents the findings of a small-scale pilot research project whose immediate goal was to provide an overview of the ways in which the fantasy terminology of J. R. R. Tolkien's *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* was rendered into Serbian.

¹ This study is part of the research on Project No. 178002, entitled *Languages and Cultures across Time and Space*, which is financially supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

1.1. Research goals

The overarching goal, however, was not for this paper to be a mere descriptive list of ways in which Tolkien's fantasy terminology can be transferred into Serbian, but for it to provide quantitative data on adaptation procedures in rendering terminology into Serbian which could be then used for analyzing the validity and practical scope of the best-known translation theories. It is also in this overarching goal where one can find the reason for this being a pilot study and where the true purpose of it resides: the research was, in fact, carried out in order to see if this type of terminology-oriented quantitative analysis conducted on a corpus of actual translations could yield data which may be used for rather theoretical discussions about theories of translation.

1.2. Theoretical framework of the research

Translation studies (TS) have over time produced many theories of translation (Munday 2008: 1–2): structural linguistic theories of translation revolving around the concept of equivalence (e.g. House, 1977; Jakobson 1959; Newmark 1988; Nida 1964), the translation shift approaches (e.g. Catford 1967; Van Leuven-Zwart 1989; Vinay and Darbelnet 1995), functional theories of translation, such as Vermeer's Skopos Theory (Vermeer 1989) and Nord's translation-oriented text analysis (Nord 1997), discourse and register approaches such as Hatim and Mason's theory based on the semiotic level of context and discourse (Hatim and Mason 2005), and "systems theories" (Munday 2008: 107–108), such as Toury's descriptive translation studies (Toury 1982). Nonetheless, despite being rather different, these major translation theories, with the exception of Holz-Manttari's translational action model for non-literary translations (Holz-Mänttari and Tiedeakatemia 1984), all claim to be universal in the sense that their authors formulated them so that they can be used to theoretically explain all practical decisions that a translator makes across the entire range of possible translation situations, where 'translation situation' refers to the relevant distinctive features of the entire context in which the process of translation is taking place: features of the source text (style, register, etc.), features of the source text's and the target text's culture, the intended audience of the target text, etc.

Theories of translation, however, are mental constructs devised for the purpose of explaining the processes which underlie the actual translation work: the 'real-world' translation process is completely detached and independent from theories of translation in the sense that a person with a necessary level of linguistic competence in two languages *can* translate a piece of text from one of those languages into another using the aforementioned underlying cognitive translation processes,

but *without* any knowledge of translation theories whatsoever. In that sense, in translation studies there exists a gap between that what can be theoretically formulated and stipulated, on the one hand, and that what can be actually observed in translations, on the other hand. This gap is very similar to the gap that exists in generative syntax between the stipulated syntactic operations that govern sentence generation at the level of Deep Structure (DS) in our brain's language device, on the one hand, and actual utterances that people make at the level of Surface Structure (SS), on the other (Chomsky 1993). However, while generative syntax gains direct insight into DS by making use of the fact that there is a general consensus on what is grammatical at SS and what is not, translation studies lack this direct insight into underlying translation processes because of two mutually related factors: (1) a lack of consensus on what exactly constitutes a good translation and the consequent absence of a 'perfect' translation, and (2) a multitude of linguistic and extralinguistic factors which can play a role in the process of translation, thus creating a continuum of more or less acceptable translations depending on the given context (Schaffner 1997).

In this paper it is argued that the analysis of translation procedures used to translate terminology in epic fiction can provide some insight into the underlying processes which govern the translator's decisions on how to translate a particular piece of text. The reasoning at the foundation of this claim is relatively straightforward. Namely, if a translator is translating a text that is homogeneous in all relevant linguistic features, such as its style and register, if the culture and the world depicted in the text are completely fictional and the text thus does not require any cultural adaptations to be made by the translator, and if the target audience is the target language's public as a whole (i.e. it is not a specialized translation), it can be assumed that the translator will use the same translation procedure to render such text's terminology into the target language. In other words, if all the factors influencing the translation remain constant, the manner in which the translation is conducted should remain constant, as well. Conversely, deviations from that procedure and/or oscillations in the way in which this homogeneous terminology is rendered into the target language can then be claimed to constitute a consequence not of a single underlying principle, but of different underlying principles which govern the translator's decisions. Different underlying principles are contrary to the claim put forward by major translation theories of there being a single overarching translation principle – be it linguistic form, equivalence, communicative function or the purpose of the translation.

Such deviations and oscillations in translation procedures, if observed in a parallel corpus, could, in fact, then be used to both challenge the universality claimed by major translation theories and to give evidence in favor of a view that "there is no need for a distinct general translation theory", first advocated by Gutt

in his PhD dissertation (Gutt 1989: 4) and the book derived from it (Gutt 1991: viii). However, unlike Gutt who claimed that Relevance Theory is sufficient to adequately explain translation, the preliminary idea advocated in this paper is that it should be (a translational version of) Optimality Theory (OT) which should be used as a general translation theory. This view is not new, as it was first proposed by Mansell (Mansell 2007), who initially used poetry translation to advocate his views (Mansell 2004), but what *is* new is the manner of finding evidence in favor of *Optimality Theory as a Theory of Translation*, i.e. OTATOT for short.

1.3. *Optimality Theory as a Theory of Translation (OTATOT)*

At this point, it is important to note that OTATOT does not disprove major translation theories. On the contrary, it confirms all of them, but at the same time it subjects them to working within the confines of general principles of OT as first formulated in the domain of phonological analysis. Namely, OT is similar to some other phonological and linguistic theories by being based on the assumption that grammars are systems which map inputs to outputs (Prince and Smolensky 2008), but OT is also unique in the sense that it assumes that mapping involves constant interaction of three distinct components: (1) GEN, whose task is to take an input and generate the list of possible outputs (i.e. output candidates), (2) CON, whose purpose is to provide the criteria used to decide between candidates, and (3) EVAL which chooses the optimal candidate based on the constraints, which then becomes the sole output of the system (Campos-Astorkiza 2009: 15). Although OT seems very similar to the generative notion of Deep Structure (DS), transformations which operate on DS and the resulting Surface Structure (SS), it is actually fundamentally different: where Chomskyan DS is constrained by unbreakable rules, such as binary branching and X-bar theory, which can generate only one correct structure, OT allows for multiple rules to operate and produce a multitude of possible correct structures (Campos-Astorkiza 2009: 15).

OTATOT, in this respect, treats major translation theories as different principles operating at the level of GEN and generating various possible translations (focused on, e.g., structure, equivalence or purpose). Features of the linguistic and extralinguistic context represent CON, i.e. the factors which influence translation. Finally, EVAL is the act of translation itself, as performed by the translator and based on his best judgment on which of the generated possible translations (i.e. the set of translation candidates from GEN) is the optimal one for the given combination of factors (i.e. for the given CON). OTATOT is visually described in Diagram 1, which was made by the author and graphically depicts the author's interpretation of OTATOT, as outlined in previous paragraphs.

It is very important to note that OTATOT, as defined here, does not subject and constrain translation as a process to a single governing principle such as correspondence, equivalence, function or purpose, but actually allows for all of these principles to interact in a constant fine balancing act which produces new translations influenced by an ever-changing combination of factors that are in a state of a continuous variance as the translation process and its context move from one sentence to another, or even from one clause or phrase to another.

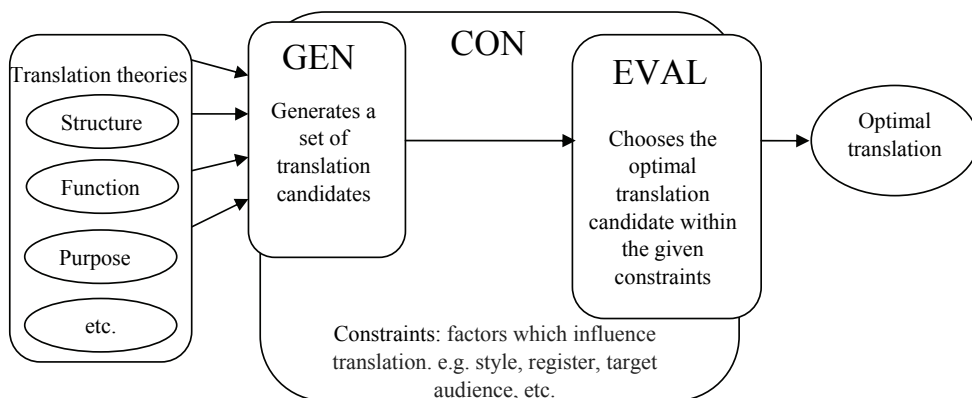


Diagram 1: A graphical representation of the principles and internal components of Optimality Theory as a Theory of Translation (OTATOT)

2. Methodology of the research

In order to actually test if OTATOT manifests itself in translation practice, i.e. if it can be detected in translations, it was necessary to find an appropriate corpus and to devise a suitable methodology. After careful consideration it was decided to use a corpus compiled from fiction literary translations and to analyze adaptation methods used in rendering terminology from the source text into the target text. The logic behind these decisions is elaborated in the rest of the following subsections.

2.1. Methodology of the research: The corpus

In terms of selecting texts to be compiled in the corpus, the central requirement was for these texts to belong to the genre of epic fantasy fiction. This requirement was chosen on the grounds that fictional worlds and cultures limit the number of factors that possibly influence how terminology is translated, since the realm of fantasy worlds implies that there is no need for any culture shifts and cultural trans-

positions in the target text. Additionally, for the sake of representativeness of the corpus, it was also decided to use a parallel corpus of at least one million words. Having in mind this requirement, it should be no surprise that J. R. R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy, together with its prequel, *The Hobbit*, was chosen as the most suitable material for corpus compilation.

The corpus used in this research was a parallel corpus containing the original English novels and their translations into Serbian, with a total of 1,582,581 words: *The Hobbit* (255,144 words), *The Lord of the Rings: The Fellowship of the Ring* (473,645 words), *The Lord of the Rings: The Two Towers* (402,412 words) and *The Lord of the Rings: Return of the King* (451,380 words). The corpus was compiled by the author in three steps: (1) digitizing the paper editions of the aforementioned books using a digital camera in combination with a copy of the BookSorber² program, (2) converting scans into text using the VietOCR³ program and (3) aligning the OCRed texts using the Windows version of the LF Aligner⁴ program. The corpus was stored in the TMX (Translation Memory eXchange) format and UTF-16 encoding.

2.2. Methodology of the research: Corpus analysis

The choice of corpus, together with its compilation, was but the first of the methodological decisions that had to be made. The second, much more important, methodological decision was that of how to analyze the corpus so that the analysis may reveal the underlying principles that govern the translation decisions made by the translator, but also, given the pilot nature of the research, to analyze it in a way that is relatively efficient and not overly time-consuming. After some pondering, it was decided to do it by analyzing adaptation methods used to render English terms into Serbian, i.e. by analyzing how J. R. R. Tolkien's terminology was translated and/or adapted from English into Serbian.

Here the term 'term' is used in its terminological definition from the *ISO 1087:1990* [5.3.1.2] standard as "a designation of a defined concept in a special language by a linguistic expression" and not in its lexicographical definition as any word or set phrase that may be used as an entry word (Riggs 1995: 64–65). In other words, a term designates a unique concept – either a group or individual concept

² <http://booksorber.com/>

³ <http://vietocr.sourceforge.net/>. VietOCR, contrary to what its name may suggest, is actually a UI frontend for Tesseract optical character recognition (OCR) engine and it does not only support Vietnamese, but also all other languages supported by Tesseract OCR, including English and Serbian (one simply has to download additional training sets available at: <https://code.google.com/p/tesseract-ocr/downloads/list>).

⁴ <http://sourceforge.net/projects/aligner/>

– within a special language or sub-language. Tolkien's works depict an imaginary world (Middle-Earth), together with thousands of its toponyms, inhabited by several fictional hominoid species, all speaking different fictional languages and using many fictional objects. The language used to depict the entirety of this imaginary world can therefore be considered a prime example of specialized language, while each designation of an abstract or concrete fictional entity within this imaginary world is consequently a term. In other words, according to this definition of the term 'term', Tolkien's works present the reader, and, therefore, also the translator, with an abundance of terms. The sheer volume and complexity of Tolkien's terminology is exemplified by the fact that nowadays there are specialized Tolkien dictionaries such as *Tolkien: A Dictionary* (Day 2014), *A Tolkien Bestiary* (Day and Miller 1979) and *A Tolkien Thesaurus* (Blackwelder 1990), as well as entire books devoted to tracing back the etymological sources of Tolkien's terms and the manner in which he formed the words of his imaginary world of Middle-Earth and its many fictional languages: e.g. *The Ring of Words: Tolkien and the Oxford English Dictionary* (Gilliver, Marshall, and Weiner 2006).

A theoretical digression is in order here. Namely, most of the terms which were identified through practical application of this definition of the term 'term', as shown in Table 1 at the end of the paper, turned out to be proper names. Although proper names do not have a terminological status in the lexicographic approaches to terminology, they do have such status in practical and terminological approaches. Namely, the lexicographic approach to terminology is semasiological (i.e. meaning-approach), whereas the practical and terminological approaches are onomasiological (i.e. naming approach) (Sager 1990: 56). Having in mind the aforementioned ISO definition of the term (designation of a concept in a specialized language) and having in mind that individual concepts are defined as "intentions of expressions that attempt to designate particular individuals in the world of discourse" (Brachman 1977: 139), it becomes clear that a term designating an individual concept is "basically a proper name" (Austermühl 2010: 10). In other words, proper names can constitute terms in the terminological and practical approaches to terminology and are commonly dealt with in practically oriented terminological literature, such as *A Practical Course in Terminology Processing* by Juan Sager (1990), where a section is devoted to names and proper nouns (Sager 1990: 67-71). Consequently, a disclaimer is in place here: this paper deals with terminology in a terminological, non-lexicographic way. From a lexicographic or linguistic point of view the bulk of terms found in the corpus would be discarded as non-terms, because they are proper names.

Additionally, Tolkien, who had an excellent command of northern European languages and who was a philologist working on a number of projects including, for example, the *Oxford English Dictionary*, went to great lengths to create new

words for his imaginary world, weaving together in them different strands of folklore, allegory, religion, (word) magic and philology (Jeffrey 2004). In this respect, Tolkien's terms may be claimed to be fundamentally almost identical to English neologisms whose renditions into Serbian more often than not result in anglicisms and which present a considerable challenge for the translator. In that sense, the analysis of how Tolkien's terms were transferred into Serbian can use the theoretical framework which Prčić meticulously developed for the purpose of analyzing anglicisms in Serbian (Prčić 2005). Conversely, some Tolkien's terms rendered into Serbian may be termed Tolkienisms.

The analysis of the corpus was focused on different adaptation methods used to render Tolkien's terms into Serbian, because it is assumed that the choice of adaptation methods may provide an insight into the underlying principles that govern decisions that translators make. Namely, all terms being equally fictional, a translator's decision to simply borrow one term into Serbian by means of transcribing it, but to translate another term using, e.g., functional approximation may be claimed to be results of different underlying principles of translation.

The corpus, i.e. the terms in the corpus, were analyzed by tagging. The tag set was initially based on the classification of translation procedures which Prčić provides for anglicisms: direct translation, calque and functional approximation (Prčić 2005: 178–180). However, since it quickly became clear that translators can choose not to translate a term at all, but to simply borrow it and transcribe it instead, it was decided to add transcription to the tag set, although it does not constitute a translation process, but transference of written form. The resulting tag set thus contained four tags: direct translation, calque/structural translation, functional approximation and transcription. What this tag set actually encodes are the translator's decisions on how to adapt fantasy terms into Serbian. In this sense, although it does not represent a translation procedure, transcription represents a translator's decision: a decision *not to translate*.⁵

The final methodological decision, but also a big research problem, was that which had to do with the identification of terms in the corpus. More specifically, it was necessary to have an objective criterion for identifying a word or a phrase as a term. Ultimately, it was decided that the terms should be identified by means of the program *SDL MultiTerm Extract*.⁶ *MultiTerm Extract* is primarily used by translation service providers to automatically compile monolingual and multilingual glossaries and dictionaries from parallel texts. It uses advanced statistical methods

⁵ At this point, the author would like to express his deep gratitude to the blind peer reviewer for highlighting a theoretical problem related to the status of transcription in the early version of this paper and for providing helpful suggestions for fixing the initially shaky theoretical foundations of the annotation scheme, i.e. the tag set.

⁶ <http://www.sdl.com/products/sdl-multiterm/extract.html>

based on word frequency calculations to determine possible terms in the source text and their possible translations in the target language (Mahad et al. 2009).

The statistical methods used by *MultiTerm Extract* provide an objective, mathematical basis for term identification. Since this was a pilot study, *MultiTerm Extract* was set up to limit its search for terms in the parallel corpus to 1,500 terms ranging in size from single words to four-word phrases. The 1500 possible terms identified by *MultiTerm Extract* were further narrowed down to 162, after the most common English words (monolexical possible terms), as identified by the Oxford 3000 wordlist, were discarded as terms. The Oxford 3000 wordlist was chosen for this purpose since it contains words which are very frequent across a range of different text types (Li 2009: 219), so it can be considered a general wordlist of the most common words in English. This exclusion of common words, e. g. *run*, was necessary for two reasons: (1) *MultiTerm*'s statistical algorithms are based on frequency data, so many of the words identified as possible terms are not terms in the sense in which the term 'term' is defined in this paper, but are simply words whose frequency of occurrence in the text falls within the range of frequencies where terminology is usually found, (2) the analysis of the adaptation method used to render such common words into Serbian does not provide any insight into underlying principles of translation as these common words have a range of well-established Serbian equivalents, contrary to Tolkien's fictional coined terms which present the translator with a challenge. Each of the 162 terms was then annotated for the way of adaptation used to render it into Serbian, i.e. for the translator's decision on how to adapt the term. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 1, at the end of the paper, where terms are listed in groups, depending on the way of adaptation which was used for rendering the given term into Serbian.

The terms listed in Table 1 have not been lemmatized. Specifically *dwarf* and *dwarves* as well as *elf* and *elves* are listed as separate terms, which is in accordance with the manner in which *MultiTerm Extract* operates. However, this should not present an issues as these non-lemmatized words can be claimed to have slightly different meanings in the singular and plural, where the singular word may be said to refer to the being's race and the plural word to their respective kingdoms. It is also important to mention that several terms have been transferred into Serbian in two different ways. In those instances, the English term is listed twice in the table, followed by its Serbian translation, or its transcribed form, and the identifier of the transfer method used. The adaptation methods are identified by letters D, C, F and T, which represent 'direct translation', 'calque/structural translation', 'functional approximation' and 'transcription', respectively.

3. Findings of the research

As can be seen from Table 1, there is no adaptation method that can be claimed to be predominant among these terms. For the sake of better presentation of data, distributions of different adaptation methods across the terms extracted from the corpus are presented in a pie chart in Chart 1.

As can be seen from Chart 1, from the point of view of adaptation methods used in their rendition into Serbian, it can be said that Tolkien's terminology on the whole has been dealt with in many different ways, although some may use the word 'unsystematic' to describe this practice. This finding, just by itself, can be claimed to confirm the initial hypothesis that an analysis of ways of adaptation of fantasy words can indirectly reveal the underlying principles that govern the translation process. Additionally, this can even be interpreted as a marginal conformation of OTATOT, since this finding represents a deviation from a unified manner of rendering terms into Serbian which may have been expected given the fact that these terms are all equally artificial.

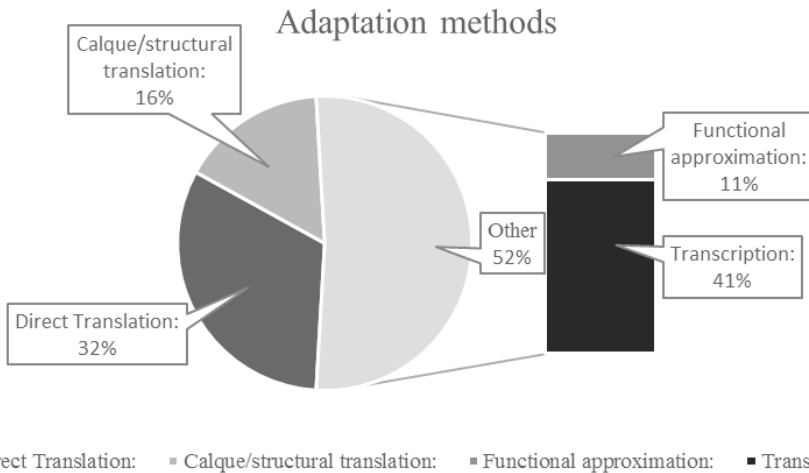


Chart 1: Distribution of different adaptation methods used to render English terms into Serbian

This claim can be reinforced by shifting the focus from the 'big picture', i.e. the corpus as a whole, and focusing on individual examples, which will be presented in the following subsections, grouped according to two criteria. The first group of examples are chosen on the basis of the level of etymological and semantic transparency and further divided by semantic fields. The criterion used for the sec-

ond group of examples is the existence of different Serbian renditions of a single Tolkien's term.

3.1. Serbian renditions of etymologically and semantically transparent terms

On the whole, the Serbian translator has tried to translate terms whose etymology and meaning is completely or relatively transparent. The best examples of this group of terms are toponyms and personal names: *Shire* is 'Okrug', *Dale* is 'Dol', *Coomb* is 'Udolina', *Bag End* is 'Bagremova ulica',⁷ *Old Forest* is 'Stara šuma', *Sting* (the name of Bilbo's sword) is 'Žalac', *Treebeard* is 'Drvobradi' and *Wormtongue* is 'Crvojezik.' However, the translator deviates from this principle in the case of one of the main characters' nicknames: *Strider*. This term was not translated (e.g. as, say, 'Koračas', 'Koračar', 'Hodač' or 'Kasač'), but was simply transcribed as 'Strajder'. This example may well represent one of the best example of OTATOT: the only logical explanation is that the translator – among all possible options (GEN level of OT) – decided to opt for transcription because he may have thought that 'Strajder' sounds more awe-inspiring in Serbian than, for example, 'Koračar' does. In this sense, 'sounding more awe-inspiring' can be interpreted as a factor operating at the CON level of OTATOT.

Strider is not the only example of this kind. Names of different hominoid species inhabiting Middle-Earth, as a specific group of terms, are predominantly semantically transparent (thus belonging to this group), and have been, on the whole, translated: e.g. a *dwarf* is 'Patuljak', a *troll* is 'Div', *halfling* is 'Polutan' and an *elf* is 'Vilovnjak'. However, an *orc* is not translated as 'Bauk' or 'Ogar', but is transcribed as 'Ork', which may again have been caused by different factors from the CON level prevailing at the EVAL level. Namely, it may be claimed that 'Ork' sounds more evil and more blood-chilling than does 'Bauk', at least in the personal opinion of the author of this paper. In this respect, the Serbian rendition of *orc* can be claimed to represent another example of OTATOT at work.

The last example which will be presented in this group is *Shadowfax* (Gandalf's horse), which was translated as 'Senko' into Serbian. A brief search of the Oxford English Dictionary reveals that *fax* is an obsolete noun meaning 'the hair of the head', which implies that *Shadowfax* is a horse whose mane is shadowy gray and that it should have been translated as, for example, 'Senogrivi' or 'Senkogrivi'. Such a translation refers to the horse's physical appearance, as does the original name, while the translation 'Senko' (~Shadowy) may be interpreted as character-

⁷ This is an instance of functional approximation, but it may be said to be off the mark. Namely, the original term – Bag End – is actually the name of a Hobbit-hole at the end of Bagshot Row in Hobbiton. Bag End may even be interpreted as a pun on "cul-de-sac" (literally, "bottom of the bag"), which makes the Serbian functional approximation even more off the mark.

izing the horse's speed (i.e. that it is faster than its shadow). This example can be interpreted as yet another instance of OTATOT at work: the translator did not use a direct translation or a calque (as he did in the vast majority of similar examples), but resorted to a functional approximation which is but very loosely related to the original meaning, which was, possibly, caused by his wish to characterize the horse directly through its nominal designation.

At this point it is important to stress that it is sometimes difficult or almost impossible to determine whether a particular Serbian rendition of Tolkien's term is an example of OTATOT or a translation error. An example illustrative of this problem is the name of a local innkeeper, *Butterbur*, which was translated as 'Masločvor'. The butterbur is a perennial plant in the family *Asteraceae*, whose Latin name is *Petasites hybridus*: Tolkien probably used it metaphorically in order to characterize the innkeeper as a person who clings to other people like a bur, i.e. as a person who is difficult to get rid of. The Serbian name for the butterbur is 'repuh' which is not overly transparent to the biologically uninitiated, but it could have been translated as 'Čičak' (~Bur). Nonetheless, the translator decided to morphologically re-analyze the word butterbur and calque it as 'Masločvor' (*butter* = 'maslo' and *bur* = 'čvor' (knot), whereby it is important to note that one of the meanings of the word 'bur' can be 'ornamental veneering wood containing knots'). On the one hand, the translator could have been done it in order to characterize the innkeeper, who, in addition to being difficult to get rid of, is also a confused and clumsy person, but, on the other hand, it simply could have been a translation error. Yet another example of this type is the toponym *Buckland* which, despite being completely semantically transparent, is transcribed as 'Baklend' and is not translated as, say, 'Jelenije', 'Jelenovo', 'Jelenovlje', 'Srndaćijevo', 'Srndaćovlje' or 'Srndaćevlje'. It is not clear whether this is an example of OTATOT or an instance where the translator simply did not notice the original meaning of the toponym.

3.2. Multiple Serbian renditions of the same Tolkien's term

Multiple Serbian renditions of the same term constitute another criterion for identifying manifestations of OTATOT in action. These are, for example, different renditions of N-of-N phrases. A good illustration of this can be found in the term *Riders of Rohan*. Sometimes this English term is structurally translated as 'Jahači Rohanski', whereby the Serbian translation maintains the internal genitive case marking of the nominal complement of the head noun, and sometimes it is directly translated as 'Jahači od Rohana', which is a typical example of word-for-word translation. These oscillations between two translation procedures, however, do not seem to be random instances of terminological inconsistency which is characteristic of bad translation practice, something which one does not expect to find in

the Serbian translation of *The Lord of the Rings*.⁸ On the contrary, these different renditions can be found in different contexts. Structural translations of the term are usually found in epic-sounding descriptive passages, such as ‘The Riders of Rohan sprang suddenly to life.’ which was translated into Serbian as ‘Jahači Rohanski odjednom oživeše.’ Direct translations of this term, on the other hand, are predominantly used in direct speech, probably on the grounds that ‘Jahači Rohanski’ sounds too unnatural, or too epic, for oral communication: for example ‘Where are the Riders of Rohan?’ is translated as ‘Gde su Jahači od Rohana?’ In this respect, it is quite clear that oscillations between different translation procedures of this type may be regarded as manifestations of OTATOT: the register of the sentence, in that sense, is to be interpreted as a factor from the CON level which plays a crucial role in deciding which of the possible translations from the GEN level should be chosen at the EVAL level.

A similar explanation can be made for *lord of the Mark* which was translated either as ‘Lord od Marke’ or as ‘Gospodar Marke’, depending on the context: ‘gospodar Marke’ was used in neutral contexts and ‘Lord od Marke’ appears only in a highly formal context (in an epic speech by Gandalf).

The scope of this paper, the chosen methodology and the pilot nature of the research do not allow for a more detailed analysis of a bigger number of examples, but the ones analyzed in previous paragraphs hopefully create a clear outline of what this kind of analysis can reveal in the domain of translation studies, terminological studies and discussions about theories of translation, but also what possible problems in its application may be (difficulty in distinguishing manifestations of OTATOT from translation errors and omissions).

4. Conclusion

This small-scale pilot study of different adaptation methods used to render Serbian translations of Tolkien’s Middle-Earth terms can be considered a relatively successful theoretical and methodological experiment in several different ways.

Firstly, this study has showed that an analysis of adaptation methods used to render a text’s terminology into the target language may be a viable route for analyzing the underlying principles of translation that govern the choices which translators make while translating.

Secondly, the observed alterations between different transfer methods used to render similar terms into Serbian, such as names of different races inhabiting

⁸ Although there are no scientific papers which deal with it and which could be used to reinforce this claim, the Serbian translation of *The Lord of the Rings* is widely regarded as a translation masterpiece.

Middle-Earth and different translations for the same term, may be interpreted as manifestations of Optimality Theory as a Theory of Translation as the overarching principle of translation.

Thirdly, at a less general level of analysis, this research shows that, when dealing with terms, translators do not prefer a single adaptation method, but, instead, use different methods depending on various factors that constitute the context in which the term appears and is used, but also the context of the translation as a whole.

Nonetheless, this being a pilot study, there is much left to be desired and there are many improvements to the methodology that can be made. In addition to generic improvements, such as conducting this kind of research on a bigger corpus and analyzing a bigger number of terms, there are also some specific improvements that can be made. For example, since differences in of transfer methods used to render a text's terminology only become obvious when a term is compared to other terms from the same domain or lexical field (e.g. toponyms of the Shire, or nicknames of main characters), in future studies a bigger number of terms should be analyzed in a number of domain-restricted groups. Also, it would be useful to add annotation to the corpus in order to indicate whether the term appears in descriptive/narrative passages or in direct speech.

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ENGLISH TERM	SERBIAN TRANSLATION	TRANSLATION PROCEDURE
alas	avaj	D
Aragorn son of Arathorn	Aragorn, sin Aratornov	D
Black Gate	Crna kapija	D
black rider	Crni Jahač	D
citadel	Tvrđava	D
Coomb	Udolina	D
Dark Lord	Mračni Gospodar	D
Dark Tower	Crna kula	D
dwarf	Patuljak	D
dwelt	živeli, prebivali	D
elf	Vilovnjak	D
elves	Vilovnjaci	D
Elvish	vilovnjački	D
Eorl the Young	Jorl Mladi	D
ere	pre	D
Gandalf the Grey	Gandalf Sivi	D
Gimli the Dwarf	Gimli Patuljak	D
gloom	tmina	D
Great Gate	Velika kapija	D
Great River	Velika reka	D
Helm's Dike	Helmov jarak	D
Helm's Deep	Helmov ponor	D
inn	krčma	D
Isildur's Bane	Izildurova propast	D
King Elessar	Kralj Elesar	D

King of Gondor	Kralj Gondora	D
King of the Mark	Kralj od Marke	D
lady Éowyn	ledi Jovajna	D
Lonely Mountain	Samotna planina	D
Lord of Gondor	Lord od Gondora	D
Lord of the City	Lord od Grada	D
lord of the Mark	Lord od Marke	D
lord of the Mark	Gospodar Marke	D
Lord of the Ring	Gospodar Prstenova	D
master	gospodar	D
men of Rohan	Ljudima od Rohana	D
Merry	Veseli	D
Misty Mountains	Maglene planine	D
Mount Doom	Planina Usuda	D
Númenórean	numenorejski	D
old man	star čovek	D
Paths of the Dead	Staza Mrtvih	D
Rider of Rohan	Jahači od Rohana	D
ruffian	razbojnik	D
Shire	Okrug	D
sons of Elrond	sinovi Elronda	D
Sting	Žalac	D
troll	div	D
War of the Ring	rat za Prsten	D
White Horse	beli konj	D

White Mountains	Bele planine	D
White Tree	Belo drvo	D
Captains of the West	zapovednici Zapada	C
Durin's Folk	Durinov narod	C
Elder Days	starim danima	C
Frodo son of Drogo	Frodo sin Drogov	C
Gate of Kings	Kapija kraljeva	C
Gimli son of Glóin	Gimli, sin Gloina	C
Glóin's son	Gloinov sin	C
Halfling	Polutan	C
Heir of Isildur	naslednik Izildurov	C
Helm's Gate	Helmova kapija	C
house of Elrond	dom Elrondov	C
House of Eorl	Kuæa Jorlova	C
Houses of Healing	Kuæe isceljenja	C
Land of Mordor	Zemlja Mordor	C
light of day	svetlost dana	C
Men of Gondor	Ljudi od Gondora	C
Old Forest	Stara šuma	C
Rider of Rohan	Jahači Rohanski	C
Ring-bearer	Nosilac Prstena	C
servant of the Enemy	sluga Neprijatelja	C
Treebeard	Drvobradi	C
Tree-folk	Narod Drveæa	C
Vale of Anduin	dolina Anduina	C
white tower	bela kula	C

Wild Men	Divlji Ljudi	C
Wormtongue	Crvjezik	C
Bag End	Bagremova ulica	F
Common Speech	Zajednički jezik	F
Dale	Dol	F
dwarves	Patuljci	F
Eldar	Zapadni Vilovnjaci	F
haven	luka	F
Lady Galadriel	gospodarica Galadrijela	F
Middle-earth	Srednji svet	F
Mirkwood	Mrka šuma	F
Mr. Butterbur	g. Masločvor	F
old man	starac	F
Ranger	Šumar	F
Ringwraiths	Utvare Prstena	F
Rohirrim	Jahači od Rohana	F
Shadowfax	Senko	F
steward	domostrojitelj	F
Steward of Gondor	domostrojitelj Gondora	F
Weathertop	Breg vetrova	F
ah	ah	T
Anduin	Anduin	T
Aragorn	Aragorn	T
Arwen	Aruena	T
Barad-dûr	Barad-dur	T
Beregond	Beregond	T
Bilbo	Bilbo	T
Boromir	Boromir	T
Bree	Bri	T
Buckland	Baklendu	T
Denethor	Denetor	T

Dol Guldur	Dol Guldur	T	Lothlórien	Lotlorijen	T
Dúnedain	Dundaini	T	Minas Anor	Minas Anoru	T
Edoras	Edoras	T	Minas Morgul	Minas Morgul	T
Eldar	Eldar	T	Minas Tirith	Minas Tirit	T
Elendil	Elendil	T	Mithrandir	Mitrandidr	T
Elrond	Elrond	T	Mordor	Mordor	T
Ent	Ent	T	Moria	Morija	T
Éomer	Jomer	T	Mr. Baggins	g. Bagins	T
Éowyn	Jovajna	T	Nazgûl	Nazguli	T
Ephel Dúath	Efel Duatu	T	Númenor	Numenora	T
Eriador	Erjador	T	orc	Ork	T
Fangorn	Fangorn	T	Orthanc	Ortank	T
Faramir	Faramir	T	Osgiliath	Ozgilijat	T
Frodo	Frodo	T	Quenya	kvenijski	T
Galadriel	Galadrijela	T	Rivendell	Rivendal	T
Gandalf	Gandalf	T	Rohan	Rohan	T
Gimli	Gimli	T	Sam	Sem	T
Glorfindel	Glorfindel	T	Sam Gamgee	Sem Gemdži	T
gollum	Golum	T	Saruman	Saruman	T
Gondor	Gondor	T	Sauron	Sauron	T
Haldir	Haldir	T	Shagrat	Sagrat	T
hobbit	Hobit	T	Shelob	Šeloba	T
Hobbiton	Hobiton	T	Sméagol	Smeagol	T
Isengard	Izengard	T	Strider	Strajder	T
Isildur	Izildur	T	Théoden	Teoden	T
Ithilien	Itilijen	T	Tom Bombadil	Tom Bombadil	T
Legolas	Legolas	T	Uglúk	Jugluk	T
Lórien	Lorijen	T			

Table 1: Statistically most significant English terms in the corpus: D stands for ‘direct translation’, C for ‘calque/structural translation’, F for ‘functional approximation’ and T for ‘transcription’

**NAČINI ADAPTACIJE FANTAZIJSKIH REČI SA ENGLSKOG NA SRPSKI:
ANALIZA PARALELNOG KORPUSA SASTAVLJENOG
OD DVA ROMANA DŽ. R. R. TOLKINA**

Rezime

U ovom radu predstavljeni su rezultati probne studije tokom koje su analizirani načini adaptacije Tolkinove fantastijske terminologije, a sa ciljem da se stekne uvid u procese koji utiču na odluke koje prevodioci donose tokom prevođenja. Englesko-srpski paralelni korpus upotrebljen u istraživanju sadržavao je *Hobita* i *Gospodara prstenova*. Ekstrakcija terminologije obavljena je pomoću programa *SDL MultiTerm Extract*. Nakon toga, 162 englesko-srpska terminološka para bili su predmet analize u pogledu metoda adaptacije koji su upotrebljeni prilikom transfera na srpski jezik (direktno prevođenje, strukturno prevođenje ili kalkiranje, funkcijska aproksimacija i transkripcija). Rezultati analize pokazali su da je prevodilac koristio različite metode adaptacije kako bi u srpski preneo čak i veoma srodne termine, a ponekad je isti termin bio adaptiran na različite načine u različitim kontekstima. Ove oscilacije između različitih metoda adaptacije mogu da predstavljaju приметne manifestacije teorije optimalnosti kao опште teorije prevođenja i temelja procesa prevođenja.

Ključne reči: korpusna lingvistika, paralelni korpusi, terminologija, prevodni postupci, teorija prevođenja, teorija optimalnosti, engleski, srpski

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THE SEMANTICS OF THE BLUE COLOUR CATEGORY IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN

The paper deals with the semantics of the BLUE colour category in English and Serbian, that is, with the different meanings (the literal meaning and the associative meanings) that this particular colour has in the two languages. The primary symbolism of the colour 'blue' is that of nature. Both English *blue*, and its Serbian correspondent *PLAV*, refer to the 'blue' of the unclouded sky and water (the sea). In spite of an evident denotational invariability, there is no connotational uniformity of the colour term for 'blue' in the two language groups. In its extended (associative) meanings, English *blue* can have additional semantic functions, such as (1) melancholy, e.g. *feeling blue*, (2) conservatism (Puritanism), e.g. *blue laws*, (3) cheekiness, decadence, pornography, e.g. *blue movie*, etc. None of the meanings described here, however, are common in Serbian. Given the fact, the contrastive study focuses on the culturally-specific (relativist) colour naming common in Anglo-Saxon, yet not in Serbian culture.

Key words: the BLUE colour category, semantic diversity, literal meaning, associative meanings, cross-cultural diversity, English, Serbian

1. Introduction

This paper has a dual orientation and a dual aim: theoretical and analytical. On the theoretical side, it presents the relatively little known history of the colour 'blue' which rose "from rags to riches", eventually becoming a favourite colour by most Europeans and Americans, men and women alike. In the analytical part, the paper posits the possibility that the English and Serbian categorization of the colour 'blue' is not completely uniform – namely, that the 'blue' colour systems in the two language groups are denotationally consistent, yet connotationally unidentical.

1.1. General information about colour

The outer world is coloured for us humans, although no extralinguistic entity “has” colour. However commonplace it is in everyday life, colour seems to be rather elusive as a theoretical concept. Technically speaking, colour is a very small section of the visible electromagnetic spectrum (Graves 1951: 319). Newton was the first to discover in 1666 that when pure white light passes through a triangular prism, it is dispersed into the rainbow of 7 visible or basic colours – ‘red’, ‘orange’, ‘yellow’, ‘green’, ‘blue’, ‘indigo’ and ‘violet’ (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* 2014). To physiologists colour is energy which can increase a feeling of anxiety and aggression, as is the case with ‘red’, or provide comfort and tranquility, as is the case with ‘blue’ (Folmar 2011: 109, 134; MacLure 2013: 20, 76). In psychology, colour is a sensation. For example, ‘red’ can emphasize a mood and provide a touch of fun, glamour and romance, whereas ‘black’, ‘white’ and dark ‘blue’ are typical indicators of seriousness and solemnity (Pavlović 1977: 24, 28, 35; Trstenjak 1987: 54-61, 210-2105; Krimer-Gaborović 2011: 89-91). And last but not least, colour is the most basic element of a painting. Every specific colour is made from a specific pigment (or mixture of pigments). On this view, *ultramarine blue*, *Prussian blue*, and *cerulean blue* are distinctly different ‘blue’ pigments (Boddy-Evans 2014).

1.2. Linguistic relativity and the colour naming debate

Feelings about a particular colour may be attributed to its cultural use and conditioning, which complies with the Sapir-Whorf theory of linguistic relativity. The theory holds that each language reflects a particular mindset, and at the same time, that the way people think about reality is strongly affected by their native languages (Munat 2005; Pinker 2007; Wolff and Holmes 2011). As claimed by Athanasopoulos (2007: 84), the semantic field of colour categorisation has been a classic battlefield for the linguistic relativity hypothesis precisely because different cultures have their own meanings of colours which is mirrored by their languages. Describing colour, therefore, is more about language (and culture) than it is about colour (Batchelor 2000).

An example in support of the stated comes from Welsh, which traditionally does not differentiate between ‘green’, ‘grey’ and ‘blue’ in the same way as English (and Serbian). Instead of having separate terms for the colours, traditional Welsh uses a cover term *glas* for all. *Glas* can be employed to describe the colour of a leaf, the sky and the sea (Hjemslev [1943] 1993: 49; Mac Laury 2000: 287). In English, however, the leaf would be typically *green*, the sky *blue* and the sea *grey*. In Serbian the leaf is also ‘green’, Serb. ZELEN, the sky is ‘blue’ or ‘dark blue’, Serb. PLAV or MODAR, respectively, and the sea is ‘blue’, ‘dark blue’, or ‘dark and dull

grey (leadens)', Serb. PLAV, MODAR and SINJI, respectively. Further distinctions in the semantic field of the colour 'blue' can be illustrated by the discrepancy between the western world and Iran. In the west, 'blue' is associated with men and masculinity, in contrast with the symbolism of the colour in the Iranian culture where 'blue' is associated with death (Dunn 2014: 2). Lastly, feelings about a particular colour can also be deeply personal, such as when somebody loves 'blue' because their classroom was 'blue' and they have positive experiences associated with spending time there. This is a contextual interpretation of a colour (Elliot et al. 2007: 156).

In both English and Serbian the colour 'blue' implies different meanings (the literal meaning and the associative meanings). By this, we mean that the cultural context produces the most significant differences in colour term connotation between languages (Crisp and Chang 1987: 53). For example, the primary symbolism of the colour 'blue' is that of nature. Thus, both English *blue*, and its Serbian translation equivalent PLAV, refer to the colour of the unclouded sky and water (the sea). Yet, in its transferred (extended) meanings *blue* can have additional semantic functions such as: (1) melancholy, e.g. *feeling blue*,¹ (2) conservatism (Puritanism), e.g. *blue laws*,² (3) cheekiness, decadence, pornography, e.g. *blue movie*, (4) unwavering loyalty and faithfulness, e.g. *true blue*,³ etc. None of the listed meanings, however, is common in the Serbian language.

The corpora used in this study were: (1) for the English language *The British National Corpus*, or BNC (an electronic corpus), *The Oxford Dictionary of English*, or ODE, and *The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, or

¹ The phrase originated from an old custom that a ship which loses her captain would fly blue flags when returning to home port. Other similar examples are *Blue Monday*, a depressing first day of the work week; *blue devils*, (1) a fit of depression or melancholy, and (2) an attack of delirium tremens; *the blues*, a state of depression or melancholy. The psychology professor Crawford of Richmond University, Virginia, U.S., claims that the melancholia definition of *the blues* could have arisen from the look of the body when it is in a low energy, low oxygen state. "The lips turn blue, there's a blue pallor to the complexion", Crawford says. "It's the opposite of the warm flushing of the skin that we associate with love, kindness and affection" (Angier 2012). It is also interesting to note that on learning of a good friend's suicide in 1901, Picasso fell into a severe depression, and he began painting images of beggars, drunks, the poor and the halt, all famously rendered in a palette of blue.

² *Blue laws*, or *Sunday closing laws* in the U.S., have been a part of the country's legal history since the colonial period. The laws prohibit certain types of commercial activity on Sundays although originally these were directed at personal activities regarded as moral offenses, such as gambling or the consumption of alcohol.

³ In the Anglo-Saxon world, blue flowers, e.g. forget-me-nots and violets, equal faithfulness. By an old English custom, a bride wears an item of blue colour as a symbol of purity. It can be blue ribbons on a wedding gown, a blue sapphire in the wedding ring, or tiny flowers of blue speedwell as part of the wedding bouquet. This largely a British custom comes from an O.E. rhyme *Something Old, Something New, Something Borrowed, Something Blue, and A Silver Sixpence in her Shoe*. (The four objects worn by the bride on the wedding day are all good luck charms).

OALD (dictionaries); and (2) for the Serbian language *Resursi srpskog jezika* (an electronic corpus), as well as *Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika*, or RSKJ (a dictionary).

2. Anthropology of colour and linguistic colour research in Berlin and Kay's paradigm

Out of millions of colours distinguished visually, only very few have special names. These have a wide range of application as the individuality of a particular shade of colour is not namable (Plümacher 2007: 61). Following Berlin and Kay (1969), 'blue' is one of 11 basic colour terms (BCTs). The set of the BCTs is comprised of the smallest number of linguistically simplex expressions of the language with which a speaker can name a colour. The BCTs develop in a certain fixed order, during seven stages. Although far from perfect, Berlin and Kay's theory has wide applicability by not being restricted to describing a single referent, or a handful of things. Instead, there is a general (basic) colour name in communication, which spans a spectrum of variances. It is widely known and can be used across the entire linguistic community, with good consistency about its denotata, in contrast to the larger vocabulary of non-basic terms. The model has, therefore, proved convenient when dealing with colour management. This is especially true in the light of the modern-day overabundance of synthetic pigments which have to be somehow classified and interpreted. At this point, let us say also that the colour terms are employed not only for naming and identification purposes, but also with the purpose of evoking imagery and adding depth or meaning to our words (MacLure 2013: 5). Thus, for example, we shall describe a person who was badly bruised as *black and blue*, or say *They sailed off into the blue*, when we want to say that a group of people went a long distance into the unknown (Krimer-Gaborović 2009: 138). The same explanatory principle is applied in Serbian, hence a Serbian-speaking individual might refer to bribery by reaching for the idiom *PLAVA KOVERTA* (lit. a blue envelope), or describe an anxious, problem-ridden person using the idiomatic phrase *PLAV OD MUKE*⁴ (lit. blue with sickness).

In spite of the omnipresent immaculate beauty of the sky and water around us, the very fact that 'blue' is not the first colour to be named by any language community (Berlin and Kay 1969: 7; Ivić 1995: 60), is due to the perennial difficulty of making good blue dyes and pigments. True, there are not many other things in nature which are blue – just a few birds and a few flowers. Blue food has also been rarely found in nature aside from blueberry and some plums. This is probably the

⁴ This example is from Habjanović-Đurović (2001: 184).

explanation behind the fact that 'blue' is one of the least appetizing colours. Such an attitude possibly evolved as an adaptation against eating rotten meat, which can have a bluish tinge. The bottom line here is that not even all blueberries and plums are really blue. Plums may have a deep purple colour for example, whereas the vegetable plant PATLIDŽAN, aubergine or eggplant, also called PLAVI PATLIDŽAN in Serbian, (lit. blue aubergine/eggplant), is in fact dark purple in colour.

As it was observed earlier, 'blue' is typically reminiscent of the clear sky and ocean.⁵ It is, however, also the colour of deep ice and winter cold. The cold, pure and fresh side of 'blue' is taken advantage of (1) in blue labels on refreshing cool beverages and mountain spring water bottles, and (2) by the blue tints of household product, e.g. *P&G* (detergents and cleaning products), *Finish* (dishwasher detergent), etc. The lighter, soft and docile 'blue' colour shades, such as *powder blue*, *bluebell*, *sky blue*, are typically used for baby products, especially baby boy clothing and accessories, or as the saying indicating gender colour associations goes *pink is for girls, blue is for boys*.

3. Historical dimension of interpreting the colour 'blue'

In viewing the current status of the 'blue' colour, it can be said it is best known for its soothing character. This quality makes 'blue' a favourite colour of most Europeans and Americans, men and women alike. In the light of previous reviews, it is surprising that for centuries, literally, 'blue' had no place in social life and religion (Pastoureau 2001). No 'blue' is found in the ancient cave paintings and rock art. No fabric was dyed 'blue' either when the first dyeing techniques appeared, in about 4000 BC. Except for the ancient Egyptians, the people of the ancient times in general had no word for the colour 'blue'.⁶ This was so because 'blue' is not one of earth colours (Berke 2007: 15). In the Bible the colour 'blue' is not named in spite of four hundred references to the sky or heaven (Graves 1951: 325). The ancient Greeks and Romans were familiar with the 'blue' pigments, and yet they had no specific term for the colour. To them, 'blue' was ugly and barbaric. Moreover,

⁵ The 'blue' hue of water is represented by the blue flag, or an eco-label awarded to a coastal municipality for complying with sewage treatment and bathing water quality criteria. The airy quality of the 'blue' colour, on the other hand, results in associating 'blue' with air forces and the navy. In the U.S., for example, mailboxes are blue, and mail is typically carried around the country by airships.

⁶ In old Egypt, 'blue' was both the expanse of the universe and the divine heavens, and the colour of water, or rather of the blue life arising out of the River Nile. The colour was believed to be beneficial both in the sense it would protect the dead in the afterlife and as the symbol of fertility, rebirth and the power of creation. The former symbolism endures until the present day in the form of a blue amulet, which represents 'the eye of God', and which is still worn by many people around the Mediterranean to protect them from misfortune.

at the time brightness was considered a more important colour property than hue. Thus, all colours were classified in old Greek by whether they were light or dark (Gladstone 1858: 457-99; Gage 1993: 69-78; Goddard 1998: 111-13).

In a nutshell, 'blue' played a minor role until 12th century when it dramatically came into fashion as the colour of outstanding quality. This strange turn of fate was the result of the following: (1) the Saint Denis Basilica, the marvel of the Christian world, was rebuilt, and the new cobalt-coloured stained glass windows in combination with light from the already existing red glass filled the church with a most wonderful bluish violet light; and (2) the Virgin Mary's robes began to be painted a rich lighter blue, which in visual arts professor Bleicher's words made Mary the queen of heaven and 'blue' a popular ecclesiastical colour (*The New York Times* 2012).

By the end of the Middle Ages, 'blue' had become the colour of kings, although the 'blue' pigment remained quite rare and expensive until the dawn of the Industrial Age. This explains the longstanding association of the colour 'blue' with royalty and divinity, as is reflected in English *blue blood*, individuals from noble or royal stock, and its Serbian correspondents PLAVE KRV/PLAVOKRVAN.⁷

'Blue' has a lot of significance in formality and elegance even nowadays and especially in its darker shades, such as *navy blue* and *ultramarine*, which are typically associated with masculinity, security and order. Dark blue tones are, therefore, regarded as perfect for conservative, trustworthy and authoritative individuals, such as politicians or army and police officers; cf. English *the boys in blue*, the police (lit. men dressed in blue), and its Serbian counterpart PLAVCI, colloq. police officers.⁸

⁷ As claimed by MacLure (2013: 77), it is possible the term *blue blood* came to be associated with the nobility because of the bluish or bluish-grey discolouration of their skin. This was probably due to Argyria, a condition caused by prolonged contact with or ingestion of silver salts. Argyria was common among the upper class as they could afford to take silver for medicinal purposes, and, as the saying goes, having been born with "a silver spoon in their mouth", they could also enjoy the daily privilege of eating and drinking from silver utensils. Besides, Argyria would have certainly been more noticeable among individuals with untanned skin, since having pale skin "untouched by the sun" was a mark of status among the wealthy who did not have to labour outdoors. The term, however, might have also developed from the blue veins of the fair-complexioned aristocrats, even if they were not plagued by Argyria.

⁸ In our corpora there are the following examples of PLAVCI: (1) [...] TVRDI DA JE [...] ČULA KAD SU OBAVEŠTENI O DOLASKU POLICIJE. JEDAN JE REKAO: „IDEMO, PLAVCI STIŽU” I NESTALI SU [...] (*Blic* 11 November 2005: 2), she claims she heard when they had been informed the police was coming. One of them said: "Let's go, the boys in blue are on their way here" and they were gone; and (2) ŠALJIVDŽIJE SU KONSTATOVALE DA ĆE S MIROM U DUŠI, BEZ ŠANSI DA „PLAVCI” POTEGNU POLICIJSKE PENDREKE NA NJIH, BEZBRIŽNO VIKATI [...] (*Politika* 24 September 2006: 1), Some mischief-makers said they would be shouting fearlessly, not the least afraid they could be beaten by the police.

3.1. The evolution of the basic colour term for 'blue' in English and Serbian

Following Biggam (2006: 159-165, 167-169), the etymology of all most basic colour terms in Contemporary English – *white*, *black*, *red*, *yellow*, *green*, *brown* and *grey* – can be traced back to their Old English (O.E.) equivalents. The only exception is *blue*, a borrowing from French *bleu* (various spellings), which replaced a native colour term *hæwen* or *hæwe*. In learned texts, the meaning of *hæwen* was predominantly 'blue', yet in popular vocabulary it could mean 'blue', 'grey', and 'grey-blue'. For most of the English speaking population, therefore, O.E. *hæwen* was probably a cool macrocolour denoting 'grey' or 'dull blue' or even 'dull green'. It was dominant amongst other O.E. words which could denote 'blue', such as *blæwen* or *blæ(w)*, dark 'blue' (of dyes and textiles), *wæden*, 'blue' (of dyes, textiles), literally 'woaded', etc. After the Norman Conquest (1066), Norman French, or rather Anglo-Norman, became the language of the new aristocracy and the royal court, and Latin the language of administration and church. At this particular moment in time, *hæwen* faced a challenge from *bleu*, even though *bleu* was essentially used in 'fair, golden' or 'pale, unstained' senses in Anglo-Norman and in Middle English. The evidence of the 'blue' meaning of the lexeme *bleu* are extremely sparse until the late 13th century. Around that time, however, *bleu* in the 'blue' sense ceased being the exclusive preserve of the trilingual educated class, fluent in Latin, French and English. It happened because of the naturalization of *bleu* into English. As claimed by Biggam (ibid: 173-174), at the time of the Norman Conquest there was no basic term for 'blue' in O.E., Norman French and British Mediaeval Latin. "Motivation to create a superordinate term for BLUE arose with the industrialization [...] of the woad-dyeing industry [...]. [T]he French colour term *bleu* was used [for] the products of the woad-dyeing industry, regardless of specific type of blue" (p. 173). Eventually, *bleu* gained a superordinate status for all blues, in any context, although not before the early 15th century at the earliest.

In much the same way, M. Ivić (1995: 59-86; 1996) elaborates on the etymology of the Serbian basic colour term *PLAV*, denoting the colour 'blue'. In Old Slavic (O.S.) there were two lexemes for 'blue', that is, *sinī* and *modrŭ*. The former term was semantically ambivalent. On the one hand, it could be used to refer to 'sinister, evil (devilish) darkness', and on the other hand, it was associated with 'sinister, disturbing brightness'. Both meanings of the word *SINJI* are still available in modern Serbian; cf. (1) *SINJA MAST*, black tar-like fat; and (2) *SINJI GROM*, a frightening thunder (and lightning). The meaning of the adjective *SINJI* can also be 'livid' when we speak of a discoloured (ashen, pallid), bluish appearance caused by a bruise, congestion of blood vessels, strangulation, etc.; cf. *SINJICA*, a contusion. As for the meaning of the Serbian lexeme *MODAR*, for a long time it was the dominant word to denote the colour 'blue' (it is still so in literary works). As claimed by Ivić (1996: 14-15), in addition to

its primary meaning ‘blue’, MODAR was also used in a ‘rich dark green’ sense. Finally, the Serbian term PLAV, originates from O.S. *POLVъ, denoting very pale, almost colourless tones (from ‘whitish yellow’ to ‘whitish blue’ and ‘whitish grey’ shades) (Ivić 1995: 71-76). It remains a mystery exactly when, why and how the lexeme PLAV began to be used predominantly in the ‘blue’ sense. What we do know is that in the 15th century it was already employed to denote ‘blue’. As a result of the semantic (and pragmatic marginalisation) of the lexemes SINJI and MODAR (both ‘blue’ colour names), PLAV gained a superordinate status for all blues, in any context. This is the denotative meaning of the word PLAV. Nevertheless, nowadays it has also the associative meanings (1) ‘fair or pale yellow’ (of hair), and (2) ‘having fair hair and a light complexion’ (of a person when regarded as a racial characteristic) (ibid: 81); cf. PLAVA KOSA, blond hair, and PLAVA ŽENA, a blonde.

4. The present-day use of the English and Serbian basic terms for ‘blue’

In the light of the earlier mentioned BCTs theory, the basic *blue* is a cover term for a whole spectrum of different ‘blue’ tones, such as *aqua*, light greenish blue, *aquamarine*, greenish blue, *azure*, bright blue, *cerulean*, light blue, *cobalt*, deep vivid blue to purplish blue, *cyan*, deep greenish blue, *glaucous*, greenish blue or greyish blue, *indigo*, dark purplish blue to very dark blue, *livid*, greyish blue, of a lead colour, *navy*, dark blue, *perse*, dark greyish blue, *sapphire*, deep brilliant blue, *teal*, moderate or dark greenish blue, *ultramarine*,⁹ vivid or strong blue to purplish blue, *watchet*, pale or light blue, etc. (Krimer-Gaborović 2011: 275-276)

Similar to this, the Serbian basic term PLAV represents a cover term for various ‘blue’ tones (listed here as translation equivalents for the previous sequence of English names for different shades of ‘blue’), such as SVETLO ZELENKASTOPLAV, AKVAMARIN OR ZELENKASTOPLAV, AZURAN OR NEBESKOPLAV, PLAVETAN OR NEBESKOPLAV, KOBALJNI OR MODAR OR LJUBIČASTOPLAV, TIRKIZAN OR IZRIZITO ZELENKASTOPLAV, AKVAMARIN OR ZELENKASTOPLAV or (plants) SIVKASTOPLAV, BOJE INDIGA OR MODAR OR PEPELJASTOPLAV or (sea) SINJI, MORNARSKOPLAV OR ZAGASITOPLAV, ZAGASITOSIVKASTOPLAV, SAFIRNI OR BLISTAVO JARKOPLAV, ZAGASITO ZELENKASTOPLAV OR TIRKIZAN, ULTRAMARIN OR MODAR, respectively (ibid).

⁹ Following Finli (2010: 245), the etymology of English *ultramarine* can be traced back to Italian *oltramarino*, lit. on the other side of the sea, as Lapis Lazuli ‘blue’, that the valuable ultramarine dye was derived from, was traditionally imported to Italy from across the sea, i.e. from Afghanistan. This is yet another reminder how difficult it was once to get the specific ‘blue’ pigment. In fact, Finli points out also that Michelangelo’s painting *The Entombment* of the placing of the body of Jesus in the garden tomb, and dated to around 1500 or 1501, remained unfinished precisely because the pigment was in short supply, and so the artist could not have completed the cloak of the missing Virgin.

All BCTs are focal colours (Berlin and Kay 1969; Rosch Heider 1972), a focal colour being a shade of a certain colour category that represents the best example of the category. Focal colours are the cornerstone of the prototype theory of linguistic categorization. The prototype is visually the most salient specimen of the category, whereas all other shades and category members are more or less firmly associated to this. The focal ‘blue’ colour, or rather the prototype of the BLUE colour category in the languages of interest to this paper, brings to mind the pure colour of a clear daytime sky or clean water (the sea).

Although the existence of the BLUE colour category is based on its perceptual discrimination, and in spite of the claims this discrimination is universal across the languages, we dare hypothesize that it is only partially so. In other words, we believe that the type of the points of reference (prototype or exemplar) for the two languages are the same. Yet, the existing discrepancy is, as we understand it, due to the fact that native English speakers, at least those residing in the British isles and in the Northern U.S., have a different experience of the two most prominent, extralinguistic and blue-coloured entities – the sky and the sea/ocean, than the speakers of Serbian. The possible explanations in support of our assumption are historical and linguistic:

(1) Historical evidence: the narrative of the voyage by the ancient Greek navigator, geographer and astronomer Pytheas who was the first Greek to sail out of the Mediterranean into the North Sea in 325 B.C. As Pytheas proceeded with his journey along the western shores of Europe and the British Isles all the way to the North Atlantic, he might have reached even the arctic waters. Upon his return to Greece, the explorer reported of whales, northern lights and most importantly of the ‘ashen’ and ‘white’ sea (of snow). His chronicles, however, seemed so crazy to the people of the Mediterranean world, familiar only with the deep ‘blue’ sea, that no-one believed them. And so, the unfortunate explorer suffered the fate of a man ahead of his time. He was ridiculed at best for years to come (Kostianoï et al. 2004: 19; Mirley 2007);

(2) Linguistic evidence: as claimed by Jellis (2006), pinpointing the exact shade, hue or tone and a personal response to one of the basic colours is not always easy, especially when a colour lies “at the edges of the colour range – your brown is my grey, my blue is your green”. The challenges may be even greater across languages and cultures, and even across the centuries. “There are some standard comparisons, but even they can be puzzling – it may be obvious why we say something is *sky blue*, but why is it more often *sea green* than *sea blue*? In the UK, **sea grey* might often be more appropriate but we don’t choose to use it” (ibid).¹⁰ Bandyopadhyay (2014) also speaks of the varying colours between the

¹⁰ Indeed, many English writers describe the sea as *steely grey* and the light (from the sky) as *pale grey*. Thus, for example, Sir C. G. Douglas Roberts (1860-1943) wrote a poem by the name *Grey*

Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic claiming that the former appears ‘blue’ under a blue, typically sunlit sky and the latter ‘green’ or ‘grey’ under the grey sky. If there is no blue sky to be reflected, the seawater – which is colourless – cannot be rich ‘blue’ in colour. The conclusion is that the water is in general paler/weaker in the north, and the ‘blue’ colour stimuli are in general richer for the speakers of Serbian than English.¹¹

It is based on these two views that we believe the mental image of the prototypical ‘blue’ tone (developed from the available visual stimuli) is more saturated in Serbian than English. Needless to say, the hypothesis posited here should be properly evaluated; it should be either supported or rejected by the results of some large-scale empirical investigations and experimental tests from the two language communities.

In the light of that previously stated, it is worth mentioning that Ivić (1995, 1996) claims that (a rich mental representation of) the ‘blue’ area in Serbian is covered by the existence of three colour terms. As it was observed earlier, one is basic – *PLAV*, blue, whereas the other two – *MODAR*, dark blue, and *SINJI*, (1) black, and (2) evil, sinister or devilish blue – are both hyponyms of the hypernym *PLAV*.

An obligatory distinction between lighter blue and darker blues, or rather the partitioning of the ‘blue’ region of colour space into two areas varying in lightness, is common in many Mediterranean cultures and languages. The given distinction ‘a darker shade’ vs. ‘a lighter shade’ can be illustrated in Italian by the contrast between *azzurro* and *blu* (Bimler and Uusküla 2014), in Greek between *ghalazio* and *ble* (Athanasopoulos 2009), in Turkish between *mavi* and *lacivert* (Kadihasnoğlu 2007), respectively. Nevertheless, some may regard as peculiar the fact that Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian also differentiate between two basic terms for ‘blue’. In Russian, the terms are *siniy*, dark blue, and *goluboy*, light blue (Moss et al. 1990; Andrews 1994; Davies and Corbett 1994), in Ukrainian it is *synij*, dark blue, and *blakytnyj*, light blue, and finally Belarusian distinguishes between *syni*, dark blue, and *blakitny*, light blue (Paramei 2005: 32-33). As claimed by Paramei, “the blue area of perceptual space is [obviously] highly prone to fur-

rocks, and greyer sea, and J. Reeves compares the sea to “a hungry dog, giant and grey”. As water reflects the sky, then the (British and North American) sky is also ‘grey’ or at best ‘greyish blue’, and not ‘rich blue’.

¹¹ Cf. also T. Anderson’s book which is titled *Grey Skies, Green Waves: A Surfer’s Journey Around the UK and Ireland*. (2010). Chichester: Summersdale Publishers Ltd. Nevertheless, it is important to note the reflection is not the sole reason which contributes to the observed colour of the seawater. Some of its constituents can also influence that the shade of blue of the ocean can appear greener or bluer in different areas. In the case of the Atlantic Ocean, the decaying plants on the ocean bed produce a green effect. When these plants decay, yellow pigments are released which get dissolved in the water. This water now scatters both blue and yellow light and the resulting mixture produces the characteristic greenish shade (Bandyopadhyay 2014).

ther semantic refinement”. From this view, it is probable that a new, or rather second basic colour term for ‘blue’ is emerging across some other languages. There is evidence, for example, that *celeste*, light blue, might be aiming for basic status in Guatemalan Spanish, Peruvian Spanish, and Catalan. Van Brakel (1993: 114), furthermore, claims that a comparable, though not identical semantic segmentation is latent, that is, present although not fully active in English, since English speakers often volunteer two foci for ‘blue’ (one dark and one light). It all seems rather complicated in Serbian as well. By the same reasoning, Ilić (2011: 123) explains that although *PLAV*, blue, is a basic term for ‘blue’ used to refer to the whole ‘blue’ area, it is still often heard *PLAV* means primarily ‘light blue’, hence allowing ‘dark blue’ (tones) to be named by the adjectives *MODAR*, *TEGET*, *MARINSKOPLAV*. Finally, Marković (2010: 264) speculates that in good time two basic colour terms for ‘blue’ might emerge in Croatian from the already existing terms *PLAVI* and *MODAR*. In such a case, the former term would be used exclusively to designate light ‘blue’ colour, and the latter dark ‘blue’ colour.

5. Different meanings of the English and Serbian colour terms for ‘blue’

The realm of the colour term for ‘blue’ in English and Serbian can be analysed contrastively also from the perspective of its literal and associative meanings. The literal meaning of English *blue* is “a colour intermediate between green and violet, as of the sky or sea on a sunny day” (ODE: 182). Similarly, the basic meaning of Serbian *PLAV* is “a primary colour of the visible spectrum, a colour intermediate between violet and green; a colour of the clear sky or sea; dark blue [colour]” (RSKJ, IV: 444).¹² Given that, the English adjective *blue* translates regularly into the Serbian adjective *PLAV*. In support of the statement, we shall quote the English examples: *blue eyes were filling with tears* (BNC) and *the sea is warm, blue and incredibly clear* (BNC), which easily translate into Serbian: *PLAVE OČI SU SE PUNILE SUZAMA* and *MORE JE TOPLO, PLAVO I NEVEROVATNO ČISTO*, respectively. On closer inspection, the dictionary definitions given above differ only with respect to the following: the literal meaning of Serbian term *PLAV* embraces the image of a dark ‘blue’ colour, Serbian *MODAR*, which is additional linguistic evidence in support of our hypothesis on the falsely perceived unvarying uniformity of the focal (prototypical) ‘blue’ colour salience in English and Serbian (even though the prototypical ‘blue’ tone is more saturated in Serbian).

¹² „koji ima jednu od osnovnih boja spektra, tj. srednju između ljubičaste i zelene; koji je boje vedroga neba ili mora; modar”.

As claimed by Niemeier (2007: 145, 147), when dealing with the basic (core) meaning of ‘blue’ within Western culture, which refers to the natural ‘blue’ surrounding us, we are actually dealing with generalizations, as neither the sky nor the sea are always ‘blue’. Instead, the colour of both is highly variable. This explains why “the meaning spectrum of *blue* is not as firmly fixed as that of other colors which do not show such a lot of variation in nature” (p. 147). It also accounts for numerous meaning extensions of ‘blue’ from its basic meaning. This presents a platform worthy of investigation of intercultural differences as well as similarities. To this end, Ratković (2007: 188) conducted a corpus study exploring differences and similarities between English and Serbian phraseological units with BCTs. A surprising result emerged from the study. It revealed English is a richer language than Serbian when it comes to the availability of phraseological units embracing the basic ‘blue’ term (62 units are available in English as opposed to only 11 such units in the Serbian language).¹³

The cross-linguistic similarities and differences between the two language groups might, however, shed light on the consideration of the associative meanings of the colour term ‘blue’ in English and Serbian. Due to the sheer number of the data given below, we have opted for their tabular presentation (see Table 1).

ASSOCIATIVE MEANING OF THE COLOUR TERM ‘BLUE’	ENGLISH EXAMPLE	SERBIAN TRANSLATION	THE MEANING AVAILABILITY IN SERBIAN
(of the human skin) discoloured by old, contusion, or vascular collapse	e.g. [...] <i>his hands <u>blue</u> from the cold icy wind</i> [...] (ODE) e.g. <i>My knees were <u>blue</u> with bruises.</i> (ODE) e.g. <i>Ashley went <u>blue</u> and I panicked.</i> (ODE)	-RUKE SU MU PLAVE/ MODRE OD LEDENOG VETRA -KOLENA SU MI BILA PLAVA/U MODRICAMA -ASHLEY JE POPLAVEO/ POMODREO, A JA SAM SE USPANIČILA.	available
(of fur) bluish or having a parts that are blue or bluish	e.g. <i>In that dense clump of heather [...] a <u>blue</u> hare is crouching.</i> (BNC) e.g. <i>a <u>blue</u> fox fur scarf</i> (ODE)	-U TOM VRESOVOM GUSTIŠU ČUČI JEDAN POLARNI ZEC. -KRZNENI ŠAL OD POLARNE (SREBRNE) LISICE	available ¹⁴

¹³ A possible explanation for this stems from an obvious geographical necessity; the sea played a vital role in the Anglo-Saxon’s everyday life which triggered frequent references to “the blue aquatic realm” (cf. Letson 1966: 1-3, 7).

¹⁴ Cf. Serbian PLAVONJA, a blue ox, and PLAVA MAČKA, the Russian Blue (lit. a blue cat).

(of blood) aristocratic; patrician	e.g. [...] <i>blue blood is no guarantee of any particular merit, competence or expertise</i> [...]. (BNC)	-PLAVA KRV NIJE GARANT NIKAKVE NAROČITE ZASLUGE, SPOSOBNOSTI NITI STRUČNOSTI.	available
(of a piste) easy	e.g. <i>The pistes there are blue, but slightly more difficult than average.</i> (Cf. also AmE <i>blue trail</i>).	SPUSTOVI SU TAMO ZA POČETNIKE, ALI SU ZA NIJANSU TEŽI NEGO DRUGDE.	available
(of emotions) sad, depressed, low	e.g. <i>He's been a bit blue since he failed his exams.</i> (OALD) e.g. <i>He'd been feeling blue all week.</i> (OALD)	-JAKO JE TUŽAN OTKAKO JE PAO NA ISPITU. -CELE NEDELJE BIO JE DEPREŠIVAN.	*unavailable
(of a costume or uniform) of the blue hue, namely 1. a blue coveralls which protect a worker's clothing (from potential dirt or grease), e.g. a blue-collar worker; and 2. a blue uniform of the Union Army in the civil war	e.g. <i>I was of the blue order</i> (ODE). e.g. <i>an ancient blue trenchcoat</i> (BNC)	-BIO SAM TEŽAK (RADNIK, SLUGA). ¹⁵ -PRASTARI PLAVI ŠINJEL	available
puritanical, strict	e.g. <i>the successful blue candidate</i> (ODE) e.g. <i>blue laws</i> (BNC)	-USPEŠNI KANDIDAT KONZERVATIVNE PARTIJE -PURITANSKI ZAKONI	*unavailable
(of films, stories, jokes) indecent, titillating, or pornographic	e.g. <i>a blue joke</i> (OALD) e.g. <i>a blue movie/film</i> (ODE) ³	-BEZOBRAZNI VIC -PORNOGRAFSKI FILM	*unavailable
(of cheese) which has a greenish- blue mold	e.g. [...] <i>most blue cheeses are wrapped in foil</i> [...]. (BNC)	-VEĆINA PLAVIH SIREVA PAKUJE SE U FOLIJU.	available

Table 1: The 'blue' colour terms associative meanings in English and their availability in Serbian

¹⁵ Cf. PLAVI MANTIL, a blue topcoat, which in the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was both a coverall for industrial workers and a school uniform. In this manner, school children were symbolically made equal, and equality is the socialist ideal, while at the same time they were prepared for their role of future industrial workers, a socialist society's most valuable asset.

¹⁶ Cf. also *to turn the air blue*, to swear and curse excessively, and a *blue gown*, a prostitute.

As is evident from Table 1, not all the ‘blue’ colour term associative meanings available in English work in Serbian. Wherever this is the case, the English word *blue* is translated using the available lexical means, yet not relying on the corresponding Serbian colour term *PLAV*. One could argue, nevertheless, that there are certainly more associative meanings available across the two language groups, than those which appear in English, yet that are non-existent in Serbian. This phenomenon is likely to be the result of the common European ancestry of English and Serbian, as well as, of their shared European heritage. Thus, for instance, *blue cheeses* are originally the cheeses of France and, as its name suggests, *the Russian Blue* (a specific breed of cat) originates from Russia. Furthermore, the speakers of English and Serbian, especially those who are well into skiing, are all familiar with the associative meaning of the *blue runs* known as *pistes*, that are in Europe classified by a colour-coded system.

Bearing in mind a heavy influence of English as the international *lingua franca* relative to other languages, including Serbian, there are reasons for believing we shall probably have in the near future a further approximation of the ‘blue’ colour term associative meanings in the languages of interest to this paper. As claimed by Munat (2005: 143-151), in this new age of linguistic globalisation, global English threatens to suppress national and ethnic identities and cultural scripts transmitted by local languages. If language is indeed a natural offshoot of a given culture, then linguistic globalisation erodes and violates the numerous cultural values implicit in other languages. The picture is pretty bleak; instead of exploring and celebrating our colourful diversity, global English risks reducing all our colours to a dull, monochromatic image.

6. Conclusion

According to Berlin and Kay (1969), ‘blue’ is a basic colour category named by the basic colour terms – *blue* in English, and *PLAV* in Serbian. The universal (literal or prototypical) meaning of the specific colour in the two language groups refers to the same natural entities – the sea and the sky.

Based on the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis that each language and culture expresses a unique world view, it is hypothesized that the prototypical ‘blue’ colour which occupies the very core-space of the BLUE colour category might refer to a more saturated ‘blue’ tone in Serbian than English.

The semantic distinctions between English and Serbian are particularly prominent in the domain of the associative meanings of *blue* and *PLAV*, even though, English and Serbian share many analysed, associative meanings. This is, we dare to say, largely due to the common European ancestry of English and Serbian.

In the end, we point out at the anticipated further approximation of the ‘blue’ colour term’s associative meanings in the languages of interest to this paper, as a result of linguistic globalisation, namely the heavy influence of English as the international lingua franca on other languages, Serbian as well.

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SEMANTIKA KATEGORIJE PLAVE BOJE U ENGLESKOM I SRPSKOM JEZIKU

Rezime

U radu se govori o semantici kategorije 'plave' boje u engleskom i srpskom jeziku, odn. o različitim značenjima (doslovnom značenju i izvedenim značenjima) koje ova boja ima u navedenim jezicima. Osnovno značenje plave boje jeste asocijacija na boje prirode, budući da se engleskom leksemom *blue*, te srpskom leksemom *PLAV*, opisuju boja vedrog neba i boja vode (mora). U vezi s tim, bitno je istaći da se kategorije 'plave' boje u engleskom i srpskom denotativno, premda ne i konotativno podudaraju. Tako, recimo, među izvedena značenja engleske lekseme *blue* spadaju (1) melanholija, npr. u *feeling blue*, biti tužan, (2) konzervativizam (puritanizam), npr. u *blue laws*, konzervativni (puritanski) zakoni, dosl. plavi zakoni, (3) bezobrazluk, dekadencija, pornografija, poput *blue movie*, erotski film, dosl. plavi film, itd. Nijedno od ovih značenja nije, međutim, svojstveno srpskom jeziku, što predstavlja posledicu kulturološki (relativistički) ustrojenog imenovanja kolorističkih utisaka.

Ključne reči: kategorija 'plave' boje, semantička raznovrsnost, osnovno značenje, asocijativno značenje, međukulturna različitost

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FORMS AND MEANINGS OF THE SOURCE WORD *ARMAGEDDON* IN ENGLISH LEXICAL BLENDS

The aim of this paper is to explore the forms and meanings of *armageddon* as the right-hand source word in newly coined English lexical blends, such as *stormageddon*, *carmageddon* or *cybergeddon*. This source word has generated hundreds of analogical creations but has so far remained unresearched. A list of 102 blends, extracted from the *Corpus of Global Web-Based English* (Davies 2013) available online, is subjected to morphological analysis in order to (1) determine the allomorphs of this splinter and (2) establish the structural preferences as regards the form of the left-hand source word. This is followed by an investigation of the semantic aspects of *armageddon* splinters, in order to give an overview of the development of its senses.

Key words: English, word-formation, lexical blend, neologism, combining form

1. Introduction

Lexical blends have long been a source of new elements in English word-formation. Some of the best-known examples include *-burger*, *-gate*, *-(a)holic* and more recently *-rati*, *-tainment*, *-zilla*. The mechanism is that of morpho-semantic re-analysis and consequently (re)morphemization, which can then facilitate the production of whole series of what Bauer 1983: 96 calls 'analogical formations'. Some of these have been studied in more or less detail – see in particular Lehrer 1998, Baldi and Dawar 2000, Kemmer 2003, McFedries 2004, Frath 2005, Panić-Kavgić and Kavgić 2009, Lalić-Krstin 2010 but *-geddon* has somehow escaped a closer attention of researchers (although Rúa 2012 mentions two *armageddon* blends in her analysis of blends in alternative music). The present study of its formal and semantic patterns will attempt to provide some insight into the current situation regarding the use of *-geddon* (and its allomorphs) in newly coined lexical blends.

Through recurrent blending a splinter can gain morphemic status. This happens as a result of morpho-semantic re-analysis during which a lexeme is reinterpreted and a phonological string that previously had no morpheme status is perceived as a constituent. For instance, *-zilla* is not a morpheme in *Godzilla*, the word from which it originated, but through recursive blending of *Godzilla* with different left-hand source words (*sw*₁), the splinter *-zilla* has acquired new meanings: (1) ‘a person or thing that is monstrous in size, behaviour or effect’ (*bridezilla*, *mom-to-be-zilla*, *momzilla*, *wifezilla*) and (2) ‘very big, strong or powerful’ (*coffeezilla*, *Shaqzilla*, *tentzilla*) (Lalić-Krstin 2010: 152). There is some disagreement as to what are the prerequisites for a splinter like this to become a legitimate morpheme. Warren 1990 believes a new morpheme emerges as soon as it participates in the formation of a new blend, whereas Lehrer 1998 finds it necessary for the splinter to gain some frequency in blend formation in order to become a fully fledged morpheme. This theoretical discussion is beyond the scope of this paper and, as the splinters of *armageddon* have in any case already formed a great number of blends, they will be regarded as having morphemic status.

The terminological status of these splinters in morphological theory is not completely settled. The term ‘splinter’ is usually applied to truncated source words in the process of lexical blending, e.g. *cho-* and *-ork* are splinters in *chork* [chopsticks + fork] (underlining will be used to signal overlapping segments). The problem arises when a splinter starts generating a series of new blends (as is the case with *-zilla*, for example) – does it become an affix, a combining form or a bound base? Without going into theoretical distinctions, the term splinter will be used interchangeably with “final combining form” (FCF) throughout the paper, following the arguments presented in Warren 1990, Lehrer 1998 and Prčić 2007, 2008.

As the research is corpus-based, making use of two free corpora available online, first the methodology of the research will be described, followed by an analysis of the structural aspects and an overview of the meanings of blends with *armageddon* established in the research.

2. Research materials and methods

The principal corpus used for this research is the *Corpus of Global Web-Based English* (*GloWbE*), a reference corpus created by Mark Davies and released in 2013 (available at <http://corpus2.byu.edu/glowbe/>). There are three reasons why this corpus was chosen: its size, currency and selection of texts. *GloWbE* contains 1.9 billion words of text, which makes it more than four times as large as the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA, available at <http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/>) and nearly twenty times as large as the *British National Corpus* (BNC; available at

<http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/>). Whereas size need not always be a decisive factor when choosing a research corpus, in this case it was crucial because of the low frequency of many of the targeted words. The larger the corpus, the higher the probability of a low frequency word to occur. For instance, neither *COCA* nor *BNC* contain *stormageddon*, while *GloWbE* returns 11 tokens of this type. As the goals of this paper are to register the words containing the combining form *-geddon* (and its allomorphs) and try to deduce their meanings, it was essential that the corpus chosen for the research contains as many of these as possible so that they can be registered and that it has a low type/token ratio so that potential different senses can be determined.

Another advantage of *GloWbE* over some other available corpora is that, although it is a static corpus (i.e. new texts are not added), it is relatively recent, which makes it suitable for the present study as the majority of lexical blends with *-geddon* are recent coinages. The *COCA*, which is a monitor corpus (i.e. new texts are being added), would be more suited as regards currency had it not proved to be of inadequate size for our purposes.

Finally, the third reason why *GloWbE* was chosen is the selection of texts. It is composed of 1.8 million web pages from 340,000 websites in 20 different English-speaking countries (Davies 2013). This is advantageous in two respects. Firstly, playful neologisms such as lexical blends tend to appear in less formal registers and can therefore have wide currency in less formal texts on the internet (e.g. blogs, internet forums, personal web pages) before they appear (if ever) in the usually more formal printed medium such as books, newspapers or magazines. This is why a corpus of web-based texts is particularly convenient for the present study. Secondly, the fact that *GloWbE* is an international corpus, comprising texts in different regional varieties of English around the world, means that regionally marked lexemes can also be retrieved. For example, *Hamilgeddon* ('a costume play at the Armageddon Expo convention in Hamilton, New Zealand') appears only in the New Zealand section of the corpus, and even there only as a hapax, so it would probably not be retrieved from a regionally less varied corpus.

The corpus was searched using the asterisk wildcard, with the following string as query: **geddon*. The search was case insensitive and it included all the subcorpora. This returned results with various truncated forms of the right-hand source word (sw₂): *-geddon*, *-mageddon*, *-ageddon*, *-rmageddon*, and the untruncated *armageddon*.

The list was then subjected to morphological analysis, the goal of which was to determine the forms that this FCF takes and what initial splinters it combines with. This was done by parsing the blends into constituents and finding out what the sw₁ is. Obvious misspellings were removed from the list. Once the source words were established, alternative spellings were also dealt with and all the recorded spellings

of one lexeme subsumed under one entry. There is a lot of variation in spelling due to the unestablished nature of these lexemes, especially in capitalization and the use of hyphen. For instance, we find *tweetmageddon* along with *Tweetmageddon*, *tweet-mageddon* and *Tweet-mageddon*. Alternative spellings like these were treated as variants of one word. The same approach was taken with British and American spellings (e.g. *Armourgeddon* and *Armorgeddon*) provided they have the same meaning. Non-blends that were returned by the search tool were removed at this stage (e.g. *mini-armageddon*, *near-armageddon*, *mageddon*). A special problem was posed by alternative forms of the initial splinter. For instance, the results include *taxmageddon* (also spelled as *tax-mageddon*), *taxageddon* and *taxamageddon*, all denoting the same concept. For the purposes of morphological analysis, these were treated as different words. Words that are homonymous but made up of different source words (and consequently denoting different concepts) are marked with a different subscript number (e.g. *Almageddon₁* and *Almageddon₂*).

At the same time, meanings were deduced from the context and additional searching for the whole words was done using *WebCorp* with Google selected as the search API. This was done in order to obtain more occurrences of the words in different contexts.

3. Forms of the FCF *armageddon*

The final list used in the analysis contains 102 blends with *armageddon* as sw_2 . Needless to say, this is not a complete list of *armageddon* blends. Their number is many times larger than this – the author's current word count is over 430 and it is far from definitive. For methodological reasons, the scope of the present research has been limited to only those contained in the *GloWbE*, a decision based on the assumption of the representativeness of that corpus. A more extensive future study would, however, have to include other *armageddon* blends too, especially because they feature some interesting word-formation patterns, both in terms of their morphology and semantics (e.g. *fiscal-cliff-mageddon*, *Brinksmanship-pocalypse-mageddon*, *Realign-mageddon*, *Shutdown-Mageddon*, *BlaBla-mageddon*, *Terms-Of-Service-Mageddon*, to mention just a few).

The obtained results show that there are at least 6 forms: *-geddon*, *-mageddon*, *-ageddon*, *armageddon* (with overlap), *-rmageddon* and *ar...mageddon*, although not all of them equally common. Their percentage in the total number of *armageddon* blends extracted from the *GloWbE* is given in Table 1, followed by an overview of left-hand elements with which each of them combines and a summary of these results in Table 2.

form	% of total blends
<i>-geddon</i>	34%
<i>-mageddon</i>	26%
<i>-ageddon</i>	20%
<i>armageddon</i>	15%
<i>-rmageddon</i>	4%
<i>ar...mageddon</i>	1%

Table 1: Frequency of different forms of *armageddon*

3.1. The form *-geddon*

In 34% of the 102 analyzed blends, sw_2 (*armageddon*) is truncated to *-geddon*, making it the most frequently occurring allomorph of this FCF. In 74% of these, *-geddon* combines with an untruncated sw_1 , e.g. *bacongeddon*, *turkeygeddon*, *Twittergeddon* (to save space, only one form will be given in cases where there are alternations in the use of hyphens and capital letters). A somewhat problematic *pollenogeddon* was also put into this category: *pollenogeddon* [pollen + -o- + (arma)geddon] features a linking vowel -o-, which turns the free-standing base *pollen* into an ICF (for various treatments of the linking vowel see Bauer 1998: 406, Prčić 2005: 317-320). Also included in this category is *infogeddon*, on the assumption that it is formed from a well-established existing clipping *info* rather than clipping *information* anew. Therefore, it is analyzed as [info + (arma)geddon] rather than [info(rmation) + (arma)geddon] but the latter analysis is also plausible.

In 7 of the 35 blends with *-geddon*, sw_1 is back-clipped (*Auckgeddon* [Auck(land) + (arma)geddon], *Hamilgeddon* [Hamil(ton) + (arma)geddon], *Nanageddon* [Nana(too) + (arma)geddon]). The only dubious case is *ecogeddon*, which could arguably be said to be made up of either an ICF and a splinter [eco- + (arma)geddon] or two splinters [eco(logical) + (arma)geddon]. For our purposes, it was treated as the latter because combinations of two splinters are more commonly found than ICF + splinter combinations.

Finally, there are 2 cases in which *-geddon* combines with a proper ICF (*thermogeddon* [thermo- + (arma)geddon]) and a prefix (*cybergeddon* [cyber- + (arma)geddon]).

3.2. The form *-mageddon*

The second most common allomorph is *-mageddon*, occurring in 26% of the total analyzed blends. Here, too, in the majority of the examples (85%) sw_1 is not

truncated: *cabmageddon* [cab + (ar)mageddon], *Drachmageddon* [drachma + (ar)mageddon], *Obamageddon* [Obama + (ar)mageddon].

The remaining blends are formed with a truncated sw_1 , e.g. *climageddon* [clima(te) + (ar)mageddon], *economageddon*, [ecnomo(y) + (ar)mageddon], *transmageddon* [trans(coder) + (ar)mageddon].

3.3. The form -ageddon

The next in frequency is *-ageddon*, accounting for 20% of the blends. Again, it most frequently combines with an untruncated sw_1 (85%): *blogageddon* [blog + (arm)ageddon], *competitionageddon* [competition + (arm)ageddon], *snowageddon* [snow + (arm)ageddon].

Only two of the blends with *-ageddon* are formed with a truncated sw_1 : *Expensageddon* [expens(es) + (arm)ageddon] and *squabblageddon* [squabbl(e) + (arm)ageddon]; and there is one example with an ICF: *aquageddon* [aqua- + (arm)ageddon].

3.4. The form armageddon

In 15% of the blends sw_2 is kept in its entirety, with overlap between the final part of sw_1 and initial part of sw_2 . Out of these, 73% contain an untruncated sw_1 : *car-mageddon* [car + armageddon], *farmageddon* [farm + armageddon], *karmageddon* [karma + armageddon]. The remaining ones contain a truncated sw_1 : *Marmageddon* [Marm(ite) + armageddon], *pharmageddon* [pharma(ceutical) + armageddon], *Quarmageddon* [Quar(riors) + armageddon; where overlap is only graphological].

3.5. The form -rmageddon

This form is found in only a handful of examples (4%) and they all exhibit instances of overlap with sw_1 : *Cheermageddon* [cheer + (a)rmageddon], *stormageddon* [storm + (a)rmageddon], *thermageddon* [therm(al) + (a)rmageddon], *yourmageddon* [your + (a)rmageddon].

3.6. The form ar...mageddon

This discontinuous allomorph occurs in only one example: *arMMAGeddon* [MMA + ar...mageddon], where an acronym is embedded at the point of segmental similarity.

If we have a look at the form that sw_1 takes, what we see is that it is most frequently kept whole, i.e. untruncated. This may be counter-intuitive at first sight

because the structural pattern which is usually considered to be the prototype of blending is the one where both source words are abbreviated, usually at the switch point (e.g. *smog* [sm(oke) + (f)og] (Prčić 1998, Rúa 2002, Renner 2006, Brdar-Szabó and Brdar 2008, Lalić-Krstin 2010, Borgwaldt et al. 2012). The reason for this lies in the fact that it is this pattern of splinter + splinter that is most distinctive of blends, setting them apart from neighbouring word-formational categories of compounding and clipping. But it may not be the most frequently applied pattern in their formation, as suggested by this and some other corpus-based studies (Lalić-Krstin 2010, Rúa 2012).

	<i>-geddon</i>	<i>-mageddon</i>	<i>-ageddon</i>	<i>armageddon</i>	<i>-rmageddon</i>	<i>ar...mageddon</i>
unclipped sw ₁	74%	85%	85%	73%	75%	100%
back- clipped sw ₁	20%	15%	10%	20%	25%	-
ICF/prefix	6%	-	5%	7%	-	-

Table 2: Frequency of different structural combinations with individual allomorphs of *-geddon*

In the whole of our corpus, an untruncated sw₁ occurs in more than three quarters (78%) of the words, which is quite high (cf. 35.6% in Lalić-Krstin 2010 or 28.4% in Rúa 2012, although she sets up somewhat different categories). There is an obvious preference for this FCF to take a whole of the sw₁, which makes the [sw₁ + *-geddon*] pattern the most common one. A truncated sw₁ is found in 17% of the total number of blends and in 4% we find a prefix or an ICF in the initial position.

4. Meanings of the FCF *armageddon*

Originally, *Armageddon* refers to a place where, according to Christian and some other religious beliefs, the final battle between the forces of good and evil will take place. The word has since extended its meaning to denote any kind of an eschatological event, the use that has been made popular by a number of movies, video games, comic books, song and book titles, causing the word to break free of its original religious context and widen its meaning to include any end-of-the-world scenario or any major or violent conflict. This sense is found in many of the blends in the corpus but through combinations with different source words, it has developed some additional senses as well. Below is a list of senses found in the corpus.

4.1. end of the world

<i>aquageddon</i>	<i>calmer-geddon</i>	<i>climageddon</i>
<i>eco-geddon</i>	<i>karmageddon</i>	<i>llamageddon</i>
<i>Maya-geddon</i>	<i>moonageddon</i>	<i>thermageddon / thermageddon</i>
<i>warmageddon₁</i>	<i>yourmageddon</i>	

In this sense *armageddon* denotes a supposed cataclysmic event that will lead to the end of the world. It can be caused by human impact on the environment (*aquageddon*, *climageddon*, *thermageddon / thermageddon*, *warmageddon₁*) or be a matter of superstition or prophecy (*karmageddon*, *llamageddon*, *Maya-geddon*, *moonageddon*). The nature of this event is explicated by *sw₁*: rising sea levels, climate change, global warming (in both *thermageddon / thermageddon* and *warmageddon₁*), bad karma, Mayan prophecy (*llamageddon* refers to the 2012 end of the world as supposedly predicted by the ancient Mayas, motivated by the association of llamas with South America, and is actually synonymous with *Maya-geddon*) or an exceptionally large moon. A somewhat different semantic structure is found in *yourmageddon*, the supposed meaning of which is ‘the end of the world which will affect everyone’. On a lighter note, there is *calmer-geddon*, the end of the world seen in a brighter light than usual.

4.2. end, death, demise

<i>artsmageddon</i>	<i>autogeddon</i>	<i>blogageddon</i>
<i>Boomergeddon</i>	<i>eco-geddon</i>	<i>farmageddon</i>
<i>Harpergeddon</i>	<i>lawmageddon</i>	<i>lobstergeddon</i>
<i>Mittmageddon</i>	<i>Obamageddon</i>	<i>popmageddon</i>
<i>Romneygeddon</i>	<i>starmageddon</i>	<i>stupid-geddon</i>
<i>Tarmageddon</i>	<i>Twittergeddon</i>	

The above examples all refer to a little less cataclysmic event that will not exactly cause the end of the world *per se* but will lead to death or demise of the world as we know it, be it for reasons of a politician’s electoral success (*Mittmageddon*, *Obamageddon*, *Romneygeddon*, *Harpergeddon*), the destruction of arts through lack of financing (*artsmageddon*), baby boomers’ economic safety (*Boomergeddon*), farming (*farmageddon*), blogging (*blogageddon*), lobster or starfish populations (*lobstergeddon*, *starmageddon* although *lobstergeddon* is also used in the

sense ‘the end of lobster fishing industry’), damages to lawyers’ practices due to changes in legislation or the destruction of the legal system as a whole (*lawmageddon*), the feared but never achieved obliteration of *Top of the Pops* by punk music (*popmageddon*) or the human impact on the environment (*ecogeddon*), which, in the case of the environmental impact of the exploitation of tar sands, has been called *Tarmageddon*. Or, it expresses a pessimistic vision of the future in which automobiles rule over our lives (*autogeddon*), all computer systems are down (*cybergeddon*), games have crossed from the virtual into the real world (*game-a-geddon*), social and cultural values are ruined by pornography (*pornageddon*), stupidity takes over (*stupid-geddon*) and everyone is on Twitter (*Twittergeddon*).

4.3. crisis

carmageddon
Twittergeddon

cybergeddon

farmergeddon

4.3.1. economic crisis

carmageddon
Eurogeddon
moneygeddon

Drachmageddon
fiscalgeddon
property-geddon

economageddon
jobageddon
taxmageddon / *tax-a-geddon* /
taxageddon / *taxamageddon*

4.3.2. mishap, mess (often used humorously)

Abbygeddon
closetgeddon
poo-mageddon

*Almageddon*₁
phone-ageddon

bramageddon
nappygeddon

Related to the above meanings is this one, denoting a crisis of some kind: traffic congestion (*carmageddon*), cyber-terrorism (*cybergeddon*), loss of farmers’ profits due to a New Zealand regional council’s plan to reduce environmental impact of fertilizers (*farmergeddon*), or a havoc caused by Twitter downtime (*Twittergeddon*, also called *Twitterpocalypse*). As the examples listed above show, this sense is quite popular in economy, thanks to the recent global financial crisis which has given us a handful of semantically (albeit perhaps not conceptually) quite transparent formations. From this group, *carmageddon* is a drop in car sales on European markets caused by the global financial crisis (the use of the word in this sense is attributed to Sergio Marchionne, a Fiat executive); *Drachmageddon* is a possible return of Greece to its national currency, drachma, as a result of debt crisis but it has

also been used to denote a possibility or necessity of such an event in any Eurozone country; *economageddon* and *moneygeddon* both refer to the global financial crisis; *Eurogeddon* is a crisis of the euro, *fiscalgeddon* and *taxmageddon* denote a series of crisis-management measures taken by the US government that include an increase in taxes and reduction of government spending; and *jobageddon* and *property-geddon* refer to a crisis on the job and property markets, respectively.

However, in a more relaxed sense, formations with *-geddon* can be used for less calamitous situations, usually with a humorous association. For example, *Abbygeddon* is the title of an episode of *Dance Moms* TV series in which a certain Abby gets very angry; *Almageddon* is what media jokingly called the occasion when Al Roker, the popular weather presenter on an American television morning show, overslept and was late for work. When an actress was intentionally scared on a live TV show, her reaction was immediately called *Scaremageddon*. Perhaps less public but equally embarrassing can be a *bramageddon*, a mishap that one can have with their bra, which in turn can lead to a *closetgeddon*, a major overhaul of one's closet. Similarly, a *phone-a-geddon* is a misfortune with one's phone, whereas *nappygeddon* and *poo-mageddon* is an unpleasant event occasionally experienced by children and adults alike although for the former one has to be wearing nappies.

4.4. a lot of something, a high intensity of something

<i>aquageddon</i>	<i>bacon-geddon</i>	<i>blogageddon</i>
<i>bramageddon</i>	<i>cabmageddon</i>	<i>carmageddon</i>
<i>cheermageddon</i>	<i>competitionageddon</i>	<i>cuteageddon</i>
<i>game-a-geddon</i>	<i>cheese-mageddon₁</i>	<i>cheese-mageddon₂</i>
<i>gnome-a-geddon</i>	<i>gnomergeddon</i>	<i>harmageddon</i>
<i>lawmageddon</i>	<i>lobstergeddon</i>	<i>motorgeddon</i>
<i>nappygeddon</i>	<i>newsmageddon</i>	<i>paedogeddon</i>
<i>pharmageddon</i>	<i>pollenogeddon</i>	<i>poo-mageddon</i>
<i>rain-mageddon</i>	<i>scaremageddon</i>	<i>scoremageddon</i>
<i>snowmageddon</i> / <i>snowageddon</i>	<i>squabblageddon</i>	<i>starmageddon</i>
<i>stormageddon</i>	<i>stupid-geddon</i>	<i>turkeygeddon</i>

This sense derives from the previous one and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the two but here the emphasis is not so much on the crisis as on a high number, amount or degree of something. The blends that denote extreme

meteorological phenomena belong here: *aquageddon*, *rainmageddon*, *stormageddon* (a synonym of these in the sense ‘a heavy rain, downpour’ is *floodageddon*, not found in *GloWbE*) and *snowmageddon*. Many of the words listed previously under ‘crisis’ also contain the component of high intensity. For example, *carmageddon*¹ can refer to any traffic jam and so can *motorgeddon*, without necessarily implying a full-blown crisis (in this sense, they are synonymous with *trafficgeddon*, not included in the present study) and the same can be said of *nappygeddon* and *poo-mageddon*. *Poo-mageddon* was also used to refer to a flooding caused by a burst sewage pipe in London. If a person eats a lot of cheese, they can call it a *cheese-mageddon*,² *lobstergeddon* if it is lobsters, and if it is by any chance bacon they feasted on, then it is, naturally, a *bacon-geddon* (synonyms include *porkageddon*, *hamageddon*, *aporkalypse*, *bacopocalypse*) whereas at Christmas time in many countries, there is a true *turkeygeddon*. A lot of blog posts is a *blogageddon* (cf. the previously mentioned sense in 4.2), the occasion when a lot of bras to be donated to women in Africa were collected at a charity event was called *bramageddon* but the same name was utilized for an unrelated heavy-metal charity event organized by women only (see 4.7 below), a lot of cuteness is a *cuteageddon*, a lot of bad style (cheeseball) is a *cheese-mageddon*, a lot of competitions in a short period of time a *competitiongeddon*, the time of year when video game manufactures market a lot of new games has been called a *game-a-geddon*, a plague of garden gnomes a *gnome-a-geddon* or a *gnomergeddon* (in video games), the time when there is a lot of pollen in the air a *pollenogeddon* and a busy day in the life of a lawyer a *lawmageddon*. Formations with *-geddon* are very popular in the register of video games, as will be illustrated in 4.6 below, often suggesting high quantities or degrees. For example, a lot of cabs in a mission in the game *Grand Theft Auto* is referred to as *cabmageddon*, the goal to achieve as high a score as possible in *Dark Orbit* as *scoremageddon*, while *starmageddon* is found in various contexts: a lot of stars who appear in the American quiz show *Celebrity Says*, or George Clooney’s fundraiser for Barack Obama, which was attended by so many celebrities that

¹ The best-known use of *carmageddon* (usually capitalized) is for the occasion when American Interstate 405 closed for construction in 2011. The traffic congestion was expected to be so massive that even before the road closed it was nicknamed *Carmageddon* (other blends used were *carpocalypse* and *jamzilla*). Interestingly, when the delays proved not to be as enormous as predicted, some jokingly referred to it as *carmaheaven*, which implies that either the original blend was misinterpreted as consisting of *karma* and *armageddon* or that the new blend was formed of three source words [*car* + *arma*(geddon) + *heaven*], the latter being less likely. When the road closed again in 2012, it was called *Carmageddon II*.

² In the USA, *cheesemageddon* can also refer to National Grilled Cheese Sandwich Day (12 April). To mark the occasion, an American fast food restaurant explored various means of lexical creativity and offered *Philly Cheespocalypse*, *Shroomsday*, *Parmageddon*, *Pastrami Tsunami* and *Meatballs of Fire*.

the media had no other option but to call it *Starmageddon*. A 2012 Black Friday marketing campaign by Old Navy and Nintendo companies was officially called *Cheermageddon*, probably because it was cheered by many and when the England cricket team members quarrelled in the same year, some called this earth-shattering event a *squabblageddon* but fortunately for the fans, it did not cause a lot of harm, or, shall we say, a *harmageddon*. A more serious tone is detected in *newsmageddon* ('sensationalism in news coverage'), *paedogeddon* (widespread cases of paedophilia), *pharmageddon* (widespread use of medical drugs, esp. antidepressants but see also 4.8 below), *scaremageddon* (instilling unfounded fear in a lot of people, scaremongering) and the already mentioned *stupid-geddon* (a lot of stupidity). It is interesting to note that the crisis can be caused by either too much of something or by too little, as the next sense shows.

4.5. a shortage of something

<i>bacon-geddon</i>	<i>cabmageddon</i>	<i>cheese-mageddon</i> ₁
<i>fanageddon</i>	<i>Marmageddon</i>	

This sense is apparently antonymous with the previous one but what they have in common is the high degree or intensity of the phenomenon in question. Shortages of bacon, of cabs at Christmas time, of cheese (also called *cheesepocalypse*), electric fans during a summer heat wave and Marmite have all been deemed terrible enough to be given such hyperbolic names.

4.6. game, competition, conflict

<i>arMMAGeddon</i>	<i>Armorgeddon</i>	<i>armygeddon</i>
<i>Barmageddon</i>	<i>Farmageddon</i>	<i>gnome-a-geddon</i>
<i>gnomergeddon</i>	<i>harmageddon</i>	<i>Nanageddon</i>
<i>Quarmageddon</i>	<i>scoremageddon</i>	<i>starmageddon</i>
<i>turkeygeddon</i>		

4.6.1. names of characters or items related to war or combat, suggesting danger or threat (often in comics and video games)

<i>Armorgeddon</i>	<i>Hellageddon</i>	<i>Skullmageddon</i>
<i>Stormageddon</i>	<i>Warmageddon</i>	

An already established sense of ‘a decisive conflict or confrontation’ is detected to a lower or higher degree, sometimes used of various competitions as well. One competition in Mixed Martial Arts (MMA) is called *ArMMageddon*. *Armour-Geddon* is the name of a combat video game and the name of a paintball venue in the UK (spelled *Armourgeddon*); *armygeddon* is the name of an Australian military vehicle and again the name of a combat video game. *Barmageddon*₁ is a rap battle held in Wolverhampton, UK but is also found in *Barmageddon begins!*, a tagline featured on a poster for the movie *The World’s End* (where it refers to a drinking marathon but also nicely ties in with the movie’s apocalyptic title). *Farmageddon* in this sense appears in at least three distinct contexts: it is used of American football games between Iowa State University Cyclones and Kansas State University Wildcats, named thus because of the agriculture-based economies of Iowa and Kansas; it is found in *Farmageddon Run*, the name of an endurance run in Leicester, UK; and is at the same time the name of a board game. The next two, *gnome-a-geddon* and *gnomergeddon* both have to do with a battle with gnomes (and a great number of them at that, as suggested above). In the language of sport, *harmageddon* has been used for infliction of harm on an opponent. The comedy series *The Mighty Boosh* has given us *Nanageddon* in the title of one of its episodes, in which the evil spirit Nanatoo is summoned. *Quarmageddon* is the name of an expansion set for the dice-building game *Quarriors!* *Scoremageddon* has already been dealt with but apart from suggesting a high score it is also a competition between players. One of the several meanings of *starmageddon* is this one, found in the name of a video game in which the player travels through space (*Project Earth: Starmageddon*). Finally, *turkeygeddon* has been used humorously for occasions when a turkey attacks a human.

Comics and video games are a rich soil for the exploitation of creative and suggestive language so it is only expected that *armageddon* blends are found here too, especially in the sci-fi genre. *Armorgeddon* (a character in *Superman Beyond* comic book), *hellageddon* (a weapon in *DeathSpank* video game), *Skullmageddon* (character in the *Double Dragon Neon* video game), *Stormageddon* (a character in the *Dr Who* TV series), *Warmageddon* (*Warmageddon Illustrated*, the title of a horror comic book) are just some examples of blends with this element found in the *GloWbE* corpus.

4.7. names of events, conventions, concerts, etc.

<i>Almageddon</i> ₂	<i>Artsmageddon</i>	<i>Auckgeddon</i>
<i>Bramageddon</i> / <i>BRAmageddon</i>	<i>Farmageddon</i>	<i>Guitarmageddon</i>
<i>Hamilgeddon</i>	<i>Infogeddon</i>	<i>Karmageddon</i>
<i>LANageddon</i>	<i>Lawmageddon</i>	<i>Phone-aggedon</i>
<i>Wellygeddon</i>		

Probably to suggest massive attendance and intense entertainment but undoubtedly also as an attention-seeking device, blends with *-geddon* are frequently used in names of organized events, festivals, conventions and even scientific conferences. The left-hand source word can refer to the place where the event is held: *Almageddon*₂ (The Alma Inn, The Alma Arms), *Auckgeddon* (Auckland), *Farmageddon* (a horror theme park on a farm), *Hamilgeddon* (Hamilton), *Wellygeddon* (Wellington) or it can specify the type of an event in some other way: *Bramageddon* (bra-donating charity event), *Guitarmageddon* (a competition of guitarists), *Infogeddon* (the name of a computer science conference held in Chennai), *Karmageddon* (an event organized by Join Me movement's Karma Army), *Lawmageddon* (a comedy show by Comedians at Law, a group of former lawyers), *LANageddon* (an unofficial name of Canada's largest LAN party), *Phone-ageddon* (a humorous moniker for GSMA Mobile World Congress held in Spain).

4.8. scandal

<i>infogeddon</i>	<i>Eurogeddon</i>	<i>Expensageddon</i>
<i>Palmer-geddon</i>	<i>pharmageddon</i>	<i>Twittergeddon</i>

At the time of ubiquitous sensationalism in the media, it is no wonder that scandals, however big or small, can be called armageddons. Thus, *infogeddon* is any scandal involving information leaks, *Eurogeddon* is catastrophically poor performance of the England soccer team in the 2012 UEFA European Championship, *Expensageddon* is the nickname the media gave to a scandal about British MPs' expense claims, *Palmer-geddon* broke out when the Australian industrialist Clive Palmer bought a football club, *pharmageddon* is any scandal in the pharmaceutical industry and *Twittergeddon* can refer to an embarrassing tweet that spreads on Twitter and can put its author in an awkward situation.

5. Conclusion

As a final note, it is necessary to say that this list does not exhaust all the meanings of *-geddon* found during the research. Not only does it exclude the words found in sources other than *GloWbE* but it also omits senses for which no generalizations could be made due to insufficient contextual information. What is, however, clear even from a limited-scope analysis such as this is that (a) *-geddon* seems to be well established as a morpheme, with *-mageddon*, *-ageddon* and *armageddon* as less frequent allomorphs (other forms being of very low frequency), (b) the preferred

structural type is [untruncated sw₁ + -geddon], and (c) it has developed polysemy through different coinages, which in turn have in many cases detached themselves from original contexts, gaining what Hohenhaus 1998 calls genericness.

What, on the other hand, is far from clear is whether it will be successful in the long run or remain just a transient linguistic fad as has been the fate of many similar analogical creations. The process of the institutionalization of a new word is subject to numerous factors, many of which are under-researched and/or difficult to determine, especially before-hand. Some of the factors suggested in the literature are the authority of the coiner, approval of the linguistic community, a demand on part of the linguistic community for a naming unit, sociolinguistic prestige, attempts to achieve “artificial institutionalization” (see Bauer 1983: 43, Lipka 1992: 95, Metcalf 2002, Hohenhaus 2006: 21-23). Be that as it may, we have to side here with Štekauer (2002: 101), who says that in the formation of new words “what is important is that the language has demonstrated its productive capacity to generate a new, well-formed linguistic sign by means of its productive Word-Formation Rules whenever the need arises”. Whether a new word will be accepted by the linguistic community and integrated into the lexicon, be long- or short-lived or forever remain a nonce-formation is irrelevant for the purposes of the present study. Our goal was to attempt to give a more or less synchronic cross-section of the current state of affairs in terms of structural preferences in the formation of blends with *armageddon* as sw₂ and to give an overview of its established senses.

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OBLICI I ZNAČENJA OSNOVE *ARMAGEDDON* U ENGLESKIM SLIVENICAMA

Rezime

Cilj ovog rada je da istraži oblike i značenja osnove *armageddon* kao finalne (krnje) osnove u novim engleskim slivenicama kao što su *stormageddon*, *carma-geddon* ili *cybergeddon*. Ova osnova generisala je stotine analoških tvorenica ali je do sada ostala uglavnom neistražena. Spisak od 102 slivenice ekstrahovan je iz korpusa *Corpus of Global Web-Based English* (Davies 2013), koji je dostupan na internetu, i te su reči podvrgnute morfološkoj analizi kako bi se (1) odredili alomorfi ove krnje osnove i (2) utvrdile strukturne tendencije po pitanju oblika inicijalnih osnova s kojima se kombinuje. Potom sledi pregled semantičkih aspekata, čiji je cilj da dà pregled razvoja novih značenja ovog formanta.

Ključne reči: engleski jezik, tvorba reči, slivenica, neologizam, afiksoid

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DISTINCTIVE LEXICAL REPERTOIRE IN BRITISH BANK OFFERS

Vocabulary items are important elements to consider in analyzing different types of advertisements. Bank advertisements, for example, abound in slogans and headlines with numerous money-related words and expressions which are deliberately overused in order to persuade clients that different services will miraculously help them. With a carefully selected choice of words in their offers, banks create the image of secure and reliable partners who ensure credibility and trustworthiness. Based on the data collected on the Internet over the course of one year, this paper reveals a specific set of trigger words and catch phrases in British bank advertising. The primary analysis of this research focuses on different lexical ways banks use to emphasize the money-saving nature of their offers, but at the same time restrict seemingly favourable loans. Relying on the frequency analysis of those expressions, this paper aims at highlighting marketing decisions concerning the sensitive issue of money-related expressions in bank advertisements.

Key words: bank advertisements, the Internet, lexical choice, frequency analysis, English

1. Introduction

Copywriters play with words and manipulate their everyday meanings for greater effects. In advertising, every means is acceptable for achieving the main aim – attracting attention and raising interest, so they deliberately break the rules of language, use words creatively and out of context, make up new coinages and words or adapt the existing ones in unexpected ways. On the other hand, copywriters also tend to be original by using ordinary, non-bombastic and everyday language for adding emphasis. For that reason, a lexical repertoire in one type of advertisement can show the ways customers are persuaded to buy a product or a service.

Based on the data collected on the Internet over the course of one year, this paper reveals a specific set of trigger words and catch phrases in British bank advertising. The primary analysis of this research focuses on the different lexical ways banks use to emphasize the money-saving nature of their offers, but at the same time restrict seemingly favourable loans. Relying on the frequency analysis of those expressions, this paper aims at highlighting marketing decisions concerning the sensitive issue of money-related expressions in bank advertisements.

2. Register markers

When examining any language variety in its situation of use (including the language of advertising), the influence of communicative purpose and the context of the situation on linguistic forms has to be taken into account.

Language is not realized in the abstract, but as the activity of people in situations, hence a certain kind of language is appropriate to a certain use (Halliday et al. 1964: 87-89). The category of **register**¹ is defined as a variety of language most likely to be used in a particular situation type with particular roles and statuses involved (Biber 1995: 1). There are differences in the type of language selected as appropriate to different types of situations, so registers differ primarily in language form and have distinctive lexico-grammatical features. Therefore, Halliday's framework clearly shows a relationship which exists between a given situation and the language used in it.

Registers are identified and classified on the basis of three dimensions or three features of the context of the situation (Halliday and Hasan 1990: 12):

1. **the field of discourse** refers to what is happening – the area of operation of the language activity, such as politics, linguistics, finance, etc.;
2. **the tenor of discourse** refers to who is taking part – the interpersonal role relationships among participants (e.g. teachers / students, parents / children, banks / target audience);
3. **the mode of discourse** refers to what part the language is playing – the medium or mode of the language activity, with the primary distinction between spoken and written language, but also including various permutations (e.g. non-spontaneous speaking, writing to be read, etc.).

¹ In addition to the term **register**, the term **style** has also been used to refer to language varieties associated with situational uses (Crystal and Davy 1969). More commonly, style has been treated as a characteristic way of using language (Biber 1995: 9).

These three aspects, which are interdependent of each other, describe the context of the situation in which language is used and the ways in which one type of situation may differ from another (Halliday 1978: 31-2).

In addition, people in communication situations tend to develop characteristic vocabulary, sentence structures, intonation, phonology and other features which mark the register. According to Sternkopf 2005: 199, advertising language has been established as a text type with typical features on the lexical, morphologic, syntactic, stylistic and pragmatic level. Language units are selected and organized on different levels to fulfil the main function – to sell a product. She adds that the development of such a unique text type has always been driven by the specific function of advertising texts, the relationship between a sender and a recipient, and the goal the sender intends to achieve.

In this paper, the primary focus is on a very general register of advertising and a more specified, distinct register of bank advertising within it, which exhibits specific lexical and grammatical features. The context of the situation can be described as the communication situation in which banks offer services (the field) to the target audience in a neutral to formal tone (the tenor) in the form of a written text, which in many ways resembles spoken language (the mode), since it abounds in ellipsis, questions, imperatives and the like.

2.1. Lexical repertoire in advertising

The importance of choosing relevant keywords in marketing language has been highlighted by many authors (Leech 1966; Dyer 1982; Cook 1992; Myers 1994; Goddard 1998), who discussed trigger words, brand names and techniques in slogans used and abused by copywriters in order to make a customer buy a product.

Vocabulary items are important elements to consider in analyzing advertisements for a number of reasons. Goddard 1998: 105 explains why words are so crucial in the message:

- (a) they are often strongly connected with the product's proposed 'unique selling proposition' – the quality that makes the product a 'must' to buy;
- (b) they tend to be markers of what is thought to be important at the time; and
- (c) they play an important role in constructing a favourable image of the product.

She also suggests that those terms have often been called 'buzz words', but they change with time and culture.

Bank advertisements, for example, abound in slogans and headlines with numerous money-related words and expressions which are deliberately overused in order to persuade clients that different services will miraculously help them. With a

carefully selected choice of words in their offers, banks create the image of secure and reliable partners who ensure credibility and trustworthiness.

3. Data collection and analysis

The lexical analysis in this paper is based on the data collected on the Internet over the course of one year (May 2012 – May 2013). A total of 770 online bank advertisements from 30 of the most prominent banks² operating in the UK were followed and their lexical component was further analyzed. A total of 29,757 words were included in the analysis. In order to provide a consistent data sample of advertising text to be analyzed, the following criteria were applied to the advertisement selection:

1. An advertisement is found on the homepage of the commercial bank or on its subpages regardless of the position on the page and its size.
2. An advertisement features either a bank's service or a service of their partners.
3. An advertisement for financial products is directed at the general public rather than at specialists.
4. An advertisement is either text-based (e.g. only slogans), or both text- and graphic-based.
5. The product or service advertised belongs to the retail personal banking sector, not the private, business or corporate one.
6. Only the text found in the advertisement is analyzed, whilst detailed descriptions and explanations³ found on the transferred sites are excluded.

The main method used to analyze the data is the frequency analysis of specific lexical items in British bank offers, using the lexical analysis software WordSmith Tools 5.0. The chosen units were first identified and then their number of occurrences was measured.

In order to make the results easier to interpret, all raw frequency counts (RFC) are normed to the typical text length in a corpus (Biber et al. 1998: 263). Specifically, the raw frequency count of a certain lexical unit is divided by the total number of words in the text, then multiplied by the basis chosen for norming. In this particular

² The criteria to choose and follow web pages of particular banks were their dominance on the market (banks serving the biggest number of clients and having the highest turnover, such as Barclays, HSBC, Lloyds Banking Group, Royal Bank of Scotland Group, Santander, etc.).

³ The detailed overviews of services along with explanations and details on loan repayment, interest rates, additional benefits, terms, etc. do not constitute an advertisement anymore, and as such could be analyzed separately.

case, adjusted to the total number of words (29,757), the normed frequency count (NFC) shows the number of occurrences per 1,000 words.

4. Findings and discussion

The analysis shows that the product group conditions the lexical characteristics of texts with the terminology belonging to the sphere of finance (describing the product, its characteristics and benefits). The terms employed in bank advertisements are regarded to be conventional for this type of service and understandable to non-experts. As very specialized and complicated terms and phrases can confuse and even alienate potential customers, they are most often avoided.

4.1. Word choice

In accordance with Leech's observations (1966), the noun and the adjective are the most frequent parts of speech, as shown in Table 1, which lists the top twenty words in British bank advertisements.

Rank	Word	Frequency	
		RFC	NFC
1	<i>to find</i>	434	14.58
2	<i>account</i>	418	14.05
3	<i>online</i>	256	8.60
4	<i>banking</i>	229	7.70
5	<i>insurance</i>	198	6.65
6	<i>to apply</i>	194	6.52
7	<i>rate</i>	194	6.52
8	<i>money</i>	162	5.44
9	<i>card</i>	158	5.31
10	<i>mortgage</i>	158	5.31
11	<i>home</i>	142	4.77
12	<i>current</i>	138	4.64
13	<i>loan</i>	134	4.50
14	<i>year</i>	132	4.44

15	<i>bank</i>	129	4.34
16	<i>customer</i>	128	4.30
17	<i>ISA</i>	121	4.07
18	<i>savings</i>	119	4.00
19	<i>credit</i>	118	3.97
20	<i>interest</i>	116	3.90
TOTAL		3678	123.61

Table 1: The top twenty words in British bank advertisements

The analysis reveals that the nouns associated with the product type and characteristics are by far the most recurrent – 16 out of 20 (e.g. *account*, *rate*, *money*, *card*, etc.). Furthermore, adjectives are used to explain the product's features in detail, such as *current*, *fixed*, *online*. In terms of the use of adverbs, they denote either the frequency of payments (e.g. *monthly*, *per annum* or *p.a.*) or manner of getting the product (e.g. *easily*, *quickly*). In contrast to high concentration of nouns and noun structures, verbs are far less frequent. Some of the most common verbs include: *find*, *apply*, *access*.

In bank advertisements there are also neutrally coloured words, which are treated as automatic sequences of words or phrases, i.e. universal phrases that usually increase the advertisement's effectiveness, such as the link with more information: *find out more*, *discover more* and others. One of the most frequent phrases in the imperative form is the ubiquitous instruction *click here* or *find out more*, serving as a standard endline. It is a call-to-action phrase which invites the reader to activate the advertisement in order to gain more information on the target site. Apart from this explicit direct order, Janoschka 2004: 136-7 lists two more different linguistic realizations of imperative activation instruction:

1. pragmatically indirect order – *apply now*, *find it*, *search*, *go*, etc.
2. literal agreement (context and user-dependent confirmation or disagreement) – OK button.

However, lexical persuasion is most commonly accomplished by the use of trigger words and phrases, which are illustrated and explained in the next section.

4.2. Trigger words and money-saving expressions

Vocabulary is carefully chosen to promote positive associations in the minds of the target audience (Goddard 1998: 106). For example, words such as *new*, *eco-*

nomical and *universal* are more likely to be used rather than their synonyms – *untried*, *cheap* and *common*. Likewise, banks present themselves as secure and credible partners by choosing particular words over others in their advertisements.

4.2.1. *Trigger words*

As shown in the pilot research (Lazović 2014), banks favour so-called **trigger words**, commonly recognized as words and phrases which trigger some kind of response from the reader, such as clicking on a link, staying on a website, reading the content and ideally, purchasing the product. In British advertisements, all the offers are presented as easily achievable and quickly realizable. In that way, customers are less hesitant since the service can be realized easily, quickly and safely.

Dyer 1982: 149-50 mentions trigger words which can stimulate envy, dreams and desires by evoking looks, touch, taste, smell and sounds without actually misrepresenting a product. The words *big*, *small*, *long* are relatively easy to imagine in connection with a product, but *elegant*, *superb*, *enchanted*, *sheer*, *intriguing*, *captivating* are vague and cannot be easily checked upon since they are often a matter of opinion. So instead of a clear and reasonable description in advertisements, often found are numerous adjectives glorifying the product or verbs and nouns used unusually, in emotive rather than accurate ways. The chosen words generally give uniqueness, vigour and impact to the advertising message, and they seem to suggest that the product has a special feature (Dyer 1982: 150). Besides this, such words are repeated and overused for the purpose of persuasion because they make the public believe in the stated as well.

In the following part, a set of trigger words that most often prove successful and effective will be exemplified and discussed in more detail. These include, among others, *time-limited* / *promotional* / *special (offer)*, *now* / *today*, *new*, *free* and *discount*.

The limited time offer is ubiquitous in all forms of advertising. Not surprisingly, there is an abundance of time-limited and special offers in British bank advertisements. Those offers aim to create the atmosphere of rush and pressure in order to stimulate clients to make quicker decisions and act immediately. This is significant because it shortens the time they have to rethink, calculate or compare with other services, while increasing the pressure to act. Some typical examples are:

- (1) *Giving you the security of knowing your rate is fixed*
- *Rate is fixed until 24 July 2015*
- (2) *New limited offers for business and personal savers*

Together with the word *now* / *today*, the idea of time-limited offer is reinforced, which is likely to strengthen the acting of customers. The action word *now*

creates a sense of urgency and haste, which can sometimes be counterproductive due to the psychological pressure readers may feel, as in:

- (3) *It's easy to keep track of what's going in and out
Log on now*

Another frequent word in the bank advertising lexicon is *new*, used both when inviting new clients or when offering new services, e.g.:

- (4) *£50 offer for new customers*
(5) *Introducing the new Fast Balance app from HSBC.*

As Brierley 1995: 146 emphasizes, the word *new* is used not only to maintain brand loyalty and make existing users feel that the product is improving all the time, but also to encourage a trial purchase.

4.2.2. Money-saving expressions

Money-saving expressions are motivators for saving money, and as such attract the reader's attention (e.g. *free, no charge, low, discount, bonus, plus*, etc.). As Janoschka 2004: 151 points out, according to one conducted research, these words have a direct impact on users and thus increase the click rates of web advertisements. They all attempt to arouse the reader's curiosity by offering a reason to click, including prizes, discounts or free services. These offers are a form of price manipulation and they indicate the money-saving nature of the offer:

a) free / no charge

One of the most frequent and powerful trigger words in bank advertisements is *free*. Vestergaard and Schröder 1985: 60 state that the promise of free gifts or reduced prices is yet another hyperbolic claim that effectively gets the readers' attention and has a persuasive effect on them. In examples (6) and (7) banks offer the services free of charge:

- (6) *Invest your ISA allowance online with 0% initial charge*
(7) *Access your account on the move with our range of free and secure mobile banking services.*

b) bonus / plus / gift

Another way to reward customer loyalty or invite new clients is to promise gifts, such as bonus cards, money-off vouchers for services, etc., illustrated in the following examples:

- (8) *a fixed bonus of 1.05% tax free for 15 months*
- (9) *£100 when you switch to us, plus £5 each month*

c) discount

Banks also promote services by lowering the prices and offering different discounts, as in:

- (10) *Unlock a 20% discount when you apply online*
- (11) *25% off online for Nectar Card holders*

d) low

The money-saving nature of an offer can further be emphasized by using the word *low*, usually with the phrase ‘the adjective *low* + a noun’:

- (12) *A great low rate of 5.9% APR representative*
- (13) *Get a low 6.2% APR Representative Personal Loan*

e) save / win / get

In addition, different prizes and benefits are offered, including money, trips or a celebrity meeting. The offer in example (14) promises both VIP tickets and an encounter with a famous sportsperson, while the slogan ‘save for something special’ in example (15) underlines a favourable savings scheme:

- (14) *Win VIP hospitality tickets to your favourite sporting events and a chance to meet some of the world’s leading sports stars with the HSBC Summer of Sport.*
- (15) *Save for something special with our Internet Saver*

On the other hand, the verb *buy*, especially in the imperative form, seems to be avoided, as its explicit use may have some unpleasant connotations and can cause a negative reaction to the message (Leech 1966: 154; Vestergaard and Schröder 1985: 67). Instead, some other less direct verbs are used, such as *get*, *try*, *take*, *use*, *choose*, etc.

4.2.3. Frequency counts for trigger words and money-saving expressions

Table 2 shows the list of trigger words and money-saving expressions in British bank offers:

Trigger Word	Frequency	
	RFC	NFC
<i>limited</i>	11	0.37
<i>promotional</i>	2	0.07
<i>special</i>	14	0.47
<i>until (+ date)</i>	16	0.54
<i>(offer) ends</i>	6	0.20
<i>only</i>	61	2.05
<i>new</i>	103	3.46
<i>fixed</i>	99	3.33
<i>low</i>	18	0.60
<i>now</i>	81	2.72
<i>today</i>	23	0.77
<i>free</i>	35	1.18
<i>tax-free</i>	51	1.71
<i>fee-free, no charge⁴</i>	23	0.77
<i>commission-free</i>	4	0.13
<i>interest-free, no interest</i>	34	1.14
<i>discount</i>	51	1.71
<i>bonus</i>	26	0.87
<i>plus</i>	30	1.01

⁴The phrases '0% charge / no charge' and '0% interest / no interest' were here regarded as one-word phrases to make a comparison possible within the word count.

<i>gift</i>	8	0.27
<i>money</i>	162	5.44
<i>cash</i>	78	2.62
<i>cashback</i>	35	1.18
<i>savings</i>	119	4.00
<i>security</i>	13	0.44
<i>easily</i>	7	0.24
<i>quickly</i>	8	0.27
<i>to use</i>	58	1.95
<i>to save</i>	86	2.89
<i>to win</i>	23	0.77
<i>to get</i>	191	6.42
<i>secure</i>	37	1.24
<i>security</i>	13	0.44
<i>convenient</i>	12	0.40
<i>convenience</i>	2	0.07
<i>best</i>	26	0.87
<i>fast</i>	15	0.50
<i>safe</i>	7	0.24
TOTAL	1588	53.37

Table 2: The number of occurrences for trigger words and money-saving expressions

All the listed words and phrases have a special impact on the reader because they emphasize desirable qualities of the product or service. The importance of choosing relevant words in marketing language is now confirmed with the frequency counts. The total number of chosen words and phrases confirms the fact that saving money together with the quick, easy and safe realization of the service is of crucial importance.

5. Restrictions

As opposed to different persuasion strategies employed, a great number of restrictions is found in British bank offers. First, the bank advertises an excellent

offer, but in the very next line or the ending of the sentence limits it considerably with one or more conditions, as is shown in examples (16) and (17):

(16) *Instant decision and same day transfer of funds when you apply online.*

(17) *Personal loans between £7,000 and £15,000. Only available to HSBC current account holders.*

Generally speaking, British banks try to be very specific about each offer, especially because of The UK Code of Non-broadcast Advertising, Sales Promotion and Direct Marketing, which prohibits the use of unsupported and unsubstantiated claims, which can mislead customers about the features, quality or positive effects of the advertised product (The Advertising Standards Authority 2014). For that reason, there are many examples that specify precisely what is offered, or the phrase ‘terms apply’ is used, exemplified below:

(18) *This is an introductory offer that only applies for one year to the vehicle covered under the policy purchased.*

(19) *Network charges may apply, see terms and conditions.*

(20) *These amounts are providing you have the money available in your account. As a minimum, you must have £25 available in your account to use this service.*

Table 3 summarizes the frequency counts of the most common ways banks restrict their services:

Restriction of services	Frequency	
	RFC	NFC
Asterisk (*)	70	2.35
Superscripts	45	1.51
The noun ‘terms’	33	1.11
The noun ‘conditions’	36	1.21
The verb ‘apply’ ⁵	56	1.88

⁵The occurrences of the verb ‘apply’ with the meaning ‘to make a request’ were excluded (e.g. *apply here*). Only those occurrences within the collocation noun + verb: *terms apply*, *conditions apply*, *fee applies* and similar were counted.

The adverb 'only'	61	2.05
The adjective 'subject'	35	1.18
The modal verb 'must'	25	0.84
The participle 'required'	5	0.17
TOTAL	366	12.30

Table 3: The most common ways of restricting offers

The abundance of restrictions is what sets bank advertisements apart from other types of advertisements. As was evident from the examples, usually the bank first advertises an excellent offer, but also limits it with one or more conditions. Most commonly, offers are restricted orthographically and/or lexically. Asterisks and superscripts are an orthographic way of introducing small prints which make the offer financially less favourable for clients. In addition, banks restrict their services by using a particular set of words and phrases, including *terms / conditions / fees apply, subject to, only, required* and others.

6. Conclusion

Advertisements have their own particular language with which they communicate information to the audience and influence them to buy what is advertised. They are experienced as a part of cultural communication and hence can reveal cultural values and the norms of the target audience. When carefully analyzed, they can uncover any prevalent or recurring pattern as well as discover its possible meanings and messages.

This research paper concentrates on the description of typical lexical features of online bank advertising and their distribution in British bank offers, representing the current situation pertaining to advertising strategies at the lexical level. Taking into account the results, it has become evident that one crucial characteristic of advertising language is a lexical repertoire. The average frequency per 1,000 words shows that one fifth of all the words is constituted by specific and well-chosen words which are given more stress than others. Therefore, this paper represents a lexical description of the register of bank advertisements for a particular period (2012-2013) and can be a solid starting point for future analyses. On the one hand, it could be of both theoretical and practical significance to examine the same type of advertisements in other languages since such a study could help gain a broader understanding of advertising strategies in different cultures. On the other hand, it can shed light on variations across different cultures and enhance the understand-

ing of features in advertising which have been standardized due to globalization or localized due to culture.

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ZNAČAJ KARAKTERISTIČNOG LEKSIČKOG REPERTOARA U PONUDAMA BRITANSKIH BANAKA

Rezime

Leksičke jedinice su zasigurno važni elementi u analizi različitih vrsta oglasa. Oglasi banaka, na primer, obiluju sloganima i naslovima koji sadrže nemali broj reči i izraza u vezi sa novcem. Oni se prekomerno koriste da bi se klijenti ubedili da će im razne usluge neizostavno pomoći. Uz pažljivo odabran izbor reči u svojim ponudama, banke stvaraju o sebi sliku sigurnih i pouzdanih partnera koji obezbeđuju kredibilitet. Na osnovu podataka prikupljenih na Internetu u toku jedne godine, ovaj rad daje prikaz specifičnih reči i izraza koji se najčešće koriste u oglasima britanskih banaka. Primarna analiza ovog istraživanja usredsređuje se na različite leksičke načine koje banke koriste za naglašavanje novčano povoljnih ponuda, ali u isto vreme i za njihovo ograničavanje u pogledu stepena povoljnosti. Zasnovan na analizi frekventnosti tih izraza, ovaj rad ujedno ističe marketinške odluke koje se odnose na osetljivo pitanje upotrebe takvih izraza u oglasima banaka.

Ključne reči: oglasi banaka, internet, leksički izbor, analize frekventnosti, engleski jezik

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VELIKO POMERANJE VOKALA NEKAD I SAD¹

Rad se bavi fonološkim procesom u savremenom britanskom engleskom jeziku koji je po svojoj prirodi sličan pojavi koja se odigrala u engleskom jeziku između 1400. i 1750. godine, poznatoj kao „veliko pomeranje vokala“. Pomeranje kojim se bavimo takođe pokazuje tendenciju lančanog kretanja vokalskih kvaliteta unutar vokalskog prostora. Postoje brojna teorijska neslaganja o prirodi, pravcu i inicijalnim pokretačima velikog pomeranja vokala. U radu će najpre biti predstavljen istorijski proces velikog pomeranja vokala, biće izložene teorije o pravcu pomeranja, uzrocima i principima, kao i sporna pitanja analizirana u literaturi, a zatim će se ovaj proces posmatrati u svetlu teorije disperzije, koja uzima u obzir unutrašnju strukturu vokalskih sistema. Centralni deo rada jeste pregled situacije u savremenom standardnom britanskom jeziku. Promene vokala uočene tokom proteklih pedeset godina ukazuju na specifičan pravac novog pomeranja vokala. Rezultati su dati na osnovu eksperimentalnih istraživanja u literaturi kao i na osnovu istraživanja autora.

Ključne reči: veliko pomeranje vokala, lančane promene, vokali, teorija disperzije, engleski jezik

1. Uvod

Pojava poznata kao „veliko pomeranje vokala“ predstavlja jednu od najznačajnijih fonemskih promena koja je zahvatila duge vokale srednjengleskog perioda, a tokom koje se vokalski sistem promenio u onaj koji poznajemo u modernom engleskom jeziku. Nekadašnji vokalski sistem imao je set od pet kratkih vokala /i, e, a, u, o/ i sedam dugih vokala /i:, e:, ε:, a:, u:, o:, ɔ:/. Od približno 1350. godine do 1750. godine skup dugih vokala podlegao je promeni kvaliteta koja se ukratko

¹ Ovaj rad nastao je kao rezultat istraživanja u okviru projekata *Jezici i kulture u vremenu i prostoru* (br. 178002) i *Razvoj dijaloških sistema za srpski i druge južnoslovenske jezika* (br. 32035), koje finansira Ministarstvo prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja Republike Srbije.

može opisati kao podizanje visine za jedan (ili dva) stepena i diftongizacija visokih vokala /i:/ i /u:/. Posledice velikog pomeranja vokala vide se po ortografiji savremenog engleskog jezika, koja veoma često odražava stanje iz Čoserovog vremena. Na primer, reč *mice* izgovarala se /mi:s/, naspram današnjeg /mais/, reč *good* izgovarala se /go:d/, prema današnjem /gu(:)d/, a reč *feet* imala je izgovor /fe:t/, prema današnjem /fi:t/.

2. Veliko pomeranje vokala

2.1. Proces i ishodi

Uporedimo li čitav sistem dugih vokala srednjoengleskog sa savremenim jezikom, veliko pomeranje vokala možemo predstaviti na sledeći način:

	1400. god.	mod. eng.
time	i: ————— ai	
sleep	e: ————— i:	
speak	ɛ: ————— ei	
take	a: ————— ei	
house	u: ————— au	
moon	o: ————— u:	
boat	ɔ: ————— əu	

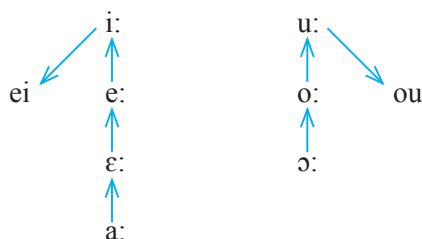
Slika 1 (prema Lass 1999: 72)

Svaki dugi vokal je, naime, promenio kvalitet i „postao“ neki drugi vokal, a vokali /e:/ i /ɛ:/ imaju isti refleks – dugi visoki prednji vokal /i:/. Na prvi pogled, ovi odnosi mogu delovati nesistematično i nemotivisano, budući da su visoki vokali postali diftonzi sa nižim prvim elementom; vokali prednjeg reda /e:/, /ɛ:/ i vokal zadnjeg reda /o:/ podigli su se za jedan ili dva stepena, a vokali /a:/ i /ɔ:/ postali su diftonzi sa srednje visokim prvim elementom. Treba, međutim, imati u vidu da slika 1 predstavlja promenu koja se desila tokom veoma dugog vremenskog perioda, kao i da se dešavala postepeno i imala međufaze, koje jasnije pokazuju logiku, odnosno mehanizam promene. Ukoliko ovaj dugotrajni proces predstavimo u fazama, dobija se drugačija slika. Sledeća tabela ukazuje na međukorake vokalskih promena, koje se u dijahronim istraživanjima zapažaju oko 1500. i 1600. godine:

1400. god.	1500. god.	1600. god.	mod. eng.
i:	ei	ɛi	ai
e:	i:	i:	i:
ɛ:	ɛ:	e:	i:
a:	a:	ɛ:	ei
u:	ou	ɔu	au
o:	u:	u:	u:
ɔ:	ɔ:	o:	əu

Slika 2 (prema Lass 1999: 72)

Kao što su zapazili Karl Luik (Luick) i kasnije Oto Jespersen, odnos između vokala srednjoengleskog perioda i jezika 17. veka može se iskazati kao veoma pravilno, prostorno/geometrijski strukturisano kretanje u idealizovanom vokalskom prostoru (prema Lass 1999: 73). Obrazac promene može se predstaviti kao na narednoj slici:



Slika 3 (prema Lass 1999: 73)

Ostavimo li na stranu kasnija pomeranja, ovaj grafički prikaz pokazuje izrazitu pravilnost promene, u kojoj se svi vokali osim onih sa obeležjem [+visok] pomeraju za jedan stepen visine, dok visoki vokali podležu diftongizaciji, tako da im se prvi element spušta za jedan stepen u vokalskom prostoru. Ovako predstavljena, promena očigledno implicira međuzavisnost elemenata sistema, i intuitivno se nameće zaključak da jedna promena uslovljava drugu. Ovakve vrste promena nazivaju se lančanim pomeranjem, a svaka promena podrazumeva drugu promenu, dok se čitav sistem menja tako da ne nastaje rizik da se izgubi distinktivnost elemenata.

2.2. Teorije o velikom pomeranju vokala

Jedno od ključnih pitanja koje postavlja dijahrona fonologija jeste kako je počelo veliko pomeranje vokala. Dve mogućnosti se nameću kao logični odgovori na ovo pitanje. Jedna je ta da je najpre došlo do diftongizacije visokih vokala /i:/ i /u:/, usled čega u vokalskom prostoru nastaje „praznina“ na ove dve pozicije. Budući da vokalski prostor teži da bude ispunjen, ove dve pozicije „privlače“ najbliže elemente, odnosno vokal prednjeg reda /e:/ penje se na „upražnjenu“ poziciju i postaje /i:/, a po istom mehanizmu vokal zadnjeg reda /o:/ postaje /u:/. S obzirom na to da su nekadašnji vokali /i:/ i /u:/ već promenili kvalitet u diftonge, s funkcionalne strane ne nastaje problem, jer postoji opozicija između novih parova vokala /ei/ prema /i:/, odnosno /ou/ prema /u:/. Budući da sada ostaju „prazne“ pozicije vokala /e:/, odnosno /o:/, na njihovo mesto „penju se“ nekadašnje otvorenije /ɛ:/, odnosno /ɔ:/. Niski prednji vokal /a:/ zatim se penje na sada praznu poziciju nekadašnjeg /ɛ:/. Ovakvo tumačenje daje Jespersen (1909-49: 8.11), ne dovodeći u sumnju međusobnu uslovljenost čitavog kretanja. U literaturi, ovakav pristup naziva se teorijom „povlačenja“ (*pull/drag theory*).

Prema drugom viđenju, čiji je začetnik Luik (prema Lass 1999: 74-75), inicijalni impuls velikog pomeranja dolazi od podizanja vokala /e:/ i /o:/, usled kog dolazi do potiskivanja visokih vokala /i:/ i /u:/. S obzirom na fiziološko ograničenje vokalnog trakta, odnosno, visoki vokali ne mogu da budu potisnuti na više pozicije, dolazi do njihovog prelamanja u diftonge. Ovakvo tumačenje čini osnovu „teorije potiskivanja“ (*push theory*). Nakon ovog inicijalnog pomeranja, ostali vokali kreću se po istom mehanizmu koji predlaže Jespersen, odnosno niski vokali penju se na više, sada prazne pozicije.

Rasprave između toga da li je veliko pomeranje vokala posledica lančanog privlačenja ili lančanog potiskivanja vodi se i dan danas među istoričarima jezika, a indirektne (često nekonkluzivne) dokaze oni nalaze u ortografiji, kao i u logičkim pretpostavkama. Tako Las (Lass 1999: 75) tvrdi da nije moglo najpre doći do podizanja vokala /e:/ i /o:/, jer bi u tom slučaju došlo do njihove neutralizacije sa vokalom /i:/, odnosno /u:/, to jest, ne bi postojao razlog za diftongizaciju ovih vokala. Hok (1986), s druge strane, smatra da je do diftongizacije došlo usled „nagomilavanja“ (*overcrowding*, Hock 1986: 165) vokala u relativno malom delu vokalskog prostora, na gornjoj prednjoj periferiji.² Treba pomenuti i donekle rezervisani stav Martinea (Martinet 1952: 133), koji smatra da često ne postoji jasna granica između lančanog potiskivanja i povlačenja, jer je kretanje posledica pritiska sa svih strana.³

² Hok osim „povlačenja“ i „potiskivanja“ pomeranje tumači i kroz tzv. „solidarno“ pomeranje, po kom nastaje diftongizacija zadnjeg vokala /u:/ podstaknuta diftongizacijom prednjeg vokala /i:/.

³ Martine navodi (1952: 13): „... the suggested distinction between drag and push would often be blurred [...] we have to deal with pressure everywhere“.

2.3. Teorija disperzije i veliko pomeranje vokala

Lančana pomeranja vokala slična velikom pomeranju u engleskom jeziku zapažena su i u drugim jezicima. Samuels (2006) analizira gotovo identična dijahrona pomeranja u atičkom jonskom dijalektu starogrčkog, portugalskom dijalektu Sao Miguela, švedskom i norveškom jeziku. Problem pravca pomeranja mogao bi se rešiti ukoliko bi se znao prvi korak pomeranja, odnosno, šta je iniciralo pomeranje – da li se jedan glas toliko približio drugom i usled toga stvorio rizik od gubljenja distinktivnosti, što je uslovalo pomeranje tog drugog glasa ka nekom trećem kvalitetu, ili se jedna fonema udaljila od druge, tako da je druga mogla da „proširi“ svoj prostor u prostor prve i u krajnjem ishodu potpuno promeni svoj kvalitet u kvalitet prvobitnog vokala. Oba odgovora mogu biti tačna. Nova istraživanja, zasnovana na preciznim akustičkim merenjima, pokazuju da je pitanje iniciranja lančanog vokalskog pomeranja veoma često trivijalno, budući da svaka fonema (naročito vokalska) može neznatno da se pomeri u izgovoru nove generacije u odnosu na stariju generaciju. U tom smislu, ne može se govoriti o „prvobitnom pomeranju“, koje zatim inicira dalja pomeranja, već čitav sistem donekle menja konfiguraciju. Dok vokali ne promene kvalitet tako da počnu da se percipiraju kao „drugačiji“ (npr. /e:/ koje se podiglo toliko da perceptivno nalikuje glasu /i:/), možemo govoriti o minimalnom lančanom pomeranju.⁴

Ovo nas dovodi do pitanja zašto se promene dalje dešavaju. Obrazac lančanog pomeranja je univerzalan: jedna promena dovodi do nastanka praznine, druga fonema popunjava tu prazninu, treća popunjava prazninu koju je ostavila druga, i tako dalje. Ukratko, lančana promena podrazumeva kretanje ka najbližem praznom mestu.⁵

Ukoliko o vokalskom sistemu razmišljamo kao o ograničenom geometrijskom prostoru sa horizontalnom i vertikalnom dimenzijom, zapažamo da sva lančana kretanja teže da ravnomerno popune taj prostor. Unutar tog prostora, elementi se moraju razlikovati sa artikulacionog, odnosno akustičkog i perceptivnog (auditivnog) gledišta. Teorija koja objašnjava strukturu vokalskih sistema sa ovakvog stanovišta naziva se teorija disperzije (Liljencrants and Lindblom 1972; Lindblom 1986; ten Bosch 1991). Osnovna postavka teorije disperzije jeste da fonološki sistemi teže da razviju maksimalnu perceptivnu distinktivnost uz minimalnu „cenu u

⁴ Labov (1994: 118) definiše minimalno lančano pomeranje kao „promenu u položaju dveju fonema kojom se jedna fonema pomera sa svoje prvobitne pozicije, a koju zatim zauzima druga fonema“.

