UNIVERSITY OF NOVI SAD
FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY

WHERE OUR LANGUAGES AND CULTURES MEET AND MIX: A VIEW FROM SERBIA

Selected Papers from the Research Project *Languages and Cultures in Time and Space* (2011–2019)

– electronic edition –

FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY · NOVI SAD ·

2021

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Editors:
Snežana Gudurić and Tvrtko Prćić

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UNIVERZITET U NOVOM SADU
FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET

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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

This book of selected papers hopes to represent the grand finale of the research project entitled *Languages and Cultures in Time and Space* (in Serbian, *Jezici i kulture u vremenu i prostoru*), that was launched in 2011 and was concluded at the end of 2019. As the then ongoing five-year cycle of scientific and scholarly research projects (2006–2010) was drawing to a close, in May 2011 the Ministry of Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia issued a call to interested institutions and researchers to submit their proposals for potential projects in the domains of basic and interdisciplinary research.

Entertained and developed in the minds of a group of academics at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad was the idea of starting a research project that would focus on linguistic and cultural contacts, and linguistic and cultural interactions and interrelations within Serbia, and particularly within Vojvodina, its northern autonomous province, in itself a rich, extraordinary and admirable mixture of languages and cultures. When it was time to put together previous and future research, and to formulate a proposal of a brand new research project, it became apparent that the original idea of exploring linguistic and cultural interactions and interrelations between Serbian, as the majority language, and minority languages in Serbia failed to include the influence of world languages, nowadays especially English, on the one hand, and the influence of other Balkan and geographically and historically close languages and cultures. It was evident that the originally conceived research was too local as it did not take into account global factors so as to paint a reasonably complete picture of the current state of affairs in the linguistic and cultural communities under scrutiny.

In view of the fact that this global influence on Serbian and other local languages in Serbia takes place largely through the English language and Anglophone cultures, colleagues from the Department of English were approached for assistance. In consultations that followed, fresh questions were raised and fresh topics for research identified, to the effect that the influence of other languages, mainly German, French, Italian, Spanish, Turkish and Greek both on the majority Serbian language and on the minority languages in Serbia, viz. Hungarian, Slovakian, Ruthenian, Romanian and, in part, Albanian, came to be defined as priority objects of research. The scope of the project expanded in this way was still incomplete and was therefore further expanded to embrace the status and properties of Serbian as a minority language in countries neighbouring Serbia

– this topic was to deal with the language spoken by the Serbs in Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and North Macedonia.

With this ambitious and elaborate plan both in mind and on paper, the application to the Ministry was made. And, not without a prolonged sense of suspense and uncertainty, *Languages and Cultures in Time and Space* was endorsed and accepted. At the outset, the application contained as many as 37 names of prospective researchers from five faculties in Serbia and three names from two faculties in Romania, which gave the project an international character. In the years to come, the research project was extended four times and each extension brought the team ever so nearer to the areas and topics of research originally set out – to describe and document interacting and interrelating languages and cultures in time and space, in Serbia and especially in Vojvodina. During these nine years, the team was inevitably experiencing quantitative and qualitative ups and downs. However, among the oscillations particular mention must be made of junior scholars, including doctoral students, who were given a unique opportunity, very early on in their careers, which they used extremely well, to be on, and to contribute to, a large-scale and long-term research project financially supported by the Republic of Serbia. On the day the research project was terminated, 31 December 2019, the list of researchers contained a total of 57 names (for details on the project, see the section The Research Project: Facts and Figures).