⁵ Svakako, u procesu lančanog kretanja može doći i do gubljenja distinktivnosti tako da se dve foneme promene u istu, kao što se vremenom desilo sa vokalima /e:/ i /ɛ:/. Ovakav mehanizam je, međutim, nepovoljniji za stanovišta funkcionisanja jezičkog sistema, te je stoga relativno redi.

artikulaciji“ (Lindblom and Maddieson 1988).⁶ Zahvaljujući tome, elementi fonološke strukture teže da se ravnomerno rasporede u vokalskom prostoru. Jedan od principa teorije disperzije jeste taj da su vrednosti pojedinačnih vokalskih kvaliteta i njihova uloga u sistemu zapravo relacioni. Vokali su potencijalni članovi jednog vokalskog sistema samo ako su perceptivno dovoljno udaljeni od drugih vokala tog sistema. Dakle, ne postoji određeni vokalski kvalitet koji je sam po sebi univerzalno „savršen“, već u zavisnosti od rasporeda svih drugih vokala u sistemu, jedan vokal može biti optimalan u jednom, a neprihvatljiv u drugom sistemu. Prema tome, vokalski kvaliteti su promenljivi i prilagodljivi, a minimalne strukturalne promene u sistemu, kojima se smanjuje udaljenost između nekih članova, mogu dovesti do pokretanja svih vokala tako da se ponovo maksimizuje disperzija. Ovo se dešava da bi se postigla minimalna (perceptivna) distanca između elemenata.

Principi teorije disperzije imaju relativno jaku prediktivnu moć sa stanovišta dijahrone fonologije upravo u objašnjenju lančanih promena. Usled promene pozicije jednog elementa u vokalskom sistemu, narušava se balans vokalskog prostora. Daljim promenama takav disbalans teži da se ispravi da bi se ponovo postigle maksimalna disperzivnost elemenata i minimalna perceptivna distinktivnost.⁷

3. Nove tendencije lančanog pomeranja vokala

3.1. Drugo veliko pomeranje vokala?

Ovaj deo započecemo kratkim pregledom tzv. „drugog velikog pomeranja vokala“ engleskog jezika, koje je analizirao Bauer na primeru novozelandskog (Bauer 1979). Nadovezujući se na zapažanje Hokinsa (Hawkins 1973; 1976), Bauer navodi da novozelandski engleski predstavlja dalju fazu u razvoju engleskog jezika u odnosu na standardni britanski (RP) (Bauer 1979: 57). Među promenama koje su nastupile u novozelandskom engleskom pre nego u standardnom britanskom,

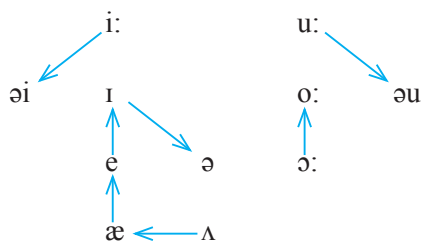
⁶ Teorija disperzije nastala je na osnovu istraživanja strukturnih karakteristika velikog broja fonoloških sistema, prikupljenih u bazi UCLA Phonological Segment Inventory Database (Maddieson 1984), koja obuhvata sisteme 451 jezika.

⁷ Na taj način elementi tokom vremena teže ka distribuciji koja je najpovoljnija. U prilog tome govori činjenica da su univerzalno najčešći sistemi koji sadrže pet vokala (i, e, a, u, o) ravnomerno raspoređenih u vokalskom prostoru. Prema Madisonu (Maddieson 1984), ovakav vokalski sistem prisutan je čak u 20% jezika sveta. Samuels (2006) posmatra ovakav razvoj vokalskih sistema kao svojevrsni evolutivni („darvinovski“) proces, gde „najjači opstaje“. Taj sistem je, prema istraživanjima, ne samo univerzalno najčešći, nego i najlakši za usvajanje, odnosno nemarkiran je, prema Jakobsonovoj teoriji markiranosti. Ovo ne treba shvatiti doslovno, odnosno, da je krajnji ishod razvoja jezika uvek nemarkirani sistem, jer i unutar tog sistema vremenom dolazi do disbalansa i daljih promena vokalskih sistema, kao što je slučaj francuskog u odnosu na latinski.

Bauer navodi vokalizaciju velarizovanog alofona konsonanta /l/ (dark [ɫ]), diftongizaciju vokala /i:/ i /u:/, neutralizaciju vokala /ɪ/ i /ə/ u nenaglašenom slogu i promenu finalnog /i/ koje po kvalitetu ima karakteristike perifernog vokala /i:/ u rečima poput *lovely* i *happy*. Bauer smatra da je novozelandski u tom smislu „napredniji“ od standardnog britanskog, u kom iste promene nastupaju hronološki kasnije.

U glavnom delu svog rada “The second Great Vowel Shift” Bauer izlaže podatke o lančanom pomeranju vokala, za koje predviđa da su preteča sličnog pomeranja vokala u standardnom britanskom engleskom. Prvi vokal koji autor analizira, ne tvrdeći da je on pokretač lančanog kretanja, jeste kratki centralni vokal /ʌ/, koji se pomerio ka prednjoj regiji vokalskog prostora. Time je ugrozio distinktivnost sa vokalom /æ/, koji je potisnut ili na viši nivo la kvalitetu /ɛ/, ili je podlegao diftongizaciji u kvalitet [æə] ili [eə]. Naredni vokal „pod udarom“ je /e/, koji se takođe podiže za jedan stepen i time zalazi u akustičko-perceptivni prostor vokala /ɪ/. Kratki vokal /ɪ/ se stoga centralizuje i približava se centralnom vokalu /ə/. Između ova dva vokala, prema Baueru, dolazi do neutralizacije.⁸ Bauer takođe zapaža da visoki vokal /i:/ podleže diftongizaciji, menjajući se u [əi]. Visoki vokal zadnjeg reda /u:/ ne samo da dobija prirodu diftonga kvaliteta [əu], već podleže i znatnom pomeranju ka prednjem delu vokalskog prostora. U diftongizaciju ova dva duga vokala Bauer prepoznaje identični proces koji se odigrao u promeni od srednjoengleskih vokala /i:/ i /u:/. Među monoftonzima zadnjeg reda, Bauer zapaža još podizanje vokala /ɔ:/, koji se podiže i dobija kvalitet zatvorenijeg vokala /o:/.

Promene među monoftonzima mogu se sumirati sledećim dijagramom (slika 4):



Slika 4

Bauer takođe zapaža promenu kojoj su podlegli diftonzi /ei/ i /ai/. Ovi diftonzi, naime menjaju prvi element, tako da se diftong /ei/ dobija kvalitet [ai], odnosno spušta prvi element za jedan stepen, a potonji /ai/ pod pritiskom pomera prvi element ka zadnjem delu vokalskog prostora, odnosno postaje [ɔi].

⁸ Valja imati u vidu da neutralizacija ne ugrožava distinkciju, s obzirom na to da se originalni vokal /ə/ javlja samo u nenaglašenoj poziciji.

3.1.1. Kritika Bauerove teorije

Bauerova teza o „drugom velikom pomeranju vokala“ naišla je na oštru kritiku u radu Ričarda Metjuza naslovljenom „The second Great Vowel Shift?‘‘ (Matthews 1981). Metjuz nalazi brojne zamerke u pogledu metodologije (koja je prevashodno deskriptivna), interpretacije i verodostojnosti podataka, kao i sociolingvističkih podataka, koji su u velikoj meri slobodno interpretirani. Metjuz zaključuje da Bauer previđa da je razvoj novozelandskog vokalskog sistema dobrim delom uslovljen nekadašnjim uticajem koknija i starijih odlika standardnog britanskog koji su „iseljeni“ u nekadašnje kolonije (Matthews 1981: 25).

Iako Bauerova analiza relativno korektno prikazuje proces lančanog pomeranja u novozelandskom engleskom, Baueru se svakako može zameriti to što ovaj proces posmatra kao neumitnu promenu koja nagoveštava tok budućih procesa u drugom dijalektu. Ovakvo viđenje lančanog pomeranja kao jedinog mogućeg puta demantuju realni podaci iz savremenog britanskog standarda. Ono nam takođe ukazuje na to da se promena mora posmatrati isključivo na nivou jednog dijalekta.⁹

3.2. Lančano pomeranje vokala u savremenom britanskom

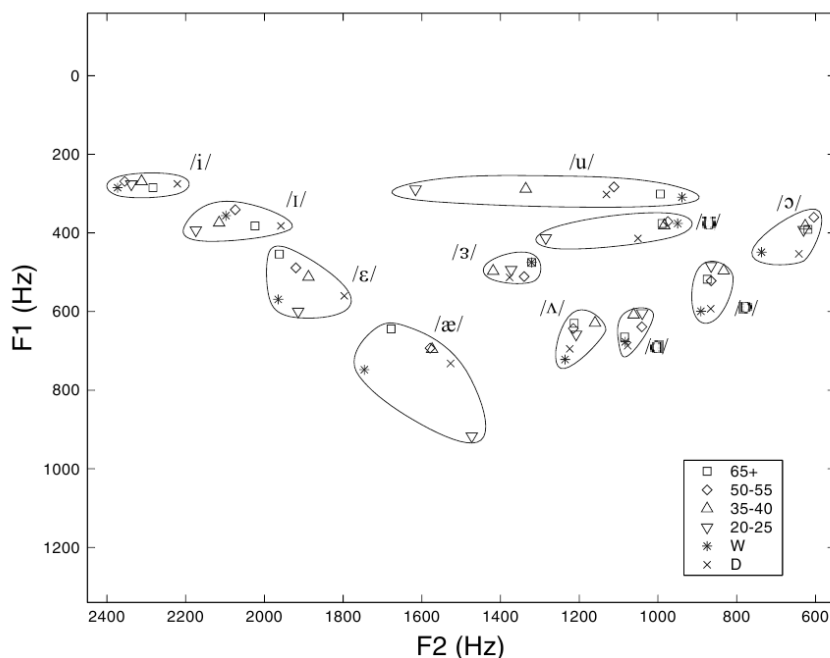
Kao što je poznato iz literature, pojam standardnog britanskog engleskog veoma je širok. Prema Gimsonu (Gimson and Cruttenden 1994), on obuhvata opšti standardni engleski (General RP), „prefinjeni“ ili „konzervativni“ standard (Refined RP) i regionalni standardni jezik (Regional RP), koji pored odlika opšteg standarda uključuje i svojevrsne regionalne varijacije. Pojava koju ćemo posmatrati u ovom radu odnosi se na opšti standardni engleski (prema Hawkins and Midgley 2005) i regionalni standardni engleski kojim se govori u jugoistočnoj Engleskoj, odnosno, u široj londonskoj regiji. Ova varijanta standardnog engleskog ima svoje fonološke, kao i sociolingvističke specifičnosti. U literaturi se ovaj dijalekt često naziva Estuary English (termin koji je skovao D. Rosewarne, 1994). S obzirom na to da je on govorni dijalekt Londona, on sadrži elemente istočnolondonskog dijalekta koknija¹⁰ kao i opšteg standardnog jezika, a s obzirom na to da je to govor „prestonice“, on predstavlja svojevrsnu novu prestižnu varijantu engleskog jezika među mlađim obrazovnim go-

⁹ Katkada promena može biti inicirana uticajem drugog dijalekta, ali putevi promene mogu biti različiti čak i u dva dijalekta koji imaju međusobne uticaje.

¹⁰ Kokni je dijalekt kojim govore pripadnici radničke klase, ali se povezuje i sa Londonom uopšte, te stoga ne iznenađuje činjenica da su mnoge karakteristike koknija, poput glotalizacije bezvučnih ploziva, vokalizacije laterala /l/ i brojnih vokalskih promena delimično ušle u govor obrazovanih pripadnika mlađih generacija. Neke karakteristike, poput elizije frikativa /h/, zamene ploziva glotalnim okluzivom u intervokalskom okruženju, i neke vokalske promene i dalje se smatraju supstandardnim i izbegavaju se među obrazovanim govornicima.

vornicima.¹¹ Fonološki sistem ovog novog standarda ima karakteristične realizacije i u sistemu konsonanata i vokala, ali ćemo se u ovom radu baviti samo vokalima.

U studiji koju su sprovedi Sara Hokins i Džonatan Midgley (Hawkins and Midgley 2005) ispitanici su bili govornici opšteg standardnog engleskog, podeljeni u četiri starosne grupe: starosti 65-73, 50-55, 35-40 i 20-25 godina. Ispitanici (muškog pola) birani su tako da starosni opseg bude do pet godina, a razlika među grupama je deset godina, da bi se izbeglo moguće preklapanje među grupama. Ispitanici su izgovarali pojedinačne reči, koje su sadržale ciljani monoftong u okruženju *hVd*. Ova longitudinalna studija zasniva se na akustičkoj analizi, gde se kvalitet vokala utvrđuje putem formantskih frekvencija prvog i drugog formanta spektra (F1 i F2). Rezultati su prikazani u koordinatnom sistemu ukrštenih vrednosti F1 i F2 u akustičkom vokalskom prostoru.¹² Na sledećoj slici prikazane su prosečne vrednosti prema starosnim grupama. Grafikon takođe sadrži podatke iz literature (Wells 1962; Deterding 1990, prema Cruttenden and Gimson 2001).



Slika 5 (prema Hawkins and Midgley 2005)

¹¹ Kako navodi Gimson (Gimson and Cruttenden 1994: 79), mlađe generacije obrazovanih govornika odbacuju tzv. konzervativni RP, pošto ga povezuju sa establišmentom.

¹² O prikazivanju vokala u akustičkom vokalskom prostoru pomoću formantskih frekvencija videti Ivić i Lehiste (1967: 58).

Na osnovu ovih rezultata uočava se nekoliko značajnih pomeranja među generacijama. Najstabilniji su vokali srednjeg reda /ɜ:/ i /ʌ/, i vokali zadnjeg reda /ɔ:/, /ɒ/ i /ɑ:/, koji ne pokazuju velika odstupanja među generacijama. Relativno stabilan je i visoki prednji vokal /i:/, koji pokazuje blagu tendenciju kretanja ka krajnjoj prednjoj poziciji. Slično kretanje, premda značajnije, uočava se i kod kratkog vokala /ɪ/. Najuočljivije promene, koje se mogu tumačiti kao lančane, izražene su u vokalima prednjeg reda /e/ i /æ/, kao i u vokalima zadnjeg reda /u:/ i /ʊ/.

Vokali prednjeg reda /e/ i /æ/ pokazuju jasnu tendenciju spuštavanja na niži nivo u izgovoru mlađih generacija, tako da /æ/ dobija obeležje niskog vokala. Na osnovu ovog kretanja nedvosmisleno se može zaključiti da Bauerovo predviđanje nije tačno, s obzirom na to da u standardnom britanskom lančana promena ide u suprotnom smeru od one u novozelandskom.

Promena vokala zadnjeg reda /u:/ i /ʊ/ uključuje izrazito pomeranje dugog vokala ka centralnoj, pa čak i prednjoj poziciji vokalskog prostora u izgovoru najmlađe grupe, kao i izrazitu centralizaciju kratkog vokala, ponovo najočigledniju kod mlađih ispitanika. Ovo kretanje visokih vokala zadnjeg reda predstavlja izazov fonološkoj teoriji markiranosti, s obzirom na to da prototipični vokal /u/ zauzima krajnju zadnju visoku poziciju. U literaturi se ovo pomeranje najčešće tumači time (Samuels 2006) što prednja visoka pozicija vokalskog prostora ima veliku prazninu u centralnom delu (budući da ne postoji kontrast između visokog prednjeg, srednjeg i zadnjeg vokala), te pomeranjem vokala zadnjeg reda /u:/ ne nastaje opasnost od gubljenja distinktivnosti sa prednjim vokalom. Iako Hokins i Midgley ne smatraju da je ovo kretanje ka anteriornoj poziciji uslovljeno, valja primetiti da veoma visoka pozicija vokala zadnjeg reda /ɔ:/, koje zapravo postaje /o:/, perceptivno ugrožava distinktivnost sa prototipičnim /u:/, te stoga verujemo da je i ovo kretanje lančano uslovljeno.¹³

Na osnovu rezultata Hokinsove i Midglij, može se zaključiti da je u savremenom standardnom britanskom u toku lančano pomeranje perifernih vokala u smeru suprotnom od kretanja kazaljke na satu, ali ono ne uključuje sve periferne vokale (Hawkins and Midgley 2005: 184, 194).

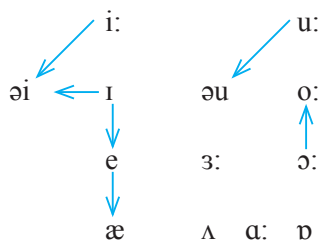
Da bismo upotpunili sliku savremenih tendencija u vokalskom sistemu britanskog engleskog, navešćemo i rezultate istraživanja u okviru kojih smo ispitivali troje govornika mlađe generacije, a koji su govornici regionalnog standardnog engleskog londonske regije (Marković 2007; 2012; neobjavljeno istraživanje koje je u toku). Govornica ženskog pola u vreme istraživanja imala je 25 godina, dok su dvojica ispitanika muškog pola imala 24 i 26 godina.

¹³ Hokins i Midgli navode izrazito visok izgovor vokala /ɔ:/ u produkciji govornika starosne grupe 50-55 koji je rodnom iz Esekse i pod jakim uticajem londonskog govora (Hawkins and Midgley 2005: 190).

Rezultati akustičke analize vokala naših ispitanika pokazuju i promene na koje se ne ukazuje eksplicitno u istraživanju Hawkins and Midgley 2005. Pre svega, kod svih ispitanika se visoki vokali /i:/ i /u:/ realizuju kao diftonzi. Vokal /i:/ sadrži centralizovani, relativno visok prvi element, tako da po kvalitetu ovaj diftong može da se predstavi kao [ii]. Auditivno, prvi element percipira se kao centralni vokal [ə]. Vokal /u:/ takođe se realizuje kao diftong i izrazito je pomeren ka prednjem delu vokalskog prostora, odnosno, ima kvalitet koji se može predstaviti simbolom [iü]. Prvi element takođe auditivno podseća na centralno [ə]. Diftonska realizacija nije ograničena na otvoreni slog, kao što je slučaj kod nekih pripadnika starije generacije, već se realizuje u svim pozicijama. U tom pogledu, može se reći da se u savremenom engleskom jeziku replicira diftongizacija visokih vokala kao u srednjoengleskom.¹⁴

Kao i u istraživanju Hawkins and Midgley (2005), i naši rezultati ukazuju na lančano kretanje prednjih vokala /e/ i /æ/ na niže pozicije, relativno stabilne centralne vokale /ɜ:/ i /ʌ/ i niske vokale zadnjeg reda /ɒ/ i /ɑ:/. Takođe, kod naših govornika još je izraženije kretanje kratkog vokala /ʊ/ ka prednjoj regiji vokalskog prostora. Ono što je takođe izraženo u produkciji mlađih govornika londonske regije jeste i veoma zatvoren izgovor, odnosno visok položaj zadnjeg vokala /ɔ:/. Usled ovakvog izgovora, vokal /ɔ:/ auditivno veoma nalikuje prototipičnom vokalu /u/, ali zbog pomeranja vokala /u:/ i /ʊ/, nije ugrožena distinktivnost sa ovim fonemama.

Obrazac kretanja vokala u savremenom engleskom zapažen na osnovu literature i navedenih istraživanja možemo predstaviti sledećim modelom:



Slika 6

Analiza prikazanih rezultata jasno ukazuje na pravac kretanja vokala suprotno od kretanja kazaljke časovnika u sistemu monoftonga savremenog standardnog engleskog jezika.

¹⁴ Zbog ograničenog prostora, nećemo izlagati problem o kom se diskutuje u literaturi, naime, da li je do diftongizacije došlo prvobitno centralizacijom, pa zatim spuštanjem prvog elementa (tj. /i:/ → /əi/ → /ei/ → /ai/, odnosno /u:/ → /əu/ → /ou/ → /au/), ili direktnim spuštanjem prvog elementa (/i:/ → /ei/ → /ai/, odnosno /u:/ → /ou/ → /au/). Savremena tendencija svakako govori u prilog kretanju s prvobitnom centralizacijom.

4. Zaključak

Dok su nekadašnje dijahrone fonološke promene mogle da se proučavaju samo preko indirektnih dokaza, uglavnom na osnovu ortografije i rekonstrukcije nekadašnjih izgovora, savremene tehnike akustičke analize pružaju mogućnost da se dijahrone promene beleže u toku, odnosno, da se dokumentuju postepene promene koje se dešavaju čak i između uzastopnih generacija govornika istog dijalekta. Rezultati koje smo naveli u radu potvrđuju auditivna zapažanja iz ranije literature, ali omogućuju i detaljniju analizu savremenih fonoloških procesa. Dok istorijske promene iz ranijih perioda mogu da se predstave tek kada je promena bila potpuna, odnosno jedna fonema potpuno promenila kvalitet u drugu, promene u sadašnjem trenutku mogu da pokažu tendenciju i omoguće predviđanja šta se sa određenim glasom, odnosno grupom glasova, potencijalno može desiti u daljem razvoju jezika (odnosno dijalekta).

U ovom radu razmatrali smo promene sistema monoftonga.¹⁵ Na osnovu prikazanog jasno je da trenutno prestižni dijalekt savremenog britanskog jezika podleže sistemskoj lančanoj promeni, u smeru suprotnom od kazaljke časovnika. Da li će se ova promena zaustaviti, ili čak promeniti smer, ne može se reći, jer na to utiču i brojni sociolingvistički faktori, kao što su uticaji drugih dijalekata, pritisak standarda i obrazovnog sistema.

Rezultati analize savremenog britanskog standarda nesumnjivo ukazuju na neke promene koje su slične promenama u okviru velikog pomeranja vokala, ali pokazuju takođe da promena ne mora nužno da se dešava u istom smeru. Moguće objašnjenje spuštanja prednjih vokala /e/ i /æ/ može biti posledica ranije centralizacije kratkog vokala /ɪ/, koja je donekle ugrozila akustičko-auditivno polje vokalskog prostora vokala /e/. Tendencija anteriornog pomeranja vokala /u:/ može imati objašnjenje u podizanju zadnjeg vokala /ɔ:/.¹⁶ Kao i u ranijim periodima, teško je utvrditi šta je incijalni pokretač pomeranja, ali prikazani rezultati govore u prilog teoriji disperzije i uzajamnom uticaju svih elemenata vokalskog sistema.

Budući da je pravac kretanja očigledno specifičan za određeno govorno područje, odnosno dijalekt ili varijetet, ne može se govoriti o lančanom pomeranju kao delu „velikog plana“ na nivou čitavog jezika, niti proces zapažen u jednom dijalektu može predvideti kretanja u drugom dijalektu, što je, očigledno, najveći nedostatak Bauerove teze o „drugom pomeranju vokala“. U tom smislu, na lančano

¹⁵ Tendencije lančanog pomeranja zapažaju se i u izgovoru diftonga prema specifičnim mehanizmima, ali zbog ograničenog prostora, njih nismo analizirali u ovom radu.

¹⁶ Ovde se može postaviti pitanje zbog čega u američkom engleskom onda dolazi do veoma sličnog pomeranja vokala /u:/, s obzirom na to da je vokal /ɔ:/ u američkom postao nizak vokal kvaliteta [ɒ:]. Ne treba gubiti iz vida i to da i u američkom varijetetu postoji i /o:/ ispred sonanta /r/, te je ovaj deo vokalskog prostora relativno ispunjen kontrastima.

kretanje ne može se gledati sa teleološkog aspekta, kao na neku vrstu „svrsishodne“ promene koja teži nekom konačnom cilju.

Može se spekulirati o tome zašto je engleski jezik toliko podložan lančanim vokalskim promenama, kako u prošlosti, tako i danas. Moguć odgovor je u kompleksnosti sistema, odnosno, u velikom broju vokalskih fonema na ograničenom vokalskom prostoru. S obzirom na to, malo pomeranje u izgovoru jedne foneme dovešće do preraspodele vokalskog prostora da bi se očuvala distinktivnost, tako da će veoma lako doći do promene artikulacionog, akustičkog i auditivnog kvaliteta glasova. Sistemi s manjim brojem fonema, ravnomerno raspoređenih u vokalskom prostoru stoga su stabilniji i robusniji, jer dozvoljavaju relativno velik prostor za varijaciju u kvalitetu, bez ugrožavanja distinktivnosti.

Zaključak koji se nameće jeste da u današnje vreme, zahvaljujući savremenoj tehnologiji, longitudinalna istraživanja izgovora mogu umnogome da doprinesu razumevanju logike lančanih promena u jezicima, kao i teoriji usvajanja jezika i lingvističkoj teoriji uopšte. Stoga istoričarima jezika, fonolozima i fonetičarima predstoji uzbudljiv zadatak prikupljanja što većih govornih baza, ne samo engleskog, već i svih drugih jezika, koje će pomoći da se rasvetle ova i druga pitanja dijahrone, ali i sinhrone lingvistike.

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THE GREAT VOWEL SHIFT THEN AND NOW

Summary

This paper deals with the phonological process attested in contemporary British English, which is reminiscent of the phenomenon that took place in English

between 1400 and 1750, known as The Great Vowel Shift. The process we are dealing with also shows the tendency of a chain shift of vowels inside the vowel space. There are numerous theoretical disputes regarding the nature, direction and inception of the Great Vowel Shift. We begin by giving the account of the historic Great Vowel Shift, we then present the theories of the direction of the shift, its causes and principles, as well as some issues debated in the literature. We proceed by viewing the process within the frame of the Dispersion Theory, which takes into account the internal structure of vocalic systems. The main part of the paper is the account of the vocalic system of contemporary Standard British English. The changes in the quality of vowels observed over the past fifty years point to a specific direction of a new vocalic shift. The results are based on experimental studies in the literature and research conducted by the author.

Key words: the Great Vowel Shift, chain shift, vowels, Dispersion Theory, English language

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METAFORIČKI SPORTSKI TERMINI SA IZVORNIM DOMENOM RATA U ENGLESKOM JEZIKU I NJIHOVO PREVOĐENJE NA SRPSKI

Rad se bavi kontrastivnom analizom metaforičkih sportskih termina sa izvornim domenom rata u engleskom i srpskom jeziku, iz perspektive kognitivne lingvistike. Analiza se zasniva na korpusu od 156 metaforičkih termina igara loptom, koji su ekscerpirani iz rečnika pod naslovom *Englesko-srpski rečnik sportskih termina* (Milić 2006). Na osnovu analize korpusa mogu se izvući sledeći zaključci. Uopšteno, metafora je produktivnija u engleskom jeziku. Međutim, kada se radi o metaforičkim terminima sa izvornim domenom rata, produktivnost metafore je približno ista u oba jezika, pri čemu postoji značajan stepen formalne korespondencije u ovoj vrsti konceptualizacije sportskog domena, što može da ukaže na značajan stepen univerzalnosti metafore rata u sportu.

Ključne reči: engleski jezik, pojmovna metafora, sport, srpski jezik, terminologija

1. Uvod

Rad se bavi kontrastivnom analizom sportskih termina u engleskom i srpskom jeziku koji su nastali metaforičkim prenosom značenja iz izvornog domena rata. Analiza je izvršena na korpusu srodnih ekipnih sportova, koji obuhvata termine pet igara loptom. To su: fudbal, košarka, odbojka, rukomet i vaterpolo. S obzirom na činjenicu da je terminologija relativno uređen sistem koji se zasniva na izvesnom stepenu konvencije i dogovora, metafora nije stilska figura već se posmatra kao pojmovna kategorija, u skladu sa tumačenjem kognitivne lingvistike. Budući da sport nije toliko podložan inovacijama već više promenjenim stavovima prema postojećim pojmovima, sportski termini su, uopšteno, postojani u formalnom i sadržinskom smislu, usled čega se nameće pretpostavka da se ovde može govoriti samo o metaforičkom poreklu termina a ne o kognitivnoj funkciji termina u upotrebi.

Nadalje, s obzirom na činjenicu da je najveći broj savremenih sportova nastao na engleskom govornom području, te da je sportska terminologija u srpskom jeziku nastala adaptacijom termina iz engleskog jezika, može se pretpostaviti da postoji izvestan uticaj kulturološkog faktora, usled čega metaforički termini u engleskom jeziku nemaju uvek formalne korespondente u srpskom. Izlaganje je podeljeno u četiri odeljka. Nakon Uvoda, 2. odeljak predstavlja teorijski okvir istraživanja, 3. odeljak se bavi analizom korpusa, nakon koje slede zaključci u 4. odeljku. Prilikom navođenja primera, engleski termini napisani su kurzivno, a srpski malim verzalom, dok simboli „>” i „<” označavaju pravac adaptacije, iz engleskog jezika u srpski, odnosno u srpskom iz engleskog.

2. Teorijski okvir

Istraživanje pripada polju kognitivne lingvistike, pri čemu se metafora posmatra kao pojmovna kategorija u skladu sa tumačenjem Lakoffa i Johnsona (2003), Klikovac (2004), Kövecsesa (2002) i Evansa i Greena (2006). Prema tome, metafora nije samo u rečima koje upotrebljavamo, već je, pre svega, stvar mišljenja i, kao takva, upravlja našim opažanjem, postupcima i odnosima sa drugim ljudima, što znači da je metaforička leksička jedinica samo površinska realizacija pojmovne metafore. Razliku između leksičke i pojmovne metafore Lakoff i Johnson (2003: 4) ilustruju sledećim primerima: „Tvoje tvrdnje su neodbranljive“ (eng. *Your claims are indefensible*); „Napao je svaku slabu tačku moje argumentacije“ (eng. *He attacked every weak point in my argument*); „Njegova kritika je pogodila cilj“ (eng. *His criticisms were right on target*)¹. Izrazi: ‘neodbranljive tvrdnje’, ‘napasti slabe tačke argumentacije’ i ‘kritika pogađa cilj’ predstavljaju leksički nivo klasične pojmovne metafore RASPRAVA JE RAT, što znači da metafora nije samo u rečima, već i u našem shvatanju rasprave čiju strukturu postavljamo na osnovu rata. Prema tome, pojmovna metafora se zasniva na dva pojmovna domena, izvornom, iz koga potiču metaforički izrazi za razumevanje drugog pojmovnog domena, i ciljnog koji se shvata na osnovu izvornog. Kövecses (2002: 6) navodi da pojmovna metafora podrazumeva skup sistemskih ontoloških korespondencija između izvornog i ciljnog domena tako da elementi jednog domena odgovaraju elementima drugog. Uspostavljanje pojmovnih korespondencija između izvornog i ciljnog domena u literaturi se predstavlja terminom ‘preslikavanje’ (eng. *mapping*). U svetlu ovog tumačenja, metaforički termini predstavljaju leksičke jedinice koje nastaju iz pojmovnog preslikavanja iz izvornog domena u ciljni.

U literaturi se spominje i situacija združene metafore i metonimije, koja se javlja pod nazivom metaftonimija. Goossens (1990, prema Evansu i Greenu 2006: 319-

¹ Prevodi preuzeti od Klikovac (2002: 12).

320) navodi dve realizacije metaftonimije: metafora iz metonimije (eng. *metaphor from metonymy*) i metafora unutar metonimije (eng. *metaphor within metonymy*). Prvu ilustruje engleskim primerom *close-lipped* koji ima formalni korespondent u srpskom jeziku ‘stisnutih usana’ (Dragićević 2007: 166), gde je metaforičko značenje stisnutih usana GOVORITI A NE REČI MNOGO nastalo iz metonimije SASTAVLJENE USNE ZNAČE ČUTANJE. Drugu ilustruje engleskim primerom *catch someone’s ear* (srp. privući nečiju pažnju; doslovno: uhvatiti nečije uho), koji nema formalni korespondent u srpskom jeziku. U engleskom jeziku metafora PAŽNJA JE POKRETNOST FIZIČKI ENTITET realizuje se unutar metonimijskog odnosa UHO JE PAŽNJA.

Na osnovu Raadovog tumačenja (1989: 134, prema Dubucu [1997: 132]) da se metaforičkim terminima postiže bolji komunikativni efekat zahvaljujući nepreciznosti i sugestivnosti jezika, moglo bi se pretpostaviti da metafora u velikoj meri doprinosi preciznosti i prozirnosti termina pošto dopunjuje znanje o ciljnom domenu čulno saznatljivim informacijama iz izvornog domena. S obzirom na dvosmernu vezu između između sporta i metafore, ne samo da su mnogi sportski termini nastali metaforičkim prenosom značenja iz drugih registara, već i sam sport sve više postaje metaforički izvor (Beard 1998: 53). Međutim, mnogo je više literature koja se bavi sportom kao izvornim domenom nego sportom kao ciljnim. Pri tome, fudbal je najzastupljenija sportska disciplina. Ovde valja dodati još i to da je predmet istraživanja najčešće diskurs sporta a ređe sama sportska terminologija, što može biti posledica toga što su metaforički termini toliko integrisani u terminološki sistem da je njihova metaforičnost vremenom oslabila. Smanjena metaforičnost termina može se objasniti u svetlu savremene lingvističke teorije terminologije, te tumačenja da metafora zahvata tri nivoa – pojamovnu metaforu, leksičku metaforu i metaforu kao stilsku figuru (Dragićević 2007: 147). U skladu sa lingvističkom teorijom terminologije, termin je leksička jedinica čija se forma vezuje za određeni pojam i čije je značenje definisano u odgovarajućem predmetnom registru (Milić 2004: 22), usled čega se ovde radi o leksičkom nivou metafore, koji predstavlja odraz potrebe šire jezičke zajednice za određenim jezičkim izrazom. Kao posledica toga pojamovna metafora je samo mehanizam stvaranja novog značenja, usled čega se može pre govoriti o metaforičkom poreklu termina nego o njegovoj metaforičnosti tokom upotrebe. Slabljenje metaforičnosti leksičke jedinice moglo bi se dovesti u vezu sa pojmom „mrtva metafora“ (eng. *dead metaphor*), koji označava metaforu koja je tokom upotrebe postala toliko konvencionalna da se više i ne doživljava kao metafora (Kövecses 2002: ix), iako ovo tumačenje nije opšteprihvaćeno u literaturi (Lejkoff i Johnson 2003: 55).

Na kraju, s obzirom na činjenicu da sportska terminologija u srpskom jeziku nastaje adaptacijom termina iz engleskog jezika, logično je pretpostaviti da je udeo metaforičkih termina manji u srpskom jeziku, što opravdavaju dva razloga. Prvo, činjenica da je najveći broj savremenih sportova nastao na engleskom govornom

području i, drugo, uticaj kulturološkog faktora. Pri tome, valja imati na umu da je polazni jezik pri sastavljanju korpusa metaforičkih termina, uključujući i termine sa izvornim domenom rata, bio engleski, te da postoje i metaforički termini sa izvornim domenom rata u srpskom jeziku, koji predstavljaju prevodne ekvivalente nemetaforičkih engleskih termina, npr. *backward (player)* > ODBRAMBENI (IGRAČ), doslovno ZADNJI (IGRAČ), *forward (line)* > (LINIJA) NAPADA, doslovno PREDNJA (LINIJA) i *forward (player)* > NAPADAČ, doslovno PREDNJI (IGRAČ). Postojanje ovakvih termina osporava pretpostavku o većoj produktivnosti metafore rata u engleskom jeziku međutim, to nije moglo da se utvrdi analizom ovoga korpusa.

3. Analiza korpusa

Korpus ovog rada čine metaforički termini igara loptom u engleskom i srpskom jeziku, koji su ekscerpirani iz *Englesko-srpskog rečnika sportskih termina* (Milić 2006) sa približno 1300 rečničkih odrednica u registru pet najpopularnijih igara loptom u nas. To su: fudbal, košarka, odbojka, rukomet i vaterpolo. Ukupan broj termina nastalih metaforičkim prenosom značenja iznosi 156, pri čemu najveći broj termina (67) ima izvorni domen rata. Pošto iz rečnika nisu preuzeti svi izvedeni oblici metaforičkih termina, kao ni manji broj metaforičkih engleskih termina kod kojih je izvršena adaptacija preoblikovanjem² na srpski jezik, koji, po pravilu, gube to svojstvo u srpskom jeziku, valja napomenuti da je stvarni broj engleskih primera u korpusu veći od iskazanog. Srpski termini su standardizovani po modelu Milić (2004: 65-90), pri čemu su postojeći varijantni termini za isti pojam, koji imaju frekvenciju upotrebe, hijerarhijski uređeni, u skladu sa šest principa standardizacije (jednoznačnost, prozirnost, sistemnost, produktivnost, kratkoća i učestalost). Za ovo istraživanje najznačajnija su dva principa – jednoznačnost i prozirnost, pošto je, njihovom primenom, manji broj metaforičkih varijanata izgubio status standardnog termina.

Pošto sportski termini po svojim morfosintakskim svojstvima mogu biti jednočlani i frazni (Milić 2013: 69), prenesena značenja mogu biti obeležje celovite odrednice ili jednog člana fraznog termina, najčešće prideva. Na osnovu semantičkih i funkcijskih obeležja, metaforičke reči sa izvornim domenom rata mogu se svrstati u četiri kategorije (Bergh 2011: 87). To su: vršioци radnje (imenice), npr. *attacker* > NAPADAČ; radnje (glagoli), npr. *attack* > NAPASTI; aktivnosti/stanja/rezultati (imenice), npr. *attack* > NAPAD; i imenički modifikatori (imenice/pridevi), npr. *attacking (team)* > (TIM) U NAPADU.

² Termin je preuzet od Prčića (2011a: 124) i podrazumeva „preuzimanje novog oblika i njemu pridružene nove sadržine“.

Budući da se rad bavi kontrastivnom analizom metaforičkih termina sa izvornim domenom rata u engleskom jeziku i njihovim prevodnim ekvivalentima u srpskom, analiza korpusa temelji se na strategijama prevođenja metaforičkih termina sa engleskog jezika na srpski, koje je definisala Silaški (2012: 112-118). Autorka izdvaja dve osnovne strategije: $M \Rightarrow M$ (metaforički engleski termin preveden je metaforičkim terminom na srpski jezik) i $M \Rightarrow D$ (metaforički termin preveden je nemetaforičkim terminom na srpski jezik), koje dalje klasifikuje prema izvornom domenu i postupku prevođenja. Prema tome, ova analiza obuhvata sledeće strategije: $M \Rightarrow M$, metaforički engleski termin preveden je metaforičkim terminom na srpski jezik, pri čemu metaforički termini imaju isti ili različit izvorni domen, i $M \Rightarrow D$, metaforički termin preveden je nemetaforičkim terminom na srpski jezik. Strategije su ilustrovane primerima, pri čemu se uz engleski termin navodi oznaka registra, koja je predstavljena spuštenim početnim slovom naziva igre loptom u srpskom jeziku, neposredno iza odrednice, izuzev kada se radi o terminu koji pripada registrima svih pet igara. Semantička analiza engleskih i srpskih termina zasniva se na tumačenju u rečnicima koji se navode skraćenicama u daljem tekstu. To su: *CCED* (*Collins Cobuild English Dictionary* 1995), *RSJ* (*Rečnik srpskoga jezika* 2007) i *VRSRI* (*Veliki rečnik stranih reči i izraza* 2006).

3.1. Strategija $M \Rightarrow M$

U ovoj strategiji metaforički engleski termin preveden je metaforičkim terminom na srpski jezik. Ukupan broj termina prevedenih primenom ove strategije u korpusu svih metaforičkih termina iznosi 85. Broj termina koji imaju formalni korespondent (termini sa istim izvornim domenom) iznosi 67, što iznosi 44% od ukupnog broja termina u korpusu. Zanimljivo je da je ovaj rezultat isti kao rezultat kontrastivne analize Lewandowskog (2009: 46), koja je izvršena na korpusu engleskih i poljskih metaforičkih termina u fudbalu sa izvornim domenom drugih sportova, gde metaforički termini u ta dva jezika, prema redosledu njihovog navođenja, stoje u odnosu 56% prema 44%. Bez obzira na delimično različit predmet analize, analiza korpusa u ovom radu potvrđuje zaključak Lewandowskog (2009: 46) da je metafora produktivnija u engleskom jeziku, što autor tumači kao posledicu obimnijeg vokabulara u engleskom jeziku, kao i činjenice da je najveći broj savremenih sportova nastao u Velikoj Britaniji i Americi. Pošto se ova analiza bavi metaforičkim terminima sa izvornim domenom rata u engleskom i srpskom jeziku, sledeći odeljci se bave analizom metaforičkih termina koje to svojstvo imaju u oba jezika (3.1.1) i jednom od dva posmatrana jezika (3.1.2).

3.1.1. Metaforički termini sa izvornim domenom rata u oba jezika

Činjenica da najveći broj metaforičkih termina ima isti izvorni domen u engleskom i srpskom jeziku (67 od ukupno 156), od kojih 41 termin ima izvorni domen rata u oba jezika, potvrđuje zaključak Mišić-Ilić (2008: 25) da određena iskustva jesu engleska, isto toliko koliko i srpska, te da se osnovano može pretpostaviti da postoji izvestan stepen univerzalnosti. Polazeći od zapažanja Crofta i Crusea (2004: 204) da struktura izvornog domena zahvata celokupno enciklopedijsko znanje našeg fizičkog i kulturnog iskustva, te tumačenja Lejkoffa i Johnsona (1980: 5) da se naš diskursni obrazac svodi na strukturu borbe, moglo bi se pretpostaviti da se jedna od konvencionalnih metafora Lejkoffa i Johnsona (1980: 4) ARGUMENTOVANA RASPRAVA JE RAT (eng. *argument is war*), odnosno u igrama loptom UTKAMICA JE RAT, temelji na kulturološki neobebeženom iskustvu rata, koje se ne ispoljava samo u rečima koje upotrebljavamo već i u organizaciji ciljnog domena, našem shvatanju i postupcima u vezi sa njim. Sa istorijskog stanovišta, veza između rata i sporta temelji se još na antičkom shvatanju da je sport dobra priprema za ratne napore. U skladu sa tumačenjem Fourny i dr. (2007), u antičko vreme postojao je samo fudbal kao timski sport, što može da znači da svrha ostalih igara loptom nije bila priprema za vojne pohode, budući da su nastale tek krajem XIX (košarka, odbojka i vaterpolo) i početkom XX veka (rukomet). Međutim, ta veza u današnje vreme mogla bi se objasniti „vremenom u kome se sport pretvorio u zanimanje i zanat pomoću kojih sportista pribavlja sredstva za egzistenciju i ostvaruje zaradu“ (Koković 1990: 149), pri čemu sport postaje biznis koji je takođe konceptualno povezan sa ratnim domenom (Kovács 2007: 114-115).

U svetlu tumačenja metafore u kognitivnoj lingvistici, metaforički termini sa izvornim domenom rata imaju funkciju da nam omoguće da shvatimo određene pojmove u sportskom domenu putem konceptualnog preslikavanja iz izvornog domena u ciljni. Pri tome se utakmica shvata kao rat, timovi su zaraćene strane čiji cilj je pobjeda, a lopta je oružje ili živo biće.

UTAKMICA JE RAT koji se sastoji od NAPADA < *attack* i ODBRANE < *defence*. U napadu se primenjuje taktika: KONTRANAPADA < *counterattack*_{f,o,r,v}, BRZOG KONTRANAPADA < *fast break*_{f,k,r}, PROBIJANJA < *penetration*_o, NAMERNE PROVOKACIJE < *deliberate provocation*_r, NASILNE NEKOREKTNE IGRE < *violent foul play*_v i GRUBIH PREKRŠAJA < *brutality*_v. Odbrana se izvodi primenom taktike ČOVEK-NA-ČOVEKA < *man-to-man defence*_{f,k,r}, BLOKADOM < *block*_o, POSTAVLJANJEM RAMPE < *blocked shot*_k, ODBRAMBENOG ZIDA < *defensive wall*_f i ŽIVOG ZIDA < *wall*_p, pri čemu je površina na kojoj se nalaze odbrambeni igrači BRANJENI DEO TERENA < *strong side*_v, a ona na kojoj ih nema, NEBRANJENA ZONA < *weak side*_v.

EKIPE I IGRAČI PREDSTAVLJAJU DVE ZARAĆENE STRANE tj. PROTIVNIKE < *opponents*, od kojih jednu čine NAPADAČI < *attackers* a drugu ODBRAMBENI IGRAČI < *defenders*,

koji svoje zadatke na terenu izvršavaju pojedinačno ili grupno u određenoj FORMACIJI < *formation*. Njihov cilj je POBEDA < *victory*, odnosno DOBIJEN SET/UTAKMICA < *won set/match*_o, što se obeležava isticanjem POBEDNIČKE ZASTAVE < *victory flag*. Igrači su ratnici koji FIZIČKI NAPADAJU jedan drugog < *assault*_r, koji se UDARAJU LAKTOVIMA < *elbowing backwards*_v, NASKAČU JEDAN NA DRUGOG < *jumping into the opponent*_r i PODMEĆU JEDNI DRUGIMA NOGE < *trip*_{f,k}.

LOPTA JE ORUŽJE kojim se PUCA < *shoot*_{f,r}, koje se OSVAJA ili GUBI < *gain/lose possession of the ball*_{f,k,r,v}, koje se JAKO UDARA PESNICOM < *strike the ball with clenched fist*_v, KRADE < *steal*_{f,k,r,v} i ZAGRAĐUJE < *box out*_r. Kao što oružje može da progovori ili začuti, tako je i lopta živo biće, pa može biti ŽIVA < *live ball*, kad se njome igra, ili MRTVA < *dead ball*, kad se njome ne igra. Lopta je i SLOBODNA < *free ball* kada je ne kontroliše ni jedna ekipa.

Metaforičke reči sa izvornim domenom rata (proste, izvedene i složene) imaju različitu frekvenciju upotrebe. U celokupnom korpusu od 156 metaforičkih termina, najčešće su izvedene reči od osnove *shoot* > ŠUTIRATI, PUCATI. To su: imenice (*shot* > ŠUT, UDARAC NA GOL [8] i *shooter*_{f,k} > ŠUTER, STRELAC [2]) i glagol (*shoot*_{f,k} > ŠUTIRATI, PUCATI [1]). Slede izvedenice od osnove *defend* > BRANITI: imenice (*defence/defense* > ODBRANA [3], *defender* > ODBRAMBENI IGRAČ [1], *defensman*_r > ODBRAMBENI IGRAČ [1]) i pridevi (*defensive (team)* > ODBRAMBENI (TIM) [1] i *defending (team)* > ODBRAMBENI (TIM) [1]). Isti broj leksičkih realizacija ostvaruju i izvedenice od osnove *attack* > NAPASTI. To su: pridevi (*attacking (team)* > (TIM) U NAPADU [3], imenice (*attack* > NAPAD [1], *counterattack* > KONTRANAPAD [1] i *attacker* > NAPADAČ [1]) i glagol (*attack* > NAPASTI [1]). Na poslednjem mestu je pridev *free* > SLOBODAN (4). Ukupan broj primera po gramatičkim vrstama reči pokazuje da su najbrojnije imenice (18) zatim, pridevi (9) i, na kraju, glagoli (2). Najveći broj imenica (18 od ukupno 29 navedenih termina) na suženom segmentu metaforičkih sportskih termina sa izvornim ratnim domenom potvrđuje rezultate istraživanja Cabré (1999: 70, 173), Cabré i Estopà (2003) i Milić (2004: 32) da su termini pretežno imenice.

Iako najveći broj engleskih metaforičkih termina sa izvornim domenom rata ima formalni korespondent u srpskom jeziku, veza između rata i sporta nije ista kod svih termina, što je uglavnom slučaj sa terminima koji su pozajmljeni iz engleskog jezika u srpskom i iz latinskog jezika u engleskom i srpskom. Kad su u pitanju pozajmljenice iz engleskog jezika koje imaju i varijantne prevedene oblike u srpskom jeziku, veza između dva domena čvršća je u engleskom. Na primer, engleski glagol *shoot*, čije metaforičko značenje je preuzeto iz streljaštva, bio je predmet dvostruke adaptacije u srpskom jeziku (preoblikovanjem, ŠUTIRATI i prevodenjem, PUCATI), pri čemu preoblikovani oblik ima znatno veću frekvenciju upotrebe od metaforičkog prevodnog ekvivalenta sa izvornim domenom rata. Budući da je glagol ŠUTIRATI u srpskom jeziku izgubio metaforičnost, ne postoji ni veza između streljaštva i fudbala, na osnovu koje ŠUTIRATI znači baciti loptu na cilj, tj. na gol, usled čega se lopta

ŠUTIRA i kad se dodaje saigraču. Međutim, slabija veza sa streljaštvom sačuvana je u prevodnom ekvivalentu PUCATI, koji se prvenstveno upotrebljava u govornom jeziku, kao i u nazivima dva sporta, tj. NOGOMET i RUKOMET, od kojih je prvi potisnula pozajmljenica FUDBAL dok je drugi jedini naziv igre.

Kad se radi o pozajmljenicama iz latinskog jezika u engleskom i srpskom, na osnovu semantičke analize dva termina: *agression*_o > AGRESIJA i *formation* > FORMACIJA, stiče se utisak da je veza između dva domena slaba u oba jezika. U engleskom jeziku *aggression*, kao ratni termin, jeste drugo značenje odrednice, dok *formation* u smislu raspored (vojnih snaga) predstavlja pretposlednje, treće značenje odrednice (CCED 1995: 35, 666). Prema VRSRI (2006: 63, 1342), osnovno značenje prvog termina u srpskom jeziku je „napad u cilju osvajanja; upotreba sile u međudržavnim poslovima“, dok se značenje drugog termina u okviru ratnog registra navodi kao drugo značenje odrednice. Međutim, ni jedan opšti rečnik ne sadrži metaforičko značenje odrednica u sportskom registru, iako bi se moglo zaključiti da pozajmljeni oblici u engleskom jeziku imaju sposobnost za metaforički prenos značenja u sportski domen pošto oni postoje u sportskom registru, te da pozajmljeni oblici u srpskom nemaju tu sposobnost, budući da su pozajmljenice postale varijantni oblici standardnih termina: FIZIČKI NAPAD i RASPORED IGRAČA, pri čemu samo prvi ostvaruje slabiju vezu sa ratnim domenom dok drugi nema metaforičko značenje.

Nasuprot pozajmljenicama, kontrastivna semantička analiza u tekstu koji sledi pokazuje da engleski termini i njihovi prevodni ekvivalenti u srpskom jeziku, koji imaju najveću frekvenciju upotrebe u korpusu (*attack* > NAPAD, *attack* > NAPASTI, *defend* > BRANITI, *defence/defence* > ODBRANA i *free* > SLOBODAN), ostvaruju čvrstu vezu sa ratnim domenom u oba jezika, sudeći po tome što srpski termini nemaju varijantne oblike i što su metaforička značenja uključena u opšte rečnike engleskog i srpskog jezika.

U CCED (1995: 95), prvo značenje engleske odrednice *attack* (glagol i imenica) povezano je sa ratnim domenom, dok se metaforičko značenje u registru igara loptom navodi kao pretposlednje, peto značenje odrednice. Prema RSJ (2007: 781-782), značenje imenice NAPAD u ratnom domenu navodi se kao druga nijansa prvog značenja, dok se značenje u sportskom registru navodi kao treća nijansa prvog značenja odrednice, koje je suštinski isto kao u engleskom jeziku. Međutim, glagol NAPASTI, u smislu ratne aktivnosti, navodi se kao prva nijansa prvog značenja odrednice, dok njegovo metaforičko značenje u sportu predstavlja treće značenje odrednice od ukupno šest značenja.

Engleski glagol *defend* (CCED 1995: 428) ima osnovno značenje OD-/BRANITI (NEKOGA/NEŠTO), pri čemu potreba za odbranom može biti posledica rata, dok se metaforičko značenje u sportskom registru navodi kao poslednje, četvrto značenje odrednice. Prema RSJ (2007: 855), prevodni ekvivalent ODBRANITI ima suštinski isto prvo značenje, uključujući i metaforičku nijansu sa ratnim domenom, dok

je metaforičko značenje u sportskom registru navedeno kao prva nijansa drugog značenja odrednice od ukupno četiri značenja. Engleska imenica *defence* (CCED 1995: 428) ima tri metaforička značenja koja imaju veze sa ratom (drugo, treće i četvrto), dok se metaforičko značenje u sportu navodi kao pretposlednje, peto značenje odrednice. Međutim, ODBRANA u smislu zaštite od neprijateljskog napada predstavlja prvo značenje prevodnog ekvivalenta u srpskom jeziku, dok se metaforičko značenje u sportskom registru navodi kao prva nijansa poslednjeg, četvrtog značenja odrednice (RSJ 2007: 855).

Na kraju, engleski pridev *free* (CCED 1995: 674) povezan je sa ratnim domenom u četvrtom značenju (neko ko je slobodan više nije zatvorenik ili rob), što je, u suštini, isto kao prvo značenje prevodnog ekvivalenta u srpskom jeziku (RSJ 2007: 1240). Pored toga, u oba rečnika se navode dve odrednice iz sportskog registra. To su: frazni termini SLOBODAN STIL (u plivanju, rvanju i skijanju [u engleskom]) i samo rvanju [u srpskom]) i SLOBODAN UDARAC (u fudbalu).

Na osnovu ove analize može se zaključiti da je veza između rata i sporta, kod termina koji imaju varijantne oblike u srpskom jeziku (preoblikovani i prevedeni) čvršća u engleskom jeziku, pošto preoblikovani metaforički termini gube to svojstvo u srpskom jeziku, dok metaforički prevodni ekvivalenti sa izvornim domenom rata u srpskom jeziku, imaju manju frekvenciju upotrebe. Međutim, ta veza kod latinskih pozajmljenica u engleskom i srpskom jeziku slaba je u oba jezika zbog slabije sposobnosti pozajmljenica za metaforički prenos značenja. Kad se radi o engleskim terminima sa najvećom frekvencijom upotrebe i njihovim prevodnim ekvivalentima u srpskom jeziku, veza između dva domena jednako je čvrsta u oba jezika, budući da srpski termini nemaju varijantne oblike i da su metaforička značenja u sportskom domenu navedena u opštim rečnicima engleskog i srpskog jezika.

Imajući u vidu činjenicu da je predmet ove analize termin kao leksička jedinica (vidi Odeljak 2), ovde se može govoriti samo o metaforičkom poreklu termina, što potvrđuje i zapažanje Lewandowskog (2009: 31) da su termini u fudbalu, koji su preuzeti iz streljaštva (npr. *fire* > ISPALITI, *shoot* > PUCATI, *shot* > POGODAK i *target* > META) toliko integrisani u sportski registar da je njihova metaforičnost vremenom oslabila. S obzirom na činjenicu da se pravila sportova, koji su uključeni u ovaj korpus, nisu suštinski menjala od njihovog nastanka, kao i da je najveći broj metaforičkih značenja sportskih termina uključen u opšte rečnike engleskog i srpskog jezika, ovo zapažanje Lewandowskog moglo bi se smatrati opštim obeležjem svih metaforičkih termina sa izvornim domenom rata.

Na kraju, valja istaći da je metaforičnost sportskih izraza sa izvornim domenom rata mnogo više izražena u medijskom jeziku nego u terminološkom sistemu. To potvrđuje Beardov (1998: 35) zaključak o velikoj frekvenciji upotrebe metafore rata u medijskom jeziku sporta, posebno ako se sportsko nadmetanje može dovesti u vezu sa stvarnim ratnim događajima. U prilog tome može se navesti i zaključak

Silaški (2009: 60) da je velika frekvencija upotrebe metaforičkih sportskih izraza u sportskim novinama, zasnovanih na metonimiji, povezana sa osnovnim ciljem da privuku pažnju čitalaca upečatljivim izrazom, posebno u novinskim naslovima. U tom smislu, metaforički izrazi sa izvornim domenom rata veoma su efektni, posebno u svetlu Orwellovog (1945) tumačenja da vrhunski sport nema nikakve veze sa fer-plejom, pošto je prepun mržnje, ljubomore, razmetljivosti, nepoštovanja pravila i sadističkog uživanja u nasilju, te da je to, drugim rečima, rat bez pucanja.

3.1.2. Metaforički termini sa izvornim domenom rata u jednom od dva jezika

Postojanje englesko-srpskih jezičkih kontakata u procesu stvaranja sportske terminologije u srpskom jeziku, upućuju na pretpostavku da je metafora u izvešnom stepenu i kulturološki obeležena. Značaj kulturološkog faktora posebno ističe Kövecses (2002: 186–189). Međutim, ova analiza pokazuje da kulturološki faktor nije značajan u sportskoj terminologiji, budući da korpus sadrži samo sedam metaforičkih termina kod kojih izvorni domen rata postoji samo u engleskom jeziku (3) ili samo u srpskom (4). Izraženo u procentima u odnosu na ukupan broj metaforičkih termina sa izvornim domenom rata, to iznosi približno 11%.

Situaciju u kojoj metaforički engleski termin sa izvornim domenom rata nema formalni korespondent u srpskom jeziku ilustruju primeri: *cross-court shot*_f > DIJAGONALA, *killing (the ball)*_o > UMRIVANJE (LOPTE) i *sudden death* > ZLATAN GOL. U prvom primeru terminološko značenje u srpskom jeziku dodato je odomaćenoj pozajmljenici iz latinskog, pri čemu bi se sportski termin DIJAGONALA mogao posmatrati i kao termin čije značenje je nastalo metaftonimijom. Metaforičko značenje UDARAC LOPTE ZNAČI LINIJA nastalo je na osnovu metonimije UDARAC LOPTE ZNAČI PUTANJA NJENOG KRETANJA. U drugom primeru se lopta u oba jezika shvata kao živo biće koje se u engleskom ubija, a u srpskom umiruje, dok u trećem odlučujući penal u engleskom jeziku donosi smrt ekipi koja se brani, odnosno zlata vrednu pobeđu protivničkoj, u srpskom.

Obrnutu situaciju u kojoj srpski metaforički termin sa izvornim domenom rata nema formalni korespondent u engleskom jeziku ilustruju četiri primera. To su: *boxing out*_f > ZAGRAĐIVANJE, *save a shot*_{f,r,v} > ODBRANITI GOL, *saving*_f > ODBRANA i *thunderbolt*_f > TOPOVSKI UDARAC. Izvorni domeni engleskih termina jesu: borilački sportovi (prvi primer), predmet koji se čuva (drugi i treći) i vremenska nepogoda (četvrti).

3.2. Strategija $M \Rightarrow D$

U ovoj strategiji prevođenja, metaforički engleski termin preveden je netaforičkim terminom na srpski jezik, koji je najčešće funkcijska aproksimacija en-

gleskog termina. Pod funkcijskom aproksimacijom podrazumeva se izražavanje sadržaja iz engleskog jezika leksičkim sredstvima u srpskom, tako da se što bliže i što vernije odrazi funkcija denotata (Prčić 2011: 179), pri čemu prevodni ekvivalent može biti i odomaćena pozajmljenica iz engleskog, francuskog i latinskog jezika. Činjenica da 56% engleskih termina u ukupnom korpusu od 156 metaforičkih termina nema formalni korespondent u srpskom jeziku, pri čemu su uključeni i metaforički termini sa različitim izvornim domenom (vidi Odeljak 3.1), upućuje na zaključak da je metafora manje produktivna u srpskom jeziku, što može biti posledica toga što je najveći broj analiziranih igara loptom nastao na engleskom govornom području, kao i činjenice da je danas engleski jezik stekao status službenog jezika sporta.

Analiza korpusa pokazuje da postoje tri grupe metaforičkih engleskih termina sa izvornim domenom rata, koji su prevedeni nemetaforičkim terminima na srpski jezik. To su parovi u kojima engleski termin sa izvornim domenom rata stoji prema: (a) odomaćenoj pozajmljenici iz engleskog jezika, (b) odomaćenoj pozajmljenici iz francuskog i latinskog jezika i (c) prevodnom ekvivalentu dobijenom postupkom funkcijske aproksimacije. Ovde valja napomenuti da termini u grupi (a) i (b) imaju varijantni oblik standardnog termina, koji čini nemetaforički prevodni ekvivalent, te da četiri termina u grupi (c) imaju standardni oblik sa metaforičkim značenjem, koji je stvoren naknadno zbog neprozirnosti doslovno prevedenog engleskog termina.

(a) U prvu grupu spada osam od ukupno 66 termina sa izvornim domenom rata. To su: *airborn shooter*_f > IGRAČ U SKOK-ŠUTU, *bananna kick*_f > CENTARŠUT, *bananna shot*_f > CENTARŠUT, *chip shot*_f > LOB-UDARAC, *shoot*_f > ŠUTIRATI, *shooter*_f > ŠUTER i *shot*_f > ŠUT i *shot fade away*_k > ŠUT SA ODSKOKOM UNAZAD. Budući da svih osam termina u srpskom jeziku sadrže preoblikovanu englesku reč *shot/shoot* koja ima samo jedno značenje „udarac/iti ili bacanje/iti loptu (nogom ili glavom u fudbalu, rukom u rukometu i vaterpolu“ (VRSRI 2006: 1490), metaforičnost engleskog termina preuzetog iz streljaštva (gađati metu, tj. gol) nije sačuvana u srpskom jeziku.

(b) U drugu grupu spadaju dva termina od ukupno 66. To su: (*game*) *captain*_f > KAPITEN U IGRI i (*team*) *captain*_o > KAPITEN (TIMA). Oba engleska termina sadrže metaforičku reč *captain* sa izvornim domenom rata, čiji prevodni ekvivalent u srpskom jeziku glasi KAPITEN (izvorno pozajmljenica iz francuskog jezika). Međutim, KAPITEN je isključivo sportski termin, dok je vojni termin KAPETAN preuzet iz italijanskog jezika (VRSRI 2006: 579, 580), pri čemu, ni jedan nije nastao metaforičkim prenosom značenja iz drugog domena pošto su preuzeti sa terminološkim značenjem.

(c) U treću grupu spada osam termina od ukupno 66. To su: *kill*_o > DIREKTAN POEN (doslovno, ODSSTREL), *penetration*_o > PRELAZ PREKO MREŽE (doslovno, PROBIJANJE), *spearhead (forward)*_f > ISTURENI (NAPADAČ), doslovno, (IGRAČ) NA LINIJI VRHA

KOPLJA) i *live (time)*_v > (VREME) IGRE, doslovno, ŽIVO (VREME)). Ostala četiri termina predstavljaju granične primere ove grupe, budući da se radi o varijantama standardnih termina stvorenih u procesu standardizacije terminologije igara loptom u srpskom jeziku, pri čemu novi oblici ne bi spadali u ovu kategoriju pošto predstavljaju metaforičke termine sa izvornim domenom rata. To su: *strong side*_v – JAKA STRANA (standardni termin BRANJENA ZONA), *territory*_f > TERITORIJA (standardni termin BRANJENA POLOVINA TERENA), *weak area*_v > SLABA STRANA (standardni termin NEBRANJENA ZONA) i *weak side*_v > SLABA STRANA (standardni termin NEBRANJENA ZONA). Potreba za uvođenjem novih standardnih termina nastala je kao posledica različitih selekcionih restrikcija³ prideva *strong/weak* > JAK/SLAB i različite semantičke adaptacije latinske pozajmljenice ‘territorium’ u engleskom i srpskom jeziku. Prvi slučaj ilustruju primeri *strong side*_v > JAKA STRANA, *weak area*_v > SLABA STRANA i *weak side*_v > SLABA STRANA, kod kojih engleski pridevi *strong* (JAK) i *weak* (SLAB) stoje uz imenice *side* (STRANA) i *zone* (ZONA) sa kojima ostvaruju metaftonimijsko značenje (metafora: STRANA (TERENA) JE ŽIVO BIĆE na osnovu metonimije: STRANA (TERENA) ZNAČI POVRŠINA IGRE LOPTOM, čiji prevodni ekvivalenti u srpskom jeziku nemaju sposobnost za ekvivalentan metaftonimijski prenos značenja). Drugi slučaj ilustruje imenica *territory*_f > TERITORIJA čije prvo značenje u engleskom jeziku ‘oblast pod upravom određene države ili vladara’, (CCED 1995: 1723) ima implikaciju posledice ratnih aktivnosti, što suštinski odgovara jedinom značenju srpske imenice TERITORIJA. Za razliku od srpskog jezika gde ovaj oblik ima samo jedno značenje, on u engleskom ima četiri metaforički izvedena značenja, što znači da sposobnost za metaforički prenos značenja postoji samo u engleskom jeziku. Stoga TERITORIJA, u smislu dela sportskog terena, predstavlja neleksikalizovano metaforičko značenje u srpskom jeziku. Međutim, uvođenjem standardnog termina, BRANJENA POLOVINA TERENA, ostvarena je čvršća veza sa ratnim domenom u srpskom jeziku, budući da je eksplicitna dok u engleskom postoji samo implikacija u smislu posledice ratnih aktivnosti.

4. Zaključci

Rezultati kontrastivne analize metaforičkih sportskih termina u engleskom i srpskom jeziku sa izvornim domenom rata, koja je izvršena na korpusu od 156 metaforičkih termina preuzetih iz *Englesko-srpskog rečnika sportskih termina* (Milić 2006) upućuju na sledeće zaključke. Uopšteno, metafora je produktivnija u engleskom jeziku, što može biti posledica činjenice da je najveći broj savremenih igara loptom nastao na engleskom govornom području. Međutim, kada su u pitanju me-

³ Prema terminu ‘selectional restrictions’ (Atkins and Rundell 2008: 302), koje podrazumevaju opštu semantičku kategoriju leksema koje se tipično javljaju kao subjekti ili objekti glagola ili pridevske dopune.

taforički termini sa izvornom domenom rata, ova analiza pokazuje da je produktivnost približno ista u oba jezika, iako je broj metaforičkih termina u srpskom jeziku (47) neznatno manji nego u engleskom (60), što je posledica činjenice da postoji veći broj pozajmljenica (11), koje nisu metaforički termini u srpskom jeziku. U prilog istom zaključku govori i činjenica da termini sa najvećom frekvencijom upotrebe u korpusu, izuzev pozajmljenica, ostvaruju čvrstu vezu sa ratnim domenom u oba jezika, kao i da je broj nekorespondentnih metaforičkih termina sa izvornim domenom rata zanemarljiv, ako se uzmu u obzir i varijantni oblici standardnih termina u srpskom jeziku. Značajan stepen formalne korespondencije u ovoj vrsti konceptualizacije sportskog domena u engleskom i srpskom jeziku može da ukaže na značajan stepen univerzalnosti metafore rata u sportu, što otvara perspektivu daljeg istraživanja sportske terminologije u drugim jezicima.

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METAPHORICAL SPORTS TERMS WITH THE SOURCE DOMAIN OF WAR IN ENGLISH AND THEIR TRANSLATION EQUIVALENTS IN SERBIAN

Summary

The paper deals with a contrastive analysis of metaphorical sports terms with the source domain of war in English and Serbian, from the cognitive linguistics perspective. The analysis is based on the corpus containing 156 metaphorical ball game terms, which were excerpted from a dictionary entitled *Englesko-srpski rečnik sportskih termina* (Milić 2006). The following conclusions can be drawn from the analysis. Generally, metaphor is more productive in English. However, when it comes to metaphorical terms with the source domain of war, productivity is approximately the same in both languages, with a significant extent of formal correspondence in this kind of conceptualisation of sports domain, which may suggest a considerable level of universality of war metaphor in sports.

Key words: conceptual metaphor, English, Serbian, sport, terminology

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WEAK DEMONSTRATIVES IN OLD ENGLISH

The paper argues that the syntactic differences between pronouns and (weak) demonstratives in Old English are connected to the difference in their internal structure. Demonstratives are syntactically branching elements, and the more complex syntactic structure is related to the fact that they relate to properties, rather than directly to individuals. Their specialized uses for non-topic antecedents, indefinite/non-specific antecedents when they express focus, and uncountable antecedents are all a consequence of their anaphoric potential. What enables the attributive function of demonstratives is an additional layer in their internal structure.

Key words: (weak) demonstratives, pronouns, reference to/through property, branching vs. non-branching anaphoric elements

1. OE demonstratives: Paradigm and distribution

Old English (OE) has two series of demonstratives - weak and strong, illustrated in Table 1.

	WEAK DEMONSTRATIVES				STRONG DEMONSTRATIVES			
	msg	fsg	nsg	pl	msg	fsg	nsg	pl
nominative	se	seo	þæt	þa	þes	þeos	þis	þas
genitive	þæs	þære	þæs	þara	þisses	þisse/þisre	þisses	þisa/þisra
dative	þæm	þære	þæm	þæm	þissum	þisse/þisre	þissum	þissum
accusative	þone	þære	þæt	þa	þisne	þas	þis	þas

Table 1: The paradigm of weak and strong demonstratives in OE

Demonstratives often share syntactic positions with both pronouns and nominals. These similarities open up the question of the categorial status of demonstratives.¹

1.1. Old English clause structure – basic assumption

Before I start the discussion of demonstratives, let me outline the basic assumptions about the OE clause structure. OE has two subject positions available outside the VP area, Spec, TP, and a higher one, the specifier position of the phrase labeled SigmaP (as in Milićev 2007, van Kemenade, Milićev and Baayen 2008, and van Kemenade and Milićev 2011). SigmaP itself is the projection that serves as the link between two utterances or propositions. Its left edge is marked by the so-called high adverbs, which, although of temporal origin, in this special position, have a strong discourse particle flavor. In OE movement to SigmaP is restricted to subjects (both nominal and pronominal) and object pronouns. Nominal objects are found there only in the presence of low, VP internal subjects.

It should be noted that movement to SigmaP is not an instance of topicalization, i.e. non-operator fronting to the sentence initial position. Neither is SigmaP a functional projection specializing for pronouns. Due to the overwhelming presence of pronouns in this position, the functional projection assumed to be present between CP and TP/IP (*FP* in Fischer et al. 2000) has often been identified as a pronominal position, where (weak) pronouns go for deficiency reasons (cf. Fischer et al. 2000, van Bergen 2000, for instance). In addition to the fact that nominal subjects are also found there, a closer scrutiny reveals that not all pronouns in SigmaP are weak/clitic. Moreover, there is a lower position for deficient pronouns, AgrOP, so it is obvious that there is not strict correlation between pronoun deficiency (clitic/weak vs. strong) and SigmaP/FP (cf. Milićev 2007 for more details). The relevant structure of this higher clausal domain is given in (1).

- (1) [_{SigmaP} (SUBJECT₁) (OPRO₁) [*ba/þonne* [_{TP} SUBJECT₂ [_{AgrOP} OPRO₂ [_{VP} ...]]]]]

1.2. Demonstratives in the high (SigmaP) and lower subject/object pronoun positions

Both subject and object demonstratives syntactically pattern with pronouns in that they can also occur in the high pronoun position, which is often available for nominal subjects, but inaccessible for nominal objects (2). However, while subject pronouns are categorically in the high position, demonstrative pronouns can occur

¹ Demonstratives also share morphology with pronouns and strong adjective forms. For instance, the accusative 3rd person suffix *-ne* is found on all three forms (i).

(i) acc.3sg *hine*_{PRON} - *þone*_{DEMW} - *þisne*_{DEMS} - *godne*_{ADJS}

in a lower subject position, to the right of the high adverbs, just like NP subjects, which is illustrated in (3).²

(2) a.

Gyf	se	þONNE	berste...
if	DEM _w	then	fails

‘If that one then fails...’

(colaw2cn, LawIICn:19.2.54)

b.

gyf	he	ÐONNE	cwyð...
if	he	then	says...

‘if he then says ...’

(cootest, Deut:25.8.4810)

(3) a.

Gif	hire	ÐONNE	se	wiðsace
if	her	then	DEM _w	refuse

‘If he then refuses her’

(cocura, CP:5.45.2.249; van Bergen 2000:109; (35a))

b.

Gif	hit	þONNE	se	abbod	underfon	hate...
if	it	then	the	abbot	receive	ordered

‘If the abbot then ordered to receive it...’

(cobenrul, BenR:54.87.15.980)

Some object demonstrative pattern with personal pronouns, and can be found in SigmaP together with the subject pronoun, as in (4a), or alone, with the nominal subject in the lower position, as in (5a).

(4) a.

þonne	he	þæt	ÐONNE	begiten	hæfð
when	he	that	then	understood	has

‘when he then understood that’

(coboeth, Bo:24.54.30.999)

b.

forþæm	he	wenð	þæt	he	hi	þONNE	ealle	hæbbe...
because	he	thinks	that	he	them	then	all	have...

‘because he thinks that he has them all...’

(coboeth, Bo:24.56.16.1031)

² If not specified otherwise, all the OE examples in the paper come from Taylor et al. 2003.

(5) a.

þa	þæt	þA	se	his	gefera	geseah	&	ongeat...
when	that	then	that	his	companion	saw	and	understood

‘When his companion saw and understood that...’ (cobede, Bede_4:26.352.22.3553)

b.

Gif	hine	þONNE	yfel	mon	hæfð
if	him	then	evil	man	has

‘If an evil man has him’ (coboeth, Bo:16.38.26.702)

1.2.1. Accounts of (a)symmetries between demonstratives and pronouns

On Pintzuk’s 1993 account, demonstratives are pronominal categories (clitics). Van Bergen (2000), however, claims that demonstratives are mixed pronominal/nominal categories. Essentially, when in a pronominal position, they are pronominal, and when in positions typically occupied by NPs, they are categorially nominal. Van Kemenade and Milićev (2011) argue that OE demonstratives belong to a separate category of simple demonstratives (crucially following Cardinaletti and Starke’s 1999 analysis of anaphoric demonstratives). They pattern with pronouns due to the fact that SigmaP attracts anaphoric elements. Anaphoricity alone is never a sufficient condition, and other factors, such as specificity and topicality are also at play. In Milićev (2007), I provide more details on the syntactic behavior of demonstratives. Subject demonstratives move to SigmaP ‘as subjects,’ i.e. as any argument which can be first found in Spec, TP. Object demonstratives move there when their structure is compatible with the condition on movement of non-subjects. Namely, I claim that object movement to SigmaP across a subject in Spec, TP/with a subject in Spec, SigmaP is possible only as head-adjunction to Sigma°, and available for non-branching elements. I basically adopt the analysis of South Slavic clitics put forward by Bošković (1997, 2001, 2002, 2004), who, follows Chomsky’s (1994) suggestion that non-branching elements are ambiguous XP/X° categories, and that clitics are such a case. Even though OE pronouns do not move to SigmaP for deficiency reasons, they end up there like clitics do. Thus, any non-branching element can start from an XP position (either base generated in a Spec position in the TP area, or scrambled there from a VP internal position, or the base position), and, if attracted by SigmaP, end up in a X° position, i.e. adjoint to Sigma°, unaffected by the subject in Spec, TP.

1.2.2. A special case: High object demonstratives

At first blush, our analysis of demonstratives seems like a technical solution, forced on demonstratives in order to account for pronominal-nominal object asymmetry regarding movement to SigmaP. However, upon a close inspection of the

data, some restrictions regarding high object demonstratives can be observed. As we note in van Kemenade and Milićev 2011, object demonstratives in SigmaP are restricted to the 3rd person neuter singular demonstrative *þæt*, with an event/propositional antecedent. I relate this referent restriction to the difference between this and other demonstratives. Namely, *þæt* is a non-branching element, like pronouns, hence it can be attracted to SigmaP (Milićev 2007). If the hypothesis is on the right track, the question that immediately opens up regards the issue of the exact structure of ‘ordinary/default’ demonstratives.

2. The extra structure in demonstratives

If demonstratives indeed have more structure, it clearly needs to be motivated. In van Kemenade and Milićev (2011), we suggest that demonstratives never refer directly, but through a property, and further hypothesize that this ‘extra information’ in demonstratives is responsible for their distributional similarities with NPs. Here I also adopt the initial hypothesis that demonstratives are used attributively, and refer to (or through) a property. Specifically, I claim that pronouns refer directly to their antecedents, and contribute an individual to the proposition. Demonstratives do not refer to the individual, but to the property that an individual might have.

Some illustrative examples of the attributive uses of demonstratives are given in (6) and (7). In (6), the (resumptive) demonstrative *se* has the indefinite NP *hwilc untrum man* as its antecedent; however, it does not refer to a particular sick individual, but should be rather interpreted as ‘such a man as he is sick and comes to the water after stirring.’

(6)

&	he	þæt	wæter	styrode	binnan	þam	porticum	be		Godes
and	he	the	water	stirred	under	the	porticos	according to		God’s
dihte	gelome,	and	swa	<i>hwilc</i>	<i>untrum</i>	<i>man</i>	swa	come	into	þam wætere
order	often,	and	so	any	ill	man	who	come	into	the water
æfter	þæs	engles	styrunge,	se	wearþ	sona	hal	fram		
after	the	angel’s	stirring	DEM _w	becomes	soon	healthy	from		
swa hwilcere		untrumnyse	swa	he	wære		gehæfd			
whatever		illness	which	he	had		had			

‘and he often stirred the water under the porticos, according to God’s order, and whatever ill person who came to the water after it had been stirred by the angel, he would become soon healthy from whatever illness he had had’

(coaelhom,ÆHom_2:17.253)

In (7b), the antecedent of the demonstrative *ða* is any slaves who refuse to accept the subjection; the demonstrative does not pick a set of such individuals directly, but through the property of being rebellious (*hwylce* ‘any slaves who refuse to accept subjection’ - *ða* ‘such a persons’).

(7) a.

‘And in the days of that emperor all the servants who ran away from their master and wouldn’t obey him, were forced to lawful slavery and subjection’

b.

&	swa	hwylce	swa	ne	woldon	hlaforðas	habban,	ða	wæron
and	so	which.pl	so	not	would	lords	have,	DEM.pl	were

þurh	rode	deaðe	gewitnode
through	cross	death	punished

‘whoever did not want to have lords, they were punished by death on the cross (i.e. crucifixion)’

(coverhom,HomS_1_[ScraggVerc_5]:70. 886-887)

The close relation between ‘descriptive intention’/attributive use and weak demonstratives is evident from OE relative clauses: weak demonstratives are used as antecedents of relative clauses (8) and as relative pronouns (9).³

(8)

and we	hine	wurðiað	mid	gewissum	geleafan,	cwepende	mid	muðe	and	mid
and we	him	worship	with	trustworthy	belief,	speaking	with	mouth	and	with
modes	incundnysse	þæt	se	is	ana	God	þe	ealle	þing	gesceop
heart’s	sincerity	that	DEMw	is	one	God	that	all	things	created

‘...and we worship him with firm belief, saying with our mouth and with sincere heart that he is one God who created all things’

(coaelhom,ÆHom_22:93.3338)

³ Even though these are sometimes structurally ambiguous, van Kemenade (1987) presents compelling arguments for their distinction based on the P-stranding facts. OE has three types of relative clauses: *se*-relatives, *þe*-relatives, and *se þe* relatives. Van Kemenade (1987) claims that in relatives *þe* is a complementizer, while demonstratives are relative pronouns. *Se þe* relatives are sometimes structurally ambiguous between *þe* relatives with a demonstrative pronoun antecedent, but the ambiguity disappears with relativized PPs - obligatory stranding with *þe* relatives, obligatory pied-piping with *se þe*.

(9)

and seo heofenlice soðfæstnyss be ðam cuððe gecyðnyss, **þone** seo
 and the heavenly truth about him said testimony, DEMw the

eorðlice areleasnyss huxlice tælde
 earthly wickedness shamefully reviled

‘and the divine truth gave testimony about him whom earthly wickedness had
 shamefully reviled’

(AHTh,I,48,22; van Kemenade 1987:149, ex.11b)

What enables the attributive use of a demonstrative is the presence of an extra layer which can pick a property. This extra layer is absent in pronouns. Hence, the structures are like (10).

(10)

- a. [_{Dem} “property” [3sg]]
- b. [_{Pron} 3sg]

If this structural difference is real, and if indeed demonstratives refer to (or through) a property, then the differences should be observable in the anaphoric uses of demonstratives and pronouns.

3. Pronoun vs. demonstrative

There are three types of antecedents that are picked by demonstratives, rather than pronouns: non-topic antecedents, indefinite/non-specific antecedents whose referents are focused in the following discourse, and uncountable antecedents.

3.1. Non-topic antecedents

It is a well known fact that a pronoun can only be used with topic/accessible antecedents. When this condition is not met, a demonstrative has to be used, because it is construed with non-topic (Reinhart 2004), less accessible (Ariel 1990), ‘in activation’ (Gundel et al. 1993) antecedents. This can be observed in OE as well.

The weak demonstrative *se* has the object NP *his gerefan* ‘his prefect’ as its antecedent. Not only is the antecedent in a non-prominent/non-topic position, with a non-prominent grammatical role (object), but it is also indefinite, i.e. introduces a new referent in the discourse.

(11)

Se casere hi sealde **his gerefan**, þæs nama wæs Dulcitus, þæt **se**
 the Caesar them gave his prefect, whose name was Dulcitus, that DEM_w
 hi genedde þæt hi Criste wiðsocan
 them force that they Christ reject
 ‘The king send them his prefect, whose name was Dulcitus, that he forced them to reject
 Christ’

(comart3,Mart_5_[Kotzor]:Ap3,A.7.503-506)

The same effect can be noted in (12). The demonstrative *se* in (12b) picks the less accessible/topical antecedent from (12a), *heora hlaforde(e)* ‘their lord’, rather than the referent of the object pronoun *hine* ‘him’.

(12) a.

& þa læddon **hine(x)** to **heora hlaforde(y)**, þæt wæs Æðelredes
 and those led him to their lord, who was Athelred’s
 gesið þæs cyninges
 companion of-the king

‘and they took him to their lord, who was a companion of the king Athelred’

b.

þa frægn hine **se(y)**, hwæt he wære, þa ondred he ondettan, þæt
 when asked him DEM_w, what he were, then feared he confess that
 he cyninges þegn wære,
 he king’s thane were

‘when he asked him who he was, he was scared to confess that he was a king’s thane’

(cobede,Bede_4:23.326.14.3270-3271)

3.2. Indefinite/non-specific antecedents + focus

A demonstrative is used for non-specific/indefinite antecedents when in the next utterance they are associated with focus. Pronouns themselves are not incompatible with non-specific/indefinite antecedents. However, if a non-specific/indefinite antecedent is to be associated with focus in the following utterance, only a demonstrative can be used.

The indefinite/non-specific antecedent of the demonstrative in such cases introduces a referent as a member of a set. This is clearly indicated by the fact that these indefinite NPs regularly contain modifiers such as ‘other’ or ordinal numbers (‘second’, ‘third’, etc.). The demonstrative is used when the speaker wants to select

the referent of the indefinite/non-specific NP, and eliminate other alternatives. Consider (13). The antecedent of the demonstrative *se* in (13b) is *oðer seonoð* ‘another assembly’. The NP refers to the famous ‘second conference’, which, according to Bede, the British bishops asked for, so they could again meet with Saint Augustine, after the first conference failed (because they did not agree with Augustine’s attempts to unify the British/Celtic churches with the one he was founding).

(13) a.

bædon	þæt	eft	<i>oðer</i>	<i>seonoð</i>	wære
asked.3pl	that	again	other	assembly	were

‘and asked for another assembly’ (cobede, Bede_2:2.100.13.937)

b.

þa	<i>se</i>	ða	geseted	wæs,	cwomon	seofon	Bretta	biscopas...
when	DEmw	then	set	was,	came	seven	British	bishops...

‘When that one was set, there came seven British bishops...’ (cobede, Bede_2:2.100.17.939)

I propose that the function of the demonstrative is not related to focus only (i.e. it does not serve only to eliminate alternative members of a set), as pronouns can also be (contrastively) focused. Rather, a demonstrative in such cases refers to a certain property of the referent, which can be either implicitly or explicitly given in the discourse. So, when a demonstrative is used in (13b), it actually also contributes (or suggests) a contrasting property of the second assembly (being successful, as opposed to the first one, which failed).

Consider a similar situation in (14). The demonstrative *se* refers back to *þone feorðan andagan* ‘the fourth hearing-day’. According to the Anglo-Saxon law, the fourth hearing is arranged as a special one, at the level of shire-moot, and is allowed only after a citizen fails to find justice at the level of hundred-moot three times. The demonstrative in (14c) contributes the property of the fourth hearing as being special/final.

(14) a.

‘if he cannot find justice for the third time, then fourth time he should go to the shire-moot, and the authority should set him the fourth day for hearing his cause’

b.

&	seo	scir	him	sette	<i>þone</i>	<i>feorðan</i>	<i>andagan</i>
and	the	authority	him	set	the	fourth	term-for-hearing

‘and the authority should set him the fourth day for hearing his cause’

c.

Gyf	se	þonne	berste,	nime	þonne	leafe...
if	DEM _w	then	fails,	take	then	permission...

‘If that one then fails, then he should take permission’

(colaw2cn, LawIICn:19.2.52-54)

The relevance of a property of the referent with focused demonstrative is even more evident in (15). The demonstrative *se* has the non-specific NP *ðæm lifiendan breðer* ‘the living brother’ as its antecedent. The referent is given a member of the set ‘brothers’, with an alternating/contrastive property (living vs. dead). It is this property that the demonstrative picks in order to focus the referent.

(15) a.

Sua	sua	ðæs	gefarenan	broðor	wif	on	ðære	ealdan	æ	wæs	geboden
so	so	of-this	departed	brother	wife	on	the	old		law	was given
ðæm lifiendan			breðer	to	onfonne,	sua	is	cynn	ðæt...		
the	living		brother	to	receive,	so	is	proper		that	

‘just as the departed brother’s wife is given the living brother, it is proper that [the care about the holy church, that is Christ’s people’s congregation, is given to those who can take good care of it and who can well govern it]’

b.

Gif	hire	ðonne	se	wiðsace,	ðonne	is	cynn	ðæt...
if	her	then	DEM _w	refuse,	then	is	proper	that...

‘If he then refuses her, it is proper that [the woman spits in his face...]

(cocura,CP:5.45.2.248-249)

3.3. Uncountable antecedents

In OE, a pronoun cannot be used for uncountable antecedents. This forces the use of a demonstrative. I propose that this is because uncountable nouns do not refer to individuated entities; hence, only a type of reference through property is possible when they are introduced in the discourse. Thus in (16), the object demonstrative *þone* is used for the antecedent *hlaf* ‘bread’, and in (17), the same demonstrative takes the uncountable noun ‘help’ (*fultumes*, in the genitive case, in (17a)).

(16) a.

þa ætywde me þær sum man, se brohte me þær *hlaf* to
 then appeared me there some man who brought me there bread to
 gereordnesse
 feast

‘then a man came to me, who brought me some bread to eat’

b.

Sona swa ic **þone** æt, ic onfeng minum mægne,
 soon so I DEM_w ate I received my strength

‘as soon as I ate it, I regained my strength’

(cogregdC,GDPref_and_4_[C]:59.347.32. 5330-5331)

(17) a.

þa ceasterware þurh þreora daga fæsten anmodlice bædon *fultumes*
 then citizens through three days’ fast unanimously asked help

‘then, after three days of starving, the citizens unanimously asked for help’

b.

ond bædon þæt he him **þone** ætywde þurh Sancte Michahel
 and asked that he them DEM_w showed through Saint Michael

‘and asked that he manifest that through Saint Michel

(comart3, Mart_5_[Kotzor]:Se29,A.4. 1895-1896)

A pronoun can be used for uncountable entities only when they are first referred to with a demonstrative. In (18), the uncountable noun ‘lettuce’ (*leahtric* in (18b)) is first referred to with a demonstrative pronoun *þæs* in (18c). This is sufficient to allow reference by a pronoun in (18d).

(18) a.

Soðlice sumon dæge hit gelamp, þæt an nunne of þam ilcan
 indeed some day it happened that a nun from the same
 mynstre þara fæmnena eode in on hyra wyrttun
 monastery of-the women went in on their garden

‘Indeed, one day a nun from the same women’s monastery went to their garden’

b.

þa	geseah	heo	<i>æne</i>	<i>leahtric</i>
then	saw	she	some	lettuce

‘then she saw some lettuce’

c.

&	hy	her	gelyste	þæs
and	she	RFL	liked	DEM _w

‘and she liked it’

d.

Heo	þa	hine	genam
she	then	him	took

‘She then took it’

(cogregdH,GD_1_[H]:4.30.33. 294-297)

If individuation, or lack of it, is at the core of pronoun-uncountable nouns incompatibility, then the demonstrative can be seen as transforming a non-individual into an individual. It takes a property and turns it into an individual.

4. Concluding remarks

Demonstratives have a more complex inner structure than pronouns. Namely, they are branching elements, as opposed to pronouns, which are non-branching. The extra structural layer corresponds to the descriptive intention associated with demonstratives, as demonstratives are primarily used attributively. Demonstratives are not sensitive to the definiteness/specificity features of their antecedents because they look for properties, not individuals. For the same reason, demonstratives do not require individuated entities and can be used with uncountable antecedents.

The attributive nature of demonstratives does not account for why a demonstrative is always construed with the non-topic of the two potential antecedents. I speculate that in such cases the demonstrative actually contributes the property ‘a different/alternative’ or ‘the other’ one to eliminate the coreference with the more accessible antecedent (the topic antecedent).

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SLABE POKAZNE ZAMENICE U STAROENGLESKOM

Rezime

U radu se tvrdi da su sintaksičke razlike između ličnih i pokaznih zamenica u staroengleskom povezane s razlikama u njihovoj unutrašnjoj strukturi. Pokazne zamenice su sintaksički granajući elementi, i njihova složenija sintaksička struktura odražava činjenicu da se pokazne zamenice odnose na (ili kroz) svojstva, pre nego da se odnose direktno na pojedince. Specijalizovane upotrebe pokaznih zamenica za netematske, zatim, neodređene, kao i nebrojive antecedente, direktno odražavaju njihov anaforički potencijal. Ono što omogućuje atributivnu funkciju pokaznih zamenica jeste dodatni sloj u unutrašnjoj sintaksičkoj strukturi.

Ključne reči: (slabe) pokazne zamenice, zamenice, referenca na/kroz svojstvo, granajući – negranajući anaforički elementi

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IS THERE LIFE IN SERBIA WITHOUT ANGLICISMS? A PRAGMATIC VIEW¹

The extensive study of anglicisms and the influence of English on Serbian in particular has been significantly directed by the theoretical postulates laid out in the works of T. Prčić on lexicology and contact linguistics (primarily Prčić 2005/2011), as well as practical lexicographic work (Vasić, Prčić, Nejgebauer 2001/2011). The aim of this paper is to present a recent pragmatically-oriented approach to the study of loanwords set out by Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011) that could supplement the current research by providing an additional angle for investigating the anglicization of the Serbian language. The paper also provides an empirical illustration of how this dimension could be used to further explore pragmatic, especially user-related, aspects of the use and perception of anglicisms in Serbian.

Key words: anglicisms, Serbian, pragmatics, implicatures, pragmatic borrowing marked choices

1. Introduction

A contribution for the volume celebrating the 60th anniversary of the English Department in Novi Sad and the Festschrift for renowned Novi Sad anglicist Draginja Pervaz is the ideal opportunity to acknowledge the highly influential and extensive research and widely inspiring work of many anglicists from Novi Sad devoted to the study of various theoretical and practical aspects of anglicisms and the influence of English on Serbian in general; therefore I have decided to address

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the issue of anglicisms in Serbian, building on the work of Novi Sad linguists. The aim of this paper is to add to this impressive body of research by presenting a recent theoretical pragmatically oriented approach to the study of loanwords and its possible application for the study of some pragmatic aspects of the use of anglicisms in the Serbian language.

The influence of English on Serbian has been attracting the attention of both linguists and the general public for a few decades, especially booming in the last decade. Based on the theoretical foundations of contact linguistics and contrastive studies of English and Serbocroatian by R. Filipović (1986; 1990), there followed dozens of papers by various authors, mostly Serbian anglicists, who dealt either with particular types of anglicisms in Serbian (Bajić 2009, Dobrić 2008, Filipović 2003; 2005; 2006, Filipović-Kovačević 2011, Gajišin, Panić-Kavgić and Kavgić 2011, Injac 2002, Janjić 2010, Mičić and Sinadinović 2013, Milanović and Milanović 2012a, 2012b, Milić 2013, Mišić Ilić and Lopičić 2011, Novakov 2008, Radić-Bojanić 2007, Silaški 2009; 2012, to mention just a few recent ones), or with more general sociolinguistic or pragmatic aspects (Bugarski 1997, Panić-Kavgić 2006, Šević 1996). Certainly the most influential and important studies on anglicisms and the influence of English on Serbian are the dictionary of recent anglicisms by Vasić, Prčić and Nejgebauer (2001/2011), the monograph *Engleski u srpskom* (Prčić 2005/2011), and the two very recent papers on English as *the* nativized foreign language and its impact on Serbian (Prčić 2014a, 2014b).

After a brief overview of the current studies of English borrowings, with a special emphasis on the dominant contact linguistics framework and classification of anglicisms proposed by Prčić 2005/2011 and the pragmatic framework for the study of the understanding and perception of anglicisms in Serbian (Panić-Kavgić 2006), the paper presents a recent pragmatically oriented approach to the study of loanwords (Onysko and Winter-Froemel 2011), as a possible addition to Prčić's (2005/2011) well-known and detailed four dimensional classification model of anglicisms. Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011) draw on the classical rhetorical notion of catachresis to propose the distinction into catachrestic and non-catachrestic loans and combine it with Levinson's (2000) theory of presumptive meanings and notions of I-implicatures and M-implicatures to explore the pragmatic dimension of borrowing. In the final section of this paper, we give an empirical illustration of how this pragmatic dimension could be used to further explore pragmatic, especially user-related, aspects of the use and perception of anglicisms in Serbian. This is done by presenting a small-scale pilot study demonstrating how certain kinds of anglicisms are and can be used as marked choices, by certain categories of Serbian speakers in different communicative situations.

2. The research on anglicisms in Serbia

Unlike some lay (and occasionally loud) public voices, the modern linguistic treatment of language contacts, language borrowing and especially the influence of English on Serbian has never been characterized by militant purism and segregationist biased tones against foreign words, but rather accepted them as a normal, necessary and unstoppable modern phenomenon, yet with constant warnings and pleas for knowledgeable, adequate use, streamlined by the strong and sophisticated promotion of the general language culture (cf. Bugarski 1996, Klajn 2008, Prčić 2005/2011).

Anglicisms in particular, due to the unprecedented global dominance and influence of the English language, have been the focus of extensive research. The traditional definition² has proved to be somewhat limited, so we follow Prčić's view, which extends the notion to include not only words, morphemes and idioms stemming from English, used in Serbian with varying degrees of integration, but also words, phrases or sentences in Serbian whose use reflects or follows the norm of English – orthographic, grammatical, semantic or pragmatic (Prčić 2005: 59). However, his most recent terminologically and notionally innovative distinction between anglicisms and 'englishisms',³ does not suit the purpose of this paper, which considers various types of anglicisms as a continuum, much more in line with Prčić 2005/2011. Moreover, in order to make use of the concept of Angloserbian, as will be done in this paper, it would not be necessary or suitable to make this distinction. The term Angloserbian, (another notable and valuable contribution by Novi Sad linguists), coined to denote the hybrid variety of Serbian influenced by English, first used with parenthesis and somewhat jocularly, has acquired a terminological status and precise definition (Vasić, Prčić and Nejgebauer 2001/2011, Prčić 2005/2011, Mišić Ilić 2011). Prčić (2005: 78), focusing on its development, users and norms, defines it as a hybrid new sociolect of Serbian which increasingly departs from its norms and is used according to the norms of English, mostly by urban, relatively young, relatively but not properly educated users, who acquire their language culture and culture in general mostly via popular media. Nevertheless, Prčić often stresses that not all English-induced innovations in the use of Serbian fall within the scope of Angloserbian, "but only those that are linguistically unjust-

² "An anglicism is a word or idiom that is recognizably English in its form (spelling, pronunciation, morphology or at least one of the three) but is accepted as an item in the vocabulary of the receptor language". (Görlach 2002: 1)

³ "..., a word or phrase from English, like *by the way*, which is used as an occasional interpolation into Serbian spoken or written texts and which has not even started the process of integration into its system is not considered to be an anglicism but is termed 'englishism' instead; such a unit has the status of a foreign word or phrase." (Prčić 2014b: 145)

tified and therefore unnecessary, because they do not contribute anything communicatively relevant or significant to the system of Serbian, with respect to increasing either its expressive potential or its economy of expression.”(Prčić 2014a: 17).

Prčić’s (2005/2011) four dimensional classification of anglicisms (according to type, formation, justification of use and status) has proven extremely valuable for highlighting various aspects of anglicisms, and has been used in various studies. According to type, anglicisms can be obvious (e.g. *fajl*, *skener*, *lobirati*, *surfovati*...), hidden (e.g. *sapunska opera*, *kopija* (meaning ‘primerak’), *definitivno* (meaning ‘zasigurno, izvesno’), *imati razgovore*...) and raw (e.g. *E-mail*, *all-inclusive aranžman*, *by the way*...). According to formation they can be trans-shaped, translated or mixed, according to status completely naturalized, partially naturalized or unnaturalized, and according to justification of use they can be fully justified, justified, conditionally justified, unjustified or fully unjustified. This last dimension refers to their contribution to the expressive potential of Serbian, and will be discussed later in detail. A prototypical, ‘the best’ anglicism, from the language-systemic, lexicological and lexicographical point of view would be the one that is obvious, trans-shaped, (fully) justified and fully integrated. However, as Prčić himself notes (2014b: 146), unlike the above objective, linguistically founded criteria, there are subjective, non-linguistic criteria for the use of anglicisms, which are determined by speakers’ and writers’ personal motives and communicative intentions. It is the aim of this paper to draw attention to Onysko and Winter-Froemel’s pragmatic approach (2011) which makes use of Levinson’s (2000) M-implicatures, and could be adapted to a more formalized, pragmatic study of this subjective aspect of the use of anglicisms.

Among the vast body of research on anglicisms in Serbian, a few will be singled out in this short overview, for their relevance for this paper. The pragmatic dimension of the anglicization of Serbian was recognized and analyzed in its linguistic and partly sociocultural aspects by Mišić Ilić and Lopičić (2011), who proposed the identification of a broad and various category of pragmatic anglicisms, comprising discourse markers, exclamations, and, in particular, discourse formulas, borrowed from English with various levels of adaptation and justification of use, some of which are still unnaturalized, but nevertheless present and noticeable in the speech and writing (often informal) of relatively young urban speakers. The specifics, and especially the motivations for and perceptions of the use of such anglicisms can be further explored using the framework that is going to be presented here.

The most influential pragmatically oriented, empirical, questionnaire-based study of anglicisms in Serbia by Panić-Kavgić (2006), dealing with the reception and interpretation of new anglicisms that appear in Serbian mass media, has demonstrated that there is a striking degree of non-understanding and misunderstanding on the part of the recipients, native speakers of Serbian, since the journalists fail

to adhere to Grice's Cooperative Principle, and anglicisms thus come to represent the noise in the communication channel. One of the aims of this paper is to use a similar questionnaire-based methodology, on the basis of the proposed theoretical framework, to investigate not only the interpretation, but also the perception of certain anglicisms, as well as the motivations for their use, as marked choices.

The notion of markedness has often been associated with the issues of style. The monograph by Milić (2013) offers a view on anglicisms as stylistic synonyms in Serbian and explores various stylistic values of different types of anglicisms in several contemporary Serbian novels and a corpus of journalistic articles. The definition of an anglicism as a stylistic synonym that is a stylistically marked element opposite a neutral Serbian translation equivalent, alongside some usages identified as fashionable synonyms, advertising synonyms, associative and metaphorical synonyms, offers a path for focusing on the motivations of the anglicism users as well, which will be examined here.

3. The pragmatic dimension in the study of anglicisms in Serbian

Among the four interrelated dimensions for examining and classifying anglicisms proposed by Prčić (2005/2011), there is one that is related to language-use rather than language-system aspects – the level of justification of use. His above outlined five-point scale classification is more finely-tuned and illuminating than the traditional (and controversial, according to Onysko and Winter-Froemel 2011) distinction between necessary and luxury borrowings, but it still bears a dominantly prescriptive flavour. According to Prčić (2005/2011 Ch.10; 2014a: 16), an anglicism is fully justified only if it brings a totally new meaning into the system of Serbian, filling a lexical and/or conceptual gap (e.g. *mlkšejk*); it is justified if it introduces a new semantic contrast (e.g. *laptop* against *kompjuter* and *računar*); or, it is conditionally justified if it offers a shorter means to express new or existing content (e.g. *afteršejv* against *losion posle brijanja*). At the other end of the scale, unjustified anglicisms are those for which it is easy to produce a translation (e.g. *kol-centar* can be *pozivni centar*) while the fully unjustified anglicisms are those for whose meaning there is a Serbian word (*menadžment* in the sense 'people managing a company', against *poslovodstvo*, *rukovodstvo* and *uprava*).⁴ Prčić (2014a: 16) identifies the first two categories as necessary and belonging to standard Serbian, the last two are considered unnecessary and belonging to Angloserbian, whereas conditionally justified anglicisms come in between. It will be argued that though this mapping is neat from the systematic point of view, the description of the actual

⁴ Of course, in the sense of 'a branch of economics dealing with managing companies', the anglicism is justified (Vasić, Prčić, Nejgebauer 2001: 161).

usage would need more specific criteria. Therefore, the four-dimensional classification still leaves room for an additional point of view, which would focus more on the actual use and open the door for more pragmatically oriented, sociolinguistic and even ethnographic research into the use of anglicisms, especially into their much more detailed communication aspects, not just those related to perception and interpretation but also the motivation for their use. Again, Prčić's theoretical framework comes in handy, since he identified two primary kinds of motivation, both stemming mostly from popular stereotypes and/or insufficient education. One is profession-driven motivation, prompted by the belief of experts in many fields that it is only English terms that are capable of conveying a given technical meaning accurately, and the other is status-driven, prompted by the belief of some people, especially those with limited knowledge - general and linguistic - that using words and phrases from English makes them more fashionable and high-class, and creates an impression of belonging, at least outwardly, to a superior English-speaking cultural and linguistic milieu, with American being the most desirable of all English-speaking cultural and linguistic milieus (Prčić 2005/2011; 2014a, 2014b). It is along these lines that more ethnographic research can be done, focusing on the markedness and motivations for the use of particular kinds of anglicisms in particular circumstances.

Not disparaging the traditional distinction between necessary and luxury loans, but dissatisfied with the terms, Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011) propose a differentiation into catachrestic and non-catachrestic innovations, which relates the study of linguistic borrowing to the study of rhetoric and language change in general. The fundamental criterion to distinguish between the two types is whether the concept designated by the new expression (the innovation) is already expressed by another lexical unit (non-catachrestic) or not (catachrestic). Further, they make use of Levinson's theory of presumptive meanings to support and enrich their study of the pragmatic dimension of borrowing. According to Levinson (2000), Generalized Conversational Implicatures (GCIs) are inferences triggered by the speaker's choice of the form and the lexical choices of the utterance, and are interpretable because the speaker and the hearer share three types of heuristics: Q (quantification), I (informativeness) and M (manner). The use of the unmarked form regularly conveys I-implicatures, whereas the marked form conveys M-implicatures. For the study of anglicisms, as noted by Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011), the last two are important. Catachrestic innovations, introducing a new concept into a language, at the time when there are no alternatives to designate the new concept represent the 'normal' way of speaking about the objects/concepts concerned, and convey I-implicatures. With non-catachrestic innovations, where there is a semantic near-equivalent, the novel form can be interpreted as marked, so the lexical innovation conveys M-implicatures and shows (relative) pragmatic markedness.

Non-catachrestic innovations are claimed to be typically used to express additional pragmatic meanings.

What would be argued in this paper is that it is M-heuristics, the manner, that is particularly relevant for the possible insight into the speakers' choices while using anglicisms instead of the Serbian word/phrase/expression. This claim can also be considered in the light of the study by Panić-Kavgić (2006), who concluded that the journalists' use of anglicisms in the media, which the subjects of her study (all university graduates) mostly did not understand fully, can be viewed as both the noise in the communicative channel, which hampers successful communication, and the failure to adhere to the Cooperative Principle on the part of the journalists. Therefore, since I-heuristics does not seem to be operational here, the notion of M-heuristics and M-implicatures, 'an abnormal way' (Levinson 2000: 33) comes in as a useful construct. We hope to show that viewing the use of anglicisms as marked choices which indicate the marked situation will hopefully prove illuminating.

4. Empirical study

4.1. Description, method and results

In order to try out the possible applicability of the notions of markedness and M-implicatures and relate it to the study of motivations for the use of anglicisms, a small-scale pilot study was carried out, focusing on the presumed status-driven use. A more ambitious aim is to carry out this study with a more numerous and more varied population, and a more detailed and more contextualized questionnaire. The present study included two categories of subjects – Group I, consisting of twenty students of English (representing young, urban, nearly-professional population, who are supposed to be more familiar, more sensitive but also more prone to the use of anglicisms), and Group II, consisting of five representatives of older generations (aged 62 to 76, urban or suburban dwellers, two with university education, two with high school and one with elementary school education). The subjects were given the questionnaire, in Serbian, containing 20 contextualized anglicisms and six questions for each of the token usages.⁵ With several participants from Group I and all from Group II, there was a subsequent interview in which they were asked to explain and comment upon their answers, so it can be considered an ethnographic element as an addition to the questionnaire. The anglicisms were primarily selected in such a way as to enable the checking of several working hypotheses (lexical adapted anglicisms are more easily recognized than phrasal calqued/trans-

⁵ The questionnaire (graphically modified and slightly simplified to suit the restricted space of this publication) is given in the appendix.

lated ones; anglicisms belonging to a more informal and colloquial register, e.g. interjections, will be more used and recognized by younger populations; anglicisms that have synonyms will differ from them in some stylistic and markedness effects). Moreover, the selected tokens were chosen to illustrate different types, which were grouped in six categories, according to the formal type and level of nativization and justification:⁶

- A: words of foreign origin, completely nativized, without synonyms (*fudbal, film, fotografija*);⁷
- B: anglicisms that are considered justified, being without a proper synonym, which could even be considered ‘a bit expert’ (*menadžment, džogirati, bestseler*);
- C: anglicisms considered problematic and unjustified (*gej, fri-šop, biznis, edukovati, kontaktirati*);
- D: word, phrase and discourse formula calques, some of which substitute Serbian ones (*Da li mogu da Vam pomognem? Zaboravi!*);⁸
- E: translated discourse formulas filling the discourse void (*Hvala što se koristili usluge našeg bankomata, Prijatan put!*);⁹
- F: pragmatic anglicisms (*vau/wow, ok/okej, pliz/please, sori/sorry, ups/oups*).

We are fully aware that the sample population is far too small for any valid quantitative processing, so the quantitative data have just been noted, whereas a

⁶ Most of the lexical tokens have been chosen and classified according to the labels and descriptions given in Vasić, Prčić and Nejgebauer 2011, and the list of frequent anglicisms (Prčić 2005: 160-164), taking into consideration that they belong to the register of general, non-specialized use. However, it should be admitted that our selection had a strong ‘pragmatic bias’, with dominantly pragmatic, communicative anglicisms, hidden and calqued. The reason is that they have been far less noted and investigated in literature than the more obvious lexical ones, so one of our aims was to focus on them.

Moreover, we should note a possible drawback of the list that lies in the fact that the items were ordered as listed in the categories, while perhaps a random ordering would have been less suggestive for the respondents, but also more difficult for data processing.

⁷ *Fotografija* is of course not an anglicism, but was chosen as a sort of a ‘decoy’. A bit surprisingly, a synonym *slika* was offered, and perceived as ‘more familiar, colloquial’, ‘less formal and professional’.

⁸ The former is sometimes used by shop-assistants or in similar service situations instead of the usual Serbian discourse formula ‘Izvolite?’, and the latter in a situation when the speaker wants to terminate the conversation on a particular topic, stressing that it is either not important or there is no use talking about it any longer, instead of a range of Serbian formulas such as ‘Nema veze! / Nije važno. / Nema na čemu. / U redu je. / Batali!’ (cf. Mišić Ilić and Lopičić, 2011).

⁹ As identified and described by Mišić Ilić and Lopičić (2011), as special polite written forms in public services, written on ATM screens or ATM receipts (the former) and bills and billboards (at petrol stations and city exits), which did not exist in such communicative situations in Serbian until recently. As for the latter, the usual well-wishing for a safe journey is ‘Srećan put!’

qualitative analysis is more illuminating, even with the acknowledged limitations of the corpus of anglicisms and the sample population. Due to the illustrative nature of this empirical research for the purpose of this paper, the results will not be presented quantitatively and commented on qualitatively for each group of subjects and each anglicism type and token, but will take the form of more general observations.

The first question was quite simple, whether the underlined word/phrase/sentence is an anglicism¹⁰, and the subjects just had to circle yes/no. The tokens from categories A, B, C and F were mostly recognized as such,¹¹ unlike those in D and E, which only a few subjects from Group I recognized as such.

The second question was whether the subject uses a particular word/phrase. It was an open-answer type, and the subjects could supply modified or elaborated answers, not just yes/no. With a unanimous 'yes' for category A for both groups, the usage dropped a bit for categories B and C for Group II, and was a clear 'no' for all except *okej* for them for category F. The 'no' answers for categories D and E had more to do with the context and the fact that the subjects could not identify themselves in the context of the example. The 'yes' answers for D and E, for Group II in particular, on the other hand can be interpreted more as a consequence of not recognizing the tokens as anglicisms and imagining saying them in a different context, appropriate for Serbian.

The third question was whether the subject heard/saw the particular token in use, and if (as supposed) yes, usually where and by whom. Having in mind that one of the criteria for token selection was their (relative) familiarity and frequency of use, it is not surprising that both groups confirmed that they have encountered them in use, with the exception of a few exclamations from category F by Group II, who nevertheless noted that they heard them used by teenagers and on TV, in informal settings. The same claim was also made by Group I subjects, who mentioned a wider range of users and settings. The use of other tokens was identified in various 'usual', non-expert settings, both private and public, by (mostly) urban speakers.

The fourth question was whether the subject completely understands the meaning of the word/phrase/sentence. As expected, Group I was familiar with all the tokens, whereas the number of positive answers was, comparatively, a bit lower with Group II, two of whom (less educated subjects) were uncertain about *bestseler*, and four of whom about *vau* and *ups* (which, nevertheless, they could guess from the context).

¹⁰ For Group II, to avoid linguistic terminology, the questionnaire was slightly modified, so instead of 'anglicism' and 'synonym', the expressions 'of English origin' and 'same or very similar meaning' were used, respectively.

¹¹ A few exceptions that were only partly identified as anglicisms are quite nativized words such as *kontaktirati*, *edukovati*, and, of course, the non-anglicism *fotografija*.

The fifth question was if the subject can offer a synonym, in the given context. As expected, there were no or very few synonyms for categories A and B, and E (which were hardly recognized as anglicisms in the first place). Worth noting are the hyperonym *trčati* for *džogirati* and the phrase *popularna knjiga* for *bestseller*, corroborating Prčić's typology that anglicisms are justified when fully morphologically integrated and when they introduce a new, more specific meaning, and/or when an anglicism is more economical (shorter) than the Serbian phrase. For all the tokens in C, synonyms were offered, though not by every subject. Also, some of the suggestions were more like explanations than real synonyms that can actually be used in the given context. Thus for *gej*, *fri-šop*, *biznis*, *edukovati*, *kontaktirati* some of the expected and frequent given synonyms were *homoseksualac*, *bescarinska prodavnica (na granici)*, *posao*, *obrazovati*, and *stupiti u kontakt*, respectively. There were fewer offered synonyms for category D, some of which could not really be synonyms or quite natural in Serbian, which reflects the fact that the subjects did not recognize them as anglicisms in the first place. As for category F, synonyms were offered by all the subjects who knew the meaning of the tokens. For *ups*, not all the subjects provided synonyms, and for *ups* and *vau*, sometimes the same word, *jao* or *uu* was given, together with a range of Serbian exclamations, and even expletives.

The last, sixth question was the most demanding, and was the focus of the ethnographic interviews with the subjects carried out later. The subjects were asked if there is a difference in meaning, usage or effect between the sentence with the anglicism/token word/phrase and the Serbian synonym and which of them they perceive as more common, usual or as more conspicuous, marked or unusual. The tokens in category B were recognized as a bit more specific, though not more formal than their Serbian equivalents. On the other hand, some tokens in category C were recognized both as more specific (*fri-šop*, in particular), but also as more formal, official, expert, more marked (*gej*, *biznis*, *edukovati*, *kontaktirati*). Worth noting is the mention of 'politically more correct' and milder *gej* than *homoseksualac* or offensive *peder*, and the mocking, derogatory or critical flavour that can be associated with *biznis* (meaning, strangely, either small or very big, or shady, unfair, etc.). Quite a few subjects noted later that the tokens in category D sound a bit strange, 'as translations', as noted by some of Group I subjects, without being able to pinpoint exactly why, whereas the tokens in category E, for which there were no synonyms, were perceived as polite, service discourse formulas. As for category F, there was the greatest variety of quite revealing answers. Marked as modern, (quasi)-fashionable, informal, 'in' (written thus, using yet another 'fashionable' status-driven anglicism), jocular, persuasive, etc., some of them were nevertheless indicated as more common, though a bit more marked and conspicuous than their Serbian equivalents, at least in the speech of younger generations (Group I). As for

Group II, they judged these anglicisms as belonging to the speech of young people or those (on TV) who want to sound young, and as having an artificial flavour. However, the most illuminating answers were obtained in the interviews, where some of these anglicisms were identified as having a different, usually less strong pragmatic force than their Serbian equivalents (and also compared to the same words in English). Thus, *sori* would be used for minor apologies among (young) friends, *pliz* as an additional plea with an endearment flavour, and *ups* for minor physical awkwardness.¹²

4.2. Discussion

As stated above, the aim of this paper was not to present and thoroughly discuss the results of an empirical study. Yet, it should be stressed that even in such a limited study (both regarding the number and differentiation of subjects and the number of words/phrases under investigation), it is possible to note the findings that corroborate some previous observations (including Prčić 2005/2011 and Onysko and Winter-Freomel 2011 and the references stated therein) that it is lexical, phonologically and not necessarily morphologically adapted anglicisms that are more easily perceived as such. Moreover, the ones that are considered as more informative, and the ones that carry I-implicatures, are those for which no synonyms were offered, so they can be considered catachrestic. There are also some new findings related to the less-investigated category of pragmatic anglicisms:

a) calqued or translated discourse formulas, and especially those for which there is no RL pragmatic discourse functional equivalent are rarely perceived as anglicisms;

b) young urban users (including children), are more prone to the use of pragmatic anglicisms, which, though often uncritical and indiscriminate, is nevertheless mostly limited to informal registers and settings;

c) purely pragmatic anglicisms (discourse markers, interjections, exclamations, expletives, etc.) either as raw or orthographically adapted are perceived as most marked, carrying a variety of M-implicatures. Some of them are associated with manner (e.g. jocular, milder), style (e.g. informal), motivations (e.g. snobbism, imitation from TV, bonding), class of users (e.g. young or even pre-teen, urban, with some level of proficiency in English) and some with a variety of pragmatic functions (not necessarily identical with their English counterparts, cf. Andersen 2014).

¹² The most recent focus in the study of pragmatic borrowing is how pragmatic functions are transferred cross-linguistically, through the notions such as functional stability, adaptation, narrowing, broadening and shift, quite similar to the study of semantic changes in lexical borrowing. A very detailed account with illustrations from Norwegian in Andersen 2014, and the discussion of Serbian *pliz* and *sori* in Mišić Ilić 2014.

All this can provide ground for research into pragmatic aspects of borrowing, including the issues of the users' motivation.

5. Conclusions

In conclusion, we could say that our deliberately attention-grabbing question from the title, 'Is there life in Serbia without anglicisms?', can be answered with both yes and no. The catachrestic ones, especially the ones expressing everyday concepts, are undoubtedly present among all generations and in a wide range of registers and communicative situations. The others, which denote more or less specific concepts or bear any kind of M-implicatures, are still pervasive, but nevertheless restricted to the users who are familiar with the extralinguistic reality related to a particular field of discourse and register. Still others, some of which are restricted to informal use, will probably keep thriving in Angloserbian, the sociolect of the urban, the young and (at least) partly familiar with English. Or perhaps they could even start fading, which can depend on the promotion of language culture and culture in general, as convincingly outlined in Bugarski 1996, and in particular in Prčić 2005/2011, 2014a, 2014b and Panić-Kavgić 2006. There is definitely life in Serbia without anglicisms, as there is without many material and non-material objects from the contemporary way of life, but there is a vast range of situations where they are used and a considerable body of the population who either use them or are exposed to them. Thus, we could hyperbolically and a bit pessimistically conclude that there is no longer life in Serbia without anglicisms, that Angloserbian is destroying Serbian, and take a (militant) purist stance. However, if we can apply the analogy, just because there are many car accidents, it doesn't mean that we should ban cars, only that we should have more and better regulations and ways of enforcing them, as well as constant awareness and a skill-raising culture. The same logic can be applied to (life with) anglicisms.

The aim of this paper was to draw attention to the theoretical approach by Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011), based on Levinson (2000), for studying the pragmatic dimension of borrowing and to explore, extend and adapt it with a particular focus on M-heuristics and for a particular types of pragmatic borrowings in Serbian. We hope that it could provide a possible theoretical and practical addition to the thorough and well-developed framework by Prčić (2005/2011, 2014a, 2014b), which has been further successfully applied and adapted in numerous studies of anglicisms in Serbian, as well as to the pragmatic approach of Panić-Kavgić (2006) and stylistic approach of Milić (2013). The notions of M-heuristics, manner and markedness, can provide the insight into the manner and users' motivations for the use of anglicisms, as a complementary point of view to the study of the recep-

tion and understanding of anglicisms, and for a variety of anglicisms, not just those used stylistically in works of literature.

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Appendix

Questionnaire used in the empirical study

	Primer	I Podvučena reč/ fraza je anglicizam	II Koristim podvučenu reč/ frazu	III Čuo/la sam da se ovo koristi. (ukoliko 'da', gde i ko obično to koristi?)	IV U potpunosti razumem značenje podvučene reči/fraze Ukoliko ne, da li možete da pretpostavite šta znači?	V Da li možete da za podvučenu reč/frazu date neki ili više sinonima, u istom kontekstu? Ukoliko da, napišite sve varijante.	VI Da li postoji razlika u značenju, upotrebi ili nekom efektu između date rečenice i one u kojoj biste upotrebili neki od sinonima? Koja vam verzija deluje uobičajenije, a koja upadljivije i zašto?
1.	Svake srede gleda <u>fudbal</u> .	Da Ne					
2.	Volim francuske <u>filmove</u> .	Da Ne					
3.	Pokaži mi <u>fotografije</u> s letovanja.	Da Ne					
4.	Studira <u>menadžment</u> u Engleskoj.	Da Ne					
5.	Koliko puta nedeljno <u>džogiraš</u> ?	Da Ne					
6.	Možda to jeste <u>bestseller</u> , ali meni se ne dopada.	Da Ne					
7.	Priča se da je <u>gej</u> .	Da Ne					

8.	Na svakom aerodromu ima <u>fri-šop</u> .	Da Ne					
9.	Nije lako opstati u <u>biznisu</u> .	Da Ne					
10.	Mi ćemo <u>edukovati</u> stručnjake za 21. vek.	Da Ne					
11.	Nakon incidenta, bilo je potrebno odmah <u>kontaktirati</u> direktora.	Da Ne					
12.	(U prodavnici) Prodavac: <u>Da li mogu da Vam pomognem?</u> Kupac: Da li imate ovakvu košulju broj 42?	Da Ne					
13.	Ana: Izvini zbog one šolje. Boba: Ma, <u>zaboravi!</u> Imam ih toliko!	Da Ne					
14.	(na ekranu bankomata ili na računu posle obavljene transakcije) <u>Hvala što ste koristili naše usluge.</u>	Da Ne					

15.	(na računu za benzin ili na tabli za izlazu s benzinske pumpe) <u>Prijatan put!</u>	Da Ne					
16.	Maca: Vidi šta sam nabacila u šopingu. Goga: <u>Vau!</u> Strava!	Da Ne					
17.	Vidimo se sutra, <u>okej?</u>	Da Ne					
18.	Daj mi još jedan krug, <u>pliz!</u>	Da Ne					
19.	<u>Sori</u> , poslala sam ti pogrešan fajl, evo stiže pravi.	Da Ne					
20.	Ema (ispustivši parče hleba s džemom koje pada namazanom stranom na beli stolnjak): <u>Ups!</u>	Da Ne					

IMA LI ŽIVOTA U SRBIJI BEZ ANGLICIZAMA? PRAGMATIČKI PRISTUP

Rezime

Obimna istraživanja anglicizama, a posebno uticaja engleskog jezika na srpski u značajnoj meri su usmerena teorijskim postulatima iznetim u radovima T. Prčića iz oblasti leksikologije i kontaktne lingvistike (prvenstveno u Prčić 2005/2011), kao o njihovoj primeni u leksikografskom radu (Vasić, Prčić, Nejgebauer 2001/2011). Cilj ovoga rada je da predstavi jedan skorašnji pragmatičko orijentisani pristup proučavanju pozajmljenica predložen u radu A. Onyska i E. Winter-Froemel (2011) kojim bi se dosadašnja istraživanja mogla dopuniti tako što će se dodati još jedan ugao posmatranja u istraživanju anglikanizacije srpskog jezika. U radu je data i empirijska ilustracija kako bi ova pragmatička dimenzija mogla biti upotrebljena za dalja istraživanja pragmatičkih aspekata upotrebe, percepiranja i razumevanja anglicizama u srpskom.

Ključne reči: anglicizmi, srpski jezik, pragmatika, implikature, pragmatičko pozajmljivanje, obeleženi izbor

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SIGNALING IRONY

Bearing in mind the subtlety of verbal irony and the fact that its interpretation is a very specific process of inference, the recognition of verbal irony is heavily reliant on the so-called signals, markers or cues of irony. A thorough literature overview reveals that there is great versatility of such markers, some preferred in oral and some in written discourse. In this paper we offer an overview of the various irony markers mentioned by contemporary researchers. We also raise the issue that clearer “boundaries” between the irony markers, on the one hand, and the types of irony and the conditions for irony, on the other hand, should be established.

Key words: verbal irony, irony markers/signals, types of irony markers

1. Introduction

Numerous scholars have argued over the need for and the nature of ironic markers. Manifestly in favor of the markers, one set of researchers define them as metacommunicative clues which “alert the reader to the fact that a sentence is ironical” (Attardo 2000a: 7). In their view, each ironic expression is composed of two parts - an ironic utterance and a signal (linguistic or of some other kind) which changes the meaning of the utterance (Löffler 1975: 125 in Stanel 2006: 33). Following this line of thinking, these researchers so far have managed to identify many different markers of irony in both oral and written discourse (Clyne 1974; Löffler 1975; Barbe 1995; Mucke 1978; Hutcheon 1995 etc.).

Another set of researchers, however, question their significance by contending that irony markers are neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for ironicalness (Kreuz 2000) and that ironic utterances may require, but not necessarily, the presence of such markers (Utsumi 2000).

In this paper we concur with researchers who acknowledge irony markers as a very prominent aspect of verbal irony and we look through various studies in order to obtain as profound insight into this issue as possible. More precisely, this paper encompasses various classifications which put in the foreground a wide array of irony markers used in ironic utterances to alleviate the process of expressing and processing irony.

We also try to draw attention to the fact that irony markers should be more precisely delineated and distinguished from the other aspects of verbal irony such as the conditions for ironicalness and the different types of irony.

2. An overview of some of the classifications of irony markers

What follows in this section is a chronological presentation of some of the contemporary studies which take a broader and more inclusive approach to identifying and classifying the different types of irony markers.

One of the first and more comprehensive classifications of the markers of irony is proposed by Muecke (1978), who claims that “verbal irony is a skill, to say the least, but also an art, since in order to say something ironical one has to say it without saying it, i.e. one has to simultaneously say and not say something.” Analyzing various ironic expressions, Muecke noticed that the spectrum of irony markers is actually quite wide and that it encompasses many distinct types of markers which range from phonological (intonation, rhythm etc.) to non-verbal signals (gestures, movements etc.). More precisely, he proposes a classification which includes the following markers depending on whether there is contradiction between:

1. *The text¹ and the context.* Normally, both interlocutors presuppose that they perceive the world in the same way; that they have common values, customs and general knowledge. Hence, the context on which interlocutors rely heavily when using ironic expressions could vary from one single fact to an entire socio-cultural environment; from what is known only to interlocutors themselves to what is universally known and accepted.

2. *The text and the co-text.* When the speaker feels that he/she cannot rely on the context to signal the irony, he/she has to create verbal context, i.e. has to confront two parts of the text itself. The same thing can be achieved by a sudden or abrupt change in the expressions he/she is using or in the content itself.

3. *The text and the text.* The presence of irony could be signaled by expressions which are evidently inadequate or unnecessary in a given context. They can be classified as: kinesics, typographic, phonetic, lexical and discursive. Kinesics

¹ The term ‘text’, in this context, refers to any sequence of words in both, written or oral form.

markers include facial expressions and head movements (looking over the glasses suspiciously, bowing ironically, applauding, nodding, winking etc.). Typographic markers of VI comprise exclamation marks, stars, quotation marks etc. Phonetic markers include nasalization, “blank” tone of voice and lack of accent, voice softening, fake coughing, imitating somebody’s voice etc. Lexical signals are usually words (mostly adverbs and adjectives used as intensifiers) and meta-linguistic tags used ironically (e.g. “*let’s say*“, “*so to speak*“, etc.). Finally, the so-called discursive signals include rhetoric questions and speech register changes (e.g. using elevated literary style in ordinary informal conversation etc.).

Willer and Groeben’s list of markers (1980) includes several other markers dubbed morpho-syntactic signals which pertain to changes in the word order of the expressions; using an adjective instead of a noun (e.g. “*Mr. Smart*”); omitting words from the expressions; unnecessary repetition of parts of the expression and using oxymoron (in Stanel 2006: 39).

Haiman (1989) expands Willer and Groeben’s list (1980) by including laughter, disdainful face, intonation changes, nasalization and quotation. He also assigns the role of irony markers to words and phrases such as ‘like’ which is used to warn the interlocutor that he is not to believe in what he/ she is going to hear next (e.g. “*Like I care.*“ (=“*I don’t care.*“), “*Like there’s any difference.*“ (=“*There’s no difference*“)); the negation ‘not’ used at the end of an expression which allows the speaker to believe in the sincerity of the previous expression up to the point when he hears it (e.g. “*He’s a snappy dresser . . . not!*“, “*Guess I’ll hit the books in time for that quiz . . . not!*“), and the double phrase ‘*Not that ... or anything*’ whose first part is used at the beginning of the expression and second part at the end of the expression (e.g. “*Not that I care about the money or anything.*“ (=“*I care passionately about the money*“)). Haiman (1989: 57) also considers the repetition of signs of assent (e.g. “*Sure*“, “*Right*“, “*Of course*“, “*Yeah*“, “*Yeah, right*“) and changes in the word order of expressions (e.g. “*A fine friend you turned out to be!*“, “*Some party this is!*“) as signals of irony.

Hutcheon (1994) in her research on irony primarily highlights that “nothing is an irony signal in and of itself”, and that a marker will be “a successful marker” only if it is recognized as such by a discursive community. Nevertheless, she recognizes the existence of: 1) paraverbal markers, i.e. gestural markers (a smirk, a wink, a raised eyebrow, the tongue in cheek), 2) phonic markers (throat clearing, change of voice register, alterations of speed, or the stressing of certain words, intonation and tone of voice), 3) graphic markers - punctuation signs and typographical markers (quotation marks, inverted commas, italics, diacritics, exclamation marks, question marks, dashes, ellipses, parentheses), 4) overtly metalinguistic remarks (e.g. ‘*so-called*’, ‘*so to speak*’, ‘*of course*’, ‘*as they say*’), 5) signals that function structurally (various register changes;

exaggeration/understatement; contradiction/incongruity; literalization/simplification; repetition and echoic mention).

Evidently, Hutcheon's classification greatly overlaps with Muecke's third category of markers, *contradiction between the text and the text*, yet he chooses to use different terms (paraverbal/gestural instead of kinesics; graphic instead of typographic; phonic instead of phonetic; overtly metalinguistic remarks instead of meta-linguistic tags used ironically; signals that function structurally instead of discursive signals).

Kreuz (1996) in his research on verbal irony recognizes quite an extensive list of signals which could be used in ironic expressions: 1) contextual signals, i.e. discrepancy between the expression and the circumstances (saying something which is obviously false); 2) litotes and hyperboles; 3) truthful expressions which are relevant but not completely relevant to a given situation; 4) echoic mentions of expectations, norms and mutual viewpoints; 5) extra linguistic signals such as: intonation and prosody of the expressions and certain facial expressions; 6) questions, offers, overly polite demands and expressive speech acts; 7) tag questions; 8) typographic signals such as: italics, quotation marks, underlining, bold and capital letters.

In his classification Kreuz (1996), evidently, makes mention of some new types of irony markers which have not been included in the previous classifications - the speech acts (questions, offers, overly polite demands and expressive speech acts).

Irony markers have also been investigated by Utsumi (2000) who proposes a very simple classification of the already identified irony markers. He allocates the markers into two rather broad categories: verbal and non-verbal irony markers. The category of the verbal markers, according to Utsumi, on the one hand, includes: adjectives (e.g. *wonderful*, *magnificent*), adverbs (e.g. *certainly*, *really*, *absolutely*); metaphors, hyperboles; exclamations (e.g. "*Oh!*", "*Augh!*", "*God!*"); prosodic paralinguistic signals (e.g. stress, intonation, overly accentuation, slow speech rate, nasalization) and speech acts (e.g. thanking, compliments etc.). The category of the non-verbal markers, on the other hand, refers to some specific facial expressions (e.g. disdainful look or 'blank' face), as well as some specific body movements (e.g. gestures, laughter, pointing at somebody or something).

In more recent times, Rosolovska (2011) analyzed American British and Ukrainian newspaper headlines and confirmed the existence of a host of irony markers: metaphors; rhetorical questions; omission; invented words created by adding certain lexical parts to the already existing nouns; oxymoron; euphemisms - softening expressions; cut sentences; reinforcing expressions (e.g. '*it is clear*', '*that is*', '*for sure*', '*it is natural*'); alliteration of phonemes or words as possible irony markers which, if used in an incongruent way, may cause ironic effect; replacement of

sentence parts, colloquial words, inversion of the subject and the direct object; the usage of some specific syntactic constructions; polysemy, homonymy, antonyms and idioms; negation of a sentence or a word; the usage of an opposite speech act (e.g. an order instead of a prohibition, a statement instead of a question) etc.

Several of these irony markers enumerated in Rosolovska's classification (the usage of colloquial words; the creation of new words and the usage of euphemisms) were not, in fact, mentioned by the previous categorizations.

Finally, one of the most recent attempts to compile a more comprehensive classification of the markers of VI is attributed to Burgers et al. (2013). According to them the signals should be roughly classified in four different categories: a) tropes such as hyperboles (Kreuz & Roberts 1995), rhetorical questions (Muecke 1978), b) schematic markers such as repetition (Muecke 1978) and a change of register (Haiman 1998), c) morpho-syntactic markers such as exclamations (Seto 1998) and tag-questions (Kreuz 1996) and d) typographic markers such as quotation marks (Attardo 2001) and emoticons (Kreuz 1996).

Burgers et al.'s classification of the markers also greatly resembles the previously mentioned classifications as it deals with more or less the same categories of markers, however, its importance, most assuredly, stems from the fact that this classification confirms that previous researchers' findings are still relevant to date.

3. Discussion

The overview of the different classifications of irony markers presented in this paper, we believe, offers a fair insight into what has been acknowledged as a very important aspect of verbal irony – signaling ironicalness. This overview also confirms the existence of a huge variety of linguistic and nonlinguistic means, which in appropriate circumstances, especially, when the context is not revealing enough (Bryant & Fox Tree 2002: 100) could act as cues for irony.

Nevertheless, this overview also raises another significant issue pertaining to the irony markers, on the one hand, and two other aspects of verbal irony: the types of verbal irony and the conditions for ironicalness, on the other hand. Namely, the above-presented classifications of the irony markers reveal that the "boundaries" among the irony markers, the conditions for ironicalness and the types of verbal irony are not always very transparent and clear-cut. In other words, what a particular researcher treats as an irony marker is treated as a condition for ironicalness or a specific type of irony by other researchers.

For instance, Muecke's *contradiction between the text and the context* marker, Hutcheon's *contradiction/incongruity* marker and Kreuz's *discrepancy be-*

tween the expression and the circumstances (saying something which is obviously false) marker are all tantamount to the condition for ironicalness - discrepancy between the expectations and the reality (e.g. “Such a wonderful weather today!”- uttered during a thunderstorm by someone who expected a nice weather), which is at the core of Kumon-Nakamura et al.’s *Allusional Pretence Theory* (1995), Attardo’s *Relevant Inappropriateness Theory of Verbal Irony* (2000), Utsumi’s *Implicit Display Theory* by (2000) and Colston’s *Theory of Verbal Irony* (2000).

Hutcheon’s *echoic mention* marker and Kreuz’s *echoic mentions of expectations, norms and mutual viewpoints* marker is what, in fact, is presented as the main condition for ironicalness in Sperber & Wilson’s *Echoic Mention Theory of Verbal Irony* (1981, 1986). Namely, according to them the ironist does not use but mentions somebody’s utterances, opinions, standpoints etc. in order to express disregard for them and to disassociate himself from them (Wilson & Sperber 1981: 305).

The marker called *truthful expressions which are relevant but not completely relevant to a given situation* in Kreuz’s classification, however, has previously been recognized both as a separate type of verbal irony, namely factual or truth-telling irony (Martin 1992) (e.g. “I love children who keep their rooms tidy” – uttered by a mother to her untidy son) and as a condition for ironicalness in Attardo’s *The Relevant Inappropriateness Theory* (2000).

Also, Kreuz’s treatment of hyperboles (e.g. “I should check 10 000 tests by noon!” – uttered by a teacher to his colleague) and litotes (e.g. “He is a little bit tipsy”- for someone who is extremely drunk) as markers is in contrast with some previous contentions according to which these two tropes should be treated as separate types of verbal irony (Winner et al. 1987).

Additionally, the treatment of the speech acts (directives, commissives and expressives) as irony markers in Kreuz’s classification is not compatible with their treatment as distinct types of ironic expressions proposed by Kumon-Nakamura et al. (1995). Namely, according to Kumon-Nakamura et al. (1995) when these speech acts are pragmatically insincere, i.e. when they are used for something different from what they are normally used for, they could be used ironically. In fact, they noted that irony can be conveyed not only through counterfactual assertions, but also by a) true assertions such as “You sure are hungry” to a person who have just ate half of the pizza meant to be shared among five persons; b) over polite requests, such as “I hate to bother you, but would it put you out too terribly much if you refrained from walking naked in front of your living room window,” from a neighbor with kids who frequently play in their front yard across the window; c) questions, such as “Would you like another beer?” to a guest who apparently who apparently had enough to drink and was becoming obnoxious; and d) offerings, such as “Here,

warm up with a few practice balls,” to a bowling opponent who had just thrown three strikes in a row.

Bearing in mind all of the above-stated facts, in our view, it is of a paramount importance to clearly distinguish between these three aspects (markers, conditions and types) of verbal irony. In that vein, we propose that the discrepancy between the expression and the circumstances (saying something which is obviously false) and the echoic mention of expectations, norms and viewpoints should be treated solely as conditions for irony as it is, in fact, purported in *The Allusional Pretence Theory* (Kumon-Nakamura et al. 1995) and *The Theory of Verbal Irony as an Echoic Mention* (Sperber & Wilson 1981, 1986), respectively. Namely, these two conditions should receive an equal treatment as the rest of the conditions for ironicalness put forward by the rest of the theories which define verbal irony.²

Furthermore, as to the tropes (e.g. hyperboles, litotes etc.), we personally reckon that they cannot be treated as separate types of irony as they are not always used ironically, i.e. irony is not their primary feature. They should be considered solely as irony markers which when used in an ironic utterance simply alert the interlocutor of the fact that he/she should uncover another layer of meaning of the expression which is different from the literal one.

Finally, the speech acts used in a pragmatically insincere way, in our opinion, should be treated as separate types of verbal irony alongside with the speech act of the assertives which are, in fact, the most commonly acknowledged and used type of ironic expressions.

4. Conclusion

This paper deals with irony markers and by offering an overview of the classifications of the markers proposed by various researchers it confirms the fact that signaling irony is a very important aspect of verbal irony which assists ironists in expressing irony and their interlocutors in properly interpreting it. Additionally, the paper reveals the existence of a huge variety of linguistic and nonlinguistic means which in adequate circumstances can undertake the role of irony markers. Finally, it also sheds some light on the fact that clearer “boundaries” should be set among

² ‘**Pretense**’ in The Pretense Theory of Irony (Clark and Gerrig 1984); ‘**allusional pretense**’ in The Allusional Pretense Theory (Kumon-Nakamura et al. 1995); ‘**relevant inappropriateness**’ in The Relevance Inappropriateness Theory (Attardo 2000); ‘**implicit display**’ in The Implicit Display Theory (Utsumi 2000); ‘**contrast**’ in Colston’s Theory of Verbal Irony (Colston 2000); ‘**reversal of evaluation**’ in Irony as Reversal of Evaluation Theory (Partington 2007) etc.

irony markers and other aspects of verbal irony such as: conditions for ironicalness and types of irony.

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СИГНАЛИЗИРАЊЕ ИРОНИЈА

Резиме

Имајки ја предвид субтилноста на вербалната иронија и фактот дека нејзиното толкување е многу специфичен процес на инференција, препознавањето на вербалната иронија во голема мера зависи од таканаречените сигнали, маркери или знаци за иронија. Подетален преглед на литературата за вербална иронија открива дека постои голема разновидност на вакви маркери, од кои некои се претпочитаат во устен а некои во пишан дискурс. Во овој труд нудиме преглед на различни маркери за вербална иронија кои се споменуваат од современите истражувачи. Исто така се поставува и прашањето во врска со воспоставување „појасни граници“ помеѓу маркерите

за вербална иронија, од една страна, и типовите на иронија и условите за иронија, од друга страна.

Клучни зборови: вербална иронија, маркери/сигнали за иронија, типови вербална иронија

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ASPEKTUALNE I TEMPORALNE KARAKTERISTIKE GLAGOLSKOG OBLIKA PREZENT PERFEKAT U ENGLESKOM JEZIKU¹

Engleski glagolski oblik prezent perfekat, često obrađivan u stručnoj literaturi, predstavlja kompleksnu temu i može se proučavati sa različitih polaznih tačaka. Uz njegovu funkciju i upotrebu, jedna od središnjih tema svakako je ona koja razmatra aspektualnu i temporalnu prirodu ovog engleskog glagolskog oblika. Polazeći od postavki iz relevantne literature, u ovom radu se izučavaju komponente značenja prezent perfekta koje se mogu povezati sa aspektom (glagolskim vidom) i glagolskim vremenom, s ciljem da se naznači koje od njih su prisutne i eventualno dominantne. Da bi se ta značenja proučila, u radu se analiziraju relevantne rečenice iz engleskog korpusa koji obuhvata 203 primera iz savremenog britanskog romana *Nice Work* Dejvida Lodža. Analiza primera pokazala je da engleski prezent perfekat prvenstveno implicira specifična aspektualna značenja, a da su temporalna značenja sekundarna.

Ključne reči: aspekt, aspektualne karakteristike, engleski jezik, glagolsko vreme, prezent perfekat

1. Uvod

Engleski perfekatski glagolski oblici (oblici koji sadrže pomoćni glagol *have* i prošli particip leksičkog glagola) ukrštaju se sa sva tri glavna segmenta na vremenskoj osi - sa prošlošću, sadašnjosti i budućnošću, pa čine specifičan celovit podsistem glagolskih oblika koji treba povezati sa ostalim glagolskim oblicima u engleskom jeziku, odnosno naznačiti po čemu se on razlikuje od tih drugih oblika. Upravo takvo određenje za ceo ovaj podsistem perfekatskih oblika stvara kako teo-

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rijske, tako i praktičke poteškoće u lingvističkoj analizi, počevši od same kategorije u koju ga treba svrstati – u glagolski vid (aspekt) ili glagolsko vreme (na primer, up. Novakov 2008). Naime, perfektski oblici podrazumevaju temporalnu komponentu, ali se njihova upotreba ne može u potpunosti objasniti samo u okviru glagolskog vremena - to se naročito odnosi na prezent perfekat (oblik sa pomoćnim glagolom *have* u prezentu iza kojeg sledi prošli particip leksičkog glagola). Imajući sve to u vidu, u ovom radu će se razmotriti komponente značenja i upotreba engleskog prezent perfekta da bi se proučile njegove aspektualne i temporalne karakteristike.

2. Osnovne teorijske postavke

Dobro je poznato da starije gramatike engleskog jezika (na primer, Thomson i Martinet 1992, prvo izdanje 1960) prezent perfekat svrstavaju u glagolska vremena, jer obično ni ne razmatraju kategoriju glagolskog vida. Međutim, relativno novije obimnije gramatike kao što je *A Grammar of Contemporary English* grupe autora (Quirk et al. 1985, prvo izdanje 1972. godine) u opis engleskog jezika uključuju kategoriju aspekta i navode dva para aspektualnih kontrasta od kojih je jedan perfektivni-neperfektivni (*perfective-nonperfective*, Quirk et al. 1985: 90)². Isti autori navode i da se aspektualne kategorije kombinuju sa glagolskim vremenom, gradeći kompleksan temporalno-aspektualni sistem u engleskom jeziku. Kada se radi o prezent perfektu, u ovoj gramatici konstatuje se da on označava vremenski period koji se prostire unazad do nekog ranijeg vremena, da se radi o prošlosti koja je relevantna u sadašnjosti (*current relevance*, Quirk et al. 1985: 91). Upoređujući parove engleskih rečenica koje sadrže prosto prošlo vreme i prezent perfekat, autori navode da je izbor prezent perfekta povezan sa vremenskom orijentacijom (*time-orientation*) i različitim vremenskim indikatorima (*time-indicators*), odnosno specifičnim adverbijalima. Sažeto objašnjavajući konkretne upotrebe prezent perfekta, autori navode da prezent perfekt označava situacije koje još traju u trenutku govora ili u tom trenutku postoje njihove posledice (Quirk et. al 1985: 91).

Navedimo i studiju o engleskom glagolu Džefrija Liča (Leech 2004, prvo izdanje 1971) u kojoj autor piše o progresivnom aspektu, ali prezent perfekat obrađuje u poglavlju „The Expression of Past Time” (Leech 2004: 35-54) u kojem taj glagolski oblik naziva *present perfect tense* i napominje da on označava vremenski period koji traje do sadašnjeg trenutka ili rezultate koji postoje u sadašnjem vremenu (Leech 2004: 36).

Novija obimnija gramatika engleskog jezika *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002), međutim, sve engleske perfekatske

² U ovom radu koristiće se termin *perfekatski*, a ne *perfektivni* da bi se napravila razlika između perfekatskog i perfektivnog glagolskog vida.

oblike svrstava u nedeiktčko prošlo glagolsko vreme (*non-deictic past tense*, Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 140). Naime, u odeljku „Perfect Tense” autori pišu o sekundarnom sistemu glagolskog vremena koji je nedeiktčan jer njegova orijentaciona tačka nije trenutak govora (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 140). Uz to, autori navode uobičajene upotrebe prezent perfekta: iskustveni (*experiential*), rezultativni (*resultative*), perfekat bliske prošlosti (*recent past*) (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 142- 145).

Na kraju ovog dela pomenućemo i dve tipološke studije koje se bave opštom definicijom glagolskog vida. Autor studije *Aspect* Bernard Komri (Comrie 1976) tretira perfekatske oblike (engleske i odgovarajuće oblike u drugim jezicima) kao specifičan aspekt koji ne govori ništa direktno o samoj situaciji, već povezuje neko stanje sa prethodnom situacijom (Comrie 1976: 52). Konstatujući da zbog razlike između perfekta u odnosu na uobičajeno shvatanje glagolskog vida postoje sumnje da li perfekat uopšte treba svrstati u kategoriju aspekta, Komri se opredeljuje da sledi tradicionalnu terminologiju i uključi perfekat u studiju o aspektu, uz napomenu da je drugačiji od ostalih aspekata koji se pominju u toj studiji (Comrie 1976: 52). Uz to, Komri smatra da perfekat označava relevantnost prošle situacije u sadašnjosti, da izražava vezu između dve vremenske tačke: između vremena u kojem postoji dato stanje koje je rezultat prethodne situacije i vremena te prethodne situacije (Comrie 1976: 52). Ta opšta definicija (relevantnost prethodne situacije u sadašnjosti) podrazumeva nekoliko specifičnih manifestacija, odnosno tipova perfekta: sadašnje stanje je rezultat neke prošle situacije (perfekat rezultata), data situacija se desila barem jednom (ili se nije desila nijednom) tokom nekog vremena u prošlosti do sada (iskustveni perfekat), data situacija traje od prošlosti do sadašnjeg trenutka (perfekat trajne situacije) i prošla situacija se desila nedavno, vremenski je blizu sadašnjem trenutku (perfekat bliske prošlosti) (Comrie 1976: 56-60).

Druga tipološka studija (Dahl 1987), koja prikazuje rezultate obimnog istraživanja na korpusu od 64 jezika iz različitih jezičkih porodica, takođe obrađuje perfekat. Dal perfekat komentariše u posebnom poglavlju, ne u poglavljima koja imaju naslove „Aspectual Categories” i „Tense Categories”, što očitó ukazuje na specifičnu prirodu perfekta. Na početku poglavlja o perfektu Dal konstatuje da semantika kategorije perfekta spada u teme o kojima se najviše raspravlja u okviru teorije gramatičkih kategorija (Dahl 1987: 129). On smatra da se na osnovu sprovedenog istraživanja može pretpostaviti postojanje posebne kategorije perfekat (*perfect*, Dahl 1987: 129) koja postoji u većem broju jezika (u 24 ili 27% jezika iz Dalovog istraživanja) i koju treba razlikovati od kategorije perfektivnosti. Pišući o upotrebi perfekta, i Dal navodi perfekat rezultata i perfekat trajne situacije.

Već i iz ovog kratkog pregleda može se steći utisak o kompleksnosti kategorije perfekta u engleskom jeziku: u starijim pedagoškim i nekim novijim gramatikama svrstava se u glagolska vremena, u nekim novijim gramatikama i tipološkim studijama u aspekt, a ponekad i u posebnu kategoriju.

2.1. Glagolsko vreme i glagolski vid

Na kraju uvodnog dela treba još naznačiti od kojih definicija proučavanih kategorija se polazi u ovom radu. Glagolsko vreme se definiše kao gramatikalizovano lociranje situacija u fizičkom vremenu (Comrie 1986: 9), odnosno kao pozicija date situacije na vremenskoj osi u odnosu na deiktički centar - trenutak govora (u slučaju apsolutnih vremena) ili u odnosu na neku drugu vremensku tačku (u slučaju relativnih vremena). Pri tome, da bi se glagolska vremena odredila, prema postavkama H. Rajhenbaha (Reichenbach 1947: 288) potrebne su tri temporalne tačke: tačka govora (deiktički centar), tačka događaja (vreme kada se dati događaj realizuje) i referencijalna tačka (orijentaciona tačka data iz konteksta). Kada se radi o prezent perfektu, tačka događaja prethodi tački govora koja je simultana sa orijentacionom tačkom.³

S druge strane, glagolski vid ili aspekt prilično je teško odrediti na opštelnogvističkom nivou, dakle ne samo na nivou pojedine grupe jezika (na primer slovenskih jezika). Najopštija tipološka definicija kaže da se aspekt odnosi na sagledavanje unutrašnjeg temporalnog ustrojstva date situacije, za razliku od glagolskog vremena koje se odnosi na spoljašnje, fizičko vreme (Comrie 1976: 3).

3. Analiza primera

Imajući u vidu činjenicu da se engleski perfekat, dakle i prezent perfekat, u relevantnoj literaturi svrstava u različite kategorije, najčešće u glagolsko vreme ili glagolski vid, u centralnom delu rada će se proučiti temporalne i aspektualne komponente u upotrebi tog oblika sa ciljem da se proceni koje od njih dominiraju.

3.1. Korpus

Kao što je već pomenuto, u ovom radu empirijsko istraživanje zasniva se na korpusu, relevantnim primerima iz romana *Nice Work* savremenog britanskog autora Dejvida Lodža (Lodge 1989). Nakon pregleda teksta celog romana (384 strane) registrovana je 191 rečenica sa 203 primera prezent perfekta; u korpus su ušle sve rečenice iz Lodžovog romana koje su sadržale prezent perfekat, dakle kriterijum za sastavljanje korpusa podrazumevao je formalno prisustvo glagolskog oblika prezent perfekta u rečenici. Struktura korpusa prikazana je u Tabelama 1 i 2:

³ Po tome se engleski prezent perfekat razlikuje od prostog prošlog vremena: kod ovog drugog orijentaciona tačka je simultana sa tačkom događaja.

Broj	Prezent perfekat	Broj primera	Procenat
1	Prosti	182	90%
2	Progresivni	21	10%
	UKUPNO	203	100%

Tabela 1: struktura korpusa (prosti i progresivni oblik)

Broj	Prezent perfekat	Broj primera	Procenat
1	Izjavni	159	78%
2	Uz negaciju sa <i>not</i>	19	9.5%
3	Upitni	18	9%
4	Upitno-negativni	7	3.5%
	UKUPNO	203	100%

Tabela 2: struktura korpusa (izjavni, negirani i upitni oblici)

Kao što se može videti iz navedenih tablela, u korpusu preovlađuje prosti prezent perfekat (90% primera), što je bilo i očekivano, mada možda u manjem procentu. Isto tako, ubedljivo je najviše primera u izjavnim rečenicama (78%), a znatno manje u negiranim i upitnim, a posebno u upitno-negativnim rečenicama.

Kada se radi o opštoj strukturi korpusa, treba još napomenuti da su kao negativni u Tabeli 2 upisani samo primeri sa eksplicitnom negacijom (uz partikulu *not*), a ne i primeri kod kojih se negacija označava negativnim adverbijalom poput *never*. Uz to, treba još dodati da u korpusu postoji 16 primera (8.4%) prezent perfekta u pasivu.

3.2. Tipovi prezent perfekta u korpusu

Kao što je u uvodnom delu pomenuto, prezent perfekat se u relevantnoj literaturi deli na nekoliko tipova. U ovom radu poći će se od tipične podele na perfekat rezultata, iskustveni perfekat, perfekat trajne situacije i perfekat bliske prošlosti (up. Comrie 1976: 56-61). Ti tipovi prezent perfekta zastupljeni su u korpusu u približno istom broju primera, što pokazuje Tabela 3:

Broj	Tip prezent perfekta	Broj primera	Procenat
1	Perfekat rezultata	48	24%
2	Iskustveni perfekat	43	21%

3	Perfekta trajne situacije	51	25%
4	Perfekta bliske prošlosti	61	30%
	UKUPNO	203	100%

Tabela 3: tipovi prezent perfekta u korpusu

2.2.1. Prezent perfekta rezultata

Kada se razmatra upotreba ovog tipa prezent perfekta, treba konstatovati da se on koristi da bi označio situaciju u sadašnjosti koja je posledica neke situacije iz obično bliže prošlosti. Procena o tome šta se može smatrati posledicom ili rezultatom često je subjektivna, odnosno ne postoji objektivno merilo kojim bi se preciziralo šta se može smatrati rezultatom. Kada se radi o temporalnoj komponenti u upotrebi ovog tipa perfekta, situacija podrazumeva događaj koji je počeo i završio se u prošlosti, ali je doveo do posledica koje još uvek postoje u sadašnjosti, a koje govornik ili pisac procenjuju kao relevantne u sadašnjem trenutku. Upravo zbog te relevantnosti se i koristi prezent perfekta, a ne englesko prosto prošlo vreme. Ipak, treba naglasiti da se prezent perfekta (za razliku od *prošlog perfekta* ili *budućeg perfekta*) definiše direktno u odnosu na deiktički centar, ali uz pretpostavku da taj deiktički centar istovremeno predstavlja i orijentacionu tačku (koju, kao što je pomenuto, navodi Rajhenbah). To bi značilo da se prezent perfekta ne mora svrstati u nedeiktička glagolska vremena, kako to čine Hadlston i Pulam (Huddleston and Pullum 2002).

Navešćemo nekoliko tipičnih primera iz korpusa:

- 1) The shrinkage of heavy industry, and the development of new forms of energy, **have reduced** the visible pollution of the air... (32)
- 2) Now it seems that the cuts **have clipped** his wings. (63)
- 3) 'Only because you've **made** her think she isn't,' said Robyn. (237)

U navedenim primerima posledice ili rezultati su konkretno fizičko stanje nastalo zbog ranijih događaja (1) ili promenjen stav (3), odnosno promena okolnosti bitnih za dati subjekat (2). Sintaksički subjekti koji dovode do rezultata u ovim primerima su animatni agens (3) ili procesi (1, 2).

Sledeći primeri ilustruju problem koji se može javiti kada treba proceniti relevantnost posledica ili rezultata:

- 4) Vic grunts, unsurprised that his Marketing Director **has not yet arrived**. (36)
- 5) '**Have** you **read** Freud, then?' (137)
- 6) '**I've had** enough,' said Penny Black, getting to her feet. (304)

Ovi primeri ukazuju na moguće dvosmislenosti i na relativnost koncepta rezultata. Naime, primer (4) može se shvatiti kao negativan rezultat, odnosno odsustvo

rezultata, ali i kao odsustvo događaja u bliskoj prošlosti – dakle kao perfekat bliske prošlosti. Pitanje (5) se isto tako može odnositi na rezultativno stanje nakon događaja iz prošlosti (čitavanja) – poznavanje Frojdovog dela, ali i na pitanje o situaciji iz nedavne prošlosti. Slično je i sa primerom (6): najverovatnije tumačenje je da se radi o mentalnom stavu koji je nastao zbog nečijeg ponašanja ili datih okolnosti, ali je moguće i tumačenje dešavanja u neposrednoj prošlosti.

2.2.2. *Iskustveni perfekat*

Ovaj tip perfekta upotrebljava se da označi doživljaj ili doživljaje koji su se desili (ili nisu desili) tokom datog perioda (nečijeg života ili kraćeg perioda), pa čine deo iskustva ili odsustvo iskustva određenog subjekta. Temporalna komponenta podrazumeva da je obuhvaćen period koji počinje u prošlosti i traje do sadašnjeg trenutka, a tokom kojeg se određeni događaj desio bar jednom (uz moguće ponavljanje) ili se uošte nije desio.

Ovo su neki tipični primeri iz korpusa:

- 7) It **has** already **been used** twice for the circulation of internal mail and resealed by means of staples and Sellotape. (84)
- 8) I've **seen** it happen to a lot of good MDs that got fired. (135)
- 9) They've **given** him such a rough time in the past, at conferences and in reviews.' (329)

Dakle, navedeni primeri pokazuju ponavljanje date situacije, na šta ukazuju adverbijali (*twice*, primer 7) ili širi kontekst (više osoba kao u primeru 8, ili množina imenica *conferences* i *reviews* u primeru 9). Treba naglasiti da ove situacije nisu samo locirane u prošlost upotrebom prostog prošlog vremena, već je iskorišćen prezent perfekat da bi se naznačila povezanost sa sadašnjim trenutkom.

Naredni primeri ilustruju negativno iskustvo:

- 10) Robyn has only the dimmest memories of the country of her birth, and **has** never **had** the opportunity to refresh or renew them... (42)
- 11) I've never **attended** an international conference in my life. (63)
- 12) 'You can't explain poststructuralism to someone who **hasn't** even **discovered** traditional humanism.' (218)

Naime, uz direktnu negaciju (12) ili implicitnu negaciju adverbijalom *never* (10, 11) ovi primeri impliciraju odsustvo, odnosno nepostojanje datog iskustva do trenutka govora.

2.2.3. Perfekat trajne situacije

U slučaju ovog tipa prezent perfekta, veza sa sadašnjim trenutkom se ostvaruje neprekinutim trajanjem situacije od nekog prošlog trenutka do sada. Na primer:

- 13) In his day a College of Advanced Technology, it **has** since **grown** in size and **been raised** to the status of a university.... (29)
- 14) A tradesman who **has been ringing** at the front door for several minutes gives up and goes away. (78)
- 15) 'We've **been doing** business together for a long time, Ted,' said Vic reproachfully. (204)

Kod ovog tipa perfekta postoji očita temporalna komponenta koja obuhvata segment na vremenskoj osi od date tačke u prošlosti do deiktičkog centra. Temporalni kontinuitet može se postići postepenim dužim procesom (13), eventualnim ponavljanjem kraće situacije (14) ili obavljenjem više komponenti koje čine dati događaj (15). Međutim, taj oblik temporalnosti i dalje ne podržmeva preciznije lociranje događaja, što je primarna funkcija glagolskog vremena.

Još nekoliko specifičnih primera:

- 16) 'We've **been** married twenty-three years. (237)
- 17) 'I've **been looking** at your timetable. (264)
- 18) I **haven't read** a book in months, let alone tried to write one. (324)

Primer (16) ilustruje stanje koje traje duži vremenski period, uz dodatnu informaciju da je ono neprekinuto i validno i u sadašnjem trenutku. Primer (17) ukazuje na eventualnu dvosmislenost, jer može da implicira trajanje ili blisku prošlost; pošto se radi o progresivnom aspektu, verovatnije je da je u pitanju trajanje. U primeru (18) vremenski adverbijal *in months* označava trajanje, mada bi se taj primer mogao protumačiti i kao perfekat rezultata.

Uz ovaj tip prezent perfekta treba napomenuti da svi primeri iz korpusa koji su u progresivnom vidu spadaju u ovu grupu. Uz primere koji su već navedeni (14, 15, 17), pomenimo još četiri tipična primera sa progresivnim vidom:

- 19) a) ...like clamorous patients who **have been waiting** all night for the doctor's surgery to open; (41)
b) Although she **has been teaching** now for some eight years, on and off, ... she always feels a twinge of anxiety at the beginning of a new term. (41)
c) The students who **have been writing** everything down now look up and smile wryly at Robyn Penrose, like victims of a successful hoax. (77)
d) Whereas you've **been working** for yourself in the company's time. (369)

Kao i u prethodnim primerima, i primeri (19) jasno ukazuju na duži ili kraći period tokom kojeg traje određeni proces (na primer, na to ukazuju adverbijali *all night, for some eight years*); taj proces je samo naglašen upotrebom progresivnog vida i u ovim slučajevima nema dvosmislenosti kada se radi o tipu prezent perfekta. Ipak, i ovi primeri ne podrazumevaju preciznije lociranje događaja na vremenskoj osi što bi ih približilo kategoriji glagolskog vremena, već samo naglašavaju trajanje, odnosno temporalnu kvantifikaciju date situacije.

2.2.4. *Perfekat bliske prošlosti*

Poslednji tip prezent perfekta koristi se ako prošla situacija ili neposredno prethodi deiktičkom centru ili se desila u nedefinisanoj, ali obično kratkom periodu pre tog centra. Na primer:

- 20) Marjorie **has** now **appeared** at the lounge window...(27)
- 21) They turn to face Philip Swallow, who **has** evidently just **arrived**, since he is wearing his rather grubby anorak... (61)
- 22) '**Have** you **seen** Charles recently?' he asked. (259)

U ovim primerima kontekst pokazuje da se radi o perfektu bliske prošlosti. Naime, to su tipični adverbijali *just* i *recently* (20, 21), kao i adverbijal *now* (19) u značenju *upravo*. Sledeći primeri ilustruju moguće dvosmislenosti u upotrebi:

- 23) 'I **ve** **lent** him the money, any road,' (234)
- 24) '**Have** you two **split** up, then?' (259)
- 25) 'She's **gone** to the cloakroom,' said Laura Jones... (334)

Naime, navedeni primeri bez tipičnih vremenskih adverbijala koji bi ukazivali na blisku prošlost mogu se protumačiti i kao perfekat rezultata, odnosno mogu se sagledati ne sa stanovišta događaja koji neposredno prethode deiktičkom centru, nego sa stanovišta posledica koje ti događaji stvaraju.

3. Diskusija i zaključak

Nakon kratkog prikaza tipičnih primera iz korpusa za svaki tip prezent perfekta i komentara o njihovoj upotrebi mogu se izneti određena zapažanja o centralnoj temi ovog rada – temporalnim i aspektualnim komponentama u upotrebi engleskog prezent perfekta.

Prvo bi trebalo konstatovati da je u slučaju prezent perfekta temporalna orijentaciona tačka (To) simultana sa deiktičkim centrom (Td), a da vreme realizacije situacije (Ts) označene ovim engleskim glagolskim oblikom spada u duži ili kraći period koji prethodi To/Td (up. Huddleston and Pulum 2002: 140-141). Dakle, kako

navodi Rajhenbah (Reichenbach 1947: 290), razlika između engleskog prezent perfekta i prostog prošlog vremena formalno se može sagledati kao razlika u poziciji orijentacione tačke To: u slučaju prostog prošlog vremena ona je simultana sa Ts, sa vremenom u kojem se realizuje situacija, a ne sa Td, što se šematski može prikazati kao $Ts > To/Td$ (prezent perfekat) prema $Ts/To > Td$ (prosto prošlo vreme). Prema tome, i prezent perfekat i prosto prošlo vreme situacije lociraju u period koji direktno prethodi Td, ali prosto prošlo vreme ima primarnu funkciju glagolskog vremena - neutralno temporalno lociranje, dok prezent perfekat zahteva dodatne implikacije koje nisu striktno temporalne. Osim toga, prezent perfekat se ne može u potpunosti svrstati u tipična prošla glagolska vremena zato što je negramatičan sa adverbijalima koji označavaju specifično vreme u prošlosti, a ne može se tretirati ni kao tipično sadašnje vreme jer ne izražava osnovno prezentsko značenje - značenje pravog ili aktuelnog prezenta. Dakle, najuočljivija (i obavezna) temporalna komponenta je povezanost ranije situacije sa deiktičkim centrom, što predstavlja samo okvirno lociranje u vremenu.

Nakon temporalnih, treba razmotriti aspektualna značenja engleskog prezent perfekta. Ukoliko se pode od već pomenute opšte definicije aspekta kao sagledavanja unutrašnjeg vremenskog ustrojstva date situacije i stava da perfekat predstavlja drugačiji aspekt, specifičan po tome što povezuje određenu situaciju sa nekim trenutkom ili periodom (Comrie 1976), kao i od tipičnih implikacija u upotrebi engleskog prezent perfekta (na primer, up. Quirk et al. 1985), može se konstatovati da te implikacije podrazumevaju trajanje i kontinuitet, postojanje posledica i rezultata, sagledavanje date situacije kao dela nečijeg iskustva, ali i temporalnu implikaciju bliske prošlosti. Te implikacije, koje predstavljaju neophodan uslov da bi se gramatično upotrebio prezent perfekat u engleskom jeziku, većinom (uz eventualni izuzetak bliske prošlosti kao neposredne anteriornosti) ne spadaju u temporalno lociranje, odnosno ne mogu se direktno povezati sa lociranjem događaja na vremenskoj osi, to jest sa kategorijom glagolskog vremena.

Imajući u vidu sve što je pomenuto, ipak preovlađuju argumenti da u okviru engleskog prezent perfekta ne dominira temporalna komponenta koja primarno karakteriše kategoriju glagolskog vremena (temporalna lokacija), već specifične aspektualne komponente koje podrazumevaju temporalnu kvantifikaciju (trajanje), zatim značenja poput relevantnosti rezultata ili povezanosti date situacije sa nečijim iskustvom.

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ASPECTUAL AND TEMPORAL COMPONENTS OF ENGLISH PRESENT PERFECT

Summary

English present perfect, frequently discussed in the relevant literature, represents a complex topic and can be studied from different standpoints. Along with its function and use, the focal topics by all means include the one discussing aspectual and temporal nature of this English verb form. Starting from the assumptions from relevant literature, this paper investigates the components of meaning of present perfect which could be related to aspect and tense, with the goal to indicate which of them are implied and possibly dominant. In order to study these implications, the paper analyzes relevant sentences from the English corpus consisting of 203 examples from a contemporary British novel *Nice Work* by David Lodge. The analysis showed that the English present perfect primarily implies specific aspectual meanings and that the temporal implications are secondary.

Key words: aspect, aspectual characteristics, English, present perfect, Serbian, tense

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EXPLORING THE VALUE OF REFLECTION FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF STUDENTS’ ACADEMIC WRITING SKILLS

This paper is based on Schön’s (1987) educational premise that students who get support from experienced colleagues in the field while being encouraged to closely analyse the process of their own learning, i.e. reflect on it, usually learn more profoundly. A lot has been written on reflection since Schön’s statement. Having noticed its educational potential during my practice both as a student and as a teacher, in this paper I will make a case for reflection in the academic writing class. Adapting one of Schön’s fundamental reflection models to my academic writing context, I will evaluate my own experience of using reflection as an instructional tool and suggest ways of using it more effectively.

Key words: reflection, academic writing, autonomous learning, writing identity

1. Introduction

Reflective practice, defined by Schön (1987) as thoughtfully considering one’s own experiences in applying knowledge to practice while being coached by professionals in the discipline, was originally designed to complement the instruction in practicum-style settings in the fields of design, architecture, engineering, medicine, teacher training, etc. However, due to its generalizable principles based on learning through discovery and learner autonomy, it lends itself to adaptation in mainstream education, too.

The fundamental premise in Schön’s (1987) influential *Educating the Reflective Practitioner: Toward a new design for teaching and learning in the professions* is that acquiring professional knowledge becomes more meaningful when training sessions are accompanied by a careful consideration of one’s practical work. Schön

is a fervent believer of learning through discovery and assuming ownership of one's learning experiences. He unequivocally places the student at the centre of the teaching/learning process, defining the teacher's role as a provider of opportunities and encouragement, and the student's role as the sole owner of the learning process. By offering the learner reflection as a learning tool, Schön places even more control and power where it's due: with the learner him/herself.

Intrigued by the work of Schön, the founder of the reflective stream in education, in this paper I will create a case for incorporating reflective opportunities in the teaching of academic writing and, drawing on my experience of using reflection, I will suggest directions for the adaptation of this valuable instructional tool into the academic writing setting.

2. The case for reflection in the academic writing class

The value of reflection has been recognised now not only by those involved in practicum-style teaching, but also in more mainstream education, English language learning included. Namely, reflection is increasingly becoming a compulsory element of portfolio writing, also widely used for academic writing as illustrated in Song and August (2002).

The notion of reflection ties in with Piaget's constructivist theory of cognitive development (in Williams and Burden 1997), according to which learners internalise that part of the input which is relevant to their background knowledge (schemata). What they learn, then, will heavily depend on what they bring to the learning situation and how the target material goes through their personal cognitive, experiential, emotional, etc. filters. Since learners approach the learning situation with different sets of schemata, i.e. different filters, it is to be expected that what they learn will vary from one learner to another. Similar views about teaching and learning, foregrounding the centrality of learner agency as a driving force for learning, are espoused by Boud (2001):

“[...] learning is always grounded in prior experience and [...] any attempt to promote new learning must take into account that experience. All learning builds on existing perceptions and frameworks of understanding; therefore, links must be made between what is new and what already exists if learners are to make sense of what is happening to them” (p. 11).

The active engagement on the part of the learner is also highlighted in Schmidt's (1993) noticing hypothesis, according to which in order for input to become intake, one needs to (autonomously) notice whatever features of the construct at hand stand out as personally salient. Schmidt's theory looks like an extension to

Dewey's (1974) insistence that teachers are there to help students notice; however, they cannot make them notice:

“[The student] has to see on his own behalf and in his own way the relations between means and methods employed and results achieved. Nobody else can see for him, and he can't see just by being 'told', although the right kind of telling may guide his seeing and thus help him see what he needs to see” (p. 151).

Schön (1987) extends this point further, claiming that reflection can considerably aid the noticing process as it focuses the student's (and the teacher's!) attention on the invisible, thinking processes that inform the final learning outcomes, allowing the involved parties, thus, to take ownership of their own learning/teaching. He goes on to argue that problems in real life practice rarely present themselves as neat as they are portrayed in course books. For example, my students find Toulmin's (1958) theory of argumentation rather straightforward when we discuss it in class. However, most of them struggle to develop their own arguments in writing following Toulmin's model. “Indeed, [problems] tend not to present themselves as problems at all but as messy, indeterminate situations” (Schön 1987: 4). This means we cannot talk about a prescribed, easy fix to problems: students often need to resort to “a kind of improvisation, inventing and testing” (Schön 1987: 4), using strategies of their own rather than simply applying course book knowledge. This “strategic” learning can easily go unnoticed by the teacher if not documented by a reflective student entry. Reflection, then, helps make such otherwise invisible thinking processes tangible and possible to refer back to and analyse in the context of (and for the purposes of improving) the process of students' academic writing.

The literature contains a plethora of other reasons for incorporating reflection in mainstream education. Moon (1999) makes a case for the use of reflection for professional development as it:

- deepens the quality of learning
- helps students gain better understanding of their own learning
- leads towards self-appropriated learning by engaging students actively in their own learning processes
- develops intuitive learning
- fosters creative approaches to learning
- provides a means of expression for those who cannot otherwise express themselves as well.

Shin (2003) adds to these the following reasons for incorporating reflection in the academic writing class:

- it aids students in autonomously planning their own learning by establishing and modifying their own learning goals

- it helps students observe the dynamics of their beliefs about learning in order to discover themselves as learners and ultimately use this knowledge to learn autonomously better in the future
- it enables students to observe the process of their development as writers in order to create such writing identities which will motivate them in the long run
- it informs teachers about students' needs and course feedback, thus enabling them to get to know their learners better.

Having found most of the above reasons for introducing reflection in the English classroom compelling, in the following section I will describe the format of reflection that I adapted to my teaching context.

3. The reflection opportunity in my academic writing class

Determined to introduce reflection in some form to my writing class, but faced with severe teacher/student workload and time restraints, I decided to adopt the format of an end-of-course reflection assignment which students included in their portfolios (Song and August 2002). My academic writing course was attended by third-year English language and literature undergraduates from the Ss Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje, Macedonia. The reflection task followed a semester of practice geared towards developing the students' summarising, paraphrasing and referencing skills to prepare them for writing a small-scale research paper. The instructions for the task read as follows:

PORTFOLIO REFLECTION TASK

In up to 100 words:

- a. present yourself as a writer and explain whether/how your perception as a writer has changed over this semester
- b. reflect on your overall strengths, weaknesses and challenges when it comes to the material we covered during this semester.

The diversity of approaches that my students took to do the task and the quality of their work suggested that they were not very comfortable doing such reflective tasks, with some students failing to approach the desired standard of reflective writing. In their end-of-semester comments on the course, my students' reactions were divided: some of them found this reflection opportunity eye-opening and educational and others saw it as a bureaucratic intervention on my part with no apparent instructional benefit. More structured research is needed to ascertain the full spectrum and distribution of my students' reactions to reflection for academic writing (in my case, for instance, the students made their comments in passing, without

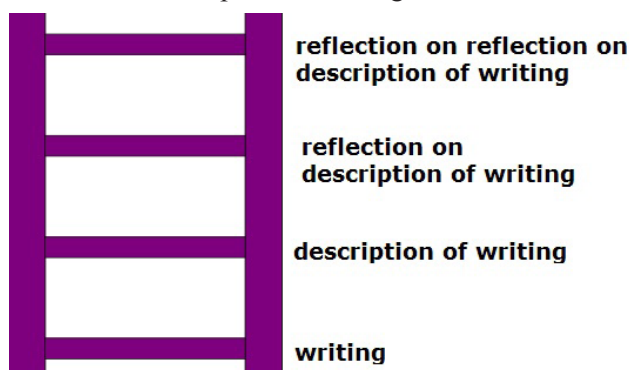
answering a specific course-related question), however that is a topic for another paper. The data I had non-standardised access to (the quality of my students' work *and* some of their reactions) suggested that I should put in more work in order to introduce reflection, new as an instructional tool to myself and to my students, in as seamless a way as possible if it were to be (1) better received by the students and (2) more useful to myself as a course developer.

This is where I set out to explore the work of one of the founders of reflective practice as we know it, Schön (1987), to ascertain whether any of his models could be adapted to my instructional setting for the purpose of exposing my students to reflection in a more informed and worthwhile way.

4. Schön's model of reflection

The reflection model offered by Schön (1987) was originally designed for the context of a design practicum, which he suggests could be applied to a range of other practicum, teacher training included. In this paper I will make the case that its premises can be particularly useful for the teaching of academic writing, as the development of English language students into skilful academic writers in their L2 can be seen as creative a process as, say, design, architecture, teacher training, etc. Becoming a writer invariably requires the development of both skill and a second language identity: students learn better if they can successfully portray themselves as members of the academic writing community of practice that they aspire to join (Dörnyei and Ushioda, 2009).

Schön sees reflection as a ladder consisting of four basic processes adapted for the context of students learning to write in academic settings and illustrated below: (1) writing, (2) description of writing, (3) reflection on description of writing, (4) reflection on reflection on description of writing.



Adaptation of Schön's ladder of reflection (1987)

By (1) **writing**, Schön refers to the process of reflection-in-action, i.e. the thinking which goes on during the very process of writing. One rung of the ladder up is (2) **reflection on writing** which has the format of description – e.g. *I have developed sound sub-claims for my argument in writing*. Yet higher up, on the (3) **reflection on description of writing** rung, is where the student and the teacher reflect on each other's thoughts expressed in the previous stage, i.e. description of writing, engaging thus in a reflective question/answer dialogue with each other. At the highest level, (4) **reflection on reflection on description of writing**, the teacher and the student reflect on their own dialogue and assess whether they have come to a common understanding of any of the problems/solutions which surfaced in the process of writing.

This is not to say that each process of reflection should strive to get to the highest reflective level(s) on the ladder: limiting student reflection to the second stage, description of writing, can be illuminating enough for the student/teacher. The highest level(s) have proven to be particularly useful when there is breach of communication between the parties. Reflection can, in such cases, help the parties review the collaborative process from a fairly objective standpoint and make better sense of the conflict so they can solve it more efficiently. The ladder model is, therefore, to be used not prescriptively, but in compliance with the demands of the instructional setting.

Schön's reflection model views reflection as a much more complex process than what the instructions for my reflective task (outlined in the previous section) suggest. With this in mind, in the following section I will offer some directions for improving the reflective aspect of my students' academic writing course – implications which I hope would be informative for other reflection-minded colleagues looking to introduce a reflective dimension to their university courses.

5. Implications for the teaching of academic writing

To enhance the reflective experience of those students who immediately perceive the positive educational benefits of reflection and/or to avoid the risk of lukewarm reception of this instructional intervention on the part of other students, I would suggest that students undergo previous reflection skills training to further their autonomous learning capacities. Students should, for example, be exposed to the rationale behind reflection as well as what there is to be gained (or lost!) by employing such learning strategies. Training sessions could also contain successful and less successful models of reflection and discussions about how such reflective writing should be assessed (if it is to be assessed at all).

To explore reflection in a more profound and meaningful way, I would suggest that teachers should not limit themselves to the second rung of the ladder, i.e. description of writing, but move (if their contexts allow/require it) to the rung(s) up by engaging in dialogues with the learners triggered by each other's reflective entries and/or by reflecting on those dialogues in order to assess the quality of their mutual communicative exchanges.

Engaging in full-blown written/spoken reflective practice, however, may well be daunting for the overworked teacher/students. One way to save time would be to use a free, online voice recorder, such as Vocaroo (<http://vocaroo.com/>), which enables students/teachers to record their brief reflective thoughts and easily share them as links. If structured well, this voice recording approach to reflection can save time spent writing (especially on an academic writing course, which entails a lot of writing as it is) and/or scheduling individual or group conferencing as proposed by Shin (2003). Yet another time saving strategy would be for the teacher to offer opportunities for individual, but also for group reflection, be it in the shape of reflective/dialogue journals or group discussions (Ojanen 1993).

One aspect of my previous work that I plan to retain as is and possibly work to improve in the future is the context the reflective tasks appear in: the students' portfolios. Indeed, reflection needs to be accompanied by appropriate documentation, i.e. evidence of work and revision done in order for it to be considered (by the teacher) plausible and worthwhile (L. Dam, personal communication, 29th November 2013). This will hopefully instil in students additional sense of accomplishment and ownership of their own learning, thus equipping them with more essential skills for autonomous learning.

6. Conclusion

In this paper I attempted to demonstrate the positive impact reflection can have on the academic writing course: it can function as a (1) valuable noticing tool, (2) needs analysis instrument and (3) student course feedback format. Also, reflection aids the process of the development of the student into both a more autonomous learner and a more proficient academic writer. To avoid the risk of students misinterpreting its rationale, I suggested avenues for preparing prior reflection training sessions. To make the most of it in the academic writing class, I pointed the reader in the direction of Schön's (1987) revised ladder model of reflection, which invites the users to engage in small-scale reflection in the form of description, but also venture in the areas of (a) reflective dialogues and/or (b) discussion of such dialogues (according to the demands of the instructional situation) in order to give the process of learning as multi-faceted a dimension as the parties in the reflective enterprise

need. Finally, I outlined some tips about how to save time and resources in a potentially demanding, but eventually very rewarding instructional venture.

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УПОТРЕБА НА РЕФЛЕКСИЈА ЗА ПОДОБРУВАЊЕ НА ВЕШТИНАТА АКАДЕМСКО ПИШУВАЊЕ НА УНИВЕРЗИТЕТСКО НИВО

Резиме

Оваа статија се заснова на образовната премиса на Шон (Schön, 1987) дека потемелно и потрајно учат оние кои добиваат обука од поискусни колеги од областа и кои внимателно го следат процесот на сопственото учење. Од оваа смела изјава на Шон досега, многу е напишано на темата следење на

сопственото учење, т.е. рефлексивност (reflection). Со оглед на тоа што самата го имам забележано образовниот потенцијал на рефлексивните записи, и како студент, и како наставник, во оваа статија ќе ги претставам придобивките од воведувањето ваков вид самоследење во наставата по академско пишување. Откако ќе предложам адаптација на еден од раните модели на Шон за употреба на рефлексивност во мојот наставен контекст, ќе го преиспитам сопственото искуство во употребата на рефлексивните записи како образовна алатка и ќе предложам насоки за нивна поефикасна употреба.

Клучни зборови: рефлексивност, академско пишување, самостојно учење, авторски идентитет

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COLLOCATIONS WITH THE ADJECTIVE *HEAVY* IN BUSINESS ENGLISH

This study aims to analyze the use of nouns collocating with the adjective *heavy* in business English discourse with the goal to find out its meanings and antonyms. The analysis is carried out on *The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)* and shows that there is a literal (*heavy*₁) and a figurative meaning (*heavy*₂) of this adjective. It is proposed that the figurative meaning can be explained by a CONTAINER metaphor used as a medium to indicate that the actor is not important, but the focus lies on the “direct” object – a noun perceived as a burden or load difficult to carry.

Key words: collocations, business English, adjective *heavy*, metaphor, antonyms

1. Introduction

Over the last few decades more attention has been given to collocations. They may be defined in different ways, but in this paper we adopt the view that collocations are “word pairs and phrases that are commonly used in language, but for which no general syntactic and semantic rules apply” (McKeow and Radev 2000: 507). Collocations are widespread, used in all spheres of languages and in different terminologies, including the discourse of business English (Sacristan 2004: 116). There are no restrictions regarding the number of elements in a collocation (Seretan 2008: 20), however, in this paper we accept the view that it is “a pair of words” (Pearce 2001: 2).

Inspiration for this analysis is the paper of Prof. Draginja Parvaz (1984-85), „O nekim kolokacijama sa pridevom *težak*“ (“On some collocations with the adjective *heavy*”). The intention is to find out which examples from the broad collocational range of adjective *heavy* may be found in popular business discourse. According to some authors journalistic texts are more frequently analysed than the texts aimed

at experts in the field and the majority of metaphorical models are of a journalistic nature (Alejo 2010: 1139), therefore this analysis is carried out on *The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)*, that in addition to academic texts, compiles the texts from popular magazines and newspapers.

The aim of this study is to analyse collocations with the adjective *heavy* and the nouns that it modifies in popular business discourse. All the nouns were checked in *Oxford Business English Dictionary for Learners of English (OBEDFLE)* as a proof that they belong to this discourse. By popular business discourse we mean “journalistic texts that deal with current economic and business matters for an audience of experts and nonexperts, and seek to inform and entertain more generally” (Skorczynska and Deignan 2000: 89).

The collocational range of this adjective is very broad, but its meanings may be roughly divided in two groups: the first is the literal meaning, and the second is the figurative (Pervaz 1984-85: 603). In the following pages we are going to discuss both the literal and the figurative meanings of this adjective, that shows strong partnership with the nouns used in the business discourse.

2. Literal meaning of *heavy*

In all the dictionaries the primary meaning of this adjective is “weighs a lot” (*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (LDCE)*), “of great weight, difficult to lift or move” (<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/heavy-?q=heavy>), (http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/heavy_1?q=heavy), “of comparatively great weight” (<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/heavy?showCookiePolicy=true>), or “with a lot of weight” (<http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/heavy>). Most frequently, it is used in the context of measuring, indicating the weight of a person or a thing. In the field of business English this adjective is used with nouns indicating objects such as *cargo*, *goods*, *load*, as in the examples:

- (1) a. She explains the expense and difficulty of shipping *heavy cargo* from Peten by truck and airplane.
- b. They developed a new airship for transporting *heavy goods*.
- c. The equipment is operating under *a heavy load*.

The meaning of *heavy* is purely related to weight in physical sense. The antonym for this meaning of adjective *heavy* is *light* meaning “not heavy” (http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/light_3), “of little weight” (<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/light?q=LIGHT#light-2>), “weighing relatively little” (<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/light>), “not

weighing much or weighing less than you expected“ (http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/light_31), as in the example:

- (2) a. He made good money flying *light cargo*.

3. Figurative meanings of *heavy*

The adjective *heavy* collocates not only with the nouns denoting people and things, but also with abstract concepts. Literal meanings of words are extended to provide figurative meanings (Charteris-Black 2000: 152) expressed through metaphors. The reason why human beings use figurative meanings is their tendency “to conceptualise the unknown in terms of that which is known“ (Charteris-Black 2000: 153).

Prototypical meaning “weighs a lot” is extended to “needing a lot of physical strength“ (*OBEDFLE*). The meaning is extended from physical weight to “needing much physical effort” (<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/heavy?q=heavy>), as with the nouns *work* and *lift*:

- (3) a. Let’s get started. You’ll have to do all the *heavy work*.
b. I was going to have to do all the *heavy lifting* if our farm was to make it.

Interestingly, the noun denoting the doer of the action (*worker*) does not collocate with the adjective *heavy* (**heavy worker*), but it collocates with the adjective *hard* (*hard worker*).

The antonym of *heavy work* is *light work* as in the example:

- (4) a. He was too heavy for *light work*, and too light for *heavy work*.

A similar meaning is “involving a lot of work or activity; very busy“ (*OBEDFLE*), “hard to bear, accomplish, or fulfill”, (<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/heavy?showCookiePolicy=true>). This does not necessarily mean physically hard work, but may imply that the work is psychically exhausting and/or time consuming. Here are the examples of adjective *heavy* collocating with the abstract concepts such as *schedule*, *paperwork*, *workload*, and *overtime*:

- (5) a. He’s saddled with a *heavy schedule* nowadays, thanks to his bankability.
b. Bringing in people from outside would produce *heavy paperwork*.
c. He was tired by the end of that season, under a *heavy workload*.
d. Smith doesn’t dispute that employees were asked to work *heavy overtime*, but some workers were glad to have the extra pay.

Nouns such as *advertising*, *marketing* and *promotion* are frequently used in business English. These activities of making a product or a service known to the

public are carried out with the intention to increase the sale. In collocations with these nouns adjective *heavy* means “involving a lot of work or activity; very busy” (*OBEDFLE*), as in the examples:

- (6) a. None of the candidates has begun *heavy advertising*.
- b. Design, develop and launch, and then support with *heavy marketing* for a year or so.
- c. The grocery chain has sworn off *heavy promotions* and lowered some prices.

Slightly different meaning of adjective *heavy* is presented in the following examples:

- (7) a. There is a lot to be said for a *heavy role* of banking.
- b. Within a new corporation structure he bore a *heavy responsibility*.

In these examples *heavy* is understood as something “of great importance or seriousness” (<http://www.ahdictionary.com/word/search.html?q=heavy&submit.x=27&submit.y=13>).

Antonym for *heavy role* is *easy role*, but for *heavy responsibility* is *light responsibility*, as in:

- (8) a. That could not have been a *light responsibility*.

When combined with the nouns *price*, *cost*, or *expenditure*, *heavy* means “more or worse than usual in amount” (*OBEDFLE*), “of more than the usual amount”, (<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/heavy?q=heavy>), “not easily borne” (<http://www.ahdictionary.com/word/search.html?q=heavy&submit.x=27&submit.y=13>).

Obviously, people find the amount higher than they expected, as in the examples:

- (9) a. But these fuels carry a *heavy price*.
- b. We’re paying a *heavy cost* for founding our society on dead-end technologies.
- c. The situation is urgent enough to warrant the prolonged and *heavy expenditure* of political capital.

It is interesting to note that the noun *bill* does not collocate with the adjective *heavy*. In English it sounds more natural to say a *big/hefty/high/huge bill* (*OCDSE*).

In the same category we may also include the collocation with the noun *debt*:

- (9) d. *Heavy debt* and large losses of wealth have forced spending onto a lower path.

Experiencing “more or worse than usual in amount“ (*OBEDFLE*) is especially true when people have to pay for careless deeds thus making an unplanned expenditure like in:

- (10) a. Maybe there is another solution rather than a *heavy penalty* on those can least afford it.
 b. He could get up to 30 years in prison and a very *heavy fine*.
 c. Water shortages and extreme heat take a *heavy toll* on global agriculture.

Besides desired payment (*price, cost, expenditure*), and undesired financial losses (*debt, penalty*), there are some payments that are to be paid towards a company or a bank (*mortgage*), the authorities, for example to the police (*fine*) or the state (*toll, taxes/taxation*). People may experience them as very high and this is expressed through collocations such as:

- (11) a. They pay *heavy taxes*.
 b. Obsolete bookkeeping allows them to escape *heavy taxation*.
 c. Mister Locker was in debt, he had a very *heavy mortgage* on his house.

The message is that they are “not easily borne“ and people find them oppressive (<http://www.ahdictionary.com/word/search.html?q=heavy&submit.x=27&submit.y=13>) and “burdensome and distressing” (<http://www.yourdictionary.com/heavy>).

We cannot talk about **light taxes/taxation* and **light mortgage*, or **light price/cost*. The nouns *taxes/taxation, mortgage* but also *price* and *cost* collocate with *low*, which is the antonym for *heavy* in these collocations:

- (12) a. The government should be advised to establish a regime of *low taxation* and minimal regulation.
 b. The proposition des not support *low taxes* all the time.
 c. We have a *low mortgage* on our house.
 d. Amazon has a good device and they offered a *low price*.
 e. The official at the DLA says the agency does its best to provide fuel at a *low cost*.

In these examples every expenditure is experienced as a difficulty that must be carried out and it collocates with the adjective *heavy*. On the other hand, the nouns indicating any kind of income, an amount of money that is received regularly (like salary, pension, etc.), does not collocate with the adjective *heavy*, even when the amount is higher, i.e. “more than usual“. In the cases when the salary is “more than usual in amount“ adjectives *big, high, large* are used. (Adjectives *big* and *generous* collocate with the noun *pension* and adjectives *high, strong* collocate with the noun *earnings* (*OBEDFLE*).)

Collocation *heavy losses* is usually coupled with the losses of human life (like in “... at large expenses and with *heavy loss* of human life“ (COCA)) or losses in agriculture (“... threat to the future it would food balance is the *heavy loss* of crop-land“ (COCA), but the examples of this collocation are found in business English like in:

(13) There's fears that those banks could suffer *heavy losses* or worse collapse.

Collocation *heavy loser* is a frequent one, as in:

(14) He isn't a *heavy loser*, as far as I know.

Although the adjective *heavy* has other meanings as well, the above mentioned are the most frequent ones that we encounter in business English.

4. Metaphor in business English

Metaphor is present when one conceptual domain is understood in terms of another conceptual domain (Kövacs 2002: 4). Most speakers are not aware of metaphors neither in every day life, nor in terminology, yet it does not mean metaphors are not present in all spheres of language. Metaphor in economics (Henderson 1982; Charteris-Black and Ennis 2001; Sacristan 2004; Silaški and Đurović 2010), and also business English (Boers 2000, Skorczynska and Deignan 2006), has received attention both from economists and from applied linguists (Alejo 2010: 1137).

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) there are three different types of metaphors: structural, ontological and orientational. The purpose of the ontological metaphor is to provide an ontological status to abstract concept by means that we conceptualize our experiences as entities, substances, and containers. “The CONTAINER metaphor belongs to that group of metaphors mapping an image schema, or basic sensorimotor experience, onto the way we reason and structure the world around us“ (Alejo 2010: 1142). By doing this we perceive the events, activities or states as containers in some expressions (Johnson 1987: 21). We are aware of our bodies that are three-dimensional containers and this experience results in the fact that many things in our surrounding, that are not physical objects, are given container shape (Kövacs 2002: 83). By its nature CONTAINER metaphor is “a good candidate for metaphorical model“ (Alejo 2010: 1142) and is used in different discourses as a concept beyond cultural limits (ibid.).

Among the three types, the ontological metaphor may be related to understanding how the adjective *heavy* extends its meaning. The choice of metaphors indicates a specific conceptualization and differs in science disciplines (Charteris-Black 2000: 154). The CONTAINER metaphor is frequent in the field of eco-

nomics and business English, for example “market as a container” (Alejo 2010: 1143), “economy as a container” (Alejo 2010: 1146). The corpus we analyse shows that the adjective *heavy* can be partnered with various nouns, including both concrete and abstract concepts, that are conceptualized as CONTAINERS.

5. Discussion

It has already been mentioned that the adjective *heavy* has literal meaning: “weighing a lot” (*heavy*₁). The examples from our corpus show that it is used with the nouns indicating objects that are handled in different ways (for example, sold, transported, purchased, etc.). Collocation with a noun denoting a person is unusual, because personal weight is not of concern in the domain of business English. The antonym is *light*.

When analysing the figurative meaning (*heavy*₂) it may be concluded that there is more than one. Although “the most important metaphors in economics emerge from the sedimentation of economic thinking through history” (Alejo 2010: 1138), the concept that is appropriately expressed in the above mentioned examples is the CONTAINER metaphor which indicates that specialised economic thinking may find its analogies in everyday thought (ibid.).

Many nouns collocating with the adjective *heavy* are construed as containers with various meanings. For example, in collocations with the nouns *work* and *lifting* (3), where this adjective means “needing a lot of physical effort”, the nouns may be understood as a container for which physical strength is needed. Antonym is *light* (4).

However, with the examples from (5) (*schedule, paperwork, workload, overtime*), physical effort is not an obligatory element. According to cognitive linguistics they may be interpreted by the concept of a CONTAINER where the nouns are understood as loads heavy to carry from physiological point of view. In these examples physical strength is not necessarily implied, but another type of energy is needed. The antonym is the adjective *easy* (6).

The nouns *role* or *responsibility*, when serious and of great importance, may also be experienced as a burden, i.e. a load that has to be handled with as in (7). Again, the CONTAINER metaphor provides a mean to express feelings in a vivid way. The antonym is *light* (8)

Obviously, every occasion when we have to give a huge amount of money is experienced hard and unpleasant, like in collocations *heavy price/cost/expenditure* (9). The same is with the noun *debt* (9 d) where the debt is *heavy as a burden* (the expression frequently found in everyday life, and in COCA).

We get the same impression when the adjective *heavy* collocations with the nouns that indicate punishment for breaking a rule or law (*heavy penalty, heavy fine*), payment obligations towards the state (*heavy toll, taxes/taxation*) or a bank (*heavy mortgage*) - examples (9), (10) and (11). The antonym is *low* (12).

Among the other concepts, the CONTAINER metaphor has been recognized as “an appropriate means to adequately map important target domains” (Alejo 2010: 1142) in business discourse. The reason why it is used may be found in a suggestion given by some authors that “the CONTAINER metaphor is a rhetoric device, like the passive voice or hypotheticality, used to convey the idea of depersonalization and objectification” (Alejo 2010: 1137). Perceiving it as a depersonalized metaphor it is understood as something beyond human control, something that is unwillingly imposed, therefore it is “carried” with a lot of effort.

6. Conclusion

This research leads us to a conclusion that in the field of business English the adjective *heavy* is used in literal (*heavy₁*) and figurative meaning (*heavy₂*). When its meaning is literal, than it refers to objects, but not humans. In most of the figurative meanings the CONTAINER metaphor may be applied when the noun used collocating with *heavy* is experienced as a burden, load difficult to carry, either physically or psychologically. Antonyms used for this adjective are *light, easy* or *low*, depending on the collocation.

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KOLOKACIJE S PRIDEVOM *HEAVY* U POSLOVNOM ENGLISKOM JEZIKU

Rezime

Ovaj rad analizira značenje prideva *heavy* (*težak*) i njegove antonime u kolokacijama sa imenicama u diskursu poslovnog engleskog jezika. Analiza je vršena na primerima pronađenim u *The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)*. Značenje prideva može grubo da se podeli u dve grupe: konkretno (*heavy₁*) i figurativno značenje (*heavy₂*). Kod konkretnog značenja pridev označava fizičku osobinu imenice. U ovom diskursu se koristi uz reči koje imenuju predmete (*cargo, goods, load*, itd.). Kada se radi o figurativnom značenju predložena je konceptualna metafora KONTEJNERA: imenice koje se javljaju uz pridev *heavy* percipirane su kao težak KONTEJNER, bilo u fizičkom ili psihičkom smislu, čime se iskazuje stav da akter nije važan, nego je pažnja usmerena na imenice koje se doživljavaju kao težak teret.

Ključne reči: kolokacije, poslovni engleski, pridev *heavy*, metafora, antonimi

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JEZIČKA KREATIVNOST U FORMIRANJU FILMSKIH NASLOVA NA ENGLESKOM JEZIKU I NJIHOVOM PREVOĐENJU NA SRPSKI¹

Rad se bavi prikazom različitih aspekata jezičke kreativnosti prilikom formiranja naslova dugometražnih igranih, animiranih i dokumentarnih filmova na engleskom jeziku i njihovog prevođenja na druge jezike, pre svega srpski. Primeri jezičke kreativnosti, kao što su *Good Luck Chuck*, *The War of the Roses*, *Alvin and the Chipmunks: The Squeakquel*, *Teen Wolf Too*, *Happily N'Ever After*, *My Life in Ruins*, *You've Got M@il* i mnogi drugi, na korpusu od oko dve hiljade filmskih naslova i njihovih prevodnih ekvivalenata iz perioda od 1980. do 2010. godine, ukratko su sagledani na nekolicini jezičkih nivoa i međunivoa, pri čemu je posebno istaknuta igra rečima kao najkreativniji mehanizam kojim se po pravilu postiže dvosmislenost naslova. Kao naročito kreativne kategorije ističu se naslovi animiranih filmova i filmskih nastavaka. Pored direktnog prevođenja kao najčešćeg prevodnog postupka, posebna pažnja posvećena je kontekstualnoj reformulaciji, koja prevodiocu neretko omogućava da i na ciljnom jeziku dostigne nivo dopadljivosti izvornog naslova.

Ključne reči: jezička kreativnost, filmski naslov, izvorni naslov, preveden naslov, igra rečima, dvosmislenost, filmski nastavak, prevodni postupak, direktno prevođenje, kontekstualna reformulacija

1. Filmski naslovi i jezička kreativnost

Prema Kolstrupu 1996, **filmski naslov** je vrsta **parateksta** (eng. *paratext*) – kraćeg teksta koji služi kao uvod u duži, kompleksniji tekst, pri čemu se pod 'tekstom' podrazumeva delo kao celina: knjiga, priča, pesma, film, pozorišna predstava, muzičko ili likovno delo. Tako se primerima parateksta smatraju filmski i novinski naslovi,

¹ Ovaj rad, napisan u povodu obeležavanja 60. godišnjice Odseka za anglistiku Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu, nastao je kao rezultat istraživanja na projektu Ministarstva prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja Republike Srbije br. 178002 *Jezici i kulture u vremenu i prostoru*.

naslovi knjiga, nazivi umetničkih dela (književnih, pozorišnih, likovnih, muzičkih). Paratekst je važan jer se čitalac, gledalac ili slušalac prvo upoznaje upravo sa njim, da bi potom prešao na čitanje, gledanje ili slušanje teksta. Ovde je bitno naglasiti da je u filmskoj umetnosti paratekst tekstualan, dok je tekst (sâm film) audio-vizuelan, ali i tekstualan, naročito ukoliko je reč o titlovanim filmovima.

Naslov ima ulogu da identifikuje film, ukratko informiše potencijalnog gledao- ca o temi i/ili zapletu i/ili junacima filmske priče, da doprinese estetskom doživljaju filma kao umetničkog dela i, konačno, ali ne i najmanje važno, da postigne poželjan efekat kod potencijalne publike, odnosno, da gledaoce privuče u bioskopske sale. Da bi ostvario navedene četiri funkcije – **identifikacionu, informativnu, estet- sku i apelativnu**, naslov mora da zadovolji više jezičkih i vanjezičkih kriteriju- ma, među kojima je jedan od najzahtevnijih, pa zato i najteže ostvarivih i najređe ostvarenih, postizanje visokog nivoa jezičke kreativnosti koja bi zainteresovala gledaoce. Koliko je ovo važno možda najslikovitije opisuje Kálmán 1993a, koja filmski naslov poredi sa posetnicom: „Naslov je vizit-karta umetničkog dela, i kao što prilikom upoznavanja dvoje ljudi prvi utisak može biti od presudnog značaja za dalje poznanstvo, tako je i s filmskim naslovom i daljim odnosom gledaoce prema filmu. Naslov predstavlja ulazna vrata u svet umetničkog dela“ (Kálmán 1993a: 7).

Drugi ključni koncept u ovom radu jeste **jezička kreativnost** (eng. *linguistic creativity*), koju je, kad je reč o engleskom jeziku, u poslednjih nekoliko decenija u svojim mnogobrojnim studijama najviše proučavao Crystal. Prema ovom auto- ru, što je kreativniji kontekst, to je veća verovatnoća da se susretnemo s leksičkim eksperimentima i neobičnim neologizmima (Crystal 1995: 134). Pod ‘kreativnošću’ ovde će se podrazumevati svaka inteligentna, duhovita i spretna upotreba jezičkih sredstava, na svim nivoima jezičke analize, kojima se postiže veća dopadljivost i jezička vrednost naslova kao novoskovane celine – kako one izvorne na engleskom jeziku, tako i njenih prevodnih ekvivalenata na drugim jezicima, pre svega srpskom.

Izazovnim i širokim poljem analize različitih aspekata formiranja i prevođe- nja filmskih naslova kao jezičkih jedinica (od minimalnih, što su u ovom slučaju pojedinačne reči, do onih najdužih – čitavih rečenica) u svom jezičkom, situaci- onom i kulturološkom kontekstu, do sada se bavio iznenađujuće mali broj autora (Kálmán 1993a, 1993b, Liu i Wei 2006, Panić Kavgić 2009, 2010, 2011, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, Peng 2007, Schnetzer 2003, Steinsaltz 2000, Xiuquan 2007). Spo- menuta istraživanja autorke ovog rada, pa tako i ovo, temelje se na reprezenta- tivnom korpusu od blizu dve hiljade naslova dugometražnih igranih, animiranih i dokumentarnih filmova A produkcije sa engleskog govornog područja iz perioda od 1980 do 2010. godine², distribuiranih na srpskom govornom području, kao i

² Iako istraživanje pre svega obuhvata naslove iz spomenute tri decenije, u samom radu navedeno je i nekoliko primera koji su nastali nakon 2010. ili, pak, pre 1980. godine, a koji predstavljaju ilustra-

njihovih zvaničnih prevoda na srpski jezik. Kao izvori korpusa poslužili su filmski, televizijski i video časopisi (*Yu video*, *Video radio-TV revija*, *SateliTV Video – film*, *video reporter* i *Total film*), štampani i elektronski katalogi i internetske stranice domaćih filmskih distributerskih kuća (*Tuck Vision*, *First Production*, *Pro Vision*, *“M” Export-Import*, *Millennium film*, *VANS*, *DEXIN*, *Delta*, *Jugoslavija film*, *Marsoni*, *Vidcom*), kao i *Internet Movie Database* – najveća elektronska filmska baza, dostupna na internetu.

2. Postupci prevodenja kreativnih filmskih naslova

Kao što je istaknuto u Panić Kavgić 2011, „najveći izazov za prevodioca jesu naslovi koji u svom izvornom obliku predstavljaju uspele, duhovite i inteligentne igre rečima³ (na semantičkom, morfološkom, sintaksičkom i/ili fonološkom planu), koje dovode do jezičke dvoznačnosti ili, čak, višeznačnosti, proistekle iz različitih aspekata same filmske radnje“ (2011: 143).

Najčešće sredstvo kojim se prevodilac služi u pokušaju da očuva polaznu kreativnost ili stvori novu kreativnu konstrukciju na sopstvenom jeziku, što samo po sebi iziskuje veliku domišljatost i izuzetno prevodilačko umeće, jeste postupak **kontekstualne reformulacije**. Sposobnost prevodioca, naime, najbolje dolazi do izražaja ukoliko, igrajući se rečima na sopstvenom jeziku, uspe da na ciljnom jeziku stvori nov višesmislen naslov koji bi odgovarao filmskoj radnji.

Kontekstualna reformulacija, prema Panić Kavgić 2010, 2011, jeste prevodni postupak kojim se filmskom delu u ciljnom jeziku daje sadržinski i/ili strukturno nov naslov, koji se delimično ili u potpunosti razlikuje od izvornog, a koji je u skladu sa jezičkim i vanjezičkim kontekstom u kom dati prevod nastaje (videti primere u Tabeli 1). Jezički kontekst uslovio bi upotrebu optimalnih jezičkih sredstava u ciljnom jeziku, odnosno, odgovarajući izbor leksičkih jedinica i gramatičkih struktura u jeziku na koji se naslov prevodi. S druge strane, vanjezički kontekst, znatno složeniji i za prevodioca često izazovniji od jezičkog, sačinjavalo bi kompleksno preplitanje dve njegove podvrste: situacionog i kulturološkog. Situacioni, kao vanjezički mikrokontekst, odnosi se na samu filmsku priču i sve njene bitne i (samo naizgled) manje važne detalje, dok kulturološki, kao vanjezički makrokontekst, podrazumeva kulturne osobenosti i polazne i ciljne kulture, odnosno, kulture jezika sa kog se prevodi i jezika na koji se prevodi. Pored najopštije podele na **delimičnu**

tivne slučajeve ovde obrađivanih klasa kreativnih naslova i/ili primenjenih prevodilačkih postupaka.

³ Kao što će se videti u daljem toku teksta, naročito u Odeljku 3.3., pod ‘igrom rečima’ u užem smislu podrazumeva se pre svega poigravanje značenjem. Međutim, šire posmatrano, igra rečima može biti svaka kreativna upotreba jezika unutar filmskog naslova, te je termin i pojam u ovom odeljku prvo upotrebljen u svom širem opsegu.

i **potpunu kontekstualnu reformulaciju**, tj. onu kojom se između izvornog naslova i njegovog prevodnog ekvivalenta može uspostaviti izvesna, makar i labava asocijativna veza (npr. *Legends of the Fall* – Legende o strasti^{KR4}) i reformulaciju na osnovu koje je nemoguće naslutiti polazni naslov (npr. *Bowling for Columbine* – Žed za nasiljem^{KR}), Panić Kavgić (2011: 140-142) ustanovljava još nekoliko podtipova: asocijativnu, dopunsku i unutarjezičku kontekstualnu reformulaciju, koje ovom prilikom neće biti detaljnije razmatrane.

IZVORNI NASLOV	PREVEDEN NASLOV	PREVODI NA DRUGE JEZIKE ⁵	PREDLOŽEN PREVOD ⁶
<i>Legends of the Fall</i> (Edward Zwick, 1994, SAD)	Legende o strasti	<i>Španija</i> : <i>Leyendas de pasión</i> ; <i>Francuska</i> : <i>Légendes d'automne</i> ; <i>Mađarska</i> : <i>Szenvedélyek viharában</i> ; <i>Nemačka</i> : <i>Legenden der Leidenschaft</i> ;	
<i>Bowling for Columbine</i> (Michael Moore, 2002, Kanada/SAD/ Nemačka)	Žed za nasiljem	<i>Francuska</i> , <i>Španija</i> , <i>Nemačka</i> : <i>Bowling for Columbine</i> ; <i>Mađarska</i> : <i>Kóla, puska, sültkrumpli</i>	
<i>Wag the Dog</i> (Barry Levinson, 1997, SAD)	Ratom protiv istine	<i>Francuska</i> : <i>Des hommes d'influence</i> ; <i>Nemačka</i> : <i>Wag the Dog – Wenn der Schwanz mit dem Hund wedelt</i> ; <i>Mađarska</i> : <i>Amikor a fark csóválja...</i> ; <i>Poljska</i> : <i>Fakty i akty</i>	Nepostojeći rat Rat bez rata
<i>Face/Off</i> (John Woo, 1997, SAD)	Ukradeno lice	<i>Slovenija</i> : <i>Bez obraza</i> ; <i>Kanada</i> : <i>Double identité</i> ; <i>Italija</i> : <i>Face/Off – due facce di un assassino</i> ; <i>Mađarska</i> : <i>Ál/Arc</i>	Zamena lica Lice neprijatelj Lažno lice
<i>Road to Perdition</i> (Sam Mendes, 2002, SAD)	Put bez povratka	<i>Nemačka</i> , <i>Norveška</i> : <i>Road to Perdition</i> ; <i>Mađarska</i> : <i>A kárhozat útja</i> ; <i>Hrvatska</i> : <i>Put do uništenja</i> ; <i>Italija</i> : <i>Era mio padre</i>	

⁴ Oznakom KR u eksponentnom tekstu prevoda naslova sa engleskog na srpski obeležava se postupak kontekstualne reformulacije, DP označava direktno prevodenje, PR direktno preuzimanje naslova, T transkripciju izvornog naslova na srpskom jeziku, dok dodatno obeležje P! ukazuje na pogrešan prevod, što je tema razmatranja u Panić Kavgić 2014.

⁵ Prevodi naslova na nekolicinu drugih svetskih jezika u Tabeli 1 u Tabeli 2 dati su ilustracije i poređenja radi, da bi se videlo za koji su se prevodni postupak opredelili strani prevodioci i da li su i na koji način uspeali da očuvaju ili stvore kreativnu jezičku konstrukciju na sopstvenom jeziku. Detaljnija analiza rešenja na drugim jezicima data je u Panić Kavgić 2009, 2011.

⁶ Autorka u Tabeli 1 i Tabeli 2 predlaže svoja rešenja u slučajevima u kojima procenjuje da je bilo moguće ponuditi i drugačiji – adekvatniji – prevodni ekvivalent, imajući u vidu i jezički i van-jezički kontekst naslova kojim se imenuje određena filmska priča.

Cookie's Fortune (Rober Altman, 1999, SAD)	Kolačić sudbine	<i>Francuska, Španija: Cookie's Fortune; Italija: La fortuna di Cookie; Nemačka: Aufruhr in Holly Springs</i>	
Trial and Error (Jonathan Lynn, 1997, SAD)	Sudnica ludnica	<i>Rumunija: În rol de avocat; Mađarska: Egyedül nem megy; Nemačka: Noch dümmer</i>	
Weapons of Mass Distraction (Stephen Surjik, 1997, SAD)	Medijski rat	<i>Švedska: Dirty Game; Nemačka: Im Sog der Gier; Španija: Armados de poder</i>	<i>Oružje za medijsko uništenje</i>
Monster-in-Law (Robert Luketic, 2005, Nemačka/SAD)	Za sve je kriva svekrva	<i>Nemačka: Das Schwiegermonster; Francuska: Sa mère ou moi</i>	<i>Svekrava Svekriva</i>
Legally Blonde (Robert Luketic, 2001, SAD)	Prav(n)a plavuša	<i>Mađarska: Doktor Szösz; Francuska: La revanche d'une blonde; Nemačka: Natürlich blond!</i>	<i>Plavni fakultet</i>
Legally Blonde 2: Red White & Blonde (Charles Herman-Wurmfeld, 2003, SAD)	Još uvek plavuša	<i>Mađarska: Doktor szösz 2; Slovenija: Blondinka s Harvarda; Nemačka: Natürlich blond 2: Jetzt wird's richtig blond; Francuska: La blonde contre-attaque; Kanada: Blonde et légale</i>	
Happily N'Ever After (Paul Bolger, Yvette Kaplan, 2006, SAD/Nemačka)	Čiča miča (ne)srećna je priča	<i>Francuska: Cendrillon et le prince (pas trop) charmant; Kanada: Au royaume désenchanté; Nemačka: Es war k'einmal im Märchenland</i>	
Cloudy with a Chance of Meatballs (Phil Lord, Chris Miller, 2009, SAD)	Padaće čufte	<i>Mađarska: Derült égből fasírt; Francuska: Tempête de boulettes géantes; Kanada: Il pleut des hamburgers; Nemačka: Wolkig mit Aussicht auf Fleischbällchen; Slovenija: Oblačno z mesnimi kroglicami</i>	
My Life in Ruins (Donald Petrie, 2009, SAD/Španija)	Moja velika grčka avantura	<i>Španija: Mi vida en ruinas; Rusija: Моя жизнь в руинах; Nemačka: My Big Fat Greek Summer; Italija: Le mie grasse grosse vacanze greche; Švedska: Min stora feta grekiska semester</i>	
Murder in Law (Tony Jiti Gill, 1989, SAD)	Ubij bližnjeg svog	<i>Nemačka: Der Todesengel von San Francisco</i>	

Tabela 1: kreativni filmski naslovi i njihovi prevodi na srpski i nekolicinu drugih jezika, nastali primenom postupka kontekstualne reformulacije

Osim kontekstualne reformulacije, prevodilac se može opredeliti i za lakši i intelektualno manje zahtevan put, te kreativan naslov sa stranog jezika na svoj prevesti postupkom **direktnog prevođenja**. Pod ovim postupkom, prema Panić Kavgić (2010: 84), podrazumeva se doslovno prenošenje forme (ali ne nužno i čitave sadržine) jednočlanog (*Antz* kao *Mravci*) ili višechlanog naslova (*American Beauty* – Američka lepota^{DP}, kao i ostali primeri u Tabeli 2) sa jednog jezika na drugi, po principu reč za reč, pri čemu može doći do određenih strukturnih promena uslovljenih morfosintaksičkim pravilima jezika na koji se prevodi (*The Straight Story* – Strejtova priča^{DP}). U ovu podgrupu spadali bi i direktno prevedeni naslovi kod kojih je došlo do izvesnog pojednostavljenja u odnosu na izvorni oblik, odnosno, kod kojih je deo polazne celine direktno preveden, a deo jednostavno izostavljen, tj. „odsečen“, kao što je slučaj s naslovom *The Lion King II: Simba's Pride* prevedenim kao *Kralj lav 2*^{DP}.

Problem nastaje kada se, usled neminovnog pojednostavljivanja sadržaja koje nastaje kao rezultat primene ovog postupka, na ciljnom jeziku izgubi jedan od minimalno dva asocijativna toka koji karakterišu izvorne kreativne višesmislene naslove. Konkretno, u navedenim primerima, *Good Will Hunting* jeste pripovest o mladiću koji se zove Will Hunting i koji jeste dobar čovek, ali se naslov istovremeno može shvatiti i kao potraga za dobrotom u ljudima, što i jeste lajtmotiv filma. Drugi naslov još je kompleksniji: *A Murder of Crows* jeste, na najdoslovnijem nivou, ‘ubistvo vrana’, ali se iza ove sintagme kriju još dva značenjska sloja priče – vrane, kao lešinari, u filmu su metafora za advokate, tj. advokatsku profesiju, koju jedan od protagonista vidi kao lešinarsku i nastalu na tuđoj nesreći; istovremeno, *a murder of crows* je danas već arhaična kolokacija iz klase spojeva kojima se označavaju grupe životinja, po obrascu tipa *a flock of birds*, a koja znači ‘jato vrana’. Dakle, direktnim prevođenjem uvek se čuva jedan od misaonih puteva na koji naslov navodi gledaoca, ali se gotovo neminovno gubi drugi, ili, pak, više njih.

IZVORNI NASLOV	PREVEDEN NASLOV	PREVODI NA DRUGE JEZIKE	PREDLOŽEN PREVOD
<i>A Murder of Crows</i> (Rowdy Herrington, 1998, SAD)	Ubistvo vrana	<i>Mađarska</i> : Egy gyilkosság forgatókönyve; <i>Francuska</i> : Murder of Crows; <i>Italija</i> : Analisi di un delitto	Jato lešinara
<i>Good Will Hunting</i> (Gus Van Sant, 1997, SAD)	Dobri Vil Haning	<i>Francuska, Švedska, Finska</i> : Will Hunting; <i>Češka, Slovačka</i> : Dobrý Will Hunting; <i>Kanada</i> : Le destin de Will Hunting; <i>Italija</i> : Will Hunting – Genio ribelle	U potrazi za dobrotom Potraga za dobrotom

<i>The Straight Story</i> (David Lynch, 1999, Francuska/VB/SAD)	Strejtova priča	<i>Francuska: Une histoire vraie;</i> <i>Nemačka: The Straight Story – eine</i> <i>wahre Geschichte;</i> <i>Italija: Una storia vera</i>	<i>Iskrena priča</i> <i>Istinita priča</i>
<i>Antz</i> (Eric Darnell, Tim Johnson, 1998, SAD)	Mravci	<i>Slovačka: Mravec Z; Mađarska: Z,</i> <i>a hangya; Italija: 'Z' la formica;</i> <i>Nemačka: Antz</i>	<i>Mravko Zdravko</i>
<i>American Beauty</i> (Sam Mendes, 1999, SAD)	Američka lepota	<i>Mađarska: Amerikai szépség;</i> <i>Slovenija: Lepota po amerisko;</i> <i>Hrvatska: Vrtlog života; Rusija:</i> <i>Kpacoma no-американски;</i> <i>Francuska, Nemačka, Švedska,</i> <i>Španija: American Beauty</i>	<i>Amerika (ni)je</i> <i>cveće</i> <i>Život (ni)je cveće</i>
<i>Rain Man</i> (Barry Levinson, 1988, SAD)	Kišni čovek	<i>Mađarska: Esőember; Norveška:</i> <i>Rainman; Peru: Rain Man: Cuando</i> <i>los hermanos se encuentran;</i> <i>Nemačka, Francuska, Španija: Rain</i> <i>Man</i>	
<i>The War of the Roses</i> (Danny DeVito, 1989, SAD)	Rat Rouzovih	<i>Nemačka: Der Rosenkrieg;</i> <i>Mađarska: A rózsák háborúja;</i> <i>Italija: La guerra dei Roses;</i> <i>Španija: La guerra de los Rose</i>	

Tabela 2: kreativni filmski naslovi i njihovi prevodi na srpski i nekolicinu drugih jezika, nastali primenom postupka direktnog prevođenja

Konačno, najređe primenjivana i, sa prevodilačkog stanovišta, najlakša opcija jeste **direktno preuzimanje** izvornog naslova. Iako se pribegavanje ovom rešenju redovno smatra odrazom prevodiočeve lenjosti, nemara ili nedostatka umeća, postoje slučajevi gde je ono opravdano, ukoliko se time na jedini način čuva zvučna i/ili vizuelna dopadljivost, kao, na primer, kod naslova *Kiss Kiss Bang Bang*^{PR} ili *Kill Bill*^{PR}. Varijanta direktnog preuzimanja koja se najčešće primenjuje kad je naslov vlastito ime, i to prvenstveno lično ili geografsko, jeste **transkripcija**, odnosno prilagođavanje imena govornom i pisanom sistemu srpskog jezika, kao u slučaju naslova *Spider* – Spajder^T.

3. Aspekti jezičke kreativnosti u izvornim i prevedenim filmskim naslovima

Nakon sagledavanja i definisanja osnovnih pojmovno-terminoloških određenja u odeljcima 1 i 2, jezička kreativnost će u narednih pet potcelina biti razmotrena

na fonološkom, morfološko-semantičkom, semantičko-fonološkom, asocijativnom i grafičkom nivou.

3.1. Jezička kreativnost na fonološkom nivou

U kreativnu upotrebu jezika na fonološkom planu spadala bi primena sredstava kojima se postiže zvučna, a u nekim slučajevima i vizuelna, dopadljivost naslova, koja se najčešće (no ne i uvek) gubi u prevodu, bez obzira na to da li je primenjen postupak kontekstualne reformulacije ili direktnog prevođenja. Ovaj oblik kreativnosti najvidljivije i najčešće ispoljava se kroz rimovanje elemenata naslova (npr. *Kill Bill*) i to, po pravilu, primenom nekolicine najučestalijih obrazaca: a) imenica + predlog + imenica: *Battle in Seattle* (Bitka u Sijetlu^{DP}), *Blast from the Past* (Bljesak iz prošlosti^{DP}), *The Door in the Floor* (Vrata u podu^{DP}); b) imperativna konstrukcija + lično ime: *Drop Dead Fred* (Ne tupi, Frede^{KR}), *Good Luck Chuck* (Predigra za brak^{KR}); c) pridev/imenica + imenica: *Mean Machine* (Zatvorski krug^{KR}), *Sky High* (Škola za superjunake^{KR}), *Fright Night* (Noć strave^{DP}); d) imenica (+ imenica) + veznik + imenica: *Pain & Gain* (Znojem do love^{KR}), *You, Me and Dupree* (Ja, ti i Dupri^{DP}). U većini navedenih primera, pogotovo kad je reč o jednosložnim leksemama, osnovu rime predstavlja asonanca – ponavljanje istih samoglasnika.

Drugi najčešći kreativni postupak koji se ispoljava na fonološkom nivou jeste primena aliteracije, odnosno, ponavljanja istih suglasnika ili suglasničkih grupa na početku svakog od (ili većine) elemenata filmskog naslova, kao u primerima: *The Blues Brothers* (Braća Bluz^{DP}), *Rat Race* (Trka pacova^{DP-P1}), *What Women Want* (Šta žene žele^{DP}), *Horton Hears a Who!* (Horton^{DP}), *Martha Marcy May Marlene* (Marta Marsi Mej Marlin^T), *Jack and Jill* (Džek i Džil^{DP}), *Dirty Dancing* (Prljavi ples^{DP}), *Hollywood Homicide* (Holivudski panduri^{KR}), *House on Haunted Hill* (Kuća na ukletom brdu^{DP}). Poseban podtip aliterativnih naslova čine slučajevi u kojima dolazi do ponavljanja celog kratkog leksičkog elementa ili više njih, s ciljem postizanja onomatopejskog efekta i naglašavanja napetosti i dinamike radnje: *Kiss Kiss Bang Bang* (Kiss Kiss Bang Bang^{PR}), ...tick... tick... tick... (Crni šerif^{KR}), *Liar Liar* (Lažov, lažov^{DP}).

Na kraju, zanimljivo je primetiti da je uočen nemali broj primera u kojima je reformulisani prevod na drugi jezik s fonološkog aspekta zvučniji i kreativniji od izvornog naslova na engleskom, najčešće zahvaljujući uvedenoj rimi ili ritmičnom variranju pojedinih segmenata. Takvi su sledeći prevodni ekvivalenti: Nemoj reći mami kod kuće smo sami^{KR} (od *Don't Tell Mom the Babysitter's Dead*), Ne dam travu ni za živu glavu^{KR} (*Homegrown*), Mlade je slađe^{KR} (*Prime*), A kad brak nije lak^{KR} (*Couples Retreat*), Sudnica ludnica^{KR} (*Trial and Error*), ili, pak, dva prevodilačka rešenja na mađarskom jeziku, koja spominje Kálmán 1993a, 1993b: *Apácák a pácbán*^{KR} (*Nuns on the Run*) i *Belevaló papa-pótló*^{KR} (*Uncle Buck*).

3.2. Jezička kreativnost na morfološko-semantičkom nivou

Pod kreativnošću filmskih naslova na polju **tvorbe reči** (eng. *word formation*) u ovom radu podrazumeva se upotreba novoskovanih, prethodno nepostojećih i po pravilu jednokratnih leksema koje su stvorene upravo sa ciljem imenovanja konkretnog filmskog dela, i to najčešće, postupcima **slivanja** (eng. *blending*) ili **slaganja** (eng. *compounding*). Motivacija za tvorbu novih reči u naslovu krije se u činjenici da ona spada u deo jezičke kompetencije koji je zasnovan upravo na kreativnosti pojedinca i da izvorni govornici poseduju sposobnost da stvaraju i razumeju reči s kojima se nikad ranije nisu susreli (Viztmüller-Zocco 1985: 305). U ovu kategoriju jezičke kreativnosti spadali bi, između ostalih, sledeći primeri:

1. *Alvin and the Chipmunks: The Squeakquel*⁷ (Alvin i veverice 2^{DP}), u kojem reč *squeakuel* predstavlja novoformiranu leksemu nastalu tvorbenim postupkom slivanja (eng. *blending*) ulaznih jedinica *squeak* i *sequel*; radi se, naime, o nastavku (*sequel*) dugometražnog animirano-igranog filma *Alvin and the Chipmunks*, u kojem su glavni likovi sićušne veverice koje proizvode glasove koji su označeni onomatopejskom rečju *squeak*;
2. *Alvin and the Chipmunks: Chip-Wrecked* (Alvin i veverice 3: urnebesni brodolom^{KR}), gde je očekivani element *ship-wrecked* zamenjen novim, morfološki i fonološki sličnim – *chip-wrecked*, koji treba da upućuje na to da u ovom nastavku spomenutog filma veverice doživljavaju brodolom;
3. *Monster-in-Law* (Za sve je kriva svekrva^{KR}), što predstavlja novu složenicu, nastalu po ugledu na leksemu *mother-in-law*, kojom se označava svekrva, sa ovde jasnim asocijacijama na stereotipno loš odnos između svekrve i njene novopridošle snaje;
4. *Murder in Law* (Ubij bližnjeg svog^{KR}), što se, prema upravo opisanom obrascu, opet odnosi na svekrvu, ali je ovaj put reč o osobi s opasnijim i zlokobnijim namerama prema svojoj snaji;
5. *Dumb and Dumberer: When Harry Met Lloyd* (Gluplji i tuplji: Kad je Hari sreo Lojda^{DP}), pri čemu, striktno posmatrano, element *dumberer* predstavlja primer flektivne morfologije, pa stoga inače ne bi bio analiziran kao primer tvorbe reči; međutim, kako je u pitanju komparativni oblik već postojećeg komparativa, s pravom se može konstatovati da bi se ovaj primer, uz izvesne rezerve, mogao posmatrati kao novoskovani pridev sa značenjem „toliko glup da je gluplji od nekog ko je već gluplji od drugih“.

⁷ U odabranim primerima u celom radu podebljani su oni delovi naslova u kojima se ogleda određeni tip kreativne upotrebe jezika.

3.3. Jezička kreativnost na semantičko-fonološkom nivou: igra rečima

Pod **igrom rečima** (eng. *word play*), u užem smislu, u ovom radu podrazumeva se pre svega **igranje značenjem** (eng. *pun*), odnosno semantičkim potencijalom jezičke jedinice da u određenom kontekstu, najčešće u kombinaciji sa susednim elementima, njeno značenje, pa stoga i značenje naslova kao celine, može da se tumači dvojako. Isto tako, tu bi spadalo i poigravanje rečima istog ili sličnog oblika, a različitog značenja, koje spaja pripadanje istom konkretnom kontekstu filmske priče. Iako se pre svega odnosi na semantički aspekt, valjalo bi naglasiti da se on, u većini pronađenih primera, nipošto ne može sagledati odvojeno od fonološkog i morfološkog, pošto je značenjsko razgraničavanje, po pravilu, kao što je već rečeno, praćeno fonološkom i/ili obličkom sličnošću dvaju leksema različitog značenja. Drugim rečima, nekad je reč o polisemiji, a češće, pak, o homonimiji, odnosno, homofoniji i/ili homografiji, koja se zgodno može iskoristiti prilikom formiranja višeznačnog naslova. Pokazalo se da je ovaj vid kreativnosti, sa 52 pronađena primera, najbrojniji u odabranom korpusu, pri čemu će ovde biti prikazana polovina njih⁸, uz pokušaj da se razjasne dvosmislenosti ili višesmislenosti naslova:

1. *American Beauty* (Američka lepota^{DP}) – reč *beauty* ovde se može odnositi na: a) lepotu američkog načina života, odnosno, ironično – na njenu gorku dekonstrukciju, b) lepoticu, mladu protagonistkinju filma, ali i c) sortu ruže po imenu *American Beauty*, čije jarkocrvene latice predstavljaju lajtmotiv filma;
2. *An American Tail* (Američka bajka^{DP}) – animirana priča (*tale*) o mišiću dugog repa (*tail*) koji se sa porodicom seli iz Rusije u Ameriku;
3. *Highway* (Autoput^{DP}) – komedija o dva brata koji kreću u potragu za navodno postojećim autoputem (*highway*) u Kentakiju, kojim bi došli do obilja marihuane pod čijim su stalnim opijajućim dejstvom (*high*);
4. *Hoodwinked!* (Ko je smestio Crvenkapi?^{KR}) – Crvenkapu (*Little Red Riding Hood*), njenu baku i ostale likove iz izvorne priče pokušava da nasamari (*hoodwink*) zli bandit koji krađe recepte za slatkiše;
5. *Hoodwinked Too! Hood VS. Evil* (Ko je smestio Crvenkapi? 2^{KR}) – Crvenkapa, kao simbol dobra, u nastavku upravo spomenutog animiranog filma, opet (*too*) se bori protiv zla (*hood/good vs. evil*), ovaj put pokušavajući da reši misteriozni nestanak Ivice i Marice;

⁸ U nemogućnosti da se prikažu svi primeri, usled prostornih ograničenja koja nameće predviđeni obim rada, reprezentativni naslovi koji će biti analizirani obuhvataju većinu uočenih tipova igre rečima, te bi nabranje svih ostalih naslova iz ove kategorije predstavljalo višestruko ponavljanje istih obrazaca. Naslov *Hope Springs*, koji se odnosi na dva različita filma (primeri 19 i 20), ipak je dat dva puta zbog različite konceptualizacije u prevodnim ekvivalentima na srpskom jeziku.

6. *Legends of the **Fall*** (Legende o strasti^{KR}) – pripovest o tri brata koji se zaljubljuju u istu ženu; spletom nesrećnih okolnosti, njihovi međusobni odnosi dovešće do pada porodice (*fall*), pri čemu se svi ključni događaji u filmu, kroz nekoliko decenija, dešavaju u jesen (*fall*);
7. *RV* (Ludo letovanje^{KR}) – nezaboravno letovanje (*RV*: *ravaging vacation*) jedne američke porodice u iznajmljenom kamperu (*RV*: *recreational vehicle*);
8. *Stuck on You* (Osloni se na mene^{KR}) – priča o dva brata koji se ne mogu rešiti jedan drugog (*stuck on each other*) jer su, kao sijamski blizanci, i doslovno međusobno „slepljeni“ (*stuck*);
9. *Teen Wolf **Too*** (Mladi vukodlak 2^{KR}) – nastavak filma *Teen Wolf*, u kojem još jedan tinejdžer uspeva da se pretvori u vukodlaka i time stekne popularnost među svojim vršnjacima;
10. *The Lion King II: Simba's **Pride*** (Kralj lav 2^{DP}) – nastavak animiranog filma *The Lion King*, u kojem lavić Simba odrasta i prvi put na ispit stavlja svoj ponos (*pride*), predvodeći svoje krdo (*pride of lions*);
11. *Weapons of Mass **Distraction*** (Medijski rat^{KR}) – dva medijska magnata ometaju rad suparničke medijske kuće (*distraction*), ali u tome prevazilaze sve granice, dovodeći u opasnost i svoje privatne živote (asocijacija na *mass destruction*);

Unutar ove kategorije, po brojnosti uočenih primera izdvajaju se dve podgrupe:

a) ona u kojoj se igra rečima zasniva na istoj ili sličnoj obličkoj i/ili fonološkoj realizaciji vlastitog imena (ličnog, geografskog ili institucionalnog) i neke druge lekseme ili morfeme, kao u primerima:

12. *Antz* (Mravci^{DP}) – animirana priča o koloniji mrava (*ants* > *antz*), u kojoj živi i glavni lik – *Ant Z*;
13. ***Cookie's** Fortune* (Kolačić sudbine^{KR}) – starica sa nadimkom *Cookie* umire pod nerazjašnjenim okolnostima i ostavlja poruku, dok kreće otimanje naslednika o njeno bogatstvo (*fortune*);
14. ***Eve** of Destruction* (Žena uništitelj^{KR}) – android po imenu *Eve*, tempirana nuklearna bomba, predstavlja veliku opasnost po grad u kome se nalazi, te pokušavaju da je zaustave u poslednjem trenutku, kad se već sve čini izgubljenim;
15. *Road to **Perdition*** (Put bez povratka^{KR}) – putovanje oca mafijaša koji sa sinom pokušava da utekne svojim bivšim saučesnicima u zločinu, bežeći ka mestašcu po imenu *Perdition*, što će se završiti na tragičan način (*perdition*);

16. *Spider* (Spajder^T) – pripovest o introvertnom poremećenom sredovečnom čoveku koji od detinjstva nosi nadimak *Spider*, zbog svoje opsesivne opčinjenosti paucima (*spider*), koji su i lajtmotiv filma;
17. *The **Straight** Story* (Strejtova priča^{DP}) – istinita priča o Alvinu *Straightu*, 73-godišnjaku koji na motokultivatoru putuje s jednog na drugi kraj Amerike, u želji da poseti svog bolesnog starijeg brata i popravi narušene odnose iz prošlosti, pri čemu na putu sreće razne ljude zahvaljujući kojima spoznaje šta je u čoveku lepo i dobro, upravo poput same njegove namere (*straight*);
18. *The War of the **Roses*** (Rat Rouzovih^{DP}) – priča o nasilnom razvodu bračnog para *Rose*, koji poprima razmere pravog rata, nalik epizodi iz engleske istorije u kojoj su se sukobile dve dinastije koje su pretendovale na engleski presto, poznatoj kao Rat ruža (*The War of the Roses*);
19. *Hope Springs* (2012) (Začin za brak^{KR}) – stariji bračni par odlazi u mesto po imenu *Great Hope Springs*, kod čuvenog bračnog savetnika, s verom da za njihov brak još ima nade (*hope*);
20. *Hope Springs* (2003) (Na izvoru nade^{KR}) – nakon propale ljubavne veze, introvertni umetnik stiže u gradić *Hope Springs*, s nadom (*hope*) da svoj život može da počne iznova;
21. *Rain Man* (Kišni čovek^{DP}) – samouvereni mladi japi Charlie Babbitt nakon očeve smrti saznaje da ima davno zaboravljenog autističnog starijeg brata Raymonda koga je u detinjstvu zvao *Rain Man*;

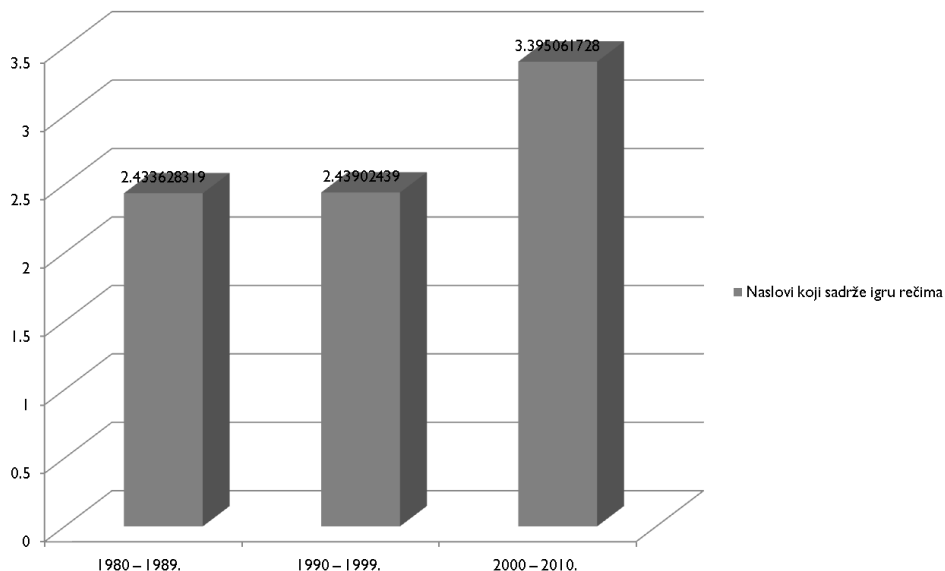
b) kategorija u kojoj se kreativnost ogleda u poigravanju inače stabilnim kolokacionim ili idiomatskim spojevima, tipa *fortune cookie* (primer 13), *happily ever after*, *high spirits*, *life in ruins*, *lock, stock and barrel*, *trial and error* i slično:

22. *Happily N'Ever After* (Čiča miča nesrećna je priča^{KR}) – animirana anti-bajka u kojoj dobri likovi udruženim snagama pokušavaju da pobede zle, zbog kojih je i dat naslov koji je antipod čuvenoj poslednjoj rečenici u svim bajkama – (*and they lived*) *happily ever after*;
23. *High Spirits* (Borbeni duhovi^{KR}) – u irskom zamku koji je pretvoren u hotel duhovi (*spirits*) uznemiravaju grupu američkih turista, ali su na kraju svi – i duhovi i ljudi – u najboljem raspoloženju (*in high spirits*);
24. *Lock, Stock and **Two Smoking** Barrels* (Dve čadave dvocevke^{DP}) – haitična priča sa više likova u čijem su centru dve stare dvocevke, kojima se modifikuje idiom *lock, stock, and barrel* (koji znači 'sve do poslednje sitnice', 'džutur'), a koji ukazuje na pokušaj glavnih likova da ukradu sve što mogu, u krajnje konfuznoj situaciji;
25. *My Life in Ruins* (Moja velika grčka avantura^{KR}) – nastavak filma *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, u kojem je glavna junakinja turistički vodič koji stran-

cima pokazuje arheološka nalazišta u Grčkoj (*ruins*), dok joj se privatni život raspada (idiom *life in ruins*);

26. *Trial and Error* (Sudnica ludnica^{KR}) – komedija o pokušaju (*trial*) glumca da zameni svog prijatelja advokata u sudnici, gde treba da, bez ikakvog znanja, učestvuje na suđenju (*trial*), o kojem uči putem pokušaja i pogrešaka (*trial and error*).

Naslovi koji sadrže igru rečima



Grafikon 1: hronološki pregled procentualnog udela naslova koji sadrže igru rečima u analiziranom korpusu, u periodu od 1980. do 2010. godine, po decenijama

3.4. Asocijativna dvoznačnost

Naslov koji sam po sebi ne deluje kreativno ili duhovito, ali koji to postaje ako se zna da gledaoca treba da asocira na neko drugo, uspešno i svima poznato, prethodno prikazano ostvarenje, svoj potencijalni uspeh kod publike duguje vrsti dvoznačnosti koja bi se mogla nazvati asocijativnom. Ovaj mehanizam najčešće pokušavaju da očuvaju i prevodioci, pošto bi i na ciljnom jeziku bilo poželjno uspostaviti vezu sa gledaocu već poznatim ostvarenjem. Naime, ako se nekom dopala romantična komedija *When Harry Met Sally* (Kad je Hari sreo Sali^{DP}), pretpostavka je da će ga zainteresovati naslov *Dumb and Dumberer: When Harry Met Lloyd* (Gluplji i tuplji: kad je Hari sreo Lojda^{DP}). Slična je situacija s naslovima *My Life*

in Ruins i *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, pri čemu je asocijativna veza još uočljivija u njihovim prevodnim ekvivalentima: Moja velika grčka avantura^{KR}, nakon naslova Moja velika grčka pravoslavna svadba^{KR}. Nadalje, radnja filma *The Fast and the Furious* inspirisala je naslov animiranog filma *Tom and Jerry: the Fast and the Furry*, što, međutim, nije vidljivo ako se uporede prevodi Paklene ulice^{KR} i Tom i Džeri: brzi i čupavi^{DP}.

S druge strane, iako izvorni naslov na engleskom jeziku nije ni u kakvoj asocijativnoj vezi s nekim drugim prethodnim uspešnim ostvarenjem, može se dogoditi da prevodilac sâm odluči da ovakav postupak – asocijativnu kontekstualnu reformulaciju – primeni na ciljnom jeziku. O tome svedoče primeri navedeni u Panić Kavgić (2011: 140): već razmatrani *Hoodwinked!* u prevodu na srpski postao je *Ko je smestio Crvenkapi*^{KR} (po ugledu na *Ko je smestio Zeki Rodžeru*^{DP}, od *Who Framed Roger Rabbit*), a komedija *I Now Pronounce You Chuck & Larry* u Francuskoj je prikazana kao *Quand Chuck rencontre Larry*^{KR} (po asocijaciji na *Quand Harry rencontre Sally*^{DP}, od *When Harry Met Sally*). Kálmán 1993a, 1993b daje primer naslova *Married to the Mob*, koji je na mađarski preveden kao *Keresztanya*^{KR} (prema *Keresztapa*^{DP}, od *The Godfather*), a kao jedan od najuspelijih rezultata primene ovog postupka autorka navodi *Peggy Sue Got Married*, u Mađarskoj prikazan kao *Előre a múltba*^{KR}, što je gledaoce trebalo da podseti na popularnu filmsku trilogiju *Vissza a jövőbe*^{DP} (*Back to the Future*).

3.5. Jezička kreativnost na grafičkom nivou

Kreativnost na grafičkom planu podrazumeva da sâm izgled naslova postaje zanimljiv, specifičan i intrigantan usled nekonvencionalne ali u datom (jezičkom i vanjezičkom) kontekstu prikladne simboličke upotrebe cifara ili slovnih, interpunkcijskih ili drugih grafičkih znakova (j!, *, \$, @). Sledi deset veoma uspešnih primera, uz pojašnjenje grafičkih rešenja naslova, kao i njihovi prevodi na osnovu kojih se jasno vidi da je ovaj nivo jezičke kreativnosti u potpunosti zanemaren kad je reč o ekvivalentu na srpskom jeziku. Autorkina drugačija rešenja, ponuđena nakon zvaničnog prevoda, dokazuju da je sličan efekat bilo moguće postići i u prevedenom naslovu (izuzev u primeru 9).

1. *¡Three Amigos!* (*Tri amigosa*^{DP} > *¡Tri amigosa!*) – znaci uzvika, napisani na ovaj način, gledaoca treba da asociiraju na špansko govorno područje (film se odvija u Meksiku), kao i na karakterističan položaj ruku glavnih likova kada potežu revolvere;
2. **batteries not included* (*Bez baterija*^{DP} > **baterije nisu uključene*) – asterisk i malo početno slovo na početku naslova podsećaju na napomenu koja je sitnijim slovima ispisana na proizvodima koji inače rade na baterije, ali ih kupac prilikom kupovine ne dobija; u filmu – reč je o malim dobroćudnim

- vanzemalcima koji pomažu ukućanima zgrade koja je predviđena za rušenje, a koji se tokom filma nekoliko puta kvare i bivaju popravljani;
3. *The Secret of My Success* (Tajna mog uspeha^{DP} > Tajna mog ušpeha) – znak američke valute treba da asocira gledaoca na finansijski uspeh glavnog lika;
 4. *Bat*21* (Palica 21^{DP} > Palica*21) – naslov filma označava šifru – radijski signal koji je u Vijetnamu koristio američki vojni zapovednik, glavni lik u filmu;
 5. *Se7en* (Sedam^{DP} > 7edam) – cifra 7 (kao rotirano i modifikovano slovo ‘v’) u samom naslovu koji već znači ‘sedam’, kod gledaoca treba da pojača asocijaciju na sedam smrtnih grehova koji su tematska okosnica filma;
 6. *The Last Sign* (Poslednji znak^{DP} > Posledn_gi znak) – cifra 8 kao indeksni tekst umesto slova ‘g’ u reči *sign* ukazuje na znak – omiljeni suprugov broj koji se protagonistkinji filma učestalo ukazuje nakon njegove smrti;
 7. *Thir13en Ghosts* (13 duhova^{DP} > Tr13aest duhova) – inkorporiranjem broja 13 u samu reč koja već znači ‘trinaest’ postignut je efekat podsećanja gledaoca na zlokobnu atmosferu koju naslov treba da izazove;
 8. *You’ve Got M@il* (Stigla vam je pošta^{DP} > Stigla vam je pošt@) – zamenom slova ‘a’ u reči *mail* simbolom @, koji je deo svake elektronske adrese, gledaocu se daje do znanja da se komunikacija između glavnih likova u filmu odvija putem elektronske pošte;
 9. *eXistenZ* (Postojanje^{DP}) – dvojica od sedmoro producenata filma, mađarskog porekla, insistirali su na tome da slova ‘x’ i ‘z’ budu velika, pošto znaci između njih formiraju reč koja na mađarskom jeziku znači ‘bog’, te se ona tako ističe kao zasebna unutar naslova, a odnosi se na naizgled svemoguću ulogu programera video-igrice eXistenZ;
 10. *S1m0ne* (Simona^T > S1m0ne) – cifre 1 i 0 ukazuju na činjenicu da je Simone prva verzija kompjuterski generisanog lika glumice u filmu – takozvana ‘verzija 1.0’.

4. Jezička kreativnost prilikom formiranja i prevođenja naslovâ filmskih nastavaka

Na samom kraju ovog razmatranja, nije zgoreg naglasiti da se dve grupe naslova ističu kao posebno kreativne: naslovi animiranih filmova, koji treba da zainteresuju decu, ali i njihove odrasle bioskopske pratioce, kao i naslovi nastavaka već snimljenih filmova čiji je uspeh kod publike dao osnova filmskim stvaraocima da poveruju da bi vredelo produžiti filmsku priču koja se već pokazala primamljivom. Kako su naslovi pojedinih animiranih filmova već razmatrani u prethodnim odeljcima

ma i, detaljnije, u Panić Kavgić 2013a, na ovom mestu više pažnje biće posvećeno drugoj navedenoj grupi, unutar koje se razmatraju i naslovi nastavaka pojedinih animiranih filmova.

Pod hiperonimom **nastavak** (eng. *sequel*), ovde se podrazumevaju sve podvrste filmskih nastavaka koje su međusobno u kohiponimskom odnosu – kako sâm **nastavak** (*sequel*) u užem smislu, koji se odnosi na delo u kom se nastavlja i/ili dopunjuje priča započeta u prethodnom ostvarenju, tako i sledeće grupe nastavaka: **prednastavak** (eng. *prequel*), **međunastavak** (eng. *interquel*), **unutarnastavak** (eng. *midquel*), **paralelni nastavak** (eng. *parallel*), **asocijativni nastavak** (eng. *spin-off* ili *sidequel*), **komplementarni nastavak** (eng. *companion piece*), **samostalni ili nezavisni nastavak** (eng. *stand-alone sequel*), **nezvanični nastavak** (eng. *informal / unauthorized / unofficial sequel*) i **dvostruki nastavak** (eng. *double sequel*). Pošto definisanje i razmatranje navedenih kategorija ne spada u tematske okvire ovog rada, one su ovde samo nabrojane, dok su detaljnije opisane i na srpski jezik prvi put prevedene u Panić Kavgić 2013b. Ono što, međutim, na ovom mestu jeste značajno, odnosi se na kreativna rešenja koja predstavljaju naslove novih nastavaka, bez obzira na podgrupu kojoj pripadaju.

Među deset uvedenih strategija za formiranje naslova filmskih nastavaka (Panić Kavgić 2013b: 815-817), kao posebno kreativne ističu se sledeće:

- 1) delimično ili potpuno ponavljanje naslova uz poigravanje numerisanjem, često putem homonimije, koja se u prevodu skoro nikad ne može uspešno preneti na ciljni jezik:

Teen Wolf (Mladi vukodlak^{KR}), *Teen Wolf Too*⁹ (Mladi vukodlak 2^{KR}); *Hoodwinked!* (Ko je smestio Crvenkapi?^{KR}), *Hoodwinked Too! Hood VS. Evil* (Ko je smestio Crvenkapi? 2^{KR}); *Madagascar* (Madagaskar^T), *Madagascar: Escape 2 Africa* (Madagaskar 2^T); *Fletch* (Fleč^T), *Fletch Lives* (Fleč 2^T), *Fletch Won* (naslov još nije preveden, pošto je snimanje prednastavka u toku); *Shrek* (Šrek^T), *Shrek 2* (Šrek 2^T), *Shrek the Third* (Šrek 3^T); *Cube* (Kocka^{DP}), *Cube 2: Hypercube* (Kocka 2: hiperkocka^{DP}), *Cube Zero* (Kocka: početak^{KR}); *The Naked Gun: From the Files of Police Squad!* (Goli pištolj^{DP}), *The Naked Gun 2½: The Smell of Fear* (Goli pištolj 2½^{DP}), *Naked Gun 33 1/3: The Final Insult* (Goli pištolj 33 1/3^{DP});

⁹ U primerima koji slede, kako u izvornom obliku naslova na engleskom jeziku koji je dat u kurzivu, tako i u prevodu na srpski koji je naveden u zagradi (uz napomenu o primenjenom prevodnom postupku u eksponentnom tekstu), posebno će biti istaknuti oni delovi koji ukazuju na primenu i ispoljavanje razmatrane strategije davanja naslova filmskim nastavcima, a koji istovremeno predstavljaju primer ispoljavanja jezičke kreativnosti. Detaljnija analiza ovde navedenih dvoznačnih naslova koji sadrže igru rečima, kako u jezičkom pogledu, tako i po pitanju razjašnjenja detalja filmske priče na kojima je utemeljena dvoznačnost, za neke primere data je ranije u ovom razmatranju, dok u većini slučajeva ona, nažalost, izostaje zbog prostornih ograničenja koja nameće predviđeni obim ovog rada.

- 2) delimično ponavljanje naslova uz poigravanje odgovarajućom promenom broja koji je deo prvobitnog naslova:
101 Dalmatians (**101** dalmatinac^{DP}), *102 Dalmatians* (**102** dalmatinca^{DP}); *The Whole Nine Yards* (Ubica mekog srca^{KR10}), *The Whole Ten Yards* (Povratak **ubice mekog srca**^{KR}); *Ocean's Eleven* (Igraj svoju **igru**^{KR}), *Ocean's Twelve* (Ponovo u **igri**^{KR}), *Ocean's Thirteen* (**Igra** se nastavlja^{KR});
- 3) davanje naslova koji sadrži igru rečima na morfološkom i/ili semantičkom nivou:
Alvin and the Chipmunks (Alvin i veverice^{DP}), *Alvin and the Chipmunks: The Squeakquel* (Alvin i veverice 2^{DP}), *Alvin and the Chipmunks: Chip-Wrecked* (Alvin i veverice 3: urnebesni brodolom^{KR}); *Dumb & Dumber* (Glupan i tupan^{KR}), *Dumb and Dumberer: When Harry Met Lloyd* (Gluplji i tuplji: **kad je Hari srećo Lojda**^{DP}); *Legally Blonde* (**Prav(n)a** plavuša^{KR}), *Legally Blonde 2: Red, White & Blonde* (Još uvek plavuša^{KR});
- 4) ponavljanje ključnih reči i/ili matrice prethodnog naslova:
Honey, I Shrunk the Kids (**Draga, smanjio sam decu**^{DP}), *Honey, I Blew Up the Kid* (**Draga, uvećao sam dete**^{DP}), *Honey, We Shrunk Ourselves* (**Draga, smanjili smo sebe**^{DP}); *Bruce Almighty* (Svemoguća Brus^{DP}), *Evan Almighty* (Svemoguća Evan^{DP}); *Analyze This* (**Mafijaš** na terapiji^{KR}), *Analyze That* (**Mafijaš** pod stresom^{KR}); *Before Sunrise* (**Pre** svitanja^{DP}), *Before Sunset* (**Pre** sumraka^{DP}), *Before Midnight* (**Pre** ponoći^{DP}); *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* (**Moja velika** mrsna pravoslavna svadba^{KR}), *My Life in Ruins* (**Moja velika** grčka avantura^{KR}); *East Is East* (**Istok je istočno**^{DP}), *West Is West* (**Zapad je zapadno**^{DP}).

5. Zaključak

Na osnovu razmatranih primera kreativnih naslova i njihovih prevoda u poslednje tri decenije, s pravom se može zaključiti da duhovita, inteligentna i uspešna izvorna i prevodilačka rešenja predstavljaju izuzetno bogat i inspirativan materijal za do sada u velikoj meri zapostavljena istraživanja na različitim nivoima jezičke analize. Uočen postepen ali stalan porast u broju ovakvih naslova, kao i sve kreativniji prevodni ekvivalenti ukazuju na izuzetan značaj filmskog naslova kao vrata u svet filma – i umetničkog dela i zabavnog sadržaja, te, shodno tome, na velik trud koji se ulaže u stvaranje što pogodnijeg i primamljivijeg parateksta, kako na izvornom, tako i na ciljnom jeziku.

Značajno je primetiti da su, nasuprot vidnoj procentualnoj i brojčanoj nadmoći postupka direktnog prevođenja kod nekreativnih naslova (Panić Kavgić 2010), naslovi koji su ovde proučavani u nemalom broju prevedeni kreativnijim i zahtev-

¹⁰ U ovom i sledećem primeru, prilikom prevođenja na srpski jezik primenjena je strategija 4.

nijim postupkom kontekstualne reformulacije. Stoga se nameće zaključak da se direktno prevođenje, iako i dalje češći postupak, ne može smatrati normom prilikom prenošenja kreativnih naslova, već samo preovlađujućom tendencijom. Naime, odnos između izvorne i ciljne kulture prilikom prevođenja kreativnih naslova neretko se prelama kroz mnogo kompleksiju prizmu: primenom postupka kontekstualne reformulacije koja u obzir uzima kako jezičke, tako i vanjezičke kontekstualne okvire, ciljani naslov postaje nova jezička i kulturološka tvorevina koja na nekoliko nivoa (jezičkom, situacionom i kulturološkom) može da se razlikuje od izvornog, a da istovremeno kod ciljane publike prevedenog filma postigne efekat sličan onom koji izvorni naslov ima kod gledalaca na engleskom govornom području.

Ukratko sagledavši kreativne potencijale jedne neosnovano zanemarene jezičke pojave, na fonološkom, morfološko-semantičkom, semantičko-fonološkom, asocijativnom i grafičkom nivou, kao i utvrdivši osnovne prevodne postupke kojima se ovakvi naslovi prenose na druge jezike, autorka se nada da je na sažet ali ilustrativan način osvetlila najzanimljivije kreativne aspekte formiranja i prevođenja filmskih naslova, koji detaljnije tek treba da budu istraženi i opisani.

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LINGUISTIC CREATIVITY IN FORMING FILM TITLES IN ENGLISH AND TRANSLATING THEM INTO SERBIAN

Summary

The paper deals with the largely neglected phenomenon of linguistic creativity in forming film titles in English and translating them into other languages, in this case Serbian. Following the introductory definitions of the two key concepts – the film title as a kind of paratext and linguistic creativity as a mechanism that results in hundreds of witty, humorous and likeable titles, such as *Good Luck Chuck*,

The War of the Roses, Alvin and the Chipmunks: The Squeakquel, Teen Wolf Too, Happily N'Ever After, My Life in Ruins, You've Got M@il and many others, the next section focuses on the two main translation procedures applied when rendering such titles into Serbian – contextual reformulation and direct translation. The third and central section of the paper, in five subsections, deals with various aspects of linguistic creativity at five different levels and inter-levels of analysis, with a glance at how often word-play, as its most prominent mechanism, has been used over the last three decades. The analysis is based on a corpus of approximately two thousand titles of feature-length films from English-speaking countries and their Serbian translation equivalents. Last but not least, special emphasis is placed on strategies for forming creative titles of film sequels, followed by a conclusion that summarizes the main points of the text, which are based on numerous examples and their descriptions.

Key words: linguistic creativity, film title, original title, translated title, word-play, ambiguity, film sequel, translation procedure, direct translation, contextual reformulation

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KAKVI NAM ENGESKO-SRPSKI I SRPSKO- -ENGLESKI REČNICI NAJVIŠE TREBAJU¹

U ovom radu iznosi se predlog za sastavljanje pet englesko-srpskih i srpsko-engleskih rečnika za kojima trenutno kod nas postoji najveća potreba, a oni su: *Savremeni englesko-srpski i srpsko-engleski opšti rečnik*, *Studentski rečnik engleskog jezika s prevodima na srpski*, *Englesko-srpski rečnik sinonima*, *Englesko-srpski rečnik kolokacija* i *Englesko-srpski rečnik kulturno specifičnih pojmova*. Nakon nekoliko uvodnih napomena, Odeljak 2 donosi prikaz svakog od predloženih rečnika, koji su opisani iz sledećih uglova: (a) tipološka identifikacija, (b) primarna ciljna grupa korisnika, (c) komentar, (d) makrostruktura, (e) mikrostruktura, i (f) mogući uzori. U Odeljku 3 razmotreni su najvažniji metodološki i praktični aspekti izrade modernih dvojezičnih rečnika, a u Odeljku 4, u vidu zaključaka, sagledane perspektive domaće ozbiljne leksikografije i ozbiljnih leksikografa.

Ključne reči: dvojezična leksikografija, englesko-srpski rečnici, srpsko-engleski rečnici, pragmatizacija, korpusna lingvistika, kontrastivna lingvistika, kontaktna lingvistika

1. Uvodne napomene

U krugovima upućenih jezičkih i lingvističkih stručnjaka, ali i van njih, odavno je poznata žalosna činjenica da naša kultura raspolaže nedopustivo malim brojem rečnika, naročito onih kvalitetnih i modernih. Ovo se odnosi kako na rečnike srpskog jezika, tako i na dvojezične rečnike svih parova jezika koji se u Srbiji izučavaju i/ili

¹ Uvaženoj Profesorki Pervaz, s poštovanjem i zahvalnošću što mi je omogućila da postanem asistent na Odseku za anglistiku 1988. godine i, još važnije, što je pokrenula, nesebično podsticala i znalački usmeravala moja interesovanja prema osmišljenom izučavanju jezika i lingvistike, naročito u oblastima leksikologije i leksikografije. Rad je nastao u sklopu Projekta br. 178002, pod nazivom *Jezici i kulture u vremenu i prostoru*, koji finansira Ministarstvo prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja Republike Srbije.

koriste. Situacija nije mnogo drukčija ni s englesko-srpskim i srpsko-engleskim rečnicima, uprkos tome što je engleski danas prvi jezik svetske komunikacije, što je postao globalni zajednički jezik (eng. *lingua franca*), što se jedini izdvojio kao odomaćeni strani jezik (up. Prčić 2011: pogl. 2) i što predstavlja ubedljivo najpredavaniji i najučetniji, mada ne nužno i najnaučeniji, strani jezik. Uprkos svemu tome, domaća rečnička produkcija mahom se svodi na brojne, i sve brojnije, englesko-srpske i, u manjoj meri, srpsko-engleske opšte rečnike,² koji se međusobno suštinski jedva razlikuju i kojima su, uz malobrojne izuzetke, zajedničke četiri glavne karakteristike: (a) zastarelost makrostrukture, mikrostrukture i prezentacije podataka, (b) česta nepreciznost ponuđenih prevoda, (c) vizuelna i tipografska monotonija, i (d) zanemarenost potencijalnih korisnika i njihovih komunikativnih potreba – pasivnih i, još više, aktivnih.

Osim opštih, ostali tipovi rečnika, specijalizovani i terminološki, naročito oni kvalitetni i moderni, prava su retkost, kao da, pored opštih, sveukupnih vokabulara engleskog i srpskog jezika, ne postoje podskupovi tih vokabulara, a ni formalni i/ili sadržinski međuodnosi unutar njih, koje treba istražiti, opisati i leksikografski obraditi. U okvirima tih retkosti posebno se ističu sledeće: *Lažni prijatelji u engleskom jeziku. Zamke doslovnog prevođenja* (Kovačević 2011), *Srpsko-engleski rečnik lažnih parova* (Hlebec 2009), *Rečnik slenga: englesko-srpski srpsko-engleski* (Hlebec 2011), *Frazeološki rečnik: englesko-srpski* (Kovačević 2010a), *Frazeološki rečnik: srpsko-engleski* (Kovačević 2010b), *Englesko-srpski rečnik novih reči* (Stojičić 2006) i *Du you speak anglosrpski? Rečnik novijih anglicizama* (Vasić, i dr. 2011; iscrpnu analizu ovog rečnika, njegovih učinaka i razradu predloga za novo, prošireno izdanje nudi Prčić 2012a, 2013a, 2013b), svi u domenu specijalizovanih rečnika, dok su u domenu onih terminoloških to *Medicinski rečnik – englesko-srpski, srpsko-engleski / Medical Dictionary – English-Serbian, Serbian-English* (Milić 2011) i *Englesko-srpski rečnik sportskih termina* (Milić 2006).

Uz ove minimalne, ali pažnje i hvale vredne, izuzetke, ovako uspravano stanje u našoj leksikografiji traje već decenijama i ima sve izgleda da potraje i dalje. Njegovi uzroci nisu samo subjektivni, nego su znatno više objektivni, pošto su ozbiljni leksikografi uglavnom prepušteni sami sebi i sopstvenoj inicijativi, a posledice nepostojanja pravih rečnika, kao i navike da se oni koriste (na pravi način), svakodnevno se vide u nepotpunom razumevanju napisanih i izgovorenih tekstova na engleskom jeziku, u manjkavom govoru i pisanju na engleskom (i srpskom) jeziku i, naravno, u sve slabijim prevodima svih vrsta tekstova s engleskog jezika na srpski i sa srpskog jezika na engleski, koji – zbog nedostatka valjanih informacija u rečnicima, pa i sve redovnije prakse da se rečnici pri prevođenju sve ređe koriste

² Podaci o svim dostupnim rečnicima za ova dva para jezika mogu se dobiti pretraživanjem Virtuelne biblioteke Srbije, u sastavu baze podataka COBISS (Kooperativni onlajn bibliografski sistem i servisi), na adresi <http://www.vbs.rs/cobiss/>, unošenjem reči ‘englesko-srpski’ i ‘srpsko-engleski’ u polje ‘Naslov’.

– sve češće nastaju običnim preslikavanjem ili čak pukim prepisivanjem originala, dvama oprobanim postupcima nadriprevođenja (up. Prčić 2011: pogl. 16).

U svetlu svega rečenog, ciljevi ovog rada trojaki su: prvo, da se skrene pažnja na uspavanost i zastarelost današnje domaće leksikografije vezane za engleski i srpski jezik; drugo, da se probude i motivišu sadašnji i, posebno, budući ozbiljni leksikografi, a to su oni koji sastavljanje rečnika ne doživljavaju kao komercijalni poduhvat s lakom i dobrom zaradom, nego kao naučnoistraživački rad, savestan i mukotrpan, koji dovodi do kvalitetnih i modernih rečnika, englesko-srpskih i srpsko-engleskih; i treće, i najbitnije, da se ponude odgovori na pitanje kakvi nam rečnici najviše trebaju, pri čemu će reč ‘kakvi’ biti sagledana kroz tri njena značenja: kakvi u smislu vrste rečnikâ, kakvi u smislu njihovog ustrojstva i kakvi u smislu njihove realizacije. Prva dva biće razmotrena u Odeljku 2, Pregled najpotrebnijih rečnika, a onaj treći u Odeljku 3, Metodološki i praktični aspekti izrade rečnikâ.

2. Pregled najpotrebnijih rečnika

Pre nego što bi se odgovorilo na pitanje kakvi nam englesko-srpski i srpsko-engleski rečnici najviše trebaju, nužno je odgovoriti na drugo jedno, naizgled izlišno, pitanje – zašto nam uopšte trebaju novi i drukčiji rečnici. Na prvom mestu, novi rečnici, ne samo englesko-srpski i srpsko-engleski, trebaju nam zato da bi potencijalni korisnici, tj. učenici, studenti, prevodioci, nastavnici, istraživači i svi ostali zainteresovani, imali gde da potraže i pronađu željene podatke o formalnim i sadržinskim svojstvima reči, i njihovim međuosobnostima. Drugo, novi rečnici trebaju nam zato da bi se popunile sadašnje krupne praznine u mnogim vidovima leksikografske obrade vokabulara i engleskog i srpskog jezika, naročito u specijalizovanim i terminološkim domenima. I treće, ali nikako ne i poslednje, drukčiji, a to ovde znači moderni i kvalitetni, rečnici trebaju nam zato da bi se išlo u korak s vremenom i da bi se na taj način napravili pouzdani, upotrebljivi, korisni i efektivno izvedeni rečnici dostojni početka 21. veka, nastali u skladu s najnovijim svetskim dostignućima praktične i teorijske leksikografije, kao i leksikologije (o kojima raspravljaju Atkins i Rundell 2008; Béjoint 2000, 2010; Fontenelle 2008; Hartmann 2001; Jackson 2002, 2013; Landau 2001; van Sterkenburg 2003; Svensén 2009; Yong i Peng 2007).

Sa svim izloženim motivima na umu, sledi pregled englesko-srpskih i srpsko-engleskih rečnika koji se u ovom trenutku mogu smatrati najpotrebnijima potencijalnim korisnicima, domaćoj leksikografiji i našoj kulturi. Biće razmotreno pet tipova rečnika, u dva pododeljka, koji će se baviti opštim i specijalizovanim rečnicima. Svaki tip rečnika biće predstavljen u zasebnom članku, s jednoobraznom strukturom: radni naslov rečnika, a zatim (a) tipološka identifikacija, (b) primarna ciljna grupa korisnika, (c) komentar, (d) makrostruktura, (e) mikrostruktura, i (f) mogući uzori.

2.1. Opšti rečnici

Pod terminom ‘opšti rečnik’ podrazumeva se rečnik koji je usredsređen na opis i obradu celokupnog vokabulara jednog jezika (up. Hartmann i James 1998: 61, odrednica ‘general dictionary’, odn. ‘general-purpose dictionary’). U ovoj kategoriji nalaze se dva tipa rečnika.

2.1.1. Savremeni englesko-srpski i srpsko-engleski opšti rečnik

TIPOLOŠKA IDENTIFIKACIJA. Jednotomni opšti rečnik, koji bi bio dvosmeran, jer bi imao i englesko-srpski i srpsko-engleski deo, i dvofunkcijski, jer bi vršio ne samo pasivnu, tj. receptivnu, funkciju nego i onu aktivnu, tj. produktivnu, i to za oba izvorna jezika.

PRIMARNA CILJNA GRUPA. Korisnici najšireg raspona obrazovanja i uzrasta, počev od viših razreda osnovne škole nadalje, koji žele da zadovolje različite vrste komunikativnih potreba.

KOMENTAR. Iako su opšti rečnici daleko najčešći tip dvojezičnih rečnika kod nas, oni i dalje ne pružaju dovoljno precizno razlučene i organizovane podatke, naročito kod značenja polisemnih odrednica i njihovih kontekstualizovanih prevoda. Delimične izuzetke čine, prvo, dvotomni *Enciklopedijski englesko-srpskohrvatski rečnik* (Ristić, i dr. 1956, u čijoj je izradi učestvovala i dedikatkinja ovog zbornika), koji, uprkos tome što je jedan od najstarijih naših opštih rečnika, odlikuje neprevaziđena razrađenost polisemnih značenja i valjanost ponuđenih prevoda; i drugo, to su *Standardni englesko-srpski rečnik* (Hlebec 2012), *Standardni srpsko-engleski rečnik* (Hlebec 2006) i *Enciklopedijski srpsko-engleski rečnik* (Hlebec 2010), koji, prvi put u našoj sredini, uvode eksplicitnu kontekstualizaciju značenja polisemnih odrednica i njihovih prevoda, navođenjem tipičnih kolokatora u zagradi, i time prave važan otklon od tradicionalnog pristupa obradi leksičke polisemije, koji pojedinačna značenja polisemnih odrednica obrađuje implicitno, bez kontekstualizacije, običnim nabranjem, definisanjem i nesistematskim ilustriranjem, pa je odgonetanje potrebnog značenja prepušteno korisnicima (podrobnju analizu obrade polisemije u rečnicima engleskog i srpskog jezika, i predlog novog modela njene leksikografske obrade donosi Halas 2014).

MAKROSTRUKTURA, tj. uređeni skup svih uključenih leksičkih jedinica, koje nastupaju kao odrednice (up. Hartmann i James 1998: 91, odrednica ‘macrostructure’). Reči sve četiri morfološke strukture (proste, izvedene, složene i frazne), od kojih bi neke imale status pododrednice, zbog svoje formalne i/ili sadržinske povezanosti s odrednicom i podređenosti njoj. *Rečnik* bi činio aktuelni opšti vokabular i engleskog i srpskog kao izvornih jezika – standardnih i nestandardnih, napisanih i izgovorenih, teritorijalno, tematski i drukčije raslojenih, uključujući sleng, tabu, vulgarizme i ostale stilistički obeležene reči, kao i ustaljene neologizme. Usko-

stručni termini dobili bi svoje mesto samo ukoliko se nalaze u upotrebi i u opštem jeziku ili su postali relevantni za opšti jezik, dok bi svi ostali spadali u terminološke rečnike. Broj uključenih odrednica, koje bi bile utvrđene prema frekventnosti i relevantnosti u današnjoj komunikaciji, s obzirom na obuhvat i namenu *Rečnika*, ne bi smeo da bude manji od 100.000 (zajedno s pododrednicama), i u englesko-srpskom i u srpsko-engleskom delu. Ovde se mora ukazati na to da praksa po kojoj bi se do makrostrukture srpsko-engleskog dela *Rečnika* došlo prostim obrtanjem desne strane englesko-srpskog dela, odnosno mehaničkim pretvaranjem srpskih prevoda u odrednice, krije u sebi opasnost da se dobije iskrivljena slika stvarnosti, pošto bi takva makrostruktura, zapravo, preko reči srpskog jezika odslikavala pojmovni sistem engleskog jezika, izostavljajući nezaobilazne srpske kulturno specifične pojmove i njima pripadajuće reči srpskog jezika.

MIKROSTRUKTURA, tj. uređeni skup formalnih i sadržinskih podataka o svim uključenim odrednicama, koji se daju u okviru rečničkog članka (up. Hartmann i James 1998: 94, odrednica ‘microstructure’). Celovit i iscrpan spektar podataka o ortografiji, fonologiji, morfosintaksi, semantici, pragmatici i stilistici odrednica. Ti podaci trebalo bi da odraze, kako kvalitativno, tako i kvantitativno, parafrizirajući jedno opažanje Ch. Fillmorea, ono znanje koje je potrebno da bi se razumeli ljudi kada upotrebljavaju datu reč (pasivna funkcija *Rečnika*), te da bi se određena reč mogla adekvatno upotrebiti u govoru i pisanju, uključujući i prevođenje (aktivna funkcija). *Rečnik* bi nudio sedam tipova podataka, koji će ovde biti opisani (up. Atkins 1996; Dubois-Charlier 1997; Roberts 1992), a njihova organizacija i prezentacija pokazane na Ilustraciji 1, na primeru članka za glagolsku odrednicu *escape* (brojke u zagradi odnose se na brojeve pojedinačnih tipova podataka, a podvučeni tekst bio bi prikazan drugim slovnom stilom i/ili bojom), i na Ilustraciji 2, obe iz englesko-srpskog dela (up. Prčić 2002, 2011: pogl. 19, gde su prvobitno predstavljeni teorijsko-metodološki aspekti ustrojstva i praktični aspekti realizacije predloženog *Savremenog englesko-srpskog i srpsko-engleskog opšteg rečnika*; prikaz svojstava ovog rečnika zasnovan je na delovima tog teksta):

- (1) Pravopisni oblik – treba da uključi i eventualne varijante, a naročito one vezane za britansku i američku upotrebu.
- (2) Izgovor – treba da odrazi i britanski i američki standard (v. Ilustraciju 2, odrednicu *conductor*), i da bude predstavljen standardnim simbolima Međunarodnog fonetskog udruženja (eng. *International Phonetic Association*; *IPA*), pri čemu bi se u srpsko-engleskom delu nalazila standardno akcentovana odrednica.
- (3) Morfosintaksa – treba da ukaže na vrstu reči, na oblike morfološki nepravilnih odrednica (imenicâ, glagolâ, pridevâ i prilogâ), kao i na morfosintaktičku podvrstu date vrste reči, s naglaskom na sledećem:

escape /ɪ'skeɪp/ verb

1. ►**BREAK FREE** [I] <break free from captivity or confinement> POBEĆI, (zastarelo) UTEĆI: *They were caught trying to escape. Uhvaćeni su dok su pokušavali da pobegnu.* | *Two burglars have just escaped from prison. Dva provalnika su upravo pobegla iz zatvora.*
2. ►**GET AWAY FROM** [T] <get away from someone or something dangerous> POBEĆI = UMAĆI: *He eventually managed to escape the police. Na kraju je uspeo da pobegne od policije.* = *Na kraju je uspeo da umakne policiji.*
3. ►**AVOID** <succeed in avoiding a dangerous or unpleasant situation> [I] IZVUĆI SE: *She escaped with minor injuries. Izvukla se s manjim ozledama.* | *Both drivers escaped unhurt. Oba vozača su se izvukla nepovređena.* = *Oba vozača su se izvukla bez povreda.* • SPASTI SE (uz veliki napor): *Only four people managed to escape before the roof collapsed. Samo četvoro ljudi je uspeo da se spase pre nego što se krov srušio.* | *She escaped from the burning car. Spasila se iz automobila u plamenu.* | *The dog escaped through the back window of the bus. Pas se spasio kroz zadnji prozor autobusa.* • [T] IZBEĆI: *She was lucky to escape punishment. Imala je sreće da izbegne kaznu.* | *The back seat passengers narrowly escaped death. Putnici na zadnjem sedištu za dlaku su izbegli smrt.*
4. ►**(NAME, DATE)** [T] <cannot remember> NE MOĆI SE SETITI: *I've met him before, but his name escapes me. Sreo sam ga ranije, ali ne mogu da se setim njegovog imena.*
5. ►**(NOTICE, ATTENTION)** [T] <not see, realize or understand> PROMAĆI: *It may have escaped your notice, but this is not a hotel. Možda je promaklo vašoj pažnji, ali ovo nije hotel.*
6. ►**(GAS, LIQUID)** [I] <come out from a container, especially through a hole or crack> (gas) IZLAZITI: *Gas was escaping. Gas je izlazio.* • (tečnost) ISTICATI = IZLIVATI SE: *Oil was escaping into the sea. Nafta je isticala u more.* = *Nafta se izlivala u more.*
7. ►**(WORD, SOUND)** [T, I] <come out from someone's mouth or lips unintentionally> OMAKNUTI SE / OMAĆI SE, OTETI SE: *A sigh escaped her lips. Uzdah joj se omakao s usana.*

Ilustracija 1: tipovi, organizacija i prezentacija podataka na primeru odrednice *escape*_v

- za imenice: [C], od eng. *countable*, te [U], od eng. *uncountable* (v. Ilustraciju 2, odrednice *conductor*, *dentist*, *cyberspace*, *tam-o'-shanter*),
 - za glagole: [T], od eng. *transitive*, te [I], od eng. *intransitive* (v. Ilustraciju 1),
 - za prideve: [A], od eng. *attributive*, te [P], od eng. *predicative*.
- (4) Indikator smisla – treba da razdvoji, istakne i kontekstualizuje sva pojedinačna značenja polisemnih odrednica i na taj način olakša i ubrza njihovo pronalaženje u okviru rečničkog članka. U zavisnosti od dominantnog svojstva konkretnog značenja, koje iziskuje i način njegovog najefikasnijeg isticanja, moguće je razlikovati tri vrste takvih indikatora:
- denotator, koji značenje ističe putem skupa ključnih reči iz definicije ili opštijeg sinonima (v. Ilustraciju 1, značenja 1, 2 i 3),
 - kolokator, koji značenje ističe putem tipičnih kolokata s kojima se imenica, glagol ili pridev uobičajeno javljaju (v. Ilustraciju 1, značenja 4, 5, 6 i 7),

- tematizator, koji značenje ističe putem oznake tematske oblasti za koju je ono najkarakterističnije (v. Ilustraciju 2, odrednicu *conductor*, značenja 1, 2 i 4).
- (5) Definicija na izvornom jeziku – treba da pruži kratak, ali celovit i lako razumljiv, opis svakog od njenih deskriptivnih značenja. Ispred definicije, po potrebi, može se javiti stilistička oznaka, koja ukazuje na asocijativno značenje odrednice, određujući njenu regionalnu, tematsku, interpersonalnu, vremensku, vrednosnu ili drugu obeleženost, a shodno tome i njenu situacionu primerenost (v. Ilustraciju 2, odrednicu *conductor*, značenje 3; up. Prčić 2008a: pogl. 4).
- (6) Prevodi – treba da obezbede pouzdan korespondent ili ekvivalent svakog od značenja odrednice, težeći da postignu stvarnu, funkcijsko-komunikativnu ekvivalentnost, pri čemu se pod korespondentom podrazumeva reč u ciljnom jeziku koja formom, funkcijom i sadržinom odgovara reči s datim sadržajem u izvornom jeziku, npr. englesko *house* prema srpskom *kuća*, dok se pod ekvivalentom podrazumeva reč, sintagma ili rečenica u ciljnom jeziku koja funkcijom i sadržinom odgovara reči s datim sadržajem u izvornom jeziku, npr. englesko *queue*, prema srpskom *čekati u redu* ili *stajati u redu* (up. Prčić 2011: pogl. 13). Od izuzetne je važnosti da se ovde istaknu sledeće pravilnosti:
- za svako pojedinačno značenje navodi se jedan prevod (ili najviše dva), kao najprimereniji većini neobebeženih, uobičajenih konteksta, pa se otuda može smatrati prototipskim prevodom datog značenja,
 - ostali prevodi vezani su za specifične kontekste kojima su uslovljeni,
 - prevodi mogu biti kolokaciono ograničeni (v. Ilustraciju 1, značenje 6, te Ilustraciju 2, odrednicu *kick*),
 - prevodi mogu biti stilistički ograničeni i stoga primereni različitim situacijama (v. Ilustraciju 1, značenje 1, te Ilustraciju 2, odrednicu *dentist*).
- (7) Primeri – treba da odraze ponašanje u kontekstu odrednice u datom značenju i njenog prevoda, počev od tipičnih slobodnih spojeva u rečenici, klauzi ili sintagmi, preko specifičnih gramatičkih i/ili leksičkih kolokacija te strukturnih dopuna, koje su posebno tipografski istaknute (v. Ilustraciju 1, značenja 1, 2 i 3), pa sve do idiomatizovanih upotreba. Budući da pretežno potpomažu aktivnu funkciju rečnika, primere je najbolje birati i navoditi u skladu s frekventnošću i relevantnošću konkretne odrednice.

Pored navedenih sedam tipova podataka, bile bi obrađene još četiri značajne i nužne specifičnosti:

- označavanje lažnih parova između engleskog i srpskog jezika, i obrnuto (v. Ilustraciju 2, odrednicu *conductor*, značenja 1, 4 i 5; up. Prčić 2012b),

- označavanje kulturno specifičnih reči u izvornom jeziku (v. Ilustraciju 2, odrednicu *tam-o'-shanter*; up. Prčić 2008b),
- unakrsno upućivanje na sinonimne i ostale značenjski ili oblički srodne odrednice (v. Ilustraciju 2, odrednicu *conductor*, značenja 3 i 5),
- standardizovana adaptacija anglicizama, u vidu preporučenog pravopisnog oblika, koji se, idealno, mada ne isključivo, uvode ukoliko adekvatan prevod nije moguće postići, pa se pribegava preuzimanju reči iz engleskog jezika, uz prilagođavanje sistemu srpskog jezika, na nivou fonologije, morfosintakse i ortografije (v. Ilustraciju 2, odrednice *cyberspace* i *tam-o'-shanter*; up. Prčić 2011: pogl. 14 i 17).

conductor /kən'daktə | kən'daktər/ noun [C]

1. ► **MUSIC** <...> (≠) **DIRIGENT**: ...
2. ► **TRANSPORT** <...> **KONDUKTER** (u autobusu, tramvaju, trolejbusu): ...
3. ► **ON TRAIN** (American) <...> **PRATILAC** (voza), **KONDUKTER**: ... || → **guard**
4. ► **PHYSICS** <...> (≠) **PROVODNIK**: ...
5. ► **ON BUILDING** <...> (≠) **GROMOBRAN**: ... || → **lightning conductor**, → **lightning rod**

dentist /.../ noun [C]

1. ► **TREAT TEETH** <...> **ZUBAR** = **ZUBNI LEKAR**, (*stručno*) **STOMATOLOG**: ...

kick /.../ verb

1. ► **HIT WITH FOOT** [T, I] <...> (*čovek*) **ŠUTNUTI**, **UDARITI NOGOM**: *She kicked me under the table. Šutnula me je pod stolom.* • (konj., krava) **RITNUTI**, **UDARITI NOGOM**: *The horse kicked him. Konj ga je ritnuo.*

cyberspace /.../ noun [U]

1. ► **COMPUTING** <the imaginary environment in which electronic communication takes place> **SAJBERSPEJS** = **KIBERSPEJS** = **KIBER-PROSTOR**: ...

tam-o'-shanter /.../ noun [C]

1. ► **SCOTTISH CAP** © <a Scottish round woollen or cloth cap, with a small ball in the centre> **ŠKOTSKA KAPA** = **TAMOŠANTER**

Ilustracija 2: ostale mikrostrukturne specifičnosti

MOGUĆI UZORI. *The Oxford-Hachette French Dictionary: French-English / English-French* (Corréard i Grundy 2007; prvo izdanje 1994), koji treba da postane glavni uzor za sve buduće dvojezične, dvosmerne i dvofunkcijske savremene opšte rečnike (i za koji je kreiran specijalni vebisajt s informativnim i obrazovnim materijalom³). Za organizaciju i prezentaciju podataka kao odličan dodatni uzor mogu poslužiti *Oxford Dictionary of English* (Stevenson 2010; prvo izdanje, *The New Oxford Dictionary of English*, 1998) i *Bloomsbury English Dictionary* (Rooney 2004; prvo izdanje, *Encarta World English Dictionary*, 1999).

³ Up. <http://global.oup.com/booksites/content/9780198614227/>

2.1.2. *Studentski rečnik engleskog jezika s prevodima na srpski*

TIPOLOŠKA IDENTIFIKACIJA. Jednotomni engleski jednojezični rečnik u kojem bi se, osim celokupnog izvornog teksta, nalazili i prevodi na srpski – u prvom redu, pojedinačnih značenja i ilustrativnih primera, ali i samih definicija tih značenja, što ga čini hibridnim rečnikom – jednojezičnim s elementima dvojezičnog.

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KOMENTAR. Ovaj tip rečnika, u isto vreme višestruko inovativan i koristan, lansiran je pre dvadesetak godina i najčešće se temelji na nekom pedagoškom rečniku engleskog jezika, čijem su tekstu dodati prevodi pojedinih mikrostrukturnih segmenata na ciljni jezik; zbog toga bi najprikladniji naziv za ovakav tip rečnika bio ‘jednojezični rečnik s prevodima’ (eng. *bilingualized dictionary*, *semi-bilingual dictionary*; istorijske, teorijske, metodološke, praktične i pedagoške aspekte ‘bilingvalizovanih’ rečnika razmatraju Baker i Kaplan 1994; Hartmann 1994; James 1994; Laufer 1995; Laufer i Hadar 1997; Laufer i Kimmel 1997; Laufer i Melamed 1994; Lew 2004; Marelllo 1998; Nakamoto 1995; Pujol, i dr. 2006). Iz perspektive sastavljača, najveća prednost ovakvog rečnika je u tome što im je posao uveliko olakšan time što imaju gotov engleski tekst u koji samo treba da unesu odgovarajuće prevode. Iz perspektive korisnika, najveća prednost ovakvog rečnika je u tome što im se na jednom mestu, u skladnoj celini, nudi spoj ‘najboljeg od oba sveta’ – engleskog originala s ključnim delovima prevedenim na njihov maternji jezik, čime im se obezbeđuje, prvo, bolja razumljivost izvornog materijala i, drugo, i mnogo bitnije, neposredniji, pregledniji i efikasniji uvid u sadržinske i formalne sličnosti i razlike između vokabulara engleskog i srpskog jezika. Rečnik ovog tipa odskora je dostupan i za srpski jezik, pod naslovom *Oxford English-Serbian Student's Dictionary. Englesko-srpski rečnik sa srpsko-engleskim indeksom* (2006), ali je, zbog smanjenog obima i neujednačenog kvaliteta i kvantiteta ponuđenih prevoda, njegova upotrebljivost ograničena.

MAKROSTRUKTURA. U potpunosti zavisi od konkretne makrostrukture odabranog polaznog rečnika.

MIKROSTRUKTURA. Takođe zavisi od polaznog rečnika, ali se sa sigurnošću može znati da svaki od njih pruža celovit skup formalnih i sadržinskih podataka o uključenim odrednicama, pri čemu su ti podaci, u dogovoru s autorima i izdavačima, podložni manjim modifikacijama u vidu dopuna, saglasno specifičnostima ciljnog jezika. U ovom slučaju, izvorna mikrostruktura bila bi proširena prevodima pojedinačnih značenja odrednica i njihovih ilustrativnih primera na srpski jezik, koji bi bili prikazani drugim slovni stilom i/ili bojom.

MOGUĆI UZORI. Svi aktuelni britanski pedagoški rečnici, različitih obima, namenjeni i ciljnih grupa korisnika predstavljaju provereno dobre uzore. U ovom trenutku,

za opisanu ciljnu grupu korisnika izdvajaju se dva izvanredno osmišljena i realizovana rečnika: *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (Walter 2008) i *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (Turnbull 2010).

2.2. Specijalizovani rečnici

Pod terminom 'specijalizovani rečnik' podrazumeva se rečnik koji je usredsređen na opis i obradu jednog posebnog segmenta vokabulara, kao njegovog podskupa oličenog u formalno i/ili sadržinski povezanim leksičkim jedinicama (up. Hartmann i James 1998: 129, odrednica 'specialised dictionary'). U ovoj kategoriji nalaze se tri tipa rečnika, koji će ovde biti skicirani u grubim crtama.

2.2.1. Englesko-srpski rečnik sinonima

TIPOLOŠKA IDENTIFIKACIJA. Hibridni, jednojezično-dvojezični, rečnik u kojem bi se objašnjavale razlike između sinonimnih odrednica u engleskom jeziku i davali njihovi primeri i prevodi na srpski, koji bi te razlike što vernije odražavali.

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KOMENTAR. Ovaj rečnik usredsređen je na segment vokabulara engleskog jezika u kojem su reči međusobno povezane sadržinski i tiče se paradigmatičkih leksičkih odnosa. Oni se temelje na uporedivosti najmanje dve jezičke jedinice, koje bi se zbog izvesnih formalnih, funkcijskih i/ili sadržinskih sličnosti mogle javiti u istom kontekstu, određuju mogućnost njihovog odabiranja i stoga predstavljaju ravan selekcije (up. Prčić 2008a: 120). Pored smislenih odnosa sinonimije, antonimije i hiponimije, ovamo spadaju i svi tipovi leksičkih polja i leksičkih skupova (up. Prčić 2008a: pogl. 7), koje bi trebalo sveobuhvatno leksikološki istražiti, leksikografski obraditi i pretočiti u dvojezične rečnike. Vrlo dobar primer takvih istraživanja pružaju rečnički delovi studija posvećenih pridevima kojima se u engleskom i srpskom jeziku izražavaju osnovne boje i njihove nijanse (Krimer Gaborović 2011) i glagolima kojima se u engleskom i mađarskom jeziku izražavaju oglašavanja životinja (Németh Konc 2010).

MAKROSTRUKTURA. Sinonimne reči, u kategorijama glagolâ, pridevâ i imeni-câ, koje bi bile grupisane u grozdove, jedan tip leksičkih polja (up. Prčić 2008a: pogl. 7), na principu hiponimije: značenjski opšta i neobeležena reč, npr. glagol *laugh*, nastupala bi kao hiperonim i nosilac leksičkog polja, u kome bi se nalazili kohiponimi ovog hiperonima i ujedno njegovi značenjski specifičniji i obeleženi sinonimi, poput *chuckle*, *chortle*, *guffaw*, *roar*, *cachinnate*, *snicker*, *snigger*, *giggle*, *titter*. Hiperonimi bi činili glavne odrednice, alfabetski raspoređene, a njihovi kohiponimi bili bi podređene odrednice, takođe alfabetski raspoređene, s unakrsnim

upućivanjem na odgovarajuće glavne odrednice i leksičko polje, u sastavu čijeg su rečničkog članka obrađene. Ovako ustrojenih hiposinonimnih leksičkih polja bilo bi ne manje od 100.