The results of the research into various areas and topics – covering the fields of language and linguistics, literature and literary theory, cultural studies, translation studies, communication studies, education, sociology, history and other humanities and social sciences – were presented at the regular annual editions of the project conference, held between 2011 and 2019 in mid-November at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad. In addition to researchers on the project, taking part in these conferences were numerous other researchers from home and abroad, including those from all the former Yugoslav lands, which made it possible for the participants to engage in lively debates and constructive exchange of professional views, ideas and dilemmas. A selection of the presentations were subsequently published as papers in double-blind peer-reviewed books of proceedings, altogether 14 sizeable volumes, available both in print and digital forms (for details, see the section Annual Conference Proceedings: A Bibliography). The papers in these proceedings are officially graded as 'chapters in monographs or proceedings of international importance'. Besides these conference proceedings, researchers on the project made their results known to a much wider audience by independently publishing authored or coauthored papers in both domestic and foreign journals, books of proceedings and monographs, some of them high-ranking ones, as well as by independently publishing authored or coauthored monographs and dictionaries (for details on those re-

searchers who answered the call for bibliographies, see the section Researcher Chronological Bibliographies).

And to round off this brief account of a very successful and productive research project, the present book of selected papers, directed primarily towards an international audience, contains 34 papers hand-picked by a total of 43 (co)authors, both full- and part-time researchers on the project and its regular guests. All the papers included have been previously published in refereed proceedings or journals and on this occasion they appear adapted, to a greater or less degree, and rewritten mostly in English and some other languages, with the aim of affording potential readers a representative and many-sided view from Serbia on where our languages and cultures meet and mix.

The editors would like to thank sincerely all those contributing authors who readily answered the call for papers and the call for bibliographies, and thereby helped to make this book a truly collaborative and glocally relevant piece of scholarship. The editors and contributing authors gratefully acknowledge the kind words in the endorsements by our esteemed referees, Professors Ranko Bugarski, Octavia Nedelcu, Slavica Perović and Jean-Léo Léonard.

Novi Sad, March 2021

THE RESEARCH PROJECT: FACTS AND FIGURES

(1) Project Full Name: *Languages and Cultures in Time and Space* / Serbian: *Jezici i kulture u vremenu i prostoru*; acronymized: *JiKuViP* (No. 178002)
(2) Project Seat: Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad
(3) Project Started: 2011
(4) Project Ended: 2019
(5) Project Financially Supported by: Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia
(6) Fields Covered:
- Language and Linguistics
- Literature and Literary Theory
- Cultural Studies
- Translation Studies
- Communication Studies
- Education
- Sociology
- History
- and other humanities and social sciences

(7) Participating Institutions and Their Full-Time and Part-Time Researchers:
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  2 Dokić, Marija
  3 Drobnjak, Dragana
  4 Đurić Paunović, Ivana
  5 Eccher, Christian
  6 Fejsa, Mihajlo
  7 Filipović Kovačević, Sonja
  8 Gordić Petković, Vladislava
  9 Gudurić, Snežana
  10 Halas Popović, Ana
  11 Halupka-Rešetar, Sabina
  12 Ilić, Nina
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14 Kavgić, Aleksandar
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17 Manić Matić, Vanja
18 Marčeta, Jovana
19 Maričić Mesarović, Sanja
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21 Marković, Maja
22 Miljaković, Milorad
23 Mirić, Dušanka
24 Novakov, Predrag
25 Panić Kavgić, Olga
26 Paunović, Zoran
27 Popović, Nataša
28 Popović, Virginia
29 Prćić, Tvrtko
30 Puia Bădescu, Marina
31 Radić Bojanić, Biljana
32 Radusin Bardić, Nataša
33 Seder, Ružica
34 Spăriosu, Laura
35 Stamenković, Slađana
36 Stefanović, Marija
37 Šulović, Ksenija
38 Topoljska, Ana
39 Trnavac, Radoslava
40 Tüskei, Vilma
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42 Vojvodić, Dojčil
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49 Mutavdžić, Predrag
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  53 Ivanović, Maja P.
  54 Kašić, Zorka
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  55 Radan, Mihai N.
  56 Lungu Badea, Georgiana I.
– Banat University of Agricultural Sciences and Veterinary Medicine, Timişoara, Romania
  57 Raţă, Georgeta

(8) Annual Conferences Held: 9 (2011–2019) + 1 (planned for 2021)
(9) Annual Conference Proceedings Published: 14 volumes (2012–2020) + 1 (planned for 2022); see next section
(10) Annual Conference Proceedings Total Pages: 7665; see next section

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THE SELECTED PAPERS

Edita Andrić

EXPRESSING ANTONYMOUS MEANINGS IN HUNGARIAN AND SERBIAN

Expressing antonymy represents a linguistic universal, observable in all natural languages, but realized in different ways cross-linguistically. In this paper, we will present various ways in approaching this problem in the existing linguistic literature. We will focus on the structure of antonymous meanings in Hungarian and Serbian, two languages which are typologically different and genealogically unrelated. Special attention will be paid to synthetic and analytical means of expressing antonymy.