MIKROSTRUKTURA. Rečnički članak bio bi organizovan oko hiperonimâ, koje bi, pored uobičajenih podataka, u vidu pravopisnog oblika, izgovora i morfosintakse, pratila kratka definicija na engleskom i srpskom jeziku, te njihov prevod na srpski, dok bi svaki pripadajući kohiponim bio obrađen trojako: prvo, kroz diferencijalnu definiciju na oba jezika, koja bi isticala njegov značenjski kontrast prema hiperonimu; drugo, kroz prevod na srpski jezik, u vidu korespondenata ili ekvivalenata, koji bi dati kontrast što preciznije odslikavali; i treće, kroz ilustrativne primere na engleskom jeziku i njihove prevode na srpski, koji bi pokazivali tipično ponašanje kohiponima u konkretnom kontekstu i ukazivali na eventualne njihove sadržinske i/ili formalne osobenosti. Ovakvom organizacijom podataka, koja bi kombinovala semaziološku makrostrukturu i onomaziološku mikrostrukturu, korisnici bi lako dobijali odgovore na pitanja, implicitna ili eksplicitna, tipa ‘In what ways can you *laugh* in English and Serbian?’, ili ‘How do people described as *fat, overweight, plump, obese* and *chubby* differ and how can these differences be rendered in Serbian?’, i relativno brzo stizali do željene informacije, prvo, semaziološkim putem, na osnovu pisanog oblika hiperonima ili nekog od kohiponima, a zatim onomaziološkim putem, na osnovu njihovih značenjskih kontrasta, unutar konkretnog leksičkog polja.

MOGUĆI UZORI. Budući da rečnika s ovakvom makro- i mikrostrukturom još nema, nema ni uzora za njega. Međutim, pri utvrđivanju popisa sinonimnih odrednica i njihovog značenjskog razlikovanja u engleskom jeziku od velike pomoći bili bi *Oxford Learner's Thesaurus. A Dictionary of Synonyms* (Lea 2008), *Longman Language Activator* (Summers 2004), kao i elektronski rečnici proizašli iz projekta *WordNet*.⁴ Leksikološki i leksikografski aspekti sinonimije sagledani su u Milić 2013, dok su najnovija iskustva u vezi s teorijskom, metodološkom i praktičnom leksikografskom obradom jednojezične i dvojezične sinonimije predstavljena u specijalnom broju časopisa *International Journal of Lexicography* (26/3, 2013), naslovljenom *Synonymy and Sameness of Meaning*. Treba, na kraju, pomenuti i to da su na Odseku za anglistiku Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu u toku pripreme za izradu *Englesko-srpskog kontrastivnog rečnika sinonima*.

2.2.2. Englesko-srpski rečnik kolokacija

TIPOLOŠKA IDENTIFIKACIJA. Dvojezični rečnik u kojem bi se davale uobičajene leksičke i gramatičke kolokacije engleskog jezika i njihovi prevodi na srpski. Ovaj rečnik kasnije bi mogao biti urađen i iz drugog smera, kao srpsko-engleski.

⁴ Up. <http://wordnet.princeton.edu/> ; <http://www.sequencepublishing.com/thesage.html> ; <http://wordweb.info/free/>

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KOMENTAR. Ovaj rečnik usredsređen je na segment vokabulara engleskog jezika u kojem su reči međusobno povezane formalno i sadržinski, i tiče se sintagmatskih leksičkih odnosa. Oni se temelje na blizini najmanje dve jezičke jedinice, koje se uobičajeno zajedno javljaju, ili mogu javiti, u istom kontekstu, određuju mogućnost njihovog ulančavanja i stoga predstavljaju ravan kombinacije (up. Prčić 2008a: 146). Pored kolokacija, ovamo spadaju i svi tipovi idioma, odn. frazeologizama (up. Prčić 2008a: pogl. 8), čija je iscrpna leksikografska obrada urađena u dva ranije pomenuta englesko-srpska i srpsko-engleska rečnika (Kovačević 2010a, 2010b).

MAKROSTRUKTURA. Na prvom mestu, leksičke kolokacije, ograničene i vezane, sa sledećih šest struktura: (a) imenica + glagol (npr. *a dog barks*), (b) glagol + imenica (*ride a bicycle*), (c) pridev + imenica (*a heated debate*), (d) glagol + prilog (*refuse flatly*), (e) prilog + pridev (*immaculately dressed*), (f) imenica + predlog *of* + imenica (*a bar of chocolate*). Na drugom mestu, gramatičke kolokacije, odn. koligacije, sa sledeće tri strukture: (a) imenica + predlog (npr. *affection for*), (b) glagol + predlog (*name after*), (c) pridev + predlog (*proud of*) (up. Prčić 2008a: 151-153). Svaka kolokacija sastoji se od primarnog kolokata, koji nastupa kao težište kolokacije i glavni nosilac značenja (u gornjim primerima, to su: *dog*, *bicycle*, *debate*, *refuse*, *dressed* i *chocolate*, po redosledu navođenja, dok su u koligacijama to: *affection*, *name* i *proud*, po redosledu navođenja) i od sekundarnog kolokata, koji ga pobliže određuje ili opisuje (up. Prčić 2008a: 151), ili, u slučaju koligacija, koji ga dopunjuje. Primarni kolokati činili bi glavne odrednice, alfabetski raspoređene, a sekundarni kolokati bili bi podređene odrednice, takođe alfabetski raspoređene, s unakrsnim upućivanjem na odgovarajuće glavne odrednice i kolokacije, u sastavu čijeg su rečničkog članka obrađene.

MIKROSTRUKTURA. Rečnički članak bio bi organizovan oko primarnih kolokata, koje bi, pored uobičajenih podataka, u vidu pravopisnog oblika, izgovora, morfosintakse i kratke definicije na engleskom jeziku, pratili i tematski razvrstani kontekstualizovani sekundarni kolokati, te prevodi čitavih kolokacija na srpski jezik, u vidu korespondenata ili ekvivalenata. Ovakvom organizacijom podataka, koja bi kombinovala semaziološku makrostrukturu i delimično onomaziološku mikrostrukturu, korisnici bi lako dobijali odgovore na pitanja, implicitna ili eksplicitna, tipa 'What does a dog do? – A dog barks. = Pas laje.', ili 'How can you refuse someone? – Refuse flatly. = Odbiti glatko.', i relativno brzo stizali do željene informacije, prvo, semaziološkim putem, na osnovu pisanog oblika primarnog ili sekundarnog kolokata, a zatim onomaziološkim putem, na osnovu značenja primarnog kolokata i njemu pridruženog sekundarnog kolokata u konkretnoj kolokaciji.

MOGUĆI UZORI. Budući da ovako ustrojenog dvojezičnog rečnika još uvek nema, kao njegov jedini uzor mogla bi poslužiti četiri rečnika kolokacija engleskog jezi-

ka, koji bi bili primenljivi najviše pri odabiru i organizaciji konkretnih kolokacija: *The BBI Combinatory Dictionary of English* (Benson, i dr. 2010), *Oxford Collocations Dictionary for Students of English* (McIntosh 2009), *Macmillan Collocations Dictionary for Learners of English* (Rundell 2010) i *Longman Collocations Dictionary and Thesaurus* (Cleveland-Marwick, i dr. 2013). Svojstva kolokacija, uključujući i one u engleskom i srpskom jeziku, te aspekti izrade jednojezičnih i dvojezičnih rečnika kolokacija sagledani su u Dražić 2012; Nejgebauer 1982, 1986; Pervaz 1988; Siepmann 2005, 2006; Stojičić 2010, kao i u tematskom delu časopisa *Lexicographica* (24, 2008), naslovljenom *Collocations in European Lexicography and Dictionary Research*.

2.2.3. Englesko-srpski rečnik kulturno specifičnih pojmova

TIPOLOŠKA IDENTIFIKACIJA. Dvojezični rečnik u kojem bi bile obrađene reči u vezi s pojmovima specifičnim za anglofone kulture, s težištem na Velikoj Britaniji i Sjedinjenim Državama, dvema jezički i drukčije najzastupljenijim i najuticajnijim anglofonim zemljama. Ovaj rečnik kasnije bi mogao biti urađen i iz drugog smera, kao srpsko-engleski, s rečima svojstvenim kulturnim specifičnostima u Srbiji.

PRIMARNA CILJNA GRUPA. Studenti engleskog jezika i lingvistike, studenti drugih grupa koji uče engleski jezik, učenici srednje škole, kao i svi ostali korisnici koji su ovladali najmanje srednjim nivoom znanja engleskog jezika.

KOMENTAR. Ovaj rečnik spada u kategoriju onih koji se bave paradigmatskim leksičkim odnosima i u središte pažnje stavlja odrednice vezane za kulturne specifičnosti u engleskom jeziku. Pod terminom ‘kulturno specifična reč’ smatra se svaka reč u izvornom jeziku koja izražava pojam specifičan za izvornu kulturu, koji ne postoji u istovetnom ili bilo kom drugom obliku u ciljnoj kulturi i koji zbog toga nema odranije spreman prevod u ciljnom jeziku. Tematski, kulturno specifične reči ovde su usmerene na ustrojstvo i funkcionisanje ljudskog društva, i obuhvataju institucije (i njihove zvanične nazive), politiku, obrazovanje, religiju, trgovinu, finansije, socijalnu i zdravstvenu zaštitu, saobraćaj, zabavu, sport, slobodno vreme, te jelo, piće i odevanje, i običaje vezane za njih (up. Prčić 2008b; alternativne definicije nude Ivir 1985; Newmark 1988). S obzirom na široko postavljen obuhvat, ovakve reči moguće je valjano leksikografski obraditi samo u delovima, oblast po oblast, koje bi na kraju bile objedinjene u celovit dvojezični rečnik. Rezultati istraživanja jedne takve oblasti prikazani su u rečničkom delu studije o profesionalnim titulama u Velikoj Britaniji i njihovom prevodenju na srpski jezik (Široki 2010).

MAKROSTRUKTURA. Kulturno specifične reči, u kategorijama imenica i glagola, iz navedenih tematskih oblasti, činile bi odrednice, alfabetski raspoređene. Značenjski srodne odrednice bile bi međusobno unakrsno upućivane, čime bi ujedno bila omeđena pojedina leksička polja i pobrojani njegovi članovi, poput zvanja

univerzitetskih nastavnika, *lecturer*, *senior lecturer*, *reader*, *professor*, u Velikoj Britaniji, odn. *assistant professor*, *associate professor*, *full professor*, u Sjedinjenim Državama.

MIKROSTRUKTURA. Pored uobičajenih podataka o pravopisnom obliku, izgovoru i morfosintaksi, rečnički članak bi za svaku odrednicu ponudio tri neophodna tipa podataka, na sledeći način: prvo, to bi bile definicije pridruženog pojma i na engleskom i na srpskom jeziku, koje bi počinjale njegovim geografskim određenjem, u zagradi. Cilj dvojezičnih definicija, koje bi ovaj rečnik učinile delom ‘bilingvalizovanim’, bio bi da što potpunije osvetle dati pojam, približe ga na oba jezika korisnicima i tako popune pojmovnu prazninu u njihovom vanjezičkom, tj. enciklopedijskom, znanju. Drugo, to bi bio prevod datog pojma na srpski jezik, u vidu korespondenata ili ekvivalenata, da bi se popunila leksička praznina u jezičkom znanju korisnikâ, ili, ukoliko adekvatan prevod nije moguće postići, odrednica bi bila preuzeta, uz prilagođavanje sistemu srpskog jezika i istovremeno uvođenje novog anglicizma (up. Prčić 2008b, 2011: pogl. 13-14; Newmark 1988). I treće, to bi bile značenjski uporedive odrednice, najčešće sinonimi, na koje bi se ukazivalo međusobnim unakrsnim upućivanjem (više o ustrojstvu, organizaciji i prezentaciji podataka u ovako zamišljenom rečniku govori Prčić 2008b).

MOGUĆI UZORI. Dvojezičnih, pa i jednojezičnih, rečnika kulturno specifičnih pojmova i dalje ima veoma malo, od kojih bi za odabir relevantnih odrednica kao uzor mogla poslužiti dva uspela mađarska rečnika (Bart 2000, 2003): prvi se bavi američkim kulturno specifičnim vokabularom, a drugi britanskim. Za adekvatno razumevanje i tumačenje obrađenih pojmova i pojava nezaobilazan bi bio *Oxford Guide to British and American Culture* (Crowther 2005).

3. Metodološki i praktični aspekti izrade rečnikâ

U ovom odeljku biće ukratko govora o glavnim metodološkim i praktičnim aspektima izrade opisanih, ali i drugih, savremenih rečnika. Metodološkim aspektima obuhvaćena su dva postupka koja suštinski opredeljuju način dobijanja podataka ponuđenih u rečnicima, dok se praktični aspekti bave načinima tehničke realizacije predloženih rečnika i, najvažnije od svega, onima bez kojih tih rečnika ne bi moglo ni biti, a to su, naravno, ozbiljni leksikografi.

3.1. Metodološki aspekti

Što se metodoloških aspekata tiče, prvi način dobijanja podataka u dvojezičnim rečnicima odnosi se na ponuđene prevode, gde je moguće razlikovati dva pristupa – tradicionalni i savremeni (up. Prčić 2002, 2011: pogl. 19). Tradicionalni

pristup, zastupljen u većini postojećih englesko-srpskih i srpsko-engleskih rečnika, rukovodi se načelom ‘reč za reč’, prema kojem bi (prosto, izvedenoj, složenoj ili fraznoj) reči X iz izvornog jezika, najčešće van konteksta, mogla da odgovara reč Y iz ciljnog jezika, koja nastupa kao korespondent; npr. srpski *puniti* prema engleskom *fill, load, charge* i *stuff*. Nasuprot ovome, savremeni pristup, zastupljen u malom broju opštih rečnika pomenutih u Odeljku 2.1.1, rukovodi se načelom ‘sadržaj za sadržaj’, prema kojem sadržaju reči X iz izvornog jezika, u sprezi s drugom rečju iz datog opsega u datom kontekstu, semantičko-pragmatički i stilistički najviše odgovara sadržaj reči, sintagme ili rečenice Y iz ciljnog jezika, pri čemu reč ovde nastupa kao korespondent, a sintagma i rečenica kao ekvivalenti; npr. srpski *puniti (posudu)* prema engleskom *fill, puniti (vatreno oružje)* prema *load, puniti (bateriju)* prema *charge* i *puniti (meso ili povrće)* prema *stuff*. Kod tradicionalnog metoda težište je stavljeno na potencijalne i približne prevode, od kojih neki mogu biti i stvarni; u rečnicima se obično navode sve one reči, ponekad i više od deset, koje bi se mogle javiti na datom mestu u rečenici, bez obzira na stepen semantičko-pragmatičke i stilističke podudarnosti. S druge strane, kod savremenog metoda težište se nalazi na utvrđivanju stvarnih, a ne potencijalnih ili približnih, funkcij-sko-komunikativnih ekvivalenata u rasponu konkretnih konteksta; u rečnicima se uglavnom navode najviše dva, što, i teorijski i praktično uzev, realno odražava postojeće međujezičke odnose. Tradicionalni metod orijentisan je semantički i nastoji da odgovori na pitanje ‘Šta sve *može* da znači i kako sve *može* da se prevodi reč X?’, dok je savremeni metod pragmatički orijentisan i odgovara na pitanje ‘Šta znači i kako se prevodi reč X u konkretnom kontekstu?’. Potonji metod, valja istaći, čini okosnicu pragmatizacije, oličene u kontekstualizaciji jezika, metodološkom usmerenju po kojem se jezičke pojave, uključujući i reči i njima pridružena značenja, posmatraju, ispituju, objašnjavaju i opisuju kroz njihovu upotrebu unutar jezičkog i vanjezičkog konteksta, pa bi zato za ovakav postupak najprikladniji naziv bio pragmatički pristup.

Tesno povezan s ovim jeste korpusnolingvistički pristup, kao drugi postupak pribavljanja podataka. Sledeći princip kontekstualizacije jezika, korpusna lingvistika analizira kvalitativne i kvantitativne dimenzije ponašanja jezičkih jedinica upotrebljenih u konkretnom kontekstu, u okviru napisanih i izgovorenih (a potom transkribovanih) tekstova, objedinjenih u obimne elektronske, kompjuterski pretražive, korpusne, počev od 100 miliona reči naviše (različite aspekte primene korpusne lingvistike u istraživanjima jezičkih pojava, koja zahvataju i leksikološke i leksikografske teme, razmatraju Facchinetti 2007; Gatto 2011; Hanks 2012; Hundt 2007; O’Keeffe i McCarthy 2010; Sampson i McCarthy 2005). U vezi s leksikološkim i leksikografskim temama, korpusno zasnovana istraživanja, uz pomoć sve savršenijih softverskih alatki, pružaju precizan uvid u oblike i značenja reči, i njihove frekvencije, u nastanak novih reči, u razvoj novih značenja, u smislaone od-

nose među rečima i, možda najbitnije, u ustaljene spojeve reči, tj. kolokacije, koje je bez korpusne podrške nemoguće sveobuhvatno utvrditi. Na ovaj način izvedene informacije, naročito ukoliko su uobličene u leksičke profile (eng. *word sketches*), tj. sažete prikaze ponašanja reči u kontekstu, kao što nudi britanski projekat *Sketch Engine*,⁵ garantuju da su podaci ponuđeni u takvim rečnicima objektivni i autentični, a samim tim i uveliko lišeni subjektivnosti i proizvoljnosti svojstvenih mnogim tradicionalnim, pretkorpusnim rečnicima.

Kada je reč o gore predloženim englesko-srpskim i srpsko-engleskim rečnicima, korpusnu zasnovanost neizostavno bi zahtevali *Opšti rečnik* i *Rečnik kolokacija*, što bi prethodno podrazumevalo sistematsku i institucionalnu podršku daljem obogaćivanju i usavršavanju Srpskog nacionalnog korpusa (po ugledu na Britanski nacionalni korpus ili druge, novije i još obimnije korpus⁶), koji bi što pre morao da postane prvorazredni cilj, a onda i sredstvo, ne samo domaće stručne javnosti, nego i naše jezički i lingvistički osetljive kulture. Zaokružen i javno dostupan Srpski nacionalni korpus zatim bi omogućio i olakšao nužno formiranje paralelnog englesko-srpskog i srpsko-engleskog korpusa, i tek tada bi se moglo pristupiti i izradi pomenuta dva rečnika, kao i svih ostalih – bez obzira na to da li su ovde bili opisani ili ne.

3.2. Praktični aspekti

Što se praktičnih aspekata izrade rečnikâ tiče, postoje dva osnovna načina njihove tehničke realizacije – klasična i elektronska (up. Prćić 2013b). Klasična realizacija podrazumeva štampanu, papirnu knjigu, u kojoj bi prezentacija podataka, saglasno aktuelnim tendencijama, napustila tradicionalnu obradu jedne odrednice u sklopu jednog neprekinutog paragrafa, nego bi podaci bili razmešteni u više manjih paragrafa (v. Ilustracije 1 i 2 gore) i bili prikazani različitim slovним stilovima i/ili bojama, čime bi se umnogome doprinelo boljoj preglednosti podataka i lakšoj navigaciji kroz njih. Nasuprot tome, elektronska realizacija podrazumeva digitalnu, kompjuterski podržanu izvedbu, koja se može javiti u dva oblika – ili kao elektronska knjiga, ili kao elektronski rečnik, oba u delokrugu elektronske leksikografije, ili e-leksikografije, najmlađeg ogranka leksikografije (teorijske i praktične aspekte e-leksikografije razmatraju Fuertes-Olivera i Bergenholtz 2013; Granger i Paquot 2012; Kosem i Kosem 2011). Elektronska knjiga, ili e-knjiga, predstavlja publikaciju u digitalnoj formi koja se proizvodi, objavljuje i distribuira uz pomoć kompjutera, može se čitati preko svih vrsta kompjutera (stoni, laptop, noutbuk, netbuk, tablet, itd.), inteligentnih telefona i čitača e-knjiga, i u današnje vreme najčešće

⁵ Up. <http://www.sketchengine.co.uk/>

⁶ Up. <http://corpus.byu.edu/corpora.asp> ; <http://www.webcorp.org.uk/live/>

nastaje konverzijom fajla namenjenog štampanju u neki od formata za pripremu e-knjiga, od kojih su trenutno najrasprostranjeniji PDF i EPUB. Ponešto drukčije, elektronski rečnik predstavlja rečnik s podacima u digitalnoj formi, uobličenim u softversku aplikaciju kojoj se može pristupiti uz pomoć kompjutera ili inteligentnih telefona. Ovakvi rečnici mogu se proizvesti u dve glavne izvedbe – kao oflajn izdanja, kada je softver instaliran na kompjuteru ili telefonu, pa je rečnik korisniku stalno dostupan, ili kao onlajn izdanja, kada softver nije instaliran na kompjuteru ili telefonu, nego je rečnik dostupan preko pretraživačkog programa, samo ukoliko je kompjuter ili telefon priključen na internet.

Kada je reč o predloženim rečnicima, štampana knjiga i dalje ostaje prioritetan način njihove realizacije, mada se mora istaći sve jača i jasnija globalna tendencija prelaska na izvedbu i u obliku ili samo u obliku elektronskog rečnika, oflajn ili onlajn, imajući pre svega na umu povremeni, referentni karakter rečnikâ, kojima korisnici pristupaju prema ukazanoj potrebi, putem kompjutera ili inteligentnog telefona. Uz to, elektronski rečnici imaju više značajnih prednosti nad onim klasičnim, od kojih će ovde biti izdvojene dve, za korisnike verovatno najinteresantnije i najprivlačnije: prvo, multimedijalnost, koja uključuje dodatne audio i video sadržaje, odn. govor, zvukove i muziku, te svakovrsne ilustracije i filmske sekvence; i drugo, prenosivost i gotovo univerzalna dostupnost, bez zauzimanja dragocenog fizičkog prostora (više detalja o mogućnostima tehničke realizacije rečnikâ, na primeru novog izdanja jednog već urađenog rečnika, daje Prčić 2013b). Zbog svih navedenih (i nenavedenih) razloga, uglavnom praktične prirode, koji se delom tiču korisnikâ a delom sastavljača, elektronska realizacija rečnikâ, prvenstveno u vidu trenutno mnogo rasprostranjenijih onlajn izdanja, koja bi bila besplatno dostupna preko interneta, sve se više i sve brže nameće kao prioritet, s brojnim osmišljeno i brižljivo izvedenim, takođe besplatno dostupnim, uzorima.⁷

Na kraju, neophodno je osvrnuti se na ulogu i sadašnji položaj onih bez kojih nijednog predloženog rečnika ne bi moglo biti – na sastavljače rečnika, odnosno ozbiljne leksikografe. Kako je rečeno ranije, ozbiljnim leksikografima smatraju se oni koji sastavljanje rečnika ne doživljavaju kao komercijalni poduhvat s lakom i dobrom zaradom, nego kao savestan i mukotrpan naučnoistraživački rad, koji dovodi do kvalitetnih i modernih rečnika. Iz ovoga proizlazi nekoliko bitnih pretpostavki: (a) ozbiljni leksikografi moraju vladati neophodnim jezičkim i lingvističkim znanjima, te znanjima i veštinama iz teorijske i praktične leksikografije, (b) ozbiljni leksikografi, naročito oni mladi, koji tek stasavaju, moraju biti institucionalno podsticani, odgovarajućim usavršavanjem u inostranim leksikografskim centrima, (c)

⁷ Up. <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/> ; <http://www.merriam-webster.com/> ; <http://ahdictionary.com/> ; <http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/> ; <http://www.ldoceonline.com/> ; <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/> ; <http://www.macmillandictionary.com/> ; <https://play.google.com/store>, uneti: 'oxford quick' i 'merriam webster'

ozbiljnim leksikografima mora se obezbediti aktuelna stručna literatura i najsavremenija kompjuterska oprema, hardverska i softverska, bez koje je danas nezamislivo sastavljanje bilo kakvih kvalitetnih i modernih rečnika, (d) ozbiljni leksikografi moraju biti organizovani u male, dobro uigrane i još bolje vođene timove, veličine od 5 do 15 članova, u zavisnosti od obima datog rečnika, i (e) budući da ozbiljni leksikografi najčešće rade kao univerzitetski nastavnici i saradnici, rezultati njihovog rada, tj. urađeni rečnici, moraju biti na primeren i pravedan način vrednovani, tako što će u ocenjivanju naučnoistraživačkog učinka univerzitetskih nastavnika i saradnika rečnici biti bodovani kao monografije ili istaknute monografije nacionalnog ili međunarodnog značaja, u zavisnosti od njihove naučne originalnosti i značaja, čije kriterijume treba što pre razraditi i usvojiti (up. Prčić 2013a).

4. Završne napomene

U ovom prilogu učinjen je pokušaj revitalizacije gotovo nepostojeće englesko-srpske i srpsko-engleske ozbiljne leksikografije, a posredno i domaće leksikografije uopšte, kojoj zvanično mora biti priznat status naučne discipline u okrilju primenjene lingvistike, a njenim poslenicima mora biti omogućeno da ORGANIZOVANO stvaraju – i za srpski jezik, i za sve jezike koji se izučavaju i/ili koriste u Srbiji – kvalitetne i moderne, korpusno zasnovane, štampane i elektronske rečnike, koji će biti realizovani u skladu s principima savremene leksikografije i koji će mnogo dostojnije nego sada biti naučno (ali i finansijski) vrednovani.

A principi savremene leksikografije su sledeći: (a) naučna utemeljenost, koja polazi od najnovijih teorijskih, metodoloških i praktičnih dostignuća leksikologije i metaleksikografije, korpusne lingvistike, te kontrastivne i kontaktne lingvistike, (b) funkcijska profilisanost rečnikâ, koja zadovoljava pasivne i aktivne komunikativne potrebe korisnikâ, uz sve izraženiju tendenciju objedinjavanja ovih dveju funkcija u istom rečniku, (c) okrenutost prema korisnicima i njihovim potrebama, koja osigurava celovitost, valjanost i pouzdanost jezičkih i vanjezičkih podataka ponuđenih u rečnicima, (d) predusretljivost prema korisnicima, koja obezbeđuje lako korišćenje rečnikâ i brzo pronalaženje traženih podataka, te njihovu preglednu, atraktivnu i efektanu prezentaciju, i (e) izgrađivanje, kod nas skoro sasvim nepoznate, rečničke kulture, koja treba da se sastoji iz učenja, negovanja, popularisanja i praćenja efikasnosti upotrebe rečnikâ (up. Prčić 2002, 2011: pogl. 19).

Bez ovih principa i gore pomenutih pretpostavki naša ozbiljna leksikografija i ozbiljni leksikografi nastaviće da tavore i da, potpuno neopravdano, nezasluženo i neobjašnjivo, ostaju izvan savremenih svetskih tokova, s kratkoročnim i dugoročnim posledicama koje su svima upućenima isuviše dobro poznate.

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WHAT KINDS OF ENGLISH-SERBIAN AND SERBIAN-ENGLISH DICTIONARIES WE NEED THE MOST

Summary

This paper has presented a proposal for the compilation of five English-Serbian and Serbian-English dictionaries for which there is currently a great need in this country, and these are: *A Contemporary English-Serbian and Serbian-English General-Purpose Dictionary*, *A Student's English-Serbian Bilingualized Dictionary*, *An English-Serbian Dictionary of Synonyms*, *An English-Serbian Dictionary of Collocations* and *An English-Serbian Dictionary of Culture-Specific Concepts*. After some opening remarks, Section 2 has brought a synopsis of each of the proposed dictionaries, describing them from the following angles: (a) typological identification, (b) primary target user group, (c) comment, (d) macrostructure, (e) microstructure, and (f) possible sources. In Section 3, the main methodological and practical aspects of producing modern bilingual dictionaries have been discussed and in Section 4, by way of conclusion, future prospects of domestic serious lexicography and serious lexicographers have been surveyed.

Key words: bilingual lexicography, English-Serbian dictionaries, Serbian-English dictionaries, pragmaticization, corpus linguistics, contrastive linguistics, contact linguistics

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HUMOROUS EFFECTS CREATED BY THE NON-OBSERVANCE OF GRICE'S COOPERATIVE PRINCIPLE IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN: A CASE STUDY

The aim of this paper is to shed some light on the non-observance of Grice's cooperative principle which serves a specific purpose in a given conversation and that is to produce a humorous effect. Since the qualitative analysis is done on empirical data collected from telecinematic discourse in English and Serbian, an interdisciplinary theoretical approach is required; hence, the Gricean model will be viewed in correlation with the cognitive linguistics approach. It will be argued and supported by the results of the analysis that the non-observance of the CP in humorous discourse represents an unmarked case and that the viewers as ratified listeners to telecinematic discourse resort not only to the immediate context, but some other elements as well, during the dynamic processes of meaning construction.

Key words: cooperative principle, verbal humour, non-observance, telecinematic discourse, meaning construction

1. Introduction

The main aim of this paper is to explore the non-observance of the conversational principle in relation to some cognitive construals such as profiling and figure-ground reversal. Hence, this paper deals with the issue of humorous discourse viewed from a Gricean and cognitive-linguistic perspective. The reason for revisiting the interrelation of humour and Grice's cooperative principle from the cognitive-linguistic perspective is the need to shed some new light on it, especially considering the fact that most studies which deal with this topic are not based on empirical evidence, but rather take a more theoretical approach, either a general one within traditional pragmatics (Mooney 2004, Davis 2007), or specifically de-

voted to humour (Raskin 1985, Attardo 1993, Attardo 1997, Kotthoff 2006, Dynel 2008). However, when we take into account multimodal humour, albeit conversational, it should be stressed that such humour can be expressed in a whole range of different forms, and as such, is affected by various contributing factors that come into play during the process of arriving at the meaning and creating the (un)intended humorous effect. Verbal humour will be defined here as incongruity expressed by the means of a linguistic system (Attardo 1994: 96). The complexity of the data under scrutiny requires an interdisciplinary and integrated approach, which can be achieved, as it will be argued in this paper, by applying a cognitive-linguistic perspective, specifically concepts such as Langacker's (2001; 2008) current discourse space and viewpoint.

The interplay of various factors that are at work both in humour production and humour comprehension becomes even more evident in verbal humour that can be found in telecinematic discourse, which represents very useful material for pragmatic analysis. Following Piazza et al. (2001: 2-9), telecinematic discourse will be defined here as discourse that is part of a film or television series broadcast and created for the viewers. This term will be used to highlight many similarities between film and television discourses, for instance the fact that both are regulated by "a double plane of communication that characterizes any screen discourse between the subjects in the story and the external viewers" (Piazza et al. 2011: 1). As much as telecinematic discourse is characterized by the interrelationship between the represented and external participants and the interface of linguistic and audiovisual characteristics, it still features a communicative event and a specific form of human communication that lends itself for linguistic analysis. Specifically, it can be used as a model of real-life conversation (cf. Wardhaugh 1992; Norrick 2003; Dynel 2011), given the underlying assumption that dialogues in such discourse resemble authentic dialogues to a great extent.

When it comes to humour research, particularly within the comic genre, telecinematic discourse turns out to be very useful, since it can offer revealing insight into principal aspects of conversational humour and issues related to humour comprehension, meaning construction and recognizing and appreciating the intended humorous effect by the hearer. However, exploring this kind of language material implies that some additional issues and problems should be solved, especially the issue of the role of the TV viewer in this specific communicative event, as well as the fact that such kind of discourse contains a plethora of extralinguistic elements, alongside the linguistic ones which affect the processes of humour production and comprehension and stresses the gap that exists between "what is said" and "what is meant" in Grice's (1989: 24) sense.

2. The Gricean model

In order to account for this difference between “what is said.... and what is implicated”, Grice (1989: 24) has introduced the Cooperative Principle (CP): “Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged” (1989: 26), together with its subordinate maxims (Quality, Quantity, Relation and Manner). The CP is actually based on the idea that the participants in a communicative event are guided by rational behavior, which should be ideally reflected in the adherence to the CP while talking, yet, even when a speaker does not adhere to a maxim in his talk, this makes the hearer look for another interpretation to grasp what the speaker is implying. Still, as Kleinke (2010: 3346) stressed, “the traditional view of Grice’s concept has been mainly interested in possible mechanisms of the recognition of speaker’s meanings going beyond the literal, conventionalized meanings of linguistic utterances and their reception and comprehension by addressees”, and at the same time it does not deal extensively with his role as an encoder of the utterance. In fact, Grice (1989) makes a distinction between two types of conversational implicatures, generalized conversational implicature and particularized conversational implicature. The first is bound to the conventionalized meaning of linguistic structures, while the latter is context-bound, i.e. to the speech situation, encyclopedic knowledge, etc. The term **non-observance** of the CP and the related maxims will be used here instead of violation and flouting, as an umbrella term to cover all specific instances of either violation or flouting the maxims. To that end it should be mentioned that Grice (1989: 49) is also inconsistent with the use of these terms when denoting a situation when “a speaker fails to fulfil a maxim in various ways”. On the one hand, the speaker may “quietly and unostentatiously violate a maxim, and if so he will be liable to mislead”, or, on the other hand “he may flout a maxim: that is he may blatantly fail to fulfil it” (Grice 1989: 49). Moreover, Grice (1989: 370) argues that a flout is a justifiable violation or “only a seeming, not real, violation”, since maxim flouts, as Dynel (2008: 180) correctly observes, are legitimate in the original Gricean model and inherent to communication.

Nevertheless, considering the fact that verbal humour is typically associated with finding sense in nonsense, as Freud (Frojd 1984: 112) has put it, it is obvious that the humorous discourse challenges the rational and logical that are in the very essence of the CP and Grice’s whole philosophical framework, particularly in reference to his view on communication (cf. Grice 1989, Davies 2007). Specifically, the problem is how to account for situations in which the speaker fails to observe the CP deliberately in order to make the hearer laugh, given the assumption that in a prototypical humorous interaction, the hearer goes from recognizing and understanding a particular utterance that contains an instance of humour to appreciating

and finally agreeing to it during humorous conversations, in accordance with Hay's (2001: 67) entailments regarding the process of humor comprehension.

Within Raskin's *Semantic-Script Theory of Humor* and Attardo's (1994; 2001) *General Theory of Verbal Humor*, the pragmatic aspects of verbal humour are accounted for using a set of different maxims, which are compatible with the Raskin's (1985: 100-101) division of communication into two separate modes: (1) **bona-fide** and (2) **non-bona-fide mode**. During a conversation, both the speaker and the hearer switch from one into the other mode. The speaker usually signals this transition in order to make the process of humour comprehension easier for the hearer. Using humour within the non-bona-fide mode is socially acceptable, as opposed to lying and is governed by the following principles (Raskin 1985: 103):

1. Quantity: Give exactly as much information as is necessary for the joke;
2. Quality: Say only what is compatible with the world of the joke;
3. Relations: Say only what is relevant to the joke;
4. Manner: Tell the joke efficiently.

As it can be easily noticed, Raskin's (1985: 103) maxims closely mirror those of Grice. The only difference between them is the fact that Raskin specifies the context of joke telling. However, even at first glance, these maxims seem to be quite problematic, because they focus on a specific type of humour, i.e. canned jokes, which is, of course, in accordance with the abovementioned formal theories of verbal humour, yet when it comes to other humorous forms, or a whole range of forms that can be produced within one dialogue, it seems that these maxims do not suffice. Also, as Yule (1996: 36) argues, jokes of the type as in the example (1) can be explained by the violation of Grice's CP, i.e. maxim of quantity, since the speaker doesn't provide enough information to help the hearer infer the right meaning:

- (1) A: '*Does your dog bite?*'
 B: '*No*'; *He gave the dog's head a stroke and it bit him.*
 A: '*You said it doesn't bite!*'
 B: '*No, it doesn't, but this isn't my dog.*'

Still, when more complex examples are taken into consideration, such as those that entail implicatures based on different factors, intentions and perlocutionary effects, such as the example (2) containing a metaphorical expression taken from (Kotthoff 2006: 274), Raskin's maxims fail to capture the implication of the given dialogue:

- (2) A: *Your nagging goes right in one ear and out the other.*
 B: *That's because there is nothing in between to stop it.*

Obviously, B has cooperated with A in the sense that he/she has relied on the literal meaning of the metaphorical expression¹ and actually played with the implicature suggested by A's utterance. It can be argued which particular maxim has been violated in this case, the maxim of quality or manner, or even quantity, but the bottom line is that B adheres to the CP, yet, it appears that this speaker has a different perlocutionary effect and intended meaning in mind. This is in line with Davies's claim (2007: 2329) that "linguists are only beginning to understand the different competing needs, politeness, efficiency, humour, group identification, and so forth, the speakers must be juggling when handling the maxims."

One of the challenges that is put in front of the traditional approach and the CP is the verbally expressed humour within the telecinematic discourse. The main characteristic of this type of discourse is the fact that it is written, practiced and broadcast for the viewers who are the ultimate recipients of it. Hence, the dialogues in, say a film or an episode of a sitcom seem to be real-life, yet, the humour in it is aimed at the viewer who has a specific role in this communicative event and not at the character on the screen. Following Dynel (2010; 2011), the viewer is regarded as a ratified listener to telecinematic discourse (cf. Prodanović-Stankić 2013), not just an overhearer or bystander (Clark 1996). This fact has a huge impact on the attempts to account for verbal humour based on the non-observance of the CP using the traditional Gricean approach, as Grice's model is based on the prototypical, dyadic model of communication.

3. Cognitive approach to conversational implicatures

Cognitive linguistics, which basically draws on conceptual aspects of language use that are part of some general cognitive mechanisms, represents quite a suitable framework for studying humorous discourse. Hence, as Kleinke (2010: 3346) states, cognitive linguistics can complement the Gricean approach by offering a cognitive interpretation of "speaker orientation at the level of the structural architecture of individual linguistic utterances triggering particularized conversational implicature".

Yet, it must be noted that verbal, as well as multimodal humour, are insufficiently researched topics within the cognitive approach, with the exception of Coulson (2001) who deals with frame-shifting in jokes and Brône et al. (2006) who offer an insightful introduction to cognitive approaches to humor. One of the main tenets of cognitive linguistics is the fact that language is grounded in discourse and social interaction (Langacker 2001: 143), which means that the context and

¹ Due to the scope of this paper, the difference between metaphorical and metonymic expressions will not be elaborated.

shared encyclopedic knowledge are crucial for the on-line processing of language. The participants in a communicative event dynamically construct the meaning by resorting to the data they store in mental spaces (cf. Fauconnier 1985), which represent the basic units in the process of conceptual blending (cf. Fauconnier and Turner 2002). The theory of conceptual blending is a powerful tool for explaining different kinds of language use, but it also represents a general principle of dynamic meaning construction (Coulson and Oakley 2005: 1512) that entails a whole range of different mental operations and interrelationships. In this theory, understanding meaning involves the construction of blended cognitive spaces that include some structure from multiple input spaces, as well as emergent structure that arises through the processes of blending. Here, the focus will be on the most important aspects of dynamic meaning construction that are crucial for the discrepancy between saying and meaning deliberately invoked to create the humorous effect.

Within the cognitive framework, conversational humour, which represents the main type of humour found in telecinematic discourse (cf. Prodanović-Stankić 2013), can be accounted for using Langacker's (2001; 2008) concept of the **current discourse space** (CDS). According to Langacker (2001: 144), "Current Discourse Space is a mental space comprising those elements and relations construed as being shared by the speaker and hearer as a basis for communication at a given moment in the flow of discourse". CDS is correlated with the ground that basically consists of the speech event, the speaker (S) and hearer (H), their interaction, and the immediate circumstances. It should be stressed that creative language use, such as humour, is interpreted on-line in everyday use of language by activating a whole range of construal operations that exist both on the conceptual and linguistic level, such as figure/ground reversal, attention, salience, profiling, metaphor and metonymy etc. (the whole typology of construal operations can be found in Croft and Cruse 2004). To illustrate this, we can use any of the examples given below. Thus, in a given dialogue, the speaker and the hearer share the ground and are aware of all the elements of that communicative event, including the information about the time and place. They are also aware of the shared knowledge both of them possess about the concepts they are talking about or referring to, and they are also aware of the events that preceded and that will probably follow the interaction. In order to play with the hearer's expectations, the speaker may choose to profile one specific element of an utterance, in particular those that can lead to double interpretation, which again has a huge impact on the difference between "what is said and what is implicated" (Grice 1989: 24).

This approach has an additional advantage because it provides a feasible solution for explaining the role of the film and TV viewer in the process of meaning construction, particularly having in mind the fact that in telecinematic discourse, the viewer is the ultimate receiver of the interaction that is heard and seen on the

screen. Namely, Langacker (2008: 466) argues that within the CDS, the main aspect of the meaning is the interaction of the speaker and the hearer, and during the interaction, each of them assesses the knowledge the other person has about a particular utterance, his/her intention and motivation for drawing attention to a particular segment of it. All this is going on within the common ground, that is to say, the CDS, and against it one particular figure can be brought into focus. The focus and its immediate context are within one particular viewing frame that represents the space which the participant in a communicative event uses to access the whole communicative event as well as to be aware of their own and the other participant's role in the whole situation. The viewing frame can be defined as a frame or mental space that enables the hearer to access the whole communicative event, as if he/she is looking at the world through a window, to use Langacker's (2001: 145) metaphoric comparison. In an ideal situation, both participants in a communicative event should arrive at the same meaning, recognizing the other person's intention, understanding the content of the conceptualization and focusing their attention to the same element(s) within a given utterance, and all this within the common ground as represented by CDS. However, if the position of a ratified listener to a conversation, the viewer, is taken into consideration, it should be stressed that he/she does not contribute to the communicative situation actively, but has access to the whole conversation by the means of his/her viewing frame, thus, he/she is the one who should recognize and respond to humour created by different methods on the screen. Furthermore, during the dynamic processes of meaning construction, the viewer activates his/her own mental spaces but they also have an access through their own viewing frame to the mental spaces that are activated by the interlocutors in the scripted dialogue.

4. Data analysis

For the purpose of this study we have selected television dialogues in English and Serbian which contain the non-observance of Grice's CP that creates humorous effect. In this paper examples taken from two television series will be considered, the famous British sitcom *Only Fools and Horses* and the series *Bela lađa* (*The White Ship*) in Serbian. Specifically, season 9: episodes *If they could see us now* (2001), *Stranger on the shore* (2002), and *Sleepless in Peckham* (2003) of the series *Only Fools and Horses* (written by John Sullivan) and seven episodes of the season 2 (2007-2008) of *Bela lađa* (written by Siniša and Ljiljana Pavić). Our aim was to analyse dialogues in both languages and to include the contrastive aspects to this study in order to determine whether the use of non-observance of the CP to produce a specific effect is culture/language-specific. Namely, Kleinke (2001: 3347) claims

that the adherence to the CP is part of a cultural model shared by the speakers of a given language and cites Coulson (2001: 264) in reference to cultural models: “cultural models are taken for granted, intersubjective models shared by members of a given social group and they are available to speakers and addressees, regardless whether we follow them or not.” It should be mentioned that this corpus is only a part of a larger corpus that was used in a more comprehensive study on linguistic and extralinguistic aspects of verbal humour in English and Serbian (cf. Prodanović-Stankić 2013), in which the analysis was done on eight films and selected episodes from television series in English and Serbian. Since this study is based on a qualitative analysis of the non-observations, the quantitative aspects, such as the frequency will not be taken into consideration here, but it should be stated that humorous effect created by the non-observance is quite frequent in the comic genre. The basic unit of analysis is a conversational turn, the length of which is variable and sometimes accompanied by non-verbal signals in this type of discourse, by which one participant holds the floor in a conversation.

Although the focus here was not on the quantitative analysis, it appears that the maxim of quantity is violated more often than not in the data, as in the following situation:

[the scene takes place in Boycie’s garden, since Del is currently hired to take care of Boycie’s car and be his driver, as he owes Boycie some money]

(3) Boycie: *Del, caffeine?*

Del: *Oh, thanks very much!* (smiling and raising his hands to show approval)

Boycie: *Oh, no, go around in the kitchen and make me a cup!*

Boycie is not giving enough information, of course, on purpose, in order to lead Del down the garden path. In the given context, he wants to take full advantage of the fact that Del has to work hard in order to pay off his debt. On the other hand, Del decoded the message activating other elements of (common) knowledge: he is (a guest?) in Boycie’s garden, they are friends, people usually offer a cup of coffee to their friends/guests etc. All of these elements represent the ground that is correlated with the CDS that both of them access in order to construct the meaning. However, Boycie, by not giving enough information, or by deliberately non-observing CP, chooses to profile another meaning. This scene is followed by canned laughter, which serves in a way as a signal for the audience to interpret the given dialogue as a humorous one. Is this dialogue funny for the interlocutors themselves? It is certainly not for Del, judging by the non-verbal signals that he is sending afterwards (frowning, sulky face) and it is not clear to what extent it is funny for Boycie, though it can be claimed that he finds satisfaction in his chance to gloat over Del’s misunderstanding. Yet, this non-observance is meant to be funny

for the viewers in the first place, who, in addition to the immediate context will use some other elements of the knowledge they have about the plot and characters of the given sitcom, and all that affects the created humorous effect. Thus, within their viewing frame, the viewers will activate some other elements familiar to those who have seen other episodes of this series, such as the fact that it was Del who usually made Boycie the butt of his jokes, not the other way around.

A similar example can be found in the Serbian humorous series *Bela lađa*:

[The newly appointed Prime Minister Majstorović is very busy and he wants to discuss ministerial appointments with a prospective candidate, Mr Šojić. Majstorović invites Mr Šojić to his office for a formal meeting. Somewhere at the desk, there are leftovers of a sandwich among the files and papers]

(4) Majstorović: *Za šta ste? (What would you like [to drink]?)*

Šojić: *Za nešto s kašiku, ubi me suva hrana. (A soup or something... I am fed up with snacks and sandwiches)*

(Majstorović and his secretary are taken aback)

Majstorović: *Ali mi ovde nemamo kuhinju (I am afraid we don't have a kitchenette here)*

Šojić: *Nema veze, onda roštilj. (Never mind, then I'll have some grilled meat platter)*

In this example, the viewers are in a privileged position again, and within their viewing frame they can activate additional elements in the respective mental spaces since they know more about Šojić's character and behavior than Majstorović does and these elements of knowledge are activated during the on-line processing of this dialogue, which without this knowledge is not that funny. These elements, however, cannot be found in the immediate context. Šojić's violation of the CP, i.e. the maxim of manner triggered by the underspecified pronoun used in the offer at the beginning of the dialogue can be interpreted as humorous and laughed at only within the wider context familiar to the viewers. Šojić, on his part uses figure/ground reversal and brings into focus another interpretation that suits him more. Although Majstorović tries to negotiate with Šojić and treats him with due respect, Šojić is a kind of a dilettante politician and a hedonist, so food, or to be precise, a free lunch, is always the first thing that comes to his mind when he is invited for a meeting. Also, the viewers familiar with the real-life political situation in Serbia can recognize the parodical comparison of authentic MPs and political leaders in Serbia and the grotesque fictional character. Hence, the intended humorous effect is based on the non-observance in this case, yet, this effect would not be achieved fully if the viewers did not activate different mental spaces on the fly, using not just the immediate context, but the whole situation and other elements that were profiled and foregrounded in this case.

Absurdity and characters that are represented as stupid are staples in any comedy, and the results of this analysis indicate that these characters often violate the maxim of relation, producing, ‘unwittingly’, a humorous effect. Of course, it is clear that every dialogue in telecinematic discourse is written in advance so as to create a particular effect, so nothing is said or done without this intention.

Here is one of these examples, taken from *Only Fools and Horses*:

[Boycie, Marlene, Denzil, Trigger and Sid are waiting in front of the courtroom, as they will be called to appear as witnesses since Del has to stand trial for tax evasion. Meanwhile they are discussing what they should tell the judge.]

(5) Sid: *What are you gonna do Denzil?*

Denzil: *I’m gonna tell them I hear voices.*

(Denzil’s deadpan face in close-up)

Trigger: *But you are a character witness.*

(Again Denzil’s deadpan face in close-up)

Denzil: *Yes, but I hear voices.*

In this example, it is not just the maxim of relation that is violated, but the maxim of quantity as well, since Denzil repeats the same sentence, and repetition is often used as a rhetorical strategy for increasing humorous effect. Again, as in the abovementioned examples, the other characters, or interlocutors in the given communicative situation, do not find this violation funny, since they know Denzil very well, and to some extent, they expect an answer that is irrelevant. The whole situation is rather serious as everyone is worried about the outcome of the trial and Denzil’s irrelevant comment serves as a figure against the background that is represented by the given context. Yet the fact that the viewers find this funny, which is somehow correlated with canned laughter that is played immediately after the dialogue, implies that they had enough contextual clues that could be activated in the process of meaning construction to recognize the intended effect and respond to it.

5. Discussion

The results of this analysis indicate that the dialogues that contain the non-observance of the CP produced within the reference frame of the comic genre and humorous telecinematic discourse are interpreted as humorous by the viewers. As ratified listeners of this discourse, they expect humour to be heard and seen and in that sense, they use all linguistic and extralinguistic elements available to them to interpret a given utterance as humorous. While watching the film/ TV series, they dynamically construct the meaning on-line, and being given enough contextual clues as the story unfolds, they also include the interlocutors’ way of thinking and

speaking into this process. Basically, these elements of knowledge are activated in the complex network of mental spaces that is related to the CDS, but within the viewers' viewing frame.

Furthermore, it appears that the non-observance of the CP, which results in verbal humour, represents an unmarked case in humorous discourse, as opposed to everyday use of language in which the adherence to the CP is unmarked. Namely, in ordinary everyday use of language rational behavior is expected and the non-observance contrasts markedly with cooperation, which is a norm. In light of creating this specific perlocutionary effect in humorous discourse, speakers in fact play with the expectations of the hearers since adhering to the CP represents a norm. This is evident in the dialogues both in English and Serbian, so it is hardly possible to regard this as a part of a specific cultural model shared by one speech community. It is worth repeating that Grice's model (1989) is anchored in his philosophical approach based on formal logic and rationality, hence it is quite sensible to expect that a rational and logical principle such as the CP is the underlying principle of successful communication in any language, i.e. in any speech community.

Now, taking into account the cognitive perspective, it seems that humorous maxims, as defined by Raskin (1985), appear to be redundant, since if we regard the whole situation through the prism of cognitive linguistics, particularly regarding some specific cognitive construals typically used in verbal humour, such as foregrounding. Foregrounding is a higher-order cognitive mechanism that refers to the way we perceive and organize elements within the given mental space (cf. Langacker 2002). For instance, when conversational humour is taken into account, it is evident that this type of verbal humour is not solely based on ambiguities created by wordplay, but sometimes, it is based on repetition (as in the abovementioned example (5)), or extralinguistic knowledge that is part of a wider context. It is up to the speaker to foreground less salient aspects of a concept or to play with the hearer's expectations using any means that the language as a system may provide in order to produce some linguistically based ambiguity or double interpretation of a given utterance which results in verbal humour. These less salient aspects do not have to be necessarily of linguistic nature, still, there has to be a contextual clue that serves as a trigger for profiling the meaning that can have the intended effect.

6. Concluding remarks

The aim of this paper was to discuss the correlation of the Grice's cooperative principle and the cognitive linguistic approach to the dynamic process of meaning construction in reference to a specific type of discourse. The non-observance of the CP in verbal humour is an unmarked case, it seems, at least judging by the empirical

data obtained from telecinematic discourse of a comic genre. More often than not there is interplay of violating/flouting and very often more than one maxim, hence the neutral term 'non-observance' is suggested. Also, the intended humorous effect that is created and that results from the non-observance of the CP, is increased by more factors at work. These factors are part of the wider linguistic and even more so, extralinguistic knowledge that is activated by the means of various contextual clues that belong to the common ground and CDS the interlocutors share. The theoretical basis for such claims would certainly benefit from more empirical research using different types of discourses and data obtained from real-life conversational humour.

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HUMORISTIČKI EFEKTI KAO POSLEDICA NEPOŠTOVANJA GRICEOVOG PRINCIPA KOOPERATIVNOSTI U ENGLISKOM I SRPSKOM JEZIKU

Rezime

Ovaj rad se bavi svesnim narušavanjem Griceovog principa kooperativnosti u engleskom i srpskom jeziku koje treba da postigne poseban cilj u razgovoru, tačnije, da stvori odgovarajući humoristički efekat. Korpus za analizu čine dijalozi u kojima je zabeleženo kršenje principa kooperativnosti, a koji su preuzeti iz dve televizijske serije, *Only Fools and Horses* (*Mučke*) na engleskom i *Bela lađa* na srpskom jeziku. Kontrastivni aspekti su uključeni u analizu da bi se utvrdilo da li je svesno narušavanje s ciljem stvaranja odgovarajućeg efekta specifično za dati jezik/kulturu. Rezultati analize pokazuju da verbalni humor koji se javlja u dijalozima preuzetim iz filmova i televizijskih serija iziskuje poseban pristup, koji je u ovom slučaju urađen iz ugla kognitivne lingvistike, da bi se dobila što sveobuhvatnija slika o međusobnim odnosima različitih faktora koji utiču na stvaranje verbalnog humora.

Ključne reči: princip kooperativnosti, verbalni humor, filmski i televizijski diskurs, konstruisanje značenja

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AUTENTIČNI MATERIJALI I KULTURA U NASTAVI ENGLESKOG JEZIKA KAO STRANOG¹

Rad se bavi ulogom autentičnih materijala u nastavi engleskog jezika kao stranog, tačnije, fokusira se na ulogu ovih materijala u segmentu nastave koji se bavi anglofonom kulturom. Pod autentičnim materijalima ovde se smatraju kako originalni, neizmenjeni tekstovi iz novina i knjiga, tako i originalni audio materijali, ali i mape, razglednice, ulaznice, jelovnici iz restorana, kao i svi drugi tekstualni i netekstualni materijali koje izvorni govornici koriste u svakodnevnom životu. Opšti cilj istraživanja je da se ispita kako nastavnici engleskog jezika u osnovnim, srednjim i privatnim školama u Srbiji koriste autentične materijale, te da li postoje razlike između ove tri grupe. Stoga se metodom analize sadržaja kvalitativno analiziraju odgovori 23 nastavnika iz osnovnih, srednjih i privatnih škola u Srbiji na pitanja postavljena u upitniku otvorenog tipa, na osnovu čega se izvode zaključci i daju pedagoške preporuke.

Ključne reči: autentični materijali, nastava engleskog jezika kao stranog, anglofona kultura, nastavnici, osnovna škola, srednja škola, privatna škola, upitnik otvorenog tipa, analiza sadržaja

1. Uvod

Upoznavanje kulture stranog jezika može da se odvija na mnoge načine u učioničkom kontekstu i van njega. Nesumnjivo najefikasniji i najneposredniji način jeste sticanje iskustva u samoj ciljnoj kulturi kroz boravak i komunikaciju sa izvornim govornicima, ali je poznato da malo učenika zaista dobije tu priliku, prvenstveno iz finansijskih razloga. To, dakle, znači da većina učenika zaista nema priliku da iz prve ruke upozna kulturu stranog jezika koji uče, već im preostaje da

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stižu znanja o ciljnoj kulturi kroz nastavu stranog jezika. Iako mnogi teoretičari i praktičari naglašavaju značaj uvođenja elemenata kulture u nastavni proces, bilo integrisano (npr. Mayesky 2008 predlaže da se nastavne jedinice obogate aktivnostima vezanim za proslavu raznih praznika iz ciljne kulture) ili odvojeno (npr. Tillman and Belgrave 2001 i Gay 2000 smatraju da kroz umetnost i književnost deca mogu da se bolje upoznaju sa kulturom druge države), jasno je da nastavnici vrlo često najmanje vremena mogu da posvete ovim temama zbog toga što se planom i programom zahteva prvo obrada izvesnog broja gradiranih leksičkih i gramatičkih jedinica. Sem toga, način predstavljanja ciljne kulture u udžbenicima stranih jezika je ipak posredan i veštački i ne donosi učenicima pravo kulturološko iskustvo, bilo da se radi o očiglednim ili skrivenim elementima kulture.

Po ugledu na nastavu engleskog kao drugog jezika u SAD ili Kanadi, a ponekad i Velikoj Britaniji, gde nastavnici svoj nastavni materijal sastavljaju od autentičnih materijala, sve češće se čuju predlozi da se i u nastavu engleskog jezika kao stranog uvodi autentični materijal radi postizanja što neposrednijeg iskustva u korišćenju stranog jezika, što između ostalog podrazumeva i aktivaciju elemenata kulture na jedan autentičan način. Pošto ovaj aspekt nastave u potpunosti zavisi od nastavnika i njihovih odluka vezanih za to da li će nastavu obogatiti dodatnim materijalima, koji će to materijali biti i kako će ih koristiti, u ovom se radu ispituje stepen i način upotrebe autentičnih materijala u osnovnim, srednjim i privatnim školama u Srbiji sa posebnim osvrtom na elemente kulture.

2. Autentični materijali

Pod autentičnim materijalom smatra se bilo koji pisani ili govoreni tekst koji nije napisan ili izgovoren u svrhe učenja stranog jezika (Corbett 2003: 42), tj. originalni, neizmenjeni tekstovi iz novina i knjiga i audio materijali. Pored toga, Smith (1997) navodi da u autentične materijale spadaju i razni svakodnevni predmeti koji se koriste u pedagoške svrhe, a koji u učionici simuliraju iskustvo autentične upotrebe jezika. Pa tako u autentične materijale možemo uključiti i mape, razglednice, ulaznice, jelovnike iz restorana, kao i sve druge tekstualne i netekstualne materijale i predmete koje izvorni govornici koriste u svakodnevnom životu.

U komunikativnom pristupu nastavi stranog jezika autentični materijali imaju izuzetnu vrednost. Naime, oni često premošćuju prazninu između učenja stranog jezika u učionici i upotrebe stranog jezika u stvarnom svetu (Larsen-Freeman 2000: 132-133), što znači da na ovaj način učenici mogu da iskuse prirodnu upotrebu jezika u učionici.

Kramsch (1993: 177) objašnjava da je termin „autentični“ nastao kao reakcija na veštački i modifikovan jezik koji se koristi u udžbenicima stranog jezika, te da

se taj termin koristi za način na koji se jezik upotrebljava u prirodnoj komunikaciji koja nema prevashodno pedagoške svrhe. Kilickaya (2004) navodi nekoliko razloga za uvođenje i upotrebu autentičnih materijala u nastavu stranog jezika: pozitivno utiču na motivaciju učenika, učenike izlažu stvarnom jeziku, u većoj meri odražavaju potrebe učenika, nastavnicima pružaju mogućnost da na kreativniji način obrade gradivo, i pružaju autentične kulturološke informacije.

Pošto se ovaj rad bavi samo poslednjim od svih navedenih aspekata, potrebno je razmotriti ulogu autentičnih materijala u nastavi kulture, pri čemu ovde pod elementima kulture podrazumevamo kako one očigledne (istorija, umetnost, književnost, praznici, itd), tako i skrivene (način komuniciranja, obrasci učtivosti, običaji, društvene vrednosti, itd). Velika debata o tome da li predajemo stranu kulturu dok predajemo strani jezik i da li elemente kulture treba predavati odvojeno ili integrisano u velikoj se meri razrešila uvođenjem komunikativnog pristupa nastavi stranih jezika koji je integrisao sve pomenute elemente u jedan složen proces koji teži autentičnosti. Međutim, veliko je pitanje koliko se u standardizovanoj učionici može postići autentičnost (Kramsch 1993: 177), tj. koliko u jednom veštačkom okruženju učenik zaista može da iskusi autentičnu upotrebu jezika sa bogatom kulturnom dimenzijom. Otud ideja da se u učionicu uvedu i donesu autentični materijali koji će putem iskustvenog učenja učenicima omogućiti da neoposredovano upoznaju ciljnu kulturu.

Peacock (1997), Kelly et al. (2002), Kilickaya (2004), Hwang (2005), i Tamo (2009) tvrde da autentični materijali pozitivno utiču na motivaciju učenika, što kao posledicu ima veći stepen zainteresovanosti za aktivnosti na času i veći stepen učešća u njima. Naime, Kilickaya (2004) tvrdi da kulturološke informacije i sadržaji koji se u učionicu uvode putem autentičnih materijala treba da zainteresuju učenike ne samo za strani jezik, nego i za stranu kulturu. U kombinaciji sa komunikativnim metodom, ovakav će pristup učenicima dati priliku da razgovaraju o sličnostima i razlikama između njihove sopstvene kulture i kulture stranog jezika koji uče, što je temeljac interkulturnog pristupa nastavi i komunikaciji. Pored toga, upotreba stranog jezika koja se podstiče ovim sredstvima je u potpunosti svrsishodna i smislena, a učenici su motivisani saznanjem da ih ovo mnogo bolje priprema za komunikaciju u stranoj zemlji.

Ipak, autentični materijali, naročito na nižim nivoima znanja stranog jezika, mogu da u izvesnoj meri predstavljaju problem, pogotovo ako je reč o govorenim ili pisanim tekstovima. Stoga Hwang (2005: 8) primećuje da nastavnici treba da paze prilikom uvođenja autentičnih materijala u nastavu, jer bi tako mogli da kod učenika izazovu određeni stepen frustracije zbog težine vokabulara ili gramatike. Naime, kako Corbett (2003: 6) kaže, autentičnost se ne postiže uvek upotrebom autentičnih materijala u nastavi pošto, na primer, izvorni govornik i učenik ne pristupaju novinama na stranom jeziku na isti način. Tako će učenik, zbog svog straha

od prevelike količine novih reči ili nepoznatih struktura previše vremena provesti analizirajući jezik članka, tražeći u rečnicima značenje nepoznatih reči, prevodeći delove rečenica ili čak cele rečenice. Drugim rečima, ovakav pristup autentičnim materijalima oduzima autentičnost, ali je istovremeno i signal da učenici treba da nauče strategije pomoću kojih će prevazići određeni stepen nepoznatih informacija i shvatiti značenje na osnovu onoga što znaju. Međutim, drugi tipovi autentičnog materijala kao što su pojedine pripovetke i pesmice za decu, koje su i izvorno jednostavne u pogledu vokabulara i gramatike, a pored teksta sadrže i slike i ilustracije, mogu da budu sjajno iskorišćen autentični materijal u nastavi na ranom uzrastu. Nadalje, razne mape i ulaznice u muzeje ili metro, jelovnici iz restorana i slično mogu da posluže za simulaciju stvarnih situacija u kojima se učenici mogu naći kada odu u stranu zemlju – na ovaj način mogu da vežbaju kako da pitaju za pravac, kako da koriste kartu u metrou, kako da naruče hranu iz jelovnika itd.

Sve u svemu, prednosti upotrebe autentičnih materijala u nastavi stranog jezika su sledeće: oni informišu učenike o tome šta se dešava u svetu, tj. pružaju informacije o kulturi (Tamo 2009); razvijaju integrativnu motivaciju kod učenika i podstiču ih da se pobliže upoznaju sa ciljnom kulturom; mogu da motivišu učenike da samostalno čitaju originalne tekstove na stranom jeziku, pogotovo na višim nivoima znanja (Tamo 2009); izlažu učenike stvarnom jeziku i pružaju im mogućnost da vide kako jezik živi i kako se menja (Martinez 2002); pružaju učenicima mogućnost da čuju različite dijalekte, ali i nepravilne upotrebe jezika (Radić-Bojanić 2005); te stavljaju učenike u situacije da razvijaju strategije koje im omogućavaju razumevanje govorenog ili pisanog teksta na osnovu informacija koje prepoznaju i reči koje znaju (što je veoma bitna veština za svakoga ko će u budućnosti komunicirati van veštačkog, učioničkog konteksta). Međutim, autentični materijali imaju i svoje negativne strane koje dolaze do izražaja uz neadekvatnu upotrebu: vokabular i gramatika mogu da budu prekomplikovani za učenike na određenom uzrastu i nivou (Richards 2001, Martinez 2002, Tamo 2009); zahtevaju posebnu pripremu i mnogo vremena kako od učenika, tako i od nastavnika (Martinez 2002); materijali mogu da sadržavaju previše kulturoloških informacija, što učenicima može da predstavlja velik problem jer nisu upoznati sa novostima, javnim ličnostima, običajima, načinom života, itd. (Martinez 2002); ovo istovremeno znači da autentični materijali mogu da brzo zastare, naročito ako se temelje na trenutnoj situaciji i aktuelnim događajima u ciljnoj kulturi. Stoga je, čini se, najbolji kombinovani pristup, gde se nastavnik stranog jezika oslanja na strukturu kursa koju nudi udžbenik kroz adaptirane ili napisane tekstove i adekvatno uklopljenu gramatiku i vokabular, a povremeno i u skladu sa potrebama ubacuje autentične materijale u radu sa učenicima. Hwang (2005: 6-8) tvrdi da, ukoliko se nastavnik odluči da na časovima koristi autentične materijale, njegov glavni cilj treba da bude da kod učenika razvije ljubav prema autentičnim materijalima, jer nakon što učenici ove materijale

prihvate, rado počnu da koriste i, naposljetku, sami počnu da ih pronalaze, tad kreće proces prirodnog usvajanja jezika. Iz tih razloga ovaj rad istražuje na koji način nastavnici engleskog jezika u osnovnim, srednjim i privatnim školama u Srbiji koriste autentične materijale u nastavi, naročito s osvrtom na to kako pomoću tih materijala uvode elemente ciljne kulture u učionički kontekst.

3. Metodologija istraživanja

Opšti cilj istraživanja sprovedenog za ovaj rad je da se ispita kako nastavnici engleskog jezika u osnovnim, srednjim i privatnim školama u Srbiji koriste autentične materijale, kao i da li postoje razlike između ove tri grupe. Specifični ciljevi istraživanja su sledeći:

- utvrditi šta sve nastavnici podrazumevaju pod autentičnim materijalima;
- utvrditi kako nastavnici koriste autentične materijale u radu sa učenicima;
- utvrditi koliko ih često koriste;
- utvrditi kako nastavnici dolaze do autentičnih materijala;
- utvrditi da li sarađuju sa drugim nastavnicima u ovom pogledu.

Hipoteza od koje rad polazi jeste da postoje razlike između nastavnika u osnovnim, srednjim i privatnim školama u tome kako i koliko koriste autentične materijale u nastavi. Podaci su sakupljeni upitnikom koji u sebi sadrži šest pitanja opšteg tipa (pol, godine starosti, stepen obrazovanja, mesto stanovanja, radno mesto, i godine radnog staža u školi) i petnaest pitanja otvorenog tipa koja se odnose na istraživačka pitanja i istraživački kontekst (v. Dodatak 1), a koja su strukturisana kao protokol za intervju. Od petnaest pitanja, pet je analizirano u ovom radu pošto se neposredno odnose na autentične materijale i nastavu kulture iz perspektive nastavnika.

U istraživanju su učestvovala 23 nastavnika iz osnovnih, srednjih i privatnih škola u Srbiji koji su detaljno odgovarali na pitanja iz upitnika, zbog čega možemo smatrati da je forma upitnika zamenila formu intervjua.² U istraživanju je korišćen kvalitativni pristup, koji ne podrazumeva velik broj ispitanika, nego detaljne i bogate podatke koje nudi manji svrshishodno odabran uzorak. Metodom analize sadržaja analizirali smo odgovore nastavnika koji su učestvovali u istraživanju, te ih svrstali u kategorije prema ciljevima istraživanja, na osnovu čega smo izveli zaključke i testirali hipotezu.

² Primera radi, kada se transkribuje jedan intervju dužine od oko 20 minuta zasnovan na 10-15 pitanja, on ima oko 1200-1500 reči, u zavisnosti od brzine govora ispitanika. Prosečan upitnik u ovom istraživanju imao je oko 1000 reči, što je nešto manje od prosečnog intervjua, ali ako se u obzir uzmu osobine govorenog jezika (ponavljanja, samoispravljanja, preformulacije, itd.) kojih u pisanju nema, možemo zaključiti da veoma detaljno popunjen upitnik otvorenog tipa daje sličnu količinu podataka kao intervju.

Uzorak nastavnika koji su učestvovali u istraživanju, kako je već rečeno, sastoji se od 23 nastavnika, od čega je 87% ženskog pola, a 13% muškog. Prosečna starost nastavnika je 31,78 godina. U pogledu stepena obrazovanja, 52,2% nastavnika ima završene osnovne studije, 43,5% nastavnika ima zvanje mastera, a 4,3% zvanje magistra. Što se tiče radnog mesta, 47,8% ispitanika radi u osnovnoj školi, 21,7% u srednjoj školi, a 30,4% nastavnika u privatnoj školi. Većina nastavnika je zaposlena u Novom Sadu (69,5%), a jedan manji broj radi u školama u Subotici, Šapcu, Sremskoj Mitrovici, Bačkoj Palanki i Kuli. Nastavnici u proseku imaju 7,56 godina staža, s tim da 39,1% nastavnika ima od 1 do 5 godina staža, 34,8% nastavnika ima od 6 do 10 godina staža, a 26,1% ima više od 10 godina staža. Ako se pogleda profil ispitanika, može se zaključiti da je raznovrsnost zadovoljena u svakom pogledu sem u godinama staža. Ovo odražava istraživački proces sakupljanja podataka, gde su se odazvali mahom mlađi nastavnici koji logično imaju manje godina staža. Stoga zaključujemo da je uzorak reprezentativan u svakom pogledu sem u ovom, što ćemo uzeti u obzir prilikom obrade podataka dobijenih upitnikom.

4. Analiza i diskusija

Prvi istraživački cilj u ovom radu je bio da utvrdimo šta sve nastavnici podrazumevaju pod autentičnim materijalima. Analizom odgovora koje su nastavnici davali u upitniku otkrivamo prilične sličnosti između tri ispitivane grupe. Tako nastavnici koji rade u osnovnim školama najčešće definišu autentične materijale kao materijale *koji nisu primarno namenjeni za učenje jezika ali koji omogućavaju učenicima da uče i usavrše jezik koji se koristi u stvarnim i svakodnevnim situacijama*³. Kao primere u najvećoj meri navode audio i video materijale, tačnije intervjue, tv program i muziku, a potom štampane tekstove kao što su novine i časopisi. Samo jedan nastavnik navodi knjige kao izvor autentičnih materijala, što je iznenađujuće jer se mnoge originalne slikovnice i dečje knjige mogu uspešno koristiti u radu sa decom. Nastavnici iz osnovnih škola nadalje sporadično spominju materijale kao što su razglednice, brošure, jelovnici iz restorana, *autentični predmeti koji predstavljaju anglofonu kulturu (npr. nešto što smo doneli sa putovanja i što je karakteristično za tu zemlju...)*.

Srednješkolski nastavnici su na ovo pitanje dali slične odgovore, pa su tako najčešći odgovori uključivali novine i časopise, kao i odlomke romana od pisanih tekstova, i audio materijale i muziku od govorenih. Potom su, kao i nastavnici iz osnovnih škola, navodili predmete karakteristične za stranu zemlju, suvenire, postere i brošure, a bila su i dva neobična, ali potpuno adekvatna odgovora: *hrana i izvorni govornik kao gost*.

³ Kurzivom su obeleženi izvodi iz intervjua.

Odgovori nastavnika iz privatnih škola su na prvi mah isti, jer ovi ispitanici takođe navode pisane izvore (novine, časopise, knjige, tekstove pesama) i audio materijal. Pored toga, oni navode filmove (emisije, vesti, reportaže, serije, vesti, dokumentarce), verovatno zbog boljih tehničkih mogućnosti koje pružaju privatne škole. Ono što je zanimljivo jeste da niko od nastavnika iz privatnih škola ne navodi autentične predmete kao što su mape, brošure, jelovnici i sl. Možemo pretpostaviti da je to tako jer bolja tehnička opremljenost i veće oslanjanje na tehnologiju smanjuju potrebu za snalažljivošću sa oskudnim resursima.

U skladu sa odgovorima dobijenim kroz upitnike možemo zaključiti da je hipoteza da postoje razlike između nastavnika u osnovnim, srednjim i privatnim školama u Srbiji potvrđena kroz prvi cilj istraživanja.

Drugi cilj istraživanja je bio da se utvrdi kako nastavnici koriste autentične materijale u radu sa učenicima. Osnovnoškolski nastavnici engleskog jezika najčešće koriste tekstove, a potom snimke, i uvek se trude da uz autentični materijal organizuju diskusiju i da ga integrišu u gradivo:

... kad smo vežbali članove naišla sam na neki recept i to smo radili na času, i uglavnom im je bilo zanimljivo, jer sam objasnila nove reči, pokušavali su da pogode o kakvom se receptu radi, kakvu bi hranu dobili, pa smo nastavili razgovor o tome znaju li sami nešto da spremе, itd. U suštini se čas sveo na to da su radili jedno a razmišljali o drugom, tako da nisu ni primetili da se radi o članovima jer im je pažnju odvuкао sam recept.

Stav koji prevlađuje kod većine nastavnika jeste taj da su autentični materijali suviše teški za decu u osnovnoj školi (*u osnovnoj školi tekstovi moraju da se prilagođavaju nivou znanja i uzrastu učenika, teško je pronaći autentičan tekst ili snimak koji bi učenici u osnovnoj školi mogli u potpunosti razumeti*). Ovo je svojevrsna potvrda nalaza u prethodnom segmentu istraživanja, kada je ustanovljeno da se nastavnici u osnovnim školama nisu setili da navedu dečje knjige i slikovnice na engleskom, što ipak jesu autentični materijali primereni uzrastu na više načina (pedagoški, leksički i gramatički).

Nastavnici u srednjim školama takođe najčešće koriste autentične pisane tekstove na času, potom audio materijal (snimke i muziku) i video snimke tamo gde za to mogućnosti postoje. Ne navode na koji način ove materijale integrišu u gradivo i kako organizuju rad na času kada ih koriste. Naposljetku, nastavnici iz privatnih škola na prvom mestu navode video materijale kao najčešće korišćene, što je svakako odraz tehničkih mogućnosti u tom okruženju. Potom navode članke iz novina i časopisa, kao i tekstove iz knjiga:

Najčešće se služim video materijalom – npr. gledanje određenog dokumentarnog programa, epizode neke serije ili filma, praćeno je određenim brojem aktivnosti (npr. razgovor na određenu temu pre gledanja materijala, zatim određeni zadaci koje učenici ispunjavaju za vreme i nakon gledanja materijala). Osim toga, mnogi zanimljivi članci (najčešće preuzeti sa interneta) u kojima se na zanimljiv način učenicima predstavljaju elementi anglofone kulture nalaze svoje mesto u nastavi.

S obzirom na to da i nastavnici u osnovnim i srednjim školama tvrde da najčešće koriste autentične tekstove u radu sa decom, a nastavnici iz privatnih škola najčešće polaze od video materijala, možemo zaključiti da je hipoteza u ovom pogledu samo delimično potvrđena, što je verovatno rezultat sličnih tehničkih mogućnosti, ili tačnije njihovog odsustva, u državnim školama.

Treći istraživački cilj se odnosio na učestalost upotrebe autentičnih materijala u nastavi. Nastavnici iz osnovnih škola najčešće izjavljuju da autentične materijale koriste jednom do dva puta mesečno pravdajući se nižim jezičkim nivoom učenika, kao i ograničenjima koja im nameće plan i program. Nastavnici u srednjim školama daju slične odgovore i opet naglašavaju malu mogućnost menjanja plana i programa, dok su odgovori nastavnika iz privatnih škola raznoliki (od jednom mesečno do *U svakom trenutku koji se ukaže kao zgodan. Najčešće na početku ili na kraju časa*), pa možemo da pretpostavimo da učestalost delom zavisi i od uprave i politike škole. Na osnovu ovih podataka možemo da zaključimo da je iz perspektive ovog istraživačkog cilja hipoteza o razlikama između ove tri grupe nastavnika samo delimično dokazana.

Četvrti cilj je bio da utvrdimo kako nastavnici dolaze do autentičnih materijala. Analiza odgovora iz upitnika je pokazala da sve tri grupe nastavnika navode internet kao najčešći izvor autentičnih materijala, što je verovatno odraz starosnog profila ispitanika, dok jedan manji broj tvrdi da koristi materijale iz svoje lične kolekcije koje su sami kupili ili od nekoga dobili. U pitanju su obično knjige ili časopisi. Na osnovu ponuđenih odgovora možemo da odbacimo hipotezu za ovaj istraživački cilj.

Direktno povezan sa četvrtim, peti istraživački cilj je bio da utvrdimo da li ispitanici sarađuju sa drugim nastavnicima u ovom pogledu, tj. da li nastavnici engleskog jezika u kolektivu u kome rade prave „banku“ materijala koju po potrebi mogu svi zajedno da koriste. Odgovori koje su dale tri grupe nastavnika veoma su raznoliki. Naime, ispitanici koji rade u osnovnim školama u velikoj meri tvrde da sarađuju sa kolegama u ovom pogledu iako to ne znači uvek da zaista imaju „banku“ materijala:

Na žalost „banka“ još nije formirana ali se međusobno dele materijali i radi se na tome da pomognemo jedni drugima da poboljšamo predavanje. Trenutno smo u prvoj fazi sakupljanja materijala.

Trudimo se da kao aktiv pravimo tu bazu, ali nije lako, ne zbog loše saradnje, nego zbog hrpe administrativnog posla, zbog čega često nemamo vreme i prostor da se time bavimo.

U OŠ delimo autentične materijale međusobno i ideja jeste da napravimo malu biblioteku sa knjigama, video materijalom, testovima sa takmičenja, nastavnim listićima, časopisima na engleskom jeziku i svim ostalim što bi pomoglo i upotpunilo naš rad i razmenu materijala. Mi to volimo i sada podelimo među sobom kad uspeemo da se vidimo ili ako je u elektronskoj formi prosledimo jedni drugima. Nažalost, zatrpani smo raznoraznom papirologijom i timovima itd. da entuzijazam i radost vezani za otkrića novih i korisnih materijala zna da splasne. Papirologija ubija kreativnost.

Međutim, odgovori ispitanika koji rade u srednjim školama veoma se razlikuju od odgovora njihovih kolega iz osnovnih škola – većina ih tvrdi da na ovaj način ne sarađuju iako u nekim slučajevima razgovaraju o organizaciji časa:

Još uvek se niko nije dosetio formiranja nekog vida banke materijala (što je dobra ideja) ali redovno pričamo i razmenjujemo iskustva o tome šta ko radi na času i kako, pa neke stvari primenimo i na svojim časovima. Moje kolege znaju da sve sto koristim je dostupno i njima u vreme kada ja ne koristim taj materijal.

U suštini ne. Postoji neki orman u učionici br. 15 gde se sakupljaju razni štampani materijali, ali nemaju svi ključ od tog ormara.

Ne. Nismo nešto bliske i svako radi sve za sebe, nažalost. Čak i planove/pripreme niko nikome ne pokazuje, poremećeni odnosi totalno! ☺

Ono što je zajedničko svim ispitanicima iz srednjih škola jeste da izražavaju žaljenje zbog odsustva saradnje sa kolegama i, posledično, nepostojanja zajedničkih resursa koje mogu svi da koriste u nastavi.

Na kraju, nastavnici iz privatnih škola dali su raznovrsne odgovore. Tako jedni tvrde da u školi u kojoj rade nema zajedničkih resursa tog tipa:

Nažalost, u školi u kojoj trenutno radim ne postoji ništa slično 'banci materijala.' Svaki profesor za sebe traži dodatni materijal i koristi ga u svojoj nastavi. U prethodnoj školi je postojao registar u koji su profesori ostavljali fotokopirane tekstove i linkove za korisne internet sajtove i tako se međusobno ispomagali, što mislim da je bila sjajna ideja, dokle god kolektiv u tome zajednički učestvuje.

Drugi, pak, kažu da je saradnja sa kolegama veoma plodonosna u ovom pogledu:

Svakako. Kao što zajedno nastojimo da što više takvih materijala nabavimo, jedni drugima često preporučujemo takve materijale i dajemo ideje na koji ih je način moguće upotrebiti.

Da, uvek delim sve što sam koristila na svojim časovima, a i kolege dele svoje materijale. „Banka“ materijala je u školskom kompjuteru, a kopije su u fasciklama u školi.

Očigledno je da, kao i ranije, i ovo zavisi od uprave i politike škole, ali i od međuljudskih odnosa u kolektivu. Sve u svemu, kada se radi o saradnji nastavnika na formiranju „banke materijala“ koju ceo kolektiv može da koristi, možemo da zaključimo da je hipoteza potvrđena.

5. Zaključak

Istraživanje predstavljeno u ovom radu pošlo je od hipoteze da postoji razlika između nastavnika koji rade u osnovnim, srednjim i privatnim školama u načinu na koji koriste autentične materijale u nastavi. Ova je hipoteza istražena kroz pet istraživačkih ciljeva, a podaci dobijeni analizom 23 upitnika otvorenog tipa ovu su hipotezu potvrdili u dva slučaja u potpunosti i u dva slučaja delimično, dok je hipoteza odbačena u jednom istraživačkom cilju (v. Tabelu 1 ispod).

istraživački cilj	osnovna škola	srednja škola	privatna škola	hipoteza
šta sve nastavnici podrazumevaju pod autentičnim materijalima	audio i video materijal; razglednice; brošure; jelovnici iz restorana	pisani tekstovi; audio materijal; predmeti karakteristični za stranu zemlju; suveniri; poster; brošure	pisani izvori; audio materijal; filmovi	potvrđena
kako nastavnici koriste autentične materijale u radu sa učenicima	tekstovi; snimci; uz diskusiju; integrišu u gradivo	tekstovi; audio materijal; video snimci; ne navode kako	video snimci; tekstovi iz novina, časopisa i knjiga; uz aktivnosti i diskusiju	delimično potvrđena

koliko često koriste autentične materijale	1-2 puta mesečno	1-2 puta mesečno	razni odgovori	delimično potvrđena
kako nastavnici dolaze do autentičnih materijala	internet, lična kolekcija	internet, lična kolekcija	internet, lična kolekcija	odbačena
da li sarađuju sa drugim nastavnicima u ovom pogledu	da	ne	neki da, neki ne	potvrđena

Tabela 1: pregled rezultata istraživanja

Izneseni rezultati istraživanja navode na dva bitna zaključka: (1) sve tri grupe nastavnika jesu svesne značaja autentičnih materijala u nastavi; (2) sve tri grupe nastavnika su nedovoljno upoznate sa time šta sve može da se smatra autentičnim materijalima i kako se ti materijali mogu iskoristiti u nastavnom procesu. Dakle, jasno je da ovde postoji velik potencijal za razvoj i unapređenje nastavnog procesa, ali je pitanje kako se to može postići. Najsistematičniji i najefikasniji način bi bio putem organizovanja seminara za nastavnike engleskog jezika na svim obrazovnim nivoima i iz svih obrazovnih sektora, što bi nastavnicima omogućilo da uoče šta sve može da se iskoristi kao autentični materijal u nastavi i na koje načine i što bi kao posledicu svakako imalo razvoj komunikativne, kulturološke i pragmatičke kompetencije kod učenika kroz dosledno i redovno korišćenje autentičnih materijala u nastavnom procesu.

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Dodatak

Molim vas da upitnik ispod popunite što tačnije i detaljnije (gde možete, dopišite odgovor, a gde je odgovor već ponuđen, obeležite ga masnim slovima ili požutite). Podaci iz upitnika će se koristiti isključivo u svrhu istraživanja za naučni rad. Hvala na pomoći i strpljenju!

Pol: M – Ž

Godine starosti:

Stepen obrazovanja: diplomirani profesor (završene četverogodišnje studije) – master – magistar – doktor

Mesto stanovanja:

Zaposlen(a) u: osnovnoj školi – srednjoj školi – privatnoj školi

Godine radnog staža u školi:

1. Da li smatrate da je kultura važan deo nastave stranog jezika? Objasnite zašto.
2. Da li su elementi anglofone kulture deo vašeg plana i programa? Na koji način?
3. Da li uvodite elemente anglofone kulture kao nadogradnju ili dodatak vašem planu i programu? Na koji način?
4. Da li vam učioničko okruženje dozvoljava da uvodite elemente kulture? Drugim rečima, da li imate na raspolaganju audio-video opremu da puštate filmove, muziku, prikazujete slike, itd? Opišite okolnosti.
5. Da li ste zadovoljni osnovnim nastavnim materijalom koji koristite u radu sa decom (udžbenikom i radnom sveskom) u smislu kulturoloških informacija koje nudi? Opišite.
6. Da li koristite dodatne materijale da biste učenicima predstavili elemente anglofone kulture? Koje materijale koristite?
7. Da li znate šta su autentični materijali? Navedite primere autentičnih materijala u nastavi.
8. Da li koristite autentične materijale u nastavi anglofone kulture? Opišite kako.
9. Koliko često koristite autentične materijale? Opišite.
10. Kako dolazite do autentičnih materijala? Opišite.
11. Kako učenici reaguju na autentične materijale? Opišite.
12. Da li delite autentične materijale sa drugim nastavnicima iz kolektiva? Da li zajedno radite na formiranju neke „banke“ materijala koju po potrebi svi zajedno koristite? Opišite.
13. Da li vaši učenici sami dolaze do autentičnih materijala (po vašem saznanju)? Gde i kako dolaze do njih? Opišite.
14. Da li podstičete učenike da sami istražuju anglofonu kulturu (u sklopu domaćih zadataka, projekata, grupnog rada, itd)? Opišite.
15. Ako vam još nešto pada na pamet u vezi sa ovom temom, molim vas da ovde dopišete.

AUTHENTIC MATERIALS AND CULTURE IN TEACHING ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Summary

The paper analyzes the role of authentic materials in teaching English as a foreign language or, more precisely, it focuses on the role of these materials in classes that deal with Anglophone culture. Authentic materials are considered to be original, unabridged texts from newspapers and books and original audio materials as well as maps, postcards, tickets, menus and all other textual and non-textual materials used by native speakers in daily life. The main research aim is to investigate how English language teachers in primary, secondary and private schools in Serbia use

authentic materials and if there are any differences among these three groups. Using the method of content analysis the author qualitatively analyzes the answers of 23 primary, secondary and private school teachers in Serbia collected via an open-type questionnaire. On the basis of the categories established conclusions are drawn and recommendations are formulated.

Key words: authentic materials, English language teaching, Anglophone culture, teachers, primary school, secondary school, private school, open questionnaire, content analysis

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SOFTENING THE BLOW – EUPHEMISMS AND THE LANGUAGE OF DISMISSAL IN TODAY’S ENGLISH¹

Euphemisms are often used to “soften the blow” in the process of dismissal, especially in recent years characterised by massive lay-offs due to the impact of the global financial crisis and the need to mask the harshness of losing a job. In this paper we analyse euphemisms for dismissal in English, focusing particularly on figurative euphemisms which are the result of such cognitive instruments as metaphor or metonymy. The framework used will be both of Cognitive Linguistics and the theory of euphemism and dysphemism as developed and elaborated by Allan and Burridge (1991). Such an approach will hopefully enable us to demonstrate “the mitigating capacity” of metaphor and metonymy used as a powerful source for euphemistic reference thanks to their ability to hide negative or undesirable aspects of the target domain.

Key words: euphemism, metaphor, metonymy, Cognitive Linguistics, dismissal, English

1. Introduction

As Allan and Burridge (1991: 5) state at the beginning of their famous book, whenever we speak “we have to consider whether what we say is likely to maintain, enhance, or damage our own face, as well as considering the effect of our utterance on others.” In order to avoid a clear and straightforward mention of something which is (or may be) perceived as unwanted, undesirable, offensive or negative we frequently use euphemisms, which traditionally have been regarded as purely linguistic phenomena. Thus Leech (1974: 53) defines a euphemism as “replacing

¹ The research was conducted within project no. 178002 *Languages and cultures across time and space* funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

a word which has offensive connotations with another expression, which makes no overt reference to the unpleasant side of the subject". However, as "many euphemisms are alternatives for expressions Speaker would simply prefer not to use in executing a particular communicative intention on a given occasion or set of occasions" (Allan and Burrige 1991: 12), researchers have also taken into account pragmatic dimensions of euphemisms, "not confining them to their semantic meaning but shifting focus to the role euphemisms play in discourse, i.e. to their discursive dimension" (Silaški 2011: 103). This is clearly manifested in the definition of euphemism given by Allan and Burrige (1991: 11), according to which "it is used as an alternative to a dispreferred expression, in order to avoid possible loss of face: either one's own face, or, through giving offence, that of the audience, or of some third party" (Allan and Burrige 1991: 11). This definition is based on the assumption that "the default situation for nonhostile social interaction is a mutual expectation that the participants will try to avoid any potential face affront to the others" (Allan and Burrige 1991: 6). Obviously, the authors define euphemisms from a pragmatic aspect, claiming that "[t]o speak euphemistically is to use language like a shield against the feared, the disliked, the unpleasant" (Allan and Burrige 1991: 222).

"The feared, the disliked, the unpleasant" unfortunately occurs in many areas of human communication and when referring to such potentially face-threatening phenomena "[l]anguage users resort to euphemistic substitution to mitigate the potential dangers of certain taboo words or phrases considered too blunt or offensive for a given social situation" (Fernández 2006b: 11). As Linfoot-Ham (2005: 228) points out, "[t]he need for euphemism is both social and emotional, as it allows discussion of 'touchy' or taboo subjects (such as sex, personal appearances or religion) without enraging, outraging, or upsetting other people, and acts as a pressure valve whilst maintaining the appearance of civility."

In today's English euphemisms are also used to "soften the blow" in the process of dismissal, especially in recent years characterised by massive lay-offs due to the impact of the global financial crisis and the severe consequences it has had on economic situation around the world in terms of the ever-increasing number of the jobless. This in turn has resulted in the need to at least linguistically mask the harshness of the event, both on the part of the employer and the employee: the employer does not want to be responsible for or perceived as doing any damage to the future career of the dismissed, so they prefer to use the expressions which imply no personal incompetence or negligence on the part of the employee, whereas the employee wants to minimise the potentially adverse effects of the dismissal in the eyes of the future employer. As the dismissal may bring severe consequences for the life of the dismissed as well as for their family, both parties, the employer and the employee, are motivated to replace blunt and dispreferred expressions to

refer to the act of dismissing and being dismissed with softer, neutral, sugarcoated phrases which appear to be less unpleasant and more acceptable in today's society, concealing or veiling the true nature of the event they are going through.

There are many ways of achieving euphemism in English: through remodellings, circumlocutions, clippings, abbreviations, substitutions, mispronunciation, technical jargon, slang, as well as by means of figurative expressions realised through hyperbole, understatement, etc.² In this paper, however, we focus only on figurative euphemisms for dismissal in English, which are the result of such cognitive instruments as metaphor or metonymy. The framework used will be both of Cognitive Linguistics and the theory of euphemism and dysphemism as developed and elaborated by Allan and Burridge (1991). Such an approach would hopefully enable us to demonstrate "the mitigating capacity" (Fernández 2006a: 14) of metaphor and metonymy used as potent and powerful sources of euphemistic reference thanks to their ability to hide negative, offensive or undesirable aspects of the target domain.

2. Metaphor and metonymy in euphemistic reference

Unlike most classical theories of language where metaphor was regarded primarily as a matter of language not thought, Conceptual Metaphor Theory, as originally developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), holds that thought has primacy over language – the language we use is only a surface, linguistic manifestation of a deeper conceptual system "in terms of which we both think and act" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 3). Metaphor in this theory is viewed as a cross-domain mapping in our conceptual system, i.e. as understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another or as a tightly structured mapping or set of correspondences between two conceptual domains which Lakoff and Johnson term the *source* and *target* domains. A concrete and more clearly organised source domain, being more closely related to human physical and bodily experience, is used to understand and talk about a more abstract and a less clearly structured target domain. According to Lakoff and Johnson, metaphorical systematicity "allows us to comprehend one aspect of a concept in terms of another" (1980: 10), which, in turn, necessarily leads to downplaying, neglecting or hiding other aspects of the concept. They state that, "in allowing us to focus on one aspect of a concept (e.g. the battling aspects of argument), a metaphorical concept can keep us from focusing on other aspects of the

² For a detailed account of these ways of achieving euphemism see Allan and Burridge (1991: 14-20). Although they rather extensively deal with euphemisms based on metaphor and metonymy, they do not explain them from the viewpoint of Cognitive Linguistics, which is the theoretical framework we use in the paper.

concept that are inconsistent with that metaphor” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 10). Therefore, the cross-domain mapping is only partial, because “[w]hen a source domain is applied to a target, only some (but not all) aspects of the target are brought into focus” (Kövecses 2002: 79). This basic and most relevant property of metaphors serves as a suitable ground for euphemistic reference to concepts considered too blunt, unpleasant or offensive to be used without any mitigation in the form of linguistic hedging, since metaphors may hide, deny or mitigate those aspects of such concepts which may cause social embarrassment, inconvenience or fear, thus helping highlight and foreground such aspects of those concepts which are comforting, less harsh, less upsetting, less insulting, and most importantly, less straightforward. In such metaphor-based euphemisms, “linguistic expressions in the source domain are used to replace the taboo expressions in the target domain” (Fan 2006: 72). In other words, conceptual metaphor allows us to systematically map the structure of the source domain (euphemism expressions) onto the structure of the target domain (offensive or unpleasant or taboo expressions, which need to be avoided).

As far as metonymy is concerned, many authors claim that it is “a cognitive phenomenon that may be even more fundamental than metaphor” (Panther and Radden 1999: 1), a view which has been reiterated in a number of further volumes on metonymy and metaphor (e.g. Dirven and Pörings 2002, Barcelona 2003, etc.). While metaphor includes a projection from one conceptual domain onto another conceptual domain, metonymy, on the other hand, is according to the standard cognitive linguistic view understood as a conceptual projection whereby one domain is partially understood in terms of another domain included in the same experiential domain (Barcelona 2000b). It is, therefore, often understood as an intradomain phenomenon. Because of the difference in the number of domains used for the conceptual mapping between metonymy and metaphor (one versus two domains of experience), metonymy is said to be based on contiguity, i.e. on elements that are parts of the same idealised cognitive model,³ while metaphor is based on similarity or predictability between two domains of experience. When it comes to metonymy, this allows the relevant parts of the same idealised cognitive model to stand for the whole scenario or event, because “if categories are intentionally defined by a set of properties, these properties are necessarily part of the category” (Radden and Kövecses 1999: 35). Which particular property of the ICM will function metonymically depends, according to Radden and Kövecses (1999), on a number of cognitive principles, e.g. TYPICAL OVER NON-TYPICAL (when “typical members of a category are [...] picked out when a category as a whole is described” [Radden

³ According to Lakoff (1987: 68), *idealised cognitive models* are primary ways in which human beings organise knowledge. They may consist of a number of entities forming a coherent whole in our experience of the world as they co-occur repeatedly.

and Kövecses 1999: 45]). Although disagreements still arise among cognitive linguists concerning many unresolved issues surrounding metonymy as a cognitive mechanism,⁴ it has now been widely accepted that “metonymy plays a crucial part in the motivation of numerous conceptual metaphors, in prototype categorization, in certain types of symbolism and iconicity, in pragmatic referencing, in blending and conceptual integration, in gestures, etc.” (Barcelona, Benczes, and de Mendoza Ibáñez 2011: 2). In addition, metonymy plays an important role in euphemistic reference, inducing a number of expressions which are grounded in this cognitive mechanism, serving the purpose of mitigating reality by hiding offensive or unpleasant aspects of phenomena.⁵ This is, *inter alia*, done by the deliberate violation of default cognitive principles such as clarity (CLEAR OVER LESS CLEAR) and relevance (CENTRAL OVER PERIPHERAL).⁶

3. Data collection and methodology

The analysis which follows was conducted on a sample of about 150 expressions for involuntary termination of employment compiled from a number of web sites dealing with euphemistic reference to dismissal. Such expressions were carefully examined by the author in order to establish whether a particular euphemism is achieved through either metaphor or metonymy. The expressions which we intuitively felt provided instantiations of metaphor or metonymy were extracted from the original list of euphemisms. In order to check the figurativeness of the selected expressions, we applied a somewhat adapted method known as Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) proposed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007), a tool which has already been proved to be suitable for this purpose. Finally, we classified the selected expressions according to the conceptual metaphor or metonymy they linguistically instantiate.

⁴ See Barcelona et al. (2011: 2) for a list of these issues. Some answers to the questions posed here are offered in Barcelona (2011).

⁵ Although Allen and Burridge (1991: 17-18) point out several metonymic relations responsible for the achievement of euphemism (e.g. general-for-specific or part-for-whole, together with a number of subclasses), they choose not to refer to them as such, albeit noting that “these would traditionally have been called metonymies” (1991: 18). Still, the authors do not analyse euphemistic reference achieved through metonymy from a cognitive linguistic perspective. See Portero Muñoz (2011) for an account of metonymy as a tool in creating euphemisms.

⁶ See Portero Muñoz (2011: 141). This author illustrates the violation of cognitive principles for euphemistic purposes by the euphemistic word *redundancy*, which “focuses on a precondition of the ‘dismissal ICM’. The intended target is, therefore, not clearly accessible, so the metonymy also violates the communicative principle of clarity. In doing so, the intended camouflage effect of euphemisms is achieved.”

The euphemisms for dismissal dealt with in this paper are diverse in the sense that they belong to several levels of formality, i.e. some of them are slang words while others belong to a rather formal register of employment contracts. However, no difference will be made in the level of formality between these euphemistic expressions. Our specific interest in the paper lies in exploring their figurativeness achieved through metaphor and metonymy as the main mechanisms of mitigating the said and camouflaging the true meaning of the employed expressions.

4. Metaphor in euphemisms for dismissal

From the point of the employee, the termination of the employment may occur for two main reasons: (1) when the employee's actions are the cause of dismissal (e.g. poor work performance, absenteeism, incompetence, negligence, misconduct, etc.), or (2) when dismissal is due to circumstances beyond the employee's control (e.g. generally poor economic conditions, business slow-down, cost-cutting measures, relocation, mergers and acquisitions, outsourcing, etc.). In both cases, euphemistic reference may be useful in the protection of face of the parties involved. Thus, as Holder (2003: 211, cited in Portero Muñoz 2011: 146) points out, “[m]indful of public criticism or possible court proceedings, employers are selective in their language when announcing the dismissal either of a large number of staff or of a single senior employee”, which is why numerous euphemisms have been coined lately to mask the unpleasant event of losing a job and making people redundant. In addition, metaphor and metonymy play a clearly ideological role in the construction of dismissal discourse in English, since they shape the business world by deploying a situation-adapted and carefully selected set of camouflaging euphemistic words and expressions, hiding and downplaying and/or foregrounding and highlighting the aspects of unemployment that the individual and/or the organisation choose to focus on.

We have found that a number of conceptual metaphors are used for this purpose in euphemistic reference.

From the point of view of the employer, redundancies or, to use a more popular expression from (mainly) American English – lay-offs – which gained popularity during the recent global financial crisis, are frequently referred to by using a conceptual metaphor *LEAN IS HEALTHY*, i.e. *FAT IS UNHEALTHY*, verbally realised by means of a number of metaphorical expressions. Thus, when employers make people redundant, they talk of *downsizing*, *rightsizing*, *slimming down*, *delaying*, *excess reduction*, or *force shaping*, when they conceptualise the company they own or run as a human body in need of removing excess of fat in the form of the employees who are thus *trimmed*, *cut back*, or *rationalised*, in order for the company to become

fit and ready to face the challenges of the changed economic circumstances.⁷ The LEAN IS HEALTHY and THE COMPANY IS A HUMAN BODY metaphors are frequently intertwined with another metaphor, orientational in nature, LESS IS DOWN, which is clearly manifested in metaphorical expressions for dismissal such as *workforce reduction*, *reduce the headcount*, *personnel surplus reduction*, as well as in a fair number of expressions using the prefix *de-*, with a clearly cognitively based semantic content, in Langacker's (1991) terms, meaning "departing from the original state". This is manifested in expressions such as *decruit*, *defund*, *dehire*, *de-select*, *destaff*, which are either antonyms of the original expressions used for hiring people (a case in point is *decruit/recruit*, grounded on the military BUSINESS IS WAR metaphor), or those that belong to the PEOPLE ARE RESOURCES metaphor.

Another group of metaphor-based euphemistic expressions relies on the COMPANY IS A BUILDING metaphor, in which human resources are conceptualised as part of the structure on which the organisation is standing. Thus, any redundancy is metaphorically structured as jeopardising the balance of the corporate structure, which calls for the immediate correction or adjustment of the number of personnel to the needs of the company. This is evidenced in euphemistic expressions such as *personnel realignment*, *resource reallocation*, *workforce imbalance correction*, etc.

From the point of view of the dismissed employee, it is of the utmost importance to present the act of dismissal to a prospective employer as something which happened beyond their control, i.e. something which was an almost voluntary activity, done deliberately, especially as a means of improving one's career. Thus, metaphorical expressions for dismissal in this case tend to be based on the CAREER IS A JOURNEY metaphor because, as Deignan claims (2005: 17), "[m]ajor life events are talked about as landmarks along a journey, and developments in someone's career or personal life are talked about as physical progress towards a destination". This is clearly manifested in metaphorical expressions such as *career transition*, *be in transition*, *be transitioned*, *be between the jobs*, *negotiate a departure*, which are all euphemistic but metaphorical at the same time.

Finally, the RELATIONSHIP metaphor is frequently used to stress loyalty and genuine commitment of the employee to the company. Thus, when dismissed, employees and employers alike talk of *involuntary separation*, using a host of metaphorical expressions which describe the "breaking-up" between the two parties which may have a long-standing relationship, such as *free up for the future*, *let go*, *release*, *separate*, etc.

Depending on which particular aspect of a concept they hide or highlight, metaphors serve as a powerful means of euphemism. Furthermore, "[i]f metaphors

⁷ See Silaški (2012) for a detailed account of the DOWNSIZING metaphor used in corporate discourse.

are carefully selected, they can influence employees' thinking, feelings, and their construction of reality in ways that facilitate organizational transformation. They can initiate the process by triggering a perceptual shift, the choice of metaphors influencing the direction, interpretations of, and feelings about the shift" (Sackmann, 1989: 468). We have seen that this shift in the perception of phenomena surrounding employment also refers to the perception of dismissal in the eyes of both the dismissed employee and the public in general.

5. Metonymy in euphemisms for dismissal

Using their own terminology, which thoroughly differs from the one used by cognitive linguists, Allan and Burridge (1991) point out the employment of general-for-specific and part-for-whole euphemisms, referring to them as one-to-one substitutions, which "illustrate meaning-extension, and are arguably figurative" (1991: 17). Gradečak-Erdeljić (2005: 298, quoted in Portero Muñoz 2011: 144), however, using a clearly cognitive linguistic framework, demonstrates the use of a specific metonymy, PART OF THE SCENARIO-FOR-THE WHOLE SCENARIO, in creating euphemisms, especially in political discourse, basically also emphasising the PART-FOR-WHOLE metonymy. Namely, Gradečak-Erdeljić (2005: 287, quoted in Portero Muñoz 2011: 144) claims that this particular type of metonymic relationship "(re) directs the attention of the receiver of the communicated message towards the more marginal aspects of the scenario which represents certain [sic] political situation". This is, actually, how metonymy generally functions for the purpose of euphemism: the selection of one particular part of the ICM inevitably leads to downplaying other, perhaps unwanted and undesirable, parts of the ICM.

Portero Muñoz (2011: 146) deals with two types of metonymic relationships which work as euphemisms: ACTION FOR RESULT and RESULT FOR ACTION. Both metonymies belong to a more broadly defined PART OF THE EVENT FOR THE WHOLE EVENT metonymy. Namely, as the author convincingly evidences, expressions such as *headcount management*, *headcount realignment* and *personnel realignment*, all meaning 'dismissing staff', "are all based on the metonymy ACTION FOR RESULT, since the number of employees will be reduced as a result of the processes of adjustment, management or realignment, which avoids mentioning an unpleasant fact" (2011: 146). In these and similar expressions, metonymy helps in highlighting what comes before the actual act of dismissing, not the act of dismissing itself, which is now perceived as a mere result or unintended consequence of the original action. Portero Muñoz gives more examples of the ACTION FOR RESULT metonymy in euphemistic expressions for dismissal: *resource reallocation*, *contract extension decline*, *personnel surplus reduction*, *workforce rationalization*, *staff release* and *workforce im-*

balance correction. As we have already used some of these expressions to explain the functioning of metaphor as a cognitive instrument, it is obvious that metonymy and metaphor are so closely intertwined that many metaphors actually derive from metonymies and it is not always easy to determine which conceptual instrument primarily causes euphemism.

The opposite metonymy, RESULT FOR ACTION, emphasising within the DISMISSAL ICM the perceived positive outcomes of unemployment such as getting a chance for career advancement, actually mitigates the harshness of losing a job and focuses on the results of the act of dismissal (see Portero Muñoz 2011:146), thus clearly functioning euphemistically. The focus on the outcome serves as a distractor from the original act, directing attention instead to the next step in the dismissed employee's career. Some of the expressions which may be put into this category are the following: *career alternative enhancement*, *career transition*, *early retirement opportunity*, *career change opportunity*, etc. The RESULT FOR ACTION metonymy also functions as a mitigating instrument in expressions like *pursue other interests*, *pursue new career*, *pursue other opportunities*, *seek fresh challenges*, even *spend more time with your family* or *rethink your future*, where the focus is on the "opportunities" and "challenges" allegedly offered to the employee by actually dismissing them.

The metonymy in which a whole ICM is accessed via one of its parts also works in euphemistic expressions for dismissal such as *receive/get a pink slip*, *get the boot*, *show the door*, etc. Namely, in the past companies in the United States used to dismiss employees by distributing notices printed on pink slips of paper, so in time the expression "pink slip" began to be associated with dismissal, functioning metonymically as well as euphemistically to refer to the act of losing a job. *Getting the boot* and *being shown the door* also involve metonymy. Both the boot and the door are parts of the DISMISSAL ICM, since the former stands for kicking therefore being expelled from the position/company, whereas the latter stands for the act of being forced to leave (in this case, a company one is working for).

6. Conclusion

In this paper an attempt has been made to analyse figurative euphemisms for dismissal in English, which are the result of metaphor or metonymy as cognitive instruments. We have hopefully shown and illustrated how these cognitive instruments may be used as tools of euphemistic reference to talk about an unpleasant phenomenon in contemporary society – dismissal. The deliberate use of vague language, based on metaphor and metonymy, enables the parties involved in the process of dismissal to create "mutual consideration" (Allan and Burrige 1991: 6)

by, firstly, ameliorating the pain people feel when they lose their job, and secondly, camouflaging the harsh truth behind the metaphorical or metonymical veil, or, more bluntly put, distorting it.

As for the suggestions for future research, it would be useful to conduct a comparative analysis of euphemisms used in dismissal vocabulary as an avoidance strategy in several languages, including Serbian, to establish whether different societies pay equal attention to euphemistic reference to one of the most painful events in someone's life – being dismissed. Such an analysis would be particularly fruitful if it was carried out contrastively in languages spoken in high-context and low-context cultures to establish whether we conventionally tend to deny unpleasant and frightful experiences and whether this inevitably shows in the linguistic realisations of human thoughts in general or only in the English language.

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KAKO UBLAŽITI UDARAC – EUFEMIZMI I JEZIK OTPUŠTANJA S POSLA U SAVREMENOM ENGLESKOM JEZIKU

Rezime

Eufemizmi se često koriste da bi „ublažili udarac” u procesu dobijanja otkaza, posebice poslednjih godina koje se odlikuju brojnim otpuštanjima zbog uticaja svetske ekonomske krize, kao i potrebe da se barem jezički zamaskiraju teškoće koji proističu iz gubitka posla. U radu analiziramo eufemistične izraze za gubitak posla u engleskom jeziku, usredsređujući se naročito na figurativne eufemizme, koji su rezultat dejstva kognitivnih instrumenata kao što su metafora i metonimija. Teorijski okvir koji koristimo jesu kognitivna lingvistika i teorija eufemizama i disfemizama autora Alana i Baridžove (Allan and Burridge 1991). Ovakav pristup će nam, nadamo se, omogućiti da ukažemo na „ublažujuću sposobnost” metafore i metonimije kao moćnih izvora eufemističkog izražavanja zahvaljujući njihovoj osobini da prikriju negativne i nepoželjne aspekte ciljnog domena.

Ključne reči: eufemizmi, metafora, metonimija, kognitivna lingvistika, otpuštanja, engleski

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SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS GENRE- PEDAGOGY IN EFL TEACHING

This article provides an overview of the genre-based pedagogy of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) applicable to EFL teaching. In this approach to language teaching, learners' attention is drawn to socio-cultural contexts of genres, which helps them appreciate communicative purposes of texts and genres within the language taught. This teaching methodology nurtures explicit teaching of genre structures and functions. Language teaching through genre takes the form of the teaching-learning cycle, while the activities in the classroom involve teachers' scaffolding and learners' autonomous text production. The syllabus includes tasks of both analyzing and modeling texts in the genre assigned. Through genres, teachers instruct learners in foreign language writing. The objective of the teaching process is to inform learners about the relationship of texts to contexts and about the purpose, structure and language features of the genres studied.

Key words: Systemic Functional Linguistics, genre, teaching-learning cycle, scaffolding, EFL

1. Genre research in SFL

Coffin and Donohue (2012: 64–75) explain that recent SFL research has focused on describing language function in contexts. In SFL, context is viewed as a factor which shapes and is shaped by language through the dimensions of field (the subject matter of the text), tenor (the roles and relationships of the interlocutors) and mode (the channel of communication). The relation between texts and contexts has comprehensively been dealt with in genre research, which in practice has helped understanding different aspects of making meaning across various disciplines in academic environments, such as geography, film studies, history, science, etc., in which immediate contexts are closely related to the function and the content

of texts. Before we discuss the concept of genre within SFL, we shall refer to Johns (2002) for her description of the principles which essentially underline all genre oriented directions in language study, as the following:

1. Texts are socially constructed, as the influence of community and culture is considerable, in both text processing and production;
2. Texts' functions are at least partially determined by the context and community before the writer or reader begins to process them;
3. Textual conventions are often subject to community constraints; the writer needs to work within these boundaries since formal text features are strongly influenced by the conventions of a genre and the situation in which the text is produced;
4. What is present or absent in texts is often regulated by a community or the particular context in which the text is operating;
5. The language of texts, the vocabulary, grammar, metadiscourse, or other features, should never be taught separately from rhetorical considerations.

The principles depict a socially based relation of texts to contexts and suggest that linguistic choices in a text are conditioned by the intended social purpose. Specifically in the SFL tradition, Christie (1991: 142-155) has described that the function of a text is directly connected to the context at two levels – at the level of register and the level of genre:

... a text is understood as functioning in a context, where context is said to operate at two levels: at the level of register, where field (social activity), tenor (the interpersonal relationships among people using language) and mode (the part played by language in building communication) all have consequences for the choices made in the linguistic system; and at the level of genre, where social purpose in using language also has consequences for linguistic choices made. For any given instance of language use, a genre is selected (be that a report, a narrative, a trade encounter, and so on) and particular choices are made with respect to field, tenor, and mode, all of which are realized in language choices.

Likewise, Martin (1997:3-39) argues that genre is a semiotic system which functions above the three metafunctions of language described by M.A.K. Halliday (ideational, textual and interpersonal), at a higher level of abstraction. He reports that genre pedagogy, which considers genres as staged, goal-oriented social processes, has especially been nurtured in Australian educational linguistics. The staged structure of genres reflects the way in which genres take a number of phases to unfold. Moreover, there seems to exist the sense of frustration or incompleteness when phases in a genre do not unfold as expected. Accordingly, genre represents the system of staged goal oriented social processes through which social subjects in a given culture live their lives (Martin 1997: 3-39). Speaking of stages, Eggins

(2004: 54-84) observes that genres develop linguistic expressions through a limited number of functional stages which occur in a particular sequence. Describing the schematic structure of a genre, we describe its constituent structure and the aim of this description is both to identify the parts that constitute the whole and explain how the parts relate to each other in constituting that whole (Eggins 2004: 54-84).

Eggins (2004: 54-84) indicates that functional analysis of genres is expected to show that language is 'naturally' related to the structure of social life, but also that each dimension of social context is related in predictable and systematic ways to each type of meaning. The speakers make different lexico-grammatical choices according to the different purposes they want to achieve. Consequently, different genres will reveal different lexico-grammatical choices – different words and structures. Also, each genre is made up of different functionally related stages, and accordingly, different elements of schematic structure will reveal different lexico-grammatical choices. Eggins (2004: 54-84) arrives at the conclusion that genre analysis is a step towards making explicit the cultural and social basis of language in use, and that in practice, the analysis can help us to understand why some texts are successful and appropriate while others are not, to contrast types of genres and their realizations in contexts and to carry out critical text analysis.

Martin (2009: 12-32) has proposed that genre is realized both probabilistically and indexically. In a narrative, for instance, two well known indexes are the opening *Once upon a time* and the closing *And they lived happily ever after*. These clichés give the reader/listener cues of which genre they are reading/listening to. Further, probabilistic realizations of a narrative are also relevant, such as the orientation which introduces the characters and sets the story in time and place through relational clauses and circumstantial elements (e.g. *Once upon a time there was a ... He/she was a ... The cottage faced ...*). The stage of complication within a narrative may continue with temporally related material processes (*She did this and then...*). After the resolution stage, the narrator may comment on the point of telling the story. In the manner of semiotic systems, genres also involve choice, and choices differ, so that there are many different kinds of narratives. They, however, have something in common, which is mainly a temporally related series of events forming the backbone of the text and relatively problematic events the narrator is making a point about (Martin 2009: 12-32).

Macken-Horarik (2002: 21-23) argues that genre approach should be implemented in language writing courses. Furthermore, she identifies two important aspects of texts essential in a genre-oriented teaching, i.e. schematic structure and schematic stage description, as texts can be classified into genres according to their schemes. In her view, genres have predictable and institutionalized schemes realized through a sequence of stages, which can be mapped for every genre type. For

example, the stages of the discussion genre are as follows (Macken-Horarik 2002: 21-23):

- a) Issue, which gives information on the issue and how it is framed;
- b) Argument, which involves the point of view taken on the issue; and
- c) Conclusion, which recommends a position on the issue.

Genre-based language teaching recognizes five genres which should be valuable in teaching EFL scientific writing at the academic level – report genre, procedure genre, explanation genre, exposition genre and discussion genre, all of which differ in structural and linguistic features.

2. Genre pedagogy and language teaching

As reported by Christie and Macken-Horarik (2007: 156-183), after the late 1970s, SFL has developed a kind of pedagogic intervention in the form of genre pedagogy, to which many SF linguists have contributed so as to advance it further in order to educate a learner who will be capable of analyzing, producing and reviewing texts and contexts. Furthermore, the knowledge about language should enable learners to interpret the linguistics of value positions and ideologies embodied in texts.

The systematic study of genres evolved into genre pedagogy and was first introduced in the form of a cycle of teaching and learning designed to build literacy in primary schools in Australia (Feez 2002: 43-72). The genre-based cycle of teaching and learning has been designated in the literature a “visible pedagogy”, since what is to be learned and assessed should be made clear to learners. Martin and Rose (2005: 251-280) have described three main phases of activity in the teaching-learning cycle, i.e. deconstruction, joint construction and individual construction phase. The deconstruction phase is concerned with establishing a genre as the goal for the cycle; the joint construction phase involves producing a text of the genre relying on suggestions from learners, while in the individual construction phase learners take over the responsibility for writing a text in the genre on their own. What is significant when opening the teaching-learning cycle is setting the context through learners’ activities which involve learning about the genre assigned and about the contexts in which it is deployed. The goal of the cycle is not only about acquiring knowledge of a genre but primarily about gaining control over the genre and about a critical orientation to how the genre is constructed in other texts (Martin and Rose 2005: 251-280). The deconstruction phase opens up the field and context of the genre, and the teacher makes visible the structure and purpose of the model text with critical deconstruction. In joint construction, learners research new ideas for the text, but the teacher guides them while organizing the material. Independent

construction should be designed to encourage learners to experiment creatively with the genre.

Feez (2002: 43-72) has dealt with the implications of the phases of the cycle and claimed that since the idea behind teaching and learning genres is essentially socio-cultural, in the teaching-learning cycle learners gradually gain control of the genres and start to use English effectively in social contexts. In that way they can begin to engage with English-speaking culture in productive ways. The benefit of genre pedagogy to second-language learners lies first in the fact that a phase of the cycle is devoted to context building, in which learners have the opportunity to explore the cultural and situational aspects of the social context of the target text through brainstorming, reading, cross-cultural comparisons, guided research, etc. In the classroom, the phases of the teaching-learning cycle are based on the shared experience of the context previously built up jointly, by teachers and learners (Feez 2002: 43-72). The deconstruction phase is devoted to modeling a text, with the teacher directing the interaction, introducing learners to model texts of the target genre in the context explored. The teacher focuses on the structure and language features of the model genre, while learners learn the grammar of the target language in the context of a purposeful language use. The strong scaffolding of these introductory phases in the language teaching classroom should weaken in the joint-construction phase, in which the teacher transfers responsibility to learners relying on their advances in gaining genre-structuring proficiency. Learners should construct a text in the target genre previously studied; the teacher guides them through the preparation and drafting, by discussing and negotiating the meanings they plan to make. In the independent-construction phase, the scaffolding is abandoned so that learners research the context and construct texts independently. The assessment should be made of the learners' achievement by establishing links to related text types of the given genre for learners to have the opportunity to reconsider the effectiveness of their own text in the given context and the appropriateness of its structure with regard to the genre assigned.

Discussing the benefits of genre pedagogy, Hyland (2007: 148–164) states that in language teaching, genre pedagogy may be valuable for teachers as educators, since it addresses the needs not only of language learners, but also induces teachers to consider texts as instances of communication when designing the EFL syllabus. In view of that, language teachers have to have an ability to exercise appropriate linguistic choices in the ways they treat and organize their topics for particular readers. Hyland (2007: 148–164) explains the following principles which underline genre-based teaching, which can be implemented in the syllabus and teaching methodologies:

a) Writing is a social activity, which means that communication has a purpose, a context and the intended audience. Learners, therefore, need to engage in the

activities which instruct them to analyze and investigate different purposes and readers;

b) Learning to write is needs-oriented, so that a genre-based language teaching course needs to incorporate identifying the kinds of writing that learners will need to do in their target situations;

c) Learning to write is a social activity; teaching, thus, should represent a series of scaffolded developmental steps in which teachers and learners interact in linking new contexts and understandings of what students already know about writing;

d) Learning to write involves learning to use language, and language teaching through genre involves discussing explicitly how texts are grammatically patterned, while grammar is integrated into the exploration of texts and contexts rather than taught independently. This helps learners to see how grammar and vocabulary choices create meanings and to understand their role in genres.

Unlike certain language teaching models which focus primarily on accurate grammatical and vocabulary choices in learners' texts, genre pedagogy argues for learners' writing activities in which they practice creating meaning to meet the purpose of the text and norms of the social and cultural context.

3. Discussion and conclusions

Numerous arguments have been proposed in the SFL literature to support the idea that teaching genres can enhance learners' understanding of writing conventions in English, which should be an integral part of one's English proficiency. Genre pedagogy revolves around teaching language for communicative purposes and encourages learners to analyze and comprehend the form and function language has in a given context. For that reason, we believe that the EFL classroom requires that the teaching should rely on authentic English texts and should promote activities through which learners are made aware of the structure and functions of texts they produce to respond to the requirements of a particular context. As the teaching progresses, learners get acquainted with various English genres and should be able to analyze them in order to demonstrate what linguistic resources are employed to create meaning within them. The genre approach could enhance EFL learners' understanding of how lexical and grammatical patterns in English within a genre interact with the socio-cultural context, thus promoting genre awareness on a larger scale. Consequently, the skill developed is not only linguistic, but also social – the skill of being able to engage in a social activity through the written mode of the English language.

As pointed above, the teaching-learning cycle consists of three phases, and its design in the EFL syllabus may therefore seem consuming. Yet, each phase has its

benefits for furthering EFL writing skills. In the first phase, known as the deconstruction phase, the teacher should discuss explicitly how meanings in authentic English texts are constructed and assist learners in comprehending the structural and lexico-grammatical patterns typical of a genre. In the joint construction phase, text modeling should enhance learners' awareness of the stages in the given genre and linguistic elements such as those which build coherence and cohesion. The first two phases rest on scaffolding, with the objective to strengthen learners' independence in producing a text in the third phase. The independent production of a text in English involves employing linguistic resources of the language to construct the intended meaning within the structural conventions of the genre assigned. The genre pedagogy cycle should induce the interaction between the teacher and the learners within the classroom discussion of the structural features of genres studied, even in the phase in which the features are presented explicitly by the teacher and exemplified by the model text.

In the cycle, learners may become aware of the schematic structure of genres developed through stages as described in Macken-Horarik (2002: 21-23). The explicit description of genres should address the abovementioned aspects of social purpose and schematic structure. The social purpose of a genre should be in line with two types of context – the general social context and the immediate context of situation. Learners should understand that by meeting the social purpose of the genre, they meet the requirements of the context and that, accordingly, language used is a tool for achieving a particular communicative purpose. As for the schematic structure, learners should observe that English genres unfold through a standard sequence of stages conventionally deployed for communicative purposes. Judging by the genre typology in Macken-Horarik (2002: 21-23), the exposition genre, for instance, should be taught as consisting of Stage 1, which introduces the thesis, Stage 2, which supports the thesis with evidence, and Stage 3, as a conclusion which reinforces the thesis with regard to the arguments presented in Stage 2. After being instructed in the exposition, learners should be able to construct an expository text of their own closely following the stages of the genre scheme.

Moreover, while producing a text, EFL learners improve their knowledge of the language in exploring the following linguistic features of the genres we mentioned above:

a) the generic use of articles, simple present and present progressive tense and relational clauses in the report genre (e.g. *Arctic sea-ice extent and volume are declining*);

b) the imperative mood, temporal conjunctive adverbs and material clauses in the procedure genre (e.g. *Practice your shooting skill on a netball court*);

c) countable and uncountable nouns, mass nouns, causal conjunctive adverbs and passive voice in the explanation genre (e.g. *Drones do not collect honey and are prevented from entering the hive by worker bees*);

d) present perfect tense, material, mental and relational clauses in the exposition genre (*The price of fuels has led to discontent although it was believed that it should improve the social welfare*); and

e) logical conjunctive adverbs, mental clauses and relational clauses in the discussion genre (e.g. *However, some speculate about the effect of the dietary protein on the development of chronic diseases*).

We believe the genre approach can sustain EFL learners' achievements 1) by raising their awareness of the significance of the structure of a text in a genre, as an indispensable element of communication through writing, and 2) by monitoring their achievements through phases of the cycle in which learning progresses gradually from openly supportive teaching to independent writing. Teaching genre features helps learners understand and acquire the rhetorical conventions of English genres; furthermore, their aptitude in EFL is strengthened by the recognition of the interplay of lexico-grammatical choices and intended function of a text in a given context of situation. Finally, in genre pedagogy, genres are goals of the teaching and learning process, which is an objective rarely found in EFL teaching methodologies. Genres are viewed as conventions in EFL writing, with systems of their own, which should be acknowledged by EFL learners in their endeavor to be proficient in written English, the proficiency involving understanding the communicative purpose of genres, meeting the structural conventions and rhetorical options in genres and making appropriate linguistic choices to express the intended meaning.

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PODUČAVANJE PUTEM ŽANROVA U NASTAVI ENGLESKOG JEZIKA PREMA SISTEMSKO-FUNKCIONALNOJ LINGVISTICI

Rezime

Ovaj rad pruža pregled onih aspekata nastave stranog jezika u kojima se studije žanra u Sistemsko-funkcionalnoj lingvistici mogu primeniti na nastavu engleskog jezika. U ovakvom pristupu podučavanju jezika pažnja učenika usmerava se prema socio-kulturnom kontekstu žanrova, što im pomaže da razumeju komunikativnu svrhu tekstova i žanrova u engleskom jeziku. U ovoj nastavnoj metodologiji neguje se eksplicitno podučavanje struktura i funkcija žanrova. Učenje jezika putem žanrova odvija se u ciklusu podučavanja i učenja, a aktivnosti u učionici obuhvataju proces podupiranja (engl. scaffolding) od strane nastavnika i učeničko individualno pisanje teksta. Nastavni plan treba da obuhvati zadatke koji se tiču i analize i pisanja teksta u zadatom žanru. Preko žanrova, nastavnik podučava pisanje na stranom jeziku, a cilj nastavnog procesa je da učenici spoznaju spregu teksta i konteksta kao i svrhu, strukturu i jezičke odlike izučenog žanra.

Ključne reči: sistemsko-funkcionalna lingvistika, žanr, ciklus podučavanja i učenja, podupiranje, nastava engleskog jezika kao stranog

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STRATEGIJE ODRŽAVANJA MOTIVACIJE U UČENJU ENGLESKOG JEZIKA KOD STUDENATA ANGLISTIKE

Predmet istraživanja prikazanog u ovom radu tiče se analize mehanizama zaštite koncentracije i usmerenog napora od svega što bi učeniku moglo da odvuče pažnju i na taj način oteža učenje, dok je cilj istraživanja da ispita koje strategije studenti koriste kako bi održali nivo motivacije tokom učenja. U istraživanju su učestvovali studenti Anglistike sa Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu, a prikupljeni podaci su obrađeni statističkim metodama kako bi bilo omogućeno izvođenje zaključaka. Rezultati istraživanja upućuju na zaključak da postoje značajne razlike između strategija koje koriste uspešni i manje uspešni studenti, kao i da pojedine grupe strategija tokom izvršne faze motivacije deluju zajedno i na taj način upravljaju nivoom motivisanosti tokom učenja.

Ključne reči: motivacija, strategije, motivacione strategije, studenti, engleski jezik kao strani

1. Uvodna razmatranja

Tokom poslednjih nekoliko decenija u psihologiji motivacije dolazi do promene na polju izučavanja motivacionog konstrukta koju karakteriše uključivanje kognitivnih pojmova i dimenzija u teorije motivacije. Kako to Pintrich i Šank (Pintrich and Schunk 1996: v) zaključuju, objašnjenja ponašanja se pomeraju sa podsticaja i potkrepljenja i naglašavaju učenikova konstruktivna tumačenja događaja i uloge koje njihova verovanja, kognicije, osećanja i vrednosti imaju prilikom postignuća. Zajedničko za biheviorističke i humanističke teorije motivacije koje prethode kognitivnim teorijama jeste to što obe objašnjavaju da su motivisane radnje reakcije na određene podražaje ili potrebe. Međutim, mi smo kao biološki organizmi prirodno aktivni, tako da motivacioni konstrukti zapravo ne moraju da objašnjavaju razloge za određene radnje (Brophy 2004: 7). Ono što je potrebno objasniti jeste

pravac, jačina, trajanje i kvalitet radnji, odnosno zašto pojedinac, od svih mogućnosti koje neka situacija nudi, bira samo ograničen broj tih mogućnosti i razvija ih na određeni način. Psihologija motivacije (Dörnyei 1998; Pintrich and Schunk 1996) traži pokretače delovanja u čoveku kao pojedincu usredsređujući se na unutrašnje faktore.

Cilj istraživanja prikazanog u ovom radu jeste da ispita koje strategije studenti koriste kako bi održali nivo motivacije tokom učenja. U istraživanju su učestvovali studenti Anglistike sa Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu, a dobijeni podaci su obrađeni statističkim metodama kako bi bilo omogućeno izvođenje zaključaka.

2. Motivacija u učenju stranog jezika

U domenu nastave i učenja stranog jezika prilikom tumačenja motivacije pored prethodno iznetih karakteristika neophodno je uzeti u obzir i dodatne faktore. Naime, rezultati velikog broj istraživanja pokazuju da, iako učenici u učionicu dolaze s određenom motivacionom pozadinom i već imaju oformljena uverenja, očekivanja i navike, neposredni kontekst učenja snažno utiče na njihovu motivaciju (Stipek 1996). Izvori motivacije koji se nalaze u neposrednoj blizini učenika, shodno tome, imaju snažniji uticaj na smer i jačinu motivisanosti. Takođe, pri izučavanju motivacije u kontekstu učenja stranog jezika potrebno je uključiti i vremensku dimenziju učenja jezika i omogućiti tumačenje vremenske organizacije motivacije, pri čemu bi bile uključene konkretne pojedine faze ovog procesa. Procesni model motivacije (Dörnyei and Ottó 1998) jedan je od najsveobuhvatnijih modela u oblasti učenja stranog jezika, počiva na dinamičnoj perspektivi u analizi motivacije i objašnjava promene do kojih vremenom dolazi u njenom kvalitetu i kvantitetu. Ova perspektiva je posebno značajna imajući u vidu vremenski dug period koji je potreban kako bi se, idealno, savladao strani jezik, odnosno, prema realnijim kriterijumima, dostigao nivo funkcionalne samostalnosti. Model uključuje tri vremenske faze u kojoj su prisutni različiti motivacioni uticaji: predizvršnu, izvršnu i posleizvršnu fazu. Tokom predizvršne faze učenik postavlja cilj, obrazuje namere i počinje s planiranim delovanjem. Nakon što se učenik obaveže na izvršenje cilja, pažnja se usmerava ka sprovođenju planiranog delovanja. Proces ulazi u drugu fazu koja se naziva izvršna faza, tokom koje se odvijaju tri osnovna potprocesa: formiranje i sprovođenje podzadataka, neprekidno procenjivanje i primena različitih mehanizama kontrole delovanja. Posleizvršna faza počinje nakon što cilj ili ostvarimo ili od njega odustanemo. Tokom ove faze učenik procenjuje ostvareni ishod delovanja, na osnovu čega formira pretpostavke o mogućem ishodu nekog budućeg delovanja.

2.1. Strategije održavanja motivacije

Kontrolu delovanju, kao jedan od procesa koji se odvijaju tokom izvršne faze, čine mehanizmi zaštite koncentracije i usmerenog napora od svega što bi učeniku moglo da odvuče pažnju i na taj način oteža učenje (Dörnyei and Ottó 1998: 50). U skladu s tim, uspešni učenici, da bi održali motivaciju za učenje jezika, koriste niz strategija. Motivacione strategije se definišu kao tehnike koje učenici ciljano preduzimaju kako bi održali nivo motivacije za učenje. U pitanju je dinamičan sistem procesa psihološke kontrole koji štiti koncentraciju i usmereni napor od ličnih i sredinskih činilaca koji ih potencijalno remete i na taj način doprinosi učenju i boljim rezultatima (Corno 1993: 16). Motivacione strategije podrazumevaju radnje koje učenici čine kako bi sami sebe motivisali i istrajali prilikom učenja kada nivo motivacije počne da opada.

Moguće je razlikovati pet opštih grupa motivacionih strategija (Corno and Kanfer 1993; Dörnyei 2001). Prilikom korišćenja strategije za kontrolisanje obavezivanja učenik se priseća podsticaja i nagrada koje dobija ukoliko istraje u učenju, ali i posledica koje bi usledile ukoliko se cilj učenja ne ostvari. Metakognitivne strategije kontrole su usmerene na kontrolu procesa učenja i ostvarivanja postavljenog cilja; učenik koji koristi ove strategije redovno sebe podseća na rokove, ne osvrće se na nevažne aspekte aktivnosti kojima se bavi, ne odugovlači s početkom učenja, koristi određene rituale koji mu pomažu da počne s učenjem, te se usredsređuje na početak i prvu fazu učenja ne razmišljajući o složenosti zadatka pred sobom. Prilikom korišćenja strategija za kontrolisanje zasićenja učenik zadatak pred sobom čini zanimljivijim tako što npr. menja ritam i brzinu izvršenja zadatka, menja redosled faza u zadatku ili kontekst i sl. Strategije za kontrolisanje emocija tiču se pravilnog upravljanja strahom i nervozom zbog potencijalnog nepovoljnog ishoda učenja, pa tako učenici koji uspešno kontrolišu emocije umeju sami sebe da ohrabre, da koriste tehnike opuštanja, pa čak i meditacije, i da pronađu nešto zabavno čak i u nepovoljnim situacijama. Strategije za upravljanje okruženjem tiču se uklanjanja negativnih uticaja iz okruženja u kome učenik radi (npr. buka, uključen televizor i sl.), kao i korišćenja pozitivnih uticaja iz okruženja (npr. rad u grupi učenika ili u čitaonici).

Kako je predizvršna faza kod učenika u školskom okruženju relativno neaktivna jer ustanova diktira ciljeve učenja, ove strategije imaju ključnu ulogu u usmeravanju i održavanju procesa učenja.

Relativno mali broj istraživanja do sada se bavio analizom tehnika koje sami učenici koriste kako bi održali nivo motivisanosti i istrajali u učenju jezika zarad dobrih budućih rezultata (npr. Ushioda 1997; 2001) usled čega izostaju opšti zaključci po pitanju korisnosti pojedinačnih strategija i njihovog uticaja na postignute rezultate učenja.

3. Metodologija istraživanja

Kroz kvantitativno istraživanje eksplorativnog tipa pokušali smo da damo odgovor na istraživačko pitanje: Koje strategije studenti Anglistike koriste kako bi tokom učenja održali motivaciju?

U skladu s tako postavljenim istraživačkim pitanjem, formirane su četiri hipoteze:

1. Postoji statistički značajna povezanost između upotrebe motivacionih strategija i prosečne ocene koju su studenti ostvarili tokom studija.
2. Postoji statistički značajna povezanost između upotrebe motivacionih strategija i samoprocene jezičke kompetencije studenata.
3. Postoji statistički značajna razlika između studenata prve i četvrte godine u pogledu upotrebe motivacionih strategija.
4. Studenti koji koriste motivacione strategije iz jedne ujedno koriste i strategije iz ostalih grupa.

3.1. Uzorak

U istraživanju je učestvovalo ukupno sedamdeset i pet ($N=75$) studenata Anglistike sa Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu, od kojih je trideset i sedam ($N=37$) bilo na prvoj godini studija, a trideset i osam ($N=38$) na četvrtoj godini studija. Prosečna starost ispitanog uzorka iznosi 20,92 godine. Među ispitanicima je bilo ukupno 12% momaka i 88% devojaka, što u proseku odgovara polnoj strukturi čitave populacije studenata Anglistike na Filozofskom fakultetu (v. Tabelu 1).

		1. godina	4. godina	Ukupno
M	N	5	4	9
	%	6,7%	5,3%	12%
Ž	N	32	34	66
	%	42,7%	45,3%	88%
Ukupno	N	37	38	75
	%	49,3%	50,7%	100%

Tabela 1: struktura uzorka

Rezultat analize t-testa nezavisnih uzoraka koji nije statistički značajan ($t=-,393$, $p=,695$) potvrđuje da se ispitanici uzorak studenata na prvoj i četvrtoj godini ne razlikuje prema kriterijumu polne zastupljenosti. Na osnovu iznetih karakteristika uzorka moguće je zaključiti da je uzorak prigodan i ispod granice statistički velikog uzorka.

3.2. Instrument

U istraživanju je korišćen upitnik koji je formulisan za potrebe ovog istraživanja, a čini ga ukupno trideset stavki koje na petostepenoj Likertovoj skali ispituju pet grupa motivacionih strategija (Upitnik je u celini prikazan u Dodatku). Stavke u upitniku su formulisane po ugledu na inventar samomotivišućih strategija koje daje Dornjei (Dörnyei 2001) i ispituju sledećih pet zavisnih varijabli:

1. Varijablu Kontrole obavezivanja (KO) čini ukupno tri stavke s koeficijentom pouzdanosti od $\alpha = ,742$;¹

2. Varijabla Metakognitivne kontrole (MK) ubraja ukupno osam stavki s koeficijentom pouzdanosti od $\alpha = ,628$;

3. Varijabla Kontrole zasićenja (KZ) predstavljena je s ukupno tri stavke čiji koeficijent pouzdanosti iznosi $\alpha = ,658$;

4. Varijablu Kontrole emocija (KE) čini ukupno osam stavki pouzdanosti $\alpha = ,678$;

5. Varijablu Upravljanja okruženjem (UO) čini osam stavki čiji je koeficijent pouzdanosti $\alpha = ,779$.

Pouzdanost celokupnog upitnika iznosi $\alpha = ,779$. Ovde je takođe potrebno istaći da upitnik ne ispituje stavove već ponašanje ispitanika, pa su niže vrednosti Kronbahove alfe delimično očekivane s obzirom na to da su stavke koje ispituju ponašanje unutar jedne varijable često po pravilu heterogene (Cheng and Dörnyei 2007).

3.3. Procedura

Istraživanje je sprovedeno u maju 2014. godine tokom redovnih časova predavanja na predmetima Poezija engleskog romantizma i EJ9 – Primenjena lingvistika.² Ispitanici su u proseku popunjavali upitnik deset minuta.

Za obradu podataka korišćen je statistički paket SPSS 20.0.

¹ Kronbahova alfa (α) predstavlja jednu od metoda provere unutrašnje pouzdanosti skale ili varijable. Vrednosti koeficijenta se kreću od 0 do 1, te je u slučajevima kada je ova vrednost niska to znak ili da je skala suviše kratka, ili da stavke međusobno imaju malo toga zajedničkog. Koeficijent pouzdanosti kod dobro osmišljenih skala koje ne sadrže više od 10 stavki treba da bude oko $\alpha = ,80$. Međutim, s obzirom na složenost procesa učenja i usvajanja stranog jezika, istraživači u ovom polju često žele da obrade više različitih oblasti u jednom upitniku. Kako ne mogu da koriste suviše velik broj stavki s obzirom na to da bi popunjavanje upitnika trajalo predugo, u ovakvim tipovima istraživanja tolerišu se nešto niže vrednosti Kronbahove alfe. Međutim, vrednosti niže od $\alpha = ,60$ bi svakako trebalo prihvatiti kao upozorenje da skala nije adekvatna (Dörnyei 2007).

² Autorka bi želela da izrazi svoju zahvalnost doc. dr Arijani Luburić-Cvijanović i doc. dr Biljani Radić-Bojanić na pomoći prilikom prikupljanja upitnika.

4. Rezultati i diskusija

S obzirom na to da su studenti svoje ponašanje prijavljivali zaokruživanjem odgovarajućeg broja na petostepenoj skali, pri čemu vrednost 1 označava nisku upotrebu strategije, a vrednost 5 visoku upotrebu strategije, dobijene srednje vrednosti u ovom istraživanju kategorizovane su po ugledu na kategorije koje daju Oxford i Beri-Stok (Oxford and Burry-Stock 1995) na sledeći način: visoka upotreba strategije ($AS \geq 3,5$), srednja ($AS = 2,5-3,4$) i niska upotreba strategije ($AS \leq 2,4$).

U Tabeli 2 prikazani su rezultati deskriptivne statističke analize ispitivanih stavki u redosledu opadajuće srednje vrednosti.

	1 (%)	2 (%)	3 (%)	4 (%)	5 (%)	AS	SD
25. Nađem mirno mesto za učenje. UO	2,7	6,8	17,6	28,4	44,6	4,05	1,07
22. Kad učim, isključim televizor. UO	20,3	6,8	1,4	5,4	66,2	3,91	1,67
14. Kada osećam tremu i nervozu zbog ispita skrenem misli nečim zabavnim ili prijatnim. KE	2,7	8,0	25,3	42,7	21,3	3,72	0,98
13. Kada osećam tremu i nervozu zbog ispita pokušam sam sebe da ohrabrim. KE	2,7	10,7	20,0	46,7	20,0	3,71	1,00
1. Pre nego što krenem da učim prisetim se nagrade koja sledi ako istrajem u učenju (npr. ocena, položen ispit, manje ispita preko leta...). KO	4,0	12,0	26,7	26,7	30,7	3,68	1,15
9. Imam svoj ritual koji mi pomaže da počnem sa učenjem (npr. pospremim sto ili sobu, skuvam kafu/čaj...). MK	13,3	5,3	14,7	36,0	30,7	3,65	1,33
28. Prisećam se datuma ispita kako bih naterao sebe da učim. MK	5,4	12,2	28,4	24,3	29,7	3,61	1,19
4. Pre nego što krenem da učim napravim plan učenja. MK	9,3	17,3	20,0	20,0	33,3	3,51	1,36

2. Pre nego što krenem da učim prisetim se negativnih posledica koje bi usledile ako ne položim ispit. KO	6,7	13,3	33,3	22,7	24,0	3,44	1,19
3. Dok učim govorim sebi: „Koncentriši se“, ili „Hajde, još samo malo“. MK	8,0	14,7	30,7	24,0	22,7	3,39	1,22
20. Kada osećam nervozu zbog ispita razgovaram sa kolegama koje imaju isti problem, a nemaju tremu. KE	13,7	9,6	32,9	35,6	8,2	3,15	1,15
11. Kada mi je dosta, a nisam sve naučio trudim se da materijal učinim zanimljivijim. KZ	14,7	16,0	30,7	22,7	16,0	3,09	1,28
15. Kada osećam tremu i nervozu zbog ispita podsetim se stvari koje mi dobro idu i za koje sam talentovan. KE	13,5	23,0	27,0	25,7	10,8	2,97	1,22
7. Prepoznajem stvari koje mi odvrćaju pažnju od učenja i onda te stvari eliminišem iz svog okruženja. UO	20,0	20,0	16,0	32,0	12,0	2,96	1,35
17. Kada mi je dosta, a nisam sve naučio pređem na neku drugu lekciju. KZ	18,9	20,3	24,3	21,6	14,9	2,93	1,34
12. Kada mi je dosta, a nisam sve naučio koristim maštu (izmislim priču ili scenario, napravim od učenja igru ili takmičenje...). KZ	25,3	18,7	17,3	18,7	20,0	2,89	1,48
6. Dok učim isključim se i ne reagujem na ono što se dešava oko mene. UO	17,3	22,7	21,3	32,0	6,7	2,88	1,23
10. Fokusiram se na pojedine delove onoga što moram da naučim, a ne na ispit kao celinu. MK	24,3	14,9	21,6	28,4	10,8	2,86	1,36

29. Dešava mi se da odustanem sa učenjem iako nisam sve naučio. KO (obrnuto kodirano)	17,6	23,0	29,7	16,2	13,5	2,85	1,28
5. Dok učim držim se plana učenja. MK	16,0	29,3	25,3	16,0	13,3	2,81	1,27
16. Tremu i nervozu zbog ispita kontrolišem tako što ne razmišljam o ispitu. KE	16,2	31,1	28,4	18,9	5,4	2,66	1,13
18 Meditiram ili se opuštam na sličan način kako bih kontrolisao tremu zbog ispita. KE	32,9	19,2	19,2	17,8	11,0	2,55	1,39
21. Tremu zbog ispita kontrolišem tako što se pomolim. KE	41,9	12,2	16,2	18,9	10,8	2,45	1,46
8. Ne odugovlačim kada treba da krenem sa učenjem. MK	34,7	24,0	22,7	9,3	9,3	2,35	1,30
19. Kada osećam nervozu zbog ispita razgovaram sa roditeljima. KE	32,9	28,8	19,2	13,7	5,5	2,30	1,22
26. Odem u čitaonicu zato što mi tamo ništa ne ometa pažnju. UO	46,6	15,1	9,6	19,2	9,6	2,30	1,46
24. Kad učim, isključim računar. UO	50,0	9,5	17,6	8,1	14,9	2,28	1,51
30. Pozovem kolegu/koleginicu da zajedno učimo. UO	50,0	19,4	9,7	9,7	11,1	2,13	1,41
27. Kažem ukućanima da mi zabrane da radim stvari koje mi odvrćaju pažnju od učenja. MK	62,2	16,2	6,8	8,1	6,8	1,81	1,27
23. Kad učim, isključim telefon. UO	64,9	17,6	12,2		5,4	1,64	1,07

Tabela 2: deskriptivni rezultati ispitanih stavki

Među strategijama sa visokom frekvencijom upotrebe ($AS \geq 3,5$) nalazi se ukupno osam strategija, i to tri strategije metakognitivne kontrole, po dve strategije kontrole emocija i upravljanja okruženjem i jedna strategija kontrole obavezivanja. Među sedam strategija sa niskom frekvencijom upotrebe ($AS \leq 2,4$) najbrojnije su

strategije upravljanja okruženjem, dok su u manjem broju prisutne metakognitivne strategije, kao i jedna strategija kontrole emocija. Uz prosečnu vrednost od 3,01 za celokupnu skalu, moguće je konstatovati da je kod studenata Anglistike zabeležena upotreba strategija srednjeg intenziteta.