Keywords: antonymy, opposite meaning, Serbian, Hungarian

1. INTRODUCTION

The term 'antonymy' arose from the need to denote phenomena of opposite meaning, and was introduced as a counterpart to the term 'synonymy'. Antonyms always imply the presence of two semantically opposite lexical units. The members of an antonymous pair are not necessarily explicitly stated, but they must be implicitly present, because something can be opposite only in relation to some other thing or phenomenon. The oppositeness between the members of an antonymous pair is contingent on their sharing a common property or their being hyponyms of the same hyperonym or archiseme (common general feature, superior term).[1] In fact, Grickat (1961–1962a: 89) claims that antonyms are very similar in terms of meaning, that they are share all properties except one, with respect to which they are opposite.

Since antonymy is essentially a concept which pertains to logic, it is assumed that it exists as a phenomenon in most languages and thus it represents a linguistic universal, which however may be expressed in different ways cross-linguistically. It is perhaps due to the fact that antonymy is couched in logic that so many linguists have dealt with it, trying to understand and describe it as accurately as possible. In studying this sense relation, most linguists relied on

[1] Thus, for example, the archeseme of the words 'man' and 'woman', which are considered antonyms, is 'person' or 'human being'.

their mother tongue, typically one of the world languages, in trying to establish a typology of antonymous relations.

The classification of antonymy has always depended on the point from which this issue is approached, on the viewpoint or the approach to the problem. Some authors focused on the semantic nuances existing between the members of an antonymous pair, while others emphasized the formal characteristics of these lexemes.

2. APRESSJAN'S CLASSIFICATION

Apressjan (1995: 288-301) distinguishes three main types of antonyms with numerous subtypes, but does not exclude the introduction of additional categories. However, even the three main types of antonyms occasionally overlap, which often makes the classification of antonymic pairs imprecise and debatable. Apressjan bases his typology on the Russian language, without referring to other languages, therefore the question arises whether his findings are fully applicable to other languages.

2.1. Type 1 - Anti1: Subtype „počinjati / prestajati" ('start / stop')

According to Apressjan (1995), this type of antonyms includes verbs in which oppositeness is reflected in the localization, or rather in the beginning and/or the cessation of localization, whether this localization is internal as in *uleteti – izleteti*[2] / *beszáll – kiszáll* 'fly in / fly out'; *uliti – izliti / beönt – kiönt* 'pour in / pour out'; *ući – izaći / bemegy – kimegy* 'go in / go out'; external as in *ustrčati – strčati / felszalad – leszalad* 'run up / run down'; a surface spatial relationship or location in general as in *dovesti – odvesti / elhoz – elvisz* 'bring / take away'; *doputovati – otputovati / megérkezik – elutazik* 'arrive / leave'; *stići – krenuti / érkezik – indul* 'arrive / depart'; whether it refers to localizing multiple entities in one place, as in *okupiti – razjuriti / egybegyűjt – szétzavar* 'gather / dismiss'; *sakupiti – rasuti / összegyűjt – szétszór* 'collect / scatter'; establishing or terminating contact as in *zalepiti – odlepiti / ráragaszt – leválaszt* 'glue on / detach'; *slepiti – razlepiti / összeragaszt – szétválaszt* 'glue together / take apart'; or about the "pure" opposition beginning – ending, with a temporal aspect included, e.g. *uključiti – isključiti / bekapcsol – kikapcsol* 'switch on / switch off'; *procvetati – precvetati / kivirágzik – elvirágzik* 'blossom / shed blossoms'. Generally speaking, this type of antonyms appears to be characterized by a directional relationship containing the feature of approximation [± aprox].