Najviša srednja vrednost zabeležena je kod strategija koje se tiču tehnika pomoću kojih studenti umanjuju negativne uticaje buke iz prostora u kome uče. Ovaj vid kontrolisanja okruženja u kome se uči svakako je razložen i počiva na uverenju da što je manje faktora koji remete učenje, veća je verovatnoća da će cilj učenja biti postignut. Nasuprot tome, čini se da ispitani studenti u pojedinim elementima svog okruženja ne vide potencijalne negativne uticaje. Veoma niska frekvencija ispitanika koji isključe računar i telefon kada uče upućuje na zaključak već izveden u prethodnim istraživanjima da je pristup učenju i materijalu, kao i način obrade podataka kod novih generacija suštinski drugačiji (v. Radić-Bojanić 2012). Računar postaje dragocen izvor akademskih, ali i podataka svih drugih vrsta, a zajedno s telefonom predstavlja i ključno sredstvo komunikacije. Opasnosti koje novim generacijama prete, međutim, suštinski su vezane za promene u pristupu učenju i nastavi koje su usvojile. Naime, manjak strpljenja za slušanje predavanja i popunjavanje radnih listova koji Kolins i Halverson (Collins and Halverson 2009: 176) primećuju može se nepovoljno odraziti i na sve ostale aspekte učenja, a pogotovo na samostalno učenje.

Kod celokupnog uzorka takođe su zabeležene visoke vrednosti kod dve od strategija za kontrolu emocija pomoću kojih studenti izlaze na kraj sa negativnim afektivnim reakcijama na predstojeći ispit. Značajno je da je najpre u pitanju tehnika kojoj studenti emotivnu podršku pri suočavanju sa stresom usled ispita pružaju sami sebi (stavka: Kada osećam tremu i nervozu zbog ispita pokušam sam sebe da ohrabrim), ali i tehnika kojoj izbegavaju suočavanje sa izvorom stresa (stavka: Kada osećam tremu i nervozu zbog ispita skrenem misli nečim zabavnim ili prijatnim). U slučaju prve pomenute strategije, rezultati prethodnih istraživanja pokazuju da se njeno korišćenje često može dovesti u vezu sa visokim nivoom samopouzdanja i usmerenošću ka rešavanju problema koji izaziva stres, što ima adaptivnu funkciju, dok se strategija izbegavanja dovodi u vezu sa odustajanjem od zadatka i niskim nivoom pripremljenosti, te ima maladaptivnu funkciju (Stöber 2004). Najniža srednja vrednost upotrebe strategija za kontrolu emocija zabeležena je kod jedne od tehnika kojima se traži društvena podrška, i to konkretno roditeljska podrška. Iako rezultati prethodnih istraživanja značajno povezuju visok nivo stresa sa češćim zahtevima za društvenom podrškom (Stöber 2004), pa bi se moglo naslutiti da kod ispitanih studenata niska upotreba ove strategije upućuje i na nizak nivo stresa, ovakav zaključak je ipak nemoguć s obzirom na zabeležen srednji intenzitet kod ostalih sličnih strategija. Objašnjenje za ovakav rezultat pre bi se moglo naći u profilu ispitanika, njihovoj prosečnoj starosti i relativnoj zrelosti i samostalnosti.

Metakognitivne strategije visokog intenziteta kod ispitanog uzorka tiču se priprema za početak učenja (stavke: Imam svoj ritual koji mi pomaže da počnem sa učenjem, i Pre nego što krenem da učim napravim plan učenja), kao i svesti o roku, koja kao tehnika pomaže studentima da nadgledaju i kontrolišu proces učenja. Međutim, izuzetno niska vrednost strategije: Ne odugovlačim kada treba da krenem sa učenjem alarmantna je s obzirom na to da je svaki plan učenja neodrživ ukoliko student ne počne na vreme da ga sprovodi, pa samim tim ni visoka vrednost strategije planiranja nema značaja.

U Tabeli 3 prikazani su rezultati korelacione analize nezavisnih varijabli i pojedinačnih stavki iz upitnika. Tabela prikazuje samo statistički značajne koeficijente.

		Prosek ocena	Samoprocena
1. Pre nego što krenem da učim prisetim se nagrade koja sledi ako istrajem u učenju (npr. ocena, položen ispit, manje ispita preko leta...). KO	r	,265*	
2. Pre nego što krenem da učim prisetim se negativnih posledica koje bi usledile ako ne položim ispit. KO	r	-,308**	
10. Fokusiram se na pojedine delove onoga što moram da naučim, a ne na ispit kao celinu. MK	r	-,235*	
22. Kad učim, isključim televizor. UO	r	,244*	
23. Kad učim, isključim telefon. UO	r		,235*
29. Dešava mi se da odustanem sa učenjem iako nisam sve naučio. KO (obrnuto kodirano)	r	,419**	
*. Korelacija je značajna na nivou 0,05.			
**. Korelacija je značajna na nivou 0,01.			

Tabela 3: koeficijenti korelacija između nezavisnih varijabli i pojedinačnih stavki

Niske i srednje korelacije pozitivnog predznaka ustanovljene su između proseka ocena i stavki 1, 22 i 29, što znači da su studenti sa višim prosekom ujedno više ocenjivali pomenute stavke, dok su niske negativne korelacije ustanovljene između proseka i stavki 2 i 10, što znači da su studenti sa višim prosekom davali niže odgovore na pomenute stavke. Na osnovu rezultata može se zaključiti da je prva hipoteza delimično potvrđena. Nezavisna varijabla samoprocene jezičke kompetencije korelira samo sa stavkom 23. Korelacija je niska i pozitivnog predznaka, što znači da studenti koji su visoko ocenili svoje znanje ujedno prijavljuju češće korišćenje

ove strategije. Ovakav rezultat upućuje na zaključak da je i druga hipoteza tek u manjoj meri potvrđena.

Studenti koji imaju viši prosek značajno više koriste pozitivne podsticaje kako bi motivisali sebe da uče, dok je situacija obrnuta kod studenata sa nižim prosekom. Ovakva slika odraz je bihejviorističkog pristupa problemu motivacije, prema kojem nastavnici treba da nagrađuju učenike kada prikazuju željeno ponašanje, a uskraćuju nagradu ili čak kažnjavaju kada takvog ponašanja nema (Topalov 2011: 15). Pozitivno potkrepljenje, koje uključuje materijalno (kao što su nagrade i ocene), društveno (kao što je pohvala, odobravanje, nastavnikova pažnja) i potkrepljenje vezano za aktivnosti (odnosno prilika da učenik učestvuje u omiljenim aktivnostima na času) prema zaključcima prethodnih istraživanja delotvornije je u izazivanju željenog ponašanja od negativnog potkrepljenja (Jordan, Carlile and Stack 2008), na šta upućuju i rezultati dobijeni ovim istraživanjem. Jedan od zaključaka ovog istraživanja je i da smanjenje buke u prostoru u kome student uči može da se dovede u direktnu vezu sa postignutim opštim uspehom tokom studiranja, a značajan je i zaključak da uspešni studenti ne odustaju sa učenjem, već u njemu istraju. Zanimljivo je da rezultati istraživanja ukazuju na negativnu vezu između uspeha i podele materijala koji se uči na manje delove kako bi se olakšalo učenje. Mada se u literaturi navodi da je ovo jedna od strategija koje olakšavaju učeniku da stvori početnu motivaciju time što je zadatak pojednostavljen i izbegnute su negativne afektivne reakcije usled kompleksnosti cilja koji se učeniku zadaje, moguće je da usled same prirode sadržaja koji se predaju na univerzitetskom nivou uspešni studenti moraju da usvoje holistički pristup prema onome što uče i da neprestano povezuju različite aspekte obrađivanog materijala. Stoga bi ovu stavku u budućim istraživanjima trebalo kodirati u zavisnosti od uzrasta ispitanika koji popunjavaju upitnik.

Tabela 4 daje statistički značajne rezultate analize t-testa nezavisnih uzoraka kojom su ispitane razlike u upotrebi strategija između studenata prve i četvrte godine.

		AS	SD	Razlika AS	t	p
Pre nego što krenem da učim prisetim se nagrade koja sledi ako istrajem u učenju. KO	1. godina	3,49	1,35	-0,38	-2,445	,043
	4. godina	3,87	0,91			
Dok učim držim se plana učenja. MK	1. godina	2,59	1,26	-0,43	-2,584	,042
	4. godina	3,03	1,26			
Fokusiram se na pojedine delove onoga što moram da naučim, a ne na ispit kao celinu. MK	1. godina	3,19	1,39	0,65	2,102	,039
	4. godina	2,54	1,26			

Dok učim isključim se i ne reagujem na ono što se dešava oko mene. UO	1. godina	3,11	1,26	0,45	2,602	,014
	4. godina	2,66	1,17			
Kad učim, isključim televizor. UO	1. godina	3,36	1,85	-1,06	-2,854	,006
	4. godina	4,42	1,31			

Tabela 4: statistički značajne razlike između studenata prve i četvrte godine

Statistički značajne razlike su ustanovljene između svega pet strategija, tako da je treća hipoteza takođe samo delimično potvrđena.

Na osnovu rezultata moglo bi se zaključiti da su sve značajne razlike rezultat više iskustva u učenju i studiranju koje studenti četvrte godine imaju u odnosu na svoje kolege s prve godine. Kada su u pitanju pozitivni podsticaji koji su aktivni pri obavezivanju studenata da istraju u učenju, za razliku od studenata prve godine koji imaju tek jedan semestar studija iza sebe, broj prilika da iskuse kako negativne, tako i pozitivne reakcije na ispitne rezultate mnogostruko je veći kod studenata četvrte godine. Slično tome, studenti četvrte godine u većem broju prepoznaju važnost strategije planiranja učenja, kao i uklanjanja negativnih uticaja iz okruženja u kojem uče. Za razliku od njih, studenti prve godine u većem broju prijavljuju da ne reaguju na ono što se oko njih dešava dok uče, što zapravo znači da ne preduzimaju korake u cilju smanjenja nivoa buke iz svog okruženja, već da ulažu veći mentalni napor kako bi se koncentrisali na obrađivani materijal. Konačno, razlika u upotrebi strategija je zabeležena kod pristupa sadržajima koji se uče, pri čemu studenti četvrte godine značajno više usvajaju holistički pristup gradivu. Zajedno s podatkom da uspešni studenti takođe usvajaju ovaj pristup, o čemu je prethodno bilo reči, ovakav rezultat upućuje na zaključak da se zahvaljujući iskustvu koje studenti steknu tokom studija menja i njihov odnos prema sadržajima koje uče, te da je ta promena pozitivna.

Rezultati korelacione analize između zavisnih i nezavisnih varijabli dati su u Tabeli 5.

		Prosek ocena	Samoprocena znanja	KO	MK	KZ	KE	UO
Prosek ocena	r	1	-,027	,221	-,021	-,059	-,034	,095
	p		,821	,060	,858	,620	,774	,423
Samoprocena znanja	r	-,027	1	,255*	,021	,099	-,188	,087
	p	,821		,027	,859	,399	,106	,459

KO	r	,221	,255*	1	,187	,091	,085	,304**
	p	,060	,027		,107	,439	,470	,008
MK	r	-,021	,021	,187	1	,405**	,233*	,482**
	p	,858	,859	,107		,000	,044	,000
KZ	r	-,059	,099	,091	,405**	1	,289*	,170
	p	,620	,399	,439	,000		,012	,144
KE	r	-,034	-,188	,085	,233*	,289*	1	,142
	p	,774	,106	,470	,044	,012		,225
UO	r	,095	,087	,304**	,482**	,170	,142	1
	p	,423	,459	,008	,000	,144	,225	
*. Korelacija je značajna na nivou 0,05.								
**. Korelacija je značajna na nivou 0,01.								

Tabela 5: koeficijenti korelacija između zavisnih i nezavisnih varijabli

Kada su u pitanju nezavisne varijable, jedina statistički značajna korelacija ustanovljena je između strategija za kontrolu obavezivanja i samoprocene jezičke kompetencije. Između zavisnih varijabli ustanovljene su pozitivne korelacije kod strategija za kontrolu obavezivanja i upravljanja okolinom, strategija metakognitivne kontrole i kontrole zasićenja, metakognitivne kontrole i upravljanja okolinom, kao i kod strategija za kontrolu zasićenja i kontrolu emocija. S obzirom na to da nisu ustanovljene korelacije između svih ispitivanih zavisnih varijabli, i četvrta hipoteza je tek delimično potvrđena. U vezi s tim, potrebno je izvesno tumačenje ustanovljenih korelacija. Naime, mada su motivacione strategije deo izvršne motivacije i zadužene su za održavanje nivoa motivisanosti prilikom učenja, čini se da je ipak moguće povezati određene grupe strategija sa određenim dodatnim podetapama u izvršnoj fazi. Tako se kontrola obavezivanja isključivo vezuje za sam početak izvršne faze, dok se kontrola emocija i kontrola zasićenja tiču afektivnih ili kognitivnih reakcija na već započeto učenje. Strategije metakognitivne kontrole i upravljanja okruženjem, s druge strane, vezuju se za dve različite etape izvršne faze, i to za etapu planiranja, kao i za etapu sprovođenja plana, odnosno učenja. Strategije iz ove dve grupe na taj način koreliraju kako sa strategijama vazanim za etapu planiranja, tako i sa strategijama vezanim za etapu učenja.

5. Zaključak

U ovom radu istraživali smo povezanost između motivacionih strategija i uspeha koji studenti Anglistike postižu tokom studija, kao i samoprocene sopstvene jezičke kompetencije studenata. Glavni zaključak istraživanja jeste da usvojeni pozitivni podsticaji koji bi usledili ako se istraje u učenju, kao i holistički pristup obrađivanom materijalu kod studenata mogu predstavljati pokazatelj uspeha, dok kod manje uspešnih studenata često dolazi do odustajanja od učenja. Rezultati takođe upućuju na zaključak da pojedine grupe strategija tokom izvršne faze motivacije deluju zajedno i na taj način upravljaju nivoom motivisanosti tokom učenja.

Najznačajnija pedagoška implikacija prikazanog istraživanja tiče se izražene potrebe da studenti povećaju svoj repertoar motivacionih strategija i da ih koriste češće i u kombinaciji sa drugim strategijama. To je moguće postići tako što će nastavnici skrenuti pažnju studenata na postojanje strategija, kao i na potencijalne koristi koje bi usledile usled njihovog pravilnog korišćenja. U skladu s tim, Dernjei (Dörnyei 2001:115) predlaže da nastavnici najpre otkriju koje strategije studenti već koriste, da predlože nove strategije za svaku od pet gorepomenutih grupa, da objasne zbog čega su strategije korisne i da podstaknu studente da razviju nove strategije koje bi njima samima bile korisne.

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Dodatak

ANKETA

"Strategije održavanja motivacije u učenju engleskog jezika kod studenata Anglistike"

Molim vas da iskreno popunite anketu o vašoj motivaciji za učenje. Rezultati istraživanja će se koristiti isključivo u naučne svrhe.

Hvala na saradnji.

Pol	M	Ž						
Godine starosti	_____							
Godina studija	_____							
Dosadašnji prosek ocena	_____							
Kako ocenjujete svoje znanje engleskog?	6	7	8	9	10			

Izjave koje slede tiču se nekih od tehnika koje se koriste kada pokušavamo da održimo motivaciju za učenje i pripremu ispita. Molim da označite u kojoj meri se izjave odnose na vas zaokruživanjem odgovarajućeg broja (**1 – Ovo nikad ne radim; 5 – Ovo uvek radim**).

1 KO	Pre nego što krenem da učim prisetim se nagrade koja sledi ako istrajem u učenju (npr. ocena, položen ispit, manje ispita preko leta...).	1	2	3	4	5
2 KO	Pre nego što krenem da učim prisetim se negativnih posledica koje bi usledile ako ne položim ispit.	1	2	3	4	5
3 MK	Dok učim govorim sebi: „Koncentriši se“, ili „Hajde, još samo malo“.	1	2	3	4	5
4 MK	Pre nego što krenem da učim napravim plan učenja.	1	2	3	4	5
5 MK	Dok učim držim se plana učenja.	1	2	3	4	5
6 UO	Dok učim isključim se i ne reagujem na ono što se dešava oko mene.	1	2	3	4	5
7 UO	Prepoznajem stvari koje mi odvrćaju pažnju od učenja i onda te stvari eliminišem iz svog okruženja.	1	2	3	4	5
8 MK	Ne odugovlačim kada treba da krenem sa učenjem.	1	2	3	4	5
9 MK	Imam svoj ritual koji mi pomaže da počnem sa učenjem (npr. pospremim sto ili sobu, skuvam kafu/čaj...).	1	2	3	4	5
10 MK	Fokusiram se na pojedine delove onoga što moram da naučim, a ne na ispit kao celinu.	1	2	3	4	5
11 KZ	Kada mi je dosta, a nisam sve naučio trudim se da materijal učinim zanimljivijim.	1	2	3	4	5
12 KZ	Kada mi je dosta, a nisam sve naučio koristim maštu (izmislim priču ili scenario, napravim od učenja igru ili takmičenje...).	1	2	3	4	5
13 KE	Kada osećam tremu i nervozu zbog ispita pokušam sam sebe da ohrabrim.	1	2	3	4	5
14 KE	Kada osećam tremu i nervozu zbog ispita skrenem misli nečim zabavnim ili prijatnim.	1	2	3	4	5

15 KE	Kada osećam tremu i nervozu zbog ispita podsetim se stvari koje mi dobro idu i za koje sam talentovan.	1	2	3	4	5
16 KE	Tremu i nervozu zbog ispita kontrolišem tako što ne razmišljam o ispitu.	1	2	3	4	5
17 KZ	Kada mi je dosta, a nisam sve naučio pređem na neku drugu lekciju.	1	2	3	4	5
18 KE	Meditiram ili se opuštam na sličan način kako bih kontrolisao tremu zbog ispita.	1	2	3	4	5
19 KE	Kada osećam nervozu zbog ispita razgovaram sa roditeljima.	1	2	3	4	5
20 KE	Kada osećam nervozu zbog ispita razgovaram sa kolegama koje imaju isti problem, a nemaju tremu.	1	2	3	4	5
21 KE	Tremu zbog ispita kontrolišem tako što se pomolim.	1	2	3	4	5
22 UO	Kad učim, isključim televizor.	1	2	3	4	5
23 UO	Kad učim, isključim telefon.	1	2	3	4	5
24 UO	Kad učim, isključim računar.	1	2	3	4	5
25 UO	Nađem mirno mesto za učenje.	1	2	3	4	5
26 UO	Odem u čitaonicu zato što mi tamo ništa ne ometa pažnju.	1	2	3	4	5
27MK	Kažem ukućanima da mi zabrane da radim stvari koje mi odvrćaju pažnju od učenja.	1	2	3	4	5
28 MK	Prisećam se datuma ispita kako bih naterao sebe da učim.	1	2	3	4	5
29 KO	Dešava mi se da odustanem sa učenjem iako nisam sve naučio.	1	2	3	4	5
30 UO	Pozovem kolegu/koleginicu da zajedno učimo.	1	2	3	4	5

THE USE OF MOTIVATIONAL STRATEGIES AMONG ENGLISH MAJORS

Summary

The research reported in this paper analyzes the mechanisms for the protection of concentration and directed effort against personal and environmental distractions, which, in turn, aids learning and performance. The goal of the research was to determine which motivational strategies students use and whether the frequency in strategy use could be connected with the students' overall success in their studies. The investigation included first and fourth year English Studies students studying at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad. The results indicate that there are significant difference in strategy use between more successful and less successful students. The results also suggest that during the executive phase of motivation certain groups of strategies are active in combination.

Key words: motivation, strategies, motivational strategies, students, English as a foreign language

Drugi deo:

**ANGLOFONE KNJIŽEVNOSTI
U TEORIJI I PRAKSI**

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WHAT IS THE NAME OF THE RIVER IN MACEDON IN SHAKESPEARE’S *KING HENRY V*?

What river in Macedon had Shakespeare in mind when Fluellen compares its name with the river Wye in Monmouth? Even more so, he suggests to *look in the maps of the 'orld and shall find that both are alike*. The maps of Francesco Rosselli (1490, 1506); Jacobo Gastaldi (1560); and G. Mercator (1590), with which Shakespeare must have been familiar, in all three the river that runs through Macedonia was presented as Vardaro Flu(vius). If the Wye was pronounced by Fluellen as [wai] or [vai] or simply [va], then no doubt the name of the river in Macedon which is out of Fluellen’s brains is *Vardaro*.

Key words: William Shakespeare, Henry V, Fluellen, Macedon, Vardaro Flu, Monmouth, Wye, Maps of the world, Rosselli, Gastaldi, Mercator

The question of the actuality of Shakespeare’s historical play *King Henry V* is, no doubt, one that lasts up to the present day. Lisa Jardine in her inspiring collection of essays: *Reading Shakespeare Historically* (Jardine 1996: 6) rightly raises the question: “What would constitute a more properly historical response to the most paradigmatic of the English history plays?” where she is trying to connect its historical message on war and nationalism with the late events in the Balkans, and in Bosnia and Sarajevo in particular.

Rebecca West in her gigantic work, magnum opus, as it has been called *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, first published in 1941 as a motto to the chapter on Macedonia, renders an extract from *Henry V*, which is a part of the dialogue between Gower and Fluellen.

This is what Fluellen says:

Fluellen. I think it is in Macedon where Alexander is born. I tell you, captain, if you look in the maps of the 'orld, I warrant you shall find, in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth, that the situations, look you, is both alike. *There is a river in Macedon, and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth: it is called Wye at Monmouth; but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river; but 'tis all one, 'tis alike as my fingers is to my fingers, and there is salmons in both*¹. If you mark Alexander's life well, Harry of Monmouth's life is come after it indifferent well; for there is figures in all things. Alexander, God knows, and you know, in his rages, and his furies, and his wraths, and his cholers, and his moods, and his displeasures, and his indignations, and also being a little intoxicates in his prains, did, in his ales and his angers, look you, kill his best friend, Cleitus.

(IV. vii. 19-38)

It is this remark on Macedonia and its river whose name Fluellen obviously either could not remember or pronounce that attracted our attention to search for what river Shakespeare had in mind and consider whether he knew its name.

Before we try to offer a satisfactory solution to this problem, let us try to elicit a few details about the time when the play was written, which are relevant to this question.

Chorus. Were now the general of our gracious empress,
As in good time he may, from Ireland coming,
Bringing rebellion broached on his sword...

(V. Prologue. 30-32)

J. H. Walter concludes that *Henry V* was almost certainly written in the spring or summer of 1599. "The general" clearly refers to the Earl of Sussex who led an expedition into Ireland to crush Tyrone's rebellion (Walter 1970: 11).

If the play was written in 1599 then to which maps of the world does Fluellen's remark to captain Gower refer:

Fluellen. ... captain, if you look *in the maps of the 'orld*, I warrant you shall find, in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth, that the situations, look you, is both alike.

(IV. vii. 23-26)

What maps of the world were available at that time and had Shakespeare seen them? On the maps that Francesco Rosselli published in 1490 and reedited in 1506,

¹ The italic is the author's.

the central part of the Peninsula was indicated as Macedonia, and the name of the river that runs through it is presented as *Vardaro Flu.*, an abbreviated form of the *Latin fluvius* "river". (F. Rosselli: World 1495, World Map 1506, World Map in 2nd edition of Bardone 1532) (Almagià 1951: 27-34).

Almost in identical form the river *Vardar* is presented as *Vardaro Flu.* in the map of the World published in Venice in 1560 by Jacobo Gastaldi: *Graciæ vniversæ secvndvm Hodiernvm sitvm Neoterica descripto*, 1: 2 470000, 52 x 36 cm Venetia, 1560 (Bm-MR Maps (2. D. 5) (Petruševski 1992).

This map represents one of the first more realistic maps showing Macedonia. It is also the first map which listed Macedonian names such as the name of the river Vardar as *Vardaro Flu.*, Bitola (Monastir), Kratovo, Struga, Ohrid, Resen, Lake Ohrid and Lake Prespa etc.

Another important map published in Duisburg in 1598 was by G. Mercator: *Macedonia Epirvs et Achaia* 1: 1 938 000, 37 x 34 cm. This map was based on Gastaldi's map. It shows the ancient towns and many modern ones taken over from Gastaldi's map. In both maps the name of the river that springs in the north of Macedonia, runs through it and flows into the Aegean Sea is also named as *Vardaro Flu.*

Most certainly Shakespeare had in mind this name rather than its ancient name *Axius* as it is presented in the map of C. Ptolomaïos: *Tabula decima et Ultima Europae* (Alexandria) (KA V 44, 1975, facsimile, Narodna i Univerzitetska biblioteka "Kliment Ohridski", Skopje).

In that case Shakespeare must have been familiar with Gastaldi's or Mercator's maps in which the name of the river is presented as *Vardaro Flu.* Only then could have Shakespeare compared the names of the two rivers at Monmouth and in Macedonia in Fluellen's remark:

Fluellen. ... There is a river in Macedon, and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth: it is called Wye at Monmouth; but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river; but 'tis all one, 'tis alike as my fingers is to my fingers, and there is salmons in both.

(IV. vii. 26-31)

What causes us to make this supposition: The language of the Welshman Fluellen bears traits of a Welshman speaking English, and deviates from standard English which had been established in the sixteenth century. Most vivid is the pronunciation of the phoneme /b/ which he substitutes it with the phoneme /p/ thus instead *Alexander the big* he says *Alexander the pig*; however, such mispronunciation of these two phonemes by Fluellen contains a comical note in depicting the character of Alexander the Great that does not differ much from that of Henry of Monmouth or vice versa.

Fluellen. Ay, he was born at Monmouth, Captain Gower,
What call you the town's name where Alexander the pig was born?

Gower. Alexander the Great

Fluellen. Why, I pray you, is not pig great? the pig, or the great,
or the mighty, or the huge, or the magnanimous, are all
one reckonings, save the phrase is a little variations.

(IV. vii. 11-18)

In the extra historical issues introduced by Shakespeare are those relating to wordy battles between the Captains of divers nationalities - Irish, Scottish, Welsh, English (Campbell 1970: 295) whose language bears marks of the speaker's dialect.

We cannot be quite sure whether the name of the river *Wye* was pronounced by Fluellen as [wai], [vai] or just [va]. If this is the case then it is almost identical with the first syllable of the hydronymic name *Va(rdaro)*. And that is the name of the river given in the maps of the time which were, probably, available to the public.

It is a well known fact that various Shakespeare's plays take place in different countries: Ancient Britain, England, Scotland, Italy, Illyria, and Ancient Rome, some in imaginary lands (Torbarina 1964: 21-59).

It seems as if Macedonia remained hidden from Shakespeare's sight since none of his plays takes place on its soil. However, it is not quite so, in this, we may say quite marginal reference through the dialogue of two episodic characters, the Welshman Fluellen who mentions not only Macedonia but also makes allusion to the name of the river current in the sixteenth century - *Vardaro* - as it was then presented in the maps - its present form is *Vardar*.

In some way, this proves that Macedonia did not remain, altogether out of the orbit of Shakespeare's awareness.

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КОЕ Е ИМЕТО НА РЕКАТА ВО МАКЕДОН ВО ДРАМАТА „ХЕНРИ ПЕТТИ“ ОД ВИЛИЈАМ ШЕКСПИР?

Резиме

Велшанецот Флуелен споредувајќи го кралот Хенри Петти со Александар од Македон, покрај сличностите во нивниот карактер, голема сличност наоѓа и во имињата на реките *Ује* во Монмут и онаа во Македонија „*чието име му изветреало од умот*“, но како што вели, тие се слични: „*тие се исти како што се прстите на рацете, и во обете има пастрмки.*“ Споредувајќи ги картите на светот: *The maps of the World* издадени во шеснаесттиот век ќе забележиме дека името на реката во Македон е дадено како *Vardaro Flu* што недвосмислено укажува дека постојат блискости во изговорот на двете имиња, барем во првиот слог на истите, и нема сомнение дека Шекспир го имал токму тоа име на ум а не на древното *Axius* што го наведува Птоломеј.

Клучни зборови: Вилијам Шекспир, Хенри V, Флуелен, Македон, река Вардар, Монмут, Ва(j), Карти на светот, Росели, Гесталди, Меркатор

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STUDENTI U UTOPIJI

U radu su predstavljeni rezultati ankete sprovedene među studentima koji su školske 2013 / 2014. godine pohađali kurs Utopija u engleskoj književnosti na Diplomskim akademskim studijama pri Odseku za anglistiku Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu. Cilj ankete bio je da proveriti odnos studenta prema utopiji uopšte, ali i prema utopiji kao književnom žanru i nastavnom predmetu, te prema kreativnom zadatku pisanja utopije. U uvodnom delu rada dat je kratak opis i istorijat kursa, a ukazano je i na specifičnost nastavne materije. U središnjem delu rada predočavaju se i analizuju konkretni rezultati ankete. Čak 94,73 % studenata smatra da je pohađanje kursa iz Utopije i pisanje utopijske priče korisno i zanimljivo iskustvo, dok 31,57 % ispitanika sugerise da izučavanje utopije zavređuje više pažnje i da bi slične kreativne metode trebalo primeniti i u nastavi drugih predmeta. Kako potvrđuju nalazi ove ankete, iskustva stečena u nastavi utopije mogu biti primenjena za unapređenje nastave uopšte.

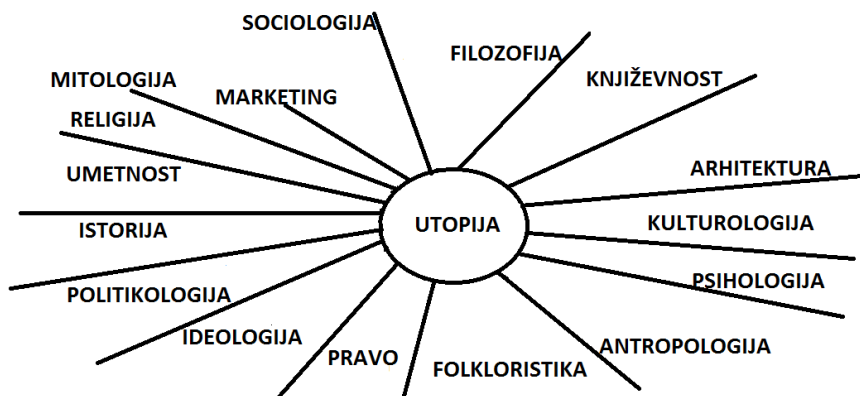
Ključne reči: anketa, kreativne nastavne metode, utopija, utopijske studije

1. Uvod

Kad je školske 2007/2008. godine na Odseku za anglistiku Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu uveden program Diplomskih akademskih studija (masterske studije), jedan od ponuđenih izbornih predmeta na Književnom modulu bio je i kurs Utopija u engleskoj književnosti. Bilo je to prvi put, koliko nam je poznato na osnovu dostupnih podataka, da je na našim prostorima jedan takav predmet uvršten u nastavni plan. Već u toj prvoj generaciji za pohađanje nastave prijavilo se dvadeset studenata. Naredne godine upisalo se devetnaest, a školske 2009/2010. godine nastavu je pohađalo četrnaest studenata. Tendencija opadanja nastavila se i naredne godine jer je i na ukupnom nivou bilo upisano manje studenata nego ranijih godina. Tako se 2010/2011. godine, od pet studenata upisanih na Književni modul, dvoje odlučilo da pohađa ovaj kurs. Blagi porast otpočeo je naredne godine, tako da je 2011/2012. godine nastavu iz Utopije pohađalo

osam studenata, a 2012/2013. godine bilo ih je jedanaestoro. Najzad, školske 2013/2014. godine kurs iz Utopije u engleskoj književnosti odabralo je devetnaest studenata. Do sad je, dakle, za sedam godina, ovaj kurs pohađalo ukupno devedeset studenata. Od tog broja, njih devetnaest je temu masterskog rada odabralo iz oblasti utopije, ili njoj srodnih oblasti, kao što su naučna fantastika ili epska fantastika. Od tog broja, petoro je iz najnovije generacije i tek treba da pristupi izradi rada. Do sad je pet studenata uspešno odbranilo masterski rad: Mirko Jakovljević, *Elementi utopije i distopije u grafičkim romanima Alana Mura* (2009); Irena Ilić, *Distopija u romanima Margaret Atwood* (2012); Milka Bojanić, *Feminističke utopijske vizije u romanima Čovek praznih šaka Ursule Le Guin i Žena na rubu vremena Mardž Pirsi* (2012); Filip Petrović, *Narrative Technique in The Lord of the Flies: the book and the movie* (2013) i Vladimir Čeha, *Horizonti utopijskih očekivanja: Od Ostrva do Plaže* (2013). Od preostalih devet studenata dvoje je u procesu izrade masterskog rada, dok je njih sedmoro, izgleda, odlučilo da napravi dužu pauzu ili sasvim odustalo od okončanja masterskih studija.

Kad je reč o sadržaju kursa Utopija u engleskoj književnosti, trebalo je, najpre, razrešiti dilemu postoje li jedinstvene utopijske studije zasnovane na tzv. utopijskoj misli (više o tome videti u Suvin 2010: 131), a potom osmisлити i adekvatan plan i program rada. Imajući u vidu interdisciplinarnu prirodu utopije, kurs sam započinjala tako što bih na tabli, u krugu, napisala reč utopija, a potom od studenata, povremeno im pomažući, tražila da sugerišu oblasti s kojima ona može da ima veze. Te oblasti i naučne discipline zrakasto sam upisivala oko utopijskog kruga, tako da smo na kraju dobili sledeći crtež:



I baš kao što sunce svojom svetlošću i toplotom obasjava i hrani život svih nas, tako i ovo utopijsko sunce ukazuje na oplemenjujuće prisustvo i moć utopije u sferi nauke i ljudske misli uopšte.

Povrh svega, svest o tome da je u pitanju oblast sa sasvim specifičnim osobinama, što bi kod studenata književnosti nenaviklih na rad sa takvom vrstom tekstova moglo da izazove neželjene efekte, nalagala je oprez u načinu prezentovanja nastavne materije i organizacije rada. Shodno tome, i odgovornost predavača je utoliko bila veća. Nakon konsultacija sa profesorom Lajmanom Tauerom Sardžentom, sa Univerziteta u Misuriju – St. Luis, jednim od najznačajnijih izučavalaca utopije, koautorom najpodrobnije utopijske čitanke (*The Utopia Reader*) i tadašnjim glavnim urednikom međunarodnog časopisa *Utopian Studies*, odlučila sam da studentima, u okviru studentskog istraživačkog rada, ponudim učešće u dva projekta. Cilj oba projekta bio je da se studenti samostalno i na neposredan način upoznaju sa osobenostima polja izučavanja. Jedan projekat je podrazumevao istraživanje postojećih intencionalnih komunala¹ preko baze podataka dostupne na internet adresi <http://www.ic.org/directory/listings>. Pošto bi studenti sa spiska od preko dve hiljade komunala odabrali onu koja im je najzanimljivija, na času bi predstavili njene osnovne postulate i doveli je u eventualnu vezu s nekim od utopijskih književnih dela. Iz praktičnih razloga (organizacionih, nedostatka vremena i slično), ovaj zadatak je ubrzo prerastao u fakultativnu opciju upoznavanja posebno zainteresovanih studenata s intencionalnim komunama bez potrebe javnog prezentovanja njihovih osobenosti.

Drugi projekat je, zapravo, kreativni zadatak u okviru koga svaki student treba da napiše svoju utopiju i u predviđenom roku je dostavi predmetnom nastavniku i svim studentima koji pohađaju kurs iz Utopije. Zarad ekonomičnosti, dužina priče ograničena je na pet stranica, a studenti dobijaju instrukciju da u svojoj priči mogu, poštujući osnovna pravila žanra, da dočaraju neko imaginarno utopijsko društvo u celini ili, pak, da se usredsrede na jedan ili više segmenata tog društva. U slučaju da kurs pohađa više od deset polaznika, dopušteno je da studenti, ako im je tako lakše, u parovima ili grupama od po troje, zajedno napišu jednu utopijsku priču. Zadatak svih studenata je da pročitaju sve pristigle utopije i za svaku pripreme pitanja. Potom, utvrđenog datuma, naizmenično svi studenti odgovaraju na pitanja svojih kolega, pokušavajući da odbrane svoju utopiju i svoja utopijska rešenja.

Primarni cilj ovog zadatka jeste da se povežu kreativni i saznavni procesi, tj. da studenti, pišući svoju utopiju na kreativan način usvoje, utvrde i samostalno primene pravila utopijskog žanra. Potom, u situaciji kad moraju da brane svoja utopijska rešenja pred ostalim kolegama, uviđaju koliko je bilo važno da ozbiljno pristupe svom zadatku i promisle sve pojedinosti, kao i da nije uvek/nikad lako/moguće napisati/stvoriti utopiju koja će svima odgovarati. Drugi cilj je, dakle, da studenti nauče ne samo da imaginacija i učenje nisu međusobno isključivi već i da treba da budu spremni da argumentovano brane svoje ideje i da argumentovano raspravljaju

¹ Pod intencionalnom komunom podrazumeva se, najčešće, alternativni vid zajednice u kojoj svi njeni članovi svesno i dobrovoljno prihvataju pravila i vrednosti te zajednice.

o tuđim. Takođe, kroz dobro osmišljenu i vođenu diskusiju studenti imaju priliku da ponovo promisle i preispitaju naučene koncepte. Pored ovih ciljeva, ostvaruje se i jedan, znatno širi, cilj, koji bismo mogli nazvati humanističkim, a koji bi trebalo da ukaže na moć i značaj pisane reči, te intelektualnog angažmana kao neodvojivog aspekta bavljenja književnošću, bar kad je utopijska književnost u pitanju.²

Prilikom određivanja plana rada trebalo je naći idealnu poziciju za ovu vrstu aktivnosti. Ako bi bila na samom početku kursa, studenti bi u ceo projekat pisanja ušli s nedovoljno znanja. Ukoliko bi bila na samom kraju kursa, pretpostavka je bila da studenti, neupućeni u teškoće i izazove pisanja utopije, ne bi znali kakvim kritičkim aparatom treba da pristupe analizi utopijskih dela obrađivanih tokom kursa. Stoga je odlučeno da bi najcelishodnije bilo da se za to odredi jedan od časova u prvoj polovini kursa. Nakon uvodnih časova (na kojima je definisano polje rada i istraživanja, sa svim njegovim specifičnostima, ukazano na interdisciplinarni karakter utopijskih studija, te predloženi razgranati koreni utopije u drevnim mitovima, legendama, verovanjima, religijama i starim književnostima) i časova posvećenih delu rodonačelnika žanra Tomasa Mora, predviđeno je održavanje časa rasprave o studentskim utopijama. Adekvatnim pozicioniranjem ove aktivnosti postignut je dvostruki cilj – studenti su usvojili odlike utopijskog žanra, ali su i postali svesni toga na šta moraju da obrate pažnju prilikom čitanja drugih utopijskih dela.

Zanimljiv je podatak da tokom proteklih godina nijedan student nije odbio da učestvuje u ovom zadatku sa eventualnim izgovorom da nema spisateljskog dara ili da ne zna kako se pišu utopije. Na eksplicitno postavljeno pitanje zašto su svi prihvatili taj izazovni i nimalo lak zadatak, iz generacije u generaciju, posle kraće rasprave, studenti su se saglasili da odgovor najverovatnije leži u ljudskoj psihologiji i želji svakog čoveka da iskaže, kad mu se za to pruži prilika, svoj stav o tome kako treba da izgleda savršeno društvo. Kako je primetila Karen A. Frenk, američka profesorka arhitekture koja je sličan zadatak dala svojim studentima,

snažna osećanja uložena u pisanje [utopijskih] priča, kao i osećanja izazvana njihovim slušanjem, ukazuju na visok nivo emocija povezan s tim radom i duboko lični angažman autora. Istinska imaginacija dotiče delove našeg uma i nas samih koje drugi, racionalniji i usmereniji oblici saznanja ne dotiču.

(Franck 1998: 126).

² Pod ovim se podrazumevaju dve značajne činjenice koje govore u prilog vanknjiževnom uticaju utopijskih dela. Naime, izvestan broj intencionalnih komuna u svetu nastao je pod uticajem književnih utopijskih dela (npr. Kabeova Ikarija), a nemali broj društvenih pokreta, pa i revolucija, bio je nadahnut utopijskim delima (više o tome u Đergović-Joksimović 2009: 112-140). Osim toga, mnogobrojne tekovine modernog doba koje se danas prihvataju kao nešto sasvim uobičajeno (npr. rasna, nacionalna, verska i polna/rodna ravnopravnost, ili osmočasovno radno vreme) predložene su kao društveni ideal ka kome treba težiti upravo u starim utopijskim književnim delima.

S obzirom na to da je kroz kurs Utopija u engleskoj književnosti prošlo sedam generacija i kako je sedma generacija veoma ozbiljno shvatila svoj zadatak – napisano je ukupno petnaest utopijskih priča (jedanaest samostalno napisanih i četiri u parovima) – odlučila sam da na kraju kursa među studentima sprovedem anketu, kako o samom kursu tako i o ovom specifičnom zadatku.³

2. Utopija, i ja u njoj

Anonimna anketa, pod naslovom „Utopija, i ja u njoj“, sastojala se od petnaest pitanja.⁴ Anketiranje je održano 15. marta 2014. godine, a učestvovalo je svih devetnaest studenata polaznika kursa.⁵ Prvih pet pitanja odnosilo se na proces pisanja utopijskih priča. Na prvo pitanje, šesnaest studenata (84,21%) je odgovorilo da je napisati pravu utopiju nemoguće, troje (15,78 %) je napisalo da je moguće, a niko nije odabrao ponuđeni odgovor „ne znam“. S jedne strane, ovakav ishod mogao bi da ukaže na nepoverenje anketiranih studenata prema datom zadatku i prema žanru uopšte. S druge strane, on, zapravo, otkriva koliko su pisanje utopijskih priča i potonja rasprava o svakoj od njih doprineli da studenti uvide sa kakvim se sve izazovima treba suočiti prilikom stvaranja utopijskog dela. Sasvim očekivano, čak osamnaest studenata (94,73 %) je na drugo pitanje odgovorilo da je pisanje utopije teško, a samo jedan ispitanik (5,26 %) se opredelio za opciju „ne znam“ (niko nije odabrao opciju da je lako napisati utopiju). Kod trećeg pitanja, jedanaest studenata (57,89 %) istaklo je da je prilikom pisanja utopije najveći izazov kako obuhvatiti sve; za šest studenata (31,57 %) je to kako je učiniti uverljivom; jedan student (5,26 %) se opredelio za oba ova ponuđena odgovora; a jedan (5,26 %) je zaokružio uz prethodna dva i opciju „kako je opisati“. Inače, studentima je sugerisano da, po potrebi, mogu da zaokruže i više od jednog ponuđenog odgovora. U odgovoru na četvrto pitanje šesnaest anketiranih (84,21%) smatralo je da je prilikom pisanja utopije način pomoću kog je došlo do nastanka utopijskog društva važan, dvoje (10,52 %) je smatralo da je nevažan, a jedan anketirani (5,26 %) nije zaokružio nijednu ponuđenu opciju (treća opcija, koju niko nije odabrao, glasila je „ne znam“). I u ovom slučaju ogromna većina anketiranih studenata pokazala je visok stepen obaveštenosti o tom značajnom aspektu utopijskog žanra. Kad je reč o petom pitanju, najveći broj studenata, njih jedanaestoro (57,89 %), odgovorio je da im je pisanje utopije pomoglo da preispitaju svoje stavove o važnim društvenim pitanjima; peto-

³ Zbirka utopijskih priča ove generacije studenata prihvaćena je za štampu i biće objavljena u ediciji elektronskih publikacija Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu, pod nazivom *Embracing Utopian Horizons*.

⁴ Videti anketni listić u Dodatku.

⁵ Petoro studenata je anketu dostavilo elektronskim putem.

ro (26,31 %) je odgovorilo da im je pomoglo da utvrde osnovne odlike žanra; jedan (5,26 %) je odabrao oba ova ponuđena odgovora, dok je dvoje (10,52 %) uz prethodne dve opcije zaokružilo i opciju „da proverim svoje spisateljske sposobnosti“. Premda je ukupno samo osmoro njih (42,10 %) odabralo opciju koja ide u prilog metodičke opravdanosti izbora ovakvog zadatka, same priče potvrđuju da su, zapravo, svi uspešno savladali (i utvrdili) osnovne odlike žanra, a da je odgovor na ovo pitanje otkrio čemu studenti daju prioritet. Činjenica da se natpolovična većina njih opredelila za preispitivanje sopstvenih stavova o važnim društvenim pitanjima ne bi trebalo da nas onespokoji već naprotiv – ona svedoči o razvijenoj potrebi i želji da se izađe iz uskih, „školskih“ okvira.

Šesto pitanje odnosilo se na održanu raspravu o studentskim utopijama. Sedamnaest studenata (89,47 %) smatra da je rasprava o njihovoj i utopijama njihovih kolega bila korisna, a dvoje (10,52 %) se opredelilo za opciju da je takva rasprava bila zbunjujuća, s tim što je jedan student dodao napomenu da je bila zbunjujuća „samo u tome što se ne sećam da smo došli do nekih zajedničkih rešenja ili objašnjenja“. Iskreno govoreći, zajednička rešenja ili objašnjenja ne samo da nisu bila predviđena već nisu ni moguća. Cilj rasprave, kao što je i ranije pomenuto, bio je da studenti shvate da problem pisanja utopije podrazumeva i sasvim specifičan problem recepcije, te da kroz argumentovanu diskusiju dobiju priliku da iznesu i brane svoje stavove.

Pitanja pod brojem sedam, osam, devet, deset i jedanaest odnose se na stavove studenata o utopiji kao književnom žanru. Na pitanje kome bi svaka utopija trebalo da odgovara, deset anketiranih (52,63 %) je odabralo odgovor „najvećem mogućem broju ljudi“, s tim što je jedan dodao napomenu da je „u tom slučaju pisanje utopije teško“. Šestoro njih (31,57 %) smatra da bi svaka utopija trebalo da odgovara malom, ali odabranom broju ljudi, dok troje (15,78 %) tvrdi da bi trebalo da odgovara bar njenom piscu. Ovo pitanje nadovezuje se, zapravo, na gorepomenuti problem željene/projektovane recepcije utopije. I tu su studenti, svako na svoj način, pokazali svest o dvosmislenoj poziciji utopije. Deset studenata (52,63 %) je na osmo pitanje, kome u stvarnosti odgovara svaka utopija, izabralo odgovor „samo njenom piscu“. Sedmoro njih (36,84 %) smatra da je reč o malom broju ljudi, a samo jedan anketirani (5,26 %) odabrao je opciju „velikom broju ljudi“. I u ovom slučaju, svojim odgovorima anketirani su pokazali da su svesni jednog od najčešćih problema vezanih za stvarnu recepciju utopijske produkcije.

Dvanaest studenata (63,15 %) je na pitanje o ostvarljivosti utopije (deveto pitanje) odgovorilo da je ona neostvarljiva, samo troje (15,78 %) da je ostvarljiva, a četvoru (21,05 %) je odabralo opciju da je pitanje njene ostvarljivosti nevažno. Na prvi pogled, ovakva raspodela odgovora mogla bi biti iznenađujuća. Ipak, ona ne otkriva toliko utopijski pesimizam anketiranih, koliko govori o o njihovoj proceni neveselog odnosa stvarnosti i utopije. Kad je reč o desetom pitanju, čak četrnaest

anketiranih (73,68 %) smatra da su utopijski romani poučni, dok petoro (26,31 %) ne zna kako da ih opiše. Niko se nije opredelio za opciju da su dosadni. Čini se da bi odgovori na ovo pitanje bili sasvim drugačiji da nije bilo prethodne temeljne pripreme, zasnovane između ostalog i na ličnom angažmanu na pisanju utopije. Naime, i sami stručnjaci za utopiju neretko ukazuju na monotonost većine ranih utopijskih romana, odsustvo dramskog sukoba, pa i same radnje u klasičnom smislu (više o tome videti u Đergović-Joksimović 2009). Utoliko ovo pitanje donosi veće iznenađenje jer su anketirani pripadnici mlađe generacije, te se od njih s pravom moglo očekivati da će im takvo štivo biti dosadno.

Jedanaesto pitanje se odnosi na odnos utopije i stvarnosti. Četrnaest studenata (73,68 %) smatra da je taj odnos važan, jedan (5,26 %) da je nevažan, a troje (15,78 %) je odabralo opciju „ne znam“. Većinski odgovor na ovo pitanje potkrepljuje našu tezu iznesenu u komentaru odgovora na deveto pitanje. Naime, studenti su ovde potvrdili da zaista jesu svesni značaja odnosa stvarnosti i utopije. Dvanaesto pitanje trebalo je da proceni sa kakvim su predznanjem studenti došli na kurs o utopiji. Tako je trinaestoro anketiranih (68,42 %) odgovorilo da su ranije o utopiji znali ponešto, dvoje (10,52 %) malo, a samo jedan (5,26 %) nimalo. Utoliko je ishod kursa, kao i same ankete značajniji.

U trinaestom pitanju osamnaestoro anketiranih (94,73 %) se opredelilo za opciju „mislim da je iskustvo pisanja utopije i pohađanja kursa iz Utopije korisno i zanimljivo“, niko nije odabrao opciju „meni lično neće ni na koji način koristiti“, a samo jedan anketirani (5,26 %) iskoristio je mogućnost da sam upiše svoj odgovor. U tom slučaju napisani odgovor glasio je „predstavlja korisno iskustvo. Naučila sam mnogo ne samo o žanru već i o načinu na koji moje kolege razmišljaju o istoj temi“.

U četrnaestom pitanju trebalo je dopuniti rečenicu „Po meni, utopija je...“. Samo jedan anketirani student (5,26 %), ostavivši ovo polje prazno, nije iskoristio priliku da iskaže svoj stav o utopiji. Kao što se i moglo pretpostaviti, u osamnaest dobijenih odgovora (94,73 %) bilo je raznovrsnih opservacija i zaključaka – od krajnje objektivnih do krajnje subjektivnih:

- u osnovi nemoguća zbog same prirode ljudi
- neostvarljiva, ali je dobar način da se sagledaju važna društvena i politička pitanja. Tera nas da se preispitujemo. Uloga utopije je više u tome da pouči i pomogne autorima u shvatanju sistema u kom žive nego što je čisto književna
- ono što osobu čini srećnom
- idealna slika društva, svojstvena svakom pojedincu; ne postoje dve iste utopije
- idealizovano društvo koje ne može da postoji u stvarnosti jer su ljudi previše nesavršeni i pohlepni

- harmonija
- nešto čemu treba težiti
- nešto čemu treba težiti, ako ne savršenoj utopiji, onda svakako unapređenju društva i svakog njegovog segmenta
- nemoguće mesto
- nedostižan ideal
- težnja ljudskog uma
- svet u kojem su svi zadovoljni i vlada harmonija
- san
- samo san
- nedostižna i ne postoji
- mesto u kojem su svi ljudi jednaki i srećni
- u književnosti, žanr u kojem pisac može slobodno da izrazi svoj stav o stvarnosti i vremenu u kojem živi na jedan dovitljiv i kreativan način, da na papiru 'popravi' ono što mu se ne sviđa u svijetu u kojem mora da živi, da kreira svijet po svojoj mjeri i da se poigra idejom Boga. U stvarnosti, po meni, bilo kakva ideja nalik utopiji je uvijek isključiva i ne može da opstane, kad-tad će postati svoja suprotnost; samo je pitanje vremena i sveobuhvatnosti same ideje koliko će trajati do neminovnog kolapsa.
- ontološki spokoj i duhovno blagostanje

Iz priloženih odgovora jasno je da su se svi anketirani potrudili da promisle suštinu utopije i ponude najprikladniji i najsmisleniji odgovor. Indikativno je da se samo mali broj njih zadržao na utopiji kao čisto književnom fenomenu, dok se većina opredelila za širi semiotički ugao gledanja. Uz to, čini se da bi poslednji, filozofski intornirani odgovor mogao poslužiti kao definicija eupsihije, podvrste utopije koja podrazumeva dobro stanje svesti i uma.

Poslednje, petnaesto pitanje, „Kad bih se ja pitao/ pitala...“, svojom širinom i otvorenošću izazvalo je najviše nedoumica, tako da su mnogi pitali na šta se odnosi. Instrukcija je glasila da mogu da upišu sve što žele i što smatraju značajnim. Čak troje studenata (15,78 %) nije iskoristilo tu mogućnost i ostavilo je ovo pitanje bez odgovora. Ostali (84,21 %) su odgovorili na sledeći način:

- išta, ipak bih najradije odbila da 'odgovorim'. Svijetu se ne može ugoditi, a nekad ni samom sebi. Zadovoljna sam ako u životu ostvarim ovo drugo.
- na svakom kursu bi bilo poželjno da se pišu radovi poput radova koje smo izlagali jedni pred drugima na kursu Utopija u engleskoj književnosti; na taj način možemo na kreativan i zanimljiv način da se upoznamo sa tematikom kursa.
- o utopijama bi se više učilo
- posavetovala bih ljude da utopiju traže u sebi

- težilo bi se razvijanju svijesti o djeljenju postojećeg i time kreirajući [sic!] postojeći svijet podnošljivim za sve. To bi bio prvi korak prema utopiji.
- ukinula bih novac i novčanu razmenu
- trebalo bi svakog političara pitati kako zamišlja utopiju i onda upitati da li vide način kako bi se tom idealu mogli približiti
- ne bi više bilo nepravde
- svi bi trebalo da se malo pozabave utopijom i na taj način shvate koliko smo daleko od 'idealnog' društva; možda bi nas to pokrenulo da zaista promenimo ovaj svet na bolje
- niko ne bi mogao da odgovori
- pokušala bih da ne pravim veštačko i zatucano društvo nego bih se fokusirala na pojedinca da bude najbolji što može da bude
- pratio bih taj san
- predmet Utopija u engleskoj književnosti bi trajao duže od pet časova⁶
- više časova iz književnosti bi imalo ovakvu vrstu praktičnog rada, gde studenti na svom primeru pisanja priče koja pripada žanru mogu da utvrde sopstveno znanje. Mislim da je to odlična ideja, koja podstiče učenje i kreativnost, samo je pitanje koliko bi studenti na nižim godinama bili zainteresovani, ali verujem da bi funkcionisalo bar na nekim predmetima iz književnosti.
- kurs iz Utopije bih prebacila na osnovne studije; kurs bi trebalo da bude malko duži; izbor obavezne lektire je odličan, veoma sam uživala u celom kursu i nije mi žao što sam ga odabrala jer je bio veoma poučan
- ovakvi kursevi češće bi trebalo da se organizuju kako bi društvu razotkrili opciju barem pokušaja da se stvori bolje društvo ili bolji sistem

3. Šta da se radi?

Priznajem da sam kao sastavljač ankete i predmetni nastavnik polaskana komentarima o kursu Utopija u engleskoj književnosti. Mnogo značajnijom, međutim, smatram činjenicu da se na osnovu ankete može zaključiti da su tokom pohađanja nastave studenti naučili da prepoznaju osnovne osobenosti utopije, ali i teškoće sa kojima se mogu suočiti tokom bavljenja njome. Posebno bih istakla činjenicu da su studenti na kreativan način, koristeći sopstvenu imaginaciju prilikom pisanja utopijske priče, ostvarili zadati kognitivni cilj. Karen A. Frenk ističe da je krajnje vreme, kako ukazuje američki profesor filozofije Edvard Kejsi, da se imaginaciji

⁶ Dužna sam da pojasnim da je reč o pet **termina**, jer je u pitanju blok-nastava (u trajanju od četiri časa) koja je održana tokom tri subote u februaru i dve subote u prvoj polovini marta 2014. godine, što je ukupno dvadeset časova.

„prizna njena kognitivna vrednost, njoj svojstven, specifičan način sticanja znanja“ (Casey u Franck 1998: 140). Ipak, najveće iznenađenje, ali i zadovoljstvo, izazvala je spremnost naših studenata da se, bar na papiru, uhvate u koštac s najozbiljnijim društvenim izazovima. Kao što smo mogli da vidimo, u odgovoru na petnaesto pitanje čak šest ispitanika (31,57 %) sugerše, na ovaj ili onaj način, da izučavanje utopije zavređuje više pažnje i da bi se slične metode mogle primeniti i u nastavi drugih predmeta. Kako ističe Artur B. Šostak, američki profesor sociologije,

mladi ljudi, više nego ikada, mogu da imaju koristi od kreativnog izučavanja utopija. [...] Među mladim odraslim osobama – sutrašnjim vođama – nedostatak nade u bolju budućnost predstavlja veliku opasnost po dobrobit svih nas. Verujem da je imperativ da se utopijskom materijalu posvećuje sve veća pažnja na fakultetskim kursovima.

(Shostak 2000: 68)

Rezultati ove ankete pokazuju da, nasuprot sve glasnijim zahtevima za sve užom specijalizacijom u sticanju znanja, koju diktiraju potrebe tržišta, među anketiranim studentima postoji velika i prirodna potreba za humanističkom širinom i povezivanjem ne samo različitih oblasti znanja već i znanja samog sa svakodnevnom društvenom praksom. Smatram da su takvi nalazi ohrabrujući za sve nas. Naime, Piter Slout Hof – podsećajući nas na danas, nažalost, gotovo zaboravljeno delo Roberta M. Hačinsa *Univerzitet u Utopiji* (1953), u kome on kao četiri zla koja prete američkoj, ali i bilo kojoj drugoj, akademskoj zajednici izdvaja industrijalizaciju, specijalizaciju, filozofsku razuzdenost i društveni i politički konformizam – ukazuje na neraskidivu međusobnu povezanost postojećeg obrazovnog sistema, studenata koje školuje i društva u kome živimo:

Mudro i racionalno društvo potrebno je da bi uspostavilo onu vrstu obrazovnog sistema koji bi podržao i unapredio mudro i racionalno društvo. I obrnuto, ako društvo nije mudro i racionalno, kako može da stvori obrazovni sistem koji bi vodio ka tom utopijskom društvu? Slično tome, ako jedan obrazovni sistem ne uspeva da promoviše razum i mudrost, kako može da očekuje da će vođe koje školuje biti u stanju da razvijaju tu vrstu obrazovnog sistema koji će stvarati racionalne i mudre vođe?

(Hoff 2009: 215)

Reklo bi se da se nalazimo u začaranom krugu, iz koga nas, kako ukazuje Hof, može spasti jedino potpuno „resetovanje“ visokoškolskog obrazovnog sistema (Hoff 2009: 205, 214). S druge strane, Džudit Suisa ukazuje na to da obrazovanje možda ne treba da posmatramo kao sredstvo za ostvarenje nekog cilja, niti kao

nešto što je samo sebi cilj, već kao „jednu od mnogobrojnih arena međuljudskih odnosa, u kojoj je interakcija vizije i načina na koji se ona može prevesti u stvarnost predmet neprestanog eksperimentisanja“ (Suisa 2001: 644). Lep prijem na koji je inovativno-eksperimentalna metoda kreativnog pisanja utopijske priče naišla kod naših studenata potvrđuje ovo zapažanje Džudit Suisa.

Nadovezujući se na konstataciju iz studije Endrua Delbanka *The Real American Dream* da je odsustvo utopijanizma koren melanholije modernog doba jer živimo u materijalnom izobilju, ali oskudevamo u sferi narativa i simbola,⁷ te stoga naša žudnja za smislom ostaje neutoljena (Delbanco u Shostak 2000: 68), profesor Šostak zaključuje da „utopijska misao – i akcija – nude tu vrstu smisla na koju futuristi treba da se usredsrede, koju fakultetski kursevi treba da sadrže, i na koju mladi ljudi treba da se oslone“ (Shostak 2000: 68). Sudeći po nalazima ove ankete, naši studenti znaju na šta žele da se oslone, samo je pitanje da li smo mi spremni i da li zaista želimo da im to i pružimo.

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⁷ Konstatacija o materijalnom izobilju, jasno je, odnosi se prevashodno na zapadna društva.

Dodatak

Anketni list

Utopija, i ja u njoj

15. mart 2014.

1. Napisati pravu utopiju je
 - a) Nemoguće
 - b) Moguće
 - c) Ne znam
2. Pisanje utopije je
 - a) Lako
 - b) Teško
 - c) Ne znam
3. Najveći izazov prilikom pisanja utopije je
 - a) Kako je opisati
 - b) Kako obuhvatiti sve
 - c) Kako je učiniti uverljivom
4. Prilikom pisanja utopije način pomoću kog je došlo do nastanka utopijskog društva je
 - a) Važan
 - b) Nevažan
 - c) Ne znam
5. Pisanje utopije pomoglo mi je da
 - a) Utvrdim osnovne odlike žanra
 - b) Proverim svoje književne sposobnosti
 - c) Preispitam svoje stavove o važnim društvenim pitanjima
6. Rasprava o mojoj i drugim utopijama bila je
 - a) Korisna
 - b) Nepotrebna
 - c) Zbunjujuća
7. Svaka utopija trebalo bi da odgovara
 - a) najvećem mogućem broju ljudi
 - b) malom, ali odabranom broju ljudi
 - c) bar njenom piscu
8. U stvarnosti, svaka utopija odgovara
 - a) Velikom broju ljudi
 - b) Malom broju ljudi
 - c) Samo njenom piscu

9. Utopija je
 - a) Ostvarljiva
 - b) Neostvarljiva
 - c) Pitanje njene ostvarljivosti je nevažno
10. Utopijski romani su
 - a) Poučni
 - b) Dosadni
 - c) Ne znam kako da ih opišem
11. Odnos utopije i stvarnosti je
 - a) Važan
 - b) Nevažan
 - c) Ne znam
12. O utopiji sam ranije znao/znala
 - a) Malo
 - b) Nimalo
 - c) Ponešto
13. Mislim da iskustvo pisanja utopije i pohađanje kursa iz Utopije
 - a) Meni lično neće ni na koji način koristiti
 - b) Predstavlja korisno i zanimljivo iskustvo
 - c) _____
14. Po meni, utopija je _____
15. Kad bih se ja pitao/pitala _____

STUDENTS IN UTOPIA

Summary

The paper presents the results of the anonymous questionnaire submitted to nineteen students who attended the MA course Utopia in English literature at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad during the 2014 spring term. The questionnaire contained thirteen closed-ended questions and two open-ended questions. The aim of the questionnaire was to gather information concerning students' attitude towards utopia in general, but also towards utopia as a literary genre and as a course studied at the Faculty. Additionally, the respondents were asked to express their opinion about a specific assignment of utopia writing. Eighteen students (94.73 % of the respondents) found both the course and the writing assignment useful and interesting. Moreover, six of them (31.57 %) assert that utopia should

be studied more and that creative teaching methods such as utopia writing should be applied in other courses as well.

Key words: creative teaching methods, questionnaire, utopia, utopian studies

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O POAROU U PREVODU NA SRPSKI I MALOJ PREVODILAČKOJ RADIONICI U VELIKOM PROJEKTU

Na primeru saradnje nastavnika i studenata Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Novom Sadu sa predstavnicima štampanih medija na projektu novog prevođenja ranih detektivskih priča Agate Kristi, analizirani su relevantni aspekti organizacije radionice kao moguće prakse iz književnog prevođenja koja se odvija pri akademskoj instituciji. U radu je predstavljen način na koji je realizovana, kako su zadaci usaglašeni sa ciljevima nastave i teme kojima su se učesnici radionice bavili. Razmatramo i relevantno etičko pitanje o tome kako izbeći da volonterski rad postane primer nelojalne konkurencije na tržištu rada za prevodiocce kroz projekte koji su neprofitabilni i društveno korisni, a koji istovremeno pozitivno utiču na razvoj onih aspekata prevodilačke kompetencije kojima se u nastavi ne može posvetiti dovoljna pažnja.

Ključne reči: književna prevodilačka praksa, Agata Kristi, priče o Poarou, prevodilačka strategija

1. Uvod

U pedagogiji prevođenja studentska praksa postaje nezaobilazan deo nastavnog plana i programa koji nosi određen broj bodova. Keli (Kelly 2005:92) navodi dva oblika – prvi je posmatranje profesionalnog prevodioca na radnom mestu s ciljem da se stekne uvid u vrste zadataka, alate i uslove rada, a drugi je samostalno prevođenje. U sferi stručnog prevođenja, gde je očekivani nivo kvaliteta prevoda uslovljen namenom stručnog teksta, moguće je diferencirati zadatke kao terminološke, redaktorske ili prevodilačke, što ostavlja prostor za uključivanje svih studenata u skladu s njihovim preferencijama i sposobnostima. Ozbiljni ograničavajući faktori u organizaciji prakse iz književnog prevođenja jesu očekivani kvalitet, koji

uglavnom ne mogu zadovoljiti svi polaznici prevodilačkih kurseva na osnovnim studijama i opasnost od stvaranja nelojalne konkurencije profesionalnim prevodiocima. Na primeru radionice na temu prevođenja detektivskih priča Agate Kristi pokazaćemo jedan model prakse koji uspešno zaobilazi obe prepreke.

2. Projekat prevođenja 50 priča Agate Kristi o Herkulu Poarou u izdanju *Politike*

U vreme kada je prevođenje uglavnom tržišno motivisano, okolnost da štampari medij pokreće ponovni prevod već prevedenog i popularnog pisca kakva je Agata Kristi, zaslužuje da mu se posveti malo prostora. Inicijativa za prevođenje ranih priča Agate Kristi o detektivu Poarou potekla je od urednika nedeljnika *Novi magazin*, g. Milorada Ivanovića¹, koji je i sam bio podstaknut svojevrtnom senzacijom koju su 2009. godine objavili britanski listovi *Daily Mail* i *Mail on Sunday*. Džon Keran (John Curran), jedan od najboljih poznavalaca dela Agate Kristi, uspeo je da na tavanu njene kuće 2005. godine pronađe do tada neobjavljene priče² *The Capture of Cerberus* i *The Incident of the Dog's Ball* (na kojoj je zasnovan roman *Dumb Witness*/Ćutljivi svedok). Te priče je u srpskom prevodu Gorana Skrobonje (*Kerberovo zatočeništvo* i *Incident sa psećom loptom*) 2011. godine objavio tada tek pokrenuti nedeljnik *Novi magazin*, kao marketinški potez usmeren da skrene pažnju čitalačke publike na novi list. Pozitivna reakcija publike i činjenica da na srpskom nisu postojali prevodi svih priča Agate Kristi, dovele su do pregovora o prevođenju svih priča o detektivu Poarou, uključujući i onih čiji je prevod postojao. Na široko upućen poziv g. Ivanovića za volontersko učešće u ovom projektu odgovorilo je 60 prevodilaca, među njima i tri nastavnika/autora ovog rada i devet studenata sa Odseka za anglistiku, koji su se u projekat uključili preko radionice „Prevođenje detektivskih priča Agate Kristi”.

Kriterijum za uključenje nastavnika u ovaj projekat bili su iskustvo u književnom prevođenju i mogućnost preuzimanja obaveza koje proističu iz angažmana u radionici nakon formalnog završetka nastave. Preduslovi da studenti učestvuju na projektu bili su da na prevodilačkim predmetima na osnovnim studijama anglistike imaju najviše ocene, da su još uvek studenti osnovnih ili diplomskih studija na Filozofskom fakultetu u Novom Sadu i da žele i mogu da učestvuju u radu radio-

¹ Sve informacije u vezi sa projektom prevođenja priča Agate Kristi dobijene su u ličnoj komunikaciji.

² Dostupno na adresama: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1207710/Forgotten-Agatha-Christie-novel-discovered-30-years-death--attic-holiday-home.html>, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1208212/Unseen-60-years-Mail-proudly-present-Agatha-Christies-lost-masterpiece-The-Capture-Cerberus.html>. Pristupljeno: 6. jula 2014.

nice u vreme ispitnog roka. Na osnovu navedenih kriterijuma, na poziv nastavnika odgovorilo je šestoro studenata osnovnih i troje studenata diplomskih akademskih studija anglistike.

Saznajni i iskustveni potencijal učešća u radionici bio je podjednako značajan i za nastavnike i za studente. Za nastavnike je to bio prvi slučaj posredovanja u neposrednom uključivanju studenata u profesionalne tokove i prilika za sticanje praktičnih iskustava za buduće organizovanje redovne stručne prakse, a za svakog od studenata, prilika da testira svoje sposobnosti na projektu na kom je angažovano 60 honorarnih prevodilaca.

Nastavnici i rukovodilac projekta su se na samom početku dogovorili da će nastavnici garantovati za kvalitet prevoda kao redaktori završne verzije. Kako je prvi poziv prevodiocima upućen maja 2013, studenti su priče prevodili tokom juna i jula 2013, nakon završetka redovne nastave. Ovaj finansijski i izdavački ambiciozni projekat realizovao je list *Politika*, u kom je prevod 50 priča o Poarou najavljen kao „novo, savremeno čitanje ekscentričnog belgijskog detektiva”³. Priče su izlazile svakodnevno, tokom jaunara, februara i marta 2014. godine.

3. Realizacija radionice

Radionica je zamišljena kao realizacija kolaborativnog oblika socio-konstruktivističke nastave (cf. Kiraly 2000:63-65, Eraković 2013:130-132) na nestrukturiranom projektnom zadatku (Ivić i dr. 2001:110). U takvom nastavnom kontekstu, nastavnik ima ulogu starijeg saradnika koji ugovara projekat sa naručiocem prevoda i obezbeđuje formalne i tehničke preduslove da ga studenti izvrše, a zatim se u izvršenje projektnog zadatka uključuje u onom obimu i obliku koji to traže studenti, u konsultativnoj ulozi. U našem slučaju, u formalne preduslove spadaju odabir samog projekta, tj. odluka da se studentima ponudi da učestvuju na njemu i formalno definisanje radionice u okviru postojećih oblika nastavnih aktivnosti na Filozofskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Novom Sadu. Radionica prevođenja detektivskih priča Agate Kristi organizovana je kao jedna od radionica Centra za razvoj akademske pismenosti pri Fakultetu.

Konsultativna uloga nastavnika je obuhvatala:

- individualno praćenje napredovanja dodeljenih timova studenata
- učešće u diskusijama o uočenim prevodilačkim problemima
- pokretanje diskusije o problemima koje studenti nisu samostalno uočili
- kontrola kvaliteta završne verzije prevoda u vidu redakture prevoda
- posredovanje u komunikaciji rukovodioca projekta i studenata-prevodilaca.

³ <http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/spektar/zivot-i-stil/Likovi-iz-prica-Agate-Kristi-su-svuda-okol-nas.lt.html>, Pristupljeno 6. jula 2014.

Socio-konstruktivistički pristup podrazumeva projekte koji su realistični ili imitiraju realnost. Prevodilački zadatak radionice je dakle definisao naručilac prevoda, rukovodilac i koordinator projekta prevodenja priča Agate Kristi, g. Milorad Ivanović, koji je u saradnji sa vlasnicima autorskih prava napravio izbor priča koje će se prevoditi, a zatim ih raspodelio učesnicima u projektu, pa tako i studentima koji su prevode radili u okviru radionice. Učesnici radionice nisu imali uticaja na izbor priča, kao ni na raspodelu prevodilačkog zadatka. Zadatak radionice bio je da se prevedu priče *The Incredible Theft*, *The Under Dog*, *The Adventure of the Christmas Pudding* i *The Mystery of the Spanish Chest*, prema zbirci *Hercule Poirot - The Complete Short Stories* iz 2008. godine u izdanju kuće Harper Collins. U pregovorima o načinu rada, sa rukovodiocem projekta dogovoreno je da će, za razliku od ostalih učesnika na projektu, studenti prevode raditi u dvočlanim ili tročlanim timovima koje će pratiti jedan nastavnik/redaktor. Tako su radionici dodeljene navedene priče jer su bile najduže, pa je opterećenost svih učesnika u projektu bila približno jednaka. Formirana su četiri tima. Insistiranje na timskom radu uslovljeno je socio-konstruktivističkim pristupom učenju, po kome se znanje konstruiše ili izgrađuje na interpersonalnoj ravni, kao rezultat pregovaranja o značenju, kroz diskusiju sa saradnicima koji imaju slično iskustvo i kompetencije i nastavnikom u ulozi iskusnijeg saradnika (Pešikan 2010:160, Kiraly 2005:4). Prema Kiraliju, takav pristup omogućava razvoj prevodilačke intuicije kao i osnaživanje budućih prevodilaca za lakše uključivanje u profesionalne tokove, jer konstruišući značenje u diskusiji sa vršnjacima, stiču i veru u sopstvenu sposobnost ovladavanja potrebnim znanjima.

Socio-konstruktivistički nastavni kontekst podrazumeva i pregovaranje o zajedničkim ciljevima, u okviru kojih svaki učesnik može imati svoje individualne podciljeve. Tako je u diskusiji pre početka rada ustanovljeno da su dva zajednička ili opšta cilja upoznavanje sa svim fazama procesa rada na književnom prevodu i provera stečene prevodilačke kompetencije studenata, tj. jezičke, tekstualne, teorijske, strateške, instrumentalne i interpersonalne potkompetencije (PACTE 2011:33, Kelly 2005:28-31, Eraković 2013:76-79). U okviru tog opšteg cilja, nastavnici su imali i svoj zasebni cilj, da isprobaju jedan vid književne prevodilačke prakse sa najboljim studentima i procene njenu izvodljivost u smislu opterećenosti nastavnika i studenta. Radionica nije imala unapred zadate specifične ishode i ciljeve, jer su oni nespojivi sa pristupom koji podrazumeva da svi učesnici nastavnog procesa individualno i svako za sebe definiše ciljeve koje želi da postigne, u skladu sa prepoznatim potrebama koje su kod svih različite. U toku rada na prevodu izdvojile su se neke oblasti koje su od studenata izisikivale da prepoznaju problem, ovladaju potrebnim saznanjima i opredele se za konkretne postupke u rešavanju problema, pa ih ovde iznosimo kao naknadna saznanja, ne unapred zadate teme radionice.

Jedan od prvih zahteva bio je ovladavanje specifičnostima prevodenja detektivskog žanra. S obzirom na to da je zadatak bio prevod čitave priče (na kursovima

se prevode samo odlomci), poseban izazov bio je očuvanje koherentnosti teksta u celini, postizanje ujednačene stilizacije govora pripadnika različitih društvenih slojeva od početka do kraja priče i rešavanje kulturoloških problema u prevodu. Kako su studenti po prvi put bili u prilici da isprate sve korake u prevodilačkom projektu, od prvog kontakta s klijentom do štampanja prevoda, važan aspekt profesionalnog prevođenja bio je i sagledavanje uticaja svih nejezičkih faktora koji na tom putu utiču na konačan izgled prevoda. To se, na primer, odnosi na okolnost da je na projektu učestvovao veliki broj prevodilaca i da je pokretač projekta koordinirao proces prevođenja 50 priča, što je značilo da su postupci za rešavanje nekih prevodilačkih problema bili unapred određeni, od izbora pisma u prevodu, opsega autorskih prava⁴, uloge lektora i pregovaranja o rokovima, do načina prenošenja Poaroovih replika na francuskom. U anketi sprovedenoj po završetku radionice, studenti su kao značajno i novo u odnosu na kurseve koje su ranije pohađali, istakli psihološke momente: osećaj odgovornosti i posvećenosti zadatku, iskustvo komunikacije sa lektorom i urednikom. Time se potvrđuje pretpostavka da je izgradnja self-koncepta, tj. svesti o sebi kao prevodiocu i ulozi koju treba da obavi upravo jedan od bitnih očekivanih ishoda prakse (Kelly 2005: 92).

Jedna od uloga nastavnika u okviru nestrukturiranog realističnog projekta u Kiralijevom smislu (2000:66) jeste i da obezbedi da se projekat izvrši na vreme i na onom nivou kvaliteta koji naručilac prevoda očekuje. U prevođenju književnih dela namenjenih objavljivanju, taj nivo je očekivano visok. Nastavnik je ulozi redaktora mogao intervenisati u tekstu prevoda koliko je smatrao je da je potrebno, ali to su ipak morali biti studentski, a ne nastavnički prevodi zadatih priča. Stoga je prvi stepen kontrole kvaliteta predstavljao sam izbor učesnika radionice, a to su bili studenti koji su ostvarili izuzetan uspeh na kursevima prevođenja sa engleskog na srpski, od kojih je jedan bio i prevođenje beletristike. Pored toga, timski rad pretpostavlja stalno pregovaranje o značenju i načinu rešavanja prevodilačkih problema sa ostalim članovima tima. Nastavnik je u ulozi redaktora kontrolisao prevod na planu semantičke tačnosti, stilske ujednačenosti i opšte koherentnosti prevoda (cf. Mossop 2001: 99-100). Nakon zajedničke odluke članova tima i redaktora da je rad na prevodu zadate priče završen, tekst je bio poslat rukovodiocu projekta, g. Ivanoviću. Nakon toga, svi prevodi su prolazili kontrolu urednika i lektora *Novog magazina* i na kraju lektora *Politike*. Takva procedura je nužno dovodila u fokus i aspekt interpersonalne potkompetencije, veštinu pregovaranja, koja je naročito dolazila do izražaja u definisanju kriterijuma za kvalitet konačnih rešenja sa ruko-

⁴ Prevodilački problem u opsegu autorskih prava bio je, na primer, prevod imenice *pudding* iz naslova priče *The Adventure of Christmas Pudding*, koja je u prethodnim objavljenim prevodima, po zahtevu vlasnika autorskih prava, prevedena kao *puding*, iako su *pudding* i *puding* lažni par. Ovoga puta je dobijena dozvola da se *pudding* u naslovu prevede semantički kao *božićni kolač*, uz obaveznu da se u fusnoti navede i „božićni puding“.

vodiocem projekta i angažovanih lektora. Umeće pregovaranja se ispoljava u različitim fazama svakog prevodilačkog angažmana ali retko kada dolazi do izražaja u redovnoj nastavi, a u kontekstu profesionalne prevodilačke situacije koju primarno definiše naručilac prevoda, važno je pokazati i na koji način specifične kompetencije prevodilaca, tj. sposobnost analize narativne tehnike pisca i argumentovanja primenjenih prevodilačkih postupaka, igraju ulogu u definisanju kriterijuma kvaliteta u prevodu.

S obzirom na to da je radionica bila organizovana u vreme ispitnog roka i dela letnjeg raspusta, o načinu zajedničkog rada učesnici radionice su se dogovarali na individualnoj osnovi. Stoga se nakon početnog dogovora o pokretanju radionice i prvog okupljanja, komunikacija između studenata i nastavnika odvijala elektronskim putem. S obzirom na dužinu priča (između 40 i 60 prevodilačkih strana), studenti, rukovodilac projekta i nastavnici utvrdili su rok od mesec dana koji je bio prihvatljiv za sve učesnike radionice.

Dalju elektronsku komunikaciju između studenata i nastavnika diktirao je sam rad na prevodu. Nastavnik nije imao uticaja na način na koji su članovi timova između sebe organizovali rad niti na tempo kojim su prevodili. Studenti su se samoinicijativno javljali kada bi uočili potrebu za tim, a u unapred dogovorenim vremenskim intervalima slali su segmente prevoda sa označenim problemima u tekstu. Nastavnik je odgovarao pismenim putem, upućujući na tip izvora ili same izvore u kojima bi se mogli pronaći odgovori za navedene probleme ili je, kada su se pitanja ticala prevodilačkih postupaka dogovorenih na nivou čitavog projekta, bio posrednik u komunikaciji između članova radionice i rukovodioca projekta.

4. Agata Kristi u žanrovskoj književnosti i u prevodu na srpski

Širi društveni značaj projekta moguće je sagledati kroz mesto koje Agata Kristi zauzima u britanskoj i svetskoj književnosti, a preko prevoda na srpski i hrvatski i na domaćoj sceni. Kako su ključne karakteristike njenih detektivskih priča uticale na usaglašenu prevodilačku strategiju učesnika radionice, predstavimo Agatu Kristi u kontekstu svetske književnosti, a zatim i njenu recepciju u Srbiji.

Vrhunac stvaralaštva Agate Kristi vezuje se za period između dva svetska rata, preciznije za tridesete i četrdesete godine XX veka, i takozvano „zlatno doba” detektivskog žanra u Velikoj Britaniji. Iako, razume se, varijacije i odstupanja postoje, svrstavanje pisaca i njihovih dela u okvire „zlatnog doba” temelji se na ranije sporadičnim karakteristikama koje u ovom periodu postaju žanrovska norma. Među takvim elementima ističu se jasna ograničenost po pitanju mesta dešavanja radnje (neretko je u pitanju u određenom smislu zatvoren i izolovan prostor, poput seoskog imanja ili stana u gradu), ali i u pogledu prikazanih slojeva društva, pri čemu niže

klase imaju sporednu ulogu (Knight 2003: 78). U pogledu počinjenog zločina, pisci „zlatnog doba” izbegavaju senzacionalističke prikaze nasilja (Bargainnier 1980: 8) i gнусne detalje ubistava, već se oni, nekako, odvijaju na periferiji romana. Umesto toga, suština žanra pronalazi se u igri detekcije i razložnog zaključivanja, koja je u slučaju Agate Kristi uvek „elegantna poput izjednačene jednačine” (Bargainnier 1980: 5).

Iako u periodu nakon II svetskog rata, pedesetih i šezdesetih godina XX veka, Kristi objavljuje zavidnim tempom od gotovo jednog romana godišnje, kritičari joj zameraju osetan pad u pogledu originalnosti, maštovitosti i svežine ideja (Maida 1982: 2). U njenim romanima i pripovetkama neretko se zapaža sličnost, pa čak i istovetnost zapleta, načina na koji je zločin izveden i samog rešenja misterije, dok su neke od pripovedaka doslovno prerađene i objavljene pod novim naslovom, uz minimalne izmene, često samo u pogledu imena junaka i pojedinih manje bitnih elemenata priče. Osim toga, hronološku klasifikaciju pripovedaka dodatno otežava činjenica da su one često, nakon pojavljivanja u časopisima, objavljivane i u okviru više zbirki priča, pri čemu se ova izdanja razlikuju kad je reč u britanskom i američkom tržištu do te mere da nemaju isti sadržaj, pa čak ni naslov.

Svaka od četiri pripovetke kojima smo se bavili u okviru prevodilačke radionice svoje prvo objavljivanje doživela je u nekom od časopisa. Pregled hronologije njihovog objavljivanja dajemo prema studiji Najdžela Kotorna (Cawthorne 2014), koja ove podatke iscrpno i detaljno navodi. Pripovetka *The Adventure of the Christmas Pudding*, kasnije objavljena u zbirci istog naslova, duža je verzija pripovetke *Christmas Adventure* objavljene 11. decembra 1923. u 1611. broju časopisa *Sketch*. Ova se pripovetka u opusu Agate Kristi sreće i pod naslovom *The Theft of the Royal Ruby*, pod kojim je objavljivana i u nedeljniku *Women's Illustrated* u periodu od 24. decembra 1960. do 7. januara 1961. godine. Pripovetka *The Mystery of the Spanish Chest* je duža, prerađena verzija pripovetke *The Mystery of the Baghdad Chest* u odnosu na koju su izmenjena imena junaka i unapređena tehnologija muzičkih uređaja koji se u priči pominju, dok je radnja pomerenjena sa prvobitne 1935. godine na šezdesete godine XX veka (Pendergast 2004: 122). *The Mystery of the Baghdad Chest* se prvi put pojavila u 493. broju magazina *Strand*, u januaru 1932, dok je *The Mystery of the Spanish Chest* objavljena u tri nastavka u časopisu *Women's Illustrated*, od 17. septembra do 1. oktobra 1960. Pripovetka *The Underdog* je prvi put objavljena u časopisu *The London Magazine* u oktobru 1926. godine, dok je na američkom tržištu objavljena nekoliko meseci ranije, aprila iste godine, u časopisu *The Mystery Magazine*. Pripovetka *The Incredible Theft* je prerađeno i prošireno izdanje pripovetke *The Submarine Plans* (Pendergast 2004: 15) koja je na američkom tržištu prvi put objavljena u julu 1925. u mesečniku *Blue Book Magazine*. Ukradeni nacrti podmornice iz pripovetke *The Submarine Plans* za potrebe pripovetke *The Incredible Theft* ustupili su mesto nacrtima najnovijeg

borbenog aviona, dok je radnja pomerena sa kraja 1920. ili početka 1921. godine (Pendergast 2004: 179) na tridesete godine XX veka.

Što se zbirki pripovedaka tiče, *The Underdog* se javlja kao prva pripovetka iz zbirke *The Underdog and Other Stories*, objavljene 1951. u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama. Na britanskom tržištu, *The Underdog* je u formi knjige prvi put objavljena u sklopu zbirke *The Adventures of the Christmas Pudding* (1960), u kojoj se, osim već pomenute pripovetke po kojoj je zbirka dobila naslov, nalazi i pripovetka *The Mystery of the Spanish Chest*, koja se na američkom tržištu pojavljuje u zbirci *The Harlequin Tea Set* iz 1997. godine. Njen kraći oblik, *The Mystery of the Baghdad Chest*, objavljen je u zbirci *The Regatta Mystery and Other Stories* iz 1939. godine, prvoj zbirci štampanoj isključivo za američku publiku (Bunson 2000: 127). Pripovetka *The Incredible Theft* se javlja u okviru britanskog izdanja zbirke *Murder in the Mews and Other Stories* (1937), dok u američkom izdanju istog naslova nije prisutna (Bunson 2000: 100).

5. Četiri priče u ranijim prevodima *Neverovatna krađa/The Incredible Theft*, *Pustolovina sa božićnim kolačem/The Adventure of the Christmas Pudding*, *Potčinjeni/The Under Dog* i *Misterija španske škrinje/The Mystery of the Spanish Chest*

Podaci o dosadašnjim prevodima priča na srpskohrvatski, odnosno srpski i hrvatski, prikupljeni su na osnovu publikacija *Bibliografije Jugoslavije* i *Bibliografije Srbije*. *Bibliografija Srbije* je tekuća nacionalna bibliografija koja na osnovu obaveznog primerka Narodne biblioteke Srbije i Biblioteke Matice srpske beleži izdavačku produkciju u Republici Srbiji. U periodu od 1950. do 2002. godine izdavačka delatnost u Republici Srbiji, kao i na celom prostoru SFRJ i SRJ, registrovana je u *Bibliografiji Jugoslavije*, koju je izdavao Jugoslovenski bibliografsko-informacioni institut. Od 2003. godine *Bibliografiju Srbije* izrađuje i izdaje Narodna biblioteka Srbije prema Zakonu o bibliotečkoj delatnosti (Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, br. 34/1994). *Bibliografija Jugoslavije/Srbije* obuhvata monografske publikacije, serijske publikacije, članke i priloge u serijskim publikacijama i neknjižnu građu. Podaci o prevodima zbirki pripovedaka pronađeni su u delu *Bibliografije* pod nazivom *Knjige, brošure i muzikalije* (1950-2002) i *Monografske publikacije – prevodi* (2003-2013). Podaci o prevodima pripovedaka koji su objavljeni u periodici pronađeni su u delu *Bibliografije* pod nazivom *Članci i prilozi u serijskim publikacijama, Serija C. Umetnost, sport, filologija, književnosti* (1951-2011).

Na osnovu prikupljenih podataka utvrđeno je da priča *Neverovatna krađa* nikad ranije nije prevedena, odnosno da je prevod učesnika radionice prvi prevod ove priče Agate Kristi kod nas. Najveći broj puta prevedena je priča *Pustolovina*

sa božićnim kolačem, koja je pod nazivom *Božićni puding* u tri nastavka prvi put objavljena u sarajevskom nedeljniku *Svijet* 1962. godine. Radi se o skraćenoj verziji priče, a ime prevodioca se ne navodi. Istu priču 1977. godine u prevodu Antona Vouka izdavačka kuća Globus iz Zagreba objavljuje u zbirci *Pustolovina božićnog pudinga*. Ova zbirka doživjeće još dva izdanja, 1984. i 1988. godine, oba puta u saradnji sa Maticom srpskom iz Novog Sada. U prevodu Ivane Damjanović, sada kao *Slučaj božićnog pudinga*, priča je 1997. godine objavljena u zbirci *Tajna božićnog pudinga* u izdanju Narodne knjige – Alfa iz Beograda. U izdanju Nove škole iz Beograda, kao „poklon čitaocima i čitateljicama časopisa *Naj*“ ova priča je 2008. godine objavljena u zbirci pod nazivom *Pustolovina božićnog pudinga*. Poređenjem sa prethodnim verzijama prevoda priče, lako se uočava da se u poslednjem slučaju radi o posrbljenoj verziji Voukovog prevoda.

Priča *Potčinjeni* prvi put je prevedena 1965. godine. Kao delo nepoznatog prevodioca, naslovljena *Čovek koga su ponižavali*, izlazila je u beogradskoj *Politici ekspres* u nastavcima od 24. februara do 22. marta. Nakon toga, prevodi je Anton Vouk, te se pod nazivom *Pokorni sluga* nalazi u zbirci *Pustolovina božićnog pudinga* iz 1977, 1984. i 1988. godine.⁵ Kao *Potčinjeni* prevodi je Ivana Damjanović u zbirci iz 1997. godine. *Misterija španske škrinje* se pod naslovom *Misterij španjolskog sanduka* nalazi u zbirkama iz 1977, 1984. i 1988. godine, s tim što se u zajedničkim izdanjima Globusa i Matice srpske u sadržaju i kratkom opisu priča pominje i pod nazivima *Tajna španske škrinje* i *Zagonetka španjolske škrinje*. U zbirci iz 1997. godine nalazi se kao *Tajna španske škrinje* i, naposljetku, kao *Misterija španske škrinje* objavljena je i u zbirci *Servis za čaj „Arlekin“*, koju je 2005. godine u prevodu Ivane Ašković objavila Narodna knjiga iz Beograda.

6. Ključni elementi strategije u prevodima učesnika radionice

Svaki novi prevod donosi novo i drugačije čitanje i on ne mora nužno biti kritika starog. Stoga je važno napomenuti da prevodi pripovedaka u radionici nisu nastali u odgovoru ili kao reakcija na prethodne prevode. Učesnici radionice bili su saglasni da se prethodni prevodi ne analiziraju dok se ne završe prevodi četiri priče, kako se ne bi dogodilo da utiču na studente autoritetom same činjenice da su objavljeni.

Opšte opredeljenje učesnika radionice bilo je da prevod svih priča treba da bude što koherentniji i fluentniji, što je prema Venutiju (1995) jedan od ključnih pokazatelja strategije podomaćivanja. Težnja ka stilskoj uverljivosti prevoda za domaćeg čitaoca motivisana je samom svrhom priča o Poarou i okolnostima njihovog

⁵ Zanimljivo je da se u izdanjima u saradnji sa Maticom srpskom u sadržaju navode naslovi priča na hrvatskom i na srpskom. Ova priča se u sadržaju navodi kao *Nesretni čovek/Potčinjeni*. No, u samom tekstu naslov priče je *Pokorni sluga*.

nastanka. Kao što smo već napomenuli u osvrtu na stvaralaštvo Agate Kristi, sve detektivske priče o Poarou izlazile su prvo u dnevnim i nedeljnim listovima. Ono što kritičari zameraju spisateljici moglo bi biti posledica medija u kom su priče objavljivane i implicitnih ili eksplicitnih zahteva naručilaca. I najnoviji prevodi priča namenjeni su objavljivanju u dnevnom listu, pa su karakteristike strategije potuđivanja (nestandardni redosled reči u rečenici, neidiomatični izbor reči i kolokacija, dosledna transkripcija kulturoloških realija) smatrani neadekvatnim za detektivske priče, izuzev kada su oni sredstvo stilizacije pojedinih likova. Kako je leksička kohezija ključna za fluentnost teksta, njoj je posvećena posebna pažnja u relevantnim segmentima radnje, kao u sledećem primeru gde je ona u prevodu ostvarena konkretizacijom (*said - poče*):

– I regret exceedingly... *said* M. Hercule Poirot. He was *interrupted*. Not rudely *interrupted*...

– Neizmerno mi je žao..., *poče* gospodin Herkul Poaro. *Prekinut* je usred rečenice, *ali ne napadno*... (*Pustolovina sa božićnim kolačem*, 1)

U navedenom primeru glagoli *poče* i *prekinut* čine logičan leksički niz u kom se prvim glagolom najavljuje značenje drugog. Idiomatične kolokacije i ekonomičnost izraza takođe su sredstva koja pozitivno utiču na koheziju u tekstu. Spajanjem naredne tri rečenice u jednu postignut je idiomatičniji i ekonomičniji izraz na srpskom izostavljanjem ponovljenog pasiva (*interrupted, interrupted*).

U cilju postizanja dinamičnosti pripovedanja, dosledno su alternirani aorist – za događaje u prvom planu i perfekat – za opise situacije, reakcije na događaje, koji su u drugom planu, bez obzira na vreme glagola u originalnom tekstu.

Za studente ova radionica nije donela ništa novo u pogledu razumevanja i primene opisane strategije, ali su po prvi put bili u situaciji da je dosledno primenjuju na celovitom dužem tekstu. Pravi izazovi ticali su se stilizacije govora likova u pričama i rešavanja kulturoloških elemenata.

7. Likovi i jezik kao sredstvo karakterizacije

U svim pričama koje su studenti prevodili, pripadnost različitim društvenim slojevima, pa i profesijama, primetna je u načinu na koji likovi govore. Koliko god da je stilizacija različitih govora kao sredstvo karakterizacije česta u književnim delima, ona se u prevodu neretko zanemaruje, pa je jedan od ciljeva radionice bio istaći u prevodu tu diferenciranost govora različitih likova.

Specifičan način izražavanja je upravo ono što Poarou omogućava da pothranjuje uverenje drugih likova da nije dorastao zadatku i da ne razume situaciju. Naime, Poaroov govor nije isti od početka do kraja slučaja na kome radi. O tome

mu pitanje postavlja gospodin Satervajt na kraju romana *Tragedija u tri čina* (Kristi 1996: 209): *Kako to da ponekad izvrsno govorite engleski, a ponekad kao da vam ponestane reči?* Poaroov odgovor otkriva ne samo da je potpuno svestan utiska koji ostavlja na sagovornike nego i da je način govora zapravo dobro smišljena strategija kojoj pribegava pri rešavanju slučajeva:

A, to ću da vam objasnim. Tačno je da mogu savršeno pravilno da govorim engleski. Ali, prijatelju moj, ako govorim loše, to mi je velika prednost. To navodi ljude da me podcene [sic!]. Kažu: a, stranac... ne zna čak ni engleski kako treba. Nikako ne želim da uplašim ljude... umesto toga navodim ih da mi se podsmevaju. (...) I tako, vidite, ljudi prestanu da budu pažljivi. (Kristi 1996: 209-210)

Shodno tome, tokom rešavanja slučaja Poaro želi da ostavi utisak da traži pravi način da se izrazi, pa s vremena na vreme koristi izraze poput *kako bih to kazao*, *kako vi ono kažete* ili *kako biste vi to rekli*. Ponekad sebi dozvoljava i da pogreši, obično kad želi da upotrebi neki idiomatski izraz:

– *Ah, yes, it is what you call the old gasp - no, pardon, the old wheeze - that - to come back for a book.*

– *Ah, da, kako vi ono kažete, to je stari fazan. Ne, pardon, stari fazon, vratiti se po knjigu.* (Neverovatna krađa, 8)

No, nakon što je rešio slučaj i izlaže svoje objašnjenje, Poarou ni u jednom trenutku ne nedostaju reči niti pravi ijednu grešku. Stoga Barginijer (Bargainnier 1980: 49) izdvaja jezik kao jedan od tri glavna elementa karakterizacije Poaroovog prepoznatljivog lika.⁶

U pogledu stilizacije Poaroovog jezika, najlakše se uočava da Poaro s vremena na vreme koristi francuske reči i izraze, ali i to da su oni uvek jednostavni poput *eh bien*, *allez*, *du tout*, *en promenade*, *penchant*, *mais qui*, *tout de même*, te se da zaključiti da oni imaju ulogu suptilnog začina koji ističe aromu stranca. Kao takvi oni su preneseni iz izvornog teksta u tekst prevoda, gde su objašnjeni u fusnotama. Daleko zahtevnije bilo je pronalaženje načina da se u srpski jezik prenese druga karakteristika koja Poaroov engleski čini drugačijim od engleskog kojim govore izvorni govornici. Naime, u poređenju sa ostalim likovima, Poaro govori neuporedivo formalnije, što se najizrazitije ogleda u činjenici da on gotovo nikad ne koristi kontrahovane oblike. Evo nekoliko primera iz priče *The Incredible Theft*:

– *But it is a little different from that, is it not?*

– *Aha, you did not notice. But you are a young man. Does not a young man notice when a girl is pretty?*

⁶ Druga dva elementa su fizički izgled i taština.

– *Let us go to the drawing room.*⁷

Budući da u srpskom jeziku ne postoji ekvivalent ovog vida kontrakcija, ova karakteristika je na semantičko-leksičkom nivou kompenzovana tako što se, gde god je moguće, umesto kraćeg oblika reči upotrebio njen duži sinonim. Tako su, na primer, *yes* i *no* umesto sa *da* i *ne* prevedeni dužim oblicima *svakako*, odnosno *nikako*:

- *Yes, yes./ Svakako, svakako. (Misterija španske škrinje, 6)*
- *That, no! / To nikako! (Misterija španske škrinje, 15)*

Zatim, pomoćni glagol *biti* je svuda gde je bilo izvodljivo preveden dužim leksičkim glagolom, a takođe su se, u slučajevima koji to dozvoljavaju, umesto jedne reči (glagola ili imenice) upotrebljavale dve reči (glagol + imenica ili pridev + imenica), kao u sledećem primeru:

- *How long had you been in this room when you heard the scream, Monsieur?/ Koliko dugo ste boravili u sobi dok niste čuli vrisak, mesje? (Neverovatna krađa, 8)*

Jedna od tehnika u obeležavanju Poaroovog formalnog govora bila je i korišćenje reči i izraza koje se češće sreću u pisanom jeziku nego u govorenom, kao i onih koje se mogu okarakterisati kao kroatizmi, kao u primerima:

- *Who went up to bed first?/ Ko je prvi otišao na počinak? (Neverovatna krađa, 8)*
- *...Mrs Macatta was blamelessly in her bedroom /...gospođa Makata je sasvim nevino obitavala u svojoj sobi. (Neverovatna krađa, 19)*

Na nivou sintakse i strukture rečenice, umesto konstrukcije „da + prezent“ često je u prevodu upotrebljavan infinitiv:

- *You mean, your secretary also?/I vaš sekretar, hoćete reći? (Neverovatna krađa, 7)*
- *I mean did it strike you.../Htedoh reći, da li vam se čini... (Neverovatna krađa, 9)*

⁷ Poređenja radi, evo primera govora drugih likova, izvornih govornika engleskog jezika koji prirodno u govornom jeziku koriste kontrahovane oblike:

lord Mejfeld: *It doesn't sound very probable to me. (...) I'll leave you alone with Sir George. When you want me, you'll find me in my study.*

ser Džordž: *My dear M. Poirot. Don't ask me! I didn't see him, and I can't describe him. (...) You've hit it. M. Poirot. I've been worrying about that ever since. Your see, I'd swear that no one did leave this window.*

gospodin Karlajl: *Really, I didn't notice.*

Govor obrazovanih pripadnika društvene elite je standardni engleski, uglavnom odmeren s tek ponekim kolokvijalizmom. Tako, na primer, lord Mejfeld, koji ima kako najvišu titulu tako i najuticajniju funkciju od svih gostiju u priči *Neverovatna krađa*, u govoru koristi književne aluzije (*Pomislio si da me je zavela pesma sirena?*), kao i reči francuskog porekla (*...da bude u društvu nezainteresovanih debitantkinja*), a kad želi da upotrebi kolokvijalni izraz, napominje da je to izraz iz (kriminalističkih) filmova: *Vidi, Džordže, znaš kako kažu u filmovima – nemamo ništa konkretno da joj prišijemo*. (*Neverovatna krađa*, 3)

Govor pripadnika nižih slojeva u prevodu je arhaizovan i kolokvijalizovan:

– *Onakav predivan, u otmenoj kutiji kakvu je imala gospon Li-Vortlijeva sestra, ona što mu nije bila sestra?* (*Pustolovina s božićnim kolačem*, 16)

– *Ma nemojte!* (*Potčinjeni*, 13)

U retkim situacijama kada pripadnici nižih slojeva pišu on je i nestandardan, kao u poruci koju mlada služavka šalje Poarou da bi ga upozorila da je božićni kolač otrovan:

Nemojte jesti božićnog kolača!

Neko ko ti misli dobro. (*Pustolovina s božićnim kolačem*, 15)

8. Britanska kultura u prevodu

Moguće tehnike u prevodenju kulturoloških realija su prevod generalizacijom, kulturološkim ekvivalentom ili transliteracijom i transkripcijom. Studenti su se u domenu kulturoloških realija susretali s prevodenjem plemićkih titula, naziva institucija državnog sistema, državnih funkcija, društvenih organizacija i raznih oblika društvenog aktivizma. U priči *Misterija španske škrinje*, značajan izazov za studente predstavljalo je prevodenje manje bliskih vojničkih činova (*orderly* - *posilni*) i institucija (*Treasury* - *Ministarstvo finansija*, *Home Office* - *Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova*, *CID* - *istražno odeljenje*). Više angažovanja zahtevao je i rad na vojničkoj terminologiji i ostalim elementima vojničkog života. Kako je mogućnost objašnjavanja kulturoloških značenja u fusnotama bila ograničena uredničkom odlukom da se sve što Poaro kaže na francuskom prevede u fusnoti, rešenja su tražena u transkripciji (*Sandhurst* - *Sendherst*), opisnim prevodima (*Combined Services* - *Vojni klub*), kulturološkim ekvivalentima (*Staff College* - *Oficirska škola*) ili kombinacijom opšte imenice i transkribovanog naziva (*from Fortnum and Mason!* / ... kao iz kataloga robne kuće *Fortnam i Mejson*).

Osnovni kriterijum u izboru tehnike za prevodenje kulturoloških personifikacija bilo je koliko je ona poznata čitaocima prevoda. U priči *The Incredible Theft*

javlja se personifikacija Velike Britanije, odnosno Engleske u liku tipičnog Engleza zvanog Džon Bul:

-By the Lord, George, I thought you were too much of an old John Bull to put your trust in a Frenchman, however clever.

Rešenje je pronađeno u kombinaciji naziva poznate britanske reke i ustaljene metafore, za koju se pretpostavlja da će čitaocima biti bliža, razumljivija: *Zaboga, Džordže, mislio sam da suviše Temze teče tvojim venama da bi polagao nade u Francuza, ma koliko da je bistar.* (Neverovatna krađa, 6)

Kulinarska terminologija često predstavlja problem pri prevodenju, naročito kada se istovremeno radi i o kulturološkoj referenci. U zavisnosti od konteksta u kom se pojam javlja, koliko je objašnjen u opisu radnje i njegove kulturološke specifičnosti, rešenja su se kretala od transkripcije, transkripcije uz prateću fusnotu do generalizacije. U priči *Misterija španske škrinje* naziv koktela *sidecar* je transkribovan (*sajdkar*), dok je pojašnjenje njegovog sastava dato u vidu fusnote. Iako je hrana koju gospođa Spens u jednoj sceni priprema u kuhinji označena kao *cas-serole*, studenti su se u prevodu opredelili za generalizaciju kako se nepotrebnim preciziranjem ne bi skretala pažnja sa glavnog toka radnje, a tekst opterećivao dodatnom fusnotom (*Gospođa Spens reče da mora da proveri kako napreduje ručak u kuhinji...*; *Misterija španske škrinje*, 21). U priči *The Adventure of the Christmas Pudding* sadržan je ne samo opis pripremanja ovog tradicionalnog specijaliteta već i običaja koji uz njega idu. Reč *puđing* na srpskom sasvim je drugačiji tip poslastice, pa je prevodno rešenje i u ovom slučaju dobijeno generalizacijom (*božićni kolač*).

9. Zaključak: iskustvo nastavnika o izvodivosti radionica kao oblika prakse iz književnog prevodenja na osnovnim studijama

Prilika da objave svoj prvi književni prevod pokazala se kao jak motivišući faktor za studente. Ta motivacija očitovala se prvo u odluci da prihvate obiman prevodilački zadatak nakon završetka redovne nastave, a zatim i u ozbiljnosti koju su ispoljili: poštovali su okvirno dogovoren tempo rada, skretali pažnju na uočene prevodilačke probleme nastavniku i ostalim članovima tima i u svim slučajevima samostalno predlagali rešenja koja su potom razmatrali i argumentovali u prepisci sa ostalim učesnicima radionice i rukovodiocem projekta.

Što se tiče opterećenja, radionica je bila zahtevna vannastavna aktivnost za sve učesnike. Ta zahtevnost je na samom početku bila jedan od eliminacionih faktora: samo su studenti sa velikom motivacijom mogli da pored redovnih nastavnih i ispitnih obaveza učestvuju u njenom radu. Za nastavnike koji su radionicu organi-

zovali, potvrdilo se uverenje da s obzirom na očekivani kvalitet, ona ne bi trebalo da bude obavezan vid prakse za sve studente koji pohađaju prevodilačke kurseve. U nastavnom kontekstu koji bi podrazumevao obaveznu praksu kao samostalan predmet i mogućnost izbora u pogledu vrste i tipa prevodenja koji bi se tokom prakse obavljali, opterećenost bi mogla biti usklađena sa propisanom četrdesetočasovnom radnom nedeljom za nastavnika i propisanim opterećenjem za studenta. Opterećenost nastavnika zavisi od obimnosti samog projekta, odnosno broja timova koje prati. Na procenu savladivog obima bitno utiče socio-konstruktivistički pristup timskom radu na projektu i potreba da različiti timovi ne rade isti zadatak. U nastavnoj praksi se pokazalo da osećaj odgovornosti i motivisanost zavise od realističnosti zadatka, kako u pogledu jezičkih i tematskih odlika, tako i u pogledu organizacije rada na prevodu: sve dok postoji još jedan tim koji radi na istom zadatku, postoji i iskušenje da se rešavanje najproblematičnijih mesta prepusti drugome. Nastavnička uloga u radionici književnog prevodenja najbliža je redaktorskoj u profesionalnom okruženju, pa u proceni savladivog obima vodič može da bude postojeća redaktorska praksa u prevodilačkim agencijama, prema kojoj je redaktorska norma u broju stranica jednaka trostrukoj prevodilačkoj normi.

U uključivanju studenata u profesionalne tokove treba izbeći i opasnost od toga da volonterski studentski rad bude u sukobu s interesima prevodilaca koji su već na tržištu rada. Stoga je bitno da se studenti ne uključuju u projekte koji za cilj imaju ostvarivanje profita i da njihov rad bude od koristi široj društvenoj zajednici. U svetu izdavaštva to dakle ne mogu biti projekti čija realizacija podrazumeva za naše prilike visoke ili redovne tiraže (1000 primeraka), i koji bi i uz angažman iskusnih profesionalnih prevodilaca bili profitabilni. U našem slučaju, iako se jeste radilo o velikim tiražima, prema sporazumu sa naručiocem prevoda, nijedna od objavljenih priča nije namenjena prodaji, već je bila besplatan dodatak lista *Politika*. Reakcija čitalaca *Politike*, vidljiva u povećanoj tražnji ovog lista tokom perioda u kom su objavljivane priče (tiraž je porastao za oko 5000), dobar je pokazatelj da se u sferi ponovljenih prevoda može pronaći ta niša u kojoj će se afirmisati novi prevodioci ne ugrožavajući ionako osetljivo tržište književnog prevodenja.

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ON TRANSLATING POIROT INTO SERBIAN AND A SMALL WORKSHOP IN A BIG PROJECT

Summary

The paper describes a case of a literary translation internship for the BA and MA students in Serbia which resulted from the cooperation between the teachers of translation and literature at the University of Novi Sad, Faculty of Philosophy and the representatives of *Novi Magazin* and *Politika* newspapers in Serbia. The student internship was organized at the Faculty of Philosophy in the form of the Workshop on Translating Detective Stories which as such participated in the whole scale project of translating 50 early Agatha Christie's stories about Hercule Poirot into Serbian. The paper gives an overview of the critical acclaim of Agatha Christie's detective stories, the history of translating these stories into Serbian and the translation strategy the participants of the Workshop chose in their reading of the stories *The Incredible Theft*, *The Adventure of the Christmas Pudding*, *The Under Dog* and *The Mystery of the Spanish Chest*.

Key words: literary translation internship, Agatha Christie, stories about Poirot, translation strategy

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JEZIČKA INFLACIJA KAO FENOMEN KRIZE AUTORITETA U ŠEKSPIROVOM *KRALJU LIRU*

U svojim tragedijama, Vilijam Šekspir koristi jezičku igru, retoričku obmanu i verbalnu manipulaciju kao element strukture, stila i dekoruma, ali i kao način da posreduje mehanizme delovanja društvenog sistema. U četiri velike tragedije (*Hamlet*, *Otelo*, *Kralj Lir* i *Magbet*) uočavamo niz pokušaja da se jezička ambivalencija dramatizuje u socijalnoj hijerarhiji i dramskom postupku. *Otelo* se može čitati kao "retorička alegorija" (T. Meknili) koja dokazuje moć obmane i na nivou dramske radnje i na nivou stvaralačkog postupka a tema dramatičnog disbalansa između zločina i lične ambicije u *Magbetu* posredovana je upravo višeznačnim jezikom koji poziva i junaka i čitaoca da projektuje svoju želju u tekst umesto da prepozna ideološku ambivalentnost proročanstava, obećanja i zakletvi. *Kralj Lir* predstavlja najbolji primer kako „jezička inflacija” (T. Iglton) u sadejstvu sa srednjovekovnom hijerarhijom (A. Serpijeri) istovremeno demonstrira svojstva ekonomičnosti i artifičijelnosti, pa će se ovaj rad pozabaviti mehanizmima podri-
vanja autoriteta koje jezik stvara i pokreće.

Ključne reči: Šekspir, tragedija, jezička inflacija, retorika, vlast, autoritet

O univerzalnom značaju Šekspirovih komada rečeno je mnogo, tako da nam neće kao novina zazvučati tvrdnja Mardžori Garber da je *Hamlet* „drama koja je od romantizma naovamo uspostavljena kao najbolja dramatizacija pitanja savesti u zapadnom svetu”, da je bračni par *Magbet* „amblem ambicije”, *Otelo* „simbol ljubomorne ljubavi” a *Lir* „paradigma zanemarene starosti” (Garber 2004: 4). Felisiti Roslin reći će da velike tragedije ovog pisca govore o bolnoj samoći „novog čoveka” (Rosslyn 2000: 120). No paradigmatičnosti Šekspirovih komada doprinosi u najvećoj meri univerzalni jezički i komunikacioni kod. O jeziku tragedije pisano je mnogo u modernim kritičkim ključevima, od psihoanalize, rodni studija preko dekonstrukcije do novog istorizma, i svaki je naglašavao uzbunjujuću, remetilačku

prirodu jezika, otpor stabilnosti koji jezik pruža. Kritičar Ros McKendall u tragediji kao formi uočava „autorovu opsjednutost umećem jezika da načini štetu, da izvitoperuje i da zavodi na pogrešan put” (McEachern 2002: 45); svaka tragedija nam, kaže on, jasno ukazuje na rizik od izopačenja jezika i pretvaranja reči u oruđe zla, jer je „jezik veroloman i nepouzdan čak i u rukama dobrih” (McEachern 2002: 45). Nestalnu i teško ukrotivu prirodu jezika odaje, dakle, i sam način na koji kritičari o njemu govore, pristupajući mu kao svemogućem, a potencijalno veoma opasnom i štetnom oruđu. Evidentna je nemoć kritičkog diskursa da jezik tragedije kontroliše, reguliše i dekodira: i sama opaska da je jezik nepouzdan čak i u *rukama dobrih* ukazuje na nemoć pred protejskom prirodom jezika: jezik menja oblik, pa samim tim menja i suštinu rečenog, relativizujući komunikaciju.

Nesklad mišljenog i kazanog postaje sve ozbiljniji problem u tumačenju Šekspirovih dela, tragedija naročito, kako u procesu razobličavanja značenja istorijskih, običajnih i poetičkih, pa potom onih impliciranih u medijskim transpozicijama Šekspirovog dela. U svetu Šekspirovih tragedija jezik je tragičnom junaku neprijatelj čijem je dejstvu nemoguće suprotstaviti se: zaplet *Otela* pokazuje kakvu moć jezik zadobija kada se stavi u službu zla, pretvarajući bezazlene nesporazume u kobne raskole; *Kralj Lir* dočarava efekat „praznog” znaka i razorni učinak opet prividno bezazlenih laskanja i laži; motivima „jezičke inflacije”, „retorike laži” (Eagleton 1986: 76) i ulagivačkog jezika lišenog značenja bavi se i pozna, nedovršena tragedija *Timon Atinjanin*, a jedini tragični junak Šekspirov čije je dominantno obeležje potpuna neverica u jezik jeste Koriolan. Budući čovek od dela, Koriolan iskazuje gnušanje prema jeziku zbog nemogućnosti da se označitelj i označeno izjednače, i tako postaje sušta suprotnost Hamletu, čovek misli koji se u potpunosti prepušta varljivosti i nedoslednosti jezika.

Šekspirov jezik odlikuju dva nespojiva svojstva, artificijelnost i ekonomičnost: njegov jezik pokreće mehanizme delovanja sveta u formi verbalne zagonetke, postavlja neodgovoriva pitanja i nerešive probleme. Teri Iglton tvrdi da Šekspirove drame obogaćuju društveni poredak neuobičajenom rečitošću, ali da su u njima poredak sveta i poredak reči u stalnom potencijalnom sukobu (Eagleton 1986: xi). Uređenu političku državu uslovljava stabilnost jezika, ali Šekspirova vera u društvenu stabilnost dovedena je u opasnost istim onim jezikom koji je formuliše (Eagleton 1986: xi). Retorička obmana nastaje zbog toga što se svet i reč ne poklapaju; jezički znak ne otelovljuje pojam, reč ne uspeva da reprodukuje realni svet, te zbog nemogućnosti da bude fizički adekvatan, jezik stalno traga za idealnim izrazom između dve krajnosti: minimalističke svedenosti iskaza i jezičke inflacije – a obe su jednako opasne po poredak. U *Kralju Liru* najveći je problem tvrdoglavi, utilitarni pokušaj otelotvorenja reči – a to se otelotvorenje manifestuje kroz pokušaj kvantifikacije ljubavi.

Šekspirov Lir primer je osobe koja želi da svetu neživih stvari (tačnije, socijalnoj hijerarhiji) pridaje urođenu kontradiktornost bića: ako je tačna i empirijski dokaziva premisa da čovek može u isti mah imati protivrečna osećanja, onda bi, ako je društvena hijerarhija analogna ljudskom biću (na čemu je elizabetinska slika sveta insistirala) kralj mogao da ostane kralj i nakon što se povuče sa prestola i kraljevstvo podeli svojim biološkim naslednicama. Podelom kraljevstva Lir pokušava da u okvirima socijalne hijerarhije utemelji ambivalentnost svojstvenu biću: ali totalitet se ne može postići tako što će kralj predati vlast i potom nastaviti da vlada jer je takvo ustrojstvo realnosti moguće samo Bogu a Bog, u skladu sa elizabetanskom slikom sveta, može da vlada preko kralja kao svog zemaljskog namesnika. Paradoks kvantifikacije ljubavi koja se direktno naslanja na ovo uvođenje načela kontradiktornosti u poredak prisiliće Lirove kćeri da u potrazi za adekvatnošću verbalnog opisa realnosti pribegnu ili pogubnoj malorekosti ili slatkorečivosti koja donosi brzu ali etički sumnjivu dobit.

Zato će Gonerila reći da oca voli više nego što kaže reč ("more than words can *wield* the matter"): upotrebiće jezik tako da ukaže na njegovu potpunu nepodešnost, a ljubav će predstaviti kao nemoć verbalne ekspresije. Gonerilina retorička obmana temelji se na logici iluzije koliko i na iluziji logike: ljubav se ne može opisati – ali ne zato što svojom bezmernošću nadraža reč, već stoga što ta ljubav ni ne postoji (Eagleton 1986: 76). Gonerilina ljubav tako će postati označitelj koji skriva nepostojanje označenog, a verbalna iluzija biće promovisana u novu realnost, i ta će realnost kompromitovati autentičnost Kordelijine ljubavi.

Kordelijino „ništa” neminovno će se pretvoriti u metaforu opasne nestabilnosti retoričkog znaka kakvu ćemo jednako upečatljivo pamtili iz *Lira* i *Otela*. To „ništa” je manevar ženskog jezika, jedino utočište za pravu ljubav, ali i opasno oružje muške borbe za prevlast. Tako Edmund i Jago ovu reč izgovaraju s namerom da uspostave suprotnost istini – s tim što suprotnost istini ovde ne biva laž, već *efekat istinitosti*, utisak verodostojnosti koji lažna predstava može da ostavi. Privid istine podržaće i očevidni dokaz u vidu falsifikovanog pisma u *Kralju Liru* ili maramice u *Otelu*, a ti će prividni dokazi dobiti vrednost materijalne činjenice i označitelja moralne vrednosti. Pošto lažira dokaze o Dezdemoninom neverstvu, Jago njenu odanost Otelu pretvara u privid istine, a izmišljenu preljubu u jedinu istinu. Dokaz da ta izmišljena i lažnim dokazima potkrepljena preljuba postaje temelj Otelovog poimanja vrednosti jeste i osvedočenje čitaoca da Dezdemonino neverstvo nije samo vešto plasirana laž, već postaje i snažna opsesija, moćan pokretač Otelovog načina razmišljanja i vrednovanja sveta, što dodatno komplikuje zaplet tragedije. Naime, Otelo svoju uzvišenu intimnost sa Dezdemonom zamenjuje jednako strasnom, ali problematičnom intimnošću sa Jagom, pa ćemo u trećoj sceni trećeg čina prisustvovati sceni Otelovog i Jagovog zaveta na uzajamnu vernost. Otelo od uzora samosavlađivanja postaje parodija osvetnika, jer njegovu osvetu hrani seksualna

fantazija o Dezdemoninom promiskuitetu. Reč „ništa” koja je u korenu te fantazije jeste retorička obmana prvog reda: da sve bude složenije, „ništa” ne sugerise samo odsustvo, već i – prazninu koja želi da se ispuni značenjem. Šekspirovi negativni junaci uspevaju da tu prazninu ispune prividom značenja zahvaljujući tome što su njihove žrtve ili lakoverne, ili nesigurne u sebe. S druge strane, kroz kralja Lira kao tragičnog junaka Šekspir hrabro demaskira patrijarhalnu moć.

Lirov izazov hijerarhiji dovodi do njenog sloma i stvaranja haosa. Zato što Kordelija nije htela ništa da kaže o tome koliko ga voli, Lir je (rekavši da „iz ničega ništa ne biva”) razbaštinjuje i odriče je se, na taj način je izbacujući iz poretka. Međutim, pošto sistem neminovno teži održanju, prazno mesto mora se popuniti. To prazno mesto grabi nezakoniti sin erla od Glostera, Edmund: kao nezakoniti potomak on u poretku ne postoji, ali kad u trenutku krize i narušene hijerarhije postane deo te strukture, on nesmetano hrli njenom vrhu. Nakon uspešno izvedene intrige protiv polubrata Edgara, zahvaljujući kojoj je Edgar na osnovu fabrikovanih lažnih dokaza postao izdajnik isto onako kako je Dezdemona proglašena preljubnicom, Edmund postaje očev naslednik, potom, izdavši oca, postaje i erl od Glostera, da bi na koncu postao i mogući kralj tako što obećava brak Lirovim kćerima koje dele vlast. Njegov status je paradoksalan, ali sasvim moguć u poremećenoj socijalnoj hijerarhiji koja je uspostavila krizu autoriteta: u svetu poremećenih merila, vanbračni sin titulu i imanje nasleđuje od živog oca, a brak nudi dvema kraljevskim kćerima, od kojih je jedna udovica a druga udata! Edmundu je osvajanje vlasti olakšano činjenicom da svet drame Gonerilina i Reganina seksualnost promoviše u znamen zla: no njegove problematične „priče o uspehu” ne bi bilo bez obraćanja prirodi kao svojoj boginji. Na delu je ponovo retorička obmana – Edmund ne sledi prirodu tako što će oponašati njenu težnju harmoniji i savršenstvu, već tako što će oponašati njeno nepoznavanje i nepriznavanje moralnog zakona.

Hamlet koristi reči samo da bi pokazao koliko je njihovo posredovanje značenja neadekvatno i premda njegova jezička manipulacija nema mračne motive kakve imaju Gonerila i Regana ili Edmund, Hamlet neće odbiti da se poigra rečima kao što je to odbila Kordelija. Štaviše, on se naslađuje neprozirnošću znakova: s druge strane, Kordelija prihvata očev princip kvantifikacije ljubavi samo zato da bi mu dokazala koliko je egzaktnost podele u ljubavi nemoguća. Nesporazum kćeri i oca postaje fatalan upravo zbog retoričke obmane koja se isprečila između njih: smatrajući da retorika mora da odslika istinu, Lir ne shvata da jezički znak može samo da sugerise ljubav ali ne i da bude njen ekvivalent. Otud mu njene reči zvuče hladno i odbojno: Kordelija, pak, odbija da mu ponudi majčinsku brigu, i to odbijanje se jasno ocrtava u njenom razgraničenju ljubavi, brige i dužnosti koja se u patrijarhalnom svetu deli na jednake delove između oca i muža. Ukazujući na nelogičnost Lirovog razmišljanja, Kordelija i nesvesno ugrožava njegov autoritet, koji se rastače ipak najviše usled doslovnog tumačenja ambivalentnih reči.

Drugi problem je Lirovo neumeće da razluči govor od delanja: Kordelijine reči o podeli ljubavi on doživljava kao čin surovosti, i na taj čin odgovara performativnim činom odricanja od očinstva. Uveren je da joj se adekvatno odužio, da je progovorio njenim jezikom, da je uzvratio na surovost surovošću, na ništa ničim. Kordelija je prognana zbog razboritosti, jer opomenu da otac mora deliti ljubav, brigu i posvećenost svoje kćeri sa njenim mužem može da izrekne samo zrela i odgovorna mlada žena koja pravilno shvata svoje društvene i emotivne dužnosti te stoga odbija da obeća ono što neće moći da ispuni. Za razliku od kraljice u Hamletovoj „Mišolovci” koja „previše obećava” (Edwards 1985: 211) i za koju čak i prilično nepronicljiva Gertruda misli da preteruje, Kordelija ne obećava ništa, jer zna da je podela ljubavi, onako kako ju je predstavila, društveni običaj i opšteprihvaćena činjenica: dakle, ona računa na automatizam društvenih običaja, isti onaj koji je u elizabetansko vreme udovici prećutno, bez posebnog zakonskog akta, dodeljivao trećinu muževljeve imovine. Stoga osporavanje njene reakcije možemo pripisati samo nepravednom postupanju patrijarhalnog sistema koji od žene očekuje nemoguću dozu odanosti: no sama će Kordelija sebe demantovati kada na čelu muževljeve vojske pođe da spase oca, jer će tako pristati na regresiju u ulogu poslušne kćeri a, sa druge strane, problematizovati kraljevski autoritet svog muža, koji bi trebalo da po svakom pravu koji mu daje titula bude vojskovođa. Povratkom u Englesku, Kordelija vaspostavlja prioritet krvne veze i svesno krši patrijarhalni kodeks podele ljubavi i dužnosti. Neobjašnjivo odsustvo francuskog kralja u vojnom pohodu može, u kontekstu Šekspirove hijerarhije, značiti samo jedno: novo-osnažena figura oca učinila je muža suvišnim, a podrivanje autoriteta na kome se temeljio stabilni društveni poredak nastavilo se, zapanjujuće efikasno.

Hamlet osnažuje figuru oca, slično Kordeliji, ukidajući zbog vernosti ocu sve ostale emotivne veze. No i sama vernost ocu je retorička obmana, jer se sinovljeva osećanja nikada nisu pretočila u reči koje je živi otac mogao da čuje. Otud i ljubav prema Ofeliji može da se pretoči u reči tek pošto ona umre. Hamlet je, naime, u stanju da ljubav i vernost iskazuje samo odsutnom predmetu ljubavi: otud emotivna pisma Ofeliji, zakletva ocu da nikad neće zaboraviti duha, otud obznanjivanje ljubavi jače nego u četrdeset hiljada braće na Ofelijinom grobu. Ofelijina tragična smrt preobraća Hamleta u odanog ljubavnika, očeva smrt pokreće Hamletovo divljenje i poštovanje prema pokojniku, dečja privrženost Joriku može se iskazati samo u trenutku kad Hamlet u ruci drži njegovu lobanju. Disproporcija između reči i značenja čini Kordelijin odnos prema ocu neobično sličnim odnosu Hamleta i Ofelije. Lir i Ofelija će ishitreno poverovati da je odsustvo ljubavnog govora znak odsustva ljubavi: bez reči, ljubav se svodi na „ništa” kao na odsustvo i nepostojanje. Hamlet i Kordelija pokušavaju da demaskiraju retoričku obmanu, ali i sami postaju njene žrtve, postajući, istovremeno, i generatori krize autoriteta koja rastaće hijerarhiju monarhije. Dok Kordelijina opsesija postaje dokazivanje ljubavi,

Hamleta će opsedati reperkusije ženske seksualnosti. Dženet Adelman ukazuje na važnost seksualnosti u karakterizaciji Gertrude i Ofelije: ženska seksualnost postaje seme razdora i predmet nespokoja u čitavom Šekspirovom kanonu. Junakinje poput Kreside i Dezdemone ulaskom u seksualnu zrelost postaju u imaginaciji svojih najbližih izjednačene sa prostitutkama, a novoosvojena seksualna svest ukida se ubistvom kao vidom revirginizacije kroz koju prolaze Dezdemona i Kordelija (Adelman 1992: 36)

Ofelija je retoričku obmanu u vidu konvencionalnog izražavanja ljubavi doživela kao realnost, te je tako svoju veru i nadu uložila u Hamletove reči o ljubavi umesto u ljubav samu. Njoj je svako Hamletovo odstupanje od romantičnih fraza svodivo na „ništa”, na odsustvo reči, a znakove ljubavi koje očekuje neće dobiti ni u jednom trenutku jer ih ne može dobiti od onog ko je u znake potpuno prestao da veruje. Hamletovo nepoverenje u jezik potvrdilo je mnogo trauma i razočaranja: majka je pogazila bračni zavet i ponovo se udala, Ofelija je uprkos obećanjima na vernost ostala poslušna kćer koja pristaje da bude oruđe u rukama svog oca, a prijatelji kojima je verovao pokušali su da ga obmanu i uhode. Hamlet zato neće tokom komada dati Ofeliji nijedan verbalni dokaz ljubavi, a ona jedino takve reči očekuje, i jedino njih razume. Da parafraziramo Gonerilu, ljubav ume da voli više nego što reč može da kaže: jer, suprotno racionalnom procesu kvantifikacije, ljubav se može deliti a uvek ostati cela; postojanost ljubavi ne može da bude žrtva promenljivosti retorskih znakova koji simuliraju manjak ili obilje, nedostatak ili sveprisutnost a da se činjenično stanje ni u čemu ne promeni.

Lirov pokušaj da ljubav pretvori u dvorsku ceremoniju posledica je nepoznavanja prirode ljubavi, isto kao u Ofelijinom slučaju. Sve dok je njegovo mesto u hijerarhiji stabilno, on neće shvatiti koliko su ritual i reč krhki i nepouzdati: dok je njegov autoritet neupitan, Lir ubedljivo koristi imperativ u obraćanju, kao i kraljevsko „mi”. Podela kraljevstva simbolički označava raskid sa imperativom i povratak na singularno „ja”, kao što će označiti poraz njegove borbe da reč tačno odrazi svet. Taj utopijski pokušaj izjednačenja reči i sveta vidljiv u ritualu podele kraljevstva i ljubavi otkriva ambiciju da se uspostavi skup pouzdanih znakova čije će značenje biti stabilno i bezuslovno kao ljubav. Lir će pokušati da retoričku obmanu preobratiti u retoričku istinu, i zato će hijerarhiji pokušati da dodeli unutrašnju kontradiktornost bića. Neodrživu poziciju kralja bez krune, kakva ne postoji u društvenom sistemu, Lir će morati da pretoči u ništa, pa u ludilo, i u ponovno rađanje posle koga će uslediti smrt kao konačan poraz. Lirova smrt znači apsolutnu nemogućnost da se uspostavi svet u kome će reč biti tačna mera ljubavi. Takav se svet ne može uspostaviti čak ni ako odlučimo da „ništa” znači nepostojanje ljubavi; čak ni tada gubitak mesta u hijerarhiji neće značiti i gubitak vrednosti. Kordelija i Kent ostaće požrtvovani i verni čak i kad ih hijerarhija izbriše iz sveta živih; izlaskom iz jednog sistema, oni će postati deo drugog, kao što će Kordelijinu odbačenu vrednost pre-

poznati kralj Francuske, osoba koja je potpuno izvan Lirove socijalne hijerarhije. U Kordeliji svedenoj na ništa, kralj prepoznaje apsolutnu vrednost i dodeljuje joj privilegovanu poziciju u hijerarhiji koju je sam stvorio. Unekoliko je apsurdno što će Kordelijina „cena” istovremeno pasti i skočiti u dva sistema patrijarhalne moći koji se suštinski ne razlikuju.

Efekat i trajanje retoričkih obmana ograničeni su samom činjenicom da ih stranci i marginalci lako demaskiraju. Negativni likovi ih lako koriste za svoje interese i potrebe, one su njihov carski put u srce hijerarhije, te će tako proterivanje Kordelije otvoriti prazan prostor u sistemu u kom će se naći etički problematični Edmund, osoba prethodno svedena na „ništa”, na odsustvo uloge i identiteta kakvo je u renesansnom društvu vezano za vanbračnu decu. Prisvojivši nemoral kao prirodno stanje čovekovo, Edmund stiže na sami vrh hijerarhijske lestvice, i tako postaje zlikovac opasniji od Jaga, jer Jago sve zlo čini sa jasno definisane pozicije u hijerarhiji. Svem zlodejstvu uprkos, Jago će ipak poštovati društvene i hijerarhijske odnose, jer nijednog trenutka ne želi ništa više od onog što je pozeleo na početku, a to je mesto Otelovog oficira. Sa pozicije „ničega”, Edmund će se vinuti u beskrajnu slobodu mogućnosti da bude sve.

Retoričke obmane uništavaju sistem vrednosti na isti način na koji reč može da uništi onaj svet koji je predstavila na netačan način. Ali, svaki pokušaj da se postigne ekvivalentnost sveta i reči osuđen je na tragičan neuspeh. Premda je Lirovo verbalno razmeravanje ljubavi uništilo njegovo kraljevstvo, čitalac će osetiti poštovanje prema njegovoj nemogućoj misiji harmonizovanja sveta reči i sveta stvari – prema istom onom procesu koji je doveo do krize autoriteta. Šekspirova neprekinuta igra reči sa svetom dokazuje da ništa ne postoji dok god ne bude uspostavljeno u varljivim okvirima jezika. Nedostaci verbalne komunikacije mogu se premostiti samo uz pomoć tragičkog idioma u okviru kog umetnik uspeva da izbegne zamka znakova i uspostavi svet u kome će harmonija jezika i sveta biti bar privremeno uspostavljena.

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RHETORICAL DECEPTIONS IN SHAKESPEARE'S TRAGEDIES

Summary

Shakespeare's art demonstrates how rhetorical deceptions destroy the set of societal values, the same way words can destroy the world they unduly represent. Wordplay, puns and linguistic ambiguity endow his tragic heroes with an actual power to change their world, but at the same time annull their impact upon the events. The characters' speech acts irrevocably change their lives and their worlds, enabling them to display both a cunning self-consciousness and a curious self-deception. A victim to dangerous word effects, King Lear irrationally undermines his power and banishes his favoured daughter, whereas Hamlet's suffering springs from unsatisfying verbal equivalents of love, grief and duty. Although Lear's verbal measuring of love has ruined his kingdom, respect must be shown for his impossible mission to harmonize the two realms. As opposed to language itself, Shakespeare's tragic idiom possesses the prestige and the power which surpasses the shortcomings of verbal communication.

Key words: Shakespeare, tragedy, linguistic inflation, rhetoric, power, authority

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URBANA GOTIKA U SAVREMENOJ FANTASTICI

Teme urbane gotike s kraja devetnaestog veka: strahovi od obrnute kolonizacije, regresije u primitivno i užasa na ulicama metropole, u savremenoj fantastici su rekonfigurisane aktuelnim okolnostima u urbanom društvu u kojem koegzistiraju zavisnost, fascinacija i strahovi od naučno-tehnoloških dostignuća. Dela Filipa K. Dika, Vilijama Gibsona i Nila Gejmena primer su fantastične proze iz druge polovine dvadesetog veka u kojoj su strahovi urbane gotike i dalje prisutni, preoblikovani aktuelnim strepnjama od depersonalizacije i gubitka individualnosti i ljudskosti u urbanom, tehnološkom okruženju.

Ključne reči: savremena fantastika, gotsko, imperijalna gotika, tehnologija

Trend značajnih promena u arhitekturi i umetnosti koji je zahvatio Britaniju i delove kontinentalne Evrope sredinom osamnaestog veka nije toliko u vezi s logikom koliko s promenama u kulturnim vrednostima (Punter, Byron 2004: 8). Ono što je dovođeno u vezu sa „srednjovekovnim”, „primitivnim”, tada nazivano „gotskim”, manifestovano kao sklonost ka haotičnom, ukrašenom, preterivanju, divljem i necivilizovanom, pronalazi mesto među vrednostima koje su, kako Panter i Bajronova (2004: 8) primećuju, potrebne „modernom” svetlu. Kada je reč o književnosti, primer kreativne upotrebe vrednosti prethodnih epoha jeste *Otrantski zamak* Horasa Volpola čije objavljivanje 1764. godine označava početak gotike kao književnog žanra.

Izazivajući negodovanje kritičara naklonjenih klasicističkim idealima i onih koji u zoru industrijske revolucije usmeravaju optimistički pogled ka budućnosti, Horas Volpol (1791: xvi-xvii) u predgovoru drugom izdanju *Otrantskog zamka* iz 1765. godine objašnjava svoju književnu formulu čiji je cilj bio da pomiri nepomirljivo – staro, koje čini „mašta i nemoguće”¹, s modernim, u kojem je izražena namera da se kopira priroda. Volpol kombinuje srednjovekovnu maštu i tradiciju s

¹ Svi navodi neprevedene literature dati su u prevodu M. J.

„prirodom”, „pravilima mogućeg” i „svakodnevnim životom”. Shodno navedenom, može se zaključiti da je među značajnim vrednostima gotske tradicije sposobnost da stare, poznate i uspešne književne obrasce prilagodi novim okolnostima kako bi opisala aktuelne vrednosti i probleme, što je recept koji pisci i danas primenjuju.

Hauard Filips Lavkraft (1990: 143) je smatrao da su koreni natprirodnog u strahu, koji je „[n]ajstarija i najjača čovekova emocija, a najstarija i najjača vrsta straha je strah od nepoznatog”. Konstantna ljudska fascinacija strahom održava gotsku tradiciju u fantastičnoj književnosti, a neki od danas aktuelnih strahova obrađeni su još u ranim gotskim romanima, koji su izuzetno značajni za oblikovanje moderne fantastike, kao što je *Frankenštajn* Meri Šeli, nova verzija prometejskog mita u naučnotehnološkom kontekstu, delo iz kojeg, kako Brajan Oldis (1988: 29) tvrdi, potiče naučna fantastika. Strah od razornih posledica nepromišljene i neodgovorne upotrebe nauke i tehnologije, prethodno opisan u *Frankenštajnu*, krajem devetnaestog veka postaje jedan od dominantnih motiva gotske tradicije, a kasnije i naučne fantastike.

Kraj devetnaestog i dvadesetog veka dele zajedničke strahove. Krajem devetnaestog veka nastaje podžanr urbane gotike, koja elemente srednjovekovnog zamenuje „klaustrofobijom, nenormalnim ponašanjem i zloslutnim u gradskim pejzažima” (Snodgrass 2005: 342) i u kojoj gotska čudovišta rađa sam grad iz uslova života u modernoj metropoli (Dryden 2003: 32). Brojni pisci tog perioda strah od nepoznatog dovode u vezu sa okolnostima u urbanom okruženju, dekadencijom i degeneracijom. Teorije o degeneraciji, kako Smit (2007: 182) primećuje, imale su značajnu ulogu u oblikovanju gotske proze koja se bavila pitanjima nacije, imperije i ulogama polova. Stivensonov *Doktor Džekil i gospodin Hajd*, Velsovo *Ostrvo doktora Moroa*, Vajldova *Slika Dorijana Greja* i Stokerov *Drakula* primeri su transponovanja elemenata iz prethodnih epoha u savremeno okruženje urbanog prostora čiji se stanovnici, strepeći od raspada Imperije, dolaska populacije iz kolonija i užasnih Trbosekovih zločina, suočavaju sa strahom od regresije u primitivno. Dela iz ovog perioda koja primitivno dovode u vezu s udaljenim područjima van domašaja Britanske Imperije Patrik Brantlinger (1988: 229) naziva imperijalnom gotikom, pojašnjavajući da ona izražava strahove od činjenice kako lako civilizacija može da sklizne u varvarizam ili divljaštvo i tako oslabi britansku hegemoniju, pri čemu se zbog spuštanja na nivo primitivnog fiktivni likovi mogu smatrati alegorijama regresije na krupnijem planu – regresije civilizacije.

U modernim ostvarenjima teme imperijalne gotike rekonfigurisane aktuelnim okolnostima u urbanom društvu u kojem koegzistiraju zavisnost, fascinacija i strahovi od naučno-tehnoloških dostignuća, prisutne su u brojnim naučnofantastičnim i horor ostvarenjima, kao što su roman *Grad i grad* (*The City and the City*) Čajne Mijevila, grafička novela *Grad greha* (*Sin City*), Zora živih mrtvaca (*Dawn of the Dead*) i druga Romerova filmska ostvarenja, serijal filmova *Pritajeno zlo* (*Resident Evil*), serije kao što su *Rijaliti živih mrtvaca* (*Dead Set*) i *Okružen mrtvima* (*The*

Walking Dead), ili priče o posljednjem čoveku na zemlji, što je još jedan gotski trop koji je književnosti podarila Meri Šeli², kao što su *Uporište* (*The Stand*) Stivena Kinga i *Ja sam legenda* (*I Am Legend*) Ričarda Metisona, koji je imao izuzetan uticaj na razvoj podžanra zombijeuskog horora.

Teme imperijalne gotike koje navodi Brantlinger (1988: 230): pojedinačna regresija, invazija sila varvarstva i demonskog na civilizaciju i smanjenje mogućnosti za avanturu i herojstvo u modernom svetu, aktuelne su i u fantastici nastaloj vek kasnije. Smanjenje mogućnosti za herojstvo, uz istovremenu veliku potrebu za njom, zanimljivo je u kontekstu izuzetnog rasta popularnosti superheroja i junaka s natprirodnim moćima u raznim oblicima pisane i vizualne umetnosti – filmskoj, književnoj, stripu, mada je to tema za posebnu analizu. Druge dve teme, ugrožavanje integriteta pojedinca i cele civilizacije, u savremenoj fantastici se manifestuju kao strah od gubitka ljudskosti i urbano okruženje kao izvor strave u aktuelnim društvenim okolnostima.

Urbana gotika s kraja devetnaestog veka obiluje anatomske čudovišnostima i diskutabilnim moralnim načelima – Stivensonov gospodin Hajd i Vajldov Dorijan Grej očišćenje su iskrivljene etike prikrivene fasadom uglađenosti, kao i moralnog posrnuća uzrokovanog narcističkom težnjom da se uzdigne *ja*, bolje i superiornije od ostatka sveta, ali želja biva pervertirana u stvaranje čudovišnih oblika neljudskog. Stokerov Drakula je odraz demonskog u čoveku, a vampiri uopšte simbol degradacije na nivo životinje, što naglašavaju poređenja sa nižim bićima i zverima, Drakulina moć da upravlja njima, kao i sposobnost da se u njih transformiše. Štaviše, kako ukazuje Arata (1990: 623) Drakula opisuje najvažniju i najprisutniju priču tog perioda o nazadovanju – priču o obrnutoj kolonizaciji³, to jest strahu da se takozvano „civilizovano” društvo nalazi u opasnosti da ga kolonizuju „primitivne” sile, koje mogu pripadati samom civilizovanom svetu ili poticati iz područja izvan njega. U oba slučaja dolazi do zastrašujuće zamene uloga: kolonizator je kolonizovan, eksploatator eksploatisan, a strahovi su povezani s nazadovanjem – rasnim, moralnim i duhovnim – koje naciju čini ranjivom u odnosu na „primitivne” narode.

Degeneracija u primitivno (ne)ljudsko postojanje doživela je brojne varijacije i inkarnacije u književnosti, na filmu, televiziji, video-igrama, u pričama o problematičnom uticaju tehnologije koja transformiše ljudsko telo na način sličan Drakulinom preobraćanju vampirizmom ili Džekilovom povlačenju pred Hajdovom bestijalnošću. „Mašta i nemoguće” iz prošlosti – preobraćanje ugrizom vampira, napitkom ili narcisoidnim paktom sa nečastivim silama, u neljudsko telo, degenerisano i dekadentno *drugo*, metamorfira, oblikovano aktuelnim okolnostima i „pravilima mogućeg”, u integraciju s tehnološkim komponentama.

² Romanom *Poslednji čovek* (engl. *The Last Man*).

³ Engl. *reverse colonization*.

Od Frankenštajna preko Džekila do danas, vizionarske ideje naučnika pokazuju dualnost – demonstriraju mogućnosti i potencijale nauke i tehnologije koje mogu doneti dobrobiti čovečanstvu, ali i njegov sunovrat. Neuspeli čudovišni gotski proizvodi nauke postaju tehnološki konstrukti – simulakrumi, kiborzi, androidi i kiberpankovska tela modifikovana tehnologijom često i preko granice ljudskog. Tretman tela i ličnosti kao konstrukta kakav je ustanovljen *Frankenštajnom*, gde monstrum postaje sredstvo za suočavanje sa strahovima, izvor predrasuda prema drugačijem i simbol opasnosti od pogrešne upotrebe nauke i tehnologije, uzor je za ideje o integraciji tehnologije u telo i kreiranje svesnih mašina u naučnoj fantastici. Međutim, efekat koji iz takve upotrebe tehnologije proizilazi bliži je strahovima od deformisanog i monstroznog tela koji kulminiraju krajem devetnaestog veka. Kako Arata (1990: 630) ukazuje, vampirizam u *Drakuli* u neku ruku je kolonizacija tela, a užas proizilazi ne iz njihovog uništenja, već iz činjenice da ih Drakula prisvaja i transformiše.