[2] Paraphraseable as *uleteti u A* (fly into A) = start being located in A by flying there, *izleteti iz A* (fly out of A) = cease being located in A by flying out of there.

The second subtype of the first type of antonyms consists of verbs which are contain the meaning component 'create / eliminate the result', whether this refers to the object of the action, as in *zavezati – razvezati (čvor) / megköt – elold (csomót)* 'tie / untie (a knot)'; *uplesti – rasplesti (kiku) / befon – kiold (hajat)* 'braid / unbraid (hair)'; *sastaviti – rastaviti (nameštaj) / összeilleszt – szétszed (bútort)* 'assemble / disassemble (furniture)'*; formirati – raspustiti (skupštinu) / megalakít – feloszlat (parlamentet)* 'convoke, assemble / dissolve (parliament)'; the external or internal physical condition of the object, *zamrznuti – odmrznuti / lefagyaszt – kifagyaszt* 'freeze / defrost', or its non-physical state, *tajiti – obznaniti / eltitkol – kinyilvánít* 'conceal / disclose'; *nagovoriti – odvratiti (nekog na pušenje / od pušenja) / rábeszél – lebeszél (vkit a dohányzásról)* 'persuade, talk into / dissuade from, talk out of (smoking)'*;* or to creating – eliminating the results of contact as is *zakopčati – raskopčati / begombol – kigombol* 'button up / unbutton'; *nalepiti – odlepiti / ráragaszt – leválaszt* 'stick on / peel off'; *zašrafiti – odšrafiti / rácsavar – lecsavar* 'screw / unscrew'.

The result of gluing one thing to another is that they become glued together, and the action by which this is achieved is expressed by the Serbian verb *slepiti* 'glue together'. When we want to eliminate things being glued together, we have to resort to an action that is the opposite of the original one, we need to "unglue" or detach previously glued things. This cancels the result of the first action: we detach something that was previously glued together. In this case, we can say that *razlepiti* 'detach' is the antonym of the verb *slepiti* 'glue together'. The reverse, however, does not hold: when we first glue together two things, this does not imply that they previously had to be unglued. This then raises the question whether these two verbs can still be considered true antonyms.

2.2. Type 2 - Anti2: "R – not R"

This type of antonymy can also be termed contrary antonymy, where Anti(X) = not X. Negating extends to the interpretation of the initial word in its entirety: *vernosti – prevara / hűség – hűtlenség* 'loyalty, fidelity / disloyalty, infidelity'; *prisustvo – odsustvo / jelenlét – távollét* 'presence / absence'*; živ – mrtav / élő – halott* 'alive / dead'; *zauzet – slobodan / foglalt – szabad* 'busy, unavailable / free, available'; *zdrav – bolestan / egészséges – beteg* 'healthy / unhealthy'; *istinit – lažan / igaz – hamis* 'true / false'; *prihvatiti – odbiti / elfogad – elutasít* 'accept / reject'; *dozvoliti – zabraniti / megenged – megtilt* 'allow / disallow'.

2.3. Type 3 - Anti3: scalar antonyms of the type "more – less"

This group includes parametric pairs of the type *veliki – mali / nagy – kicsi* 'large / small'; *visok – nizak /magas – alacsony* 'tall / short'; *mnogo – malo / sok – kevés* 'a lot / little', as well as other words with opposite semantic structures, such as *povećati – umanjiti / növel – csökkent* 'increase / decrease' and the like.

This type of antonymy also contains several subtypes, depending on their semantics: a) antonyms by size, b) antonyms by number or quantity, c) antonyms based on distance, d) antonyms based on time, e) antonyms based on strength, speed, temperature, pressure, value, weight and intensity in general, and f) antonyms based on abstract quantity.