U naučnofantastičnoj prozi druge polovine dvadesetog veka, isti strahovi su i dalje prisutni, preoblikovani aktuelnim strepnjama od depersonalizacije i gubitka individualnosti i ljudskosti izazvanih prodiranjem tehnologije u sve aspekte ljudskog postojanja. Androidi u naučnofantastičnoj prozi Filipa K. Dika su primer mračne vizije tehnološki modifikovane egzistencije i njenog razornog uticaja na ljudsku prirodu i postojanje. No, iako se androidnost vezuje za tehnološki razvoj u aktuelnom ili spekulativnom kontekstu, strah od pogubnog uticaja tehnološke kolonizacije tela uporediv je sa strahom od gubitka ljudskosti, degeneracije i izlaska iz zone komfora poznatog, civilizovanog života u imperijalnoj gotici. Kao što Drakulina selidba iz srednjovekovnog zamka u London simbolizuje tranziciju gotskog relikta prošlosti u savremeno urbano okruženje užasnuto nepoznatim i životinjskim koje vampir sobom donosi, a koje se manifestuje transformacijom u biće koje osim spoljašnjeg izgleda gubi odlike ljudskosti, tako ljudske replike tipa Neksus 6 u Dikovom romanu *Sanjaju li androidi električne ovce?* pridošle iz kolonija s druge planete u postapokaliptično okruženje zemaljske metropole predstavljaju neljudsko u obličju čoveka. Njihov dolazak nagoveštava zastrašujuć proces. U *Drakuli* ljudsko nestaje u novom obliku života nakon smrti, dok je u Dikovim fikcionalnim stvarnostima strah projektovan i na ontološki nivo – ne samo da pod uticajem tehnologije nestaje autentično ljudsko telo/biće, već postaje nemoguće utvrditi autentičnost bilo kojeg aspekta postojanja – bića, predmeta, čak ni celokupne stvarnosti u kojoj i „električne stvari imaju svoje živote” (Dik 1996: 182).

Vampirizam i androidizacija imaju iste, zastrašujuće posledice. Vampiri, neljudsko u ljudskoj formi, bića koja osim izgleda nemaju mnogo zajedničkog s ljudima, infiltriranjem i tihom asimilacijom teže da pokore i transformišu ljude u poslušne sluge neljudskog gospodara. U Dikovom romanu *Simulakrumi* ključne pozicije u državnom aparatu zauzimaju androidi koji su toliko verne replike ljudi da javnost biva obmanuta, te postaje nemoguće utvrditi ko je android, ko autentično

ljudsko biće i ko kime zaista upravlja. U ovoj i brojnim drugim Dikovim fikcionalnim stvarnostima dominira ideja da čovek koji je stvorio tehnologiju gubi kontrolu nad njom, ona teži da mu postane ravnopravna, čak i da ga nadvlada i pokori, što je ništa drugo do moderna verzija straha imperijalne gotike od obrnute kolonizacije i kompromitacije identiteta i nacije dolaskom elemenata koji se smatraju nižim bićima iz nekada kontrolisanog sveta.

Stivensonov *Neobičan slučaj doktora Džekila i gospodina Hajda* je priča o užasima stvorenim daleko od očiju javnosti, iza zidova laboratorije, u dvorištu „kuće, koja je uveliko odisala bogatstvom i komforom”, o čijem predvorju je Aterson „imao običaj da [...] govori kao o najprijatnijoj sobi u Londonu” (Stivenson 2013: 22, 23). Iza njene otmene fasade, naukom podstaknuti bestijalni porivi koji pobeđuju ljudskost u pojedincu mogu da imaju posledice po svakog od nas. Savremena naučna i tehnološka dostignuća unose bogatstvo i komfor u naše živote, produžavaju ih, leče nekada neizlečive bolesti, čine život lepšim, zanimljivijim, sadržajnijim i ugodnijim. No, poput Džekilove skrivene laboratorije, nauka i tehnologija koje pođu po zlu prete čovekovoј egzistenciji sintetički kreiranim virusima, genetski modifikovanim organizmima, potencijalno štetnim vakcinama, i brojnim drugim pronalascima inspirisanim vizijom boljeg života koja se, poput Hajda, može otrgnuti kontroli i pretvoriti ga u košmar.

Dikovi androidi nisu u okruženju naizgled idilične pozornice vizionarskog napretka iza čijih kulisa vreba opasnost, poput Džekilove ugledne kuće ili Stokerovog modernog Londona sa železnicom, telegrafom i drugim tehnološkim dostignućima jer se pejzaž, fikcionalni i stvarni, promenio – njegovi svetovi su distopijske vizije postapokaliptičnog, urbanog okruženja u kojem priroda trpi zbog ljudskih tehnoloških grešaka i nemara. Romani *Sanjaju li androidi električne ovce?*, *Simulakrumi* i *Tri stigmat*e Palmera Eldriča opisuju svetove u kojima su Stivensonove otmene fasade iza kojih obitava užas srušene, Vajldova vrata koja skrivaju Dorijanov deformisan portret otvorena, a Drakuline zverske namere prikrivene uglađenom spoljašnjošću svima poznate. Strahovi od obrnute kolonizacije mašinama, androidi koji teže da se infiltriraju među ljude, ukazuju na ozbiljan problem savremenog društva. Osim što uzrokuje nepopravljive ekološke monstroznosti, gubitak kontrole nad tehnologijom hrani strahove nalik onima koje je osećala Imperija dok je gubila kontrolu nad „divljim” delovima sveta osvajanim uz opravdanje da u njih donosi civilizaciju. Priča o nepovratnom gubitku kontrole nad divljinom ponavlja se s tehnologijom. Nalik nekada kontrolisanim „primitivnim” narodima, koji počinju da naseljavaju srce Imperije na užas njenih „civilizovanih” ksenofobičnih stanovnika, tehnologija postaje deo ljudske svakodnevice.

Dve tendencije koje ilustruju Dikovi simulakrumi – napredna tehnologija koja približava mašine ljudima i preobraćanje ljudi u mašine, uvod su u kiberpankovsko prožimanje tehnologije i stvarnosti. Nalik vizionarskoј nauci Stivensonovog Džekila i Velsovog Moroa koja stvara monstroznosti, prostetika, biotehnološke modifika-

cije i integracija s tehnologijom u nekim slučajevima ljudska tela transformacijama približavaju životinjskim. Gotski motiv gubitka ljudskosti, prikazan kao Stokerov vampir koji ne samo da gospodari zverinjem već može i da se transformiše u njih, ili postepeno propadanje Vajldovog Dorijana, ili transformacija Stivensonovog junaka u zver, u kiberpanku Vilijama Gibsona je rekonfigurisan u proces transformacije tela u gotsku tvorevinu telesnim ekstenzijama i prostetičkim dodacima.

Gibsonova trilogija koja je postavila temelje kiberpanka, romani *Neuromant*⁴, *Grof Nula* i *Monalizin natpogon*, obiluje osavremenjenim gotskim motivima. U specifičnoj kiberpankovskoj ikonografiji mnogo toga asocira na zagrobno, smrt i vampirizam – kontrakulture Gotika i Drakula, tamne naočare i crna garderoba. Kiberpankovska stvarnost, kao što su orbitalni moduli ispunjeni tehnološkim i kibernetičkim grotesknim spojevima prirodnog i mašinskog, nalikuje gotskim lavi-rintima mračnih ulica, spoju sveta mrtvih s urbanim okruženjem čijim prostorima vladaju veštačke inteligencije i biološki mrtvi entiteti. Svet mrtvih integrisan je u kiberpank – od mašinski podržane hibernacije koja telo dovodi u stanje blisko smrti, do virtualne stvarnosti koja u mnogo čemu nalikuje zagrobnim svetu, jer ulazak u nju podrazumeva odvajanje od fizičkog tela. Konstruisana stvarnost je ujedno dom bestelesnih entiteta veštačke inteligencije nalik duhovima koji preuzimaju attribute Vudu religije, u kojoj značajnu ulogu imaju kult mrtvih, oživljavanje mrtvaca i zaposedanje tela neljudskim entitetima.

Kiberpankovske transformacije tela tehnologijom izazivaju strahove koji dele korene s onima iz imperijalne gotike – prožimanje s tehnologijom čoveka lišava ljudskosti i pretvara ga u gotsku tvorevinu. Brojne kibernetičke modifikacije u *Neuromantu* transformišu Moli u pojavu nalik zveri. Ona poseduje implante noževa u šakama nalik kandžama, što je uz ubilačku prirodu, tamnu garderobu i sočiva naočara ugrađenih u bledu kožu lica čini više nalik životinji ili vampiru nego ljudskom biću.

Ispružila je šake, podignutih dlanova, belih prstiju nešto raširenih, i, uz jedva čujno škljocanje, deset dvoseklih, četiri centimetra dugačkih sečiva skalpela kliznuše iz ležišta noktiju boje burgundca. (Gibson 2008: 29)

Elementi urbane gotike s kraja devetnaestog veka transformisani su u oblička prilagođena aktuelnim okolnostima. Moralno posrnuli predstavnik visokog društva postaje korporativni entitet ili neko ko njime upravlja. Gotski splet maglovitih mračnih ulica osvetljenih gasnim svetiljkama evoluirao u neonom osvetljene distopijske prostore nepreglednih gradova ili postapokaliptičnih predela devastiranih nesavesnom upotrebnom razorne tehnologije. Stari strahovi takođe su prisutni, ali suočavanje s njima je bezizgledna bitka. Pre više od veka transfer opasnosti iz fantastičnog u poznatu civilizovanu stvarnost okončan je bez uspeha – zbog svojih neljudskih poriva Dorijan strada, gospodin Hajd umire, a Drakula je pobeđen.

⁴ Roman je u srpskom prevodu izdat pod dva naslova: *Neuromant* i *Neuromanser*.

Međutim, dok Stoker, Vajld i Stivenson zaustavljaju užasni proces transformacije ljudskog u neljudsko, u Dikovim i Gibsonovim fikcionalnim stvarnostima dostignuta je tačka iza koje nema povratka. Oba pisca pokazuju da je proces kolonizacije stvarnosti tehnologijom nezaustavljiv. Međutim, dok se Dik i njegovi protagonisti trude da pruže otpor anuliranju autentičnog ljudskog postojanja, Gibson je neutralni posmatrač – transformacija i prelazak preko tehnološkog praga u nepovratno stanje fuzije s mašinom je činjenica s kojom su se protagonisti njegove prve trilogije potpuno saživeli – obrnuta kolonizacija je uspešno okončana, ljudsko se više ne izdiže iznad mašine.

Engleska proza poznog viktorijanskog perioda ukazuje na probleme koji u urbanom okruženju vrebaju ispod fasade ugladenog. Kao što Stivenson povezuje urbani pejzaž viktorijanskog Londona sa monstruoznim Hajdom i njegovim zločinima, Vajld problematične delove Londona i opijumske jame sa Dorijanovim porivima, a Stoker animalne osobenosti Drakule s privlačnim likom zavodljivog vampira koji pohodi ulice grada, savremeni gotski momenti odražavaju probleme tehnološkog razvoja – ispod fasade fantastičnih tehnoloških dostignuća prete opasnosti po pojedinca, društvo, pa i ceo svet. U opasnosti od tehnologije uočljiv je motiv dvojnika, čest u gotskoj prozi, od Frankenštajna i monstuma, preko Džekila i Hajda, Dorijana i portreta, do kompleksnog odnosa savremenog čoveka s tehnološkim replikama. Androidi, veštačke inteligencije i konstruisane, virtualne stvarnosti osim dualnosti na telesnom i mentalnom nivou, imaju implikacije na ontološkom nivou. Problem aktuelnih okolnosti kod Stivensona predstavljen kao mentalni poremećaj – disocijativni poremećaj identiteta, to jest postojanje više ličnosti u jednom telu – u Dikovim i Gibsonovim delima projektovan je na nivo stvarnosti. U modifikovanim stvarnostima prožetim tehnologijom javlja se disocijativni poremećaj ontologije – u jednom univerzumu postoji više stvarnosti.

Kod oba pisca sintetički kreirane stvarnosti postaju ravnopravne objektivnoj stvarnosti, čak prete da preuzmu primat od nje, ali je odnos prema alternativama stvarnosti drugačiji. Dikove višestruke stvarnosti su bezizlazni egzistencijalni lavirinti. U *Tri stigmatu Palmera Eldriča* stvarnost kreirana sintetičkom drogom degradira autentičnu stvarnost na nivo jedne od mogućih alternativa, ništa stvarnije od kreiranih iluzija, prožetih Eldričovim stigmama: metalnim zubima, veštačkim očima i mehaničkim rukama, kojima on poput vampira transformiše sve u sopstveni univerzum neljudskog. Eldrič, nalik Stokerovoj viziji obrnute kolonizacije, dolazi iz nepoznatih, nedovoljno proučenih predela, infiltrira se u poznatu stvarnost i transformiše ljude u zastrašujuć odraz svoje mehaničke neljudskosti. Gibsonove virtualne stvarnosti, pak, kreirane su s entuzijazmom. Međutim, čitalac ostaje uskraćen odgovora na pitanje – ima li razloga za optimizam kada junaci na kraju trilogije svoja smrtna tela i ruiniranu stvarnost zamenjuju virtualnom egzistencijom? Odgovor se nalazi u objektivnoj stvarnosti, jer Gibsonova „vizija interakcije stvarnog i virtualnog prostora danas je

deo stvarnosti, prepoznatljive u svakodnevici savremenog tehnološki i potrošački orijentisanog društva” (Jakovljević 2013a: 225).

Strah od gubitka ljudskosti u bliskoj je vezi s promenama u čovekovom urbanom okruženju. Kako Linda Draiden (2003: 1) navodi u studiji o modernoj gotici i književnim dvojnicima u delima Stivenzona, Vajlda i Velsa kraj veka pokazao se kao katalizator niza problema koji su se javili tokom „dugog devetnaestog veka”, kao što su gubitak vere u Boga, strahovi od posledica širenja gradova, sve izraženi je političke trzavice u Evropi, pojava „Nove žene”, apokaliptične vizije budućnosti i strepnja zbog naučnog napretka. No, ovo zapažanje nije ograničeno samo na prošlost – promena broja veka u „dvadeseti” ne bi ga učinila netačnim, jer su mnogi problemi s kraja devetnaestog veka aktuelni i danas, uključujući i strah od nekontrolisanog širenja urbanih prostora i njihove transformacije u mesta strave. Kako Draidenova (2003: 4) primećuje radnja viktorijanskog gotskog romana u duhu aktuelnih okolnosti često je smeštena u srce modernog grada. Uz to, ona ukazuje na još jednu zanimljivu činjenicu, a to je da u je popularnoj svesti i gotskoj književnosti tog perioda gradski prostor bio dovođen u vezu s tendencijom ka degeneraciji, kao i s ubistvima koja je počinio Džek Trbosek. London je bio podeljen na pomodni zapadni deo, Vest End, i dekadentni istočni deo, Ist End, koji je smatran leglom kriminala, poroka i siromaštva, naseljen imigrantima i populacijom koja je, uopšte, smatrana divljom. Vajtčepel, oblast u istočnom delu u kojoj je Trbosek počinio neljudske zločine, novine su opisivale kao strani predeo, kao da nije u Britaniji već deo divljih neukroćenih kolonija. Lavirint ulica ovako polarizovanog Londona prema Draidenovoj (2003: 43) fizička je manifestacija dvostrukog života koji su stanovnici vodili, a njegovi mračni delovi i uski prolazi ukazivali su na stravu koja u njima vreba. Okolnosti iz stvarnog života inspirisale su pisce, pa je fiktionalni London postao odraz stvarnog Londona u kojem događaji mogu biti podjednako strašni kao i oni opisani u književnim delima. Kako Draidenova (2003: 16) primećuje, Stivenzon, Vajld i Vels su utkali u fiktionalni Londonski pejzaž monstuoze transformacije, nakaznost i dvojnost koji skupa govore o urbanim strepnjama.

Distopijske urbane pejzaže savremene fantastike i dalje prožimaju monstuoze transformacije, unakažena tela degradirana na nivo životinjskog, te dualnost, kako u karakterima pojedinaca, njihovim međuodnosima s drugim likovima, tako i na širem planu okruženja. Soho sa „nestalnim odsjajima, blatnjavim kolovozom, aljkavim prolaznicima, svetiljkama koje se nikad nisu gasile”, koji izgleda „poput predela iz noćne more”, (Stivenzon 2013: 32), ili Vajldov London čije problematične delove i opijumske jame obilazi Dorijan, poput arhitektonskih duhova prožimaju ulice urbane prostirke i orbitalne module Gibsonove prve trilogije. Čiba, Noćni grad iz *Neuromanta*, nalikuje opasnim ulicama Londona s kraja devetnaestog veka u kojima ne važe pravila civilizovanog života. Njegove neonske reklame prizivaju sliku „velikog niza svetiljki grada utonulog u noć” (Stivenzon 2013: 18). Dok

mračni delovi Stivensonovog Londona prizivaju užas problematične populacije Ist Enda i Trbosekovih zločina otelotvorenih u posrnuloj nauci koja se stvorila Hajda, Gibsonov „Noćni grad” Čiba, osvetljen neonom kao etiketom tehnološkog napretka, postaje „[s]inonim za implante, spajanje nerava i mikrobioniku” i „magnet za tehno kriminalni polusvet Gradova” (Gibson 2008: 10).

Gibsonovi prostori, kao što su orbitalni moduli, ukazuju na klasnu raslojenost i polarizovano društvo, nalik geografskoj podeli Londona u vreme ubistava Džeka Trboseka (Jakovljević 2013b: 206). No, dualizam je još izraženiji u odnosu stvarnog i virtualnog prostora. Disocijativni poremećaj identiteta projektovan na nivo stvarnosti gradi mentalni pejzaž kompjuterske grafike, sintetički prostor generisan kompjuterskim tehnologijama. Urbana dihotomija Londona s kraja devetnaestog veka je aktualizovana pluralizmom stvarnosti. S jedne strane, sintetički prostor matrice, gotovo idealizovana stvarnost sačinjena od uređenih podataka organizovanih u neonske kule i geometrijske oblike, čija struktura nalikuje pejzažu čistog i uređenog grada, nalik je pomodnom, civilizovanom Vest Endu. Nasuprot njima, zlokobne, maglom obavijene ulice Vajtčepela kao da su utkane u urbanu prostirku megalopolisa prekrivenu oblacima sagorelih fosilnih goriva, sačinjenu od ruiniranih građevina i mrtvih zona devastiranih ratovima, nekontrolisanom upotrebom tehnologije i nezaustavljivim procesom entropije. Matrica je nalik Džekilovoj, Drakulinoj i Dorijanovoj ugladenoj pojavi i domu čija fasada skriva užase gubitka (autentične) ljudskosti. Kao što Stivenson, Vajld i Stoker kontrastiranjem primitivnih užasa sa civilizovanim životom ukazuju na problem postojanja neljudskog u svetu modernog društva, kontrast između uređenog sintetičkog prostora informacija i devastiranog sveta stvarnosti ukazuje na problem kompromitacije ljudskosti tehnološkim modifikacijama i konstruktima tela, uma i celokupne stvarnosti.

Ne dele samo tehnološki ambivalentne fiktionalne stvarnosti zajedničke strahove s imperijalnom gotikom. Džek Trbosek i dualnost urbanog prostora Londona s kraja devetnaestog veka reinkarnirani su u *Nikadođiji* Nila Gejmena. U ovom romanu, kao i u priči „Kako je markiz dobio natrag svoj kaput”⁵, koja je smeštena u isti univerzum, Gejmen uz prostor poznatog Londona uvodi prostor drugog grada, skrivenog od očiju običnih ljudi. Dvojniki pravog, poznatog Londona, zvanog Nad-London, podzemni je svet Pod-Londona, u kojem obitavaju brojna bića čiji je stepen ljudskosti degradiran moralno diskutabilnim delima i fizičkim transformacijama.

Brojne aluzije na viktorijansku gotiku čine prostorne strukture Pod-Londona nalik lavirintima ulica viktorijanskog Londona, od „čudnih gotičkih tornjića i svodova stanice Sent Pankras”, viktorijanske bolnice u kojoj se kriju agenti Krup i Vandemar, zatvorenog bazena iz viktorijanskog perioda koji je integrisan u kuću

⁵ Engl. „How the Marquis Got His Coat Back”. Priča u vreme pisanja ovog teksta nije prevedena na srpski jezik.

konstruisanu kao nepregledni lavirint soba i prolaza, preko dolme koju su „viktorijanci izgradili uz severnu obalu Temze, da pokriju splet kanalizacionih cevi i novoizgrađenu liniju podzemne železnice”, do sokaka „koji je u viktorijansko doba pripadao prenaseljenom sirotinjskom kraju” (Gejmen 2013: 16, 89, 292). Arhitektonski ostaci viktorijanskog Londona u kojem „*postoji na stotine ljudi. Možda na hiljade. Ljudi odavde i ljudi koji su ostali zaboravljeni, zapostavljeni, bez igde ičeg*”, asocira na Ist End iz devetnaestog veka, dok ulice poznatog Londona „svet u kom se niko ovako ne bori, u kom niko ne mora ovako da se bori, svet bezbednosti i zdravog razuma” evociraju civilizovani Vest End (Gejmen 2013: 136, 125). Pod-London koji opasne uličice i drumovi, hodnici i kanalizacioni tuneli pretvaraju u „mesto čistog ludila” (Gejmen 2013: 292) nalikuje spletu ulica Ist Enda, delu grada koji su stanovnici Vest Enda smatrali svetom divljine, moralne iskvarenosti i necivilizovanog, u kojem se dešavaju užasni zločini.

Kada protagonista romana Ričard zaluta u podzemni London, oseća se kao da je upao u noćnu moru.

Dosadašnji život, zaključio je, savršeno ga je pripremio za posao u finansijama, za kupovinu u samoposluzi, gledanje fudbala vikendom, za pojačavanje grajanja ako mu postane hladno. Na jedan krajnje veličanstven način, propustio je da ga pripremi za život nevidljive osobe na londonskim krovovima i u kanalizaciji, za život na hladnom i mokrom i mračnom. (Gejmen 2013: 132)

Ričard je stanovnik modernog grada koji zaluta u mračni splet maglovitih ulica, u kojem sreće brojne oživljene predstavnike viktorijanskog Londona, kao što je Markiz od Karabasa, šarmantni plemić koji u opskurnom svetu od plemstva poseduje samo titulu, ili agente Vandemara i Krupa, koje pojava, zločini i veština baratanja oružjem čine udvojenim odrazom Džeka Trboseka. Ričardov prelazak barijere između dva Londona pokazuje da granica između stvarnog i fantastičnog grada nije nepremostiva. Zastrašujuće je da običan građanin može nenadano da se obre s druge strane granice između dva sveta, dospe u onaj „koji nastanjuju zaboravljeni i zapostavljeni” i postane „jedan od njih” (Gejmen 2013: 128). Još je strašnije što oni koji obitavaju s druge strane tu granicu već prelaze, a stanovnici Nad-Londona toga nisu (još uvek) svesni.

London poznog viktorijanskog perioda opisan je u mnogim delima gotike iz tog perioda, a u stvarnosti metropola je bila svedok događajima na ulicama koji su ukazivali na to da život može biti zastrašujuć poput horor i senzacionalističke književnosti (Dryden 2003: 47). Strahovi viktorijanskog Londona utkani su u lavirint maglovitih ulica, koje civilizovani, uglađeni svet treba da izbegava jer među populacijom nalik primitivnim, divljim narodima nekada kontrolisanih kolonija vrebaju užasi. Strepnje urbane gotike s kraja devetnaestog veka, strahovi od opa-

snosti koje prete da kompromituju i unište vrednosti civilizovanog sveta prikrivene maskom ljudskosti, još uvek su aktuelne. Volpolova formula koja spaja „maštu i nemoguće” iz prošlosti s „pravilima mogućeg” i „svakodnevnom životom” još uvek proizvodi vrednosti potrebne modernom svetu, predstavljene u pojedincima čije se stvarnosti prepliću s fantastičnim. Ovakvi spojevi su aktuelni i potrebni jer se svet fantastičnog i stvarnog prožimaju – povezuju ih strahovi od nestanka granica između njih. Protagonisti pozne viktorijanske proze su se uspešno izborili sa strahovima od kolonizovanja tela i urbanog okruženja otelotvorenim u moralno posrnulim, opasnim likovima iskrivljene etike, kao što su Dorijan, Hajd, Drakula ili Džek Trbosek. Civilizovano i ljudsko(st) su uspeali da im se odupru i opstanu. U savremenim stvarnostima, fikcionalnim i objektivnim, poput Dikovih fantazmagoričnih svetova u kojima je nemoguće razlikovati autentično od replike, ili Gibsonovih kiberpankovskih vizija u kojima je kreirana virtualna stvarnost ništa manje stvarna od objektivne, ili Gejmenovog Londona u kojem se otvaraju vrata između poznatog Londona civilizovane stvarnosti i fantazmagoričnog Pod-Londona izgrađenog na temeljima viktorijanske prošlosti, užasi urbane strave postaju svakodnevice. Da li ćemo u urbanoj tehnološkoj stvarnosti stvoriti novog Hajda i užase koji će naša tela i stvarnost kompromitovati i degradirati na nivo neljudskog ili će ih, pak, unaprediti, još uvek je neizvesno. Možda će pluralizam tehnološki kreiranih i modifikovanih stvarnosti omogućiti aktuelizaciju obe mogućnosti. Rezultat ovog procesa je još uvek nepoznat, ali strah od nepoznatog o kojem je pisao Lavkraft ostaje potreban ljudima jer je opasnost, iako potencijalno fatalna, istovremeno privlačna i zavodljiva – Dorijanu, Drakulinim žrtvama, Džekilu, pa i savremenom čoveku.

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URBAN GOTHIC IN CONTEMPORARY FANTASTIC FICTION

Summary

Late 19th century urban gothic themes: fear of reverse colonization, regression into primitive and horrors in the streets of the metropolis are still present in contemporary fiction; however, they have been reconfigured with contemporary circumstances prevailing in the urban society haunted by dependence on, fascination with and fears of scientific and technological achievements. Fictional works of Philip K. Dick, William Gibson and Neil Gaiman are examples of 20th century fantasies that host the same urban gothic fears, remodelled with current fears of depersonalization and loss of individuality and humanity in an urban, technological environment.

Key words: contemporary fantastic fiction, gothic, imperial gothic, technology

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THE GOTHIC AND SUPERNATURAL METAMORPHOSES OF THE BYRONIC HERO IN *WUTHERING HEIGHTS* AND *JANE EYRE*

This paper focuses on the interplay of romantic and gothic elements in the two most famous novels of Charlotte and Emily Brontë: *Jane Eyre* and *Wuthering Heights*. Special attention is paid to the metamorphoses of the Byronic hero in those novels as well as to the presence of supernatural and gothic elements in them. At the beginning, the paper discusses the Byronic heroes in the two novels *Jane Eyre* and *Wuthering Heights* and their characteristic features as Byronic heroes. I likewise identify other types of Byronic heroes in *Jane Eyre*. The following chapters are concerned with the supernatural and gothic elements in *Wuthering Heights* and *Jane Eyre* starting with an introduction of Gothicism, its appearance and development. I further consider the question of whether *Wuthering Heights* is gothic or realist. Having in mind the subtypes of Gothicism, I place *Jane Eyre* in the group of new gothic romances which is confirmed by many critics.

Key words: Byronic hero, Gothicism, supernatural, realism, mysticism

1. Introduction of the Byronic hero

Charlotte Brontë (1816-1855), an admirer of Thackeray, dedicated her novel *Jane Eyre* to him but it was her most un-Thackerayan novel. It is a story about a governess who falls in love with her master, married to a madwoman. Here, Brontë launches a passion that can be found neither in Thackeray nor in Dickens, i.e. a love story of great realism, observation and a kind of wit. This masterpiece gives her Byronic strain, refined by religious training and moral discipline. Her sister Emily Brontë possessed a more remarkable talent. Before her death at the age of thirty she had written poems full of fiery stoicism, pantheism and independent spirituality while in her novel *Wuthering Heights*, she sets a tragedy of love in a fantastic and

powerful story. The novel is in fact the heart and soul of the romantic spirit, with the wild passion set against the Yorkshire moors. It is a tragedy of love containing the troubled, tumultuous and rebellious elements of romanticism contained in the souls of the Byronic heroes, with supernatural and gothic elements.

The Byronic hero shows many features, and one of them is that he can be considered a rebel in many ways. The Byronic hero has a type of 'heroic virtue' but also many dark qualities. He is an individual who has great qualities of mind and heart. He is a figure of strength and creativity, like traditional heroes, being also a product of inner darkness, and an epitome of rebellious passion. "With regard to his intellectual capacity, self-respect, and hypersensitivity, the Byronic hero is 'larger than life' and with the loss of his titanic passions, his pride, and his certainty of identity, he loses also his status as a traditional hero." (Thorslev 187) The four remarkable factors in the philosophy of the Byronic hero are: revolt against society, pursuit of individual goals, romantic expression and the constant experience of strong emotion.

2. Other types of Byronic heroes

In the novel *Jane Eyre*, Brontë offers two versions of Byronic hero both of which are based on Byron's models. Not only Rochester but Jane herself is also a true Byronic hero. She is self-possessed and independent but at the same time she is restricted by some of society's conventions. Susie Campbell remarks: "Ultimately it is Jane who is the true Byronic hero of the novel. In her passage through loneliness, isolation, intense suffering and temptation, Jane asserts her own individuality, forges a sense of identity and proclaims freedom and independence of will" (Campbell 67). The other type of Byronic hero in *Jane Eyre* in my opinion is more dangerous. Apart from Jane herself, the female Byronic hero is Bertha as well. Both of them bear different expression of love. Bertha's emotions are characterized by excess while Jane's are marked by restraint. At the end of the novel it can be seen that Jane rationally dominates. Jane gains what she had always begged for i.e. self-possession. This allows her to test the gender conventions of the society she lived in. After Jane's inheritance and Rochester's injuries, she becomes the head of the family leaving her husband dependent on her. This reversal of the roles even nowadays is rare and demonstrates that Jane and her creator Charlotte are indeed proto-feminists. Bertha is a typical example of what Jane could become if her violent tendencies were not submitted. She never goes mad, unlike Bertha, who is passionate and hot-tempered. Like Rochester himself, the Jamaican feels free to ignore all society's rules in favor to her own inclinations. As a Byronic hero, Jane is interested in her independence but only if condoned by society. Bertha, on the other

hand, feels justified and increases her hostility towards Jane when her wedding with Rochester approaches. She seeks revenge and sets her husband's bed on fire while he is asleep. But fortunately, Jane rescues him. Later Bertha also sets the fire that destroys Thornfield Hall. However, she dies in it and this is how she is punished for all her sins.

So, Jane needs to embrace her Byronic independence more fully before she can feel comfortable ignoring certain gender roles, specifically those pertaining to power and wealth. Jane will have to become 'the man' in her relationship with Rochester. Charlotte's impulses lead her both away from and towards the Byronic hero, demonstrating that she is searching for the appropriate middle ground in employing the character type.

Maybe Jane gained all she ever wanted, but at the end Rochester is the one who suffers. He is left blind and crippled and this is all because of the burning of Thornfield Hall. But this can also be interpreted as a cleansing fire which burns away his Byronic past and helps him see the errors he made. Moreover, his material loss forces him to accept the limits placed on the self. He can no longer take care of himself; he is dependent on others even for his basic survival. As Jenny Oldfield remarks, "the blind, disfigured Rochester of the final chapters, imaged as a fettered beast or bird, chained by his injuries to physical inertia and by his grief to social and moral apathy, is the figure of the punished sinner" (Oldfield 29). If we find his destiny uncomfortable, especially his loss of sexual and masculine energy, we should bear in mind that it is the display of divine justice that the Victorians felt satisfied with. Rochester's immorality is washed away by this penance, he is socialized and reclaimed and is permitted to find ultimate happiness. And the final 'gift' he gets is his and Jane's son. At the end of the novel Jane gives birth to a child.

According to Bloom, there is a connection between Rochester and Byron. "Byron may have been an 'invented' brother for Emily. For Charlotte he was a literary father. When Charlotte 'disciplined Rochester and 'forgave his Byronic past', she also forgave Byron, for 'Charlotte could not allow Byron to be forever beyond her'" (Bloom 3). Thus, through the wedding of Rochester and Jane, Charlotte gets to figuratively achieve the fulfillment of her own erotic drive for Byron. If Charlotte indeed felt an erotic longing for Byron, this suggests one reason for the Byronic tensions found in her work, her interest and attraction lead to approval only when limitations are imposed.

3. The emergence of Gothicism

The Brontë heroines share an inner life of extraordinary drama; each seeks her own way to connect the inner and outer worlds by confirming the reality of her

Gothic psychodrama not merely as the intensity of her unmaidenly passions. There is what Alison Milbank has called a Gothic circle. According to her “the social outsider and damned genius imposes her will by creative power on the world in a Byronic fashion, yet in so doing she provokes further repression and so retains the status of Gothic heroine.” (Jerrold 153) “This circle accounts for Charlotte Brontë’s duality in terms of a Byronic thrust that produces a dramatization of repression, while the same provocation of victimization is deliberate and unconscious.” (Hogle 153) Brontë in particular is concerned with this duality of the ‘Gothic circle’ in a way that she seeks to dramatize a given social reality and exposing social hypocrisy with Gothic metaphors and thus provoke society to declare its true nature. In *Jane Eyre* we see the reality in the end, the actual corpse, i.e. the smashed Bertha Rochester. Bertha’s mystery exhibits a dose of suspense and terror to the whole plot of the novel and its atmosphere. In this way Brontë deploys a psychological theatre to disclose the marvel of horror in reality. However, this is not a deliberate strategy which springs from a conscious radicalism but the very act of imagining a Gothic counterpart to real terror that reveals the structural extent of that same terror and inspires the will to escape it. Brontë, on the other hand, represents violence and tyranny in the characters of Hindley and Heathcliff and these two characters were the reason that led many readers to see *Wuthering Heights* in the context of the Gothic. In an introduction to the novel, Patsy Stoneman remarks that “the so-called Gothic novels of the late 18c were typically set in a gloomy medieval castle whose massive, grotesque Gothic architecture reflected the repressive power of its baronial villain.” (Stoneman xix) *Wuthering Heights*, on the other hand, traces the emergence of the modern family, its hegemonic form of domestic realism and a historical tendency in the relations of men and women. “Yet, Emily Brontë uses Gothic elements to represent other versions of domestic life, for instance, domestic space as prison, the family as the site of primitive passions, violence, struggle and control.” (Stoneman xx).

However, spirituality and supernaturalism have always been topics of literary consideration, but there are specific historical moments when controversy erupts and new standards are put into place. In the midst of this disagreement, the Gothic novel emerged as a new genre of writing, and directly addressed this highly contested topic. The realms of Gothicism constrained within the prose works of the sisters Charlotte and Emily Brontë are the most fascinating and mesmerizing domain. We do not consider the Brontës’ works as strictly Gothic but in reality, much of their work falls more or less squarely into the Gothic tradition. Their novels are full of thematic and symbolic references to isolated houses, gloomy, windswept moors, heavy atmosphere, and spectral visitations. Magic, mystery and chivalry commonly form the structural basis of the Gothic novel generating integrity of feeling and

depth also make the spectacularly Gothic more than just a stereotype in the works of Charlotte and Emily.

Stereotypes in Gothic revival were different compared to the conventional ones. They were not so attractive and long-standing and they were being treated from Brontë sisters' aspects and their literary aims. Nevertheless, the Gothic genre became an effective literary device for the novels of Charlotte and Emily, thrusting the Gothic novel and all of its attributes into the mainstream of British prose writers and their works. In particular, this fine example of Gothicism is wonderfully depicted and explored in the novels *Wuthering Heights* and *Jane Eyre*.

The work of Brontë sisters represents genre with a twist, which gives the two novels a timeless quality whilst keeping them alive in the literary domain of the twenty-first century. The Gothic, sinister tone that the writers adopt is bad enough for the Brontës' protagonists, but the really horrifying occurrences have prosaic explanations such as malicious aunts, abusive husbands, perpetrated by their relatives and alleged friends. For the Brontës, hell really was, by definition, rooted in other people. Nevertheless, what remains so fascinating about the Gothic genre lies with the fact that it is anything but a homogenous or static genre. Belief and the suspension of disbelief are at the crux of Gothicism. The credence of belief and disbelief in the supernatural manifests itself in connection to ideas of the sublime, to connotations of sensibility, to the core of the creation myth, and in theological concepts about damnation.

4. *Wuthering Heights*: Gothic or realist?

As it was previously mentioned, the novel was published in 1847, during the Victorian era, but its style was very different from the style of most Victorian novels. The novel was not generally acclaimed by the literary critics of that early Victorian period. Emily did not strictly stick to the usual literary methods for that time or developed the plot and the characters in the usual way. The style, the setting and the plot, like the arguable darkness of the bleak surroundings and the complexity of the main characters, are essential to decide whether the novel is an example of Gothic romance or not. Over time the novel was differently criticized and accepted. For example, Douglas Jerrold wrote in the *Weekly Newspaper* of 15 January, 1848, as follows:

Wuthering Heights is a strange sort of book, baffling all regular criticism; yet is impossible to begin and not to finish it, and quite as impossible to lay it aside afterwards and say nothing about it... In *Wuthering Heights* the reader is shocked, disgusted, almost sickened by details of cruelty, inhumanity and the most diabolical hate and vengeance, and anon come passages of powerful testimony to the supreme

power of love – even over demons in the human form (Jerrold 43). After almost hundred years later, in 1949, *Wuthering Heights* is considered in terms of two conceptions: some readers have found in it the deepest spiritual content and others, a perverse conception in which the exaltation of brutality and hatred borders on the repulsive. Derek Traversy claimed that: “except the romantic passion there is another element present in it which is profoundly characteristic: the tendency to see human life and individual passions in the shadow of death.” (Vogler 61) According to him death is felt intensely in the novel whether in connection with the passionate protagonists or as a profound intuition of peace.

The novel itself maintains a distinction between gothic and realism and revises the traditional distinction between the ‘frame’ narrative and ‘core’ story. Usually, gothic novels were separated from the present in time, place, and atmosphere that they used a modern, civilized narrator to ‘frame’ the tale which without his/her mediation, might seem too far-fetched to be believable. So, the way in which Emily Brontë describes the manor house and the surroundings of the North Yorkshire moors could rapidly fit in the realist type of writing. She doesn’t seek to portray the manor house in which the majority of the story takes place as a warm, friendly and welcoming place. Instead of that she shows it to be dark, bleak and sinister. With these descriptions she fits in very comfortably with the realist style of Charles Dickens. It is not only the description of the manor house in *Wuthering Heights* that demonstrates that Emily Brontë was influenced by realist techniques, but the portrayal of the main characters also reflects elements of the realist style throughout the course of the novel. Heathcliff and Catherine’s depictions may be regarded as being very realist in their construction and presentation. Both characters are artfully described as complex ones. Heathcliff is considered as highly enigmatic while Cathy and her personality seem ‘believable’ enough. The peculiar quality of the descriptions in the first three chapters are high-lighted through the narrator Lockwood who enters *Wuthering Heights* and tries to interpret what he sees in his own way. “The ‘cats’ are dead rabbits, the dogs ‘four-footed fiends’” (Stoneman xx). Heathcliff is equally described as a “gypsy and a gentlemen.” (Stoneman xix); Young Catherine is described as a being that belongs to nobody. When Lockwood begs: “Do point out some landmarks by which I may know my way...give me a guide”, (Brontë12) he might be referring to the inside and the outside of the house as well.

Despite the realist writing techniques, *Wuthering Heights* makes abundant use of gothic conventions as well. The discernibly strong gothic influences within the entire novel clearly explains why it could be argued that this book is in fact a gothic romance rather than a purely realist work. To describe a place, an event, or a character of gothic ‘nature’ what is needed are dark, bleak, or even sinister elements and an ambiguous attitude towards social and moral values. Gothic could be understood

as being old and grand, or alternatively, as being evil and abnormal. Stories and novels that are nominally romantic in nature should usually conclude with a happy ending, in which the majority or indeed all of the main characters finish the tale in a better position than when it started.

In many aspects the way in which Brontë portrays Heathcliff as a mysterious, dark and dangerous man is the key to the complexity of his character and the enduring appeal of *Wuthering Heights* as a whole. The descriptions, the thoughts, attitudes, and the behaviour of Heathcliff combine effortlessly to present him as a gothic figure. If anything, Brontë succeeds in portraying Heathcliff as a gothic figure because *Wuthering Heights* is not written from his personal perspective. Instead Brontë makes Heathcliff's appearance dark, more mysterious, and more sinister by having two distinct characters to tell the whole story through their own narration. A great deal of the gothic lies in Heathcliff's past which is simply not known. The mystery is further due to his keeping his motivations hidden from everybody he comes into contact with.

Another thing that we should be taken into consideration is that the roots of the gothic in Brontë's works lie in Byron's influence. *Wuthering Heights* could be juxtaposed with Byron's *Manfred*. In Act II, Scene 2 Manfred recalls Astarte and provokes the Witch of the Alps, rejects her help, rejects humanity and Christianity as well. Byron's poem has little plot and contains little struggle, for no one in it is a match to the hero. Even when the Devil claims his soul he drives him away easily. Both Heathcliff and Manfred have little humanity. Manfred stands in the centre of the stage alone, marveled at by other characters, and refusing to communicate with them. He is essentially unintelligible. Heathcliff, for all his occasional talks with Nelly Dean, is also an essentially unintelligible character. The two are found, with their haughty reticence, monomaniac passion, and preternatural power, sometimes superhuman and sometimes inhuman, but never human. It can be seen that they suffer great agony inside them and we know that Manfred confirms his welcome to death and we notice how Heathcliff defines his destiny but we do not feel any compassion to their suffering as we do with some other heroes also greater than ordinary men, such as Othello or Macbeth.

5. Jane Eyre: A new gothic romance

Jane Eyre has been classified as belonging to different genres, including the Bildungsroman and the romance novel, but the story relies heavily on key gothic conventions. At first glance, a gothic novel seems to be all about doom and gloom. While all gothic works do have a gloomy atmosphere, there is a lot more to it. Gothic novels are defined by their haunted settings and mysterious tone, bizarre

and unexplained events, and characters with strong uncontrolled emotions and a belief in the supernatural. Charlotte's story is conventional. All her characters keep escaping to glorify 'feeling'. Yet, feeling is there, whether evading repression or ranging from nervous excitement to emotional absorption. The elements of a gothic romance are the same, but with few additions. A gothic romance usually has the added element of powerful love which the main character fears that it won't be reciprocated. Through her use of haunted sceneries, ghoulish characters, and unrestrained passions, Charlotte Brontë intricately weaves an eerie sense of suspense and mystery in her gothic romance *Jane Eyre*.

According to Robert B. Heilman, Brontë goes "beyond conventional gothic writing. For her it means a venture into 'psychic darkness' "(Rathburn, Steinmann 118). Unlike many contemporary gothic novels, Brontë's intention was not to frighten or to provide a temporary thrill. She uses gothic convention to explore feeling especially sexual feeling in a way adequate to Victorian society. Heilman sees three versions of Gothic writing: Old Gothic, Anti-Gothic and New Gothic. The Old Gothic includes convention of sensationalism i.e. a cheap thrill for its own sake. The basics are there in Brontë's writing but yet modified. The anti-gothic uses comic manners which are reminiscent of Jane Austen's novel *Northanger Abbey*. In it she presents the incidents in a dry factual way, so debunking the sensational elements. Brontë's version of Gothic is the New Gothic respectively. She denies superficial attractiveness to the characters to focus on the powerful inner attraction which exists between them. Love mixes with hostility, violence and presents a deep need. The traditional gothic has often been noted in *Jane Eyre* in terms of childhood terrors to all those mysteriously threatening sights, sounds and injurious acts that reveal the presence of a malevolent force. She always modifies these conventions of fictional art. The symbolic also modifies the Gothic which is a more mature and complicated response than the simple thrill or momentary intensity of feeling sought by primitive Gothic. When Mrs. Rochester was mad, seen only as 'the foul German spectre' that spreads terror at night is the one thing; when with the malicious insight that is the paradox of her madness, she tears the wedding veil in two and symbolically destroys the planned marriage is another thing, far less elementary as art. The Thornfield becomes more than a shock when is seen as the fire of purgation and the grim, almost roadless forest is also felt as a symbol of Rochester's closed-in life. Charlotte manages to make the gothic more than a stereotype. "She finds new ways to achieve the ends served by Old Gothic, i.e. the discovery and release of new patterns of feeling and the intensification of feeling." (Rathburn, Steinmann 132) Jane is portrayed as evoking new feelings rather than as exercising the old ones. Charlotte moves away from standard characterization towards new levels of human reality, and hence from stock responses to a new kind of passionate engagement. In accordance with the gothic conventions, *Jane Eyre* often presents symbols not

so much as treasure, hidden in depths of obscurity, As we find in more conventional and certainly more contemporary novels, but as gifts from above, flashing lightening, jumping from the page, making their presence known. Jane's strange, fearful, symbolic dreams are not mere thriller but reflect the tensions of the engagement period, her stress and the longing for Rochester after she has left him. In Hailman's opinion this is the proof of her new dimension of Gothic i.e. 'her plunging into feeling that us without status in the ordinary world of the novel'. What is essentially important here is that the function of gothic fiction is to give vent to the human interest in the irrational, the inexplicable, the mysterious parts of life and experience. Brontë uses conventions and motifs to symbolize the enigmatic parts of human personality. Thus, the dark mansion, the secrets and the sinister strangers of the gothic genre become symbols of the unknown and frightening parts of the unconscious self.

The character of Jane constructed as a complex one has a multi-layered personality, driven by a number of unconscious instincts and desires. When she first falls in love with Rochester, Jane understands that he will probably never love her back and that even if he did, it would be considered improper for him to marry her. As a victim of love, Jane describes to the reader that: "I had not intended to love him...I had wrought hard to extirpate from myself the germs of love there detected; and now at first renewed view of him, they revived spontaneous and strong." (Brontë 207) She attempts to contain her emotions and convince herself that they don't exist, but in the end her emotions are too strong. Even when she was young, Jane could not conceal her true emotions. For example, she does not scruple to tell her Aunt "I do not love you; I dislike you the worst of anybody in the world." (Brontë 45). Hence, she is a mixture of the rational and irrational, calculating and passionate and as it was mentioned before she is the Byronic hero as well. However, the central theme in *Jane Eyre* is based on a concept of the self as individual and unique which is a romantic concept. This is confirmed by Susie Campbel as well: "The Gothic novel was just one offshoot of the whole Romantic enterprise to recover the sense of the human psyche as a passion, spirit and imagination." (Campbel 66) This happened as a reaction against the eighteenth-century Enlightenment that devalued the irrational and imaginative parts of human nature. Wordsworth and Coleridge as romantic writers set great store by humankind's ability to reason and exert will-power and placed above the individual's ability to feel and create. The effect on this in Brontë's thinking can be seen in her insistence on Jane's passionate nature and her development as an artist. What is important to understand is that to the Romantic, the human being is an immortal spirit trapped within a mortal frame and only because of this we cannot reach total maturity and perfect fulfillment.

This novel possesses some of the features of a 'classic' gothic narrative when we think about escape, subversion and mobility. Some critics have argued that

Jane Eyre is not a gothic novel but an example of the use of gothic by a nineteenth-century novelist. Nonetheless, traditional gothic conventions are used, but in a highly individual way. Thus, Charlotte Brontë's novel is heavily influenced by such gothic elements as the supernatural, the abnormal and ultimately the horrible. In *Jane Eyre*, the peculiar, old house with its malevolent atmosphere, the raving lunatic and Rochester's telepathic message to Jane are all derivatives of the gothic novel. *Jane Eyre* is also a good example of how the interrogative texture of the gothic works with regard to the supernatural and spiritual. Jane's refusal to compromise, her departure from Rochester and Thornfield after the encounter with Bertha, is virtually initiated by the mother as a ghost, in a beautiful gothic scene in Chapter 27: "I dreamt that I lay in the red-room at Gateshead; the gleam was such as the moon imparts to vapours she is about to sever. I watched her come watched with the strangest anticipation; as though some word of doom were to be written on her disk It gazed and gazed on me." (Brontë338)

In this supernatural encounter, *Jane Eyre* depicts the emotional dimension of the gothic interrogative texture. In other words, generic gothic excesses like horror and supernaturalism interact with the emotional aspect of the gothic by association with the realm of dream, desire and nightmare. Despite indulging into the genre of gothic romance with its customary touch of passion and 'dark' emotion; both Charlotte and Emily refine the technique considerably from the 'authentic' gothic of the 1790s. For example, in *Jane Eyre*, the symbolism, metaphor and the richness in poetry can be seen which marks it as distinct from the pattern of previous gothic novels. So, what Charlotte Brontë wanted was to create a work, which cleverly unifies elements of the two styles, and yet remains uniquely independent of them at the same time, since it addresses issues, which were at the time rather controversial.

6. The supernatural in *Wuthering Heights* and *Jane Eyre*

Any attempt to explain the popularity of these two novels must take into account their depiction of inner life, unrelated to temporary social conditions. Both novels possess a long-standing popular status and despite their differences of tone, style and outlook, their continuing success may be due to similar features. They have many shared factors such as thematic concerns, settings, local color, narrative techniques and most of all the supernatural elements as opposed to the strongly naturalistic elements. Some modern critics condemn the horror game played by Emily in her depiction of the ghost child and of Heathcliff's final ghost-tormented days, and less skillfully by Charlotte in the mad wife episodes of Bertha. The closed, introspective quality of both writers can easily lead to the use of the supernatural at times of high tension as an exposure of inner traumas suffered by the characters.

The supernatural can increase the mood of fear and confusion. The device is simply used by the two sisters. It is the psychologically sound, manifesting some secret aspect of the unconscious.

Jane's sense of anxiety on the eve of her wedding is embodied in two strange dreams: one of the child burden and one of a ruined Thornfield, and in the chilling 'apparition' that enters her room and tears the veil. Jane describes it in nightmare terms as "'savage', 'fearful' as 'the foul German specter – the vampire.'" (Brontë 311) One of the most significant supernatural sites in *Jane Eyre* is the looking glass in the Red Room at Gateshead. When she notices the mirror in the tomblike red room she sees an impenetrable surface that merely 'repeated' other surfaces and when she stands before the looking glass she begins to understand the spiritual dimension. The looking glass is to Jane a 'visionary hollow' i.e. a plane of wander with a depth that can reveal truth if one passes through to the other side. Jane has always been susceptible to tales of fairy beings and she thinks of them not only in the red room episode but as well as during her reverie in Hay Lane, when she remembers Bessie's tale of the Gytrash that haunted solitary travellers. Rochester on his part thought unaccountably of fairy tales on their first meeting. However, the novel is scattered through with these small references to the supernatural in order to create a sense of unreality for a particular incident and lifting it beyond the normal standard, taking on a reflection of a character's state of mind. The best interpretation of Jane and Rochester's telepathic communication is one moonlit night; "'the mysterious summons' which thrill her 'not like an electric shock, but it was quite as sharp, as strange, as startling.'" (Brontë 444) Jane considers it not as a superstition or supernatural deception but 'the work of nature' which must be obeyed.

The same indulgence in imaginative extravagance is found also in *Wuthering Heights*. The book's moral and supernatural elements are very complicated. The presence of the supernatural is introduced with total conviction within an everyday cycle of events. The 'rude and strange' hints of the novel are vested in its supernaturalism, as one of Nelly's ponderings about one of the rudest and strangest characters of the novel, Heathcliff, and she clearly indicates: "'Is he a ghoul, or a vampire? ', she wanders, 'I had read of such hideous, incarnate demons.'" (Brontë 293)

Another supernatural moment is Lockwood's nightmare. This is the clearest example of the supernatural in the novel and is as well followed by Heathcliff's 'gush of grief' at not finding the specter. This is followed by Lockwood's descent to the kitchen and the normal early morning activities of the household. The apparition can be accounted for logically by Lockwood's preoccupation with Catherine's old diary, but it has a more important function in setting the desperate tone of Heathcliff and Cathy's dramatic love affair and in embodying the cause of his long years of suffering. Twenty years after Catherine's death Heathcliff is still seeking for one

glimpse of Lockwood's ghost vision, and the ghost is real to us through the dream, as to Heathcliff himself.

7. Conclusion

Throughout the Victorian age, Byron's influence was manifested in the work of many writers. Many examples of Byronic heroes emerged in this period such as those portrayed by Charlotte and Emily Brontë who were fascinated by Byron's poetic output and dashing life. Not only the masculine versions of the Byronic heroes are mentioned and elaborated in these two novels. The other version of the Byronic hero i.e. the Byronic heroine is important too. As T. Hull agrees "the Byronic heroine has not received the primary attention which she deserves. Generally, she is not as compelling a figure as the hero nor is she as central in English and European literary history. Nevertheless, these Byronic heroines are important and should be more carefully studied for the following reasons: they are fascinating and worthwhile in themselves, especially since they were drawn by the author who created the most notorious and influential English hero type"

The two Brontës remained enchanted by the impossibility of Byron's existence based on a quest for love that was doomed to failure. The literary tradition of heroism in Britain may be said to have practically died with Byron but a few notable exceptions represent its continuation. Jane Eyre's Rochester is certainly a descendant of the Gothic villain-hero, as it is Brontë's Heathcliff. Both *Jane Eyre* and *Wuthering Heights* can be read as romantic, gothic, and/or realistic texts and according to Derek Traversi, "they refuse to solidify, materialize, or be particularized as one thing or another." (Dickerson 69) These texts about ghosts in the red room, in the mirror and on the moors are ghostly texts whose meanings fall somewhere in between.

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ГОТСКАТА И НАТПРИРОДНА МЕТАМОРФОЗА НА БАЈРОНОВСКИОТ ХЕРОЈ ВО ОРКАНСКИ ВИСОЧИНИ И ЦЕЈН ЕР

Резиме

Овој труд се фокусира на романтичните и готски елементи во двата најпознати романи на Шарлот и Емили Бронте: *Цејн Ер* и *Оркански Височини*. Посебен акцент е даден на метаморфозата на Бајроновскиот херој во тие романи како и присуството на натприродни и готски елементи во нив. На почетокот се опишуваат Бајроновските херои во *Цејн Ер* и *Оркански Височини* и нивните карактеристики. Во следните поглавја се вклучени натприродните и готските елементи во гореспоменатите романи, а започнуваат со вовед во Готскиот период и неговиот развој. Следното прашање кое се разработува е дали *Оркански Височини* е готски или текст на реализмот. Имајќи ги во предвид подкатегиите на Готиката, *Цејн Ер* ја сместувам во категоријата

на нови готски романи што е потврдено од многу критичари. Двете дела се карактеристични по мрачната атмосфера, духовите, сништата и привиде-нијата чии значења се еден вид тромеѓе на реалност, готика и имагинација.

Клучни зборови: Бајроновски херој, готика, мистика, натприродни и готски елементи

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DRACULA – EMBODIMENT OF VICTORIAN OTHERNESS

In the 21st century, we now recognize that monsters are metaphors for personal, and even global, unconscious content. As vampires have seen an unprecedented flourish in popularity in recent years, so has the concept of Otherness/the Other. This essay will present and discuss the concept of Otherness from three different perspectives: cultural theory, philosophy and psychology. It will then exemplify how different characteristics of the Other are embodied in the literary character of Count Dracula, from Bram Stoker's 1897 novel, *Dracula*. It will, thus, shed light on the many things the Victorians feared, but also deeply desired, while at the same time portraying a well-known period from a different perspective.

Key words: vampire, Dracula, Other, Otherness, Victorian England

1. Introduction

Otherness has become a key concept in today's cultural and literary criticism. It would appear that in the globalized world we inhabit, in which the differences between nations and people are merging and becoming more blurred, there is also a global need to understand and accept those who are different. We know now that the inherent antipathy and, very often, hostility that has always been felt towards those who are different is due to a psychological mechanism used by all people in all times, and that is projection. Simply put, during projection, (usually) unaccepted, unwanted and unconscious content of our own (not only individually, but nationally as well) is attributed to the Other, who then becomes the target of our censorship. Although this is a constant occurrence, it becomes very evident in people, ideas or fictional characters which have clearly been demonized. We thus come to the vampire, a creature that has persisted in the imagination of people for thousands of years and in all parts of the world, until it became part of literature in the

19th century. Even though the number of literary and cinematic vampire characters is innumerable, one remains the most famous and that is Bram Stoker's character of Count Dracula. This essay will present the theory behind Otherness from three different perspectives – culture, philosophy and psychology and then exemplify the unconscious content of the Victorian Age embodied in, or projected onto, Count Dracula.

2. Otherness in cultural theory

We shall begin our journey into Otherness by defining the term Otherness/the Other from the aspect of cultural theory. In that context, the concept of the Other can first be found in travelogues and texts by sailors who discovered and explored unknown lands and met new races and new customs. To them, those people who belonged to a different culture became the Other – the one who was not like them and who, more often than not, caused fear and distrust due to the un-sameness and the impossibility of understanding. In order for that Other to be accepted, he/she had to be assimilated, turned into something recognizable. The Other has, unfortunately, very often been looked upon (and still is, in some instances) as a culturally, intellectually and morally inferior subject who had to be 'civilized' and converted according to the values of the period and the culture of the dominant social or political subjects.

If, once, the Others were the indigenous people of foreign lands, or people of different skin color, or the primitive heathens, in recent centuries the Other has become the member of the female gender, or a member of an ethnic, religious, sexual or class group which is found on the margins of a society. Anything/anyone that is not in accordance with and refuses to abide by the social norms and values, thereby requiring a reconsideration of the sense of security and establishment of certain beliefs and convictions, has always inspired fear and distrust and, in some cases, even paranoid obsessions of entire societies and periods.

Valeri Stefanov, in his text *The Challenges of the Other* (2000:58), emphasizes the two aspects the Other can have: the Other as a foreigner, ethnically different and geographically opposite, the relationship to whom is built primarily upon prejudice, for this Other is usually dangerous, strange, an object of ridicule and mockery. In this context, Stefanov argues that the Other is a destructive force. The second aspect presents the Other as a necessary and particularly important element for constructing the identity of any group, the one who supports the wholeness of that group. In this context, the Other is a constructive factor, a binding force. In essence, the Other here unites the group and forms its unity by standing before it as a common enemy, a common threat, giving the group a reason to come together

in the first place. This aspect is particularly important in each society, because the Other here may unite entire nations in creating prejudice and stereotypes.

For the social theorist Michel Foucault (in Schwab 1996:29), for example, Otherness is always determined by culture, i.e. Otherness is a force generated by culture and serves for the self-identification of that culture. What generates Otherness in any culture are the concessions from the culturally defined and set norms and values or the crossing of the boundaries set by each culture to define what it wants within itself and what it wants excluded (madness, crime, sexual deviation, poverty). Foucault argues that although each culture specifies a place for the Other, it still tends toward absolute exclusion of any Otherness; even if a certain inclusion of the Otherness is permitted, it is again only through its assimilation to the laws of that culture.

All literature is created in and is a result of a given culture, specific to a nation, but also a period. Therefore, Dracula, as a literary character created at the turn of the century (or fin-de-siècle) embodies many of the characteristics and attitudes towards the Other that the Victorians had, and these include both the negative and the positive cultural aspects.

3. Otherness in philosophy

Numerous philosophers have dealt with the idea of Otherness, such as Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Jean-Paul Sartre, Edmund Husserl, Martin Heidegger, Jacques Derrida and Emmanuel Levinas. Unlike in culture, where the Other is a member of a different race, sex, religion or nationality, in philosophy the Other is anyone who is not I/me.

In his existentialist philosophy, Sartre (in Nye 1988:8) defines the Other as the one who causes our relationship with the world to collapse, as the Other takes up our space and presents a draining pipe down which our world pours off into the world of the Other. This Other can trigger several reactions on our part: a sense that our subjectivity is in danger, because for the Other I am an object; a sense of false indifference or a desire for possession and entrapment of the free subjectivity of the Other (as in the sexual act, for example); a sense of hatred or wishing that there is no one else in the world; a sense of fear, because the Other is always watching and observing me. But, for Sartre, the Others are also necessary because "*only through their image of myself, I know who I am; only through them I can get an external image of myself*" (ibid).

We will use this very idea of learning who we are through the Other, or the Other as our own reflection, when we look at the vampire later, but the same can be done with any monster. Or, as Schwab (1996:53) quotes Mikhail Bakhtin in *The*

Mirror and the Killer Queen, who says that “*I cannot become myself without the [O]ther. I must find myself in the [O]ther, by finding the [O]ther in myself*”.

Emmanuel Levinas has also written extensively about Otherness. He, in essence, takes two paradigms for Otherness (in Licheva 1998:66) presented by Odysseus and the biblical character of Abraham: Odysseus is the one who projects himself, searches for himself, absorbs Otherness and transforms in into his own Self; and through Abraham Levinas presents his own understanding of the essential Otherness, where the Other is always outside of Myself, asymmetrical and the one we do not understand. In his work *Totality and Infinity* (1969), Levinas presents us with two views, one of which is “totalitarian” - claiming to possess a method and a science, which are a priori accurate and lead to the truth, and an “infinite ” view which accepts the Other and continuously leads outside the naïve presuppositions of a priori dogmas. The infinite thought presupposes the Other as completely different, as an alterity – the Other is different from me because he/she shows me a perception which is not analogous to mine, i.e. he/she points out an alternative view. This is precisely why the Other cannot be included in, captured by or reduced to any system of processes, objectivities or things. The Other is the one who competes, questions and challenges our systematic inclusions of objectivities, events or things in a certain dogma or method.

When the Other approaches us, he/she does not enter us; we cannot understand their habits, customs, lifestyle and what escapes our understanding is the very being, the Other as being, the one we cannot assimilate or identify. If we were to assimilate the Other, it would lead to the negation of his/her Otherness and Levinas calls that murder. According to him, the infinite distance of the Other should be respected, because the Other is created as a desire for infinity, for he/she is infinity itself.

Edmund Husserl is one of the first philosophers to define the Other. According to him, the Other is essentially unapproachable and appears as a modification of my objectified Self – the Other is a modification of my being or, in other words, “*the Other means another Me, an alter ego, and the meaning of Self I still am able to draw from myself*” and “*the word alter points to a certain modification which intentionally includes my Self*” (1976:9). He goes on to say that humankind comes into contact with another (Other) kind as a contrast to the already familiar. In that contact with other people and other worlds, that otherness (Otherness) constitutes what is not understandable and different, yet not entirely different, for then it would be impossible to perceive. Other people are understood as people but we do not understand them as the people in our world. Finally, the other person for us is a body, a Self governing a body, but it is always a Self we cannot comprehend.

In the context of the Other as a body, Julija Kristeva says:

“The meeting of the Other is truly unusual – the one we perceive through our sense of sight, hearing, smell, but do not ‘frame’ within our consciousness. The Other leaves us separated, uncomprehended; the Other may even make us feel that we are not tuned into our feelings, that we reject them or, on the other hand, that we refuse to judge them...” (in Oliver 1997: 286)

Monsters as bodies drastically different from the ‘normal’ exaggerate this characteristic of the Other as the not Me/I and this perhaps facilitates their capacity for embodiment of Otherness.

4. Otherness in psychology

If in the context of culture, the Other was seen more widely, as a member of another racial, ethnic, religious or political group, and in philosophy we narrowed down the scope of the Other to represent anyone who is not Me, in psychology we go even deeper into the very roots of the concept of Otherness. In this context, we are going to present the views on Otherness through the ideas of two of the most famous psychoanalysts, Jacques Lacan and Sigmund Freud.

Lacan (in Verhaeghe 1999:81) posits that in the beginning of existence, the child has no Self, no ego. The formation of the Self begins in what he terms ‘the mirror stage’ – a formative phase in the development of the Self functions. In this non-verbal stage, which is part of the imaginary order, the connection between the internal and external worlds is created, and the child experiences the first sense of identity. What is crucial in this stage is the image of the Other in the mirror, with whom the child identifies. Therefore, the image of the body of the child and the awareness of oneself come from the Other.

As this happens in the imaginary, pre-verbal stage when the child cannot yet see itself as being separate from the mother and the world, there is a pervasive sense of unity, belonging. By moving into the symbolic order, the next stage, the child takes the Name of the Father, thus entering a stage of separation, lack, parting. For Lacan, *“the fundamental alienation which always makes us create our discourse for someone else or resembling someone else’s, by always exposing us to someone else, is not a function of confrontation with some other person, but a confrontation with the Otherness within ourselves”* (in Nye 1988:137). If the identity of the child is formed by entering the symbolic order, whatever existed in the imaginary order fades in the background, therefore putting the Other in the same background or the unconscious, outside the domain of the ego. In conclusion, Lacan states that the Other is the unconscious.

Since the unconscious is where we repress our fears and desires, let us have a look at fear as an emotion and a determinant of human behavior. What is fear and, more importantly, what happens when certain fears are repressed? According to Freud (1981:367), we should distinguish between two types of fear: real fear and neurotic fear. Real fear appears as a reaction to external danger, anticipated harm and is related to the flight reflex. It is, basically, an expression of the survival instinct. The neurotic fear, on the other hand, is a fear of expectation that something terrible is about to happen, or it can be manifested as general timidity or anxiety, a fear which hovers around a person and waits to attach itself to a certain notion or even object, situation or occurrence, which becomes a phobia. The general anxiety with a state of expectancy, according to Freud, is closely related to the sexual life of the individual, i.e. it is present when there is sexual arousal, but no discharge. The lack of sexual gratification conditions the constant feeling of fear or timidity, whereas sexual fulfillment conditions self-confidence and lack of timidity. Fear can also appear as a replacement of a proper psychological reaction to a situation. Then, by repressing the reaction, the individual misconstrues the affect for fear. Another context where we have neurotic fear is with compulsive behaviors, which serve to conceal the fear and are being repeated only in order to avoid the fear.

Therefore, we can say that whenever there are repressed reactions or feelings, fear appears. And the vampire is an excellent example of a creature onto which certain individuals, and even entire societies, project their fears (of death, infection, primitivism, magic, class or gender) as a result of their repressed desires (for immortality, domination, freed sexuality, supernatural powers –physical and psychological, freedom from constraints).

When it comes to desire, an excellent illustration we would like to use is a quote by Jacques Lacan who says, in Seminar XI, that “*man’s desire is desire of the Other*” (235). According to Freud, however, an unconscious desire has a tendency to realize itself by reevaluation the first experiences of pleasure, which makes desire a primeval element in human consciousness that always strives to be fulfilled. Freud propagated (in Oliver 1997:290) total refusal of the Other, the result of which is a sense of depersonalization, which then leads us back to our infantile desires and fears of Otherness, be it the Otherness of death, the female, uncontrollable urges, etc.

The contribution of psychology to the theory of Otherness is in its introduction of the concept of internal Otherness, as an effect of unconscious processes, as a result of which all that is repressed from the conscious mind will be looked upon as Other, strange, taboo, inferior, dangerous or even threatening. In psychology, what creates the Other is the mechanism of projection. Projection is the mechanism by which one attributes the unacceptable unconscious content onto someone else. Projection can be viewed in three forms:

“In its simplest form, it refers to seeing one’s own traits in other people. A more rigorous understanding involves perceiving others as having traits that one inaccurately believes oneself not to have. As a broad form of influence of self-concept on person perception, projection may be regarded as more a cognitive bias than a defense mechanism. Nonetheless, projection *can* be seen as defensive if perceiving the threatening trait in others helps the individual in some way to avoid recognizing it in himself or herself, and indeed this is how Freud...conceptualized projection.” (Baumaister et al. 1998:10)

After having presented some of the basic theories on Otherness in the three areas where this concept is of significance for what we are trying to present, for the purposes of this text, we are going to extract three hypotheses and see how the literary character of Count Dracula fits perfectly as an embodiment of the idea of the Other in Victorian England.

1. The Other/the vampire is a foreigner, dangerous and different = destructive aspect
The Other/the vampire helps create the identity of a group = constructive aspect
2. The Other/the vampire is a threat which causes fear and hatred
The Other/the vampire gives us an image of ourselves and our society
3. The Other/the vampire is a projection of our repressed fears
The Other/the vampire is a projection of our repressed desires

5. Dracula as the Victorian Other

Bram Stoker published his novel *Dracula* in 1897 and thus created the monster many generations have come to associate with the word vampire. But, he also managed to create an everlasting metaphor for Otherness, as we shall see.

The novel follows the story of, first, a Victorian named Jonathan Harker, who travels to Transylvania to secure a real estate transaction with a mysterious Count Dracula. He, then, becomes the victim of the Count, who turns out to be a supernatural creature, but it is not until later on in the story that we learn his true nature. As Harker’s mental health and stability rapidly deteriorate or, to use the terminology of the 19th century, as he starts suffering from brain fever, and then manages to escape the castle, the Count starts his invasion of England by, first, causing havoc on the ship that transports him and his coffins of Transylvanian earth, and then, attacking two young Victorian ladies. He shape-shifts and attacks without pardon, draining the blood of his victims, as a group of Victorian men, calling themselves (very

appropriately) the Crew of Light, tries to thwart the vampire's attempts to spread his infection in the new world. He is, eventually, stopped and destroyed, in his own land.

The destructive component of Dracula is multilayered, starting with the destruction of the norms and boundaries of the community, society, to the causing of death and spreading of the vampiric infection. Dracula is a nobleman from Eastern Europe, a member of a long line of warriors, who lives through the centuries remembering the old glory. In the mind of the Victorians, the people from Eastern Europe and the Balkans stood as terrifying savages and heathens, who did magic and did not respect the social rules and norms. Attracted by the wealth of England, many foreigners from the poor European countries flooded the country, which caused fear from disturbances and infections to the British purity by those imposters. Due to the rapid expansion of the British Empire, patriotism grew and the British felt like a divine race, therefore making any mixing with another, particularly inferior, race, to cause paranoia with the patriots. Dracula is, before all things, a foreigner and if we follow the second hypothesis of the Other as a threat, then Dracula is a threat to everything British.

According to Pykett (1996:14), the advanced and civilized European cultures, particularly the British, evolved to their position by means of oppression and control over the primitive elements, although some of them managed to survive. It is not difficult to see that "*part of Dracula's fascination – and the terror he inspires – lies in his threat to a recognizably modern world: Dr. Seward dictates his journal phonographically; Mina has learned how to type and use shorthand; Dr. Van Helsing performs blood transfusions....and what is really at stake is the new world's necessary conquest of the old.*" (Williams 2003:9). What Dracula represents is "*an ancient, dark, violent past and a decadent aristocracy*" (ibid.) which makes him a threat to the Victorian middle class, embodied by Van Helsing and his followers: the middle class in that period constantly grew into more and more power, creating wealthy, yet nameless (without nobility titles) members of the new class.

Count Dracula tells Jonathan Harker in Transilvania:

"Here I am noble; I am boyar; the common people know me, and I am master...I have been so long master that I would be master still – or at least that none other should be master of me. (Stoker in Williams 2003:167)

This statement shows us the fear of the young middle class, whose members are aware that the ingrained habits of the aristocracy, created through the centuries, will not easily be changed.

Dracula is also characterized by the psychological destruction he causes: the torture that Jonathan Harker is subjected to makes him lose his mind mainly because he cannot not accept the things he sees, things which are in dire opposition

to his beliefs as a conscientious Victorian – Jonathan resists the Otherness and that, in the end, fractures his psyche. Dracula's destructiveness ends with physical infections and death, as in the example of Lucy Westenra, who dies after a long battle for her soul. Lucy's last name translates to 'the light of the West' and thus, the battle for her salvation is taken to a different level, to symbolize the struggle to save the light of the West against the darkness of the East. However, even though Lucy dies, the West and its light are saved.

The constructive element of the Other in the context of this novel can best be seen in the formation of the appropriately named Crew of Light, headed by Abraham Van Helsing – a man of science, logic, rationality, but someone who is also open to the occult and the magical. He fights bravely against the intruder in the name of rationality and light. He and his crew of fighters against the vampire can be seen, in a Freudian sense, as fighters of the superego who are trying to make sure that the id stays where it belongs and the ego of the moral Victorian is left intact. They also show us the constructive power of the Other to unite his enemies against himself.

If we move on to the third hypothesis of the Other as an embodiment of repressed fears and desires, we will find many fears and desires that Dracula embodies. The first association with Dracula is blood and that can be linked to the Victorian fear of infection of the imperialistic royal blood with the blood of the primitive people. Dracula creates his spawn through his own blood and therefore poses a threat of an uncontrollable contagion. Another fear of the Victorians symbolized by the blood is the fear of bodily infections and venereal diseases, especially syphilis. Syphilis was associated with prostitution, infidelity, perversion and thus posed a threat to the norms of socially acceptable sexual behavior. According to Cavallaro (1995), there was also the prevalent opinion at the time that all venereal diseases originated in Eastern Europe.

The blood that Dracula drinks and the open wounds he leaves on his victims are symptomatic of bodily infections, but the blood-drinking act and the penetration of the victim are also symbolic of the most prominent of the vampire's qualities and that is his eroticism and sexuality. These aspects make Dracula the embodiment of the fear of releasing sexual inhibitions and succumbing to sexual desires, especially in women. Here is only one example which implicitly describes an erotic act between Dracula and his female victims. When Mina finds Lucy in the park, she can see, in the darkness, the body of the vampire positioned over Lucy in a pose which resembles a sexual act:

"There was a bright full moon, with heavy black, driving clouds, which threw the whole scene into a fleeting diorama of light and shade as they sailed across. For a moment or two I could see nothing, as the shadow of a cloud obscured St. Mary's Church and all around it. Then as the cloud

passed I could see the ruins of the abbey coming into view...it seemed to me as though something dark stood behind the seat where the figure shone and bent over it...there was undoubtedly something, long and black, bending over the half-reclining white figure...something raised a head, and from where I was I could see a white face and red, gleaming eyes.” (Stoker in Williams 2003: 226)

This description emphasizes the sexual quality of the moment through the ambiguity of whether this was a dream or reality. Due to the dream-like quality of the scene, the release of fears and desires is possible because it is in dreams that the inhibitions of both the ego and superego are lowered. Another example of releasing sexuality through a dream-like state is when Jonathan falls asleep in the forbidden part of Dracula’s castle and is then attacked by the Count’s vampire mistresses – it is only in a semi-conscious state that his Victorian ego can succumb to his desires. Furthermore, when Jonathan is in Transylvania, he introduces the dream and the nightmare as answers to his unimaginable situation. In his diary, he writes:

“I began to rub my eyes and pinch myself to see if I were awake. It all seemed like a horrible nightmare to me, and I expected that I should suddenly awake, and find myself at home, with the dawn struggling in through the windows, as I had now and again felt in the morning after a day of overwork. But my flesh answered the pinching test, and my eyes were not to be deceived. I was indeed awake and among the Carpathians.” (163)

Dracula not only embodies the Victorian fear of liberated sexuality, but also the desire for it. That is why Stoker, as a true Victorian, punished the female character (Lucy) who succumbed to the attraction of the vampire and rewarded the one (Mina) who did not quite go all the way through in her surrender to Dracula and constantly fought against his hold over her. The sexual aspect of the vampire has been the most exploited one in the last century and much has been written on the sexual repressions of the Victorians, so it is not a surprise that Dracula embodies not only the fear of, but also the desire for, sexual liberation.

Another desire embodied by the vampire as Otherness, is the desire for immortality. It is the vampire’s immortality and omnipotence that were first emphasized by Count Dracula. However repulsive the life of a vampire may seem, people, deep inside, will always yearn to be free of death, mortality, ageing, sickness and pain. In the period when the British felt they ruled the world, this desire became central, as they became entranced by the idea of their superiority. Dracula has the power to turn into a wolf, a bat or even mist – a control over form which is impossible for humans. He can control animals, the weather and people, which presents a much desired, yet again unattainable, state of omnipotence. Another desire we have pre-

viously mentioned is the desire for the old systems and established values to remain intact and the resistance to everything new: Dracula comes to the modern world, after centuries in his ancient land, but fails to realize his plans in that world.

6. Conclusion

We can conclude that Dracula as an embodiment of the Victorian notions of Otherness represents both a destructive and a constructive element. His destruction is aimed at social values, and entails moral, psychological and physical annihilation, whereas his constructive aspects are aimed at liberation and unification against a common enemy. The picture of Victorian England that we see through this character is one of fear of endangering established values and return of the aristocracy, as well as any threat from liberated sexuality and infections. The fears Dracula embodies are those of contagion, foreigners, pagans, loss of control, and liberation of sexuality. Some of the desires he embodies are those for immortality, omnipotence, freedom from rational and bodily constraints.

In the context of the time in which this character was created, the vampire as Otherness is the idea that could infect the human mind in a time of weakness and doubt in the church and the loss of faith. The vampire is then the fear that in those moments of confusion and despair, a nation may go down the path dictated by its hidden fantasies and desires, forbidden dreams and repressed instincts. At the same time, there is the irresistible magnetism of everything the vampire represents and what the civilized man has had to repress in the name of civilization: normal and healthy sexual appetites, the yearning for liberating the mind from the confines of rationalism and the return to the primeval and animalistic.

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ДРАКУЛА – ОТЕЛОТВОРЕЊЕ ВИКТОРИЈАНСКЕ ДРУГОСТИ

Резиме

У данашњици, на чудовишта гледамо као на метафоре за личне или глобалне садржаје. Са муњевитим растом популарности вампира, како у књижевности, тако и на филму, али и у популарној култури, све присутнији је и појам Другости. У овом есеју, представићемо овај појам из три различите перспективе и то, из перспективе културолошке теорије, филозофије и психологије. Затим, погледаћемо како су различите одлике Другости отелотворене у књижевном лику грофа Дракуле, из романа Брами Стокера, *Дракула*. Ова анализа ће нам показати чега су се викторијанци плашили, а и шта су тајно прижељкивали, дајући нам, на тај начин, слику једног доба из различитих углова.

Кључне речи: вампир, Дракула, Другост, Викторијанска Енглеска

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СУСРЕТИ РАЗЛИЧИТИХ КУЛТУРА У РОМАНУ ЋАМПЕ ЛАХИРИ *ИМЕЊАК*¹

Традиционални западноевропски приступи културама Далеког истока претежно су почивали на колонијалним претпоставкама властите супериорности, чак и кад су им се подсмевали, као на пример Е. М. Форстер у свом роману с „интернационалном темом”. *Један пут ка Индији* (1924). У таквим и сличним романима носиоци различитог културног наслеђа срећу се као посебни ликови. Међутим, у новијој тзв. „етно литератури”, стасалој у сенци великих двосмерних економских, политичких и других миграција, припадници далеких источних култура, често образовани на Западу и професионално успешни, разматрају те сусрете у другачијем филозофском и друштвеном расветљењу. У „етно литератури” они описују расколе између источне и западне културе као личне драме, као велике кризе, па и губитак властитог идентитета упркос професионалном успеху. Бројна противречја у том контексту анализирана су у роману Ћампе Лахири *Имењак*.

Кључне речи: „етно литература”, култура, цивилизација, сусрет, окружење, роман

Од древног потцењивања и исмевања, а каткад понизног, понекад и комичног величања страних култура, обичаја и навика до релативно новијих покушаја да се расветле вавилонске тешкоће у споразумевању далеких светова, или бар оствари толеранција међу различитим цивилизацијама, крајем 20. и почетком 21. века, појављују се бројне студије у којима се у оквиру историје идеја разматрају различити аспекти колонијализма, нео-колонијализма и постколонијализма.² У

¹ Овај роман објављен је у преводу Татјане Медић, под насловом *Имењак* (Политика, Народна књига, Београд, 2004).

² Крупним и значајним кораком у том правцу може се сматрати студија Едварда Саида *Оријентализам*, (Edward Said, *Orientalism*, Penguin, London, 1977; Pantheon, New York, 1978). (Код нас је ова студија објављена 2000. године у преводу Дринке Гојковић у издању Библиотеке

оквиру таквих и сличних разматрања Владимир Тасић указује на карактеристична обележја „етно литературе”,³ која се заправо и не може посматрати у оквиру „схеме националних књижевности”.⁴ Под том литературом Тасић подразумева књижевно стваралаштво „елитно образованих припадника емигрантских заједница” из прве или друге генерације, указујући да у англосаксонском оквиру они „рефлектују своја искуства, на енглеском језику”, који „познају од најранијег узраста или су њиме овладали у престижним школама”.⁵

Међу најуспешнијим писцима ове врсте Тасић помиње „Халеда Хосе-инија (родом из Авганистана)”, „Мосида Хамида (писца пакистанског порекла)”,⁶ Ха Ђина („писца кинеског порекла”), М. Џ. Васанџија („кенијско-индијског порекла”), Ђампу Лахири (бенгалског порекла) и друге.⁷ Али ретко где се чак и у тој „етно литератури” тако далеке културе као што су индијска и америчка, срећу у тако блиским личним и породичним додирима, с толиким унутрашњим противречјима, лицима и наличјима својих сусрета, као у роману Ђампе Лахири *Имењак*. Поред тога, тај роман се одликује изузетно читљивим, на први поглед врло једноставним и непосредним, али у ствари веома суптилним, каткад и трагичним приказивањем прожимања далеких култура у свакодневном животу, као и у тренуцима значајних личних изазова, што делимично објашњава и његов изузетан књижевни, па и комерцијални и успех.

Као писац бенгалског порекла, рођена у Лондону, Ђампа Лахири се у својој другој години нашла у САД, где јој се отац запослио као библиотекар на Кингстон универзитету (Роуд Ајленд). Завршила је средњу школу у Кингзтауну, дипломирала енглеску књижевност на угледном Барнард колеџу (1989), стекла магистарске дипломе из стваралачког писања и компаративне књижевности на престижном Бостонском универзитету, где је и докторирала на ренесансној књижевности. Била је затим члан Центра лепих уметности у Провинстауну (1997–1998), предавала стваралачко писање на Бостонском универзитету и на Школи за дизајн на Роуд Ајленду, а поред тога била је изабрана и за потпредседника америчког огранка ПЕН клуба.

XX век, Земун). Поред других студија Едвада Саида изузетно је значајна у разним правцима и студија Аније Лумбе (Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, Routledge, London and New York, 1998), а у књижевном погледу различити приступи овој проблематици огледају се у збирци критичких написа коју је приредио Хоми К. Баба (*Nation and Narration*, edited by Homi K. Bhabha, Routledge, London and New York 1990).

³ Владимир Тасић, „Алегирија колебљивог фундаменталисте”, *Ударање телевизора*, Адреса, Нови Сад, 2009, стр. 68.

⁴ Исто, стр. 66.

⁵ Исто, стр. 68.

⁶ Видети исто, стр. 66.

⁷ Видети исто, стр. 67.

Од својих почетака – када су јој прве приповетке често одбијане за штампање – Ђампа Лахири „пише на енглеском и представља производ елитног Барнард колеџа и бостонске школе писања, дакле, производ метрополе”.⁸ За своју збирку приповедака *Тумач болести* (*Interpreter of Maladies*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston – New York, 1999), у којој слика животне путеве досељеника у првој генерацији у САД, добила је Пулицерову награду, а та престижна америчка књижевна награда додељена јој је и за роман *Имењак*. И овај роман је у знаку сличне тематике, с тим што је његов главни јунак – у детињству одмила назван Гогољ, а касније Никхил – рођен у Америци у бенгалском породичном окружењу, одрастао од раног детињства у америчком образовном систему, али у исти мах, нарочито у раном детињству, и у свом породичном бенгалском окриљу.

Прича почиње заправо елементарном сликом странствовања Гогољево мајке Ашима која се удала за Ашока Гангулија, докторанда електроинжињерства на Институту за технологију у Масачусетсу, а касније универзитетског наставника. Када је Ашима после удаје приспела са мужем у Америку, већ на првим страницама романа она у трудноћи „меша у чинији пиринчане пахуљице”, кикирики и сецкани црвени лук, додаје со, лимунов сок и ситне комадиће зелене папричице” и жали што нема уље слачице, јер би тако била боља та имитација грицкалица које се продају у „фишецима од новинске хартије по плочницима Калкуте”.⁹ И, наравно, мршти се јер то гастрономско посезање за завичајем, за „јединим јелом за којим жуди” (9), изневерава њена очекивања. Штавише, чак и кад би је понудили пилетином, Ашима је не би ни пипнула: „Американци једу” – какав ужас! – „пилеће месо са кожуром” (13)! Па зар је чудо онда што у тој земљи „ништа не изгледа нормално” (13)? А недуго затим, кад се нађе у породилишту где је лекар уверава да је све у реду, хвата је мука од помисли на „мајчинство у туђини”, на „подизање детета у страној земљи, у којој никоме није род, у којој зна тако мало, у којој се живот чини тако разводњеним и недовршеним” (13). Па то је земља у којој људи улазе у собу у ципелама, жене ословљавају мужеве по имену, „шминкају покојнике и закопавају их у земљу у кутијама постављеним свилом” (77)! Укратко, шаренило збуњености због контраста различитих култура у елементарним животним ситуацијама огледа се већ на првим корацима у овом роману.

Дакако, с аналогним осећањем странствовања, па и повременим прижељкивањем завичаја у укусу хране носиће се и неки други чланови Гангулијевог породице и њихови бенгалски пријатељи у разним варијантама и приликама до краја романа. Када, рецимо, Гангулијеви науче да „за Дан Захвалности треба испећи ћурку”, они ће је, ипак, за сваки случај, „натрљати

⁸ Исто, стр. 67.

⁹ *Имењак*, у наведеном преводу Татјане Медић, стр. 9. У даљим наводима из овог романа бројеви страница дати су у заградама у основном тексту према овом преводу.

белим луком и кимом и кајенском папричицом” (71). Па и касније кад Ашима чује да је њен Ашок у болници јер га боли стомак, она се сећа како је он пре много година понекад долазио усред дана кући и како су у тим приликама „с уживањем ручавали бенгалска јела” (169). Посебно је занимљив у том погледу и гастрономски животни пут њиховог сина Гогоља који од рођења живи у америчком окружењу и после раног детињства већ у дечаштву почиње да га прихвата. Али чак ће се и он у гастрономском погледу понекад кретати у процепу између два различита јеловника.

Кад после очеве смрти мора да једе бенгалску храну, „само пиринач и сочиво и поврће“ (183), он се сећа како је мајка викала на њега када се после смрти бабе и деде, „једног дана заборавио и у школи појео хамбургер” (184). Тада се „љутио што мора да поштује ритуал” којег се нико други не држи, и то „у знак жалости за људима које је видео свега неколико пута у животу” (184). Ипак, када се исти тај ритуал одређене хране понови после очеве смрти, док обедује увече само с мајком и сестром, он дели њихово осећање да је њихова „жалост малчице мања” јер „одсуство неких намирница са тањира на изванредан начин означава очево присуство” (184). На тако једноставан, парадоксалан, суптилан, али и трагикомично осенчен начин, Ђампа Лахири дочарава повремену личну располућеност појединаца у сусрету различитих култура како у најобичнијим навикама и животним ситуацијама, тако и у најинтимнијим људским осећањима, чак и када је непоредно окружење нове културе углавном прихваћено у другој генерацији.

Та располућеност се на разне начине исто живописно огледа и у разним другим елементарним облицима, као, на пример, у одевању. Ашок и Ашима се у почетку чуде кад виде да њихов први компшије професор Монтгомери одлази на Харвард у „излизаним панталонама” и „гуменим јпанкама” (38). Тим поводом Ашок, који увек иде код свог ментора у сакоу и с краватом, размишља како се „возачи рикши” боље „облаче него овде професори” (38). Није, дакако случајно ни што Ашима избегава да купује конфекцијску одећу за свог малог Гогоља: чим открије радњу с вуницом, она плете за њега „џемперчиће, ћебенца, рукавице и капе” (42). Али касније чак и она и њен супруг, иако се крећу претежно у бенгалском личном окружењу, повремено ће да поклекну пред обележјима своје нове шире околине. Ашима ће – која је још на прослави шестог месеца Гогољевог рођења обукла по први пут свој „свиленкасти сари” (46) – ипак касније морати да да купује и носи „сарије од полиестера” (132). Као што ће и Ашок убрзо почети да носи конфекцијска одела уместо ранијих одела увек урађених по мери.

С друге стране, Ашима се тешко мири са својом судбином у Америци, између осталог и зато што „нема никога да јој пере подове, или суђе, или веш, или да одлази у куповину, или припрема храну кад је уморна” (40). Зато она на почетку приче пожурењу мужа да што пре заврши докторат, говори му да жели да се врати у Индију, да није у реду да њихов син „Гогољ одрасте у овој земљи”

(40). Ашок се, међутим, у оквиру образовних и материјалних могућности своје америчке универзитетске каријере, каткад присећа једног свог сапутника, „доброћудног дебелушкастог средовечног бенгалског бизнисмена” (22) који му је у возу, испричао како је провео две прекрасне године у Енглеској, али се, на жалост, „само зато што му је супруга била неутешна и несретна у туђини” (22), вратио у Индију. А затим, му тај његов несрећни сапутник, непосредно уочи саобраћајне несреће у којој је страдао, каже: „Учини себи услугу. Пре него што буде касно, без много размишљања, спакуј свој јастук и ћебе и пођи да видиш колико год можеш света. Никад се нећеш покајати.” (23) У том контексту Ашок помишља да је његова кривица што се оженио Ашимом „и довукао је амо” (40), у Америку, тако да у одређеним животним ситуацијама културолошке разлике дубоко задиру и у најинтимније личне односе чак и припадника исте културе.

У овом оквиру и тако безазлени изазов као што је давање имена детету води у неслућене животне компликације. По бенгалским обичајима дете прво добија име од миља, готово као неки надимак, по коме га ословљавају само његови најближи и пријатељи у неформалним приликама, а затим, тек касније, званично име под којим се школује и које му остаје у свим каснијим формалним, па и неформалним приликама. Због болести и смрти баке, која је требало да дâ прво име свом унуку, Ашима и Ашок се налазе на великим мукама приликом извођења свог сина из породилишта, јер се он мора регистровати под одређеним именом. Ашок се сећа оне велике саобраћајне несреће у возу, када је чуо од свог убрзо затим страдалог сапутника, да се не треба враћати из иностранства у Индију. Том приликом Ашок је у руци истуреној кроз прозор држао Гогољеву збику прича и захваљујући томе остао жив, па стога одлучује, уз Ашимину сагласност, да свом сину да име Гогољ.

Још веће компликације настају кад Гогољ треба да крене у забавиште, а родитељи се сложе у тој прилици да му дају име Никхил, као друго, „право” бенгалско име, без обзира на опасност „да га Американци, опседнути скраћеницама, скрате на Ник” (63). Али мали Гогољ плаче кад чује да ће морати да се одазива на неко друго име од онога којим су га родитељи и његови најближи дотад звали. Кад му управница забавишта пожели добродошлицу и ослови га по новом имену, он само „спушта поглед на патике” (64), па ништа не каже ни кад га она упита колико има година, те она помишља да он не зна енглески. Отац се затим опрашта од сина називајући га на бенгалском „Гогољем”, а на енглеском „Никхилом” (65), али син ипак моли управницу да га зову Гогољ у школи и она она му излази у сусрет, цепа „стару уписницу” (66) и уписује га под тим именом. Тако он доноси кући цртеже које потписује као „Гогољ Г.” (67) и успева током раног школовања да задржи име које му је дато приликом рођења.

Временом, ипак, он почиње да се обраћа родитељима на енглеском, а понекад чак и да за „вечером користи виљушку” (81), па тако мало помало постаје сам себи двојник, те му и само име Гогољ почиње да смета. Кад наврши четр-

наест година, он почиње „да мрзи кад га питају какво му је то име“, а поготово кад још мора неком да каже да „да то не значи ништа на индијском“ (87). Тако он све више осећа да он сам с тим именом „нема никакве везе“ и мрзи „што мора да живи с њим“ (81), поготово с обзиром да је Гогољ очев а не његов омиљени писац. А кад још његови вршњаци почну да се удварају девојкама и позивају их да некуд изиђу заједно, он „не може ни да замисли себе како изговара: ‘Хао, овде Гогољ’” у „било којој романтичној ситуацији” (82). Убрзо затим почиње да му смета име коме је раније био веома привржен, а ускоро се још испоставља да му је, поврх свега, још и заправо нечије „презиме постало име” (84)! Залуд му отац говори да је Достојевски рекао да смо сви ми „изишли из Гогољевог шињела” – на то га син само пита: „Шта би то требало да значи?” (84).

Па и кад му отац поклони своју омиљену збирку Гогољевих прича, син ће само да погледа један портрет у тој књизи и угледа пишчево „лисицје лице“ с „ненормално великим шиљастим носом“ (81) да би затим с „презривим осмехом” одахнуо кад види да између њега и Гогоља „нема никакве сличности” (81). А кад још у школи чује да тај Николај Васиљевић Гогољ није био „баш обичан сват“ (96), него неки „ексцентрични геније“, „дубоко параноичан, фрустриран човек“, који је вероватно и умро „чедан“ (96), извршивши полагаано „самоубиство изгладњивањем“ (97), он ће бити истински ужаснут што су му родитељи дали то име, а да му нису чак ништа ни поменули о том човеку. У том тренутку – док слуша како се цео разред згражава и гади свега што је чуо о том писцу – њему нека непријатна „врелина надире са потиљка у образе и уши“ (96). Муке с именом ипак бар делимично престају у његовим студентским данима кад он прихвати давнашњи очев предлог да му званично име буде Никхил. Том приликом, у току правне процедуре, он мора да наведе разлог за ту промену, па једноставно каже: „мрзим име Гогољ“, „уvek сам га мрзео“ (107).

Доиста, сусрет различитих цивилизација у најобичнијим ситуацијама у личном животу помаља се у овом роману непрестано као немушти ход по скриваним мукама. Штавише, чини се као да никад нема краја неочекиваним изненађењима у овом контексту: Тако, на пример, тек знатно касније Никхил чује од оца да му је Гогољева збирка прича у руци спасла живот приликом оне саобраћајне несреће у Индији и тада схвата колико је Гогољ био близак оцу не само као спаситељ и писац, него и као човек који је провео велики део свог живота у иностранству. Запањен што ништа није о томе знао, он се „осећа посрамљен“, јер у својој одвратности према свом имену од миља „није био у праву“ (129). А кад се отац том приликом растаје с њим ословљавајући га као Гогоља, звук тог Никхиловог старог имена почиње да значи за њега „нешто ново“ (129). Тада га отац пита да ли га име Гогољ подсећа на ту његову, очеву, катастрофу, а син му каже да га заправо подсећа на сву ону пажњу и љубав коју му је отац указивао.

Раскорак у обичајима, навикама и нормама понашања између бенгалске и америчке цивилизације огледа се у даљем распредању ове приче као нека хумористичка позадина на готово сваком кораку у љубавним, предбрачним и брачним перипетијама главног јунака. На другој години студија, пошто је већ званично и практично заменио своје раније име и прозвао се Никхил, он се и као удварач понаша као Американац. Тако он упознаје Рут у возу где случајно седну једно до другог. Рут носи „пар фино излизаних фармерки, браон кожне чизме са жутим пертлама и дебелим гуменим ђоновима“ (115) и они се лежерно представљају једно другом по имену: „Хај, ја сам Рут“, „Ја сам Никхил“ (115). Затим му она објашњава да је ставила капут на седиште до себе да неко други не би ту сео – да је, ето, „само покушавала да избегне неизбежно“ (115), а у истом лаком полазном гамбиту сексуалне игрице он јој каже да се обично и он с истом намером прави да спава.

Та његова прва студентска еротска и чулна игра наставља се и следеће школске године. Он се лежерно упознаје с њеним родитељима и они га лепо примају, али кад она дође с њим у посету његовој породици, убрзо се испоставља да његови родитељи нису баш поносни на тај „једини успех у његовом животу“ (122), па му наводе примере неуспелих бракова између Бенгалаца и Американки. Али чак кад и Рут осети њихово незадовољство, она му каже да јој то нимало не смета, да то чак „сматра романтичним“ (122)! Романса се затим наставља писмима и разгледницама у току следећег семестра који она проводи у Оксфорду. Он свугде носи са собом та знамења Рутине љубави гурнута међу листове књига, а у то време у току једне дискусије о индијским романима писаним на енглеском језику, чује од једног социолога за термин „ABCD“ („American Born Confused Deshi“ (123) – „Збуњени Индијац рођен у Америци“) ¹⁰ и препознаје себе у том изразу. Али када се Рут врати послеведеног семестра на завршеној години у Оксфорду, она га обавештава, одушевљена Европом, да би волела да настави постдипломске студије у Енглеској. Убрзо затим, после неколико дана проведених заједно, они се све чешће свађају, осећају да се „нешто променило“ (125) и ускоро игноришу једно друго, па он чак и прешкраба број њеног телефона и адресу у својој бележници.

С аналогном, местимично и шаливом романтиком, следе потом и друге Никхилове љубавне везице и подвезице. Када се по завршетку архитектонских студија запосли у Њујорку у једној фирми која изводи велике пројекте по наруџби, он се упознаје са својом следећом девојком, лепушкастом Максином из богате породице. Већ приликом првог сусрета, „њене будне светле очи држе му поглед“ (133), док он „осећа да је неприкосновени центар њеног универзума“ (134). Сутрадан ујутру, у недељу, око десет сати, она га још мамурног

¹⁰ Том приликом он сазнаје да би у акрониму „ABCD“ „C“ могло да значи не само „confused“ (збуњен) него и „conflicted“ (у сукобу, противречан).

буди телефонским позивом: „Овде Максина. Од синоћ“ (134), и позива га за следећи петак на вечеру уз узгредно упозорење да живи с родитељима и да је позван само он. Запрепаштен њеном родитељском кућом „у стилу грчког препорода“ (135), он упознаје њену мајку са златним накитом око врата и оца који му сместа пружа импресиван „букет есцајга и платнених сервијета“ (137) да постави сто. Родитељи су пријатно изненађени његовим пореклом из Калкуте, Максина каже да хоће да иде у Калкуту јер јој се „пије чај“ (140), родитељи се убрзо повлаче с преосталим вином и својим чашама. После краћег разговора, њен пас му се умиљава, а Максина примећује да је Сајлас „врло пробирљив“ (140). Он је срећан кад Максина „прихвати његову понуду да заједно склопе суђе“ (140), она му се затим смеши, а он поново примећује да она „не носи ништа испод џемпера“ (140). Годи му и кад она крене са својим псом да га испрати до метроа; укратко, све су то знаци потпуне опуштености у њиховом односу која врло брзо води у велику блискост.

Можда ће врхунац блискости и нехаја тог односа бити достигнут у данима кад њих двоје буду летовали на мору заједно с њеним родитељима, смештени у једној романтичној колиби у непосредној близини родитељске куће. Међутим, чим крену на то летовање и сврате код Никхиллових родитеља на ручак, он мора да је упозори да пред његовим родитељима „неће моћи да се додирују и љубе, да за ручком неће бити вина“ (150). Када му она каже да имају довољно вина у пртљажнику, он јој напомиње да његови родитељи „немају вадичеп“ (150) – али да ли је збиља у питању вадичеп, или се иза вадичепа крије нешто што је Никхилу незгодно да призна, неко културолошко обележје које их раздваја?

То је можда први наговештај врлудања у разговору због nelaгоде уочи заједничког сусрета с његовим родитељима. Међутим, још увек га она не доводи у везу „са навикама његових родитеља“ (150), све то скупа јој изгледа помало забавно. Иако не може да му верује да је она прва девојка коју он доводи родитељима у кућу. Ипак, разлике у навикама и претпоставкама о понашању приликом те успутне посете његовим родитељима почињу непрестано, на први поглед можда сасвим безазлено, да их раздвајају. Никхил види да је његова мајка Ашима нервозна, да се нашминкала и „обукла један од својих лепших сарија“ (151), за разлику од њих који су дошли у војничким панталонама и обичним мајицама. Затим Максина улази у кућу у ципелама уместо да обуче папуче у предсобљу, а убрзо се испоставала и да је донела погрешан поклон Ашими, некакве сосове и конзерве за које Никхил зна да их нико у родитељској кући неће ни окусити.

Аналогне културолошке разлике наговештавају се и приликом њихове посете Максининим родитељима у њиховој примитивној кући и колиби у прекрасном природном амбијенту крај језера: „Добро дошли у рај“ (156), поздравља их Максинин отац. И он и његова супруга седе на баштенским столицама, „босих ногу и

голих руку“, њен отац носи некакав изгужвани шорц, а мајка „блузу без бретела“ (156). Обоје очигледно уживају у купању и пливању, а Никхил помишља како његова „мајка не би никада обукла купаћи костим, нити би пливала“ (160). Никхил и Максина шетају по цео дан „боси и у купаћим костимима“, „воде љубав на трави“ (158), а Максина је одушевљена природом и примитивним смештајем у колиби: „Ово је скоро као да кампујеш“ (157). Затим му она прича како је у том прекрасном крају изгубила невиност „кад је имала четрнаест година“ (162) – сасвим лежерно и безазлено. Том приликом он се сећа како је Максини испричао колике је муке имао са своја два имена и како му је она тада казала да је та његова прича „нешто најслађе што је чула у животу“ (161)! Међутим, како му она више никад није то поменула, он се пита како је она могла да тако олако сметне „с ума ту есенцијалну чињеницу о његовом животу, као и онолико других“ (161). Ипак, тај боравак лепо пролази – изузев можда пријема који Максинини родитељи приређују за Никхилова двадесет седми рођендан, први који није провео с родитељима у Калкути, и први с наговештајима неспоразума у конверзацији у вези с питањем колико је он доиста Американац без обзира што је рођен у Америци.

На сваком следећем кораку опет испливава понеки контраст између различитих културолошких претпоставки, навика, обичаја и понашања. Када Никхилова мајка и сестра позову своје пријатеље једанаестог дана после смрти Никхиловог оца да означе крај жалости богатим ручком, Никхила није брига како ће у Максининим очима изгледати ципеле толиких „гостију остављене поред врата на гомили“ (185). Он види да се Максина осећа „бескорисном и помало исцрпљеном“ у њиховој кући пуној Бенгалаца (185), али се не труди да јој „преведе шта људи говоре“ и „да буде увек поред ње“, јер слуги да је „смрт његовог оца уопште не погађа“ (185). Кад остану сами у његовој соби, она му каже да би добро било да мало побегне „од свега овога“, а он јој одговара да не жели „да бежи“ (186).

Током целе године после очеве смрти Никхил све више осећа „трајно очево одсуство“ (191) и помало се удаљује од Максине. Са посла он још увек одлази код ње и њених родитеља и она у почетку толерише његово ћутање за столом, као и „потребу да се свако вече јавља мајци и Соњи и да викендом одлази, без ње, да их обиђе“ (191). Али кад схвати да је искључена „из породичних планова да тог лета отпутују у Калкуту у посету родбини и да проспу Ашоков пепео у Ганг“ (191), она то не може да прихвати. Због тога они почињу да се свађају, а затим следе и свађе око којег другог и они постепено увиђају да свако од њих све мање хаје за оно што је другом важно или бар изгледа важно. На таквим и сличним претежно културолошким неспоразумима они се полако разилазе: кад му Максина каже да је љубоморна на његову мајку и сестру, њему то изгледа толико апсурдно „да није више имао снаге да се препире“ (191). После неколико месеци он сазнаје од Максининог оца да је она нашла другог вереника. Као да тај разлаз

потврђује стару француску изреку да није лоше потражити љубавницу на другом континенту, али да брачног партнера треба по могућности бирати из исте улице.

Међутим, у мешовитим срединама изгледа да ни то није довољно. Никхилова мајка све више брине о женидби свог сина и дуго времена га залуд подсећа како је, кад је још био мали, познавао Мошуми Мазумдар, девојчицу из бенгалске породице, чији су родитељи дошли на сахрану његовог оца. Он се као кроз маглу присећа те девојчице која је на забавама увек имала „књигу у руци” (194) – што није био баш неки еротски изазов. Али мајка је упорна и он се на крају ипак јави Мошуми, девојци која га је познавала још под именом Гогољ. При првом њиховом поновном сусрету он је опет затиче с књигом у руци, а поред тога помало му смета што му мајка намешта девојку.

Том приликом она се распитује за његову породицу, сећа се појединости њихове куће, објашњава му да се вратила из Француске у Америку „због љубави”, подсећајући га у исти мах на свој љубавни дебакл, када јој је вереник, Американац, отказао венчање пошто су позивнице биле већ послане и све сређено – и плаћено – за ту прилику. Он је то већ раније чуо, али је спреман да се изненади – да би чуо од ње ту причу, можда и стога што их она спаја, с обзиром и на његов „предбрачни дебакл” с једном Американком. Реч по реч, они се полако зближују: она га подсећа како су се последњи пут видели на забави поводом његове матуре, када је она вероватно била с књигом у руци. Да ли ју је он управо зато игнорисао, па се стога не може ни да сети њеног присуства? Та врста непосредности у разговору за вечером, уз забадање кашичица у исти колач, наводи га да ипак он плати вечеру за обоје, што је у америчком студентском контексту јасан знак пажње.

На растанку после те прве заједничке вечере он је пита: „хоћемо ли да усрећимо наше родитеље и видимо се поново?”, на што му се она насмеши и климне главом: „Можда.” – „Назови ме.” (201). У том готово хумористичком духу и даље расте њихова присност следећих дана. Никхилу све чешће искрсавају пред очи слике из њиховог детињства, уочи следећег сусрета с њом „хвата га трема” (203) и он почиње да завиди њеним студентима што што је „виђају три пут недељно” (204)! А када дође на вечеру код ње, она се правда што му је приредила петла у вину, уместо неке индијске хране, како би то очекивала њена мајка. И тако већ пре него што вечера и почне, они воде љубав на покривачу на мадрацу на поду, а затим се диве једно другом: „Дивна си.” – „И ти.” (211). После три месеца обоје држе своје „четкице за зубе у стану оног другог” (212), а њихова љубав светлуца у безазлености еротских и чулних заноса.

После годину дана њени задовољни родитељи им заказују свадбу по бенгалском протоколу, с великим бројем бенгалских званица, у једном раскошном америчком хотелу недалеко од своје куће, иако „ни он ни она не желе такво венчање” (226). Стога можда није ни чудо што то свадбено весеље личи на гостовање неког бенгалско циркуса у Америци: бенгалске тоалете му дају обележја маскенбала,

а бенгалска јела и понашање у америчком окружењу изгледају некако чудно и неозбиљно. Младожена и млада, који су већ подуго пре тога живели заједно у њеном стану, морају бити породично раздвојени у смештају на различитим спратовима. А кад јој он у једном тренутку предложи да некуда шмугну на петнаестак минута, она је забринута јер би у том случају неко морао да јој поправи фризуру.

Ипак, чак и после таквог венчања њихови чулни и еротски заноси настављају се неко време исто онако безазлено као што су и почели. Све док стицајем низа пуких случајности Мошума не сретне једног познатог новинара, који је био први мушкарац који јој је физички пришао – у границама могућности заједничке ноћне аутобуске вожње – у њеној седамнаестој години. Њему ни најмање не смета, понедељком и средом, а касније и петком, што је она удата жена. Али када она у разговору с мужем о неком лепом путовању забуном помене мишљење и име свог љубавника, а затим му и искрено исприча своју причу о њему, њиховом браку је крај. У завршном поглављу у коме се описује породично Бадње вече – које ће бити „последња забава коју ће Ашима приредити” у свом дому после „двадесет и седам година” живота у њему (273), а прва после мужевљеве смрти, сестра Соња, срећна са својим Беном, дочекаће Никхила на железничкој станици као великог усамљеника а мајка Ашима ће размишљати да ли би било боље или горе да се по бенгалском канону није развео, кајући се у исти мах што је подстакла његово дружење са Мошумом.

На крају, уочи Ашиминог одласка, приликом распремања њеног и њиховог негдашњег породичног дома, Никхил ће бити дирнут кад прочита посвету коју му је отац написао кад му је поклатио Гогољеве приче: „Гогољу Гангулију” – „Човек по коме си добио име, од човека који ти га је дао” (286). У том часу он схвата да ће убрзо остати „без икога на свету да га зове Гогољем” и „тако престати да постоји” (287). Да ли је тај трагични губитак идентитета вредан онога што он слуги да ће за месец дана добити, нови, жељени посао, да чак постоји и могућност да постане и партнер у новој фирми, чак и да она понесе његово има. У том случају, „Никхил ће наставити да живи јавно признат” (287) – за разлику од Гогоља. Али, ето, бар је спасао Гогољеву књигу и очеву посвету – као што је давно раније та књига спасла очев живот у саобраћајној несрећи. А шта то све скупа говори о судбинама толиких емиграната, њихових потомака и других расељених лица, па и оних најуспешнијих, у савременом свету? Као да се у знаку тог питања завршава ова маштовита и наизглед безазлена прича о једном од судбоносних обележја нашег времена.

У романима с „интернационалном темом” крајем 19. и током 20. века – у енглеској књижевности од Хенрија Џејмса и Едварда Моргана Форстера до Салмана Рушдија и многих других, а у нашој, рецимо, од Његоша до Иве Андрића и Милоша Црњанског – по правилу реч је о непосредним сусретима припадника различитих култура. Међутим, у *Имењаку*, као и иначе у „етно ли-

тератури”, раскол различитих цивилизација и култура огледа се у противречјима унутрашњих личних драма главних ликова. Привидна једноставност казивања иза које се крије оштра проицљивост, као и богатство противречја, карактеристични су, између осталог, како за овај роман, тако и за друга прозна дела Ђампе Лахири. А та обележја њене прозе могу се веома различито тумачити – каткад као подсмех једне цивилизације и културе другој, каткад као подсмех том подсмеху, а каткад као залудан, често и трагикомичан покушај дозивања различитих култура у интимном осећајном и мисаоном простору емиграната и других расељених лица, као и њихових непосредних или ближих потомака.

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ENCOUNTERS OF DIFFERENT CULTURES IN THE NOVEL *THE NAMESAKE* BY JUMPA LAHIRI

Summary

Traditional Western European approaches to the cultures of Far East have predominantly been founded upon colonial assumptions of superiority of the West, even when those assumptions were ridiculed, as for example by E. M. Forster, in his novel *A Passage to India* (1924), with an ‘international topic’. In the novels of that type, representatives of various cultural heritages are present as individual characters. However, in the more recent ‘ethnic literature’, developed under the shadow of huge two-way economic, political and other migrations, the representatives of distant Eastern cultures, very often educated in the West and professionally successful, consider these meetings of cultures from different philosophic and social angles. In the ‘ethnic literature’, they describe clashes between Eastern and Western culture as personal turmoils, as huge crises, and also as a loss of one’s own identity, in spite of professional success. This paper analyses numerous contradictions within that context, in the novel *Namesake*, by Jumpa Lahiri.

Key words: ‘ethnic literature’, culture, civilization, encounter, context, novel

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SUKOB TEORIJA O BOŽANSKOM PRAVU VLADARA I SVETOVNOM IDEALU POLITIČKIH VEŠTINA NA PRIMERU ŠEKSPIROVE ISTORIJSKE DRAME *RIČARD II*¹

Osnovni paradoks na kome počiva Šekspirova istorijska drama *Ričard II* zasniva se na činjenici da od dvojice pretendenta na engleski presto jedan ima legitimno pravo da vlada, ali nije dovoljno sposoban i ažuran da obavlja ovu odgovornu funkciju, dok, s druge strane, drugi kandidat ne poseduje legitimitet, ali demonstrira ideal političkih veština i samokontrole, koji njegovom suparniku nedostaje. Konflikt između dvojice rivala, Ričarda II i Bolinbruka, u radu se tumači iz perspektive sukoba između političkog i ličnog sistema vrednosti vladara, pri čemu će u teorijskom okviru biti zastupljeni značajni uvidi Vilsona, Hamvaša, Kantorovića, Suhodolskog, Noulisa, Hjuza i Eliota.

Ključne reči: božansko pravo, sekularna neefikasnost, dva tela kralja, disocijacija senzibiliteta

1. Paradoks *Ričarda II*: božansko pravo / sekularna neefikasnost

Osnovni paradoks na kome počiva Šekspirova istorijska drama *Ričard II* zasniva se na činjenici da od dvojice pretendenta na engleski presto jedan ima legitimno pravo da vlada, ali nije dovoljno sposoban i ažuran da obavlja ovu odgovornu funkciju, dok, s druge strane, drugi kandidat ne poseduje legitimitet, ali demonstrira ideal političkih veština i samokontrole, koji njegovom suparniku nedostaje. Šekspir svojom dramskom tehnikom zapravo upravlja simpatijama publike i čitalaca prema dvojici rivala, Ričardu II i Bolinbuku.

¹ Ovaj prilog predstavlja odlomak iz neobjavljene doktorske teze autorke, „Sukob političkog i ličnog u Šekspirovim istorijskim dramama”, odbranjene decembra 2013. godine na Filozofskom fakultetu u Novom Sadu, pod mentorstvom prof. dr Vladislave Gordić Petković.

Koliko legitiman predstavnik monarhije, Ričard II, zloupotrebljava svoju poziciju postaje očigledno u samom uvodu ove drame. Kralj Ričard se odmah predstavlja u najgorem izdanju, jer donosi odluku, da nakon smrti Džona od Gonta, nelegalno oduzme Bolinbrukovo nasleđstvo. Šekspirov moralni glasnogovornik u ovoj drami, mudri vojvoda od Jorka, koji umnogome podseća na starog i odanog zakonodavca, vojvodu Glostera iz drugog dela istorijske trilogije *Henri VI*, ističe neadekvatnost ove odluke vladara i otvoreno osuđuje kraljev gotovo despotski čin.

Međutim, Ričardov odsečan autoritativni odgovor, koji zahteva isključivo bespogovornu poslušnost, glasi: „Misli što hoćeš, to baš slabo mari./ Uzimamo srebro, novac, zemlju, stvari” (II, i, 209-210). Ovakvo Ričardovo ponašanje nije samo moralno neopravdano, već autodestruktivno, na šta ga prvenstveno upozorava stariji i mudriji podanik Jork, koji iznova i iznova savetuje kralja da ako nastavi da se ponaša u istom maniru „sručiće hiljadu nevolja na sebe, / izgubiti ljubav” (II, i, 205-206). Čak je i Makijaveli u svojoj studiji o idealnom vladaru upozoravao da politički mudri predvodnici naroda ne bi trebalo, bez preke potrebe, da oduzimaju privatno vlasništvo svojih podanika, jer će na taj način neizostavno stvoriti neprijatelje od materijalno oštećenih stranaka (v. Machiavelli 1953: 53).

Ričard Vilson, jedan od značajnih predstavnika kritičkog pravca kulturnog materijalizma, upravo ukazuje na ironiju Ričardove inovativne prakse za poboljšanjem svog ekonomskog položaja, koja ih, iako je inicijalno imala za cilj da učvrsti i intenzivira njegove apsolutističke tendencije, zapravo dovodi u pitanje. Bespravnim prisvajanjem zemlje, imovine i titula svojih podanika, kao i njihovom trgovinom sa novim potencijalnim kupcima, Ričard II pretvara neotuđivo vlasničko pravo – uključujući pri tome i pravo na posedovanje engleske krune – u seriju slučajnih i kratkoročnih događaja. Drugim rečima, Ričard II, dotadašnju ekonomsku praksu kontinuiranog vlasničkog posedovanja od strane pripadnika iste porodice, zamenjuje praksom u kojoj materijalnim posedom nasumično cirkuliše kraljeva dominantna volja i kapric (v. Wilson 1993: 204-208).

Ova promena u vlasničkom pravu tumači se kao pretnja zajedničkom identitetu aristokratije, koja se u velikoj meri zasniva na hereditarnom pravu, tj. na kontinuiranom nasleđivanju titula i poseda od oca sinovima. Linearni pojam nasleđivanja je u drami predstavljen kroz tri koncepta koja mogu da posluže kao dobra ilustracija prethodne tvrdnje: 1. česti opisi značaja postojanja potomstva i skretanje pažnje na važnost ideje da oca nasleđuju sinovi; 2. česti opisi dobro uređene bašte i imperativa očuvanja prirodne bujnosti i izobilja; 3. česti opisi ovozemaljske slave koja se, među aristokratskim staležom, titularno prenosi s kolena na koleno, a ne zahvaljujući ličnim zaslugama. Ričard II, tvrdi Vilson, smatra da nepromenljivost koncepta linearnog nasleđivanja ujedno ograničava njegova apsolutistička prava i ambicije, što je iz perspektive jednog vladara, koji predstavlja oličenje božanskih prerogativa, sramno i nedopustivo (v. Wilson 1993: 209-210).

S druge strane, humanistički kritičari naglašavaju drugi aspekt problematike kralja Ričarda II. Po njihovom mišljenju, osnovni problem Ričarda II identičan je problemu kralja Lira.² Ovi tragični vladari bespogovorno se prilagođavaju moralno korumpiranom svetu koji im je po kraljevskom rođenju pripao da ga vode, ne uspevajući da prepoznaju mogućnost za stvarnom promenom sveta, već se brzo adaptiraju njegovoj korumpiranosti i izopačenosti. Ričard II i kralj Lir ne samo da ne uočavaju alternativu načinu života ogrezlom u korupciju i nemoral, već su mišljenja da ne mogu da odbiju glavnu ulogu u takvom svetu. Bela Hamvaš za ovu vrstu prilagođavanja i nedostatka svesti kaže sledeće:

Čovek koji se prilagođava živi u uverenju da je njegova korupcija spolja nevidljiva. A nasuprot tome stoji činjenica da prva stvar koja se na njemu može zapaziti jeste baš korupcija...Naročito postoji jedan čovek koji to smesta zapazi. To je onaj čovek na čiji je račun počinjeno prilagođavanje (Hamvaš 1994: 15).

U slučaju Ričarda II, to je pre svega pobunjeni Bolinbruk, čije nasledstvo kralj bespravno i autoritativno prisvaja. Čak i pre iskusnog savetnika Jorka, Ričard II dobija iskreno upozorenje o mogućim negativnim posledicama svoje despotske vladavine i od Džona od Gonta, koji oprezno naglašava veliku razliku između „blagoslovenog mesta” (II, i, 44), kakva je Engleska bila nekada, i Engleske za vreme vladavine Ričarda II, koji uvodi nerazumno visoke i legalno sumnjive poreze svom narodu, radi prikupljanja sredstava za suludo luksuzan parazitski život svojih dvorana laskavaca.

Već je u drugom činu ove drame Ričard predstavljen kao nepravedni tiranin, koga okružuju upravo dvorski neradnici i laskavci - Buši, Bagot i Grin - čijim opisima Šekspir ne posvećuje mnogo prostora. Za razliku od Marloovih slikovitih opisa dvorana i njihovog načina života u *Edvardu II*³, Šekspir ne naglašava značaj ovih

² O povezanosti između tragičnih sudbina Ričarda II i kralja Lira govori Jan Kot u studiji *Šekspir naš savremenik* (1990): „*Ričard II* je tragedija saznanja. Taj kralj, kome je svrgnuta s glave kruna, trenutak pre no što će ga gurnuti u provaliju, postiže veličinu kralja Lira. Jer *Kralj Lir* je takođe tragedija čoveka savremenim sa Šekspirom, politička tragedija renesansnog humanizma. Tragedija u kojoj svet biva lišen iluzija. Kralj Lir polako, korak po korak, silazi s velikih stepenica da bi upoznao svu okrutnost sveta kojim je vladao i koji nije poznavao, da bi ispio gorčinu do dna. Ričard II biva u jednom trenutku grubo gurnut u ponor. Ali zajedno sa njim srušice se temelj feudalnog sveta. S prestola nije zbačen samo Ričard. I Sunce je prestalo da kruži oko zemlje” (Kot 1990: 54).

³ Istorijska drama Kristofera Marloa, *Edvard II*, tematski je inspirisala Šekspira prilikom nastajanja *Ričarda II*. Obe drame govore o neodgovornim i popustljivim kraljevima koji ignorišu i preziru mudre savete svojih lojalnih podanika i okreću se svojim nerazboritim miljenicima, a kao rezultat ovakve nerazumne politike u upravljanju državom dolazi do svrgavanja vladara s vlasti i, konačno, njegovog političkog uklanjanja. Koncept dostojanstva vladara tokom pogubljenja predstavlja zajednički element u ovim istorijskim dramama Marloa i Šekspira: Edvard II i Ričard II ne osvajaju

marginalnih likova, što jasno ilustruje stav autora da ove dvorske parazite treba tretirati samo kao proizvod Ričardove loše vladavine – da to nisu oni lično, već bi se neki drugi laskavci prepoznali u identičnim ulogama, te njihova karakterizacija autoru, koji inače posvećuje veliki prostor marginalnim likovima, glavnim nosiocima njegovih umetničkih uvida o elizabetinskom društvu, u ovom slučaju nije bila od velikog značaja. U tom svetlu, Bogdan Suhodolski na ovu temu ironično zaključuje: „Dok su Makijaveli i Kastiljone pokazivali kako zakoni dvora stvaraju jakog i lepog čoveka, Šekspir je dokazivao kako oni čoveka uništavaju” (Suhodolski 1972: 566).

Šekspirov glasnogovornik političkih i moralnih nedoumica vezanih za Ričardovu vladavinu je vojvoda Jork, što se jasno vidi iz njegovih monologa (naročito u II činu, scene ii i iii). U situaciji kada se kralj ne nalazi u zemlji, a Bolinbruk, na svom povratku iz izgnanstva, okuplja pobunjene velmože i pravi sopstvenu vojsku protiv kralja, Jorkova pozicija kraljevog predstavnika, ali istovremeno i mudrog savetodavca čije valjane savete Ričard II uglavnom nije poštovao, prilično je ambivalentna. Šekspir mu namenjuje zadatak moralnog oslonca u komadu: vojvoda Jork otvoreno i iskreno priznaje da je u raspravi između Ričarda i Bolinbruka, kralj taj koji je napravio grešku, ali takođe naglašava važnost podaničke ideje poslušnosti, koja, kako u slučaju pobunjenog Bolinbruka, tako i u njegovom ličnom slučaju, ne sme ni jednog trenutka biti dovedena u pitanje.

Vojvoda Jork daje Bolinbruku mudar savet, na način koji je to činio i sa samim kraljem Ričardom, ali i u ovom slučaju, njegovom savetu se ne daje veliki značaj. Jork govori Bolinbruku o božanskom pravu vladara, poštovanju svetosti tradicije i monarhovog autoriteta za koje postoji duhovno utemeljenje. Međutim, iako vojvoda Jork simbolično predstavlja monarha, on je i sam svestan uzaludnosti svojih pokušaja odbrane koncepta svetosti monarhije, jer je običan nemoćni starac u osiromašenom kraljevstvu, bez ikakve vojske kojom bi rukovodio u kraljevu odbranu, koji se simbolično suprostavlja zastrašujuće velikoj vojsci dobro naoružanih i obučениh ljudi, predvođenih najboljim engleskim plemićima.

Makijavelistički koncept sile kojom se ostvaruju vladalačke ambicije i politički ciljevi ovde u potpunosti dolazi do izražaja, a nakon praktikovanja sile će već uslediti novi zakoni koji će obezbediti pravni legitimitet svim neophodnim kriminalnim zloupotrebama počinjenim radi dolaska na vlast. Upravo je ta činjenica, po rečima Ričarda Noulisa, od presudnog značaja za dalju vladavinu pobunjenog Bolinbruka:

Bolinbruk nije morao silom da otme krunu, ova činjenica će kasnije ozbiljno podriti sva njegova moguća prava na presto. Kao rezultat ovih dešavanja, otvara se prostor za legalno nasleđivanje krune vanustavnim metoda-

simpatije većine podanika iskazivanjem vladarske političke nadmoći na engleskom tronu, već tek na pogubištu, svojim herojskim držanjem (v. Bullough 1962: 55).

ma, ukoliko Ričard pristane da se odrekne krune i abdicira bez upotrebe sile. Ilegalna pobuna se tako zamenjuje zakonski utemeljenim svrgavanjem vladara s vlasti (Knowles 2002: 65).

S druge strane, čuveni monolozi Ričarda II, kada postaje svestan opasnosti koja mu pretila od pobunjenih plemića, zasnivaju se na ideji božanskog prava vladara, te slike obeshrabrenih neprijatelja kada budu izloženi pompeznom prizoru kraljevskog sjaja, koji Ričard poredi sa božanskom svetlošću sunca, dominiraju u III činu drame. Ričard II izražava svoju nepoljuljanu veru u svetost uloge monarha - njega je sam bog imenovao kraljem, pa će ga on i zaštititi. Međutim, ironični kontekst ove ideje, koga je Šekspirova publika bila itekako svesna, za razliku od glavnog junaka drame, nalazi se u činjenici da su ovozemaljski predstavnici sile, vođe vojne pobune protiv kralja, u potpunosti ravnodušni i nezainteresovani za politički sputavajuću teoriju božanskog prava vladara, te će vrlo brzo svrgnuti Ričarda s vlasti. Slabost Ričardovog uverenja u opravdanost svog božanskog statusa ovde se pokazuje kroz ideju da će mu bog poslati anđele koji će se boriti u njegovo ime, čime se pokazuje da kralj surovu realnost pobune zamenjuje njenim gotovo eufemističkim prividom.

2. Dva tela kralja: „Kralj je mrtav, neka živi Kralj!”

Bez obzira na veru koju Ričard polaže u božansku intervenciju, već u sledećoj sceni, pred Flint-zamkom (III čin, iii scena), kralj otvoreno priznaje postojanje jaza između uzvišenosti svoje titule i okrutne stvarnosti. Prethodno izraženo kraljevo samopouzdanje slabi, što postaje uočljivo kroz stalno ponavljanje reči „kralj”, „morati”, „ime”, kao da Ričard sam sebe želi da podseti na značaj funkcije koja mu je namenjena. Konačno, kralj skrušeno priznaje neminovnost promene uloga moći.

Istoričari elizabetinskog perioda navode da je na smrtnoj postelji kraljica Elizabeta I izjavila da predstavnici monarhije nikada ne treba da izgovore reč „morati”, koja indirektno upućuje upravo na ovu scenu iz *Ričarda II* (v. Legatt 2005: 74-76). Metafora monarha kao glumca koji igra ulogu koja mu je namenjena, a koju nije sam birao, ranjivost ovozemaljskih vladara, koji se sujetno drže svojih pozicija, a kasno postaju svesni da svima njima suvereno vlada – smrt, od koje ih nikakva božanska intervencija neće zaštititi, kroz empatiju približava kralja Ričarda egzistencijalnim problemima običnog čoveka.

Ričardova percepcija smrtnosti ima za cilj da naglasi Šekspirov stav o prolaznosti ovozemaljske vlasti i moći, te da opiše monarha kao običnog čoveka, čiju sudbinu, bez obzira na uzvišenost svoje kraljevske funkcije konačno neće moći da

izbegne. Nakon ovog priznanja, Ričardu ništa drugo i ne preostaje, osim dubljeg internalizovanja sukoba između ličnih htenja i javnih obaveza, koju pobunjenik Bolinbruk konačno materijalizuje kroz čin pogubljenja jednog legitimnog kralja.

Međutim, Kantorovic⁴ je u ovom Ričardovom monologu uočio i probudenu svest kralja o izdaji principa besmrtnosti monarha, kao rezultat sopstvene osione i pogrešno vođene politike. Narušavanje jedinstva između kraljeva dva tela, privatne i javne sfere, vodi ka narušavanju kraljevog ličnog identiteta, koji, poput krune, ima hereditaran karakter:

Ričard postaje izdajica sopstvenog besmrtnog političkog tela i koncepta kraljevske vlasti koja je do tada postojala...kraljevo prirodno telo postaje izdajnik kraljevog političkog tela...kao da je optužnica kojom Ričard sebe optužuje za izdaju anticipirala optužnicu za veleizdaju od strane *Kralja* protiv *Kralja* iz 1649. godine” (Kantorowicz 1957: 22).

Ideja kraljeve izdaje svoje političke funkcije, ili političkog tela, kako tvrdi Kantorovic (Kantorowicz 1957: 22), možda najviše dolazi do izražaja u već pomenutoj sceni kod Flint-zamka, u kojoj Ričardov oproštaj od ovozemaljske kraljevske pompe dobija teatralne dimenzije. Ričardova glorifikacija običnog života posvećenog religioznoj meditaciji i službi bogu, kako bi se izbegle političke spletke i zamke koje karakterišu svetovnu svlast, nije dovoljno ubedljiva. Ova ideja može se donekle uporediti sa idejom koju izražava kralj Henri VI u trećem delu *Henrija VI*, koji u mirnom i idiličnom opisu života običnih ljudi, udaljenom od sveta dvorske korupcije i političkih mahinacija, nalazi iskrenu alternativu krvoproliću građanskog rata prouzrokovanim ovozemaljskim vladarskim aspiracijama.

Za razliku od kralja Henrija VI, koji postaje prava žrtva hereditarno nametnute uloge monarha, a koji teži načinu života udaljenom od političke i moralne korupcije, u drami *Ričard II* nigde se ne uviđa ozbiljna i autentična namera glavnog

⁴ Istoričar Kantorovic, u studiji *Dva tela kralja* (1957), čiji se naslov zapravo odnosi na formalna pravna akta koje su tjudorski pravници primenjivali, govori o konceptu božanske moći vladara koja se crpe iz njenih svetovnih izvora. Ova akta su podrazumevala činjenicu da kralj poseduje dva tela: prirodno telo, koje je smrtno i prolazno, i političko telo, koje sadrži njegovo titularno kraljevsko i državno dostojanstvo, te je besmrtno i vanvremensko. Kada prirodno telo postepeno fizički nestane, tvrdi Kantorovic, „dolazi do odvajanja između dva tela, pri čemu se političko telo razdvaja od svoje prirodne verzije: Kralj je mrtav, neka živi Kralj” (Kantorowicz 1957: 7, 13). Iz ove perspektive, sličnost između koncepta besmrtnog političkog tela kralja i tela Hristovog, istaknutog pojedinca koji se dobrovoljno žrtvovao kako bi iskupio grehe celog ljudskog roda i time mu zagarantovao sveopštu dobrobit, sama se nameće: u domenu sekularne politike, titula kralja simbolično ilustruje dobročinitelja koji je spreman na ličnu žrtvu, poput Hristove u duhovnom domenu, zarad ostvarivanja nacionalne blagodeti. Stoga, fizička smrt kraljevog prirodnog tela, kao i Hristova smrt na raspeću, ne treba da se oplakuje, već da se slavi, jer ne predstavlja okončanje, nego, simboličan, novi početak na putu budućeg nacionalnog prosperiteta.

junaka da se iskreno posveti duhovnom životu, ili, pak, da se u naletu novootkrivenih pobožnosti, odrekne luksuznog načina života. Njegov monolog o prolaznosti ovozemaljske slave i moći (III čin, ii scena) je retorički odličan, ali mu svakako nedostaje ubedljivost kraljeve rešenosti o istinskoj promeni svetovne uloge iako odiše idejom jaza između onoga što je kralj bio nekad i onoga što je kralj sada primoran da bude, tj. razlike između veličanstvenosti nekadašnjeg kraljevog sjaja i pompe i sadašnjeg pada u zaborav i vizije sopstvene malenkosti, u čiju se počast neće podići spomenik, već će od njega ostati samo neznani grob, koga će njegovi dotadašnji podanici utabati, a da nisu ni svesni preko čijeg groba često prelaze. Ova slika koju kralj zamišlja predstavlja još jedno u beskonačnom nizu poniženja, koje, očigledno, ni kraljeva fizička smrt, ili, kako je Kantorovic formulisao, „nestanak kraljevog prirodnog tela” (Kantorowicz 1957: 22), neće zaustaviti.

Konačno, Ričard se projektuje u žrtvu, dok uzaludno pokušava da spasi ono malo kraljevske uzvišenosti i dostojanstva što mu je ostalo. Međutim, mit o Fetonu koji Šekspir koristi ovom prilikom implicira drugačiju interpretaciju. Naime, Feton je, po grčkoj mitologiji, sin Helija, boga Sunca, koji je od svog oca izmolio da za jedan dan upravlja sunčanim kolima. Ali kako nije umeo da upravlja sunčanim kolima, skretao je čas gore, čas dole, i zapalio bi ceo svet, da ga vrhovni poglavar bogova, Zevs, nije ubio gromom. Klasičnu priču o neopravdanoj aroganciji i ambicioznoj umišljenosti koja se pogubno završava, Šekspir koristi kako bi pokazao da mit o Fetonu u potpunosti oslikava Ričardovu poziciju - on je sam, zbog svojih nepromišljenih vladarskih odluka, odgovoran za sopstveni društveno-politički krah.

3. Konačno odbacivanje „laskavog ogledala”: kako prevazići „disocijaciju senzibiliteta”?

Scena u vrtu vojvode od Jorka, koja sledi nakon Šekspirovog poređenja između Ričarda II i starogrčkog mitskog junaka Fetona, u kojoj autor otvoreno naglašava stav da je sam Ričard odgovoran za vlastiti politički krah, predstavlja Šekspirovu aluziju na sličnost između idealne države i uredno održavane bašte. Termini koje vrtar i njegov sluga koriste su implicitno politički (naročito insistiranje na ideji da je idealni vladar identičan savesnom baštovanu), a onda se eksplicitno odnose na „bujni korov, propale živice, voćke nepotkresane i korisne biljke pune gusenica” (III, iv, 42-3), te rešenju ovog problema treba pristupiti odlučno i efikasno, savetuje stari, iskusni vrtar svoga slugu: „A ti, kao dželat, odrubi glave svima / brzo izraslim izdancima koji / suviše štrče u našoj državi” (III, iv, 33-35). Iako marginalni lik u drami, stari vrtar takođe izriče konačnu autorovu presudu arogantnom kralju Ričardu II, koji nije pravovremeno povlačio mudre poteze i održavao svoju državu, za

razliku od vrtara koji održava svoju baštu u odličnom stanju: „Takvim radom krunu imao bi sada /što zbog utraćenog vremena propada” (III, iv, 55-57).

Mudri vrtar opisuje, kroz metaforu svoje procvale bašte, nekada dobro uređen svet, uništen nasilničkim i neažurnim kraljevim postupcima. Kralj, poput baštovana u svojoj bašti, treba da ulaže konstantan napor kako bi njegova država, kao i svaka uređena bašta, dobro funkcionisala. Iako se kasnije u kraljičinim komentarima može uočiti ideja da je kralj, poput Adama u rajskom vrtu, bio stalno iskušavan od strane dvorskih laskavaca da bi konačno podlegao njihovim lažljivim komplimentima i ceremonijalnom laskanju, stari vrtar jasno stavlja do znanja da je sudbina zemlje neodvojiva od sudbine njenog vladara, te još jednom skreće pažnju publike i čitalaca na vlastitu odgovornost kralja Ričarda II za ličnu i državnu krizu koja će kasnije kulminirati u sceni kraljevog tragičnog pogubljenja.

Umesto idealne države koja treba da funkcioniše poput dobro uređene rajske bašte, Engleska postaje Golgota, po rečima episkopa Karlajla, bašta koja je nadubrena krvlju sopstvenog vladara i pobunjenih plemića (IV, i). Za razliku od ideje koje Šekspir obrazlaže u drami *Ričard III*, u kojoj su užasne posledice kraljeve monstrozne transformacije uočljive u čestim opisima državnog rasula, u *Ričardu II*, engleska država je personifikovana, ona postaje živo biće koje oboljeva, pati i kopni, što naročito dolazi do izražaja u pomenutoj baštenskoj sceni.

Scena u vrtu počinje i završava se oplakivanjem tragične sudbine kralja od strane kraljice Izabele, koja u *Ričardu II* ima skoro neznatnu ulogu. Šekspir u ovoj sceni opisuje tragični rastanak muža i žene, koji se istovremeno odnosi i na njegovo svrgavanje s vlasti i na njihovu supružničku razdvojenost. Ričard joj zapovednim tonom patrijarhalnog autoriteta govori kako treba da zanemari svaku nadu u ostvarenje ovozemaljske sreće sa svojim suprugom i da ga smatra mrtvim, te da se što pre pomiri sa neminovnošću njihovog rastanka.

Jedina molba koju Ričard ostavlja svojoj kraljici Izabeli u amanet jeste da, poput Hamletove samrtne molbe svom odanom prijatelju Horaciju, ispriča njegovu priču – s tom razlikom da se od Izabele ne očekuje da svedoči o tragičnim događajima ili da stoji u odbranu nepoštovanih prava preminulog kralja, što je Horacijeva uloga u *Hamletu*, već da izazove žalost kod svojih slušalaca, da poda kraljevom životnom narativu oblik i emotivnu snagu tragedije (V, i, 43-50).

Dok Bolinbruk i njegovi sledbenici u poslednjem činu drame vide potvrdu sopstvenog uspeha i šansu da novi kralj vlada pravednije i efikasnije od svog prethodnika, Ričard II ga doživljava kao poslednji čin svoje lične tragedije. Osim isticanja vlastite tragedije, koja sada budi sažaljenje među publikom i čitaocima drame, Ričard II anticipira sukob između makijavelista Bolinbruka i Nortamberlanda, dotadašnjim najbližim saradnicima u borbi protiv punopravnog kralja, i predviđa da će nakon njegovog uklanjanja, oni postati surovi rivali u borbi za ostvarivanje političke nadmoći u zemlji (V, i, 55-61).

U sceni Ričardovog pogubljenja dominira njegovo poređenje sa Isusom Hristom, omraženim i odbačenim od svojih dotadašnjih sledbenika Jude i Pilata (tj. Nortamberlanda i Bolinbruka), što je motiv koji ovde ne ukazuje na Ričardovu viziju, izraženu ranije u komadu, o spasenju koje može da sledi iz povratka veri, već, jednostavno njegovu probudenu svest o prolaznosti ovozemaljske moći, koja u ovom trenutku drame dobija svoju moćnu verifikaciju. Dramska funkcija ovog motiva jeste da se kralj predstavi kao Isus Hrist, kome se njegova verzija Golgote (momenat pogubljenja) približava, radi izazivanja sažaljenja među svojim slušaocima, naročito ako se uzme u obzir razlika između veličanstvenosti njegovog pređašnjeg i tragike njegovog sadašnjeg stanja.

U sceni Ričardovog svrgavanja s vlasti postoji još jedan momenat na koji treba posebno obratiti pažnju. Ričard traži od svojih doskorašnjih podanika ogledalo, koje će mu pokazati da li se nešto promenilo na njemu u trenutku kada je lišen svog veličanstva. Međutim, kada ugleda vlastiti odraz u „laskavom ogledalu” (IV, i, 278), on ga razbija u paramparčad, a ovaj gest može da se protumači na dva načina - kao korak koji ga vodi ka konačnoj ličnoj samospoznaji ili kao još jedna potvrda ranije kritikovanog kraljevskog narcizma i sujete.

Bez obzira na to kojoj se od ove dve interpretacije priklonili, u kraljevoj sceni sa ogledalom ističe se ideja da gubitak krune zapravo predstavlja gubitak identiteta, a Ričard, konačno svestan značaja situacije u koju je sam sebe doveo, želi da vidi da li je taj gubitak identiteta vidljiv i u njegovoj fizičkoj pojavi. Međutim, „laskavo ogledalo” (IV, i, 278) Ričardu ne pokazuje da se bilo šta bitno promenilo u konturama lica, a zapravo ništa više nije kako je bilo ranije, što je značajan uvid koji ga dovodi do momenta emotivne kulminacije čiji je konačni rezultat razbijanje ogledala. Nakon ovog izliva kraljevih emocija postaje jasno da je čin razbijanja ogledala zapravo poslednji gest njegove nemoći, konačno priznanje da je nadmudren i poražen od politički veštijeg pobunjenika Bolinbruka, koje treba da mu posluži kao još jedno upozorenje o prolaznosti svetovne moći.⁵

⁵ Scena u kojoj Ričard II konačno postaje svestan gubitka kraljevskog identiteta, te mu se čini da je taj gubitak uočljiv i u njegovoj fizičkoj pojavi, što za rezultat ima razbijanje „laskavog ogledala” (IV, i, 278), može se uporediti sa scenom u kojoj kralj Lir konačno spoznaje da je načinio tragičnu grešku, kako u upravljanju državom, tako i u vaspitanju svoje dece. Naime, u trenutku kada mu Gonarila otkazuje poslušnost, Lir počinje da se pita:

Zna li me ko ovde? Ovo nije Lir.

Ide li Lir tako? Govori li tako?

Gde su mu oči? Ili mu um slabi,

Moć shvatanja mračni? – Ha, jesam li budala?

Ne, nisam. Ko mi može reći ko sam? (I, iv, 215-219)

prevod: Živojin Simić i Sima Pandurović, Beograd: Kultura, 1963

Poput Ričarda II, kralj Lir postaje sinonim za čoveka koga je vlast iskvarila, pa je postao nerazborit monarh, tragično autoritaran i neuviđavan, nesposoban da prihvati bilo koje mišljenje drugačije

Ričardov najkompleksniji monolog je u poslednjem činu drame, u zatvoru, pred sam čin pogubljenja, u kome dominantnu ideju predstavlja svest da je sve što nosi obris ovozemaljskog iluzija: nijedna uloga, niti uzvišena ni dostojanstvena, niti unižena ni snishodljiva, nije dugotrajna, i nijedna od njih ne pruža dugotrajno zadovoljstvo. Jedino što je izvesno jeste da konačno spokojstvo može da se nađe u zaboravu, u potpunoj redukciji čoveka na obično „ništa” (V, v, 38).⁶ Predavanje krune Bolinbrodu može da se protumači kao konačni gubitak ličnog identiteta glavnog junaka drame: ostaje samo nesigurnost i nespokojstvo u vezi onoga što Ričard bez krune kao svog statusnog simbola treba da predstavlja.

Konačno, do pravog uvida u problematičnu dihotomiju božanske legitimnosti i ovozemaljske neažurnosti vladara, njegovog ličnog i javnog identiteta u Šekspirovom *Ričardu II* dolazi onda kada autor potencira gotovo zaboravljenu ideju o čoveku u najjednostavnijem obliku – bez znakova statusa, službe i svega onoga što ga čini predstavnikom vladajućeg sloja, ali ne i izvesno plemenitim ljudskim bićem. Ako je umetnički centar Šekspirove mandale upozorenje kako se čovek može izgubiti, ali i pronaći u sopstvenom životu, kako tvrdi Ted Hjuz u studiji *Šekspir i boginja celovitosti ljudskog bića* (Hughes 1992: 100),⁷ onda postoji opravdana os-

od svoga. Njegova želja, da mu ćerke javno iskažu svoju ljubav, zapravo oličava ceremonijalnu predstavu laskanja, u kojoj svi, osim Kordelije, dobrovoljno učestvuju. Budući da Lir nagrađuje one koji udovoljavaju njegovom hiru, a kažnjava one koji odbijaju da to učine, on mora da pređe put od samoobmane do sticanja konačne svesti o sebi i drugima. Na pitanje koje sam sebi postavlja - „ko mi može reći ko sam?” (I, iv, 219) – dobija direktan i iskren odgovor od vernog pratioca, dvorske lude: „Lirova senka” (I, iv, 220). Naime, gubitkom titule koja mu je obezbeđivala lažni autoritet i uvažavanje, Lir postaje obična senka onoga što je nekada predstavljao, što, kao u slučaju Ričarda II, označava početak bolnog i mukotrpnog puta samospoznaje.

⁶ Reč „ništa”, smatra Vladislava Gordić Petković, predstavlja „retoričku obmanu prvog reda: da sve bude složenije, „ništa” ne sugerise samo odsustvo, već i – prazninu koja žudi da se ispuni značenjem. Šekspirovi negativni junaci uspeavaju da tu prazninu ispune prividom značenja zahvaljujući tome što su njihove žrtve ili lakoverne, ili nesigurne u sebe” (Gordić Petković, 2012: 120). Na primeru Šekspirovog Ričarda II, reč „ništa” prvenstveno sugerise odsustvo i nepostojanje ličnog integriteta kralja, koji je zamenjen konceptom javne funkcije monarha, te konačno, kada dođe do prekida u izvršavanju ove javne funkcije, glavni junak preživljava krizu potpunog gubitka identiteta.

⁷ Ova ideja nije svojstvena Šekspirovim istorijskim dramama, već naročito dolazi do izražaja u njegovim kasnijim komedijama. Npr. Biron u *Nenagrađenom ljubavnom trudu* kaže:

„Da izgubimo, ne bismo li se našli, ili ćemo sebe da izgubimo.” (IV, iii, 152)

Vrlo slično govori i Goncalo u *Buri*, kada se brodolomnici nadu sa Prosperom na ostrvu:

I zapišite slovima zlatnim na trešnjim stubovima:

Na jednom putu Klariberela nade

Muža u Tunisu, a njen brat Ferdinand

Ženu gde je bio izgubljen i sam,

Prospero vojvodstvo na pustom ostrvu,

A svi mi sebe u času kad niko

Nije više bio ni gospodar svoj.” (V, I, 76-82)

nova da negativni likovi poput Ričarda II do kraja drame shvate šta je to pogrešno u njihovim životima – pogrešna procena sopstvene ljudskosti i robovanje lažnim autoritetima (rangu, vlasti, kraljevskoj patrijarhalnoj tradiciji i sl.)

Nažalost, do ovog uvida dolazi obično prekasno, nakon mnogobrojnih žrtvi, uglavnom najnevinijih među likovima, te je zbog cene koja je plaćena na putu samospoznaje nemoguće ostvariti srećan kraj. Međutim, sama činjenica da Šekspirovi vladari konačno postaju svesni posledica problematične dihotomije između lične i javne sfere, ističe autorov stav kao upozorenje da ovu „disocijaciju senzibiliteta” (Eliot 1921: 64, 66) treba nekako prevazići.

Ako je lik koji je bio izgubljen na kraju došao do uvida koje su greške koje je počinio, kao i vrlinu kojoj treba služiti u životu, onda je Ričard II manje tragičan od onih koji do kraja te istine ne uviđaju i umiru u potpunom neznanju. U Ričardovom slučaju, njegova lična transformacija kreće se od potpuno ispraznog i negativnog junaka ubeđenog u svoje božanske kvalitete do osvešćenog mučenika i životnog mudraca, koja, po Edvardu Bondu, postaje važno svedočanstvo o Šekspirovom shvatanju umetnosti i moralnih vrednosti koje ona oličava:

Umetnost je uvek razumna. Ona insistira na istini i pokušava da izrazi pravedni poredak koji je neophodan za razumnost koju uglavnom uništava društvo. Vaskolika mašta je po svojoj prirodi politička. Umetnost je želja koja umetnika nagoni da stvara (Bond 1978: 4).

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DIVINE RIGHT VS. SECULAR IDEAL OF POLITICAL SKILLS IN SHAKESPEARE'S *RICHARD II*

Summary

The main paradox of Shakespeare's historical play, *Richard II*, is based on the fact that the author portrays two pretenders to the English throne, one of whom has the legitimate right to rule, but is not credible and efficient enough for this function, whereas the other does not possess legitimacy, but demonstrates the ideal of political skills and self-control that the other pretendent lacks. The dispute between two rivals, Richard II and Bolingbroke, is interpreted from the perspective of the conflict between the political and personal system of values, whereby significant theoretical insights of Wilson, Hamvas, Kantorowicz, Suhodolski, Knowles, Hughes and Eliot will be demonstrated in the paper.

Key words: divine right, secular inefficiency, king's two bodies, dissociation of sensibility

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DISCIPLINE AND THE BODY: SOCIAL IMPRISONMENT IN SARAH WATERS' *AFFINITY*

The aim of this paper is to analyse Sarah Waters' novel *Affinity* (1999) and the status of its main protagonist as a lesbian and a spinster in the Victorian society in the light of Michel Foucault's discussion of the birth of the modern carceral system in the West and the measures for achieving bodily discipline. Foucault argues that the principles of spatial and temporal regulation of the body observable in the prison system are further replicated in other social institutions associated with discipline, such as the hospital or the school, and that similar disciplinary forces are at work in the society as a whole. In *Affinity*, the strict control enforced on the prisoners' bodies is associated with the disciplinary measures Margaret Prior, the protagonist, is subjected to in her family and society at large, which is of particular significance in the light of her non-normative sexuality and her spinsterhood.

Key words: neo-Victorian, body, prison, docile, discipline, lesbian, spinster

1. Introduction

A notorious nineteenth-century female penitentiary seems an apt setting for Sarah Waters' neo-Victorian literary exploration of normative gender roles, lesbian desire and the personal, familial and social responses to them. The novel's protagonist, Margaret Prior, joins the prison community as a visitor whose presence is meant to aid the spiritual and social reformation of the inmates, while trying to flee the trauma of her own troubling past and the restrictive circumstances of her present. However, her life soon becomes embroiled with those of the prisoners, as she increasingly identifies with their lot and succumbs to the charms of one of them in particular, an angelic-looking spirit medium who reminds her of her former lover. As the story unfolds, parallels between the prisoners' treatment at Millbank prison and the nature of Margaret's position as a spinster, a lesbian and a woman of

intellectual ambition in Victorian London start to become ever more apparent. Furthermore, her home is revealed as a constricting space which channels the society's demands that she should adopt the roles she is expected to perform.

2. Foucault and the birth of discipline

The parallels between Margaret's life and the prisoners' treatment at Millbank lend themselves to discussion in the light of Michel Foucault's theories on the birth of the carceral system in the West. In *Discipline and Punish: Birth of the Prison* (1975, transl. into English 1977), Foucault charts the development of the modern prison system and traces a shift from earlier penal measures such as torture, public executions, corporal punishment or bondage to the emergence of imprisonment as the dominant form of punishment, which relies on discipline and coercion. Regardless of their form, penal measures are invariably centred on the body of the offender. While earlier forms of punishment focused on the enactment of revenge on the body of the convicted, the carceral model depends on imposing strict disciplinary control over the physical operations of the prisoner's body in order to render it **docile** and therefore fully controllable. Docility is achieved by regulating the body's spatial distribution, as well as the activities it engages in and their temporal organisation, and by placing it within a larger, schematically organised nexus of similar entities. According to Foucault, the scope of such disciplinary techniques extends well beyond the penitentiary to include institutions such as schools, factories, hospitals and army units. The prison simply "reproduces the mechanisms that are to be found in the social body" (Foucault 1995: 233).

The idea of the body as an object of power can be traced to the classical age and is in no way exclusive to the eighteenth century, the period Foucault chooses to focus on. It is evident both on a philosophical level, in Cartesian dualism which assumes the domination of mind over body, and on a socio-political plane, in various methods of controlling the body that inform the structuring of different institutions of collective nature, such as the military. Mechanistic metaphors present throughout the history of Western thought conceive of the body as an object to be manipulated and governed, obedient and subject to the external force of the intellect. However, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the focus of this control shifts from positioning or regulating the body's behaviour to defining the principles of its internal organization and operations. Disciplinary measures, previously associated mainly with monastic or military regimens, are extended to become "general formulas of domination" (Foucault 1995: 137) applicable in a variety of other contexts, the workshop in particular, divorcing the body from power, regulating not only what it does, but how it operates, in a new "political anatomy" (Foucault 1995: 138).

Although Foucault discusses the resultant body in terms of its economic utility, he is careful to emphasise that this process becomes inscribed onto all levels of social structure, infusing the space of the school and hospital as much as the factory, and growing into a general method of operation. If, as Foucault tells us, the workings of discipline turn the body into an “aptitude”, or a “capacity”, then refusal to fulfil the potential of the body to act in expected ways can be understood as an act of disobedience, with special significance for the discipline imposed on women’s bodies and the social treatment of motherhood or those women who eschew it.

In Foucault’s analysis, discipline relies heavily on spatial and temporal regulation of the body’s activities. Spatial regulation means that the body is enclosed in space designed specifically for that purpose, clearly set apart from the external world and typically further divided into individual enclosures. Most readily observable in the example of the prison cell, such division individualises the body to prevent unwanted or uncontrolled interaction or grouping of bodies that could disrupt or weaken the disciplinary forces, or prove otherwise dangerous. As a result, the distribution of individual positions or cells is never arbitrary. Rather, the bodies are arranged and classified according to shared qualities, so that, for instance, minor offenders are separated from more dangerous ones to form a specific kind of taxonomy. This also means that the position given to an individual body assigns specific value to it in a broader system of similar entities, and this is in turn predictive of the treatment the body will receive within the system.

Spatial distribution is accompanied by temporal regulation that structures all bodily activity. This is achieved by means of the timetable and “its three great methods – establish rhythms, impose particular occupations, regulate the cycles of repetition” (Foucault 1995: 149). This regime, which foregrounds precision, regularity and constant application to the imposed activities, was initially adopted from monastic orders and applied to the realm of military exercise and factory production. Disciplinary regulation of time takes the original concept of the timetable, refines and transforms it into a “collective, obligatory rhythm”, “a sort of anatomo-chronological schema of behaviour” (Foucault 1995: 152). The schema does not merely define the desirable activity, along with its temporal characteristics and the particular gestures which are required to enact it. Rather, it prescribes the best possible way of performing the activity in terms of efficiency and speed, so that “the position of the body, limbs, articulations is defined” (Foucault 1995: 152). Exercise, according to Foucault, is the archetype of such disciplinary procedures, and, unsurprisingly, it is included in the daily activities of the Millbank prisoners in *Affinity*.

However, the ultimate goal of discipline is not simply the regulation of an individual body, but the coercion of bodies taken collectively, as segments in a larger mechanism, a “machine whose effect will be maximized by the concerted articula-

tion of the elementary parts of which it is composed” (Foucault 1995: 164). For this reason, it is crucial to ensure the desired operation of each and every element of the social mechanism, as the irregular functioning of a single element can endanger the functioning of the entire social structure. One of the activities which bodies engage in and which discipline seeks to regulate is, of course, sexual activity.

3. Millbank as an illustration of Foucauldian discipline

Disciplinary control over the bodies of the prisoners at Millbank as a reflection of Foucault’s ideas is evident in their daily schedule which follows strictly defined spatial and temporal arrangements, in the inclusion of exercise and the utilisation of the prisoners’ bodies for labour. During Margaret’s first visit to Millbank, she learns that the prison gives the convicts “habits that are regular” (Waters 2008: 11) in order to “keep their hands busy” (Waters 2008: 12), by having them sew or weave baskets in their cells. She is invited to observe the prisoners doing exercise in the prison yard and notices that they all walk “at the same dull pace”, in “seamless” loops. (Waters 2008: 14). As one of the matrons explains, there is a prescribed distance to be kept between prisoners, and if a prisoner breaches the distance, she is punished. Margaret also learns that the women are forbidden to speak or make any kind of noise. Newly arrived prisoners have their hair cut on arrival, a measure which is meant not only as a manifestation of the prison’s physical control over the prisoners’ bodies, but also as a denial of their sexual nature. As one of the new girls cries out against the haircut, the matron responds with “who will there be to see you, *here?*” (Waters 2008: 78). The prisoners’ few possessions, their mugs, plates, the Bible, must be arranged according to a strictly defined pattern, which shows the spatial dimension of discipline at its extreme.

As Rachel Carroll notes, the prison confinement and the rules that accompany it are imposed not only on the convicts, but on the female prison warders as well, who are all unmarried, either spinsters or widows, and therefore outside the legitimate sphere of adult femininity (Carroll 2007). The effects of prison discipline on the bodies of the warders can be observed during Margaret’s first visit to Millbank, when she is taken to its watchtower. While she is there a bell is sounded, which signals that the prisoners are to be sent to the yards. To the sound of the bell, “Mr Shillitoe and the matrons all made a similar movement” (Waters 2008: 13). According to Foucault, the use of signalisation in the enforcement of discipline ensures that upon perceiving the signal the body will react to it immediately with a conditioned response (Foucault 1995: 166). During the prisoners’ exercise, the matrons also “must stand and watch the prisoners until the exercise is complete” (Waters 2008: 14), and Margaret herself observes that “the matrons’ lives (...) must be very

miserable”, as they are “kept as close to the gaol, almost, as if they were inmates themselves” (Waters 2008: 37). She will conclude later on that they are “as snared by Millbank as [the prisoners] are” (Waters 2008: 244).

However, despite its strict disciplinary regime, the prison also affords opportunities to the prisoners that are not otherwise available. For instance, when Margaret visits the prison for the first time, she is warned of the practice of “palling up”, the formation of romantic partnerships between the inmates, and admonished to take care not to become involved in one such friendship herself (“You must watch that no-one tries to make a pal out of *you*, miss”, Waters 2008: 67), which is of course exactly what happens later. Given the relative invisibility of lesbian relationships in Victorian Britain, the warning acknowledges the existence of sexual relationships between women in an uncharacteristically open and understanding fashion: “It was the loneliness, she said, that made them do it. She herself had seen hard women there turn quite love-sick, because they had taken a fancy to some girl they had seen, and the girl had turned the shoulder on them, or had a pal already that she liked better.” (Waters 2008: 67) Unlike the same-sex relationships at Millbank, which are at least openly acknowledged if not condoned, Margaret must not speak of her desires in her home, and her previous relationship with her friend and now sister-in-law Helen is kept in complete secrecy, so much so that even Helen does not wish to discuss it, as she finds it embarrassing.

The prison, therefore, can be read as both limiting and liberating. It represents an alternative space where non-normative sexuality can at least be articulated. However, it remains a walled-in, limited and controlled community of women regulated by other women under male directive. Also, with its strict ban on newspapers or the spreading of news, the prison restricts the prisoners’ access to information and knowledge, which is reminiscent of the attitude towards female scholarly interests that Margaret experiences first-hand once she wishes to make use of academic facilities without the company of her father.

4. Non-normative femininity and the social prison of Victorian London

Very early on, Margaret identifies with the prisoners she visits at Millbank. When she arrives there for her first visit, she jokes that the guards might take her for a convict and lock her up in a cell (Waters 2008: 9). After the visit, she dreams that she is one of the prisoners there (Waters 2008: 33), and when she watches the newcomers during a subsequent visit, she is reminded of her first visit, recognising her own reactions in theirs (Waters 2008: 76). The parallel is reinforced when one of the matrons tells her: “‘Why, we have had ladies here,’ (...) ‘*Ladies*, miss, quite like yourself.’” (Waters 2008: 25). She also imagines “how it would be to have

[her] heart drawn from [her], and one of those women's coarse organs pressed into the slippery cavity left at [her] breast" (Waters 2008: 26). One of the women is jailed for attempted suicide by taking laudanum, which has Margaret recall her own attempt to end her life using a similar method.

These parallels suggest that Margaret is subjected to a set of disciplinary measures herself, many of which reflect the prisoners' lives at Millbank, but are far more insidious and are imposed by her family and the whole of Victorian society. Such parallels can be seen as symbolic of various social impositions on Margaret's body and her identity, which does not observe the heterosexual, married norm and is therefore perceived as deviant and liable to correction or rejection. In one of the closing scenes, Margaret imagines her evening gown growing tighter as if it had a buckle on the back, like a strait jacket, which further suggests that Margaret's position in her home has much in common with that of the inmates, but also with that of an asylum patient. As Carroll explains, this moment "signifies a meaningful recognition: that of the domestic space of her familial room as itself a form of 'dark cell'" (Carroll 2007). The prison and her home "form a continuum of the carceral society" (Fischer 2013: 23), which echoes Foucault's point that the workings of discipline are spatially encoded, and points to its all-pervasive nature and its ultimate goal – the creation of an obedient and easily governable individual.

Margaret's mother is repeatedly associated with the prison warders and seen as one of the main agents of Margaret's imprisonment. She is even half-jokingly imagined by Margaret as being in league with the warders to keep her in prison (Waters 2008: 29). After Margaret's first visit to Millbank, her mother imposes an "injunction against [her] prison stories" (Waters 2008: 32), mirroring the silencing imposed on the women of Millbank. The silencing in both cases stands for the silencing of women's voices in general, a topic which is revisited in Margaret's musings: "Why do gentlemen's voices carry so clearly, when women's are so easily stifled?" (Waters 2008: 229) Just as the prisoners ought to "know their places" (Waters 2008: 14), Margaret is scolded by her mother for failing to perform as a daughter and a dutiful companion, and thus failing to take up the role which is given to her in the accepted social order on the basis of her unmarried status. Here the figure of the aging mother acts as a substitute for the husband as the agent of control, declaring what is to become of Margaret in commandment-like fashion:

'Your place is here!' (...) ' – not at the prison. And it is time you showed that you know it. Now Priscilla [Margaret's younger sister] is married, you must take up your proper duties in the house. Your place is here, your place is here. *You shall be here*, beside your mother, to greet our guests when they arrive...' (Waters 2008: 252, emphasis mine)

Margaret's mother also sets up reading sessions and strictly arranged social calls in an attempt to keep her busy, like the inmates who are kept busy by their sewing work. She tries to get her to wear appropriate, ladylike clothes, which suggests that clothes very much indicate the status of the body that wears them, just like the prisoners' clothes at Millbank. Margaret's mother perceives her as cunning and scheming and even accuses her of choosing to be ill when it suits her in order to avoid her social responsibilities, attributing to her some of the prisoners' deviousness and criminal nature, which Margaret herself is warned against by the matrons (Carroll 2007). She has the servant keep watch over her daughter, reproducing the prisoner-guard dynamics within the limits of the family home. The daily doses of sedatives prescribed by Margaret's doctor and administered by her mother seek to regulate Margaret's sleeping patterns and can be said to echo the strict rhythm of activities the inmates are forced to observe, suggesting also, as Carroll has noted, a link between the carceral and the medical domain (Carroll 2007). Margaret's mother will not reveal to her where she keeps the medicine, and Margaret is made to drink her dose at a specific time, with somebody looking on: "Mother came, half an hour ago, to bring me my dose. I told her I should like to sit a little longer, that I wished she would leave the bottle with me so I might take it later – but no, she wouldn't do that. I am 'not quite well enough', she said." (Waters 2008: 30) This is why Margaret's symbolic act of rebellion against the regulatory social forces symbolised by her mother will take the shape of excessive doses of sedatives, once she finally discovers where they are kept. However, the act echoes her previous overdose, her failed suicide attempt at the news of her former lover's marriage to her brother, grimly indicating that the only possible means of resistance to the imposed Victorian norms which is available to her is through self-harm.

The temporal dimension of discipline imposed on Margaret also becomes increasingly undermined, as she struggles to break free from the conventions imposed on her by her mother and the society in general. As Fischer notes, "night-time in much of Sarah Waters' work represents a space for covert queerness and for resistance to the many ways in which society literally and figuratively imprisons her protagonists, particularly because of their gender, sexuality and class" (Fischer 2013: 16). Margaret's night-time vigils resist both the usual cycle of sleeping and waking and the sedative-induced one, and it is during these moments that her desire is given free reign and finds its fullest expression. Night-time is the time when Margaret and her prison sweetheart Selina supposedly meet in the world of spirits, which acts as the site for the expression of Margaret's desire ("I should never have guessed that that dark night could have had so many colours in it." Waters 2008: 298; "My spirit comes to you, at night." Waters 2008: 299). However, night-time will also prove treacherous, as it is the time when Selina and Vigers the servant play most of their tricks on the unsuspecting Margaret.

The identification between Margaret and the prisoners and the alignment of the domestic and carceral space point to the social position accorded to her character, which is perceived as transgressive in several ways and therefore threatening to the existing social order. When she visits the Reading Room at the British Library without the authority of her father's company, she cuts an unusual figure and undermines the perception of scholarly activity as an exclusively male pursuit. Her spinsterhood poses a challenge to the Victorian society and the central role given to the institution of marriage in the life of an adult woman. The rejection of marriage involves the rejection of its reproductive function and thus poses a challenge to the social expectations of the female body (Carroll 2007). Margaret's mother drives this point home: "“You are not Mrs Browning, Margaret—as much as you would like to be. You are not, in fact, Mrs Anybody. You are only *Miss Prior*. And your place—how often must I say it?—your place is here, at your mother's side.”" (Waters 2008: 252-3).

Margaret's lesbian desires are transgressive for the same reason: their nonreproductive nature. As Carroll notes, both the spinster and the lesbian “confound the reproductive narrative which cannot account for them” (Carroll 2007). In other words, both as a spinster and as a lesbian, Margaret resists the “reproductive narrative” of normative sexuality and socially acceptable gender roles for women, which seeks to discipline her body into performing its reproductive function within the sanctioned realm of marriage. However, while her spinsterhood is at least acknowledged in her middle-class home, albeit as a source of much distress to her mother, her lesbian desire remains inexpressible, although her mother hints at it when she cringes at the thought that her guests might find her daughter “eccentric – she almost spat the word at me” (Waters 2008: 252). Thinking she has finally found a way of escaping these restrictions and being her true self, Margaret is in fact made more vulnerable to the plot which is revealed in the final scenes. Selina, her “affinity”, is exposed as a swindler and a fraud, and their special liaison as a phantasm which is the product of her trickery. Ruth Vigers, the servant who helps Margaret's mother effect her daughter's surveillance and the true mastermind behind the plot, uses the insights to her own ends, while she herself manages to escape any scrutiny and remain invisible. In cross-dressing and modifying her body, as well as using it as a tool in the performance of her tricks, she retains control over it and seeks to subvert another socially imposed limitation – that of class. It is ultimately Vigers, the working-class girl, rather than middle-class Margaret, who is the true figure of resistance to the forces of discipline in *Affinity*.

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DISCIPLINA I TELO: DRUŠTVO KAO ZATVOR U ROMANU *SRODNE DUŠE* SARE VOTERS

Rezime

Cilj ovoga rada je da se pozabavi romanom *Srodne duše* savremene britanske spisateljice Sare Voters, tačnije statusom koji se kao lezbijki i usedelici pripisuje glavnoj junakinji u viktorijanskom društvu. Rad se oslanja na teorije Mišela Fukoa o nastanku modernog zatvorskog sistema i merama za postizanje telesne discipline. Fuko pokazuje da su principi prostorne i vremenske kontrole nad telom, prisutni u ustrojstvu reformisanog zatvorskog sistema, preslikani u mnoge druge društvene institucije koje podrazumevaju primenu discipline, kao što su recimo bolnica ili škola, te da disciplinske sile deluju i van prepoznatljivih institucionalnih okvira, u čitavom društvenom sistemu. U romanu *Srodne duše* stroga kontrola koja je nametnuta telima zatvorenika odraz je nametnute discipline kojoj je glavna junakinja izložena u vlastitoj porodici i širem društvenom kontekstu, što je naročito značajno imajući u vidu njenu seksualnost, koja ne sledi heteroseksualnu normu, te njen usedelički status.

Ključne reči: neoviktorijansko, telo, zatvor, poslušno, disciplina, lezbijka, usedelica

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SHAME AND THE MAIDEN

Critical and theoretical discussions of formerly colonised societies focus, among other problems, on the multiple marginalisation of the female Other at the intersection of gender, race, class and other contextually dependent emblems of identity. Contesting degrading representations of *woman* and *women*, theorists question the tendency of some Western humanist discourse to produce homogeneous categories such as 'Third World Woman', and problematise the relative importance of feminist emancipation in the struggle against neo-colonialism. In the heat of such debates, Salman Rushdie wrote the novel *Shame*, controversial for its portrayal of female characters. While they serve as an instrument in the author's exploration and/or criticism of Islamic morality, the question remains as to whether such portrayal reinforces their dispossession or demystifies traditional female roles. This paper wishes to examine the issue through the forms and means of gender oppression in the novel and their potential subversion.

Key words: female, gender, honour, oppression, shame, violence, woman, women

1. Introduction

In societies across the world, women have been suffering different forms of material and epistemic violence which, despite decades of struggle for their empowerment, seem to keep them in the unenviable position of 'Other'. Questioning representations of *woman* as 'a cultural and ideological composite Other' and *women* as 'real, material subjects' (Ashcroft et al. 2003: 259), as well as debating women's self-representation and the appropriate means for it, theorists like Chandra Mohanty challenge any uniform and potentially colonising Western categories, while those like Kirsten Holst Petersen problematise feminist struggles in the context of neo-colonialism.

Salman Rushdie's 1983 novel *Shame* provokes similar discussions due to its rendering of female characters relegated to the periphery of Peccavistani/Paki-

stani society, the morality of which passes the burden of a man's honour on to his women. The novel was inspired, among other things, by so-called 'honour killings' which, according to Rana Husseini's 2009 book *Murder in the Name of Honour*, take the lives of around 5,000 women and girls across the world each year (Husseini 2009: xi). The latest statistics provided by the International Honour Based Violence Resource Centre show that, sadly, the rate has not dropped. Rushdie's novel explores the poles of islamic morality – honour and shame – centring on the prevailing corruption in independent Pakistan, renamed Peccavistan, depicting repression through a controversial representation of gender oppression.

Shame was written soon after *Midnight's Children*, and together with Rushdie's most acclaimed work and *The Moor's Last Sigh*, forms a trilogy on Indo-Pakistani history. It can be read as a sequel to or a counterpart of *Midnight's Children*, the latter focusing on the fictional history of India before and after 1947. The perspective is that of an unnamed narrator, presumably the author himself, and the work juxtaposes a story of imaginary Pakistan with short (auto)biographical essay-like notes on the situation in real Pakistan, thus enabling a parallel reading of actual/official and fictional/unofficial accounts. Interspersed with elements of magic, in Rushdie's oeuvre most commonly interpreted as magical realism, *Shame* deals with issues of migration, history, memory, narrative authority, and the author's 'right' to claim certain stories, but more specifically, it offers a critique of Pakistani social and political problems in the post-independence period, exemplified by the abuse of islamic morality.

Despite the novel's many layers, it is frequently seen as a formally and thematically weaker sibling of the more complex *Midnight's Children*. Brendon Nicholls quotes a number of sometimes obscure objections to *Shame*, due to 'the instability of its fictional discourse', an unskillful blend of fairy-tale and social realism, comic elements of satire transformed into 'hopeless mockery on the verbal level', and apparent support for the oppression the author hopes to expose (Gurnah 2007: 121-122). Such protestations ignore the fact that this national narrative is one of repression, of a systematic suppression of all choices and options. Therefore the novel's form, intent on portraying a closed society, as opposed to the carnivalesque *Midnight's Children*, reflects the claustrophobia of the depicted system – it is itself 'trapped in a network of textuality and narrative dead ends', 'cramped, claustrophobic, even paranoid' (Teverson 2007: 137).

Rushdie's Pakistan is fictional, 'at a slight angle to reality' (Rushdie 1995: 29), a world of enclosures, imprisonment, an 'infertile, time-eroded labyrinth' (Rushdie 1995: 30), marked by a one-party military dictatorship hostile to anything that comes from the West, and immersed in crime, media lies and gender oppression. Repression/oppression is symbolised by a number of enclosed spaces, maze-like houses where many of the characters are entrapped. Female characters like the

Shakil sisters or Rani Humayun are literally imprisoned in patriarchal homes placed on the porous border between dream and reality, and are in point of fact captives of the entire system which burdens women with men's concept of honour. Suppressing, incarcerating women's stories, the totalitarian state willing to acknowledge only the constructed official truth metamorphoses into a palimpsest of forgotten pasts, inadvertently paving the way for the writing of new, unauthorised versions of history. The alternative, unapproved accounts testify to ignored collective experiences and silences (Gurnah 2007: 110), exposing the newly-formed nation as 'a failure of the dreaming mind ... a picture full of irreconcilable elements ... a miracle that went wrong' (Rushdie 1995: 87).

2. Gender oppression in the novel

'The wrong miracle' (Rushdie 1995: 89) is also Sufiya Zinobia, the main female protagonist with the central role not as a character but as a symbol, the embodiment of shame, the shame of her family and nation, as one of the two poles of Islamic morality. She is the wrong miracle because her sex is 'wrong' since the birth of a girl is seen as a failure to produce a male child in a ruthless machistic society which does not allow women or men to step out of imposed gender roles. Together with a few other female characters, she takes over and transforms the 'male' plot of rivalry, ambition, betrayal, death and revenge by refracting it through the prism of 'female' experience (Rushdie 1995: 173). The heroines 'demand the inclusion of their own tragedies, histories, comedies' (Rushdie 1995: 173), their experiences revealing the barbarity and violence of the Islamisation programme in a society which uses the word 'woman' as a curse, to offend men when they are weak or forced to perform 'womanly' duties like child-rearing, at the same time transferring the burden of honour to women.

Sufiya, who has dishonoured her family by being a mentally-challenged female in a society which allows for no physical or mental handicaps, finds the secret path that links violence and shame, turning into a monstrous avenger. Through the process of literalisation, a technique commonly found in Rushdie's prose, shame accumulates in Sufiya until she metamorphoses into a personification of 'the oppressions of Pakistani history' and 'the oppressive contradictions of the post-colonial subject' (Hussain 1989: 13), an animal-like serial killer, with the image reinforcing colonial and/or patriarchal stereotypes or representing an instance of strategic essentialism. Feeding on feelings of personal and collective inadequacy, she becomes 'the collective fantasy of a stifled people, a dream born of their rage' (Rushdie 1995: 263), testifying to an idea which Tzvetan Todorov and Amin Maalouf share with Rushdie, that humiliation and resentment at times pave the way for violence and revenge

(Todorov 2010: 19; Maluf 2003: 25). Sufiya brutally contests gender expectations – violence can be found where you least expect it – retaliates for the heavy burden of honour, and undermines the concept of honour killings as the killer is not a man but a woman and her victims are mostly, and most importantly, men. Being intellectually-challenged, the main heroine is muted, unable to verbalise her revolt so her rebellion finds outlet in violence, mirroring the violence of the colonised native, ‘the violence which has ruled over the ordering of the colonial world’, the violence which ‘will be claimed and taken over by the native at the moment when, deciding to embody history in his own person, he surges into the forbidden quarters’ (Fanon 2008: 7). Violence – the meeting point of nation and gender, whose ‘imbrication ... heightens their liminalities, especially when they evoke the historical backdrop of violence in Pakistan’ (Dayal 1998: 39) – sets Sufiya free and represents her form of protest against the society that keeps her in chains, her decolonisation, which in the words of Frantz Fanon ‘is always a violent phenomenon’ (Fanon 2008: 1), and her rebellion against her destiny being decided upon by the patriarchal figures of authority, her father and doctor/husband.

Sufiya is also seen as ‘the embodiment of a suppressed narrative of sexual violation’ (Gurnah 2007: 118). Violated as a newly-born baby by her father’s fingers in his angry attempt to prove the doctors’ assertion that she is a female wrong, Sufiya is one of the victims of sexual harassment in *Shame*, and a counterpart of the country ‘raped’ by corrupt politicians. In the words of Brendon Nicholls and Amina Yaqin, the novel represents sexuality, including adultery and rape, as a public matter determined and sanctioned by law (Gurnah 2007: 67-68, 115-118), and Sufiya questions that law as a *vagina dentata*, by copulating with four youths and then beheading them – precisely four male witnesses are necessary to confirm an act of rape – providing room for Rushdie to play with a common colonial stereotype, that of non-European women’s ‘deviant femininity’ in the form of ‘insatiable sexuality and brutality’ (Loomba 2005: 131).

More generally, Sufiya fights against the traditional female identity with its imposed roles in the context of ‘masculinist nationalism’ with its ‘rhetoric of phallic self-sufficiency’ (Dayal 1998: 44-45), as well as against different aspects of gender oppression that all the female protagonists are subjected to. They are beaten, ostracised and banished for being raped and impregnated, or sterile and therefore ungrateful to their husbands’ families. As a vicious cousin reminds Bilquis, ‘this unnatural female who could produce nothing but dead babies’, ‘the disgrace of your barrenness, Madam, is not yours alone. Don’t you know that shame is collective. ... See what you’re doing to your husband’s people...’ (Rushdie 1995: 84). Like Bilquis, all the abused heroines of *Shame* are hidden behind veils, confined in houses, schools – school is a ‘prison populated exclusively by females’ (Rushdie 1995: 156) – and arranged marriages, where they are expected to find fulfilment

in living and breeding 'in battery conditions, like shaver chickens' (Rushdie 1995: 75) as 'brains are a positive disadvantage to a woman in marriage' (Rushdie 1995: 161). Therefore Arjumand Harappa is told by her politician father 'Rise above your gender ... This is no place to be a woman in.' (Rushdie 1995: 126)

A grim caricature of the woman's most important role in a patriarchal world, that of the mother, is found in Good News Hyder, Sufiya's younger sister. After her 'scandalous' marriage to the insatiable Talvar Ulhaq – namely, she marries for love – she gives birth to no less than twenty-seven children on account of her husband's unfailing ability to predict when 'it was time to plant the seed' (Rushdie 1995: 207). Not intending to sound ironic, Good News notices that she is like 'a vegetable patch whose naturally fertile soil was being worn out by an over-zealous gardener' (Rushdie 1995: 207). Unable to cope with 'her terror of the arithmetical progression of babies marching out of her womb' (Rushdie 1995: 228), she finds release in suicide. She loses hope in the possibility of improvement of the position of women, and the destinies of some of the other protagonists seem to confirm that.

The Shakil sisters spend their entire lives in involuntary and then voluntary isolation in their father's home, exemplifying the unenviable position of women in a patriarchal society. Similarly, Rani Harappa is forced to spend her life on a remote estate where she has no authority over her servants or her life – 'If I was murdered here, the news would never leave the estate' (Rushdie 1995: 94). In addition, she is in official house arrest with her daughter due to her husband's politics. Her only friend and co-sufferer is Bilquis Hyder, an uprooted mohajir who suffers from an extreme need for stability and finally goes mad. As a result, her husband keeps her locked up in the house where she turns into a ghost-like figure roaming the empty corridors. She is one of the two 'madwomen in the attic' in this novel, the other one being Sufiya who, after an incident, endures involuntary confinement in an attic and is, symbolically enough, kept anaesthetised by her husband.

Such portrayal of female characters in *Shame* has been the subject of numerous discussions. Allegations of misogyny which simplify the novel's complexity are particularly widespread. They accuse the author of undermining women's voices in the guise of commitment to gender inequality, due to his focus on passive victims of oppression alone (Grewal); of dividing women into innocents and whores, with Sufiya as the manifestation of destructive female sexuality, due to the author's frustration, even anger at women's relative autonomy (Cundy); of presenting us with heroines which represent the frustration of sexual desire since they are portrayed as frigid, desexualised, demented, moronic, dulled into nullity, driven to despair, or suicide, or they embody incoherence and loss of identity (Ahmad). However, the cruel and even sadistic portrayal of women can and, according to the author himself, should be interpreted as critical of the system which oppresses, exploits and degrades them. Moreover, Rushdie narrows his focus to upper classes (that too

is seen as problematic and frequently called into question), thus refraining from sweeping generalisations. *Shame* is a dystopia in which oppression as it plays a crucial part and the female characters, Nicholls reminds us, are essential to its 'narrative architecture' (Gurnah 2007: 114). In a sea of opposition to the novel, a few critics, like Andrew Teverson, Brendon Nicholls, Samir Dayal and Justyna Deszcz, see it as one of resistance, as a feminist reconfiguration, Deszcz's article suggests, coupled in Dayal's view with a deconstruction of masculinity through a symbolical emasculation of men (Dayal 1998: 45-53).

3. Articulation of opposition

Wherein lies the key to the empowerment of heroines for whom there seems to be no way out? Depending on her character, circumstances and the specificities of her problem, each one finds a means of acting against oppression, however inefficient some of them might seem. Good News commits suicide to escape it, Sufiya's dissatisfaction is expressed in violence and revenge, Arjumand Harappa's in her efforts to disguise her feminine looks, her rejection of marriage, and her political career, while Rani Harappa and Bilquis Hyder, without access to other means of putting up a fight, seek symbolical ones. For years, Rani weaves shawls whose elaborate designs expose the criminal activities and moral corruption of her husband and his political regime. Her self-portrait is a powerful critique of women's oppression in any machistic system – 'Rani depicted herself as being composed of the same materials as the house, wood, brick, tin, her body merging into the fabric of Mohenjo' (Rushdie 1995: 194) – and she defiantly signs the shawls with her maiden name. The shawls keep her occupied in loneliness and become a symbol of her power. Like Philomel, Rani reveals the weaknesses and crimes of the patriarchal order, showing us how chauvinism and political repression overlap (Gurnah 2007: 115). The shawls contradict 'the official narrative of her husband's regime' and are a miniature manifestation of the novel's strategy of reinterpreting Pakistani history from a woman's angle (Gurnah 2007: 66). Similarly, Bilquis Hyder sews veils which she lucidly and sarcastically calls shrouds (Rushdie 1995: 249). Opportunity for her to retaliate arises when her husband and Omar Shakil, Sufiya's doctor and husband, are running away from an angry mob during the *coup d'état* and massacres perpetrated by Sufiya. In an ironic twist, the shameless doctor who used hypnosis for the purpose of sexual abuse, and the general who introduced the law obliging women to wear the veil at all times, run away from one form of retribution under the cover of another, in 'womanly disguise' (Rushdie 1995: 262), dressed up in Bilquis's 'shrouds', 'unmanned by wife-sewn veils' (Rushdie 1995: 268).

Through these peculiar instances of resistance, *Shame* establishes itself as ‘emblematic of a subversive postcolonial mode’, as a ‘(sub)version of normative national and gendered subjectivity’ (Dayal 1998: 40). Gender inequality in the novel helps build up an atmosphere of compromised hopes and expectations, of the failure of the new nation to live up to the people’s dream, of fear and anger. Peccavistan is a dark world of political manipulation, intrigue, secret alliances and executions, and is close to the gothic or tragic; it is, however, a contemporary tragedy whose course is directed by clowns and fools (Teverson 2007: 138-139). Creating a world of silences, of many dungeons where even the guards become prisoners and executioners themselves victims, such history-makers reduce national possibilities and narrow the horizons of humanity. Deprived of the linguistic and syntactic play of *Midnight’s Children* and marked by military terminology, *Shame* offers a hopeless vision of Pakistan as a place, project and ideal, with the break-up of the individual and family reflecting the collapse of values in a system which keeps women in chains. ‘Their chains, nevertheless, are no fictions. They exist. And they are getting heavier.’ (Rushdie 1995: 173)

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SRAMOTA I DEVOJKA

Rezime

Kritičke i teorijske rasprave o društvima nekadašnjih kolonija usredsređuju se, između ostalog, na višestruku marginalizaciju žene kao „drugog“ na preseku roda, rase, klase i ostalih obeležja identiteta neodvojivih od konteksta. Oспоравanjem unižavajućih predstava o *ženi* i *ženama*, teoretičari preispituju tendenciju jednog dela humanističkog diskursa na Zapadu da stvara homogenizujuće kategorije kao što je „žena Trećeg Sveta“, te problematizuju relativni značaj feminističke emancipacije u borbi protiv novog kolonijalizma. U žaru takvih debata, Salman Ruždi je napisao roman *Sramota*, kontroverzan zbog načina na koji predstavlja ženske likove. Premda oni služe kao instrument u autorovom istraživanju i/ili kritici islamskog morala, ostaje nedoumica da li takvo predstavljanje podržava njihovu nemoć ili demistifikuje tradicionalne ženske uloge. Rad se bavi ovom problematikom kroz analizu oblika i sredstava rodnog ugnjetavanja i njegove moguće subverzije.

Ključne reči: žensko, rod, čast, ugnjetavanje, sramota, nasilje, žena, žene

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THE SOCIALIZING ROLE OF FAIRY TALES IN CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

Due to their popularity, fairy tales have been a frequent ingredient in childhood education, both at home and in preschool and primary school, where they are often incorporated into foreign language courses or classes of pupils' mother tongue. However, they are usually taken for granted, and it is not often the case that the messages embedded in them are taken into serious consideration by caregivers. Therefore, the aim of this study has been to establish how frequently fairy tales are consumed during childhood, as well as which fairy tale variants are used most frequently. These tales have further been analysed to uncover what they have in common and examine what values are disseminated via their content. The results of the study show that fairy tales are, indeed, one of the most popular genres of literature on the early childhood reading and viewing lists, and that there is a set of popular tales, which are, for the most part, patriarchal in nature.

Key words: fairy tales, pedagogical messages, preschool education, primary school education, values

1. Fairy tale as a pedagogical tool

Fairy tales have been a part of home education of young children for centuries, their use primarily being for entertainment. However, they have never been void of a didactic purpose, and as early as the seventeenth century, one could even find the explicitly expressed morals printed after the texts of the tales in Charles Perrault's *Histoires ou contes du temps passé, avec des moralités: Contes de ma mère l'Oye* [*Stories or Tales from Times Past, with Morals: Tales of Mother Goose*, 1697]. The nineteenth century brought about one of the best known collections of tales, the Grimm brother's *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* [*Children's and Household Tales*, 1812-1857], and when these tales "passed into the hands of German educators, they quickly became a highly effective pedagogical tool for instructing the

youngest citizens . . . in the language and mores of their people” (Magnanini 2008: 166). By the beginning of the twentieth century, there was “no longer a call for a demonstration, or even a statement, that there is a place in the child’s education for the fairy-tale,” but what was considered necessary “in discussing the use of the tales, particularly their use in the school, [was] to point out some principles of selection” (MacClintock 1903: 609), and, at the time, the amount and the kind of violence in the tales and some moralistic issues were in the focus of the discussion for the most part, influencing the form and content of the tales throughout the world in the subsequent decades. Today, what children encounter in the course of their education are indeed mostly the bowdlerised forms of the popular tales, with gory elements removed where they might have existed before. However, since fairy tales are still used extensively, both at home and in school, in classes of pupils’ mother tongue as well as in foreign language classes, the ‘principles of selection’ still need to be borne in mind, with the set of criteria enlarged so as to encompass the burning issues of modern day.

2. Fairy tale as a reflection of culture

Fairy tales have undergone a complex process of transition in order to become what we today consider to be classical fairy tales, and not just in terms of their content. From a wide pool of oral and printed tales, featuring a variety of different protagonists of both genders and with various characteristics, from the seventeenth century onwards mostly male, white, middle-class editors drew the tales which were in agreement with their own particular outlook on life, as well as with the requirements of the civilizing process imposed by the society at large. Thus, by a careful process of selection of the tales which were going to be immortalized in the popular printed collections, these collections came to be representative of the values nurtured by society, or rather, the dominant, hegemonic group in society – its patriarchal, white, male members. The tales chosen served as one of the means that instilled these values into the education of generations of children of both sexes, enforcing the status quo in terms of power relations within society. In these collections, tales with strong and active female characters were systematically given less and less space, or were not included at all, so much so, that when Kay F. Stone performed research for her doctoral dissertation on romantic heroines in fairy tales in 1975,¹ the forty women she interviewed were not even aware of the existence

¹ I would like to thank Professor Kay F. Stone, without whose help I would not have been successful in obtaining a rare copy of her doctoral dissertation entitled *Romantic Heroines in Anglo-American Folk and Popular Literature* (defended at the Indiana University in 1975), which was invaluable in helping me set the foundation for my own research.

of such tales in their own culture, let alone being familiar with their content. What they were familiar with, however, were the tales that did feature heroines, but these heroines were neither strong nor active. Instead, they were, to use Professor Stone's words, "uninspiring" and so inactive that they seemed "barely alive" (1975: 44). Her pioneering research revealed just how influential these tales were in the formation of the value system of North American women at the time, which supported an androcentric view of the world.

3. Research aims and hypothesis

Today, even in the realm of Western culture, "despite the four decades of abundant scholarship pointing to the issue of fairy-tale abuse in terms of gender stereotyping, comparably little has been done to remedy the situation, as a majority of children are still exposed to the popular 'classic' versions of the well known fairy tales, which, in reality, are an 'unrepresentative selection'" (Prošić-Santovac 2011: 105). Some of the issues identified in the 1970s have become globalised to a large extent, due to the development of technology and a much easier distribution of fairy tales by various means, both printed and cinematic, but they seem to have been relatively neglected in the academic thought of our country. Because of this, research was undertaken with the aim to reveal which exactly are the tales and their variants that young adults most often encounter in their childhood, and to uncover what these tales have in common. In addition, the hypothesis of the research was that fairy tales in general would be perceived as belonging mainly to the female domain, as well as belonging to the children's domain. The assumption was that fairy tales still represent one of the earliest contributions to childhood education, and that they therefore have a chance to strongly influence children, as the messages embedded in them can be uncritically internalized due to young age and low level of maturity. Another supposition was that in "the world of globalized capitalism, children and adults are more apt to be familiar with cinematic versions of the fairy tale than they are with oral or printed ones" (Zipes 2011: 22). Because of this, it was hypothesized that the influence of Western culture would be predominant, at the expense of the domestic culture as it is presented through the medium of fairy tales.

4. Methodology

Sample. The research was conducted on a sample of 165 informants, with 81 participants taking part in the research process in the first phase and 84 in the second. The average age of the respondents was 20.06, and they were all students at

the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad. The sampling was purposive in that the researcher aimed at acquiring the relevant information from the people who were in a similar phase of life to that in which a majority of fairy tale protagonists are found at the time the narratives take place. The informants were all unmarried, they had just finished secondary school and started attending university or were in the second year of their studies, and were beginning a life on their own. They were mostly still reliant on their parents, at least in terms of financial help, and in that sense were on the verge of growing up, just like many protagonists in fairy tales. In the past, at the time when the classic fairy tales came into existence, the symbolic age for 'coming of age' was considered to be 15 or 16, and it is still represented as such in the tales, but nowadays this important transition, from childhood to adulthood, is seen to happen between the age of 18 and 25, which is why this age was set as the criterion of the sample selection. An additional benefit of such sampling strategy was the fact that the participants were still young enough to remember well their childhood reactions to fairy tales and the thoughts evoked by them, but were mature enough to articulate them effectively and to reflect upon them critically. The gender of the participants was distributed in the following manner: in the first phase there were 77.78% of female informants and 22.22% of male informants, with similar distribution in the second phase – 70.24% for females and 29.76% for males; this accounted for the total of 73.94% of female and 26.06% of male participants for the whole process of research.

Research instruments. Two distinct questionnaires were used in the two phases of research. Because the range of possible answers was completely unknown and any pre-prepared answers would have compromised the validity of the research, both questionnaires featured open-ended questions, with some of the closed-ended items in the second questionnaire being derived from the information collected in the first phase. The purpose of the first questionnaire was to obtain a response to fairy tales in general, as well as to single out the most popular and influential ones from the point of view of the participants, while the second questionnaire sought to further define the exact variants of the tales that the participants were familiar with, in addition to checking some of the findings from the first phase. Both contained factual questions which were used to uncover demographic characteristics, but also to collect details about the informants' experience, such as the age when they were introduced to fairy tales, the most common sources of tales, the tales best remembered, etc. Behavioural questions were used to find out whether the respondents still read fairy tales and watched fairy tale films, while attitudinal questions revealed memories, reactions and attitudes to fairy tales in general.

The closed-ended items which were utilised with the aim to define the exact variant of a tale that the participants were familiar with were formulated as in the following example:

In the fairy tale ‘Cinderella’:

- a) Cinderella’s two evil sisters marry aristocrats at the end of the tale,
- b) doves peck the evil sisters’ eyes as a punishment for their deeds,
- c) before Cinderella has the chance to try on the glass slipper, it breaks into pieces, but Cinderella produces the other one as a proof of her identity.

For this purpose, only the most widely known variants of the tales were listed. In the example above, the first option refers to the tale published by Charles Perrault in 1697, the second describes the ending of the variant by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, published in 1857, and the third refers to Walt Disney’s animated fairy tale film released in 1950, the plot of which is based on Perrault’s variant but also differs from it to a great extent. This was done because different variants of a tale do not carry the same, and sometimes not even similar messages, as can be seen from the example supplied. Before finalising the questionnaires, the initial piloting of the instruments was performed, and the questions were modified based on the feedback.

Procedure. The research was performed during the period between December 2009 and December 2011. The survey was anonymous, in order to ensure a greater level of honesty. The average time necessary for filling in the questionnaires was approximately 30 minutes. All the information obtained during the research process has been translated from Serbian into English for the purposes of this paper by the researcher.

5. Results

The analysis of the demographic data confirmed the initial hypothesis that fairy tales represent one of the earliest contributions to childhood education, as the average age when the participants first encountered fairy tales was found to be 3.84. In order to establish the importance and the place fairy tales have in the lives of children, the effort was made to make a distinction between the kinds of books that the participants were read to by adults and the kind of literature they themselves preferred reading during their childhood. Over three quarters (77.38%) of those questioned reported that fairy tales were the main genre of literature that they encountered by way of adults, while just over a half (54.76%) continued reading them of their own accord.² Nevertheless, fairy tales still held the most prominent place

² These results are consistent with previous research done in the field, where the analysis of the research on cultural needs of preschool children showed that children at the age of five and six held fairy tale in the highest regard, and for those at the age of six and seven “fairy tale was still a dominant genre for one half of the participating children” (Milovanović, 2002: 9). However, since children

among different genres of literature, since nursery rhymes, fables and children's stories, in the far second place, were read to only 4.76% of participants each, while children's stories were the second most favourite choice for 13.09% of participants when they were in the position to start choosing for themselves. It is important to note that 81.36% of female and 68% of male participants reported being read to, while 66.1% of female and 38.89% of male participants claimed to have continued reading fairy tales on their own. Gender was also a significant factor in determining the reaction to fairy tales in general, with 90.31% of the females reporting a positive attitude, and only 3.23% having an entirely negative attitude; another 3.23% showed mixed feelings towards fairy tales, and 3.23% did not remember their experience. On the other hand, only 50% of the males claimed to feel positively about fairy tales, while 18.18% had a negative attitude, 13.64% supplied a mixed response, and 18.18% reported not remembering their reaction to fairy tales at all. Unfortunately, there were examples among both genders of people who were not read to at all during childhood – 8% of male population and 1.69% of female, some of whom indicated that instead of reading they were exposed only to watching cartoons and animated films. Furthermore, when asked what they liked reading, 3.39% of females stated they did not like reading at all, while as many as 22.22% of males claimed the same, preferring to watch cartoons and animated films instead.

Of the study population, 15.07% claimed that they still often read fairy tales for various reasons, 9.59% that they sometimes do, while as many as 41.09% said that they rarely do and 34.25% that they never do that any more. By contrast, fairy tale films and cartoons are still watched 'often' by 37.5% of the respondents, 'sometimes' by 22.22%, 'rarely' by 27.78%, and 'never' by 12.5% of those questioned. When asked if they think fairy tales were intended specifically for children, 73.68% answered that they were also suitable for adults, and only 26.32% believed that they belong exclusively to the children's domain. Taking into account the previously stated results, it is not surprising that the most influential medium through which fairy tale content was consumed is film, either live-action or animated, with more than a half of the respondents (55.56%) who stated so. Books were second in popularity with 33.33% of responses, followed by primary school readers with 4.17%, comics with 3.47%, picture books with 2.08%, and oral storytelling with only 1.39%. The best remembered collectors and writers of fairy tales were found to be Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm (49.1%), Hans Christian Andersen (30.36%), and Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (9.82%), while only 7.15% remembered Serbian writers of fairy tales, such as Grozdana Olujić and Desanka Maksimović. These results were confirmed in the second

usually acquire their reading skills after the age of seven, the age difference must also be taken into account, as the reading tastes change in time, as well.

phase of research, with only slight differences in percentages.³ In both phases, Walt Disney, the film producer, was mentioned as a collector/writer of fairy tales,⁴ which is not entirely surprising since there are many fairy tale collections available on the market that are published based on the contents of his animated films and that bear his name on their covers. In addition, the participants were asked to write the titles of the tales they remembered best from their childhood, which also yielded results that were remarkably similar in both phases of the research process, with the same tales appearing in top six places, only in different order (see table 1). The variants of the tales that the respondents were familiar with are given in table 2.

No.	Titles obtained in the 1st phase	%	Titles obtained in the 2nd phase	%
1	'Cinderella'	22.93	'Snow White'	25.62
2	'Snow White'	22.14	'Cinderella'	18.75
3	'Sleeping Beauty'/'Briar Rose'	18.97	'Little Red Riding Hood'	16.88
4	'Beauty and the Beast'	15.41	'Sleeping Beauty'/'Briar Rose'	14.99
5	'Little Red Riding Hood'	10.67	'Beauty and the Beast'	13.13
6	'Little Mermaid'	9.88	'Little Mermaid'	10.63

Table 1: Fairy tales in the order of popularity

	Disney	Grimm	Andersen	Beaumont	Perrault
'Cinderella'	89.02%	7.32%	-	-	3.66%
'Snow White'	86.75%	13.25%	-	-	-
'Beauty and the Beast'	92.75%	-	-	7.25%	-
'Little Red Riding Hood'	- ⁵	98.78%	-	-	1.22%
'Sleeping Beauty'/'Briar Rose'	45.57%	54.43%	-	-	0%
'Little Mermaid'	89.61%	-	10.39%	-	-

Table 2: The variants of the fairy tales known to the participants

³ Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm (56.32%), Hans Christian Andersen (31.03%), Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (4.6%), Grozdana Olujić (3.45%) and Desanka Maksimović (2.3%).

⁴ In the first phase, 3.57% of responses contained his name, while in the second phase, 2.3% of respondents mentioned him.

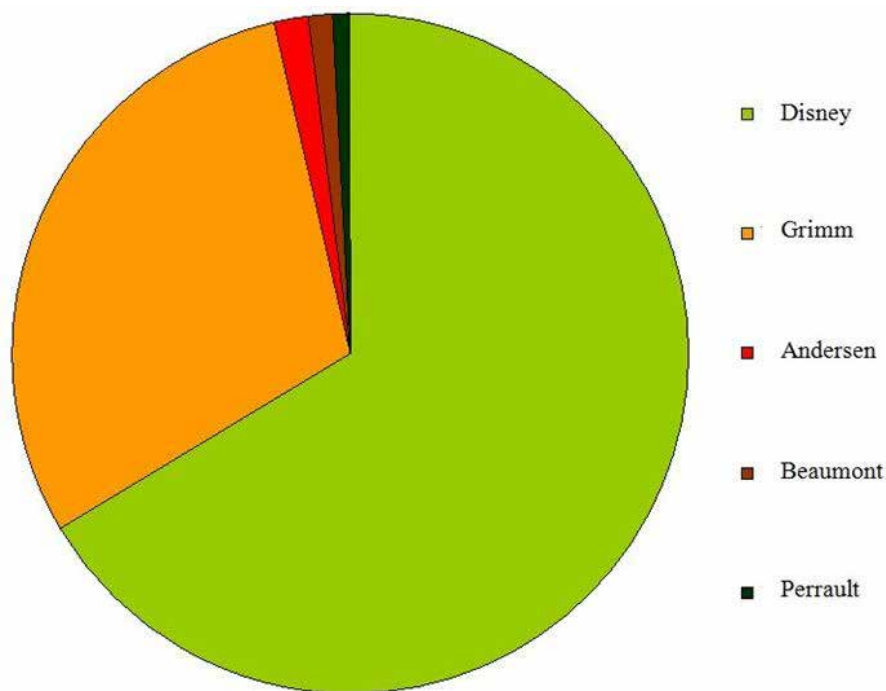
⁵ Disney's adaptations of 'Little Red Riding Hood' have been disregarded on two accounts: firstly, his 1922 early black-and-white animation, a part of the 'Laugh-O-Grams' series, which was considered to be lost for a long time, is fairly unknown to today's youth, and therefore not influential in terms of the formation of their cultural values, and secondly, the 1934 cartoon 'The Big Bad Wolf', a part of 'Silly Symphonies' series, is an amalgamation of 'Little Red Riding Hood' and 'The Three Little Pigs', and is, thus, not suitable for the analysis either.

6. Discussion

For the most part, the results obtained support the initial hypothesis that fairy tales do represent an integral part of early education, since they were found to be the main source of literature the majority of the respondents were introduced to at a very young age. In accordance with the expectations, gender played an important role in the amount of experience the participants had with fairy tales, as females were exposed to fairy tales to a greater degree, and a larger number of female participants reported continuing to read them later on. Female participants also showed a more positive attitude towards fairy tales, with many of the additional comments showing strong feelings and great enthusiasm, while male participants more often linked boredom with their experience. Among the few people who were either not exposed to reading at all in childhood, or did not have a favourable attitude towards reading themselves, males were represented in a much greater number, which contributes to viewing reading, especially reading of fairy tales, as a predominantly female activity. Contrary to expectations, though, it was found that fairy tales were not considered to belong to children's domain exclusively by most respondents, which indicates that they felt rather comfortable during questionnaire administration as they did not feel ashamed of their own 'childishness' and pressured to give a 'socially acceptable' answer in terms of their peer group's supposed attitude. Nevertheless, reading fairy tales was not an activity that a large number of the participants pursued into their adulthood, although a lot of them continued watching fairy tale films and cartoons, probably because this was the way fairy tale content was consumed by a majority of the informants in the first place. Significantly, if one is to judge from the responses obtained, the culture of oral storytelling to children seems to be in decline, to the degree that it is almost non-existent, and it is steadily being replaced by the impersonal reception of the content from the TV screen.

Taking this into account, it does not come as a great surprise that Walt Disney's name was included among those of fairy tale collectors and writers, since "film had a powerful impact on the oral and print tradition of fairy tales and . . . the Disney fairy-tale as commodified film and book rose to predominance in the twentieth century" (Zipes 2011: 22). The overwhelming influence of the Western culture is also evident in the choice of other names remembered, since the Grimm brothers, as German editors and collectors of folk tales, and Hans Christian Andersen, as a Danish writer of literary fairy tales, accounted for approximately four fifths of answers, with the most notable Serbian collector of folk tales lagging far behind. By comparison, Serbian writers of literary fairy tales turned out to be barely remembered, which all together speaks loudly of the rather insignificant influence that domestic fairy tales might have in the formation of the participant's system of values. Accordingly, the best remembered tales were those that can be found within

the collections of the Grimm brothers, but also in those by Hans Christian Andersen, Jeanne-Marie Le Prince de Beaumont, and Charles Perrault. Nevertheless, the most striking result to emerge from the data is that, although the tales were known to a number of the participants from these ‘original’ sources, a great majority of them came into contact with the tales through the medium of Disney’s films. Therefore, although this is a small scale study, the results obtained can be generalized to a certain extent in order to conclude that the messages embedded in the Disney variants, followed by the Grimms’ variants, have the greatest chance of imprinting themselves upon young minds.



7. Recurring patterns in the tales

The individual variants of the tales singled out as the most popular and best known which have been in the focus of the analysis are the following: Walt Disney’s *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), *Cinderella* (1950), *Sleeping Beauty* (1959), *The Little Mermaid* (1989), *Beauty and the Beast* (1991), and Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm’s ‘*Briar Rose*’ (1857) and ‘*Little Red Riding Hood*’ (1857). The analysis of these variants confirms the hypothesis that “there are certain fairy-tale

patterns, motifs, and models which constantly arise . . . [and] which appear to have been preserved because they reinforce male hegemony in the civilisation process” (Zipes 1986: 9). These patterns have been found to be the most prominent in the domain of personal characteristics of characters and their personal relationships.

Personal characteristics. The single most striking observation to emerge from the data comparison was that the tales best remembered by both male and female participants were those that featured female protagonists, which could be ascribed to the presumption that fairy tales are seen as belonging to the female domain. Except Little Red Riding Hood, who is most often perceived and represented as prepubescent nowadays,⁶ the heroines are all teenage girls, and the emphasis is put on their emerging sexuality, and even in the case of Little Red Riding Hood, the implication of a sexual threat by the wolf cannot be disregarded, and some authors argue that this tale is about women and rape actually (Brownmiller 2008; Zipes 1993). The accompanying male partners of protagonists are of a similar age, slightly older than the heroines,⁷ presented as either well socialised human beings or uncivilised beastly figures. As can be seen from table 3, the characterization of female and male characters is based on the principle of binary oppositions. Males are represented as the embodiment of power and activity, while the descriptions of females are geared towards fostering helplessness and dependency on the dominant patriarch, be it the parent or the marital partner. The characteristics in the table have been sorted into the categories of ‘desirable’ and ‘undesirable’ based on the final outcome of the tale, in terms of how the protagonists fared in life. Thus, for example, physical beauty is the main factor contributing to a woman’s ‘success’ in life, i.e. obtaining a husband, and is presented as by far the most important asset of a woman, while high social ranking is seen as the most important characteristic in a man, providing him with abundant choices in the course of life and rewarding him with a final happy ending.

⁶ This is not the case in all variants of the tale. In Disney’s 1922 version, Little Red Riding Hood is represented as a young woman, who eventually kisses her saviour and flies away with him in his plane, while the wolf is represented as an adult man, openly pointing to his sexual intentions. This is by no means a unique interpretation of the tale, since, for example, Perrault’s collection offers the following moral after the tale: “From this story one learns that children, especially young lasses, pretty, courteous and well-bred, do very wrong to listen to strangers, and it is not an unheard thing if the Wolf is thereby provided with his dinner,” adding that among the ‘wolves’ “there is one kind with an amenable disposition, neither noisy, nor hateful, nor angry, but tame, obliging and gentle, following the young maids in the streets, even into their homes” (Perrault, 2004: 69).

⁷ The only male whose age is precisely stated is the Beast – at the time when the narrative takes place, he is about to turn 21.

FEMALE CHARACTERISTICS		MALE CHARACTERISTICS	
Desirable	Undesirable	Desirable	Undesirable
Physical beauty (small waist, small feet, disproportion- ately big eyes, richly dressed)	Intelligence	High social status	Unkindness
Gracefulness	Curiosity	Physical beauty (tall, dark hair, broad shoulders, muscular legs, richly dressed)	Overt animalistic nature
Kindness	Talkativeness	Self-assuredness	Uncontrollable temper
Shyness	Rebelliousness	Selfishness	
Humility	Being in power	Being in power	
Docility	Being the initiator of actions	Being a protector	
Being defenceless	Inflicting violence (physical and psychological)	Rebelliousness	
Willingness to give up on one's own way of life to be with a lover		Being the initiator of actions	
Enduring violence (physical and psychological) silently		Inflicting violence (physical and psychological)	
		Fighting violence (physical and psychological) actively	

Table 3: Personal characteristics of the protagonists according to gender

Personal relationships. Taking into account the patriarchal overtones of the tales under analysis, it is not surprising that male-female relationships are the main focus of the tales. Love relationships between women and men are presented as being of crucial importance, while platonic friendship between the two sexes appears only in *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, and even here, only because the parties involved do not belong to the same social class, nor do they share equally idealised physical features. Love is invariably presented as based on appearances only, as partners rarely exchange any words before falling in love or even getting married, with the exception of *Beauty and the Beast*, where the abusive male keeps the female captive in order to free himself from a curse, forcing her to get to know him in the course of time spent together. On the other hand, when they do appear, female-female relationships are, more often than not, saturated with envy, jealousy, rivalry and viciousness; here, again, the focus is on beauty and the 'acquisition' of a man. Except for the good fairy godmothers who are unreal creatures in their

own right, which discredits the benevolent relationship as applicable to real life, “these tales offer readers no imaginable female ally” (Fisher & Silber 2000: 130). Even when supportive relationships do exist in the original tales, their importance is underplayed, as in the example of *The Little Mermaid*, where the important figure of grandmother of Andersen’s tale is completely erased from the Disney variant, while the role of loving sisters is minimised to the extent that they become mere background characters. Mothers are absent from the plots entirely, except when mentioned as instruments of giving birth, in ‘Briar Rose’, for example, or providers of food and moral instruction in ‘Little Red Riding Hood’ – “indeed, the ‘triumphant’ exclusion of adult female characters in the final narrative frame signifies a ‘happy’ return to male dominion” (130). By contrast, fathers are given much more prominence, with the role of protector emphasised, even if it is an unsuccessful one, as in *Beauty and the Beast*, or if the protector is only a father figure, like the hunter in ‘Little Red Riding Hood’.

8. Pedagogical implications

These observations have several implications for practice, and in working with children, either as a teacher or as a parent, one ought to bear in mind how gender identities are formed, and how the fairy tales analysed influence this process by emphasising “the negative side of femininity for girls (fragility, timidity, obsession with appearance and with domesticity), and the negative side of masculinity for boys (aggression, insensitivity, rudeness, and a refusal to be helpful)” (Davies 2003: xi). Based on the findings, it can be concluded that the tales promote such values in terms of personal characteristics which, if internalised uncritically, can contribute to forming a female personality that is exceptionally well conformed to a patriarchal society, and a male one which is oppressive and domineering in relation to women. Since the same stories can be a part of the early experience of both males and females, their content can also have a negative impact on children’s perception of the opposite sex, as well as the relationships in children’s lives and the expectations they might have from these relationships.

One important aspect of these tales, which is for the most part overlooked, is their attitude to enduring and inflicting violence, whether physical or psychological. Tales like *Cinderella*, where the protagonists are rewarded by a ‘happy end’ for enduring both physical and psychological violence silently, while the perpetrators even go unpunished in the most popular version, can affect children of both genders in terms of their attitude towards various forms of abuse and bullying which is “a common and persistent problem in society, particularly in schools” (Sanders 2004: 12). In fact, of the six tales analysed, only *The Little Mermaid* features a protagonist

who stands up for herself in the face of violence;⁸ in the rest of the tale variants, if salvation does come, it comes as a product of circumstances and not the characters' own actions. These heroines share some of the typical characteristics of the victims of bullying in real life: they are mostly submissive, they "believe others are more capable of handling various situations," feel that "external factors have more of an impact on them than internal control" and "believe that they cannot control their environment," or they "have difficulty relating to peers" (18), as Belle in *Beauty and the Beast* does. Although the pattern is not the same in terms of gender and victimization, with two thirds of female victims being abused by a female agent and only one third by male in the tales, while in real life situations in schools the case is opposite, with 60% of female victims being bullied by males (Olweus 1991), what children of both sexes can learn from the tales is a problematic lesson, and one which provides negative models of behaviour for both the victims and bullies themselves.

Female intelligence is a rather problematic category in its own right. It is overtly made an issue of only in the most recently created of the films, *Beauty and the Beast* (1991), and even here it is presented in a relatively controversial way. Belle is intelligent and she likes reading, but this fact is so overemphasised that it almost ceases to be a positive characteristic and becomes a form of critique. She reads so much that she fails to socialise with the people in her surroundings, and is therefore considered strange by them and is "never part of any crowd – 'cause her head's up on some cloud" (*Beauty and the Beast* 1991: line 49). The underlying message, repeated on multiple occasions throughout the film, is that "it's a pity and a sin she doesn't quite fit in" (line 115), encouraging conformism on the part of the audience. Probably intended as a critique of the patriarchal view that "it's not right for a woman to read [because] / soon she starts getting ideas and thinking" (lines 127, 128), coming from the mouth of Gaston, the antagonist, who is characterised by Belle as "boorish, brainless" and "positively primeval" (lines 175, 129), this statement still remains openly expressed and heard by the audience, and when one takes into account how Belle's life develops, the critique is eventually blurred in the course of the film. She does get a prince in the end, albeit an abusive one, but she becomes even more socially isolated in the castle than when living in the community of the town, surrounded only by books and talking furniture, which eventually gets transformed into servants. The message of her almost feminist rejection of Gaston's advances, which finishes with her statement that she wants "much more than this provincial life, . . . adventure in the great wide somewhere, . . . so much more than they've got planned" (lines 281, 282, 286), is seriously compromised by the way her life is settled in the end.

⁸ Ariel jumps on the witch Ursula in self defence, before she is eventually saved by Prince Eric.

9. Concluding recommendations

It is a rather discouraging fact that such messages have been and are still being promoted in order to be internalised by women and girls, but also about women by men and boys, in modern society which ought to promote values which are more in line with the ideals of gender equality. However, “there are many aspects of fairy tales that are unfamiliar to those who have the misfortune to acquaint themselves only with the popular, abridged collections” and a majority of the fairy tale films created by the Walt Disney company (Prošić-Santovac 2010: 338). Nowadays, when feminist fairy tales and collections do exist in certain numbers, although not as widely distributed nor as well known as classical collections, it is sad to acknowledge the fact that there is not a single collection translated and available on the Serbian market,⁹ and that children are still regularly being ‘fed’ the same ‘diet’ of fairy tales as generations before them, without stopping to think what these tales actually teach them about people and relationships between them. Based on the findings in this study, it is safe to conclude that the tales analysed in the paper owe their everlasting popularity to the ‘culture industry’, as they are readily available for consumption in various forms, and the caregivers supply children with them by default simply because of their availability. Once the books and DVDs are already present in homes, schools and libraries, inertia continues, and many children themselves opt for consuming what they can easily find in their immediate surroundings.

The present findings suggest several courses of action in order to solve this problem, based on the premise that “children should be free to explore the full range of positionings currently available within our narrative and interactive structures . . . and to find ways of thinking about and describing their own and other’s behaviour independently of what we currently think of as ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’” (Davies 2003: 138). Therefore, in order to be able to gain insight into various points of view, children should also be acquainted with the tales of a different kind early on in their lives. Apart from the new feminist tales, such as Jay Williams’s ‘The Practical Princess’ (1969) which puts emphasis on the importance of common sense in a woman’s life, one can also find stories in the older collections from the nineteenth century, such as the two collections by Joseph Jacobs, *English Fairy Tales* (1890) and *More English Fairy Tales* (1894), where the tales ‘Kate Crack-

⁹ Individual tales which exist in Serbian translation, to the best of the author’s knowledge, only *The Paper Bag Princess* (1980), by Robert Munch, and the picture books based on Disney/Pixar’s *Brave* (2012), which was not yet released at the time the research took place. Also, there is a collection originally written in Serbian (*Ko se boji vuka još? Moćne priče za odvažne i radoznale* (2012)) by Aleksandra Izgarjan and Ivana Milojević, which features some tales with a feminist slant. On the other hand, the traditional Serbian tales which, for the most part, promote a patriarchal worldview, get reprinted or re-edited much more often (e.g. *Srpske narodne bajke za decu 21. veka* (2012)).

ernuts' and 'Molly Whuppee' both feature strong heroines who save other people, female as well as male. Similar tales, though not tales of magic proper, also exist among the stories collected by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, as for example 'The Girl Who Outwitted the Emperor' (1853) where the focus of the plot is on female intelligence, but with an entirely positive attitude towards it. However, this is not to say that children in the modern age should only encounter tales with strong and witty heroines; rather, the caregivers should strive for balance and provide an equal amount of tales with strong and witty heroes, as well as those that develop around the lives of sensitive and less active characters, both male and female, so that every child can have the opportunity to identify her/himself with a protagonist, without feeling left out or inadequate. In addition, subversive animated films, like *Brave* (2012) and *Frozen* (2013) by Disney/Pixar or "the Shrek films by DreamWorks, seem to have more power in combating the worldview as promoted by the [more old-fashioned] Disney films, since wider circulation, as well as the subtlety of their 'disruptiveness' ensures that they are not rejected by the general public" (Prošić-Santovac 2011: 106-7).

As for the specific tales analysed in this paper, rather than completely eliminating them from children's reading and viewing lists, which would probably not be a feasible feat in the long run even if it were desirable, it is the argument of this paper that critical thinking skills ought to be encouraged in children and applied to the content of the tales in order to raise awareness of the issues present in them. Teaching children to analyse the worldview promoted "puts [them] into a superior position in relation to texts, thus empowering them to challenge their subliminal messages, which may otherwise become imperceptibly internalized" (107). Discussing the times when the tales were written or filmed, as well as the mentality, life circumstances and worldview of the people who produced them can contribute to a great extent to setting these tales into the past times in children's minds, as opposed to the illusion of timelessness that is often nurtured in connection with fairy tales by educators and caregivers. When children come to understand that there is nothing universal about fairy tales, and that they "only ever express conditions, attitudes, and values pertaining at specific socio-cultural moments, and whenever collectors or rewriters turn folk tales into literary fairy tales, or invent new literary fairy tales, they express the social and moral assumptions of their own time and culture" (McCallum & Stephens 2002: 161), they will find it easier to challenge the prescribed gender roles in the tales or any other pedagogical message that would put them in a disadvantaged position if internalised uncritically. However, an essential prerequisite for this is that the significant adults in children's lives are eager to be educated in the vein of such thinking in order to be able to transfer their skills of interpretation onto the young generations, "since, if they belong to the dominant group, they might not be willing to abandon what they feel to be a position of power"

(Prošić-Santovac 2011: 106), and they may actually favour the sexist worldview of the tales if it is in accordance with their own outlook on life.

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ULOGA BAJKI TOKOM PROCESA SOCIJALIZACIJE U DETINJSTVU

Rezime

Zbog svoje popularnosti, bajke se često koriste u obrazovanju dece, kako kod kuće tako i u predškolskoj ustanovi i osnovnoj školi, često u sklopu časova maternjeg ili stranih jezika. Međutim, one se obično uzimaju zdravo za gotovo, i nije čest slučaj da se poruke koje one nose uzimaju u razmatranje od strane staratelja. Stoga je cilj ovog istraživanja bio da se utvrdi koliko često se bajke čitaju tokom detinjstva, kao i koje varijante bajki su najčešće korišćene. Bajke su nadalje analizirane kako bi se otkrilo šta im je zajedničko i ispitalo koje vrednosti su inkorporirane u njihov sadržaj. Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da su bajke, zaista, jedan od najpopularnijih žanrova književnosti u ranom detinjstvu, kao i da postoji grupa najpopularnijih bajki, koje su, u velikoj meri, usklađene sa patrijarhalnim sistemom vrednosti.

Ključne reči: bajke, pedagoške poruke, predškolsko obrazovanje, osnovnoškolsko obrazovanje, vrednosti

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PREDLOG PRISTUPA ISTRAŽIVANJU POLITIČKIH I IDEOLOŠKIH ASPEKATA U PREVODIMA I PONOVLJENIM PREVODIMA KLASIKA ENGLJSKE KNJIŽEVNOSTI NA SRPSKI JEZIK

Književno prevođenje u okviru književnog sistema i kulture ciljnog jezika ima višestruki značaj koji je potrebno ustanoviti sistemskim istraživanjem i pristupom koji obuhvata političke i ideološke aspekte prevođenja u širem društvenom i istorijskom kontekstu. Ovaj rad nudi pregled teorijskog pristupa istraživanjima vezanim za književno prevođenje kroz paradigmu sistemskih prevodilačkih sudija i dekonstrukcije, koji može biti primenjen u istraživanju mesta i značaja prevoda i ponovljenih prevoda klasika engleske književnosti na srpski jezik, ponajpre dramskih i proznih tekstova. U prvom redu neophodno je istaći pojam norme kao parametar koji je u neposrednoj vezi sa kontekstom u kome se odvija prevođenje, a potom i različite aspekte odnosa moći koji u datom istorijskom kontekstu regulišu, kako nastajanje norme, tako i ulogu, delovanje i status prevodioca.

Ključne reči: deskriptivne prevodilačke studije, norma, ekvivalencija, teorija sistema, književno prevođenje

1. Uvod

Studije strane filologije, po svojoj prirodi jesu mesto susretanja niza sistemskih društvenih modela u kojima se odražavaju odnosi različitih entiteta, gde su u prvom planu oni opšti modeli – apstraktno shvaćen jezik kao živi “organizam” i njegove materijalizacije kroz jezike kao predmete studija, najčešće opisivane kao prvi, drugi (treći ili neki naredni) ili kao maternji i strani. Ti modeli u velikoj meri čine odraz hijerarhije koja je po mnogo čemu posebna i promenljiva, pa čak i potencijalno nestabilna, uslovljena faktorima koje je ponekad veoma teško predvideti. Retrospektivnom sagledavanju promena u postupcima i procesima stvaranja modela unutar

šire koncipiranih sistema jezika i posledično, unutar književnog sistema, pa i unutar kulturnih modela, može se pristupiti sa mnogo strana. Ovaj rad će se pozabaviti ulogom prevodilačkih studija u tom procesu, (inter)discipline koja svojim najvećim delom pripada oblasti strane filologije, iako se smatra relativno novom i obuhvata i elemente društvenih nauka, naročito sociologije, istorije i medijskih studija.

Prevod, i kao proces, i kao produkt, obeležava mesto susreta bar dve složene mreže sačinjene od niza manjih jedinica ili modela – jezika, književnosti, kulture, privrede, trgovine, ideologije, filozofije, politike – i teza je ovog rada da se upravo analizom produkcije prevoda mogu najjasnije uočiti ključna pomeranja u hijerarhijskim odnosima koji prate nastajanje prevoda ili mu prethode. Sa druge strane, na mikro-planu, odnosi „velikog“ jezika, u našem slučaju engleskog, i „malog“ jezika, srpskog ili srpsko-hrvatskog, sagledani kroz istoriju književnih prevoda, ukazuju na veoma značajan fenomen – ponovljeni prevod (retranslation) – koji je signal promena i pomeranja unutar književnog, jezičkog, političkog ili ideološkog sistema ciljne kulture, s obzirom na to da su razlozi za pojavljivanje ponovljenih prevoda i uslovi za njihovo nastajanje po pravilu refleksija ne toliko odnosa ciljne kulture i kulture izvornika, koliko posledica hijerarhijskih potresa unutar makrosistema ciljne kulture. Prvi uslov za ovakav pristup analizi jeste da prihvatimo status modela mreže/sistema, ali i da mu pristupimo kao konstrukt, ne kao entitetu za sebe.

Ovaj je rad uvod u istraživanje u kome nam je namera da na osnovu podataka dostupnih u bibliotečkim bazama, ustanovimo jedan mogući istraživački model za sistemski pristup fenomenu književnog prevoda u srpskoj književnosti i kulturi. U prvom redu, smatramo da takvo istraživanje s jedne strane zahteva razmatranje postupka izbora i uzajamnog statusa tekst(ov)a koji u procesu prevođenja prouzrokuju interakciju činilaca u okviru sistema, dok s druge strane istraživanje treba da bude posvećeno ulozi prevodioca u tom sistemu i složenom kontekstu kroz sagledavanje procesa prevođenja iz perspektiva koje nisu neposredno vezane za nastanak prevoda. Prostor u kome se proces prevođenja odvija obuhvata ciljnu kulturu, pojam norme, kao i složene društvene odnose i prevagu određenih faktora nad drugima u kontekstu odnosa moći, tj. političke i ideološke aspekte koji prate prevodnu književnost.

Pojavljivanje prevoda i ponovljenih prevoda dela engleske književnosti na srpski, odnosno hrvatski, odnosno srpsko-hrvatski jezik u periodu od 1850. do 1952. godine, metodologijom istraživanja istorije prevoda (Pym 1998) možemo pratiti u elektronskim bibliotečkim bazama i tako zaključiti o širem društvenom i kulturnom značaju tih prevoda u vreme kada su nastajali prvi prevodi ili u vreme kada se objavljuju ponovljeni prevodi. O kontekstu možemo suditi na osnovu dostupnog parateksta i metateksta, te zaključiti kakva je uloga tih prevoda u ciljnoj kulturi i književnosti u okviru ovde izloženog teorijskog pristupa.

Odgovaranjem na pitanja o tome ko prevodi, a ko ponovo prevodi, šta je to što se objavljuje u prevodu i za čiji račun, očekujemo da će biti potvrđena glavna

hipoteza ovog istraživanja, a to je da kao što na to upućuje teorija polisitema u opštem smislu, pojavljivanje prevoda velikih dela „velikih“ književnosti, odnosno „klasika“, odražava periode krize u ciljnoj kulturi/književnosti ili drušvu uopšte, kao i na to da se u tim kriznim momentima prevod kao produkt nalazi u žarištu zbivanja u ciljnoj kulturi, bez obzira na to kakav status taj tekst u to vreme ima u svojoj izvornoj kulturi. Sa druge strane, fenomen ponovljenog prevoda velikih dela „velikih“ književnosti, pogotovo pojavljivanje više verzija prevoda istog dela u isto vreme, predstavlja ne samo vraćanje samog teksta u žarište, već se reflektuje i na ličnost i delo prevodioca kao aktivnog činioca u postupku stvaranja i pomeranja nacionalnog književnog modela. Bilo da se ponovljeni prevod pojavljuje posle kraćeg ili dužeg perioda, očekujemo da će se ti prevodi javljati uz burne promene – bilo u jeziku, bilo one koje prate pomeranja tek ustanovljenog književnog kanona – naročito u periodima političke i ideološke nestabilnosti u društvenom makrosistemu ciljne kulture. S druge strane, periodi u kojima se jedni isti prevodi javljaju kao preštampane verzije, svedoče o okončanju krize, ponovnom uspostavljanju hijerarhije kojom se prevod potiskuje na margine ciljne kulture, dakle, svedoče o periodima očuvanja modela, odnosno „odupiranja“ promenama u književnom i kulturnom sistemu ciljne kulture.

Ideološki i politički aspekti prevođenja predstavljaju primarne faktore u procesu nastajanja prevoda i ponovljenog prevoda književnog dela i neposredno su povezani sa ustanovljenjem normi i njihovom primenom, te su stoga i ključni elementi u definisanju prevodilačke strategije.

Predloženi pristup istraživanju tih aspekata prevođenja obuhvata deskriptivne prevodilačke studije (Descriptive Translation Studies, DTS), uticaj postmodernizma i poststrukturalizma na DTS i razmatranja koncepcije i definicije prevoda kao predmeta proučavanja, iz čega sledi definisanje pojma norme u kontekstu prevodilačkih studija, razmatranje mogućnosti za ustanovljavanje sistemskog pristupa, te delovanje odnosa moći u tom sistemu i razmatranje uloge prevodioca kao aktivnog činioca u procesu prevođenja.

2. Kako prepoznati prevod

Način na koji definišemo predmet proučavanja nedvosmisleno jeste polazna tačka za svaku analizu. Stoga, iako se može učiniti suvišnim – razmotrimo karakteristike koje jedan tekst kvalifikuju kao **prevod**. Tradicionalne definicije, gotovo bez razlike, prevod definišu koristeći se pojmovima kao što su prenošenje i ekvivalencija. Prevod u tradicionalnom smislu, podrazumeva dva jezika i zamenu iskaza na jednom jeziku formalno ili semantički ekvivalentnim iskazom na drugom jeziku (Up. Hermans 1999: 47). Takva definicija, koliko god da je opšteprihvaćena, po

Hermansu u sebi sadrži dve varijable – kako shvatamo ekvivalenciju i kako se to shvatanje odražava na definiciju prevoda? (Up. Hermans 1999:47).

Metafore kojima se opisuje prevod vrlo često sadrže ideju „tačnosti“ ili „ispravnosti“, bilo da se na prevod gleda kao na „građenje mostova“, „transplantaciju“, „izradu portreta“, „prenošenje duha“ (Hermans 1999:95). Sa druge strane, domišljata i prečesto korišćena ideja o lepoti i vernosti datira još iz 17. veka i do danas u različitim kontekstima biva iznova različito tumačena. Većina metafora je vezana ili za proces prevođenja ili za sam tekst. Međutim ima i onih koje su usmerene ka ličnosti prevodioca. Prevodilac se ponekad posmatra kao aktivni učesnik u postupku razgradnje „umetnikove građevine“ (teksta), on je potom glavni akter koji stavlja delove te konstrukcije na lađu i prevozi celokupnu građu na neke tuđe obale, na kojima je ponovo potrebno sagraditi neku vrstu „građevine“ (Up. Živojinović 1927:85). U svakoj od ovih metafora možemo detektovati određenu vrstu problema u definiciji, ideološki i kulturno uslovljene vrednosti koje su u datom trenutku ideje vodiye u postupku prevođenja. Ova poslednja metafora je možda i najzanimljivija pošto u analogiji postupaka možemo detektovati kako potrebu za naglašavanjem ekvivalencije, tako u tumačenju te metafore možemo nazreti i nagoveštaj proto-funkcionalnog pristupa. S druge strane, u podtekstu samog članka posvećenog prevođenju (Živojinović 1927.) nailazimo na niz neposrednih svedočanstava o normativnom aparatu koji upravlja kako odabirom teksta za prevod, tako i koncepcijom prevoda i njegovom recepcijom u ciljnoj kulturi, pa i odnosom prevodioca i kritike.

Dakle, već u razmatranju onoga što čini prevod prevodom, nailazimo na umrežene strukture mnoštva elemenata koji pokazuju različite oblike međuzavisnosti, od kojih je pojam **ekvivalencije** možda i najznačajniji kao polazište. S obzirom na to da je prevod jednosmeran, proizvedeni tekstovi ne podrazumevaju apsolutnu ekvivalenciju u matematičkom smislu. Empirijski se može potvrditi i to saznanje pripada domenu opšteprihvaćene činjenice, da obrnuti prevod (sa ciljnog jezika na jezik izvornika) ne daje tekst identičan polaznom tekstu, i stoga je jasno da proces prevođenja uspostavlja odnose između „svetova koji su u lingvističkom i kulturnološkom pogledu asimetrični“ (Hermans 1999:48). Kako u tom slučaju utvrditi minimalne uslove koje tekst treba da ispunjava da bi se kvalifikovao kao prevod? Diskusije se uglavnom završavaju bez rezultata s obzirom na to da se sve do 1960ih godina rasprave o prevođenju ograničavaju na preskriptivne pristupe čiji je primarni cilj unapređenje prevodilačke prakse, no rasprave obiluju slabo definisanim pojmovima kao što su „atmosfera“ ili „duh“ (bilo dela, bilo jezika) čije se „prenošenje“ neposredno vezuje za „talenat“ prevodioca, ili češće, za njegovo odsustvo (Up. Simić 1963).

Međutim, definisanjem postulata deskriptivnih prevodilačkih studija, Gideon Turi (Toury 1981) sagledava ovaj problem iz nešto drugačije perspektive, koja isto-

vremeno i jasno ukazuje na potrebu da se problemu pristupi sistemski. Turi kaže da u svrhu deskriptivnog proučavanja književnog prevoda u pripadajućem kontekstu nije najvažnije zapitati se da li određeni tekst *jeste* prevod (prema nekom spoljašnjem kriterijumu), već da li se određeni tekst **smatra** prevodom unutar ciljnog književnog polistema (Up. Tournay 1980:43 citirano u Hermans 1999:49).

Ako se tekst smatra prevodom, iz te pretpostavke automatski sledi da postoji tekst izvornika, da je u procesu izvođenja teksta prevoda došlo do određene vrste „prenošenja“ i da između ova dva teksta postoji određeni odnos (Hermans 1999: 50). U ovom kontekstu, Turi uvodi pojam norme koji je centralni pojam deskriptivnih prevodilačkih studija i koji prevod definiše kao niz odluka koje donosi prevodilac u svom radu, a koje nisu arbitrarne, već su uslovljene određenim konvencijama, odnosno normama. Stoga je i ekvivalencija (vrsta ekvivalencije, njen stepen) posledica odluka koje donosi prevodilac vođen normama. Ako prihvatimo ovaj Turijev postulat, tumačenje i analiza prevođenja kao procesa i prevoda kao produkta u ovom kontekstu neminovno zahteva ustanovljavanje sistema. Međutim, ekvivalencija i dalje ostaje problematično mesto, pogotovo kada na scenu stupi poststrukturalistički pristup prevodilačkim studijama.

Dekonstrukcija, kao jedna od „grana“ čiji je koren strukturalizam, primenjena na prevodilačke studije, u definisanju onoga što *jeste* prevod u prvi plan stavlja ideju ponavljanja i razlike. *Différance* je prisutna u svakom ponavljanju, pa tako prevodi nisu kopije identične originalu. „Prevod nije **isti** tekst kao tekst originala, ali nije ni **drugačiji** tekst¹⁰“ (Koskinen 1994). Isto tako moramo primetiti da tekst ponovljenog prevoda (kojem je primarna karakteristika to što predstavlja ponavljanje na dva nivoa) još više naglašava *différance*. Prevod je čin kojim se poništava binarni par isto/različito iz čega je sasvim jasno da u ovom kontekstu ideja ekvivalencije u potpunosti gubi sva svoja obeležja. Često se ističe da je Derida prevod smatrao nemogućim zadatkom. Koskinen (1994) naglašava da je ta tvrdnja samo delimično tačna i da se odnosi na tradicionalne definicije prevoda. Pomeranjem težišta sa fiksiranog značenja teksta uopšte (u ovom tumačenju teksta originala), sa neprikosnovenog autoriteta tvorca originalnog teksta i shvatanje prevoda kao „verne reprodukcije“ nepromenljivog originala prestaje da bude održivo. Koskinen ističe da je Derida smatrao da je prevod „transformacija“ teksta što je otvorilo vrata za razvijanje brojnih teorijskih koncepcija koje prevod posmatraju kroz koncepciju tekstualnosti. Za utvrđivanje statusa teksta kao prevoda, tj. kao predmeta istraživanja, kao i za novi ugao gledanja na hijerarhijske odnose u procesu prevođenja poslužićemo se Deridinim slikovitim opisom koji daje Koskinen (1994): odnos teksta originala i teksta prevoda, Derida metaforički objašnjava kao „ugovorni odnos“. Tekst prevoda svoje postojanje duguje tekstu originala, ali isto tako status

¹⁰ Naglašava autorka.

originala izvorni tekst stiće tek kada postoje njegovi prevodi (Up. Koskinen 1994). Ta vrsta „ugovora“ uključuje i složeni kontekst koji prati dva teksta – kulturološki, jezički, politički i svakako ideološki. Priroda odnosa dva teksta/jezika definisana je dinamičnim vrednostima koji se u ovom predloženom pristupu mogu razmatrati kao razvijeni oblik norme.

3. Prevodilačke studije kao sistem

Sami počeci stvaranja paradigme prevodilačkih studija upućuju na prožimanje lingvistike i nauke o književnosti, što je naročito vidljivo u delima Jižija Levija(-Levy), Džejmsa Holmsa, Antona Popovića i Františka Mika koji su pod uticajem praške škole i ruskog formalizma razvili jednu od prvih paradigmi kojom se sistematizuje proučavanje prevoda, i koju će kasnije prihvatiti i razvijati Itamar Even-Zohar, Gideon Turi, Andre Lefevere (Lefevere), Teo Hermans i brojni drugi naučnici.

U članku iz 1985. godine, Hermans definiše osnovne poveznice koje su zajedničke za „škole“ prevodilačkih studija razvijene u Levenu, Tel Avivu i Antverpenu koje čine jezgro deskriptivnih prevodilačkih studija

Ono što im je zajedničko, ukratko, jeste sagledavanje književnosti kao složenog dinamičnog sistema; ubeđenje da je neophodno uspostaviti konstruktivni dijalog teorijskih modela i studija slučaja iz prakse; pristup književnom prevodu koji je deskriptivni, empirijski, funkcionalan i sistemski; istraživanje normi i ograničenja koja upravljaju stvaranjem prevoda i njegovom recepcijom; istraživanje odnosa prevoda i tekstova nastalih drugačijim postupcima; utvrđivanje mesta i uloge prevoda u ciljnoj književnosti, kao i istraživanje međusobnog odnosa dveju književnosti (Hermans 1985: 10-11).

Osnovna orijentacija prevodilačkih studija u njihovom pristupu je definisana kao **deskriptivna, empirijska i usmerena ka ciljnom jeziku i kulturi (target-oriented)**. Sintagma deskriptivne prevodilačke studije, kako kaže Hermans (1999) kazuje o pristupu proučavanju prevoda sa karakterističnog stanovišta. Deskriptivne prevodilačke studije primarno se bave prevodom kao društvenim fenomenom i kao elementom kulturne istorije, okolnostima u kojima on nastaje, sada ili u prošlosti (Up. Hermans 1999:7). Istovremeno, nije nužno da zaključci do kojih bi se ovim pristupom moglo doći budu direktno unapređivanje prevodilačke prakse, kritike ili obuke prevodilaca. Empirijske su, jer se fokusiraju na one aspekte vezane za prevođenje koje je moguće sagledati ili posmatrati, a pošto je polazna tačka

istraživanja za DTS sam prevod i ono što ga okružuje, a ne izvorni tekst, smatraju se usmerenim na ciljni jezik i kulturu (target-oriented).

Ovaj model proučavanja prevodne književnosti ni u kom slučaju nije i jedini – studije kulture i postkolonijalna teorija kao i uspon rodnih studija uslovili su razvijanje mnoštva drugih modela unutar kojih jednako uspešno sagledavamo književni prevod u drugačijem kontekstu.

Sa druge strane, Kajsa Koskinen (1994) ističe uticaj dekonstrukcije i post-strukturalističke teorije na prevodilačke studije najpre kroz pomeranje shvatanja o značenju iskaza i o metodama za njegovo ustanovljavanje, što „ekvivalenciju“ pomera još jedan korak dalje, a potom kroz urušavanje ustanovljenih parova suprotstavljenih vrednosti: bukvalni prevod/slobodni prevod, teorija/praksa, izvorni tekst/tekst prevoda (Koskinen 1994) sa ciljem da se fokus istraživanja pomeri sa fiksirane (pretpostavljene primarne) vrednosti izvornog teksta i autoriteta njegovog autora. Koskinen napominje da je neophodno razotkrivanje „opšteprihvaćenih“ i „podrazumevanih“ stavova o prevodenju. Ona ističe da dekonstrukcija, i ako se shvati kao reakcija na strukturalizam, dalje razvija i transformiše sistem koji je strukturalizam ustanovio i jeste jedan od efikasnih načina da se naglasi da se radi o veoma složenom sistemu međuzavisnosti i istakne činjenica da ti stavovi zapravo nisu odraz neke objektivne, nepromenljive i svima prepoznatljive i jasne stvarnosti, već da su posledica ideološki utemeljenih sudova i procena. Ovaj aspekt dekonstrukcije primenjen na prevodilačke studije razvio je niz pristupa fokusiranih na identitet nastao kao rezultat diskursa moći – u prvom redu feministički i postkolonijalni – koji preispituju uticaj kulturnih i političkih hegemonija i ulogu prevoda u globalnom nadmetanju kultura (Prunč 2007: 42)

U ovom kontekstu u kome je naglasak na istoriji prevoda, na njenoj interkulturnoj i komunikacijskoj funkciji, na implikacijama koje prevodenje ima u okvirima ciljne kulture, nalazimo da postoji potreba za izmeštanjem fokusa upravo u smeru na koji ukazuje kako dekonstrukcija, tako i sistemski pristup koji uključuje i model polisistema sa svim njegovim potencijalnim nedostacima.

4. Problem „norme“

Teo Hermans (1999:21), ističe da je “Prevod književnog teksta”, Jižija Levija jedna od prvih studija koja razmatra prevod kao praksu koja nadilazi granice omeđene tekstem – Levi govori o ulozi prevodioca kao društvenog i istorijskog činioca, o prevodu kao ekspresiji različitih pristupa književnosti utemeljenih u nacionalnim tradicijama ili onih ukorenjenih u vremenskoj distanci različitih perioda i konačno, o metodologiji prevodenja koja je posledica određenih normi u prevodenju zastupljenih u datom periodu, ali i opšteg stava prema prevodenju. On tako, jasno

definiše neke od aspekata koje je nužno uzeti u obzir u razmatranju prevoda, čime se prevod stavlja u određeni kontekst. Za Levija, vrednost određenog prevoda se može proceniti isključivo u kontekstu istorijski ustanovljene norme toga vremena. U okviru svog modela, koji se često naziva i „generativnim modelom“, on definiše dve norme – „reproduktivnu“ normu, prema kojoj se prevod modeluje kao derivirani produkt i estetičku normu, koja uslovljava status prevoda kao samostalnog teksta u okviru ciljane književnosti/kulture (Hermans 1999:21). Iz toga proizlazi zaključak da je prevod neminovno dvojaki fenomen – prevod je produkt procesa prevođenja književnog teksta iz njegove izvorne kulture i sa izvornog jezika u ciljnu kulturu, odnosno jezik. Međutim, s druge strane, unutar ciljane kulture, tekst prevoda je i samostalni književni tekst. U oba slučaja tekst je konstrukt nastao delovanjem niza faktora koji su uslovlili njegova **čitanja** – bilo da ga čita prevodilac, ili da tekst kao prevod iznova konstruiše čitalac.

Način na koji se odvija taj proces često se naziva i manipulacija tekstem, pa čak i „pogrešnim“ čitanjem. Ipak, ono što ne smemo izgubiti iz vida jeste da se svako tumačenje teksta, pa tako u kritika prevoda, mora zasnivati na određenom broju parametara kojima se rukovodi čitalac podjednako kao i kritičar. Skup tih parametara u sistemskom pristupu prevodilačkim studijama se definiše kao **norma** i ta je odrednica prisutna kod velikog broja autora što svedoči o njenoj važnosti.

Gideon Turi nadograđuje Levijeve postulate i normu postavlja u područje sa kojim se graniče oblast kompetencije (skup opcija koje su na raspolaganju prevodiocu) i oblast performansi (koje se odnose na opcije koje prevodilac zaista primeni u praksi) (Hermans 1999: 75). Turi definiše tri kategorije normi – **preliminarne norme** (izbor teksta, odluka da se prevodi tekst originala ili tekst postojećeg prevoda na neki treći jezik), **početne norme** (prevodiočev izbor između dve krajnje alternative, između strategija koje Venuti (1995) naziva podomaćivanjem (domestication) ili postranjivanjem (foreignization)) i **operativne norme** (one kojima se prevodilac vodi u procesu prevođenja; one vezane za strukturu teksta na makro-nivou, ili metrične norme, i one vezane za mikro-strukturu, strukturu rečenice, izbor reči itd, odnosno tekstualno-lingvističke) .

Endru Česterman (Chesterman 1997) normu opisuje kao dvojaki fenomen – onaj koji funkcioniše na društvenom i etičkom polju i kao tehničku normu. U njegovom viđenju društvene norme regulišu međuljudske odnose, dok u etičkim normama koje su od značaja za prevodioce, on ističe nastojanje da prevodilac radi na uzdizanju principa jasnoće, istinitosti, poverenja i razumevanja što Hermans smatra opštim principima komunikacije, dakle ne specifično vezanim za prevođenje (Up. Hermans 1999: 77). Glavnina Čestermanovog razmatranja norme odnosi se na tehničku normu, kojoj takođe pripisuje principe jasnoće, istinitosti, poverenja i razumevanja. Tehničku normu Česterman raščlanjuje na produktnu i procesnu normu. **Procesna** norma reguliše postupak prevođenja i ponašanje prevodioca dok

se **produktna** odnosi na svest prevodioca o očekivanjima koje čitalac ima u pogledu prevoda, odnosno, o čitačevoj pretpostavci kako prevod treba da izgleda i ta norma zavisi od prevodilačke tradicije, od forme drugih tekstova iste vrste i od drugih političkih i ideoloških faktora. Ova norma određuje da li će proizvedeni tekst biti prihvaćen kao (autentični, istinski ili legitimni) prevod ili će se smatrati adaptacijom, parodijom travestijom ili slično. Ova norma i onim prevodima koji su okarakterisani kao „loši“ dopušta da budu deklarirani kao prevodi. Kristijana Nord u tom pogledu smatra da postoje **konstitutivne** i **regulatorne** norme (odnosno konvencije), gde prve definišu šta određena kulturna zajednica prihvata kao prevod, iz čega proizlazi uopšteni koncept i odgovor na pitanje kako prepoznati prevod. Unutar konstitutivnih normi funkcionišu regulatorne norme kojima se definišu postupci za „rešavanje prevodilačkih problema na nivoima nižim od nivoa teksta“ (Hermans 1999: 79). Ove norme služe kao parametar za procenu kriterijuma na osnovu kojih čitaoci i kritika vrednuju kvalitet prevoda.

U ovim koncepcijama norme jasno se uočava potreba da se prevod sagleda iz više uglova – kako onih gledišta sa kojih nastupa prevodilac, tako i onih koje može zauzimati publika i kritika – čime se putem normi ustanovljava oblast prevodenja i pretpostavljaju se njene granice i definišu uslovi za njihovo utvrđivanje, pomeranje ili urušavanje (Up. Hermans 1999: 79) u čemu možemo da uočimo obrise sistema.

5. Sistem i ideologija

Ako se složimo da konvencije, odnosno norme definišu prevod i njegova granična područja, neophodno je da uočimo da norma u sebi nosi shvatanje vrednosti, odnosno „ispravnosti“, koje nije neutralno, već je duboko kulturološki uslovljeno. Hermans (1999:95) govori o tome da je „dobar“, ili „tačan“ prevod onaj koji je u datom kontekstu u skladu sa uvreženim mišljenjem o tome šta čini dobar prevod i očekivanjima publike i kritike, pa i profesije. Ono što se u ovoj definiciji ne sme izgubiti iz vida je činjenica da su ta očekivanja, kao i svaka druga norma, proizvod ideološkog delovanja šireg društvenog sistema. Hermans naglašava da je ideološki otklon „ono što prevod čini zanimljivim kao kulturološki i istorijski fenomen“ (Hermans 1999:95), te da bi da nije toga, prevodenje bilo svedeno na tehniku promene koda i da ne bi bilo ništa uzbudljivije od kopir-mašine. Prevod kao kulturološki fenomen u sebi nosi implikacije o odnosu zajednice prema onome i onima koje definiše kao „drugi“ i o regulisanju kanala komunikacije sa „spoljnim svetom“. Po tome normativni aparat kojim se reguliše odabir teksta, produkcija i recepcija kao i shvatanje fenomena prevoda u ciljnoj kulturi, predstavlja svojevrsni „indeks kulturološkog samo-određenja“ (Hermans 1999: 95). Razmatrajući aspekte tog kulturološkog samo-određenja, Lefever ističe da prevodi stvaraju „odraz“ svog

izvornika i da je taj odraz uvek u nekoj meri izvitoperen. Prevod kao tekst, ima moć da u ciljnoj kulturi zauzme mesto originala, iako svi znaju da prevod nije original. Ova dimenzija prevođenja lako može da se okvalifikuje kao jedna vrsta simulakruma i da uruši hijerarhiju odnosa produkcije i reprodukcije koji je ključan za uspostavljanje odnosa moći (Up. Chamberlain 1992. citirano u Hermans 1999:98), te je stoga prevod opterećen regulatornim mehanizmima, odnosno normama. Iz ovoga proizlazi da se norma mora sagledati i kao društveno uslovljen mehanizam kontrole čemu je naročito posvećen pristup „kulturnog zaokreta“ (cultural turn) u prevodilačkim studijama koje su razvili Andre Lefever i Suzan Basnet (Bassnett). Ovaj se pristup prevođenju temelji na kritičkom pristupu teoriji polisistema i prevođenje smatra delom šire prakse koju naziva „preradom teksta“ (rewriting). U tom pristupu društvo je sagledano kao mreža različitih sistema od kojih jedan reprezentuje književnost. Unutar tog književnog sistema Lefever detektuje mehanizme kontrole – jedan koji deluje spolja kojim se definiše odnos književnosti i njenog okruženja. U tom mehanizmu najvažniji su koncepti protektorata (patronage) i ideologije. Drugi mehanizam kontrole uređuje odnose unutar književnog sistema i tu najvažniju ulogu po Lefevru ima književna kritika. Ovako koncipirani mehanizmi kontrole korespondiraju sa shvatanjem norme gde je akcent na ideološki obojenim razlozima za delovanje tih mehanizama.

U tom kontekstu „prerada teksta“ je širi termin i obuhvata kako prevod, tako i najrazličitije oblike adaptacije tekstova – ono što Lefever posebno ističe, jeste da se prevod nužno mora posmatrati kao integralni deo tog sistema i da je neophodno proučavati prevod zajedno sa drugim tipovima tekstova nastalih po principu „prerade teksta“. Po Hermansu (1999:128) takav pristup u prvi plan stavlja pretpostavku da je „kulturna transmisija“ odnosno naše kulturološko znanje zapravo zasnovano na kontaktu sa „prerađenim verzijama teksta“, a ne sa „originalom“. Čak i kada sam original nije široko dostupan ili više ne postoji, prevodi reflektuju njegov „odraz“ i stoga Marija Timočko (Tymoczko) (Up. Hermans 1999:128) smatra da su zbog toga od ključne važnosti u društvenom i kulturnom smislu naročito kada se radi o prevođenju iz „malih“ jezika u „velike“. Objašnjavajući da se sve „prerade teksta“ događaju pod dejstvom protektorata, ideologije i prihvaćenog književnog izraza, Lefever kasnije uvodi pojam „kulturološkog propisa“ (cultural script) koji opisuje prihvatljivo i očekivano ponašanje u skladu sa propisanim ulogama u datoj kulturi, a zajedno sa Suzan Basnet i pojam „tekstualne rešetke“ (textual grid) koja predstavlja zbir prihvatljivih načina da se nešto izrazi (Up. Hermans 1999: 128). U procesu prevođenja kao specifičnoj aktivnosti „prerade teksta“ navedena ograničenja su uslovna, a ne apsolutna, s tim da prevođenje neminovno sarži još jedan ograničavajući faktor, a to je jezik, iako su Lefever i Basnet jezik stavljali na poslednje mesto u hijerarhiji ograničavajućih faktora. Prevodiocu preostaje izbor da deluje u skladu sa ograničenjima ili da im se suprotsavi – u smislu književnog izraza ili u

pogledu ideološkog otklona. Delovanje protektorata Lefever prikazuje pre svega kroz ideološke postavke – pri tome, kako primećuje Hermans (1999:129), društvene i institucionalne strukture preko kojih se odvija ideološki uticaj u Lefeverovim tumačenjima ostaju polusakrivene, kao i aspekt odnosa moći koji govori o prevodiocu – njegovoj lojalnosti i pouzdanosti, budući da su prevodioci u posedu informacije koja nije dostupna njihovom klijentu. Tim aspektom prevodilačke prakse u specifičnom kontekstu bavila se u skorije vreme Nike Kocijančič-Pokorn (2012) u studiji posvećenoj post-socijalističkoj prevodilačkoj praksi.

Sa ovog mesta se otvaraju i pristupi prevodenju koji u prvi plan stavljaju ideologiju. Iako nisu strogo sistemski, oni se temelje na konceptu „polja“ i „habitusa“ Pjera Bordijea (Bourdieu). U tom pristupu, tekst se posmatra kao proizvod određene kulture koji stupa na kulturno tržište na kome pored materijalne vrednosti, poseduje i onu simboličku. Na polju kulturne produkcije, prestiž i status predstavljaju „simbolički kapital“ koji se akumulira i koji je takođe predmet razmene, dok je „polje“ prostor na kome određeni činioci zauzimaju određene pozicije koje svojim delovanjem teže da unaprede da bi dostigli dominantni status (Up. Hermans 1999:133). Prema Hermansu, Žan-Mark Guanvik (Gouanvic), kanadski teoretičar, u skladu sa Bordijeovom teorijom, zastupa tezu da je u istraživanja koja se bave prevodenjem potrebno usmeriti „ne samo ka prevodiocima, već na sve činioce koji deluju u celokupnom polju, uključujući produkciju, distribuciju, potrošnju i kritičke meta-diskurse, te uzeti u obzir kako prevedene, tako i neprevedene tekstove i društvenu ulogu određenog žanra“ (Hermans 1999:133).

Ovo stanovište je polazna tačka za definisanje početnih postavki predloženog istraživanja o prevodima i ponovljenim prevodima klasika engleske književnosti na srpski jezik.

6. Prevodi i ponovljeni prevodi klasika engleske književnosti na srpski jezik

Radi preliminarog određivanja parametara ovog istraživanja potrebno je obrazložiti nekoliko aspekata – očigledno je odsustvo ravnoteže u diskursu moći, kao i velika razlika u prestižu između izvorne, engleske i ciljne srpske kulture. Prema Prunču (2007: 45) na pomeranja ravnoteže moći upućuje količina prevedene literature sa izvornog jezika, odnosno time se definiše pravac toka prevodenja, te je početna pretpostavka bila da će postojati značajan broj prevoda i ponovljenih prevoda književnih tekstova sa engleskog na srpski jezik. S druge strane, što je viši globalni status određene kulture, i dodajemo status određenog književnog dela u globalnom kontekstu, to je i njihov simbolički kapital veći. U kulturi se to manifestuje malim obimom prevodne literature, dok na status i simbolički kapital nekog književnog dela, između ostalog, upućuje upravo postojanje prevoda na brojne

jezike. One kulture čiji je simbolički kapital manji, teže da izborom tekstova koji će biti odabrani da kao prevodi stupe u tu kulturu, kao i samim obimom prevodne književnosti, u prvom redu postignu povoljan ekonomski efekat, istovremeno uvećavajući sopstveni kulturni kapital, iako prisustvo prevoda i njihov značajan udeo u ukupnoj književnoj produkciji znači istovremeno i potvrdu dominantnog statusa književnosti koja dolazi spolja (Up. Prunč 2007: 45). U ovom pogledu od presudnog je značaja metod utvrđivanja izbora književnih tekstova koji se prevode sa engleskog na srpski jezik i razlog zbog kojeg se oni prevode.

Pored toga, postoji korelacija između statusa prevodioca i statusa kulture – iako to vrlo često znači da u kulturama čiji je status visok, prevodilac biva marginalizovan, izbor jezika visokog statusa za radni jezik, takođe doprinosi stvaranju simboličkog kapitala za prevodioca. Engleski jezik, za srpske pisce, koji su istovremeno bili i prevodioci najznačajnijih dela svetske književnosti, bio je jezik visokog statusa, o čemu svedoče članci i polemike u književnim časopisima. Sa druge strane, može se uočiti da je prevod dela književnog kanona velikih jezika (u prvom redu nemačkog, francuskog i engleskog) u periodu od 1900. do 1945. bila aktivnost gotovo isključivo rezervisana za već renomirane pisce srpske književnosti što je uvećavalo njihov simbolički kapital i sasvim izvesno uzdizalo njihov status, jer se prevodenje naročito dramskih tekstova smatralo prestižnom delatnošću koja da bi se valjano obavljala podrazumeva brojne kvalitete osobe koja se njome bavi, o čemu svedoče brojne rasprave u književnim časopisima, naročito one u *Letopisu Matice Srpske*, časopisu *Misao* i časopisu *Strani pregled* koje objavljuju kako Laza Kostić i Svetislav Stefanović, tako i Sima Pandurović, Bogdan Popović, Velimir Živojinović, Stanislav Vinaver i drugi renomirani pisci i pesnici.

Društvene oblasti u kojima se odvija prevodenje, prema Prunču (2007: 46), biće samo one čiji je simbolički kapital mali, sve dotle dok vladajuća elita raspolaze dovoljnim brojem bilingvalnih pripadnika koji se mogu osloniti na prihvaćeni jezik komunikacije, odnosno na lingua franca. Međutim, taj potencijal elite može biti nadvladan nekim drugačijim ideološkim interesima. Tako Prunč ističe da je u Austro-Ugarskoj monarhiji nemački bio jezik obrazovane elite bez obzira na nacionalnost njenih pripadnika. Nije bilo praktične potrebe za prevodenjem dela svetske književnosti na nacionalne jezike budući da su ih pripadnici obrazovane elite lako čitali na nemačkom jeziku. Međutim, kako se razvijala nacionalna ideologija, tako se javila potreba za društvenom integracijom, pa se javljaju prvi prevodi, isprva žanrova namenjenih slabije obrazovanoj populaciji. Krajem 19. veka, ideologija formiranja nacionalnih država u prvi plan stavlja potrebu formiranja nacionalnih kulturnih institucija što rezultira prvim prevodima zahtevnijih žanrova, u prvom redu dramskih tekstova.

Preliminarno istraživanje, uz ogradu da svako istraživanje koje se bavi istorijom prevoda može biti sveobuhvatno u onoj meri u kojoj su to baze podataka iz

kojih se sastavlja korpus, potvrđuje opšte tvrdnje Eriha Prunča – među tekstovima koji se smatraju klasicima engleske književnosti (tekstovima koji su deo književnog kanona engleske književnosti i koji su to bili i u vreme objavljivanja prvih prevoda, o čemu svedoči paratekst i metatekst) evidentiranim u bazi COBISS koji su prevedeni sa „izvornog teksta“ na engleskom jeziku do 1900. godine ističu se prevodi i ponovljeni prevodi Šekspirovih komada u celosti ili u fragmentima, kao samostalne publikacije (prevod *Romea i Julije* Laze Kostića iz 1876, prevod *Hamleta* Konstantina Stanišića iz 1878) ili u sklopu časopisa *Letopis Matice Srpske* (prevodi Laze Kostića, *Romea i Julije* 1859, *Hamleta* 1887-88, *Kralja Lira* 1894. i *Ričarda trećeg* 1898). S druge strane, postoje i brojne adaptacije i njihovi prevodi sa nemačkih „originala“ koji su i sami adaptirane verzije tekstova, namenjeni širokoj čitalačkoj publici, za šta je odličan primer tekst *Romeo i Julija* objavljen u Budimu 1829. godine koji potpisuju Kristijan Vajs i prevodilac Vasilije Jovanović, učitelj zemunski. S jedne strane, u periodu do I svetskog rata, razlozi za objavljivanje prevoda mogu biti želja za formiranjem nacionalnih institucija na srpskom jeziku, odnosno pozorišta, s druge strane, prevodima velikih dela velike književnosti nastoji se uvećati korpus mlade nacionalne književnosti, što predstavlja važan element i u procesu prevođenja proznih književnih dela. Međutim, budući da je ideološki značaj dramskih tekstova veliki, analizom dokumenata koji svedoče o tome kako su prevodi primljeni u strukturi postojećeg književnog sistema, možemo doći do zaključka i o tome šta se u ciljnom književnom i društvenom sistemu u to vreme događalo. Nasuprot tome, prozna dela su vrlo često zastupljena kao prevodi sa nekog drugog jezika, među kojima su najčešći nemački, francuski i ruski, ali postoji prevod romana *Robinson Kruso* i sa teksta na švedskom. Recepcija prevoda proznih tekstova takođe je mnogo manjeg obima, dok su i prevodioci tih tekstova manje prisutni na srpskoj književnoj sceni datog perioda.

Već preliminarom hronološkom pretragom možemo utvrditi da prevodi i ponovljeni prevodi objavljeni u 19. veku prate promene u jeziku, (na primer *Robinson Kruso*, drama *Romeo i Julija*, prevodi su štampani i po starom i po novom, Vukovom, pravopisu) i da je mesto izdanja prevoda na srpski znatno češće Austro-Ugarska nego Srbija (naročito veliki značaj ima časopis *Letopis Matice Srpske* koji izlazi u Budimpešti do 1864.) što govori u prilog pretpostavci o nacionalnom preporodu i ideološkoj/političkoj pre nego nekoj praktičnoj vrednosti ovih prevoda na srpski, odnosno na hrvatski jezik. Pojavljivanje ponovljenih prevoda u nekoliko različitih verzija (od različitih prevodilaca), a naročito Šekspirovih komada, u prvom redu drame *Hamlet*, izuzetno je često u periodu od 1918. do 1930ih – taj je niz prevoda u skladu sa procesom formiranja nacionalnih književnosti gde s jedne strane Skerlićeva i Popovićeva *Antologija novije srpske lirike* ilustruje jednu stranu srpskog književnog okruženja, onu zvaničnu, dok Vinaverova *Pantologija novije srpske pelengirike* ipak svedoči da je u tom okruženju itekako bilo mnogo onoga

što nije nalazilo mesta u zvaničnoj verziji. U tom je kontekstu prevod veoma često možda jedino poprište na kome se sukob suprotstavljenih struja neposredno očituje, naročito u člancima časopisa *Misao* i *Vreme*. S druge strane, prelomne godine II svetskog rata i period neposredno nakon njega svedoče o temeljitoj promeni pristupa prevodu, kao i o stvaranju prevodilačke profesije, ne nužno odvojene od književnog delovanja druge vrste, ali temeljito usađene u razvijene društvene sisteme ciljne kulture. S jedne strane, dobijamo prevedena sabrana dela Vilijama Šekspira i brojna preštampana izdanja prevoda, najčešće Živojina Simića i Sime Pandurovića. Sa druge strane, obim prevodne književnosti postaje značajno veći, a odnosi moći (politički, ideološki, pa čak i ekonomski faktori) postaju tek posredno vidljivi.

7. Biti il' ne biti – ili šta možemo zaključiti iz prvog prevoda i prvog ponovljenog prevoda drame *Hamlet*

U članku posvećenom prevodima Šekspira, Dirk Delabastita (2003) iz perspektive deskriptivnih prevodilačkih studija nudi jedan opšti pregled prevodilačkih i kritičkih praksi kada su Šekspirovi tekstovi u pitanju. Iako detaljna analiza brojnih faktora navedenih u teorijskom okviru predloženom u ovom radu njime ne može biti obuhvaćena, a obimom bi u svakom pogledu izlazila i izvan tematskog okvira ovog Zbornika, proverom opštih zaključaka koje navodi Delabastita na primeru drame *Hamlet* u prvom prevodu i prvom ponovljenom prevodu na srpski jezik, možemo bliže ilustrovati problematiku i eventualno jasnije sagledati neka od najvažnijih pitanja za koja odgovore tražimo primenom ovog teorijskog okvira. Time bismo dali obrise za neke moguće buduće predloške za opsežnija istraživanja koje će uslediti.

U prvom redu, Delabastita naglašava da je pored činjenice da je Šekspir jedan od najprevođenijih i najizvođenijih dramatičara uopšte (2003: 103), kulturološki uticaj njegovih dela bez premca, kako u pogledu formiranja kulturnih identiteta, jezičke i književne tradicije, tako i u ideološkom pogledu (2003:104). S druge strane, Šekspirovo delo je vrlo često predmet prevodilačkih studija, kako onih normativnog pristupa, tako i onih deskriptivnih. Delabastita ističe sledeća opšta ključna pitanja koja ćemo razmotriti u kontekstu prevođenja na srpski jezik na primeru drame *Hamlet*:

- Rasprave koje su normativnog karaktera u prvi plan stavljaju takozvanu „neprevodivost“ Šekspirovog dela, nastojeći da utvrde granicu između adaptacije i prevoda (gde se pretpostavlja postojanje „istinskog“, odnosno „pravog“ prevoda)
- Takođe, u istorijskom pristupu proučavanju prevoda Šekspirovih dela često se pretpostavlja ideja „napretka“, od prvih neveštih pokušaja, do tačnih i naučno utemeljenih savremeni(ji)h verzija (Up. Delabastita 20013:104)

Stoga prevodi čija je strategija tekst usmeravala ka ciljnom jeziku i kulturi, uglavnom ne nailaze na podršku kritike, a naročito ne nalaze podršku kod onih kritičara čija je naučna oblast anglistika (Delabastita 2003:105).

Ako ove tvrdnje razmotrimo u svetlu osnovnih postavki pristupa deskriptivnih prevodilačkih studija, a to je „kakvi prevodi se objavljuju, ko ih radi, za čiji račun, zbog čega i sa kakvim efektom“, na primeru *Hamleta* na srpskom možemo ustanoviti sledeće:

Prvi prevod ove drame koji registruje baza podataka COBISS.SR objavljen je u Beogradu 1878. godine, a autor tog prevoda bio je Konstantin Stanišić-Staniša. Zaključujemo da je ovaj prevod prvi koji je rađen sa engleskog jezika. Tekst prevoda svedoči o prevodiočevoj strategiji za koju se slobodno može reći da u prvi plan stavlja kontekst, pre nego „tekst originala“ (o kojem zapravo ni nema podatka, u štampanom prevodu se ne navodi izdanje sa kojeg je rađen prevod). Ovaj je tekst namenjen izvođenju na sceni, o čemu svedoči kratka beleška da autor prevoda zadržava pravo predstave i preštampanja (Šekspir 1878), i možemo pretpostaviti da je prilagođen potrebama ciljne kulture i očekivanjima ciljne publike koje takav tekst treba da ispuni, te se tako, što je u skladu sa hipotezom o ponovljenom prevodu (Gambier 1994), ova prva verzija može prihvatiti kao podomaćivanje, odnosno, ovaj prevod je, s obzirom na formu nesumnjivo „target-oriented“. Da li je takva strategija bila i posledica norme, potrebno je istražiti poredeći druge dramske tekstove koji su u to vreme izvođeni na scenama u Srbiji ili u pozorištima koja daju predstave na srpskom jeziku u Austro-Ugarskoj monarhiji. Neizbežno, prilagođavanje forme imalo je za posledicu potrebu prilagođavanja sadržine, pa se tako u ovom tekstu očigledno nalaze brojna dopisivanja, što nas dovodi do prvog ključnog pitanja koje postavlja Delabastita – gde je granica između adaptacije i („pravog“) prevoda?

Stanišićevom prevodu je gotovo bez razlike pristupano normativno, odnosno, taj su prevod potonji prevodioci i brojni kritičari okvalifikovali kao „opširan“, „netačan“ i „nebriljiv“, čime se u sudbinu prevoda *Hamleta* upisuje druga pretpostavka koju iznosi Delabastita, a to je da su prvi prevodi primljeni kao nevešti pokušaji, dok se potonji moraju smatrati usavršenim studijama fokusiranim na postizanje najveće moguće tačnosti prevoda.

U skladu sa drugim delom hipoteze o ponovljenom prevodu (Gambier 1994), koja kaže da prevodima koji nastaju kasnije prevodiočevom strategijom upravlja drugačija norma, odnosno, strategija u ponovljenim prevodima teži da tekst prevoda približi izvornoj kulturi, nastaje prevod Laze Kostića objavljen 1887. u *Letopisu Matice Srpske* i preštampan 1903. Ni ovaj prevod ne navodi verziju svog „originala“ na engleskom jeziku, dok je i ovaj tekst namenjen izvođenju, o čemu svedoče plakati predstava izvedenih u Novom Sadu 1898. dostupni na mikrofilmu. Međutim, o prijemu tog prevoda u književnim krugovima i o sudu o njegovoj uspešnosti sasvim izve-

sno treba donositi zaključke tek nakon opširnijeg uvida u kontekst i okolnosti koje su pratile njegovo nastajanje kao i ličnost njegovog tvorca. Laza Kostić, za razliku od Konstantina Stanišića, ima značajno mesto u srpskom književnom kanonu, iako u vreme kada deluje, Laza Kostić u tadašnjem kanonu možda ne zauzima centralno mesto. Ipak, u perspektivi, on jeste jedan od najvažnijih autoriteta kada posmatramo normu književnog sistema, te se i sud o njegovim prevodilačkim strategijama nužno mora staviti u taj kontekst. S druge strane, delo Laze Kostića i naročito njegova prevodilačka aktivnost, deo je složenog polisistema – u prvom redu složenog političkog okvira koji podrazumeva multikulturalnost i multijezičnost, pa tako i njegovi prevodi i kritike prevoda uvek sadrže perspektivu daleko širu od one koju nosi binarni par izvornog i ciljnog jezika i kulture i njegove je strategije i reakcije neophodno tumačiti u tom kontekstu. Prevodi Laze Kostića u prvi plan stavljaju možda i najveće izazove pred kojim se prevodilac nađe, i koji jesu srž onoga oko čega se vode polemike vezane za prevođenje u književnim časopisima toga vremena, a to su osobenosti samog teksta. Kako navodi Delabastita (2003:106), pred prevodiocima stoji zamršeno klupko koje čine metafore, kodovi, nerazrešiva značenja, Šekspirove opusne kulturološke aluzije, arhaizmi i smeli neologizmi, kontrastiranje vokabulara anglo-saksonskog i normanskog porekla, ponavljanje ključnih reči, personifikacije, igre rečima, višeznačnost, sažeti gramatički obrasci i fleksibilna struktura jambskog pentametra i slično. Budući da je Laza Kostić i sam bio pesnik, njegovi *Memoari* svedoče o tome da je u prevođenju vrlo podrobno razmatrao ova tekstualna obeležja, te da je njegova prevodilačka strategija sasvim izvesno proizlazila iz odluka vezanih za odlike teksta na engleskom jeziku. Sa pouzdanjem možemo tvrditi da su problemi vezani za tekstualne odlike Šekspirovog jezika u jednakoj meri prisutni i danas i da muče i izvorne govornike engleskog jezika, kao i prevodioce (Delabastita 2003:107). U ovom kontekstu, svakako dolazimo do problema kojem u dosadašnjim razmatranjima prevoda Šekspirovih dela na srpski jezik nije posvećeno dovoljno prostora. Naime, ni Stanišićev, ni Kostićev prevod ne navodi sa kojeg „originala“ je preveden. Delabastita napominje da bez obzira na to da li zagovaramo tezu da je elizabetinski engleski isti ili različit jezik u odnosu na savremeni engleski, da razumevanje Šekspirovog dela počiva u mnogo većoj meri na faktorima koji nisu pitanje jezika (Up. 107), već pitanje ideološkog, kulturološkog i tekstualnog koda koji postoje nezavisno od jezika. U tom je smislu mit o „originalu“ i ekvivalenciji sa tekstom „izvornika“ neminovno narušen, kako evolucijom jezika, tako i svim onim promenama koje su pratile navedene kodove u izvornoj kulturi, ali i onim koje su pratile prevode Šekspirovih dela na druge evropske jezike koji su mogli biti, i dakako, na osnovu zapisa iz *Memoara* Laze Kostića, i jesu bili dostupni prevodiocima na srpski jezik i pre nego varijante teksta na engleskom jeziku. U ovom kontekstu, jasno je da prevod nije moguće posmatrati samo kao lingvistički proces, te da je na delu mnoštvo sistemskih faktora koje je potrebno uzeti u obzir.

Iako su oba ova prevoda *Hamleta* nesumnjivo prihvaćena kao prevodi (ne kao adaptacije ili neke druge transformacije i prerade teksta), strategije prevodilaca se razilaze u samom početku. S druge strane, ostaje da se utvrdi u kojoj meri su ovi prevodi u saglasnosti sa normama vremena u kome nastaju – s jedne strane književnih, s druge onih vezanih za izvođenje na sceni, da li promena norme predstavlja glavni razlog za nastajanje novih prevoda (ili je po sredi nešto drugo) i kakvog su uticaja ovi prevodi eventualno imali na prevode koji su nastali kasnije. Kako deo strategije prevodioca može biti da se ide u susret normi, odnosno normama ili da ih se svesno krši – i jedno i drugo se odražava na status prevoda u polisistemima ciljne kulture. Proširivanje istraživanja na faktore koje ističe Guanvik - činioce koji deluju u celokupnom polju, produkciju, distribuciju, potrošnju i kritičke meta-diskurse, prevedene i neprevedene tekstove i društvenu ulogu određenog žanra – očekujemo da će doneti sveobuhvatne studije koje će doprineti da prevod bolje sagledamo kao društveni fenomen unutar složenih međusobno povezanih sistema oličenih u odnosu suprotstavljenih kulturoloških predložaka na osnovu kojih prevod nastaje.

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POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF TRANSLATIONS AND RETRANSLATIONS OF THE ENGLISH LITERARY CLASSICS INTO SERBIAN – A PROPOSAL OF AN APPROACH

Summary

Literary translation within the literary system and within the culture of the target language has a number of aspects which are required to be researched using a systemic approach. The paper offers an overview of the theoretical bases for the research related to literary translation, highlighting the systemic translation studies paradigm as well as deconstruction. This approach is to be the grounds for the research which could provide data relevant for the place and value of the classics of English literature in Serbian translation and in retranslation. The first part of this paper focuses on the notion of the translation norm and its links to the context in which translation takes place. The second part is dedicated to various power plays which in a particular historical context regulate the creation of the translation norm, as well as the role, the actions and the status of the translator.

Key words: descriptive translation studies, norm, equivalence, polysystem theory, literary translation

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DOUBT, DELIBERATION, AND SHAKESPEARE'S WORDS

The essay explores the ways in which Shakespeare crafts thoughts by re-imagining different strategies of deliberation as described in the system of logic in the early modern period. Focusing on specific words in Sonnet 4 and in *Hamlet*, and informed by Dudley Fenner's influential treatise on logic and rhetoric, *The Artes of Logike and Rhetorike* (1584), the essay shows the extent to which dialectic reasoning becomes a pliable tool intended to shape contrasting and unpredictable points in what looks like a firm argument at the beginning of each text chosen as illustration.

Key words: logic, dialectic, *Sonnets*, *Hamlet*, poetic grammar

1. Frankly about the *Sonnets*

"I don't think there is much point in reading Shakespeare in any way other than super-closely; not if we want to discover things we don't think we know" (Palfrey 2014: 11). When Simon Palfrey urges critics to read Shakespeare closely, deeply, and creatively to find out the unthinkable in Shakespeare's works, he wants them to study Shakespeare's words in action in relation to the stage, the actor's craft, and the worlds within the plays that words and theatre produce. Such a meticulous approach opens literary criticism to daring analytical directions and opportunities, which attend to the cognitive and expressive energies stimulated by Shakespeare's text. To comprehend how Shakespeare's extraordinarily unexpected and, cognitively and linguistically multilayered writing points to meaning that is always in excess, that always resists full explanation, that always contains a dose of something incommensurate, and that requires controlled speculation, one must start thinking about forms and structures in the first instance, not big themes and ideas. The following pages, therefore, take up Palfrey's challenge to read Shakespeare

“super-closely” in order to discover how the mode of thinking based on doubt and the rhetorical strategy rooted in deliberation produce new meaning, in turn yielding to new critical comprehensions and directions.

This essay explores not so much Shakespeare’s debt to grammar-school training in logic and dialectic as much his aesthetic uses of logic as a tool for crafting thought in poetry. Such an assessment of Shakespeare’s use of these cognitive, stylistic, and grammatical instruments open up his texts to new meanings that may escape the kind of historicist criticism invested in tracing down origins of Shakespeare’s texts. I am more interested in exploring how language engenders meaning in two specific instances in the *Sonnets* and in *Hamlet*, than in how the historical context of logic and dialectic influences Shakespeare’s poetics more generally. Rather than treating logic and dialectic as sources that are emulated in Shakespeare’s writing, I contend that they are resources by which he reforms and reconfigures his writing to serve the purpose of acting and to activate reading; in other words, this logical and dialectical framework allows us to follow the rhythm of language (oral or written), to both *sound* and *meaning* on the stage and on the page, as they are spoken to a living audience of his theatre, and to be juggled with on the printed page. In Shakespeare’s time, a humanist education emphasized logic and dialectic primarily with the purpose of crafting arguments in judicial practice or against Catholic doctrine. The two examples that I analyze here reveal that Shakespeare uses the formulas and forms of dialectical argumentation. But, he also goes beyond these structures and tests their limits outside the frame of dialectics as a tool in judicial and religious argument-making. That makes him a poet and dramatist working both within but also outside the tradition of humanist training in logic and dialectic. Indeed, as we will see, the transformation of logical and rhetorical arguments animates drama on stage and words on page. This same process also gives force to non-dramatic poetry, which in Shakespeare, it is worth remembering, always carries within itself a strong element of dramatic action. The sonnets are the best example of this non-dramatic rhetorical argument because they themselves express the drama of an intense and erotically fluid relationship involving multiple subjects. Though lyrical poems, Shakespeare’s sonnets maintain a metaphorical texture that animates emotional performance, and, moreover, the very performance of language itself.¹ Therefore modes and structures of thinking in the sonnets and the plays are not generically separated strategies of weaving poetry but literary processes brought together by a common interest in the performative power of words to create new physical and affective worlds.

It may seem peculiar to bring together two short yet deeply rich texts that one would perhaps not expect to be considered under the same topics: Sonnet 4 and Hamlet’s solilo-

¹ In their illuminating book on Shakespeare’s *Sonnets*, Edmondson and Wells even refer to *The Sonnets* “as theatre” (Edmondson and Wells 2004: 82).

quy “To be, or not to be.”² One may wonder what these two thematically and generically different texts may have in common to justify bringing them in the same argument. But Shakespeare’s creative imagination does not work within compartmentalized units of texts and like genres. The affective and aesthetic worlds produced by Shakespeare’s language spill over the boundaries of genre and modes of writing, as his imagination and thinking work with the capacity of words to create such worlds, not to satisfy the laws of genre which Shakespeare routinely and imaginatively breaks all the time. Setting aside their shared formal structure that in part comes from the formulas of dialectical reasoning, they have little else in common. But the vitality of Shakespeare’s creative world neither depends on thematic coherence, nor on the notion that literary forms call for suitable literary strategies. Since Shakespeare’s body of work represents an experiment with the possibilities of language, styles, and allegories—bringing together apparently disparate segments of that creative corpus makes it possible for a critic to discover something new about how Shakespeare’s language opens new realities that extend beyond the confines of genre. Seeking textual pairs, or communities, across different works also reveals Shakespeare’s creative imagination at its most dynamic, one that works outside the norms and rules of genres and techniques, which are two entities that Shakespeare built his reputation for always breaking and transforming. I propose that doubt and deliberation are two of the most productive rhetorical tools that enabled Shakespeare to play with language and ideas, to test how elastic poetic syntax can be when it engenders meaning, and to maximize both the foundational learning and the linguistic possibilities of the moment when he is writing.

I intend to treat the *Sonnets* as a textual laboratory of experimentation with language as a malleable form, and of deliberation as a frame for the story they tell about the complicated and ambiguous love affair that is the main subject of the story in these poems. Much has been said about the nature of passion that attracts the speaker to the runaway, beautiful and cruel, object of the speaker’s desire. With these rhetorical structures and strategies in mind, probing deeper into a representative sample of the *Sonnets* we might discover other paths for thinking about this doomed relationship.

In these opening sonnets in Shakespeare’s collection, critics routinely argue, Shakespeare urges the young man to marry, procreate, and thus extend his beauty. But the linguistic strategy through which this theme is expressed creates possibilities for thinking that, at times, Shakespeare resists the very advice his speaker gives to the youth. It is as if rhetoric does and undoes its own strategy of persuasion. The source of the theme urging a young man to procreate became a literary convention in Shake-

² Throughout the essay the text of *Hamlet* is cited from the facsimile of the *The First Folio of Shakespeare*. I have adopted through-line numbering (TLN) when I quote from the Folio text. The sonnet is quoted from the facsimile of the 1609 edition, presented in Booth. Where my argument requires me to quote from a modern-spelling edition of *Hamlet*, I cite from Hibbard.

spere's time, which Shakespeare may or may not have become familiar with from reading Erasmus's "Epistle to persuade a young gentleman to marriage" included in the widely read rhetorical manual *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553) by Thomas Wilson.³ But early in the collection, Shakespeare takes up the Erasmian topic only to undo it in ways that compromise the idea of marriage and procreation generally. For instance, Sonnet 4 verbalizes the kind of pleasures that suggest precisely that kind of reconfiguration of the theme of procreation inspired by Erasmus.

Vnthrifty louelinesse why dost thou spend,
 Vpon thy selfe thy beauties legacy?
 Natures bequest giues nothing but doth lend
 And being franck she lends to those are free:
 Then beautilous nigard why doost thou abuse,
 The bountious largesse giuen thee to giue?
 Profitles vsurer, why doost thou vse
 So great a summe of summes yet can'st not liue?
 For hauing traffike with thy selfe alone,
 Thou of thy selfe thy sweet selfe dost deceaue,
 Then how when nature calls thee to be gone,
 What acceptable *Audit* can't thou leaue?
 Thy vnus'd beauty must be tomb'd with thee,
 Which vsed liues th'executor to be.⁴

Only two words into the sonnet, the early modern reader might have wondered whether this sonnet was indeed about procreation. Those "private friends" who, according to the early modern critic Francis Meres, would have read Shakespeare's "sugared sonnets" (qtd. from Edmondson and Wells 2004: 3) in manuscript, would have been puzzled by Shakespeare's juggling of a penumbra of meaning in one of his frequent syntactic and morphological formulas: an invented adjective paired off with a noun. Meres's imagined reader might have been swept by the expansive force of meaning in this phrase because that meaning pulls in opposite directions both of which emerge from the surge of pleasure implied by the phrase. The speaker may be chastising the lover for not procreating but frittering desire away. But he can just as well be inquiring about what is that about the nature of attraction that excites one to indulge in the kind of pleasure that is so appealing that one wastes pleasure on oneself? In affective, ethical, and even socio-historical senses, these are two very

³ Wilson writes extensively about this and other possible sources of this theme (Wilson 2009: 146-167).

⁴ I have silently changed only the long "s" in the original from the first, 1609 quarto edition of *Shake-Speares Sonnets*.

different questions asked in one. Knowing and unknowing are pitted against each other. The neologism “Vnthrifty” invokes “not economical and not intent on profit” (Schmidt II 1971: 1294) and it carries within itself also the meaning of “not intent on increasing” (Schmidt II 1971: 1294), where “increase” implies both knowledge and procreation. Economics, procreation, and family are of course not unrelated notions—one needs the former to afford to have the latter—but in this phrase “Vn-thrifty louelinesse”, questioning why wasting one’s own beauty on satisfying one’s own desire, invites other possible meanings. The engulfing and sweeping quality of this phrase which immerses the speaker in the world of unrestricted attraction and self-satisfaction has already been assured by the prefix “vn” which negates thriftiness because thrift is opposite in quality from desire and attraction which are about force and some form of transgression. And “louelinesse”, as either attraction or being excited by love, widens the scope of emotion already announced by the prefix “vn” attached to “thrifty”. The effect mixes accusation with curiosity, the continuing nudge to procreate and the inquisitiveness about the reward of self-satisfaction. The reader is, as it were, encouraged to think about procreation as a need but he is also lead to question what effect such an act might have on his self. The key word in the opening two lines is “louelinesse”; the key charge is unrestraint, as the result of being “vnthrifty”. Ontologically, the words simultaneously constitute a finely assembled pair of ideas and concepts, while setting other pairs of ideas in motion.

In a sonnet about procreation, one might expect ‘natures’ to be regenerative, but here Nature engenders “nothing”, in line 3. And this pair of words, linked acoustically by the alliteration of “n” and the equal syllabic length, sets in motion the continuing negation of procreation under the guise of encouragement, in the metaphor of lending and borrowing money, investment and return. The “beautious nigard” echoes both “beauties” from the second line and the “Natures-nothing” alliteration, reminding the reader again that the contrast between “beautious”, meaning ‘beautiful’, and “niggard”, in the sense of ‘miser’ [Schmidt II 1971: 771]) give form to an argument about procreation. And that already makes any argument about procreation less persuasive. The phrase “bounteous largesse” that follows creates internal rhyme in the poem, because it neatly parallels the syntactic structure and the sonic effect of the phrases “beautious niggard” and “bounteous largesse”. But “bounteous largesse” also echoes, semantically and ontologically, the idea of free expenditure and the bounty of pleasure invoked by the two words with which the sonnet opens. Playing with the word “vse”, both in the sense of spending money and sexual expenditure, turns “vsurer” into a double-meaning agent of value: a money lender and spender of seed. “Profitless vsurer”, opens line 7, thereby standing out metrically and thematically; trying to “shoehorn” this whole line into the meter is difficult because the line as a whole is “a bold deviation” (Patterson 2010: 19) from the rest of the poem. To restrict an interpretation of the sonnet to the boundaries of the dominant metaphor of financial exchange and expenditure risks overlooking the bold playfulness which Shake-

spare produces in this sonnet and which he reinforces by playing with multiple and often disparate meanings of words. So to ignore the playfulness is to overlook the inextricable relationship between finance and eroticism. Every new line reinforces the double work of a metaphor that covers the meanings concerned with both finance and eroticism. From desire exchanged between two agents, the sonnet suddenly promotes auto-erotic pleasure.

The subtext pointing to auto-eroticism in this transparently erotic line is evident in the clause “hauing traffike with thy selfe alone”, where the word “traffike” covers both the idea of trade as exchange (even trade as an exchange enabled through overseas mercantile enterprises that burgeoned at the turn of the century) and the concept of motion. These meanings, then, reflect on the semantics of the repetition of “selfe” (“thy selfe” and “thy sweet selfe”) in the next line, where “traffike”, in the sense of sexual motion involving oneself, represents the kind of pleasure whose particularity is implied morphologically, semantically, and even phonetically, while procreation is rendered in general terms. Every line of this sonnet simultaneously reveals as it covers up the exact nature of desire. Revelation comes in the form that a culturally valorized act of procreation and the status of being married, which contextualise the poem, give way under the force of the seductive energy with which Shakespeare writes about unsanctioned pleasure couched in the language of unsanctioned financial practice of usury, or of the growing consciousness about money matters in a society existing at the moment of change from feudal to proto-capitalist social organization. As such the sonnet explores desire that is “franck”, meaning open and unrestrained, in “those that are free”, whereas another alliteration (*frank* / *free*) aurally transports the addressee of the poem to a potentially different future that includes sexual freedom, from the one (represented as procreation) which the opening thesis of the poem suggests. At the point at which Shakespeare capitalizes on the simultaneously sonic and semantic effect of the alliteration in *frank/free* he is enforcing the effect through pleonasm because in his language ‘frank’ means “free, unconstrained, unrestricted” (Crystal and Crystal 2004: 187). In that way, Shakespeare yokes frankness with freedom. The sense of freedom and unrestrained may be pulling in the opposite direction from the nature’s bequest to procreate, into a different world where one is not constrained by demand that does not come from within the self and where one is left to the free and frank exchange with oneself.

Yet turning in the opposite direction from this socio-historical milieu that gives material to the sonnet, one cannot but remember, again, those “private friends” that Francis Meres brings up, that we do not know anything about.⁵ Meres would not state them had they not been of some importance to the poems that he wrote about in a treatise full of meticulously selected and arranged names and titles from liter-

⁵ It is not clear whether Meres’s mention is meant to be read as a rhetorical gesture, or as a reference to actual friends as readers of Shakespeare’s sonnets circulating in manuscript.

ary heritage and contemporary writing scene. If the sonnet celebrates unrestraint in the expenditure of pleasure, and even the transgressive act of auto-eroticism, alongside procreation, then procreation as deception and unrestrained pleasure without the cultural check ("*Audit*") is what those friends may find more appealing in the privacy of their lives. Or, Shakespeare offers his friends, and his readers, a different life from the one involving procreation. The cultural logic of this sonnet pits procreation against self-possession. And the rhetorical and logical structure of the sonnets aids these competing meanings.

Shakespeare wrote at the time when logic and rhetoric were of utmost importance to writing. The sonnet is a reminder that "in the literary composition of Shakespeare's day [...] logic and rhetoric were inseparably intertwined" (Baldwin 1950: 350). In this sonnet, the self-preservation of beauty, portrayed as self-deception (line 11), is embedded in structures that call our attention to the writing on logic, which burgeoned in the last two decades of the sixteenth century and formed part of classroom curriculum in grammar schools and universities. The poet stylizes the biblical story about talents (Matthew, 25:14-30), building a sonnet on metaphors dominated by financial and legal (line 14) elements. Woven into the fabric of the sonnet about free pleasure and expenditure are also implications of miserly economics and thriftiness, suggesting that government of the household (*oeconomia*) employs its own terms in order to control desire as an unprofitable and profligate charge, and in order to censor sexual expenditure within the socially sanctioned space for the preservation of patriarchal and financial wealth.