Apressjan also mentions other antonyms and tries to classify them but he ends up with groups of a considerably smaller size than the ones mentioned above. They include words with the meaning of 1) orientation in space, 2) color, 3) taste, 4) gender and 5) emotional and intellectual abilities.

3. LYONS' (1977) CLASSIFICATION

Lyons establishes antonymous pairs based on whether they are gradable. The property of gradability serves as the basis for classifying antonyms into gradables and ungradables.

3.1. Gradable (or scalar) antonyms

This type of antonymy implies the possibility of grading in expressing the extent to which a property is observed. The sentence *Torta je slana. / A torta sós*. 'The cake is salty' implies *Torta nije slatka. / A torta nem édes*. 'The cake is not sweet'. However, the sentence *Torta nije slatka.* 'The cake is not sweet' does not in itself imply that the cake is salty, but that it may not be sweet enough (to use a term from logic, this is an example of contrary antonymy).

3.2. Ungradable antonyms (complementarity)

This type of antonyms is also referred to as binary antonyms because they imply contradiction in the logical sense. Some linguists also call these pairs of words complementary antonyms, since they divide the semantic scale into two complementary parts. A statement like *On je živ./ Ő él.* 'He is alive' implicates that *On nije mrtav*. / *Ő nem halott*. 'He is not dead', and if he is dead, then he cannot be alive, which means that the antonyms *živ* 'alive' and *mrtav* 'dead' are

completely contradictory. In Serbian, binary adjectival antonyms can have a synonymous form with a negated adjective:

živ – mrtav = neživ	*élő – halott* (= élettelen) 'lifeless'
obavezan – fakultativan = neobavezan (not compulsory)	*kötelező – fakultatív* (= nem kötelező) 'not compulsory, elective'

Actually, opposites on a multifaceted scale are contradictory terms of binary opposition.

Dragičević (1996) also gives a detailed description of the differences between gradable/scalar and ungradable antonyms:

- gradable/scalar antonyms can be graded, ungradable ones cannot;
- gradable/scalar antonyms can be modified by adverbs of quantity, ungradable ones cannot;
- with gradable/scalar antonyms, conversion is possible in sentences like *Pera je bolji od Jove. / Jova je gori od Pere.* 'Peter is better than John. / John is worse than Peter';
- gradable/scalar antonyms are gradable by means other than comparative forms (implicit comparison. The negation of one member of a ungradable pair implies the application of the other member).

3.3. Converse antonyms

Lyons (1977) also identifies converseness, which implies reciprocity, and claims that converse antonyms are especially common in areas of the vocabulary having to do with reciprocal social roles and kinship terms. They are exemplified by pairs like *doktor – pacijent / orvos – páciens* 'doctor / patient', *otac – majka / apa – anya* 'father / mother', *prodavac – kupac / kereskedő – vásárló* 'seller / buyer', as well as other pairs of words which include a sense of relational opposition: *prodati – kupiti / árul – vásárol* 'sell / buy', *iznad – ispod / fönt – lent* 'above / below', *ispred – iza / előtt – mögött* 'in front of / behind'. Like gradable antonyms, converse antonyms are also characterized by the possibility of conversion:

Ana je Marijina ćerka. – Marija je Anina majka.
Anna Mária lánya. – Mária Anna anyja.
'Ann is Mary's daughter. Mary is Ann's mother.'

3.4. Directional antonyms

According to Lyons (1977), directional antonymy implies the existence of motion in one of two opposed directions with respect to a given place: *gore*

– *dole / föl – le* ‘up / down’, *unutra – napolje / be – ki* ‘in /out’, *dolazi – odlazi / jön – megy* ‘come / go’.

4. OTHER CLASSIFICATIONS

4.1. Complete and incomplete antonyms

Grickat (1961–62a: 88) divides antonyms into complete and incomplete antonyms. In the case of complete antonymy, “one member of the pair represents an antonym to the other member in its entire semantic field”, e.g. *levo – desno / jobb – bal* ‘right / left’; *prav – kriv / egyenes – görbe* ‘straight / curved’. In incomplete antonymy, on the other hand, the words “are richer in meaning, so not all of their content participates in the antonymic relation” (Grickat 1961–62a: 89): *dan – noć / nappal – éjjel* ‘day / night’, *nebo – zemlja / ég – föld* ‘sky / earth, land’.