The composition of Sonnet 4, which follows some of the precepts of early modern logic and rhetoric available to Shakespeare, creates meaning both within but also outside the frame of logic and rhetoric, affording other readings of the language of expenditure as erotic discharge, within the so-called procreation sonnets. In the theoretical writing about the system of logic, two subjects for analyzing classical texts in humanist writing and education, doubt and objection are treated as both figures of speech and as structures of reason. "Occupation is when wee doe bringe an obiection, and yeelde an answer vnto it" (Fenner 1584: D1^r), says Dudley Fenner, a contemporary of Shakespeare's, a Calvinist preacher in the Low Countries, and a Ramist logician. With these words by Fenner, let us now return to Sonnet 4. The first four lines of the sonnet, then, illustrate how Shakespeare uses *occupatio*, the interrogative form ("Unthrifty louelinesse why dost thou spend/Vpon thy selfe thy beauties legacy?") as a form of "objection" whose answer lies in something opposite to objection: in nature that lends herself freely to the ones who are not slaves ("Natures bequest.../lends to those are free") of restraint. While it is not a contradiction as such, the answer to the objection sheds light onto a new aspect of the sonnet's argument to cancel one moral proposition is to open a way for another point of view that follows the objection. In his description of what makes a good logical argument, Fenner states

that “deliberation is either in doubting [or] in communication” and that “A doubting is a deliberating with our selues” (Fenner 1584: D1^r). He continues by saying that “Communication is a deliberation with others” (Fenner 1584: D1^r). In this sonnet, then, Shakespeare is both doubting and communicating, in the dialectical sense, both playing with logic even as he communicates his deliberations to his readers. Doubt is his response to the (normative) cultural heritage, *following* Erasmus and Wilson, that urges young men to marry, while he communicates a contrasting point involving freedom and unrestraint. This is Shakespeare at the point of both treating his culture, and reading contemporary conduct literature, against the grain. Objection, doubting, and communication are therefore ways of debating a point by asking questions and offering answers, by turning questions about a subject into the subject of a reason deliberated with (and directed at) a community, say Shakespeare’s private (male) friends who read his sugared sonnets before they appeared in print in 1609. So what is the love(r) that a contemporary reader of these procreation sonnets should identify with? Is he a lover who is being urged to marry or a lover who is deliberating reasons and limits of desire as such?

The rhythm of thought and ideas created through the triangular dynamics of these elements of logic–objection, doubt, and deliberation–yields itself to a literary analysis of the Shakespearean sonnet as an exercise in communication; that is, as deliberations with others. The flow of ideas through which deliberation as a form of doubt achieves power in crafting positions, testing arguments, and playing with the notion of economic-as-erotic expenditure creates multiple possibilities available to the speaker, the addressee, and the readers, to weigh the logic for liberating and constraining desire. The series of interrogatives–“Vnthriftie louelinesse.../... beauties legacy?” (1-2); “Then, beauteous.../...to giue? (5-6); “Profittes.../... live?” (8-9); and “Then how.../...leauue?” (12-13)–which the speaker uses in order to question the addressee’s reluctance to spend beauty reads more like a rewriting of the biblical story of talents in order to refute its value against the background of the encouragement to procreate, than as upholding the hetero-erotic narrative of procreation which this part of the collection of sonnets appears to be promoting. One can therefore ask if Shakespeare uses logic in order to search for the best reason against the wasting of beauty and desire (against the best reason, as Fenner advises in his treatise) and in order to doubt the validity of the idea of best reason for any kind of control of agency in the first place? Founding a critique of sexual restraint on the basis of its coexistence with solitary sexual expenditure follows the pattern of logical reasoning, says Fenner, where “there is such agreement of the diuers sortes of reasons, as the nature of one hangeth vpon another, so that he that perfectly knoweth one, may also knowe the other” (Fenner 1584: A5^r). Logic provided not just a cognitive structure for deliberative writing, but structured how deliberation was understood. In Shakespeare’s cast of mind, deliberation and doubt

are not necessarily routes to a sound reasoning but opportunities to raise questions about the strength of logical reasons to conquer emotions. His distrust of logic goes along with his faith in daring, his trust in reasoning about desire.

An immediate link between Fenner's writing on logic, rhetoric, and the household, and the social and private ends to which Fenner devotes the closing section of his manual, can be established in Sonnet 4 and in other sonnets. Among the logicians and rhetoricians of his generation, writing in the tradition of Peter Ramus's teaching on logic, Fenner is unique in giving these three fields of knowledge an almost equal weight within a single theoretical treatise, which in itself is the subject worth discussing, especially with respect to the close link between dialectic, rhetoric, and the writing about household government, or *oeconomia*. In the closing section devoted to a series of prescription about the government of household, entitled "The order of Householde" (Fenner 1584: D5^r-I4^r), Fenner applies the arguments about objection, occupation, doubt, and deliberation (all elements within the system of logical reasoning) to the principles of household government, through the instruction "out of the Scripture" (Fenner 1584: E2^v). Fenner instructs the same (male) reader of his pages on logic and rhetoric to apply the rules of dialectic to the governing of household, ensuring a direct link between logic and patriarchal rule within the household. Household government "will bee performed", Fenner says, "with all comelinesse fitte for the Housholde, which is of [the] agreeable fitnessse or conueniencie" (Fenner 1584: D5^r). Read alongside these closing pages of Fenner's treatise, Shakespeare's lyrical preservation "of noble household, its wealth, material structures, and bloodlines" (Burrow 2002: 388) reads as a different take on desire and the household because the point of contact between these two notions is further extended by the biblical parable of talents, which underlies these lines and whose signification extends religious parable. Talent, the largest weight measurement of money without constant value (for example, a talent of gold is not worth the same as a talent of bronze) in biblical times, is the material obverse of desire whose value changes depending on whether it is spent within or without the household. The process of deliberation expressed as doubt and framed as questions about the logic of the preservation of beauty of the young male addressee, casts the speaker in the role of someone who imagines the household expansively, as a discursive space that facilitates more than one kind of desire. The foundation of Shakespeare's use of logic were established in the grammar school in Stratford, but the practice of writing in London later in his creative life changed much about how he employed logic in his works.

Shakespeare had already left the grammar school in Stratford by the time Fenner's treatise (it went through five editions between 1584 and 1588) started to influence dialectical and rhetorical writing, and classroom instruction in England. The early founders of grammar schools, as Peter Mack states, "agreed" that instruction

should serve “to promote religion, moral virtue, wisdom and eloquence” (Mack 2005: 12), and classical literature served the purpose of achieving these pedagogical goals. Moral interpretation of classical literature, developed best through paraphrase and translation, also had the goal of providing the pupils with lexicon and phrases for conversation and independent composition in Latin. Scholars who have studied the numerous traces of Ovid in Shakespeare’s works, and the effect grammar school instruction had on the use and occasional distrust of rhetoric to convey the effect required of a new literary context in Shakespeare’s work, have documented in detail the range and depth of contact between classical literature and Shakespeare’s rhetoric. The role logic played in how Shakespeare crafted thought, how he structured the grid of reasoning for which rhetoric provided ornament and within which it shaped thought, provides a literary scholar as a philologist with a further opportunity to study the cultural basis of Shakespeare’s verse through the intersection of cognitive and stylistic elements, in other words, grammar. Logic equipped pupils of Elizabethan grammar schools with both semantic and syntactic formulas for reasoning and deliberation to such a detail that the importance of dialectic in moral discourses within any theme cannot be disregarded. But once dialectic was put to use in the judicial practice for which it was initially intended, pliable formulas transformed into possibilities for giving words and syntax capacious new uses.

Such new uses did not come exclusively from Shakespeare’s creative intelligence, his imagination, nor his scholasticism as an intellectual writer who worked surrounded with books. He happened to write at a key moment of the historical change in the history of the English language, when, as Jonathan Hope points out, “a series of long-term changes in the grammar of English” which culminated “in the years around 1600” when “newer systems [of grammar] finally established themselves over older ones” (Hope 2003: 7). This new grammatical system came into being “around 1600”, just as Shakespeare was at work on *Hamlet* (most likely written in 1602) while continuing to write (and maybe rewrite) his sonnets. The happy coincidence of finding himself in the vortex of a grammatical, but also syntactic and semantic transformation and growth, was one but not the only circumstance that created conditions for the infinite varieties of Shakespeare’s language. In his birthplace, Stratford-upon-Avon in rural Warwickshire, quite a bit away from London at that time, meant also, as Hope intimates, old grammatical forms stayed on longer than they did in the already fast-paced London. When Shakespeare arrived in London, most likely early in the 1590s, he “had access to both old and new grammatical forms” (Hope 2003: 7). While his urban contemporaries displayed “less variation in their grammar” (Hope 2003: 7), Shakespeare cultivated a mixed grammatical style, as well as a unique idiolect. It is therefore against the background of this, much larger dynamics in the history of the English language that we

should also think about the ways in which Shakespeare transfigures and remodels other expressive strategies like logic and dialectic that are directly and intricately connected with his language. When he uses the frame of dialectical reasoning to express doubt about the feasibility of the return from elusive desire to articulate the pleasure of expenditure, Shakespeare not only cloaks erotic writing in the metaphor of finance but he also redirects the work of dialectic, shifting it from the public field of judiciary deliberation to the most intimate and intense space of private frustration and satisfaction. What is more, both forms of satisfaction are a kind of deception or ruse, as the key word “louelinesse”, in Sonnet 4, reminds us. Unthriftiness is, after all, what lies at the heart of desire as a charge. As building blocks of Shakespeare’s literary thoughts, individual words are crucial to the structure of Shakespeare’s text.

The process of juggling meaning by using words that belong to more semantic registers is something that Shakespeare is particularly keen on doing throughout his body of work. This is particularly the case in *Hamlet*, a play unparalleled in its inward turn to experiment with language and to words as both concepts and objects of play. At the levels of morphology, semantics, and syntax *Hamlet* is the most explosive and most avant-garde of his plays, brimming with Shakespeare’s idiosyncratic innovations, sometimes unique to this work. A study of the verbal universe of *Hamlet* is a separate topic and must be left aside on this occasion. But one example from this absorptive play can illustrate the same process of juggling with logic in Sonnet 4, yet applied to a different thematic purpose, much of which were enabled by the burgeoning of print and the proliferation of book culture in early modern England in the 1590s and the early seventeenth century.

The printed page changed the way meaning was generated because the written word became a visual medium as well. By giving stability to ideas fixed on a page in different fonts and types, the print created conditions for the creative imagination and learning to be embodied as voice, mood, affect, and physical motion in flexible, creative, and self-consciously playful ways. By becoming a laboratory for experimentation with language as a malleable medium of creating new realities, the printed page became a space for endless creative daring and for concealing truths in figurative language.

Similarly, at the turn of the century, the combined effect of the growing new theatre culture in London and the competing talents of playwrights generated a profusion of stage plays. This combination of factors led not only to the large number of plays produced but also shaped the internal quality and features of plays as texts. As Frank Kermode has observed, “the development of the theatres and the pressure of the playwright’s intelligence made it inevitable that new rhetorics or counter-rhetorics would intrude, although there were lapses into the old manner, and instances when old and new conflicted like riptides” (Kermode 2000: 21). What we witness in Shakespeare’s plays and the most talented of his contemporaries like John Lyly,

Christopher Marlowe, Ben Jonson, John Webster, and Thomas Middleton, what makes new stage plays complex events, is not only the combination of creative intelligence and performative art built into them, but also the internal dynamic of appropriating and challenging various traditions that had gone into the making of early modern drama and a sense that words create meaning as a process shaped in the course of watching and listening to the words and actions, not a finite phenomenon completed in the playwright's mind.

2. Hamlet's words

In a household very different from the one imagined in Sonnet 4, Shakespeare's creative drive for deliberation as a kind of doubting within a flow of reasoning, acquires an unexpected dimension. Hamlet, a player with language turned into a juggler with logic at the centre of a speech that contains one of the most famous and puzzling, and deep, mysteries of Shakespeare's dramatic imagination and language craft. Hidden from Hamlet's view (possibly behind the arras⁶), Claudius and Polonius listen to Hamlet's monologue, which begins: "To be, or not to be" (TLN 1709). Nowhere else in Shakespeare do we hear the voice of Fenner spoken with such force and clarity as in this soliloquy. A bookish student home from Wittenberg turns into the subject of drama the forms and thinking strategies of Europe's talented and English protestant logician, Fenner, preaching in Middleburg. The speech is both a meeting and a parting point of two smart young minds, Fenner and Hamlet. On doubt and deliberation Fenner says: "A doubting is a deliberating with our selues, as Paul [...] doubting whether it were better to dye then to liue, he garnisheth his speache on this manner: For I am gratlie in doubt on both sides, desiring to be loosed, and to be with Christ, which is before all: neuertheless to abyde in the fleshe is more needful for you." (Fenner 1584: D1^v) In Hamlet's soliloquy, the exaltation of speech that suits a particular purpose, means arriving at knowledge, not in a straightforward way, but by following precepts that deliberate about life and death as sleep and waking, and ponder agency and suicide; he keeps the form of such speaking as the struggle to think truths to a perfection. When the poetic syntax in Shakespeare ("Whether 'tis Nobler in the minde to suffer" .../..."To dye to sleepe" [TLN 1710/1717]) appears to follow the rhythm of Fenner's dialectical prose ("whether it were better to dye then to liue") down to the patterns of thought, and the sound and vocabulary of doubt, Shakespeare has not become a logician but maybe an anti-logician, because his language speaks with many possibilities in many human contexts; not as one possibility within judicial or religious frame,

⁶ This is suggested by the stage direction that precedes Hamlet's speech in Hibbard (Hibbard 1994: 239).

for which humanist logic was designed. Fenner relies on reason in his version of existential questions about the relative values of life and death, in order to argue, in consonance with his religious vocation, that death is a desired state because of the union with Christ. Yet when Hamlet couches his deliberations and objections about life and death in the language of religion, originating in the same (Calvinist?) repository of ideas resonant of Fenner's treatise, religious vocabulary, which pervaded any thinking mind of the age, becomes a framework for learning how to think hard and deep. While I am not suggesting that Fenner's writing is a direct source for Shakespeare, I am proposing that Fenner's ideas provide a resource and even heuristic for interpreting Hamlet's puzzling speech. The speech draws its meaning and poetic energy from the conditions it creates for the listener to Hamlet's language. It is worth reminding ourselves now that in Shakespeare's time, people would go to the theatre to 'hear' plays; modern audiences go to 'see' them. There is therefore a major qualitative difference in what the two historically specific audiences actually experience while following the performative event happen on the stage. The early modern writers, readers, and theatre audiences were more accustomed to listen to the language; while, by contrast, the audience of our increasingly visual age requires spectacle. It may just be that because this shift in emphasis from the spoken to the visual medium we still prefer to cling to firm truths about this speech, as a major existential inner drama of troubled Hamlet, fixed by literary criticism a long time ago. But if we listen to Shakespeare's language more attentively (after all, nothing but speaking takes place on the stage at this moment) we can hear other, more secular, more personal, more youthful music of interiority.

Back to *Hamlet*. What Claudius, Polonius, and the audience hear is a young mind struggling to craft complex ideas, where life-after-death, religion, suicide, are topics of debate selected as one would select them from a related corpus of ideas in an exercise in logic. But the point of Hamlet's speech is not to rehearse the familiar, or repeat a lesson in deliberation, but to say something about himself that an exercise in deliberation produces. That he is a young thinking mind learning how to produce complex arguments, but he has not mastered that complex art yet. "To be, or not to be" reflects the rhythm of the mind deliberating over which topic more aptly fits the existential argument (the argument about the meaning of life). Such questions and reflection are characteristic of a youth's thinking, especially on the mind of someone (Hamlet) who has taken time to mature emotionally, someone brooding and of dark interiority.

Just as Fenner weighs options in choosing topics for his theory of reasoning, so Hamlet's words, his to-be-or-not-to-be style of argument reveals the mind of a clever youth weighing possibilities of logic, exploring ways of thinking, yet a mind that has not quite arrived at the complex line of reasoning that he has set out to pursue. The rhythm of his maturing mind browses through topics and tells us when it

thinks that the thinker has found them, as in “To dye to sleepe,/To sleepe, perchance to Dreame; I, there’s the rub” (1718-1719). Editors who modernize Shakespeare’s (and the compositor’s) spelling opt to replace the Folio “I” with “Ay” (3.1.66), meaning “yes” (Crystal and Crystal 2004: 29), conveying that one has understood something or agreed with something. But, as a mark on a page, the Folio “I” also calls attention to the notion that a thinking self, an “I”, finally nails down the right logical argument at this point; it is the self that has been thinking, speaking, and agreeing with oneself. So the double meaning “I,” as me, who is speaking, and “yes,” in the sense of ‘the speaking me confirms coming up, finally, with the right set of words to frame the thought’, suits the larger subject of interiority more aptly than just “ay.” Semantically, “ay” is the correct change of a typographic convention. Yet in the context of interiority, which is the source of thinking in this speech and thus the subject of it too, the grapheme “I” is yet another sign that it is the speaking/thinking subject that Shakespeare puts emphasis on; as Hamlet, the speaking I, is visible alone on the stage. This is an instance of how stage and acting intersect with humanist logic and print drama in order to dilate meaning. Play that is performed on stage allows for the oral/aural aspects of the words “ay” and “I” to be heard and understood as both different and interwoven meanings as I have suggested. But the printed text of Sonnet 4 relies on the reader’s capacity to infer possible meanings visually as well as cognitively. Both the soliloquy “To be, or not to be” and Sonnet 4 reveal Shakespeare’s awareness of how different senses are animated simultaneously in generating meaning of a whole from individual words and their combination with other words.

Just as Hamlet may have encountered logic in the imagined humanist classroom in Wittenberg, so Shakespeare’s education in rhetoric and logic in the Stratford grammar school may have familiarized him with Fenner’s and other treatises on logic and rhetoric, where these two fields constituted the core of the curriculum and the focus of pedagogical practice. Writers, playwrights, lawyers, clergymen, and politicians found books on logic and rhetoric particularly useful resources of curious thoughts in part because descriptions of the processes of, and steps in, reasoning often oscillated between imaginative, almost poetic, articulations, how to build an argument. In an age in which semantic potential of the English language grew at a tremendous rate, Fenner had something to say even about the capacity of words to obscure meaning. “The darknesse of a worde, or an insolencie deceyeth,” says Fenner, occurs “when by a reason the meaning is not vnderstoode, whether the strangenesse be through the oldnesse, newnesse, or swelling vanitie of the words” (Fenner 1584: D2^r). It may just be that a passage like this stimulated a creative mind to formulate productive ambiguities, in which incommensurate thoughts and reasons about “the meaning [...] not vnderstoode” (Fenner 1584: D2^r), in writing

about desire, a charge whose meaning, within and without the household, escaped reason and understanding.

One of the goals of logic was not only to teach how to shape arguments in the courtroom but more generally how to turn uncertainty into a productive and persuasive argument. Thus, deliberation features as a technique by which Shakespeare opened the mind of his characters to imagine the unimaginable. The only critical response to such cognitively unlimited and linguistically experimental strategies of shaping characters and their speech, at once part of and apart from any tradition within which Shakespeare created them, is to be “open to *anything* bearing life” (Palfrey 2014: 7) in Shakespeare’s world where imagination and technique interweave unceasingly. The playful subversion of logical argument reveals Shakespeare at the point of questioning the prescriptive stability of the system of logic—when it comes to thinking about such topics as desire, beauty, and existence, which are left out of the precepts on deliberation in the system of logic.

These are only two instances of the power of doubt as a productive process within Shakespeare’s creative imagination at work both alongside and against the background of prescriptive theoretical writing aimed at the regulation of thinking. Shakespeare’s absorptive and eclectic imagination responded to ideas and conceptual stimuli coming from various kinds of writing and printed books, which nourished his creative imagination. Yet that imagination was also nourished, stimulated, and driven by the variety and flexibility of the English language at the point of one of its most exciting phases of development and expansion in its history.

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DVOUMLJENJE, PROMIŠLJANJE I REČI KOD ŠEKSPIRA

Rezime

Na primerima soneta 4 i Hamletovog monologa "Biti ili ne biti" iz tragedije *Hamlet*, ovaj rad ispituje do koje su mere humanističke rasprave o logici i dijalektici uticale na oblikovanje poetske gramatike i rečnika u ova dva teksta. Književni kritičari uglavnom tvrde da se Šekspir drži retoričkih obrazaca prilikom komponovanja svoje dramske, nedramske poezije, ili pak da se kritički i originalno odnosi prema retorici. U ovom radu se međutim ukazuje na to da takvi pristupi jezičkoj veštini u Šekspira zanemaruju drugačiji način upotrebe govora čiji je cilj ubeđivanje inspirisano uticajem logike. Ali pošto se Šekspir koristi sintaktičkim uzorima logičkog promišljanja u okviru govora o intimnim i ličnim preokupacijama svojih govornika u dva navedena dela, a ne u kontekstu sudskih, verskih, i političkih rasprava, zbog kojih se logička teorija i razvila u ranom modernom periodu, moglo bi se reći da je on anti-logičan pisac. Rad predlaže nova tumačenja dva navedena dela.

Ključne reči: logika, dijalektika, Šekspirovi *Soneti*, *Hamlet*, poetska gramatika

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BISEROVO ZRNO: PREVOD SA SREDNJOENGLESKOG NA SRPSKI

Tekst srednjoenglske aliterativne poeme, poznat pod imenom *Pearl* anonimnog autora, nastao je krajem XIV veka na severozapadu Engleske. Poemu karakterišu elegični sadržaj, alegorijska forma i bogata simbolika, što je tipično za umetnički postupak kasnog srednjeg veka. Stih je aliterativan, najčešće sa deset slogova, a strofe, koje se sastoje od dvanaest stihova, imaju složenu šemu rimovanja i grupisane su u petodelne celine. Poema broji 20 celina, odnosno 1212 stihova. Budući da slična pesnička forma ne postoji u književnoj tradiciji na srpskom jeziku, poema je prevedena u dvanaestercu, a aliteracija i rima zadržane su u slučajevima kada to nije narušavalo prirodni tok stiha. Biblijski odlomci nisu preuzeti direktno iz prevoda Starog i Novog zaveta na srpski jezik, s obzirom na to da ni autoru poeme nisu mogli biti dostupni prevodi na engleski, već samo tekstovi na latinskom jeziku. Umesto tradicionalnog naslova *Biserka* na srpskom jeziku, autorka se odlučila za prevod *Biserovo zrno* skao manje dvosmisleni varijantu.

Ključne reči: *Biserovo zrno*, srednjoengleski, alegorija, versifikacija, aliteracija, rima

1. Uvodne napomene

Tekst srednjoenglske aliterativne poeme, poznat pod imenom *Pearl*, jer joj sam autor nije odredio naslov, nastao je krajem druge polovine XIV veka na severozapadu Engleske. Sačuvan je u jednom jedinom rukopisu koji se danas čuva u Biblioteci Britanskog muzeja, zajedno sa druge dve narativne poeme, *Cleanness* i *Patience* i viteškim romanom u stihovima *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Sva pomenuta dela pripadaju istom, anonimnom, autoru za koga se za sada može reći samo da je poticao iz zapadno midlandske oblasti, da je bio obrazovan, dobro upućen u biblijske tekstove, mada po svoj prilici nije bio sveštenik, i da je poznavao latinski i francuski jezik. Brojna su nagađanja koja bi od poznatih istorijskih ličnosti mogla biti autor pomenutih tekstova, kao i kome bi *Pearl* mogla biti posvećena.

Istraživači se slažu, na osnovu jezičke, stilističke i sadržajne analize, da svi tekstovi pripadaju istom autoru i pored toga što sačuvani rukopis predstavlja kasniji prepis, a ne prvobitnu verziju.

Elegični sadržaj i alegorijska forma, tipična za umetnički postupak kasnog srednjeg veka – viziju u snu, u ovoj poemi udruženi su sa homiletičkim pasažima i tananom simbolikom u kojoj se naslućuju danteovski prizvuci. Pesnički postupak je izuzetno složen, stih je aliterativan, najčešće sa deset slogova, od kojih četiri akcentovana, a strofe, koje se sastoje od dvanaest stihova, imaju složenu šemu rimovanja. Pritom, one su grupisane u petodelne celine u kojima se, sa malim varijacijama, poslednji stih iz prethodne strofe ponavlja kao prvi stih u narednoj. Ukupan broj takvih celina iznosi 20, a broj stihova 1212, oko čijeg se simboličkog značenja još uvek lome koplja.

Navedeni opis ukazuje na svu sadržajnu i formalnu složenost teksta koji je trebalo pretočiti na srpski jezik. Poteškoće su bile brojne, počev od nedostatka bilo kakve slične pesničke forme koja bi odgovarala formi originala – naša srednjovekovna poezija ne sadrži ništa što bi moglo da posluži kao model za prevođenje teksta koji u sebi objedinjuje poetsku viziju, bogoslovsku raspravu i iskrenu tugu zbog gubitka voljene osobe. Osim toga, naša pesnička tradicija ne poznaje aliteraciju i ne raspolaže složenim šemama rimovanja kakve su se razvile u evropskoj, i posebno engleskoj tradiciji tokom XIV veka i kasnije. Na kraju, valja pomenuti i fonološke i prozodijske razlike između engleskog kao izvornog jezika i srpskog kao ciljnog. Iz tih razloga, opredelila sam se za dvanaesterac, kao stih koji daje dovoljno prostora da se prenese sadržaj kraćeg, engleskog stiha od 9 do 10 slogova i koji su još dubrovački pesnici-prevodioci koristili za Petrarkine stihove. Aliteracija se povremeno javlja u prevodu, kada se zgodno podudaraju reči koje sadrže isti naglašeni slog, ali se ona nije na silu nametala, po cenu vernosti sadržaju i istinitosti osećanja. Sličan postupak primenjen je u pogledu rime. Na njoj se ne insistira, ali se i ne izbegava u potpunosti, već se zadržava, kad dođe do sretnog podudaranja.

Posebnu odluku trebalo je doneti pri prevodu onih delova teksta koji se sasvim direktno pozivaju na odlomke bilo iz Novog (što je češći slučaj) ili Starog zaveta. Dobar prevodilački uzus nalaže da se doslovno preuzme odgovarajući tekst na našem jeziku. Međutim, ova poema nastala je pre bilo koje potpune verzije prevoda biblijskog teksta na engleski jezik. Viklifovi prevodi Biblije nastajali su približno u isto vreme kada i *Pearl*, a imajući u vidu da je to čitav vek pre dospeća štampe u Englesku, malo je verovatno da je naš autor imao prilike da dobije u ruke neki od malobrojnih rukopisa koji su bili u opticaju. Moja je pretpostavka da je sam pesnik u svojim tekstovima navodio biblijske citate u sopstvenom prevodu. Zbog toga sam se odlučila da i ja takva mesta sama prevodim, trudeći se da budem verna i originalnom tekstu i tekstu prevoda Svetog pisma na srpski jezik, a u skladu sa zahtevima stiha za koji sam se opredelila.

Na kraju, ostaje još jedna napomena koja se tiče naslova koji sam odabrala. Već je rečeno da naslov pod kojim je poema poznata u engleskom jeziku ne potiče od samog autora, već su ga odredili kasniji priređivači teksta na osnovu reči *pearl* koja znači 'biser' i često se pojavljuje u tekstu kao zajednička imenica, ali i kao ime umrle devojčice za kojom otac tuži. U našim istorijama engleske književnosti kao naslov ovog izuzetno značajnog dela srednjovekovne književnosti najčešće se koristi naziv *Biserka*, za koji ja nisam mogla da se opredelim zbog asocijacija koje bi nas odvele u pogrešnom pravcu. Odlučila sam se za radni naslov *Biserovo zrno* i njega ću koristiti ovom prilikom, a kada budem završila celokupni projekat izrade jedne antologije engleskih srednjovekovnih tekstova na srpskom jeziku, tada će se možda pojaviti i neko srećnije rešenje.

Ove kratke napomene i razmatranja o tekstu engleske poeme *Pearl* i njenom prevodu na srpski jezik želim da dopunim rečima zahvalnosti koje upućujem Profesorki Druginji Pervaz, koja mi je predavala na osnovnim studijama i bila mentor za izradu magistarske teze i doktorske disertacije. Zapravo, čitav moj profesionalni razvoj počiva na temeljima koje je postavila Profesorka Pervaz. Ona me je svojim nadahnutim predavanjima, svojim širokim prikazima, a istovremeno i minucioznim zalaženjima u pitanja istorijske lingvistike, još u studentskim danima prvo oduševila, a potom i neopozivo opredelila da se bavim pitanjima razvoja engleskog jezika i posebno fenomenima vezanim za srednjoengleski period. Kao i mnogi drugi studenti brojnih generacija kojima je ona bila profesor i mentor, njoj dugujem zadovoljstvo i sreću što se bavim disciplinom u koju nas je ona sa toliko predanosti i žara upućivala.

2. *Biserovo zrno*

PEARL

Perle, pleasaunte to prynces paye
To clanky clos in golde so clere,
Oute of oryent, I hardyly saye,
Ne proued I neuer her precios pere.
So rounde, so reken in vche araye,
So smal, so smoþe her syde3 were,
Quere-so-euer I jugged gemme3 gaye,
I sette hyr sengeley in synglere.
Allas! I leste hyr in on erbere;
Þur3 gresse to grounde hit fro me yot.
I dewyne, fordolked of luf-daungere
Of þat pryuy perle wythouten spot.

BISEROVO ZRNO

Perlino puce, prinčevski biseru,
Devičanski okovano u žeženu zlatu,
S Istoka dalekog, istine mi žive,
Lepšega nikad ne videh ti para.
Tako sitna, tako sjajna i sva obla,
Savršena sasvim, u svakom okviru,
Kad god sam cenio kamenove drage,
Ovu sam Perlu kao prvu vag'o.
Avaj, izgubih je u vlažnom dardinu,
Kroz travu mi skliznu netragom, o jadu
Ljubavni što mi srce mori, slama,
Jer za Perlom čeznem blistavoga sjaja!

2

Syben in þat spote hit fro me sprange,
Ofte haf I wayted, wyschande þat wele,
Þat wont wat3 whyle deuoide my wrange
And heuen my happe and al my hele.
Þat dot3 bot þrych my hert þrange,
My breste in bale bot bolne and bele;
Ȝet þoȝt me neuer so swete a sange
As styлле stounde let to me stele.
For soþe þer fleten to me fele,
To þenke hir color so clad in clot.
O moul, þou marrez a myry uele,
My priuy perle wythouten spotte.

3

Þat spot of spyse3 mot nede3 sprede,
Þer such ryche3 to rot is runne;
Blome3 blayke and blwe and rede
Þer schyne3 ful schyr agayn þe sunne.
Flor and fryte may not be fede
Þer hit doun drof in molde3 dunne;
For vch gresse mot grow of graynez dede;
No whete were elle3 to wone3 wonne.
Of goud vche goude is ay bygonne;
So semly a sede moȝt fayly not,
Þat spryngande spyce3 vp ne sponne
Of þat precios perle wythouten spotte.

4

To þat spot þat I in speche expoun
I entred in þat erber grene,
In Auguste in a hy3 seysoun,
Quen corne is coruen wyth croke3 kene.
On huyle þer perle hit trendeled doun
Schadowed þis worte3 ful schyre and schene,
Gilofre, gyngure and gromylyoun,
And pyonys powdered ay bytwene.
Ȝif hit wat3 semly on to sene,
A fayr reffayr ȝet fro hit flot.
Þer wonys þat worþyly, I wot and wene,
My precious perle wythouten spot.

5

Bifore þat spot my honde I spenned
For care ful colde þat to me cazȝ;

2

I otada čekam kraj istoga mesta,
Gde uteče ono blago, nesta,
Što grehe mi je pralo, dušu čistilo
Ka nebu dizalo i srećom punilo.
Sad tuga golema srce mi probada
Otrovnom rukom grudi mi sažiže.
Al' nikad još ne čuh tako sladak poj,
Kao sad u smiraj, i blažen spokoj,
Pa navreše misli u seni đardina
O njenoj lepoti, u kal ukotvljenoj –
Zemljo, ti moj dragulj blatnom rukom drobiš,
Perlu svoju milu, blistavoga sjaja.

3

Mesto će se ovo miomirnom travom
Kitit' jer u njemu takvo blago vene,
Beličaste, plave i rumene cvasti
Na sunčevu zraku sad će zablistati;
Ni cvet, ni plod neće izgubit' svežinu
Gde se Perla moja u mračni drob skrila,
Tu gde zrno umre, iz njeg trava niče,
Zar bi hlebno zrno niknulo inače?
Sve dobro iz dobrog početka se rađa:
Pa ni dobro zrno ne sme istrunuti
Mirođija svaka iz nje će šiknuti,
Perle skupocene, bistavoga sjaja.

4

Na tom mestu, o kom tužan pripovedah,
U zeleni đardin opet stupih nogom
Kada avgust slavi leta sam vrhunac,
Zrelo žito žanje oštrom kosom svojom.
A to grobno mesto gde Perla potonu
Svo se okitilo divotom zelenom,
Šeboja, đumbira, i još đinduvike,
Crvenim božurim širokih bokora.
Koliko je mesto divotno za oko,
Još je lepši miris što se posvud širi
Tamo gde prebiva, tako mi imena,
Perla skupocena, blistavoga sjaja.

5

I kod toga mesta krših ruke bedan.
Stud me sveg okova, tuga i jad grdan;

A deuely dele in my hert denned,
 Pa3 resoun sette myseluen sa3t.
 I playned my perle þat þer wat3 spenned
 Wyth fyrce skylle3 þat faste fast;
 Þa3 kynde of Kryst me comfort kenned,
 My wreched wylle in wo ay wra3te.
 I felle vpon þat floury fla3t,
 Suche odour to my herne3 schot;
 I slode vpon a slepyng-sla3te
 On þat precios perle wythouten spot.

II

6
 Fro spot my spyryt þer sprang in space;
 My body on balke þer bod in sweuen.
 My goste is gon in Gode3 grace
 In auenture þer meruayle3 meuen.
 I ne wyste in þis worlde quere þat hit wace,
 Bot I knew me keste þer klyfe3 cleuen;
 Towarde a foreste I bere þe face,
 Where rych rokke3 wer to dyscreuen.
 Þe ly3t of hem my3t no mon leuen,
 Þe glemande glory þat of hem glent;
 For wern neuer webbe3 þat wy3e3 weuen
 Of half so dere adubbemente.

7
 Dubbed wern alle þo downe3 syde3
 Wyth crystal klyffe3 so cler of kynde.
 Holtewode3 bry3t aboute hem byde3
 Of bolle3 as blwe as ble of Ynde;
 As bornyst syluer þe lef on slyde3,
 Þat þike con trylle on vch a tynde.
 Quen glem of glode3 agayn3 hem glyde3,
 Wyth schymeryng schene ful schrylle þay
 schynde.
 Þe grauayl þat on grounde con grynde
 Wern precios perle3 of oryente:
 Þe sunnebeme3 bot blo and blynde
 In respecte of þat adubbement.

8
 The adubbemente of þo downe3 dere
 Garten my goste al greffe forzete.
 So frech flauore3 of fryte3 were,

Bolna patnja razdire mi grudi, cepa,
 Uzalud bi razum mir da mi donese.
 Kad pitanja mučna pomućuju um,
 Ni Hristove muke ublažit' ne mogu
 Bol što moja Perla zarobljena leži.
 Sruših se na cvetni, miomirni sag,
 Poteče iz njega medni, moćan, opoj,
 Mozak mi pomuti, pa izgubih svest
 Sve zbog Perle moje, blistavoga sjaja.

II

6
 Sa tog mesta moj duh naglo se uzdiže,
 Dok mi telo osta zaspalo na hrpi.
 Duša mi odluta, sve uz Božju pomoć,
 U predele tajne, gde se čudo zbiva.
 Ne znadoh kud stremim, samo videh da me
 Nešto nosi k stenju što nebesa para,
 Okretoh se šumi, i tad se ukaza
 Oštri jedan greben blistavog kamenja,
 Čiji bljesak svakog nevericom puni –
 U toliko sjaja nebeskog zagledan
 Nijedan još smrtnik ne izatka mrežu
 Da bi bila barem približnoga sjaja.

7
 Blistave behu sve padine tamo
 I litice sjajne kao od kristala,
 A svud uokolo plavile se šume
 Modrinom svih svojih visokih debala;
 I na svakoj grani poskakuje lišće
 Kao iskovano od srebrnog sjaja.
 Preliva se, blista i još podrhtava
 Kada ga oprlji blistav sunčev zrak.
 A kamićci koje pod stopama gazih
 Bejahu biseri i to blistaviji
 Nego svo blještanje sunčevoga zraka.
 Ne beše im nigde ni približnog sjaja.

8
 Divotnost svih ovih blistavih padina
 Odagna mi tugu iz žalobne duše.
 Miomirne cvasti sa voćnih stabala,

As fode hit con me fayre refete.
 Fowlez þer flowen in fryth in fere,
 Of flaumbande hwez, þoþe smale and grete;
 Bot sytole-stryng and gyternere
 Her reken myrþe mozt not retrete;
 For quen þose bryddez her wyngesz bete,
 Þay songen wyth a swete asent.
 So gracious gle couþe no mon gete
 As here and se her adubbement.

9

So al wat3 dubbet on dere asyse
 Þat fryth þer fortwne forth me fere3.
 Þat derþe þerof for to deuyse
 Nis no wy3 worþe þat tonge bere3.
 I welke ay forth in wely wyse;
 No bonk so byg þat did me dere3.
 Þe fyrr in þe fryth, þe feier con ryse
 Þe playn, þe plontte3, þe spyse, þe
 And rawe3 and rande3 and rych reuere3,
 As fyldor fyn her bonkes brent.
 I wan to a water by schore þat schere3 –
 Lorde, dere wat3 hit adubbement!

10

The dubbemente of þo derworth depe
 Wern bonke3 bene of beryl bry3t.
 Swangeande swete þe water con swepe,
 Wyth a rownande rourde raykande ary3t.
 In þe founce þer stonden stone3 stepe,
 As glente þur3 glas þat glowed and gly3t,
 As stremande sterne3, quen stroþe-men slepe,
 Staren in welkyn in wynter ny3t;
 For vche a pobbel in pole þer py3t
 Wat3 emerad, saffer, oþer gemme gente,
 Þat alle þe lo3e lemed of ly3t,
 So dere wat3 hit adubbement.

III

11

The dubbement dere of doun and dale3,
 Of wod and water and wlonk playne3,
 Bylde in me blys, abated my bale3,
 Fordidden my stresse, dystried my payne3.
 Doun after a strem þat dry3ly hale3

Kao medna mana život povратиše.
 Let šarenih ptica videh u šumama,
 Velikih i malih, blistavoga perja
 A po proplancima čuh umilni poj
 Lepši od psaltera, citre il' laute.
 Njihov let i cvrkut, slatko milozvuče,
 Plenilo je dušu, donosilo smiraj,
 Radost kojoj niko ne mogaše naći
 Sličnoga veselja ni približnoga sjaja.

9

I sve to se blista, čudesnog li bljeska,
 U šumskome kraju kud me Sreća vodi,
 Nijedno stvorenje koje govor ima
 Njegove lepote opisat' ne može.
 Produžih korakom, pun smirene sreće,
 Uspon beše lagan, ne beše mi mučno,
 I što dalje zađoh, to sve lepši kraj je,
 Duboka dolina, na njoj trave, voćke,
 Perivoj, živica, i široka reka,
 Obale joj tanko iscrtane zlatom.
 Na žalo kad kročih, gde matica seče,
 Bože, tu je reka nenadmašnog sjaja.

10

Obale reci blistavi beril krasí
 I ljeska se žarom u rečnoj dubini.
 Voda u koritu žuborom protiče,
 Grgoljavo vrti, beskrajno u krug.
 Na dnu joj se krije divotno kamenje
 Koje prosijava k'o sunce kroz okno,
 Kao prah zvezdani što usnule duše
 Sjajem svojim mekim u zimsku posipa noć.
 I svaki kamičak što se tamo krio
 Beše safir, smaragd, ili drugi dragulj,
 Pa se čudnim sjajem prelivala voda
 Te blistave reke nenadmašnog sjaja!

III

11

Od blistavog sjaja brda i padina
 I šumā i vodā i carskih dolinā,
 Blaženstvo me prože, iščile mi tuga
 Ublažiše boli, izgubi se jad.
 Potokom produžih koji napred žuri,

I bowed in blys, bredful my brayneȝ;
 Þe fyrrre I folȝed þose floty valeȝ,
 Þe more strengþe of ioȝe myn herte strayneȝ.
 As fortune fares þer as ho frayneȝ,
 Wheþer solace ho sende oþer elleȝ sore,
 Þe wyȝ to wham her wyllle ho wayneȝ
 Hyttȝ to haue ay more and more.

12

More of wele watȝ in þat wyse
 Þen I cowþe telle þaȝ I tom hade,
 For vrpely herte myȝt not suffyȝe
 To þe tenþe dole of þo gladneȝ glade;
 Forþy I þoȝt þat Paradyse
 Watȝ þer ouer gayn þo bonkeȝ brade.
 I hoped þe water were a deuyse
 Bytwene myrþeȝ by mereȝ made;
 Byȝonde þe broke, by slente oþer slade,
 I hoped þat mote merked wore.
 Bot þe water watȝ depe, I dorst not wade,
 And euer me longed ay more and more.

13

More and more, and ȝet wel mare,
 Me lyste to se þe broke byȝonde;
 For if hit watȝ fayr þer I con fare,
 Wel loueloker watȝ þe fyrrre londe.
 Abowte me con I stote and stare;
 To fynde a forþe faste con I fonde.
 Bot woþeȝ mo iȝysse þer ware,
 Þe fyrrre I stalked by þe stronde.
 And euer me þoȝt I schulde not wonde
 For wo þer weleȝ so wyne wore.
 Þenne nwe note me com on honde
 Þat meued my mynde ay more and more.

14

More meruayle con my dom adaunt:
 I seȝ byȝonde þat myry mere
 A crystal clyffe ful relusaunt;
 Mony ryal ray con fro hit rere.
 At þe fote þerof þer sete a faunt,
 A mayden of menske, ful debonere;
 Blysnande whyt watȝ hyr bleaunt.
 I knew hyr wel, I hade sen hyr ere.

I koračah srećan, uzavrele duše.
 Pa što dalje hodih talasavim krajem,
 Sve mi veća radost u srcu se budi.
 Tako Sreća čini kad nas iskušava,
 Čas utehu šalje, čas nam tugu sudi,
 Smrtnikom se igra, kako joj se sviđi,
 Sve više i više osećaja budi.

12

Beše tu blažestva većeg nego što bih
 Opisati mog'o, mada se ne žirim,
 Jer je u nas srce deset puta manje
 Od desetog dela tog blaženstva, sreće.
 Pa mi se učini da ću Raj pronaći
 Na obali tamo, s one druge strane;
 Ponadah se da me samo voda deli
 Od radosti silnih, da je ona međa.
 A preko potoka, tamo na visini
 Mišljah biće zamak moćni; no potok je
 Silno dubok bio, ne smedoh ga preći,
 I ostah da čeznem sve više i više.

13

Sve više i više i još preko toga,
 Mučila me čežnja da vidim još dalje,
 Jer svu tu lepotu gde dosada hodih
 Nadmašiće ono što na bregu stoji.
 Zastadoh i tragah svuda oko sebe,
 Kako bih gaz plitki što brže otkrio,
 I što dalje hodih, sve bih dalje hteo,
 Kao da me nešto u neznano vuče.
 I stalno pomišljah, ne smem se vratiti
 Zar da sad izgubim naslućenu sreću,
 A tada se nešto čudesno pojavi
 Uzbudi me sasvim, sve više i više.

14

Dušu mi uzbudi jošte veće čudo,
 Kada ugledah iza tog potoka bistrog
 Sjektavu litiću prozirnog kristala,
 Iz središta njenog, zlatni zrak se diže.
 U podnožju njenom stvorenje čarobno,
 Devojana mlada, plemenita roda,
 Blistavo joj bela odora štop nosi.
 Prepoznaoh je odmah, dobro mi je znana!

As glysnande golde þat man con schere,
So schon þat schene an-vnder shore.
On lenghe I looked to hyr þere;
Þe lenger, I knew hyr more and more.

K'o žeženo zlato sjajno uglašano,
Blistaše k'o dragulj u podnožju brda.
Zagledah se dugo, netremice u nju
I gledajući tako, znadoh je sve više.

15
The more I frayste hyr fayre face,
Her fygyre fyn quen I had fonte,
Suche gladande glory con to me glace
As lyttel byfore þerto wat3 wonte.
To calle hyr lyste con me enchace,
Bot baysment gef myn hert a brunt.
I sez hyr in so strange a place,
Such a burre my3t make myn herte blunt.
 Þenne vere3 ho vp her fayre frount,
 Hyr vysayge whyt as playn yuore:
 Þat stonge myn hert ful stray atount,
 And euer þe lenger, þe more and more.

15
Što više posmatrah njeno lepo lice,
I vitak joj stas kad opazih pritom,
Blažena me sreća sveg preplavi namah,
Gde ranije beše praznina u duši.
I silno poželeh da joj se oglasim,
Al' duša se skupi, zebnja je preplavi:
Zašto li je vidim na tom čudnom mestu?
Nov mi se tad užas u srce useli.
 Čarobno je lice podigla sad ona,
 I to bledo čelo, k'o od slonovače.
 Nova zebnja, nov ubod u srce, začud,
 Punili mi dušu, sve više i više.

IV

16
More þen me lyste my drede aros.
I stod ful styлле and dorste not calle;
Wyth y3en open and mouth ful clos
I stod as hende as hawk in halle.
I hoped þat gostly wat3 þat porpose;
I dred onende quat schulde byfalle,
Lest ho me eschaped þat I þer chos,
Er I at steuen hir mo3t stalle.
 Þat gracious gay wythouten galle,
 So smoþe, so smal, so seme sly3t,
 Ryse3 vp in hir araye ryalle,
 A precios pyece in perle3 py3t.

16
I strah se pojavi, protiv moje volje;
Stajah k'o ukopan, ne smedoh je zvati.
Široka pogleda, stegnutih usana,
Stajah silno napet, k'o soko na grani.
Sablasne li slike, šta li ovo znači?
Strepeh silno šta mi sada sudba sprema,
Hoću l' blago svoje opet izgubiti
Pre no što ga sebi ponovo prizovem.
 Tad se diže deva nenadmašnog sjaja,
 Tako sjajna, pritom sitna, tako mala,
 U odeždi carskoj, savršenstvo sušto,
 Biserjem je sitnim svuda izatkana.

17
Perle3 py3te of ryal prys
Pere mo3t mon by grace haf sene,
Quen þat frech as flor-de-lys
Doun þe bonke con bo3e bydene.
Al blysnande whyt wat3 hir beau biys,
Vpon at syde3, and bounden bene
Wyth þe myryeste margarys, at my deuyse,
Þat euer I sez 3et with myn ene;
 Wyth lappe3 large, I wot and I wene,
 Dubbed with double perle and dy3te;

17
Biserjem je sitnim svuda izatkana,
Milošću božijom mogah je videti
Kako sveža kao ljiljan beli stupa
Pravo niz padinu korakom laganim.
Njen ogrtač beše blještave beline
A sa strane razrez, trakom opervažen,
Na njoj još biseri; lepših ja nikada
Ne uočih dosad, svojim očima.
 Široki nabori, uverih se pritom,
 Izvezeni behu biserjem u paru,

Her cortel of self sute schene,
Wyth precios perle3 al vmbepy3te.

18

A py3t coroune zet wer þat gyrle
Of mariorys and non oper ston.
Hi3e pynakled of cler quyt perle,
Wyth flurted flowre3 perfet vpon.
To hed hade ho non oper werle;
Her here leke, al hyr vmbegon,
Her semblaunt sade for doc oper erle,
Her ble more bla3t þen whalle3 bon.
As schorne golde schyr her fax þenne schon,
On schyldere3 þat leghe vnlapped ly3te.
Her depe colour zet wonted non
Of precios perle in porfyl py3te.

19

Py3t wat3 poyned and vche a hemme
At honde, at syde3, at ouerture,
Wyth whyte perle and non oper gemme,
And bornyste quyte wat3 hyr uesture.
Bot a wonder perle wythouten wemme
Inmydde3 hyr breste wat3 sette so sure;
A manne3 dom mo3t dry3ly demme,
Er mynde mo3t malte in hit mesure.
I hope no tong mo3t endure
No sauerly saghe say of þat sy3t,
So wat3 hit clene and cler and pure,
Þat precios perle þer hit wat3 py3t.

20

Py3t in perle, þat precios pyece
On wyþer half water com doun þe schore.
No gladder gome heþen into Grece
Þen I, quen ho on brymme wore.
Ho wat3 me nerre þen aunte or nece;
My joy forþy wat3 much þe more.
Ho profered me speche, þat special spece,
Enclynande lowe in wommon lore,
Cazte of her coroun of grete tresore
And haylsed me wyth a lote ly3te.
Wel wat3 me þat euer I wat3 bore
To sware þat swete in perle3 py3te!

I tunika isto ukrašena beše,
Sitnim biserima po ivici svakoj.

18

Na glavi joj kruna, znom ukrašena
Sitnoga biserja, bez drugih dragulja,
I baš u sredini, k'o vrh se uzdiže,
Biser sedefasti, usađen u cveće.
Samo ovaj venčić kosu joj priteže,
Ona k'o slapovi niz ramena klizi.
Izraz lica svečan, sličan prinčevskome
I ozaren pritom sjajem nesvagdanjim.
Alabaster tamni pred belinom lica
Ove bajne deve, a zlačane vlasi
Mrse se i pletu okovratnik meki,
Protkan biserima po ivici svakoj.

19

Biserima sitnim ukrašeni behu
Bez drugih dragulja, krajevi rukava
I ivica svaka na odori njenoj,
Od sjajnog satena beličastog sjaja.
Al' divotni biser, savršenstvo čisto,
Sedeo je čvrsto na sredini grudi.
Koji bi međ' nama mog'o naći snagu
Smrtnoga mu uma vrednost da proceni
I čija bi usta opevala slavu
Ovoga dragulja i njegova sjaja.
Savršenstvo pravo beskrajne lepote,
Neprocenjiv biser u okviru svome.

20

Biserom ukrašen neprocenjiv stvor
Tamo preko vode krenu prema meni,
Odavde do Grčke srećnijeg ne beše
Nikog od mene, kada obali pride.
Bliži rod mi beše od svake rodice,
Radost moja beše utoliko veća.
Progovori tada, savršeno biće,
Klanjajuć se smerno kao ženski stvor.
I skidajuć krunu, dragocenog sjaja,
Pozdravi me vedro, umiljata glasa.
Bože, kakva sreća, što mi život dade,
Da otpozdrav kliknem biseru čistome!

V

21

‘O perle’, quod I, ‘in perle3 py3t,
Art þou my perle þat I haf playned,
Regretted by myn one on ny3te?
Much longeyng haf I for þe layned,
Syþen into gresse þou me agly3te.
Pensyf, payred, I am forpayned,
And þou in a lyf of lykyng ly3te,
In Paradys erde, of stryf vnstrayned.
What wyrde hat3 hyder my iuel vayned,
And don me in þys del and gret daunger?
Fro we in twynne wern townen and twayned,
I haf ben a joyle3 juelere.’

22

That juel þenne in gemme3 gente
Vered vp her vyse wyth y3en graye,
Set on hyr coroun of perle orient,
And soberly after þenne con ho say:
‘Sir, 3e haf your tale mysetente,
To say your perle is al awaye,
þat is in cofer so comly clente
As in þis gardyn gracious gaye,
Hereinne to lenge for euer and play,
þer mys nee mornying com neuer nere.
Her were a forser for þe, in faye,
If þou were a gentyl jueler.

23

‘Bot, jueler gente, if þou schal lose
By ioy for a gemme þat þe wat3 lef,
Me þynk þe put in a mad porpose,
And busye3 þe aboute a raysoun bref;
For þat þou leste3 wat3 bot a rose
þat flowred and fayled as kynde hyt gef.
Now þur3 kynde of þe kyste þat hyt con close
To a perle of prys hit is put in pref.
And þou hat3 called þy wyrde a þef,
þat o3t of no3t hat3 mad þe cler;
þou blame3 þe bote of þy meschef,
þou art no kynde jueler.’

V

21

‘O Biseru beli, biserom ukrašen,
Jesi li ti ona što oplakah gorko,
Tužeći osamljen tokom dugih noći?
Od kada kroz travu ti skliznu netragom,
Ja sam tužan bdeo u samoći vazdan,
Setan, tugom okovan, mučen, čemeran.
A ti u život radosti večne stupi,
U predele rajske, gde nema nesloge.
Gorka li je sudba biser moj odnela,
Meni muke teške, patnju ostavila.
Kad bez tebe ostah, o jada golema,
Draguljar, ostadoh bez najvećeg blaga.’

22

A moj dragulj tada, okičen biserjem,
Pogled svoj podiže, zagleda se pomno,
I na glavu vrati od bisera krunu.
Tad svečano reče, smirenoga glasa:
‘Gospodine, vi grešite vrlo, misleć’
Da je Perla vaša zauvek nestala,
A dočim je ona u škrinju dospela –
Ovaj đardin ovde, pun radosti, sjaja:
Da večno boravi, da zauvek živi,
Gde tuga i žalost nikad neće stići.
Tu bi svoju škrinju i ti mog’o naći,
Draguljaru svetli, ako imaš vere.’

23

‘Draguljaru svetli, ako moraš patit’
Zbog bisera koji drag ti tako beše,
Mislim da se baviš uzaludnim trudom
I da ludo patiš za prolaznim blagom.
Što izgubi tamo, beše samo ruža
Što brzo procveta u uvene brzo,
Al’ u ovoj škrinji, što je sada čuva,
Tvoja ruža biće uvek biser sjajni.
Ako sudbu svoju grdnim tatom zoveš
Što ti umest’ ništa, biser darovala,
Onda ružiš melem za tu tešku ranu,
Draguljar tad nisi plemenitog roda!’

24

A juel to me þen wat3 þys geste,
And iuele3 wern hyr gentyl sawe3.
'Iwyse', quod I, 'my blysfol beste,
My grete dystresse þou al todrawe3.
To be excused I make requeste;
I trawed my perle don out of dawe3.
Now haf I fonde hyt, I schal ma feste,
And wony wyth hyt in schyr wod-schawe3,
And loue my Lorde and al his lawe3
þat hat3 me broȝt þys blys ner.
Now were I at yow byȝonde þise wawe3,
I were a ioyful jueler.'

25

'Jueler', sayde þat gemme clene,
'Wy borde 3e men? So madde 3e be!
Pre worde3 hat3 þou spoken at ene:
Vnavysed, for soþe, wern alle þre.
Þou ne woste in worlde quat on dot3 mene;
Þy worde byfore þy wytte con fle.
Þou says þou may wyth yȝen me se;
Bycawse þou may wyth yȝen me se;
Anoþer þou says, in þys countré
Þyself schal won wyth me ryȝt here;
Þe þrydde, to passe þys water fre –
þat may no ioyfol jueler.

VI

26

'I halde þat iueler lyttel to prayse
þat leue3 wel þat he se3 wyth yȝe,
And much to blame and vncortayse
þat leue3 oure Lorde wolde make a lyȝe,
þat lelly hyȝte your lyf to rayse,
þaȝ fortune dyd your flesch to dyȝe.
Ȝe setten hys worde3 ful westernays
þat leue3 nobynk bot ȝe hit syȝe.
And þat is a poynt o sorquydryȝe,
þat vche god mon may euel byseme,
To leue no tale be true to tryȝe
Bot þat hys one skyl may dem.

24

Gledam, kao dragulj prilazi mi deva,
Prosipljuć' biserje svojih nežnih reči;
Uputih joj pozdrav, 'Ti blažena srečo,
Što svu moju tugu rečju svojom blažiš,
Oprosti mi, molim, i ispuni želju:
Mišljah da moj biser sad u tami trune,
Ali ga pronađoh, pa mi srce kliče
Sa njime ću sada blažen obitavat'
Na ovom proplanku i Gospoda slavit'
Što mi novu sreću u naručje stavi.
Pripusti me k sebi, kroz potok prevedi,
Draguljar ću biti razdragan od sreće.'

25

'Draguljaru,' reče alem-kamen čisti,
'Što se šališ ludo, što si tako mahnit!
Tri misli izreče, i sve tri na prečac,
Gde ti pamet beše, kada tako huliš?
Ni za jednu ne znaš šta u stvari znače;
Samo redaš reči, bez smisla ikakvog.
Kažeš da me vidiš i u to veruješ,
Jer očima svojim pomno gledaš u me.
Tome još dodaješ da ćeš k meni doći
I sa mnom boravit' u dolini ovoj;
A treće što reče, da ćeš potok preći –
Draguljar veseli nije tome vičan.'

VI

26

'Kako mogu hvalit onog draguljara
Koji poveruje što okom opaža?
Kako da ne karam, da ga dobrim smatram,
Kad on poverova da naš Gospod laže,
Koji obećava da će nas uzdići,
Mada sudba u smrt svako biće šalje.
Misliš li da prazne reči su njegove,
Jer veruješ samo svome oku slepom?
Predrasuda teška u tome se krije,
Greh je to veliki koji svakog kalja,
Ako poveruje samo onoj priči
Koja njemu jasno na istinu liči.'

27

‘Deme now þyself if þou con dayly
As man to God worde3 schulde heue.
Þou sayt3 þou schal won in þis bayly;
Me þynk þe burde fyrst aske leue,
And 3et of graunt þou myzte3 fayle.
Þou wylne3 ouer þys water to weue;
Er moste þou ceuer to oþer counsayle:
By corse in clot mot calder keue.
For hit wat3 forgarte at Paradys greue;
Oure 3orefader hit con mysse3eme.
Þur3 drwry deth bo3 vch man dreue,
Er ouer þys dam hym Dry3tyn deme.’

28

‘Deme3 þou me’, quod I, ‘my swete,
To dol agayn, þenne I dowyne.
Now haf I fonte þat I forlete,
Schal I efte forgo hit er euer I fyne?
Why schal I hit boþe mysse and mete?
My precios perle dot3 me gret pyne.
What serue3 tresor, bot gare3 men grete
When he hit schal efte wyth tene3 tyne?
Now rech I neuer for to declyne,
Ne how fer of folde þat man me fleme.
When I am partle3 of perle myne,
Bot durande doel what may men deme?’

29

‘Thow deme3 no3t bot doel-dystresse’,
Þenne sayde þat wy3t. ‘Why dot3 þou so?
For dyne of doel of lure3 lesse
Ofte mony mon forgos þe mo.
Þe o3te better þyseluen blesse,
And loue ay God, in wele and wo,
For anger gayne3 þe not a cresse.
Who nede3 schal þole, be not so þro.
For þo3 þou daunce as any do,
Braundysch and bray þy braþe3 breme,
When þou no fyrre may, to ne fro,
Þou moste abyde þat he schal deme.’

30

‘Deme Dry3tyn, euer hym adyte,
Of þe way a fote ne wyl he wryþe.

27

‘Istinu ti spoznaj pre nego uputiš
Tužbalicu gorku svom Gospodu, čemu?
Ti još reče da ćeš ovde obitavat’,
Ne misleći da ga za dozvolu moliš,
Kuju dobit’ nećeš, jer nisi dostojan.
Potok bi da pređeš, to je želja tvoja.
Ne znaš li da drugi redosled te čeka,
Ilovača vlažna telu ti se sprema!
Adam ga ukalja još u Raskoj bašti
Pa mora da trune; potok da bi preš’o
Svaki smrtnik prvo smrt upoznat’ mora
Da bi mog’o izać’ pred Božju istinu.’

28

‘Te istine radi,’ rekoħ Perli svojoj,
U tugu me vraćaš, na bol osuđuješ!
Sad kada sam naš’o što izgubih davno,
Opet vratit’ moram, sve do smrti gorke!
Kako da te pustim, tek što te ugledah,
Zar da opet čeznem, Perlo moja sjajna?
Čemu služi blago, sem da suze roniš,
Kad ga sudba gorka iz ruku otima?
Nikad više neću patit’ zbog gubitka,
Niti što me sudba iz mog kraja tera
Kad mi se otima blaženstvo najveće,
Osta bol i patnja, istina jedina.’

29

‘Tebe muči samo istinitost patnje,’
Reče biće krasno, ‘Zašto tako činiš?
Praveć buku silnu zbog gubitka sitnog,
Previđaju mnogi onaj mnogo veći.
Prekrstit’ se treba i slaviti Boga,
Ma šta da se desi, u dobru, il’ zlu,
Odbaciti jarost, jalova je ona,
I pokorno primit’ sve što sudba nosi.
Ti vrištati možeš i bacat’ se grud’ma,
Kao u stupicu uhvaćena zver.
Kad snagu izgubiš, kad ne možeš dalje,
Ostaće ti jedno, božja istina.’

30

Huliš li na Boga i istinu božju,
Prizvati ga nećeš, nit išta postići,

þy mende3 mounte3 not a myte,
 Þa3 þou for sor3e be neuer blyþe.
 Stynt of þy strot and fyne to flyte,
 And sech hys blyþe ful swefte and swyþe.
 þy prayer may hys pytȝ byte,
 þat mercy schal hyr crafte3 kyþe.
 Hys comforte may þy langour lyþe
 And þy lure3 of ly3tly fleme;
 For, marre oþer madde, morne and myþe,
 Al lys in hym to dy3t and deme.'

VII

31
 Thenne demed I to þat damyselle:
 'Ne worþe no wrathþe vnto my Lorde,
 If rapely I raue, spornande in spelle.
 My herte wat3 al wyth mysse remorde,
 As wallande water got3 out of welle.
 I do me ay in hys myserecorde.
 Rebuke me neuer wyth worde3 felle,
 Þa3 I forloyne, my dere endorde,
 Bot kyþe3 me kyndely your coumforde,
 Pytosly þenkande vpon þysse:
 Of care and me 3e made acorde,
 þat er wat3 grounde of alle my blysse.

32
 'My blysse, my bale, 3e han ben boþe,
 Bot much þe bygger 3et wat3 my mon;
 Fro þou wat3 wroken fro vch a woþe,
 I wyste neuer quere my perle wat3 gon.
 Now I hit se, now leþe3 my loþe.
 And, quen we departed, we wern at on;
 God forbede we be now wroþe,
 We meten so selden by stok oþer ston.
 Þa3 cortaysly 3e carp con,
 I am bot mol and manere3 mysse.
 Bot Crystes mersy and Mary and Jon,
 Þise arn þe grounde of alle my blisse.

33
 'In blysse I se þe blyþely blent,
 And I a man al mornyf mate;
 3e take þeron ful lyttel tente,
 Þa3 I hente ofte harme3 hate.

Tvoje reči gorke, to su samo tlapnje,
 Prekomerna tuga ne donosi spas.
 Već umesto toga, bez buke i besa,
 Pokorno i smerno, pogni glavu svoju
 I usrdnom molbom milost ti zatraži,
 Pak će sažaljenjem moć svoju pokasti.
 Jedino od njega uteha će stići,
 Blagošću ublažit' gubitke ti gorke,
 Zaman kukaš tiho, ili na sav glas,
 Osta samo jedno – božja istina.'

VII

31
 Na ovu istinu odgovorih devi,
 'Nek Gospod ne uzima moje jecaje
 Kao huljenje, kad u bolu grcam;
 Srce moje beše prepunjeno tugom
 Nad teškim gubitkom, kad od mene ode.
 Uvek ću se smerno volji pokoravat'
 Gospoda presvetlog! Ne grdi me više,
 Mene mučenika, ma kako da greših!
 Samilošću svojom utehu mi pruži,
 Sećajući se kako tada mi je bilo,
 Brinući o meni, pomiri se sa mnom,
 Ti što uvek beše sreći mojoj izvor.'

32
 Ti, blaženstvo moje, tugo moja, avaj,
 Koliko je veći još postao žal
 Od trenutka onog kad zamete trag
 I kad više ne znah gde li ću te nać'.
 Al' sad opet vidim Perlu svoju, blažen,
 Baš kao što bejah pre gubitka tvog,
 Gospod nek pomogne da se sad spojimo,
 Sretasmo se retko, s mene na uštup.
 Ti sad tako umno, plemenito zboriš,
 A ja k'o puzavac, u prahu se valjam.
 Nek Hristova blagost, Marije, Jovana,
 To troje nek budu sve sreće mi izvor.'

33
 Vesela si, vidim, okružena srećom.
 Ja i dalje patim u dubokom bolu,
 Tebe ne pogada što je sa mnom tako,
 I što nepravedno u mukama gorim.

Bot now I am here in your presente,
I wolde bysech, wythouten debate,
Ȝe wolde me say in sobre asente
What lyf Ȝe lede erly and late.

For I am ful fayn þat your astate
Is worþen to worschyp and wele, iwysse;
Of alle my joy þe hyȝe gate,
Hit is in grounde of alle my blysse.'

34

'Now blysse, burne, mot þe bytyde',
Pen sayde þat lufsum of lyth and lere,
'And welcum here to walk and byde,
For now þe speche is to me dere.
Maysterful mod and hyȝe pryde,
I hete þe, arn heterly hated here.
My Lorde ne loueȝ not for to chyde,
For meke arn alle þat woneȝ hym nere;
And when in hys place þou schal apere,
Be dep deuote in hol mekenesse.
My Lorde þe Lamb loueȝ ay such chere,
Þat is þe grounde of alle my blysse.

35

'A blysful lyf þou says I lede;
Þou woldeȝ know þerof þe stage.
Þow wost wel when þy perle con schede
I watȝ ful ȝong and tender of age;
Bot my Lorde þe Lombe þurȝ hys godhede,
He toke myself to hys maryage,
Corounde me quene in blysse to brede
In lenghe of dayeȝ þat euer schal wage;
And sesed in alle hys herytage
Hys lef is. I am holy hysse:
Hys prese, hys prys, and hys parage
Is rote and grounde of alle my blysse.'

VIII

36

'Blysful', quod I, 'may þys be trwe?
Dyspleseȝ not if I speke errour.
Art þou þe quene of heueneȝ blwe,
Þat al þys worlde schal do honour?
We leuen on Marye þat grace of grewe,
Þat ber a barne of vyrgyn flour;

A sad kad se nadoh u prisustvu tvome,
Prekljinjem te reci, jednostavno, pravo,
Ozbiljnošću punom, s nekoliko reči,
Kakav život vodiš, od jutra do mraka.

Sreća me obliva kad pomislim da te
Usud u blaženstvo i čast silnu vodi.
Ova pomisao na tvoj život slavan
Čini izvor sreće moje nenadmašne.'

34

'Neka tebe sreća Gosparu moj prati',
Reče stvor taj divni blistavoga lika,
'Primi poziv moj i prebivaj ovde,
Jer tvoj govor sada milinu mi mami,
Dok ohole reči, osorno držanje,
Mrske su nam svima u ovome vrtu.
A Gospodu našem uvek teško pada
Da uputi prekora, svi su ovde smerni.
I kad u dom njegov ti budeš stupio
Ti ponizan budi i pun poštovanja;
Jagnjetu Božijem ta usrdnost prija,
Gospodu našem, sve sreće izvoru.'

35

'Srećan život vodim, veliš meni sada,
I hoćeš da saznaš kako ovde dospeh.
Seti se, kad Biser u travu ti skliznu,
Bejah sasvim mlada, još nejake dobi.
U dobroti svojoj Jagnje, naš Gospod,
Uze me pod svoje, za nevestu primi,
Venča me i krunu na glavu mi stavi,
Da budem kraljica, da blistam u sreći,
Sada i zauvek – jer njegovo carstvo
Večno je, i moje je mesto u njemu!
Njegova vrlina, čast i uzvišenost
Osnov su i izvor baženstva i sreće.'

VIII

36

'Srećnice,' uskliknuh, 'može l' biti tako?
Oprosti mi ako u pometnji zgreših.
Zar ti kraljica si nebeskoga svoda
Kuju svako živi mora čestvovati?
Zar svet ne slavi blagodatnu Mariju,
Devičansku majku Božijega Sina?

Þe croune fro hyr quo mozt remwe
Bot ho hir passed in sum fauour?

Now, for synglerty o hyr dousour,
We calle hyr Fenyx of Arraby,
Þat freles fleze of hyr fasor,
Lyk to þe Quen of cortaysye.'

37

'Cortaysye Quen', þenne sayde þat gaye,
Knelande to grounde, folde vp hyr face,
'Makelez Moder and myryst May,
Blessed bygygger of vch a grace!'
Þenne ros ho vp and con restay,
And speke me towarde in þat space:
'Sir, fele here porchasez and fongez pray,
Bot supplantorez none wythinne þys place.
Þat emperise al heuenz hatz,
And vrþe and helle, in her bayly;
Of erytage zet non wyl ho chace,
For ho is Quen of cortaysye.

38

'The court of þe kyndom of God alyue
Hatz a property in hytself beyng:
Alle þat may þerinne aryue
Of alle þe reme is quen oþer kyng,
And neuer oþer zet schal depyue,
Bot vchon fayn of oþereþ hafyng,
And wolde her corounez wern worþe þo fyue,
If possyble were her mendyng.
Bot my Lady of quom Jesu con spryng,
Ho haldez þe empyre ouer vus ful hyze;
And þat dysplesez non of oure gyng,
For ho is Quene of cortaysye.

39

'Of courtaysye, as sayt3 Saynt Poule,
Al arn we membre3 of Jesu Kryst:
As heued and arme and legg and naule
Temen to hys body ful trwe and tryste,
Ry3t so is vch a Krysten sawle
A longande lym to þe Mayster of myste.
Þenne loke what hate oþer any gawle
Is tached oþer tyzed þy lymme3 bytwyste.
Þy heued hatz nauþer greme ne gryste,

Krunu s njene glave ko bi smeo dići,
Ko bi nju prečistu mog'o prevazići?
Kao feniks ona je, blagoslovena,
Prepuna vrline, sasvim jedinstvena,
U najvećoj časti svoga Stvoritelja
I zato je zovu Nebeska Kraljica.

37

'Kraljica nebesa,' reče bajni stvor,
I kleknu na zemlju, pognu glavu smerno,
'Nenadmašna Deva, Majka Bezgrešna,
Blagodatni izvor čovečjeg spasenja!'
A onda se diže i počeka malo,
Opet me pouči, tražeć blage reči:
'Mnogi ovde zađu, tražeći nagradu,
Ali samozvanci milost neće naći.
Carica božanska nebesima vlada
Zemlju i pakao u rukama drži.
To joj pravo niko oduzeti neće
Jer ona je naša Nebeska Kraljica.'

38

'Kraljevstvo u kom živi Gospod vlada
I samosvojnost svoju štedro daruje:
A svako ko ovde voljom Božijom dospe,
U ovom predelu, kraljica postaje.
Ali niko nikom krunu ne otima,
Već se blagodeti raduje svačijoj,
Nek se krune množe večno i u beskraj
I pravednicima povećava broj.
A Marija, koja je Hrista rodila,
Žezlo svoje slave visoko uzdiže.
To joj pravo niko oduzeti neće
Jer ona je naša Nebeska Kraljica.'

39

'Na nebesima, kaže Sveti Pavle,
Svi smo mi jedinstveno telo u Hristu.
Baš kao što glava, ruke, noge, pupak,
Uistinu jednom telu pripadaju,
Isto tako i naša duša hrišćanska
Gospodu Svevišnjemu uvek pripada.
Promisli onda nije li kakva zloba
Il' pakost uz telo tvoje privezana.
Znaj i da glavi tvojoj ništa ne smeta

On arme oþer fynger þa3 þou ber by3e.
So fare we alle wyth luf and lyste
To kyng and quene by cortaysye.'

40

'Cortaysé', quod I, 'I leue,
And charyté grete, be yow among,
Bot my speche þat yow ne greue,
* * * * *
Þyself in heuen ouer hy3 þou heue,
To make þe quen þat wat3 so 3onge.
What more honour mo3te he acheue
þat hade endured in worlde stronge,
And lyued in penaunce hys lyue3 longe
Wyth bodyly bale hym blysse to byye?
What more worschyp mo3t he fonge
þen corounde be kyng by cortaysé?

IX

41

'That cortaysé is to fre of dede,
3yf hyt be soth þat þou cone3 saye.
Þou lyfed not two 3er in oure þede;
Þou cowþe3 neuer God nauþer plese ne pray,
Ne neuer nawþer Pater ne Crede;
And quen mad on þe fyrst day!
I may not traw, so God me spede,
þat God wolde wryþe so wrange away.
Of countes, damysel, par ma fay,
Wer fayr in heuen to halde asstate,
Oþer elle3 a lady of lasse aray;
Bot a quene! Hit is to dere a date.'

42

'þer is no date of hys godnesse',
þen sayde to me þat worþy wy3te,
'For al is trawþe þat he con dresse,
And he may do noþynk bot ry3t.
As Mathew mele3 in your messe
In sothfol gospel of God almy3t,
In sample he can ful grayþely gesse,
And lykne3 hit to heuen ly3te.
"My regne", he sayt3, "is lyk on hy3t
To a lorde þat hade a uyne, I wate.
Of tyme of 3ere þe terme wat3 ty3t,
To labor vyne wat3 dere þe date.

Ako na prstu ruke prsten nosiš ti,
Tako isto boravimo mi, smrtnici,
K'o kralj ili kraljica na nebesima.'

40

'Na nebesima' rekoħ, 'ima milosrda.
Verujem, da ljubav među vama vlada,
Ipak – ne vređaj se što ću ovo reći –
* * * * *
U nečemu ti si pogrešila vrlo.
Sebe si uzdigla u nebo visoko,
Kraljicom nazvala, a tako si mlada.
Kakvu čast bi onda zadobio smrtnik
Koji postojano na zemlji trpeše,
Ispaštavši gorko sve svoje grehove.
Kakvu drugu čast bi zadobiti mog'o
Do kraljevske krune na nebesima?'

IX

41

'Taj nebeski otac, ako pravo zboriš,
Široke je ruke prema tebi bio.
Nepuna dva goda ti prožive s' nama,
Bogu da se moliš ne nauči dotad;
Nit' Očenaš, nit' Vjeruju ne utuvi,
A kraljica posta i to prvog dana!
Ne verujem tebi – nek mi Bog oprosti –
Da toliku grešku on sebi dopušta.
Možda k'o kneginju, despoticu kakvu,
Mogao bi da te tamo proizvede,
Ili k'o gospođu u rajskome šaru.
Ali k'o kraljicu, ne biva to tako!'

42

'Dobroti njegovoj nema granica,'
Odvрати strpljivo deva plemenita,
'On samo istinu svuda vaspostavlja,
A sve što čini pravednost je sušta.
Matej poručuje u svom Jevanđelju,
Prikazujuć smrtnim božju istinu
Parabolom govori o beračima
U vinogradu, pa kaže: 'Ja upravljam
Kao domaćin kom je sazrelo grožđe,
Pa traži radnike u jednome danu.
Godina se bliži završetku svome,
Dospelo je vreme, čeka ti ne može.'

43

‘Pat date of ȝere wel knawe þys hyne.
 Þe lorde ful erly vp he ros
 To hyre werkmen to hys vyne,
 And fyndeȝ þer summe to hys porpos.
 Into acorde þay con declýne
 For a pené on a day, and forth þay gotȝ,
 Wryþen and worchen and don gret pyne,
 Keruen and caggen and man hit clos.
 Aboute vnder þe lorde to marked totȝ,
 And ydel men stande he fyndeȝ þerate.
 ‘Why stande ȝe ydel?’ he sayde to þos.
 ‘Ne knawe ȝe of þis day no date?’

44

‘Er date of daye hider arn we wonne’,
 So watȝ al samen her ansvar soȝt.
 ‘We haf standen her syn ros þe sunne,
 And no mon byddeȝ vus do ryȝt noȝt.’
 ‘Gos into my vyne, dotȝ þat ȝe conne’,
 So sayde þe lorde, and made hit toȝt.
 ‘What resonabele hyre be naȝt be runne
 I yow pay in dede and þoȝte.’
 Pay wente into þe vyne and wroȝte,
 And al day þe lorde þus ȝede his gate,
 And nw men to hys vyne he broȝte
 Welneȝ wyl day watȝ passed date.

45

‘At þe date of day of euensonge,
 On oure byfore þe sonne go doun,
 He seȝ þer ydel men ful stronge
 And sade to hem wyth sobre soun,
 ‘Wy stonde ȝe ydel þise dayeȝ longe?’
 Pay sayden her hyre watȝ nawhere boun.
 ‘Gotȝ to my vyne, ȝemen zonge,
 And wyrkeȝ and dotȝ þat at ȝe moun.’
 Sone þe worlde bycom wel broun;
 Þe sunne watȝ doun and hit wex late.
 To take her hyre he mad sumoun;
 Þe day watȝ al apassed date.

43

‘Dospelo je vreme, svi to dobro znaju,
 Domaćin se diže u cik zore rane
 Beraće da najmi za vinograd svoj.
 Nađe nekoliko i dogovor sklopi:
 Za čitav dan rada platiće po groš.
 Odoše u vinograd, prema dogovoru,
 Grbačiše, kidaše, prenosiše grožđe,
 Radiše naporno letinu da skupe.
 Kad bi podne, opet domaćin izađe
 I na trgu puno dokonih pronađe.
 ‘Što stojite ovde, tako besposleni,
 A dan napređuje završetku svome?’

44

‘U zoru smo ranu dospeli ovamo,’
 U jedan glas oni odgovore smerno,
 I još dodadoše: ‘Niko nas ne najmi,
 Raditi smo spremni što god nam ponude.’
 Domaćin im reče: ‘Idite sad i vi
 U moj vinograd; daću što je pravo,
 Namera je moja da do kraja dana,
 Svakome isplatim, kako mu pripada.’
 ‘I ovi radnici u lozje odoše,
 Čovek pak nastavi radnike da traži
 I nove da šalje do samog sumraka,
 Kad je dan sve bliži završetku svome.’

45

‘Dan se približio završetku svome,
 Osta jedna ura, večernje već zvoni.
 Tad čovek ugleda još dokonih ljudi
 Pozva ih i reče ozbiljnoga glasa,
 ‘Što vas dan stojite, a snažni ste, jaki?’
 Odgovoriše mu, ‘Nema posla za nas,
 Niko nas ne zove.’ ‘Ja posao nudim,
 Dajte sve od sebe, delatnici mladi,
 Dobićete platu u mom vinogradu.’
 ‘Uskoro se smrači, svuda pade tama,
 Sunce beše zašlo, i bi sasvim kasno.
 Čovek pozva radne da dobiju platu
 Jer dan beše stig’o završetku svome.’

X

46

‘The date of þe daye þe lorde con know,
Called to þe reue: ‘Lede, pay þe meyny.
Gyf hem þe hyre þat I hem owe,
And fyrre, þat non me may reprené,
Set hem alle vpon a rawe
And gyf vchon inlyche a peny.
Bygyn at þe laste þat stande3 lowe,
Tyl to þe fyrst þat þou atteny.’
And þenne þe fyrst bygonne to pleny
And sayden þat þay hade trauayled sore:
‘Þese bot on oure hem con streny;
Vus þynk vus o3e to take more.

47

‘More haf we serued, vus þynk so,
þat suffred han þe daye3 hete,
Þenn þyse þat wro3t not houre3 two,
And þou dot3 hem vus to counterfete.’
Þenne sayde þe lorde to on of þo:
‘Frende, no waning I wyl þe 3ete;
Take þat is þyn owne, and go.
And I hyred þe for a peny agrete,
Quy bygynne3 þou now to þrete?
Wat3 not a pené þy couenaunt þore?
Fyrre þen couenaunde is no3t to plete.
Wy schalte þou þenne ask more?

48

‘More, weþer loulyly is me my gyfte,
To do wyth myn quat-so me lyke3?
Oþer elle3 þyn y3e to lyþer is lyfte
For I am goude and non byswyke3?’
Þus schal I”, quod Kryste, “hit skyfte:
þe laste schal be þe fyrst þat stryke3,
And þe fyrst þe laste, be he neuer so swyft;
For mony ben called, þa3 fewe be myke3.”
Þus pore men her part ay pyke3,
Þa3 þay com late and lyttel wore;
And þa3 her sweng wyth lyttel atslyke3,
þe merci of God is much þe more.

X

46

‘S završetkom dana domaćin pozove
Nadzornika svog, reče mu: ‘Dozovi
Poslenike svoje i podaj im platu.
Ali pazi da se ne pobune. Sve ih
Redom ti postroji kako behu došli
I svakome od njih po groš jedan podaj.
Počni sa poslednjim, završi sa prvim,
Od onog najnižeg, sve do onog gornjeg.’
Al’ tad prvi poče bunit’ se žestoko:
‘Radili smo vredno bogovetni dan,
Dočim ovi ovde čak ni jedan sat.
Zar ne bi trebalo nama dati više?’

47

‘Više smo radili, na suncu goreli,
Čini nam se zato da ne mogu biti
Isti ovi ovde. Oni jedva uru
Posla sastaviše, ti ih izjednači!’
Tad gospodar reče: ‘Ne činim ti krivo,
Prijatelju. Uzmi što ti spada, idi.
Dogovor je bio jedan groš na dan.
Što se sada buniš, nisam te slagao?
Dobio si ono što sam obećao,
Dogovor je bio samo jedan groš.
Ti se sada buniš i zahtevaš još,
Zašto bi trebalo vama da dam više?’

48

‘Il’ ja nisam vlastan činit’ svoju volju,
Raspolaĝat’ svojim kako mi se sviĊi?
Zar se oko tvoje prozllilo jer sam bio
Dobar? Prevarih li tebe ja ikako?
Zar ne reče Hristos apostolima svim,
„Posednji će prvi da nagradu primi
A prvi poslednji, uzalud se žuri.
Mnogo j’ zvanih, malo izabranih.“
Siromah će tako svoj deo dobiti
Makar zakasnio, makar bio bedan,
Makako da je skroman njegov učinak,
Božja milost tim će samo biti veća.’

49

‘More haf I of joye and blysse hereinne,
Of ladyschyp gret and lyue3 blom,
Pen alle þe wy3e3 in þe worlde my3t wynne
By þe way of ry3t to aske dome.
Wheþer welnygh now I con bygynne –
In euentyde into þe vyne I come –
Fyrst of my hyre my Lorde con mynne:
I wat3 payed anon of al and sum.

3et oþer þer werne þat toke more tom,
þat swange and swat for long 3ore,
þat 3et of hyre noþynk þay nom,
Paraunter no3t schal to-3ere more.’

XI

50

Then more I meled and sayde apert:
‘Me þynk þy tale vnresounable.
Godde3 ry3t is redy and euermore rert,
Oþer Holy Wryt is bot a fable.
In Sauter is sayd a verce ouerte
þat speke3 a poynt determynable:
“Þou quytez vchon as hys desserte,
Þou hy3e kyng ay pretermynable.”

Now he þat stod þe long day stable,
And þou to payment com hym byfore,
þenne þe lasse in werke to take more able,
And euer þe lenger þe lasse, þe more.’

51

‘Of more and lasse in Gode3 ryche’,
þat gentyl sayde, ‘lys no joparde,
For þer is vch mon payed inlyche,
Wheþer lyttel oþer much be hys rewarde;
For þe gentyl Cheuentayn is no chyche,
Queþer-so-euer he dele nesch oþer harde:
He laue3 hys gyfte3 as water of dyche,
Oþer gote3 of golf þat neuer charde.

Hys fraunchyse is large þat euer dard
To Hym þat mat3 in synne rescoghe;
No blysse bet3 fro hem reparde,
For þe grace of God is gret inoghe.

49

‘Više sreće i radosti dobih ovde,
Veliko gospinstvo i život u cvatu,
No što bi to iko zadobiti mog’o,
Tražeć suštu pravdu od svoje sudbine!
A sad da ti kažem, od samog početka,
U sumračak prvi u vinograd stigoh
I moj Gospod odmah znade šta mi spada,
Nadnicu isplati u punom iznosu.

Mada beše mnogih, od ranoga jutra
Što silno i dugo u vrtu radiše,
Nikakve nadnice još ne dobiše
I čekaće možda još duže i više.’

XI

50

Opet progovorih i rekoh iskreno:
‘Priča mi se tvoja čini nerazumno.
Božja pravda stiže namah i pravedno,
Il’ će Sveto pismo biti pusta bajka!
U Psalmima piše sasvim otvoreno,
U onome stihu koji jasno kaže:
„U tebe je milost, Gospode, i ti
Plaćaš svakome po delima njegovim.“

Postojani radnik koji vas dan radi
Gleda kako svoju nadnicu ti primaš.
Zar za manje truda veća je nagrada,
U vekove tako, što manje, to više?’

51

‘Šta je manje, a šta više, u Gospoda,
Nije neizvesno’, reče stvor umilni,
‘I svakom se tu sad podjednako plaća,
Da l’ zaslužio je malo ili mnogo.
Naš Nebeski Vladar neće biti škrtac,
U svojoj blagosti, kao i strogoći,
On svoje darove široko prosipa,
U moćnome mlazu k’o široka reka.

Nagradu će dobit’ ko mu se pokori,
I zatraži oprost za sva grešna dela;
Tom sreća pripada i večno blaženstvo,
Velika je milost Svemogućeg Boga.’

52

‘Bot now þou mote3, me for to mate,
 Pat I my peny haf wrang tan here;
 Pou say3 þat I þat com to late
 Am not worþy so gret fere.
 Where wyste3 þou euer any bourne abate,
 Euer so holy in hys prayere,
 Pat he ne forfeþet by sumkyn gate
 Þe mede sumtyme of heuene3 clere?
 And ay þe ofter, þe alder þay were,
 Þay laften ry3t and wro3ten woghe.
 Mercy and grace moste hem þen stere,
 For þe grace of God is gret inno3e.

53

‘Bot innoghe of grace hat3 innocent.
 As sone as þay arn borne, by lyne
 In þe water of babtem þay dyssente:
 Þen arn þay boro3t into þe vyne.
 Anon þe day, wyth derk endente,
 Þe niy3t of deth dot3 to enclyne:
 Pat wro3t neuer wrang er þenne þay wente,
 Þe gentyle Lorde þenne paye3 hys hyne.
 Þay dyden hys heste, þay wern þereine;
 Why schulde he not her labour alow,
 3ys, and pay hem at þe fyrst fyne?
 For þe grace of God is gret innoghe.

54

‘Ino3e is knawen þat mankyn grete
 Fyrste wat3 wro3t to blysse parfyt;
 Oure forme fader hit con forfeþe
 Þur3 an apple þat he vpon con byte.
 Al wer we dampned for þat mete
 To dy3e in doel out of delyt
 And syþen wende to helle hete,
 Þerinne to won wythoute respyt.
 Bot þeron com a bote astyt.
 Ryche blod ran on rode so roghe,
 And wynne water þen at þat plyt:
 Þe grace of God wex gret innoghe.

55

‘Innoghe þer wax out of þat welle,
 Blod and water of brode wounde.
 Þe blod vus bo3t fro bale of helle

52

‘A ti sada hoćeš mene da ubediš
 Da sam svoju paru bespravno uzela,
 Tvrdiš da sam ovde prekasno dospela,
 Da takvu nagradu nisam zaslužila.
 Pa zar nisi do sad ti nikoga sreo
 Ko se vredno moli, al’ bez prave žari,
 A da zbog tog nije, avaj, izgubio
 Nebesku nagradu, svetlost ponajveću?
 I što čovek dalje u životu hodi,
 Zaboravlja dobro i zlu se priklanja,
 Šta ga spasti može sa pogrešnog puta?
 Velika je milost Svemogućeg Boga.’

53

‘Milost, oproštenje, nevinim pripada;
 Čim se rode, oni zaranjaju redom
 Baš u svetu vodu Hristovog krštenja,
 Da bi opet redom u vinograd stigli.
 A ubrzo potom dan se bliži kraju,
 Pomrčina smrti spušta se i kupi
 One koji ne stigoše učiniti zla.
 A Gospod je velik, svoje sluge plaća,
 Što su došli k njemu, što radiše vredno,
 Zašto bi trud njihov nenagrađen ost’o,
 Vaistinu zašto, već kod prve brazde?
 Velika je milost Svemogućeg Boga.’

54

‘Svim je dobro znano da je prvi čovek
 Stvoren da uživa u punom blaženstvu.
 Ali, naš praotac to je proigrao
 Kad je zagrizao zabranjeno voće.
 Tim je zalogajem sve nas osudio
 Na život u jadu i smrt u mukama,
 Odakle se ide u vrelinu pakla,
 I večno prebiva sve do kraja sveta.
 Ali iznenada svima spas nam dođe:
 Kad krstom drvenim sveta krv poteče,
 I voda krštenja, i u tom zalogu,
 Velika je milost Svemogućeg Boga.’

55

‘Iz izvora toga poteklo je mnogo
 I krvi i vode. Rana beše silna,
 Ali krv ta beše iskupljenje naše,

And delyuered vus of þe deth secounde;
 Þe water is baptem, þe soþe to telle,
 Þat folȝed þe glayue so grymly grounde,
 Þat wascheȝ away þe gylteȝ felle
 Þat Adam wyth inne deth vus drounde.
 Now is þer noȝt in þe worlde rounde
 Bytwene vus and blysse bot þat he wythdroȝ,
 And þat is restored in sely stounde;
 And þe grace of God is gret innogh.

XII

56
 ‘Grace innogh þe mon may haue
 Þat synneȝ þenne new, ȝif hym repente,
 Bot wyth sorȝ and syt he mot hit craue,
 And byde þe payne þerto is bent.
 Bot resoun of ryȝt þat con not raue
 Saueȝ euermore þe innossent;
 Hit is a dom þat neuer God gaue,
 Þat euer þe gyltleȝ schulde be schente.
 Þe gyltyf may contryssoun hente
 And be þurȝ mercy to grace þryȝt;
 Bot he to gyle þat neuer glente
 And inoscente is saf and ryȝte.

57
 ‘Ryȝt þus I knaw wel in þis cas
 Two men to saue is god by skylle:
 Þe ryȝtwys man schal se hys face,
 Þe harmleȝ habel schal com hym tylle.
 Þe Sauter hyt satȝ þus in a pace:
 “Lorde, quo schal klymbe þy hyȝ hylle,
 Oþer rest wythinne þy holy place?”
 Hymself to onsware he is not dylle:
 “Hondelyngeȝ harme þat dyt not ille,
 Þat is of hert boþe clene and lyȝt,
 Þer schal hys step stable stytle”:
 Þe innosent is ay saf by ryȝt.

58
 ‘The ryȝtwys man also sertayn
 Aproche he schal þat proper pyle,
 Þat takeȝ not her lyf in vayne,
 Ne glauereȝ her niezbor wyth no gyle.
 Of þys ryȝtwys saȝ Salamon playn

Ona nas je druge smrti izbavila.
 Voda je krštenje, istina je prava,
 Okrutnoga koplja šiljkom izazvana.
 Ona spira grehe kojim nas je u smrt
 Adam oterao. Hrist u život vraća.
 Ničeg više nema na zemaljskom šaru
 Što ne odgna Gospod, sreća samo osta
 Koju nam povrati u blaženom času.
 Velika je milost Svemogućeg Boga.’

XII

56
 ‘Milost preveliku može dobit’ grešnik
 Ako se pokaje zbog svog novog greha,
 Uz grižu savesti za nju će se molit’,
 Sagrašenje svoje dugo će ispaštat’.
 Al’ razumna pravda, koja grešit’ ne zna,
 Nevinog će spasti, vo vjeki vjekova,
 Nikad naš Svevišnji nije odredio
 Da nedužni strada, da prokletstvo snosi.
 Ali zato grešnik kajanjem se mora
 Očistit’ od greha, milost zadobiti.
 Onaj što rđavstvo počinio nije
 S nevinima spasen u milosti biće.’

57
 ‘Ja znam, da će Gospod isto tako snagom
 Svoje promisli spasti božja stvorenja,
 Onog čista srca, što će Boga videt’
 I onog bezgrešnog što će pred njeg’ stati.
 I u Psalmu kaže na jednome mestu:
 „Gospode, ko će stići na svetu goru
 Tvoju, odmarat’ se u senici Tvoj?”
 A na drugom mestu stoji odgovor:
 „Kom su čiste ruke i srce bezazleno,
 Ko ime Gospodnje ne izriče zaman,
 Noga njegova stoji na pravom putu.”
 Jer je uvek nevin spasen s razlogom.’

58
 ‘Ko je čista srca, taj će se uspeti
 Do zidova grada što je na visini.
 A ko vreme svoje ne traći utaman,
 Ko o svom susedu ne svedoči lažno,
 O takvim govori Solomon i kaže

How Koyntise onoure con aquyle;
By waye3 ful strejt ho con hym strayn,
And scheued hym þe rengne of God awhyle,
As quo says, "Lo, 3on louely yle!
þou may hit wynne if þou be wyzte."
Bot, hardyly, wythoute peryle,
þe innoſent is ay ſaue by ryzte.

59

'Anende ryztwys men 3et ſayt3 a gome,
Dauid in Sauter, if euer 3e ſy3 hit:
"Lorde, þy ſeruaunt dra3 neuer to dome,
For non lyuyande to þe is juſtyfyet."
Forþy to corte quen þou ſchal com
þer alle oure cauſe3 ſchal be tryed,
Alegge þe ryzt, þou may be innoſe,
By þys ilke ſpech I haue aſſpyed;
Bot he on rode þat bloody dyed,
Delfully þur3 honde3 þryzt,
Gyue þe to paſſe, when þou arte tryed,
By innoſens and not by ryzte.

60

'Ryztwysly quo con rede,
He loke on bok and be awayed
How Jeſus hym welke in areþede,
And burne3 her barne3 vnto hym brayde.
For happe and hele þat fro hym 3ede
To touch her chylder þay fayr hym prayed.
His deſſypele3 wyth blame let be hem bede
And wyth her reſoune3 ful fele reſtayed.
Jeſus þenne hem ſwetely ſayde:
"Do way, let chylder vnto me tyzt.
To ſuche is heuenryche arayed":
þe innoſent is ay ſaf by ryzt.

XIII

61

'Jeſus con calle to hym hys mylde,
And ſayde hys ryche no wy3 myzt wynne
Bot he com þyder ryzt aſ a chylde,
Oþer elle3 neuermore com þerinne.
Harmle3, trwe, and vndefylde,
Wythouten mote oþer maſcle of ſulpande ſynne,
Quen ſuch þer cnoken on þe bylde,

Da ſvojom mudroſću ſlavu zaſlužiſe.
Ona ih je putem iſpravnim vodila
I pokazala im gde Goſpod prebiva.

Pa još kaže, „Pogledaj dom Goſpoda ſvog!
Tamo ſtići možeš, ako mudar budeš.“
Zato znaj, i bez muke i pogibelji
Nevini ſu uvek ſ pravom ſpaſeni.'

59

'A za pravednoga još dalje govori
David u Pſalmima, ako ſi čitao:
„Goſpode, ne ſudi ſluzi tvojemu
Jer pred tobom niko nije pravedan.“
I zato kad pred ſud budeš iſaſao,
Gde ſe ſvima nama ſudi, ti ne traži
Pravdu koja tebi, miſliš, pripada.
Ne biva to tako, kao ſto već reče.
Samo onaj ſto na krſtu krv je prolio,
Ruku čavlima groznim prikovan,
Može ti, miſtoſtiv, put u raj odobriti,
I to ne po pravu, već po nevinosti.'

60

'Ko ume da čita i pravo razume,
U Svetom će piſmu ſtihove pronaći
Kako Iſus nekad zemljom je hodio,
A ljudi mu poſvud decu privodili
Da ih blagoſilja i od zla zaſtititi.
Moliſe uſrdno da ih ſe dotakne.
Učenići njegovi od njih ga branjahu,
Koreći ih da ga oſtave ſa mirom.
Iſus na to reče, umilno i blago,
„Oſtavite decu, nek dolaze k meni
Jer je takovijeh ſvo carſtvo nebeſko!“
Jer ſu nevini uvek ſ pravom ſpaſeni.'

XIII

61

'I još im reče taj učitelj blagi,
Želeć da pouči, mudroſću oſveſti:
„Koji carſtva božijeg ne primi k'o dete
Taj nikad u njegov' više ući neće.
Drugog puta nema, to vam čvrſto zborim.“
Bez mrlje, bez traga ſamrtnoga greha,
Kad takav zakuca pred ſvetim vratima,

Tyt schal hem men þe zate vnpynne.
 Þer is þe blys þat con not blynne
 Þat þe jueler soȝte þurȝ perré pres,
 And solde alle hys goud, boþe wolen and
 lynne,
 To bye hym a perle watȝ mascelleȝ.

62
 ‘This makelleȝ perle, þat boȝt is dere,
 Þe joueler gef fore alle hys god,
 Is lyke þe reme of heuenesse clere:
 So sayde þe Fader of folde and flode;
 For hit is wemleȝ, clene, and clere,
 And endeleȝ rounde, and blyþe of mode,
 And commune to alle þat ryȝtwys were.
 Lo, euen inmydeȝ my breste hit stode.
 My Lorde þe Lombe, þat schede hys blode,
 He pyȝt hit þere in token of pes.
 I rede þe forsake þe worlde wode
 And porchace þy perle maskelleȝ.’

63
 ‘O maskeleȝ perle in perleȝ pure,
 Þat bereȝ’, quod I, ‘þe perle of prys,
 Quo formed þe þy fayre fyȝure?
 Þat wroȝt þy wede, he watȝ ful wys.
 Þy beauté com neuer of nature;
 Pymalyon paynted neuer þy vys,
 Ne Arystotel nawþer by hys lettrure
 Of carped þe kynde þese propertéȝ.
 Þy colour passeȝ þe flour-de-lys;
 Þyn angel-hauyng so clene corteȝ.
 Breue me, bryȝt, quat kyn offys
 Bereȝ þe perle so maskelleȝ?’

64
 ‘My makeleȝ Lambe þat al may bete’,
 Quod scho, ‘my dere destyné,
 Me ches to hys make, alþaȝ vnmete
 Sumtyme semed þat assemblé.
 When I wente fro yor worlde wete,
 He calde me to hys bonerté:
 “Cum hyder to me, my lemman swete,
 For mote ne spot is non in þe.”
 He gef me myȝt and als bewté;

Sve će se kapije njemu otvoriti.
 Tu je blaženstvo kojem nema kraja,
 Ono što draguljar međ’ kamenjem traži
 I svoje bogatstvo na trgu prodaje,
 Biser taj da kupi, blistavoga sjaja.’

62
 ‘Biser nenadmašni, tako skupo plaćen –
 Draguljar bi za njeg’ dao sve bogatstvo –
 Po rečima Oca čitavoga sveta
 Blista poput svoda nebeskoga carstva.
 Savršenstvo čisto, jasan i bez mane,
 Sasvim okrugao, sasvim neokaljan,
 Zajednički svima što su srca čista.
 Gledaj, na sredini grudi mojih stoji!
 Jagnje, moj Gospod, što krv svoju proli,
 Položi ga tamo, kao zalag mira.
 Kažem, odreci se sveta bezumnoga,
 Biser sebi kupi, blistavoga sjaja.’

63
 ‘Biseru blistavi, biserjem optočen,
 Koja nosiš,’ rekoh, ‘Perlu dragocenu,
 Ko li je takovu lepotu stvorio,
 I ko je odoru na tebi sašio?
 Jer lepota tvoja nije od prirode,
 Nit’ bi Pigmalion lik taj mog’o stvorit’;
 A ni Aristotel nije govorio
 U spisima svojim o takvome biću.
 U licu si belja od najbeljeg krina,
 U držanju smerna poput anđela.
 Reci svetli stvore, koji visok poziv
 Ispunjava Biser, blistavoga sjaja.’

64
 ‘Prečisti Jaganjac, u svem nepobediv,’
 Reče deva na to, ‘sudbom mi dodeljen,
 Za nevestu me uze, ma kako da sam
 Nevredna bila ja, kad napustih onaj
 Svet pun patnje, bola; ipak, on me pozva
 U vrt svoj, blagoslova prepun, rekavši,
 “Hodi k meni sada, mila nevestice,
 Jer si lepa i nemaš nedostataka.”
 Snagom me obdari i još lepotom,

In hys blod he wesch my wede on dese,
And coronde clene in vergynté,
And pyzt me in perlez maskellez.'

65

'Why, maskellez byrd þat bryzt con flambe,
þat reiatéz hat3 so ryche and ryf,
Quat kyn þyng may be þat Lambe
þat þe wolde wedde vnto hys vyf?
Ouer alle oper so hy3 þou clambe
To lede wyth hym so ladyly lyf.
So mony a comly on-vunder cambe
For Kryst han lyued in much stryf;
And þou con alle þo dere out dryf
And fro þat maryag al oper depres,
Al only þyself so stout and styf,
A makelez may and maskellez.'

XIV

66

'Maskelles', quod þat myry quene,
'Vnblemyst I am, wythouten blot,
And þat may I wyth mensk menteene;
Bot "makelez quene" þenne sade I not.
þe Lambes vyue3 in blysse we bene,
A hondred and forty fowre þowsande flot,
As in þe Apocalyppe3 hit is sene;
Sant John hem sy3 al in a knot.
On þe hyl of Syon, þat semly clot,
þe apostel hem segh in gostly drem
Arayed to þe weddyng in þat hyl-coppe,
þe nwe cyté o Jerusalem.

67

'Of Jerusalem I in speche spelle.
If þou wyl knaw what kyn he be,
My Lombe, my Lorde, my dere juelle,
My ioy, my blys, my lemman fre,
þe profete Ysaye of hym con melle
Pitously of hys debonerté:
"þat glorious gyltle3 þat mon con quelle
Wythouten any sake of felonye,
As a schep to þe slajt þer lad wat3 he;
And, as lombe þat clypper in hande nem,
So closed he hys mouth fro vch query,
Quen Jue3 hym iugged in Jerusalem."

Krvlju svojom opra svu odeću moju,
Pa me kao čistu devicu okruni,
Biserom ukrasi, blistavoga sjaja.'

65

'Prečista nevesto, što kao plam sjajiš,
Okružena znakom kraljevskog života,
Kakvo je stvorenje tvoj Jaganjac beli
Kad tebe požele za svoju nevestu?
Više od svih drugih ti si se popela
U životu sa njim, najviša gospođa!
Tolike su druge s krunama na glavi
U Hrista se uzdav', mučnim putem prošle.
Ti si ih, međutim, s puta oterala,
Mada sama, ponosita, k'o kam snažna,
U brak si blaženi s Jaganjcem stupila,
Kraljice prečista, blistavoga sjaja.'

XIV

66

'Ja jesam prečista', reče mi kraljica,
'I neukaljana, i bez jedne mrlje,
To ti mogu reći, sa puno ponosa,
Al' nikad ne kazah „prečista kraljica“.
Suprugā blaženog Jaganjca božijeg
Ima stotinu četrdest hiljada,
Što ćeš sam saznati u Apokalipsi.
Video ih Sveti Jovan kako stoje
Tamo na brdu, što se Sion zvaše.
Apostol ih vide u svome snu, sveti,
Pripravljene, jer bi svadba Jagnjetova,
U novome gradu, u Jerusalimu.'

67

'O Jerusalimu pričaću ti sada,
Ako želiš znati od koje je vrste
Gospod moj, Jagnje moje, mili Dragulj moj,
Skupocenost, radost, ljubav blažena.
Isaija prorok govori o njemu,
O njegovoj blagosti, sažaljivo priča:
"Uzvišenog pravednika ljudi ubiše
Koji ne učini nikakve nepravde.
Baš kao jaganjac bi na klanje vođen,
Kao ovca nema pred onim što strižu,
Tako ni on usta svojih ne otvori,
Kad sudiše Jevreji u Jerusalimu."

68

‘In Jerusalem wat3 my lemman slayn
And rent on rode wyth boye3 bolde.
Al oure bale3 to bere ful bayn,
He toke on hymself oure care3 colde.
Wyth boffete3 wat3 hys face flayn
þat wat3 so fayr on to byholde.
For synne he set hymself in vayn,
þat neuer hade non hymself to wolde.
For vus he lette hym fly3e and folde
And brede vpon a bostwys bem;
As meke as lomp þat no playnt tolde
For vus he swalt in Jerusalem.

69

‘In Jerusalem, Jordan, and Galalye,
þer as baptyssed þe goude Saynt Jon,
His worde3 acorded to Ysaye.
When Jesus con to hym warde gon.
He sayde of hym þys professye:
“Lo, Gode3 Lombe as trwe as ston,
þat dot3 away þe synne3 dry3e
þat alle þys worlde hat3 wro3t vpon.
Hymself ne wro3t neuer zet non;
Wheþer on hymself he con al clem.
Hys generacyoun quo recen con,
þat dy3ed for vus in Jerusalem?”

70

‘In Ierusalem þus my lemman swete
Tweye3 for lombe wat3 taken þare,
By trw recorde of ayþer prophete,
For mode so meke and al hys fare.
þe þryde tyme is þerto ful mete,
In Apokalype3 wryten ful zare;
Inmyde3 þe trone, þere saynte3 sete,
þe apostel Iohn hym sa3 as bare,
Lesande þe boke with leue3 sware
þere seuen syngnette3 wern sette in seme;
And at þat sy3t vche douth con dare
In helle, in erþe, and Jerusalem.

68

‘U Jerusalemu mog Dragog umoriše
I sa zločincima na krst razapeše,
Našeg mira radi, da se bes iskali,
On na sebe uze svu gadost naroda.
Šibama mu lepo isekoše lice,
Mili lik svetački, tako pun dobrote.
Bezakonja mnogih on na sebe uze,
Koji je bezgrešan, vrlinom ispunjen.
Nas radi dopusti da ga šibaju,
Zlostavljaju, muče, na krst razapnu.
K’o jagnje pokoran i bez prekora,
Za nas dušu pusti u Jerusalemu.’

69

‘U Galileji, na reci Jordanu,
Sveti Jovan ga je, dobri, krstio.
Prorok Isaija govori baš tako:
I dok mu je Isus, smerni, prilazio,
Prorok ove reči o njemu izreče:
“Gledajte, Jagnje Božije, kao stena
Postojana, opračće sagrađenja sva
Što ljudski rod dosada redom počini.
Mada on sam ni jedno dosad ne zgreši,
Uze na sebe ljudska nepočinstva sva.
Ko li će iz roda njegova da kaže
Ko nas radi izdahnu u Jerusalemu?’

70

‘U Jerusalemu Dragi moj stradaše,
Kao što svedoče ova dva proroka,
Zbog blagosti svoje i zbog pravednosti,
Kao jagnje žrtveno, iskrvario je.
I treći put isto zapisano beše
U Apokalipsi, iscrpno i jasno:
“I videh na sredini prestolja“, Jovan
Apostol piše, “gde svetitelji sede,
Knjigu ispisanu spolja i iznutra
I zapečaćenu sa sedam pečata.“
Pred tim prizorom stvor svaki uzdrhti
U paklu, na zemlji i Jerusalemu.’

XV

71

‘Thys Jerusalem Lombe hade neuer pechche
Of oþer huee bot quyt jolyf
þat mot ne masklle mozt on streche,
For wolle quyte so ronk and ryf.
Forþy vche saule þat hade neuer teche
Is to þat Lombe a worthyly wyf;
And þa3 vch day a store he feche,
Among vus comme3 nouþer strot ne stryf;
Bot vchon enlé we wolde were fyf –
þe mo þe myryer, so God me blesse.
In compayny gret our luf con þryf
In honour more and neuer þe lesse.

72

‘Lasse of blysse may non vus bryng
þat beren þys perle vpon oure bereste,
For þay of mote couþe neuer mynge
Of spotle3 perle3 þat beren þe creste.
Alþa3 oure corses in clotte3 clynge,
And 3e remen for rauþe wythouten reste,
We þur3outly hauen cnawying;
Of on dethe ful oure hope is drest.
þe Lombe vus glade3, oure care is kest;
He myrþe3 vus alle at vch a mes.
Vchone3 blysse is breme and beste,
And neuer one3 honour 3et neuer þe les.

73

‘Lest les þou leue my tale farande,
In Appocalyppece is wryten in wro:
“I seghe”, says John, “þe Loumbe hym stande
On þe mount of Syon ful þryuen and þro,
And wyth hym maydenne3 and hundreþe
þowsande,
And fowre and forty þowsande mo.
On alle her forhede3 wryten I fand
þe Lombe3 nome, hys Fadere3 also.
A hue from heuen I herde þoo,
Lyk flode3 fele laden runnen on resse,
And as þunder þrowe3 in torre3 blo,
þat lote, I leue, wat3 neuer þe les.

XV

71

‘To Jagnje Jerusalimsko nemaše na
Sebi druge boje do jedino bele,
Krzno mu je gusto i blistavo belo,
A na tu belinu ništa se ne hvata.
I zato samo duša neokaljana
Jaganjcu ovom može biti supruga.
I mada svakodnevno nove neveste
K njemu dolaze, mi živimo u slozi.
I još bi želele da na svaku dođe
Po pet novih, jer u mnoštvu je blagoslov.
U velikom društvu, život napreduje
Sve više i više, uvek nepresušno.’

72

‘Nepresušno blaženstvo donosi svaka
Sa biserom krupnim na svojim grudima.
Jer ni jedna nema zle misli, pakosti,
Kad biserom sjajnim ta je ovenčana.
Svakoј njeno telo u zemlji sad trune;
Avaj, ti u bolu svoje halje kidaš,
No znaj, mi smo mudrost konačnu spoznale,
Da nam smrt njegova spasenje donosi.
Svakoј ponaosob on daje blagoslov,
Dušu nam smiruje, slaveći Gospoda
I balženstvo naše navek umnožava
Sve više i više, uvek nepresušno.’

73

‘Sumnjaš li, međutim, mojim rečima,
Stihove pronađi u Apokalipsi:
“I videh gde Jagnje na gori stajaše
Sionskoј i s njim sto i četrdeset i
Četiri hiljade devica; i svakoј
Ime oca njegova, na čelu beše
Napisano, a pritom još i ime
Jagnjeta našega blagoslovenog.
I čuh kako se glas sa neba prolomi,
Kao bujica kad brana se provali,
Kao što grme gromovi međ’ bregovima,
Huka je ta, verujem, uvek nepresušna.”

74

‘Naupeles, þa3 hit schowted scharpe,
And ledden loude alþa3 hit were,
A note ful nwe I herde hem warpe,
To lysten þat wat3 ful lufly dere.
As harpore3 harpen in her harpe,
þat nwe songe þay songen ful cler,
In sounande note3 a gentyl carpe;
Ful fayre þe mode3 þay fonge in fere.
Ryzt byfore Gode3 chayere
And þe fowre beste3 þat hym obes
And þe aldermen so sadde of chere,
Her songe þay songen neuer þe les.

75

‘Nowþelese non wat3 neuer so quoynt,
For alle þe crafte3 þat euer þay knewe,
þat of þat songe myzt synge a poynt,
Bot þat meyny þe Lombe þat swe;
For þay arn bo3t fro þe vrþe aloynte
As newe fryt to God ful due,
And to þe gentyl Lombe hit arn anioynt,
As lyk to hymself of lote and hwe;
For neuer lesyng ne tale vntwrē
Ne towched her tonge for no dysstresse.
þat moteles meyny may neuer remwe
Fro þat maskele3 mayster, neuer þe les.”

76

‘Neuer þe les let be my þonc’,
Quod I, ‘My perle, þa3 I appose;
I schulde not tempte þy wyt so wlone,
To Kryste3 chambre þat art ichose.
I am bot mokke and mul among,
And þou so ryche a reken rose,
And byde3 here by þys blysful bonc
þer lyue3 lyste may neuer lose.
Now, hynde, þat sympelnesse cone3 enclose,
I wolde þe aske a þynge expresse,
And þa3 I be bustwys as a blose,
Let my bone vayl neuerþelese.

74

“Međutim, dok se glas gromko prolamao,
A huka snažna sve glasnija bivala,
Začu se i jedna nova melodija,
Tako slatka, tako omamna i nežna,
Kao da svirači harfi zvuk izvlače.
Nova pesma beše to, što je pevahu
U jedan glas. Razgovetno se širila,
Milozvučno, pred prestolom Gospoda,
I pred četiri životinje i još pred
Starešinama što ozbiljni sedahu
I svi oni u jedan glas pevahu
Pesmu koja se razleže nepresušno.”

75

“Ali, niko ne mogaše naučiti
Tu pesmu, ma kako daroviti bili,
Osim onih sto i četrdeset četir
Hiljade što je za Jagnjetom hodilo.
Jer sa zemlje bejahu otkupljene,
Kao novo voće Gospodu prinetē.
Jagnjetu prilaze, Bogom pomazane,
Jagnjetu su slične, izgledom, čistotom,
Na usnama njihovim nema prevare
Jer su bez mane pred prestolom božijim.
I nikad ga neće napustiti stado
Njegovo prečisto, njega nepresušnog.”

76

‘Oprosti mi Perlo moja’, rekoħ joj tad,
‘Što toliko zapitkujem, nemam mira,
Zamaram te, a ti toliko si mudra.
Jer dok ja u blatu i mulju prebivam,
Hristu za odaju ti si odabrana.
Sad odgovor tražim od tebe, ružice
Mirisna u sred ružičnjaka blažena,
Gde životna radost večno obitava.
Zato, divoto moja, smernosti puna,
Dozvoli da upitam nešto posebno,
Ma kako pitanje bilo izlišno,
Ispuni mi molbu, o ti, prečista!’

XVI

77

‘Neuerpelese cler I yow bycalle,
If 3e con se hyt be to done;
As þou art glorious wythouten galle,
Wythnay þou neuer my ruful bone.
Haf 3e no wone3 in castel-walle,
Ne maner þer 3e may mete and won?
Þou telle3 me of Jerusalem þe ryche ryalle,
Þer Daudid dere wat3 dy3t on trone,
 Bot by þyse holte3 hit con not hone,
 Bot in Judee hit is, þat noble note.
 As 3e ar maskele3 vnder mone,
 Your wone3 schulde be wythouten mote.

78

‘Þys motele3 meyny þou cone3 of mele,
Of þousande3 þry3t so gret a route,
A gret ceté, for 3e arn fele,
Yow byhod haue, wythouten doute.
So cumly a pakke of joly juele
Wer euel don schulde ly3 þeroute,
And by þyse bonke3 þer I con gele
I se no bygyng nawhere aboute.
 I trowe alone 3e lenge and loute
 To loke on þe glory of þys gracious gote.
 If þou hat3 oþer bygynge3 stoute,
 Now tech me to þat myry mote.’

79

‘That mote þou mene3 in Judy londe’,
Þat specyal spyce þen to me spakk,
‘Þat is þe cyté þat þe Lombe con fonde
To suffer inne sor for mane3 sake,
Þe olde Jerusalem to vnderstonde;
For þere þe olde gulte wat3 don to slake.
Bot þe nwe, þat ly3t of Gode3 sonde,
Þe apostel in Apocalyppe in theme con take.
 Þe Lompe þer wythouten spotte3 blake
 Hat3 feryed þyder hys fayre flote;
 And as hys flok is wythouten flake,
 So is hys mote wythouten moote.

80

‘Of motes two to carpe clene,
And Jerusalem hy3t boþe nawþeles –

XVI

77

‘Zato ću te sada pitat’ otvoreno –
Odgovor tebi uzvišenoj prepuštam.
Ispuni mi molbu, veličanstven stvore!
Imaš li ti, kaži, neko svoje mesto
Unutar zidina, gde boraviš, primaš.
O Jerusalmu govoriš, carskom gradu,
U kojem je David plemenit na tronu
Sedeo. No, on ne beše tu, kraj reke,
 Već u Judeji, tom širokom predelu,
 Sedištu mnogobrojnih slavni careva.
 O bezgrešna devo, zar ti ne pripada
 Boravište neko, koje je prečisto?’

78

‘To prečisto društvo o kojem govoriš
Te stotine hiljada – takva množina,
Grad velik zahteva, jer velik vas je broj,
Bez sumnje ikakve, to vama pripada.
Gde bi se smestio takav skup dragulja,
Ako nema doma – na nekoj livadi?
Šetajuć se tako kraj obale ovde,
Ne ugledah nigde bilo kakvog stana.
 Da li ti to sama sad dokona hodiš,
 U dubine zagledana vira zelenog?
 Ako drugde bivaš, uputi me tamo
 Gde bi mog’o videt’ grad taj prečisti.’

79

‘Na grad u Judeji misliš, grad prečisti,’
Zapita me tad, moja ruža mirisna,
‘U njemu odabra da postrada za nas
Jaganjac naš mili, za sav ljudski rod.
Ali znaj to beše stari Jerusalm,
U kojem su stari gresi iskajani;
Ali o novom, što božjom voljom nastade,
Apostol govori u Apokalipsi.
 U njega naše Jagnje neokaljano
 Dovelo je svoje stado divotno.
 Baš kao što je čista svita njegova,
 Tako je i njegov grad večno prečisti.’

80

‘I kad o gradu tome govorimo sad
Na dva mislimo, oba Jerusalma –

þat nys to yow no more to mene
 Bot "cet   of God",   per "syzt of pes":
 In þat on oure pes wat3 mad at ene;
 Wyth payne to suffer    Lombe hit chese;
 In þat   per is nozt bot pes to glene
 þat ay schal laste wythouten reles.
 þat is    bor3 þat we to pres
 Fro þat oure flesch be layd to rote,
   er glory and blysse schal euer ences
 To    meyny þat is wythouten mote.'

81
 'Motelez may so meke and mylde',
   en sayde I to þat luffy flor,
 'Bryng me to þat bygly bylde
 And let me se   y blysful bor.'
 þat schene sayde: '  at God wyl schylde;
   ou may not enter wythinne hys tor,
 Bot of    Lombe I haue    aquylde
 For a syzt   erof   ur3 gret fauor.
 Vtwyth to se þat clene cloystor
   ou may, bot inwyth not a fote;
 To strech in    strete   ou hat3 no vygour,
 Bot   ou wer clene wythouten mote.

XVII

82
 'If I þis mote    schal vnhyde,
 Bow vp towarde þys borne3 heued,
 And I anende3    on þis syde
 Schal sve, tyl   ou to a hil be veued.'
   en wolde I no lenger byde,
 Bot lurked by launce3 so luffy leued,
 Tyl on a hyl þat I asspyed
 And blushed on    burghe, as I forth dreued,
 Byzonde    brok fro me warde keued,
 þat schyrrer   en sunne wyth schafte3 schon.
 In    Apokalypce is    fasoun preued,
 As deuyse3 hit    apostel Jhon.

83
 As John    apostel hit sy3 wyth syzt,
 I syze þat cyty of gret renoun,
 Jerusalem so nwe and ryally dyzt,
 As hit was lyzt fro    heuen adoun.

Zna  enje njihovo objasni  u tebi:
 "Grad Bo  iji" i "Grad gde na  o  e mir."
 U jednom se mir na   uspostavi, jer na  
 Jaganjac odredi da u njemu strada;
 A u drugome samo mir obitava
 I tako   e ostati vo vjeki vjekova.
 U taj grad hrlimo od onoga   asa
 Kad nam telo bude u grob polo  eno;
 Tamo primaju slavu i bla  enstvo
 U dru  tvu svih onih   to su pre  isti.'

81
 'Pre  ista device, ponizna i blaga,'
 Odvratih tad belo   ru  i procvetaloj,
 'Privedi me sad ti   arobnome mestu
 Da bih video gde prebiva   bla  ena.'
 'Gospod ne dozvoljava,' re  e svetli stvor,
 U njegov grad ti sam u  i ne mo  e  .
 Al' sam u Jagnjeta dopust umolila,
 Dobrotom njegovom, ti   e   grad videti,
 Ali ne iznutra, ve   samo spolja  njost,
 S  m kro  iti ne sme   med'   iste svodove,
 Dobio bi dopust, al' da si bezgre  an,
 I samo u dru  tvu onih   to su   isti.'

XVII

82
 Ako   eli   da ti grad poka  em   isti,
 Kreni tad uzvodno obalom gde stoji  .
 Ja   u s druge strane i  i, naspram tebe,
 Sve dok se pred tobom ne uka  e breg.'
 Tad ne   ekah vi  e ni jednoga   asa
 Razgr  u  i granje rascvalog drve  a,
 Penju   se, na bregu, ja ugledah tada
 Grad nebeski, s druge strane reke.
 Blistao je ja  e od sun  evih zraka.
 Taj prizor je verno prikazao svima
 U Apokalipsi Apostol Jovan.

83
 I ba   kako se Jovanu prikazao,
 Videh i ja taj veli  anstven carski grad,
 Dok s neba silazi – Novi Jerusalem.
 Kraljevski ukra  en, okupan u sjaju.

Þe bor3 wat3 al of brende golde bry3t
 As glemande glas burnist broun,
 Wyth gentyl gemme3 an-vnder py3t
 Wyth bantele3 twelue on basyng boun,
 Þe foundemente3 twelue of riche tenoun;
 Vch tabelment wat3 a serlype3 ston;
 As derely deuyse3 þis ilk toun
 In Apocalyppe3 þe apostel John.

84
 As John þise stone3 in writ con nemme,
 I knew þe name after his tale:
 Jasper hy3t þe fyrst gemme
 þat I on þe fyrst basse con wale:
 He glente grene in þe lowest hemme;
 Saffer helde þe secounde stale;
 Þe calsydoyn þenne wythouten wemme
 In þe þryd table con purly pale;
 Þe emerade þe furþe so grene of scale;
 Þe sardonys þe fyfþe ston;
 Þe sexte þe rybé he con hit wale
 In þe Apocalyppe3, þe apostel John.

85
 3et joyned John þe crysolyt
 Þe seuenþe gemme in fundament;
 Þe a3þe þe beryl cler and quyþ;
 Þe topasye twynne-hew þe nente endent;
 Þe crysopase þe tenþe is ty3t;
 Þe jacynght þe enleuenþe gent;
 Þe twelfþe, þe gentyleste in vch a plyt,
 Þe amatyst purple wyth ynde blente;
 Þe wal abof þe bantels bent
 O jasporye, as glas þat glysnande schon;
 I knew hit by his deuysement
 In þe Apocalyppe3, þe apostel John.

86
 As John deuysed 3et sa3 I þare:
 Þise twelue degres wern brode and stayre;
 Þe cyté stod abof ful sware,
 As longe as brode as hy3e ful fayre;
 Þe strete3 of golde as glasse al bare,
 Þe wal of jasper þat glent as glayre;
 Þe wone3 wythinne enurned ware

Velika je svetlost njegova, k'o zlato
 Žeženo, kristal blistavi, sjaktaše on.
 Na dragom kamenju temelji stajahu
 U dvanaest slojeva svi su poredani;
 I svaki je temelj tog moćnoga grada
 Draguljem drugim bogato ukrašen,
 Baš je tako verno prikazao svima
 U Apokalipsi Apostol Jovan.

84
 Svaki je sloj Jovan pomno opisao,
 Pa sam tako i ja sva imena znao,
 Baš svakoga dela, tog temelja moćnog.
 Prvi beše jaspis, jasno se video
 Po ivici širokoj njegov zelen sjaj;
 Na drugome mestu beše safir plavi,
 Zatim halkidon, na trećemu sloju,
 Kao suza čist, providan i bled.
 Na četvrtom smaragd, zelenoga sjaja,
 Za njim sardoniks, po redu peti beše;
 Šesti je kamen, rubin rumeni, posebno
 Istakao u Apokalipsi Apostol Jovan.

85
 Jovan nastavlja, dodaje hrisolit,
 Sedmi po redu dragulj u temeljima,
 Dok je viril osmi, čiste bele boje.
 Na devetom mestu videh topaz šarni,
 Hrisopras ga sledi na desetom sloju,
 Iza njega jakint, na jedanestom,
 A ametist modri – plemenite vrste –
 Koji muku blaži, beše dvanaesti.
 Na temelju ovom uzdiže se zid
 Od jaspisa što je kristalnoga sjaja.
 Sve to prepoznadoh po spisima drevnim,
 U Apokalipsi Apostol Jovana.

86
 Što Jovan opisa, sve to videh tamo,
 Dvanaest slojeva, širokih, stamenih,
 Taj je grad držalo na četiri ugla.
 Širinom, dužinom podjednako velik,
 Građen od jaspisa, jasnog kao suza,
 Ulice od zlata čistog kao staklo.
 Unutra, i kuće ukrašene behu

Wyth alle kynnez perré þat mozt repayre.
 Þenne helde vch sware of þis manayre
 Twelue forlonge space, er euer hit fon,
 Of hezt, of brede, of lenþe to cayre,
 For meten hit sy3 þe apostel John.

XVIII

87
 As John hym wryte3 zet more I sy3e:
 Vch pane of þat place had þre zate3;
 So twelue in poursent I con asspye,
 Þe portalez pyked of rych plate3,
 And vch zate of a margyrye,
 A parfyt perle þat neuer fate3.
 Vchon in scripture a name con plye
 Of Israel barne3, folewande her date3,
 Þat is to say, as her byrþ-whate3:
 Þe aldest ay fyrst þeron wat3 done.
 Such lyzt þer lemed in alle þe strate3
 Hem nedde nawþer sunne ne mone.

88
 Of sunne ne mone had þay no nede;
 Þe self God wat3 her lombe-lyzt,
 Þe Lombe her lantyrne, wythouten drede;
 Þur3 hym blysned þe bor3 al bryzt.
 Þur3 wo3e and won my loking zede,
 For sotyle cler nozt lette no lyzt.
 Þe hy3e trone þer mozt 3e hede
 Wyth alle þe apparaylmente vmbepyzte,
 As John þe appostel in terme3 tyzte;
 Þe hy3e Gode3 self hit set vpone.
 A reuer of þe trone þer ran outryzte
 Wat3 bryzter þen boþe þe sunne and mone.

89
 Sunne ne mone schon neuer so swete
 As þat foyssoun flode out of þat flet;
 Swyþe hit swange þur3 vch a strete
 Wythouten fylþe oþer galle oþer glet.
 Kyrk þerinne wat3 non zete,
 Chapel ne temple þat euer wat3 set;
 Þe Almyzty wat3 her mynster mete,
 Þe Lombe þe sakerfyse þer to refet.
 Þe zate3 stoken wat3 neuer zet,

Opet draguljima kojim premca nema.
 Stajaše grad na četiri ugla, dužinom
 I širinom jednak – sto i četrdeset
 Četir lakata, po meri čovečjoj – to je
 Mera Andela, kaže Jovan Apostol.

XVIII

87
 Kao što Jovan napisa, videh još da
 Po tri kapije na svakoj strani behu,
 Svih dvanaeset, jednu za drugom videh,
 I svaka metalom sjajnim optočena.
 I na svakoj po jedno savršeno zrno
 Biserovo što nikad ne potamni.
 I još je na svakoj ispisana imena
 Dvanaest kolena Izrailjevih,
 Po redu kako se koji rađao,
 I uvek najstariji prvi stojaše.
 A po ulicama takvo svetlo sijaše,
 Da im ne trebaše ni sunca ni meseca.

88
 Ni sunca ni meseca ne trebaše im,
 Jer je grad slava Božja prosvetlila,
 Jaganjac je žižak njihov večni bio,
 Od njega se čitav grad svetlom blistaše.
 Pogled moj prodre kroz kuće i zidove,
 Jer sve svetlost propuštaše, bi providno.
 I gle, presto nebeski tamo stajaše
 I svud oko njega svita nebeska.
 Kao što je Apostol Jovan objasnio,
 Na njemu sedaše Bog, Svedržitelj,
 A iz prestola isticaše reka,
 Od samog sunca i meseca blistavija.

89
 Nit sunce, nit mesec neće tako sjajno
 Sijati kao voda ta iz prestola
 Što ulicama kulja kao bujica,
 Kao kristal bistra, reka života.
 Crkve ne videh nikakve, niti druge
 Bogomolje, jer je Gospod Svedržitelj
 Crkva jedinstvena u gradu ovome.
 A Jagnje je žrtva iskupljenja sveta.
 I kapije grada ne zatvaraju se,

Bot euermore vpen at vche a lone;
 Þer entreȝ non to take reset
 Þat bereȝ any spot an-vnder mone.

90

The mone may þerof acroche no myȝte;
 To spotty ho is, of body to grym,
 And also þer ne is neuer nyȝt.
 What schulde þe mone þer compas clym
 And to euen wyth þat worply lyȝt
 Þat schyneȝ vpon þe brokeȝ brym?
 Þe planeteȝ arn in to pouer a plyȝt,
 And þe self sunne ful fer to dym.
 Aboute þat water arn tres ful schym,
 Þat twelue fryteȝ of lyf con bere ful sone;
 Twelue syþeȝ on ȝer þay beren ful frym,
 And renowleȝ nwe in vche a mone.

91

An-vnder mone so great merwayle
 No fleschly hert ne myȝt endeure,
 As quen I blusched vpon þat bayle,
 So ferly þerof watȝ þe fasure.
 I stod as styлле as dased quayle
 For ferly of þat frelich fygure,
 Þat felde I nawþer reste ne trauayle,
 So watȝ I rauyste wyth glymme pure.
 For I dar say wyth conciens sure,
 Hade bodyly burne abiden þat bone,
 Þaȝ alle clerkeȝ hym hade in cure,
 His lyf were loste an-vnder mone.

XIX

92

Ryȝt as þe maynful mone con rys
 Er þenne þe day-glem dryue al doun,
 So sodanly on a wonder wyse
 I watȝ war of a prosessyoun.
 Þis noble cité of ryche enpryse
 Watȝ sodanly ful wythouten sommoun
 Of such vergyneȝ in þe same gyse
 Þat watȝ my blysful an-vnder croun:
 And coronde wern alle of þe same fasoun,
 Depaynt in perleȝ and wedeȝ qwyte;

Širom otvorene u svim pravicima,
 Al' kroz njih ne prolazi niko ko nosi
 Sagrešenje, pod suncem i pod mesecom.

90

Mesec ovde snagu nikad ne dobija,
 Slabašan je, pegav, sadržaja trulog,
 I još u tom gradu nikad noć ne pada,
 Pa što bi se mesec penjao na nebo?
 Trudio utaman da svetlost nadjača
 Što se po svoj rečnoj obali preliva.
 I nebeska tela premale su snage,
 A sunce daleko, svetlost mu je slaba.
 Svuda pored reke drveta života.
 Ona po dvanaest rodova rađaju,
 Svakoga meseca jedan plod života,
 Pa se obnavljaju svakoga meseca.

91

Takvo čudo pod suncem i mesecom,
 Naše srce izdržalo ne bi, gledajuć
 Takav prizor, kao ovaj moćni zid
 I čudesne utvrde građevine ove.
 Stajah nepomičan k'o preplašen golub,
 Čudeći se silno divovskome zdanju.
 Ne osećah straha nit' truni umora,
 Ushićenje, zanos sâmi me preplavi.
 Usudim se reći, bez ikakvog stida,
 Da bi smrtnik svaki, gledajuć tu slavu,
 Izgubio razum. Ne bi mu pomogli
 Svi ućeni ljudi, sveštenici sâmi,
 Da vid svoj povрати pod svetlom meseca.

XIX

92

Kao što se mesec, kad mu dođe vreme,
 I pre no što se dan posvema ugasi,
 Pomalja, tako, neočekivano,
 Osetih da povorka ispred mene kreće.
 Čudesni se grad najednom ispuni,
 Bez poziva kakvog s nekog višeg mesta,
 Devicama mladim, poput moga čeda,
 Obučenih isto i s krunom na glavi.
 U istoj odori, sa istim vencima
 Od sitnog biserja, sve u beloȝ svili.

In vchoneȝ breſte watȝ bounden boun
þe blyſful perle wyth gret delyt.

93

Wyth gret delyt þay glod in fere
On golden gateȝ þat glent as glasse;
Hundreth þowſandeȝ I wot þer were,
And alle in ſute her liurȝ waſſe;
Tor to knaw þe gladdeſt chere.
þe Lombe byfore con proudly paſſe
Wyth horneȝ ſeuē of red golde cler;
As prayſed perleȝ hiſ wedeȝ waſſe.
 Towarde þe throne þay trone a traſ.
 Þaȝ þay wern fele, no preſ in plyt,
 Bot mylde aſ maydeneȝ ſeme at maſ,
 So droȝ þay forth wyth gret delyt.

94

Delyt þat hyſ come encroched
To much hit were of for to melle
Þiſe aldermen, quen he aproched,
Grouelyng to hiſ fete þay felle.
Legyounes of aungeleȝ togeder uoched
þer keſten enſens of ſwete ſmelle.
þen glory and gle watȝ nwe abroched;
Al ſonge to loue þat gay juelle.
 þe ſteuen moȝt ſtryke þurȝ þe vrþe to helle
 þat þe Vertues of heuen of joye endyte.
 To loue þe Lombe hiſ meyny in melle
 I wyſſe I laȝt a gret delyt.

95

Delit þe Lombe for to deuise
Wyth much meruayle in mynde went.
Beſt watȝ he, blyþeſt, and moſte to pryſe,
þat euer I herde of ſpeche ſpent;
So worþly whyt wern wedeȝ hyſ,
Hiſ lokeȝ ſymple, hymſelf ſo gent.
Bot a wounde ful wyde and weete con wyſe
Anende hyſ hert, þurȝ hyde torente.
 Of hiſ quyte ſyde hiſ blod outſprent.
 Alaſ, þoȝt I, who did þat ſpyt?
 Ani breſte for bale aȝt haf forbrent
 Er he þerto hade had delyt.

I ſvakoȝ na grud' ma pričvrſčen ſtajaſe
Oſveſtani biſer, nenadmaſnog ſjaja.

93

Blažene li sreće kad se pojaviſe,
Kližeć ulicama kao kriſtal ſjajnim,
Stotinu hiljada čarobnih devica
Obučeniſh iſto. Ne može ſe reći
Koja je od njih najſrećnija bila.
Jaganjac ih vodi, on prvi naſtupa,
Sa ſedam rogova od žeženog zlata,
Srebrnoga plaſta kao od biſera.
 Do preſtola ſvetlog povorka tad ſtiže
 Niko ſe ne tiſka, mada ih je mnogo
 Kao kad devojke u crkvu dolaze,
 Blažene, ponizne, nenadmaſnog ſjaja.

94

Blaženſtvo dolaskom njegovim prizvano
Rečju ſe nijednom ne može opiſat'.
I ſve ſtareſine, kad ſe on pojavi,
Ničice padoſe pred ſtope njegove.
Andela množina u glaſ uzvikuje,
Sipljuć uokolo tamjan miomirni.
Ponovo ſe razli peſma likovanja,
Pohvala Dragulju bliſtavoga ſjaja!
 Glaſ njihov i zemlju i pak'o probija,
 Zvonki glaſ devica dok ſlave Jaganjca.
 Njega čistog ſlave, okruženog ſtadom,
 I ja tad oſetih nedostižnu sreću.

95

Blažen, dok poſmatraſ Jagnje nedostižno,
Duh mi tad preplavi ſilno udivljenje,
A u duſi sreća, jer on tu ſad ſtoji,
Najdivniji od ſvih ſto hvaljeni behu.
Kao alabaſter haljine mu bele,
Njegov izgled ſkroman, on ſam tako čedan.
Ali, grdna rana, ſiroka, krvava,
Kraj ſrca mu zjapi. Iz nje, razderane,
 Krv ſiklja i kvaſi haljine mu bele;
 Avaj, zapitaſ ſe, takvo nepočiniſtvo,
 Ko počini? Zar ne bi trebalo zbog zla
 Da ſagori, a ne da likuje, jadan.

96

The Lombe delyt non lyste to wene.
 Pa3 he were hurt and wounde hade,
 In his sembelaunt wat3 neuer sene,
 So wern his glente3 glorious glade.
 I loked among his meyny schene
 How þay wyth lyf wern laste and lade;
 Þen sa3 I þer my lyttel quene
 þat I wende had standen by me in sclade.
 Lorde, much of mirþe wat3 þat ho made
 Among her fere3 þat wat3 so quyt!
 þat sy3t me gart to þenk to wade
 For luf-longyng in gret delyt.

XX

97

Delyt me drof in y3e and ere,
 My mane3 mynde to maddying malte;
 Quen I se3 my frely, I wolde be þere,
 By3onde þe water þa3 ho were walte.
 I þo3t þat nobyng my3t me dere
 To fech me bur and take me halte,
 And to start in þe strem schulde non me stere,
 To swymme þe remnaunt, þa3 I þer swalte.
 Bot of þat munt I wat3 bitalt;
 When I schulde start in þe strem astraye,
 Out of þat caste I wat3 bycalt:
 Hit wat3 not at my Prynce3 paye.

98

Hit payed hym not þat I so flonc
 Ouer meruelous mere3, so mad arayde.
 Of raas þa3 I were rasch and ronk,
 3et rapely þerinne I wat3 restrayed.
 For, ry3t as I sparred vnto þe bonc,
 þat brathþe out of my drem me brayde.
 Þen wakned I in þat erber wlonk;
 My hede vpon þat hylle wat3 layde
 þer as my perle to grounde strayed.
 I raxled, and fel in gret affray,
 And, sykyng, to myself I sayd,
 'Now al be to þat Prynces paye'.

96

Pa ipak, blaženstvo Jaganjcu na licu,
 Zamislit se ne da, uprkos ranama,
 Ni traga od patnje, samo radost čista
 Likom se razliva, u očima blista.
 Pogledom potražih među pratiljama,
 Tako čilim, tako razdraganim,
 Videh među njima kraljičicu svoju,
 Za koju mišljaše da kraj mene stoji.
 Svedržitelj, pak sad, svojom pojavom
 Kakvu radost širi među devicama!
 Na taj prizor kretoh u reku da uđem,
 Povede me ljubav, čežnja za blaženom.

XX

97

Čežnja me zanese, pomuti mi razum,
 U ušima huka, pred očima bljesak,
 Kada lepoticu ja ugledah svoju.
 Pohrlih ka reci, makar se ljutila.
 Pa ako me ništa ne zadrži, mišljah,
 Poskočiću u vis, pa zaroniti,
 Preplivati vodu što nas, avaj, deli.
 Po cenu da u njoj zatre mi se trag.
 Al' u tom naumu nešto se ispreči,
 Baš kada sam hteo u ponor da skočim,
 Zadrža me sila veća od mog smera,
 Jer ne bi po volji Kralja nebeskoga.

98

Njegova mi volja ne daje da skočim
 I mahnit preplivam na drugu obalu.
 Mada strmoglavo hrlih, prepun žara,
 Sam se zaustavih, sprečen u srljanju.
 Baš u času kad se spremah sa obale
 Da skočim u reku, prekide taj trzaj
 Moje snoviđenje. Probudih se namah
 Glave naslonjene na humku đardina,
 Gde je moja Perla nekoć odlutala.
 Stresoh se, zadrhtah u velikom strahu,
 S uzdahom žalobnim rekoh tada sebi:
 'Nek bude po volji Kralja nebeskoga!'

99

Me payed ful ille to be outfleme
So sodenly of þat fayre regioun,
Fro alle þo syzteȝ so quyke and queme.
A longeyng heuy me strok in swone,
And rewfully þenne I con to reme:
'O perle', quod I, 'of rych renoun,
So watȝ hit me dere þat þou con deme
In þys veray avysyoun!

If hit be ueray and soth sermoun
Þat þou so stykeȝ in garlande gay,
So wel is me in þys doel-doungoun
Þat þou art to þat Prynceȝ paye.'

100

To þat Prynceȝ paye hade I ay bente,
And zerned no more þen watȝ me gyuen,
And halden me þer in trwe entent,
As þe perle me prayed þat watȝ so þryuen,
As helde, drawen to Goddeȝ present,
To mo of his mysterys I hade ben dryuen;
Bot ay wolde man of happe more hente
Ben moȝte by ryȝt vpon hem clyuen.

Þerfore my ioye watȝ sone toriuen,
And I kaste of kytheȝ þat lasteȝ aye.
Lorde, mad hit arn þat agayn þe stryuen,
Oþer proferen þe oȝt agayn þy paye.

101

To pay þe Prince oþer sete saȝte
Hit is ful eþe to þe god Krystyn;
For I haf founden hym, boþe day and naȝte,
A God, a Lorde, a frende ful fyin.
Ouer þis hyul þis lote I laȝte,
For pyty of my perle enclyin,
And syþen to God I hit bytaȝte
In Krysteȝ dere blessing and myn,
Þat in þe forme of bred and wyn
þe preste vus scheweȝ vch a daye.
He gef vus to be his homly hyne
Ande precious perleȝ vnto his pay.
Amen. Amen.

99

Silno se rastuȝih što me izagnaše
Tako iznenada iz tog rajskog kraja
U kome sagledah nenadmašni sjaj.
Obeznanjen, na čas izgubih se sasvim,
A onda zavapih, tuȝbom nepresušnom:
'Plemenita Perlo, kraljevski Biseru,
Srce si mi takla svojim svetim reč' ma,
Prizorom nebesa u tom prividenju.

Ako si zaista, kao što se čini,
U kraljevsko stado za navek primljena,
Biću srećan, makar bolom okovan,
Nek bude po volji Kralja nebeskoga!

100

Kraljevskoj volji ja se pokoravam
I ne traȝim više no što mi je dato.
Odanošću svojom, a uz pomoć Perle,
Koja Jaganjca blagoslov polučī,
Mogao sam dublje upoznati tajnu
Milosti Boȝije. Ali čovek ište
Radost jošte veću no što mu pripada,
Njegovom zaslugom i milošću boȝjom.
I zato se namah razbi moja sreća
Jer ja bih oteran iz rajskih predela.
Samo nepromišljen može da se bori
Gospode, protiv volje Kralja nebeskog.

101

Kralja poštovati i volji njegovoj
Podvrći se nije teško hrišćaninu;
I danju i noću ja u njemu gledam
Svevišnjeg, Gospoda, Prijatelja blagog.
Te na humku ovu padoh ničice,
Srca slomljena zbog gubitka tog. Sudbu
Svoju prihvatih i Perlu milu Gospodu
Predadoh, uz Hristov i moj blagoslov.
I nek onaj kog sveštenik pokazuje
Pastvi svakodnevno, kao hleb i vino,
Dozvoli da mu verne sluge budemo,
Poput dragih mu bisera, po volji njegovoj.
Amin. Amin.

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PEARL: A TRANSLATION FROM MIDDLE ENGLISH INTO SERBIAN

Summary

The alliterative poem known as *Pearl* was written by an unknown writer in the late 14th century in the North West of England. The poem has elegiac and allegorical aspects with complex symbolism, typical of the late medieval literature. The verse is alliterative, most commonly written in decasyllable, while the twelve line stanzas have a complex rhyming pattern and are grouped into sections of five. The poem contains 20 sections and the total of 1212 lines. Since the literary tradition in Serbian has no similar poetic form, the poem is translated in dodecasyllable, while alliteration and rhyme are preserved unless they interfere with the natural flow of verses. The passages from the Bible are not taken directly from the Serbian translations of the Old and New Testament, based on the assumption that the author did not have access to the extant Biblical translations into Middle English. Instead of the traditional translation of the title as the proper name *Biserka*, the author opted for *Biserovo zrno*, in view of a number of references to the common noun 'pearl'.

Key words: *Pearl*, Middle English, allegory, versification, alliteration, rhyme

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