Dan ‘day’ is a polysemous word, which may denote a period of 24 hours, but it may also refer to that period during the day when it is naturally light, to daylight. The lexeme *noć* is an antonym only to this second meaning of *dan*, while for its first meaning there is no antonymous lexeme. In Hungarian, the equivalent of the mentioned Serbian word is *nap*. The derived noun *nappal* is used to denote the daylight, and its antonym is the lexeme *éj(jel)* ‘night’. At the same time, the word *nap* enters into another antonymous relation with the word *bolygó* ‘planet’ because it, too, is ambiguous in Hungarian, denoting also the Sun, as a celestial body.

In the case of the other antonymic pair mentioned above, the situation in Hungarian is identical to the one in Serbian, since in addition to being a member of the antonymic pair *nebo – zemlja* ‘sky – earth, land’, the lexemes *zemlja* / *föld* ‘earth’ also represent the name of a planet. It is worth pointing put here that the lexeme *zemlja* ‘earth, land’ can also be the antonym of *more* ‘sea’ in the sense of the surface of the earth that is not covered by water. In Hungarian, there is even a compound for mainland, the second part of which contains this lexeme: *szárazföld* ‘mainland’ (literally ‘dry’+‘land’).

4.2. Regular and irregular antonyms

Some linguists use the terms regular and irregular antonyms (Marković 1994, Dragićević 1996), where the latter (also called quasi-antonyms) represent pairs of semantically, stylistically, pragmatically incongruous lexemes: *raj – pakao* ‘heaven – hell’*, anđeo – đavo* ‘angel – devil’ and the like. It is not the basic meaning of these words that is opposite, but rather the ideas, notions or traditional

beliefs speakers associate with them. This opposition is also conditioned by the collective experience of the specific environment in which the words are used. This is the reason why these lexemes can also be called pragmatic antonyms.

Thus, there are contextually conditioned antonyms, meanings that are conditioned by context, which are situational. In contrast, regular antonyms have an opposite meaning regardless of the context and they used as such by the entire language community.

4.3. Semantico-pragmatic or stylistic antonyms

Tošović (1993) studies antonymy from a semantico-pragmatic perspective, and on that basis distinguishes between neutral antonymy, expressing opposing processes with no expressive value, stylistic antonymy, the goal of which is to achieve the stylistic effect of contrast or antithesis, contextual antonymy, exemplified by verbs which do not represent an antonymous pair in the lexical system but do so only in a given context (outside that context these verbs are not antonyms), antonymic paradox, which consists of two incompatible phenomena, textual antonymy, which refers to the occurrence of antonyms in a broader context, idiomatic antonymy, i.e. antonyms in phraseological expressions, proverbs, sayings, etc.

5. STRUCTURAL CLASSIFICATION OF ANTONYMS

Regarding their morphological structure, the members of an antonymous pair can share the same root or be derived from different roots, both in Serbian and Hungarian. Some linguists, however, object to treating lexemes which share the same root as antonyms. As pointed out in Boškov (1981: 64), "in Richard Simeon's encyclopedic dictionary of linguistic terms, under the entry antonym, it reads, among other things: 'for antonymy is not enough for the words to be opposite in meaning, they should also be derived from different roots'".

5.1. Antonyms which share the same root

With this type of antonymy, one of the members of the pair is derived via prefixation in Serbian. With nouns and adjectives, the most frequently occurring prefix is *ne-*, but foreign prefixes such as *a-, ab-, anti-, dis-* are also found.

*logičan – **a**logičan* / *logikus – **a**logikus, logikátlan*
'logical - illogical'
*alkoholni – **bez**alkoholni* / *alkoholos – alkoholmentes*
'alcoholic - non-alcoholic'
*redovan – **ne**redovan* / *rendszeres – rendszertelen*
'regular - irregular'

It should also be noted that the negated adjective often appears as a synonym of antonymous adjectives in Serbian: *nevelik* = *mali* (literally non-large = small); *nevisok* = *nizak* (literally non-tall = short); *nelak* = *težak* (literally non-easy = difficult, etc.) (Ristić 2009: 149), however, points out that the meaning of the negated form does not completely coincide with the antonym: "the negated adjectives and adverbs *nevelik* 'small', *nemali* 'large', *nemnogo* 'somewhat', *nemalo* 'considerably' express the fact that the quantitative property is not realized in the basic field but in the field of the opposed, antonymic pair, between the midpoint and endpoints of that field. Thus, the meaning of these units can be presented in the following way: *nevelik* = which is not big 1 but is bigger than small 2 ... ". In other words, by denying one of the members of the antonymic pair, the scalar difference stemming from the basic meaning is preserved (*nevelik* is larger than *mali*), but the semantic opposition is lost because both the negated and the non-negated forms are on the same end of the scale.

Boškov (1981) points out that the negated form, as a softened form, represents a central degree, a middle ground in the case of antonymous conceptss. She proposes the following scale:

mali ↔ *nevelik* ↔ *nemali* ↔ *veliki*

'small' ↔ *'non-large'/'small'* ↔ *'non-small'* ↔ *'large'*

There are no prefixes in Hungarian (apart from those already mentioned, which occur in words of foreign origin), so prefixation is not an available option for deriving antonyms. As a consequence of this, the opposite of nouns is derived either by attaching a negator to the lexeme, or by compounding, where the first element is an adjective for expressing negative characteristics (e.g. *bal│szerencse* 'bad luck'), and in adjectives antonyms can be built using the suffix *-tlan/tlen*, *-talan/telen*, *-atlan/etlen* '-less'. As an agglutinative language, Hungarian has a wide range of suffixes which always have a specific, unambiguous function. Thus, the mentioned suffix with several allo-forms is used to derive adjectives which signify the absence of a trait, denying the trait present in the term which represents the motivational basis and creating traits with an opposite meaning:

*sós – só**tlan*** / *slan – **ne**slan*
'salty – unsalty, saltless'
*szükséges – szükség**telen*** / *potreban – **ne**potreban*
'necessary – unnecessary'
*függő – függ**etlen*** / *zavistan – **ne**zavistan*
'dependent – independent'
*ismert – ismer**etlen*** / *poznat – **ne**poznat*
'known – unknown'
*önálló – önálló**tlan*** / *samostalan – **ne**samostalan*
'independent – lacking independence'
*népszerű – népszerű**tlen*** / *popularan – **ne**popularan*
'popular – unpopular'
*boldog – boldog**talan*** / *srećan – **ne**srećan*
'happy – unhappy'

Rather rarely, the antonym is formed by compounding in Hungarian, with the negator *nem* as the first element in the compound:

*dohányzó – **nem**dohányzó* / *pušački – **ne**pušački*
'smoking – non-smoking'
*hiába – **nem**hiába* / *uzalud – **nije** uzalud*
'in vain – not in vain'
*kívánatos – **nem**kívánatos* / *poželjan – **ne**poželjan*
'desirable – undesirable'
*rég – **nem**rég* / *davno – **ne**davno*
'long ago – not long ago'

The situation with verbs is different, since in Hungarian there are categories which very closely resemble verbal prefixes (let us term them prefixoids), and they are widely used to derive antonyms, much like in Serbian. Referring to Russian sources, Tošović (1993: 89) claims that: „[...] out of the 2,036 antonyms listed in L'Vov's (1971) Dictionary of Russian Antonyms, 494 or 24.3% are verbs. Antonymic verbs derived from the same root via various prefixes form the richest network of antonymic relations. [...] Verbs are most open to antonymic prefixation and therefore they create extremely favorable conditions for the development of antonymy. [...] Petrova believes that verbal antonymy is mainly formed from verbs of movement." Here are some examples:

***u**leteti – **iz**leteti*	/	***be**száll – **ki**száll*
‘fly in – fly out’		
***u**liti – **iz**liti*	/	***be**önt – **ki**önt*
‘pour in – pour out’		
***u**ći – **iz**aći*	/	***be**megy – **ki**megy*
‘go in – go out’		
***us**trčati – **s**trčati*	/	***fel**szalad – **le**szalad*
‘run up – run down’		
***do**vući – **od**vući*	/	***oda**húz – **el**húz*
‘drag somewhere – drag away’		
***u**ključiti – **is**ključiti*	/	***be**kapcsol – **ki**kapcsol*
‘switch on – swich off’		
***pro**cvetati – **pre**cvetati*	/	***ki**virágzik – **el**virágzik*
‘blossom – shed blossoms’		

5.2. Antonyms which do not share the same root

Antonyms which are in opposition not only with respect to meaning but also with respect to form, those that have no common element in their structure, are found across various word classes, which means that lexemes can be brought into an antonymic relationship within different words classes. Let us illustrate this claim.

5.2.1. Verbs

rađati se – umirati	/	*születik – meghal*
‘be born – die’		
radovati se – tugovati	/	*örül – szomorkodik*
‘be happy/glad – be sad’		
smrkavati – svanjivati	/	*alkonyodik – virrad*
‘get dark – dawn’		
zavezati – odrešiti	/	*beköt – kiold*
‘tie – loosen’		
prodati – kupiti	/	*ad – vesz*
‘sell – buy’		
prihvatiti – odbiti	/	*elfogad – elutasít*

‘accept – reject’

dozvoliti – zabraniti / *megenged – megtilt*

‘allow – ban’

spavati – biti budan / *alszik – ébren van*

‘sleep – be awake’

zapaliti – ugasiti / *meggyújt – elolt*

‘light – extinguish’

sklopiti – raskinuti (ugovor) / *köt – bont*

‘conclude/enter into – break (a contract)’

pokvariti – popraviti / *elront – megjavít*

‘break – repair’

osloboditi – pokoriti / *felszabadít – leigáz*

‘liberate – conquer’

krenuti – stati / *elindul – megáll*

‘start – stop’

svađati se – miriti se / *veszekszik – békül*

‘quarrel – make up’

šiti – parati / *varr – fejt*

‘saw – rip/unstitch’

tvrditi – poricati / *állít – tagad*

‘assert – deny’

hvaliti – grditi / *dicsér – dorgál*

‘praise – scold’

5.2.2. Adjectives

živ – mrtav / *élő – halott*

‘alive – dead’

zauzet – slobodna / *foglalt – szabad*

‘occupied – free’

zdrav – bolestan / *egészséges – beteg*

‘healthy – ill’

istinit – lažan / *igaz – hamis*

‘true – false’

dobar – loš / *jó – rossz*

‘good – bad’

veseo – tužan / *vidám – szomorú*
'cheerful – sad'

5.2.3. Nouns

ponos – stid / *büszkeség – szégyen*
'pride – shame'
korist – šteta / *haszon – kár*
'advantage/benefit – damage'
radost – tuga / *öröm – bánat*
'joy – sorrow'
muškarac – žena / *férfi – nő*
'man – woman'
zdravlje – bolest / *egészség – betegség*
'health – illness'

It may also happen that in one of the languages under scrutiny the members of the antonymic pair share the same root, whil in the other one they do not, as is the case in the following examples:

doveti – odvesti / *elhoz – elvisz*
'bring/fetch – take away'
doputovati – otputovati / *megérkezik – elutazik*
'arrive – leave'
slepiti – razlepiti / *összeragaszt – szétválaszt*
'glue together – take apart'
zavezati – razvezati (čvor) / *megköt – elold (csomót)*
'tie – unite (a knot)'
zaplesti – rasplesti (kiku) / *befon – kiold (hajat)*
'braid – unbraid (hair) '
sastaviti – rastaviti (nameštaj) / *összeilleszt – szétszed (bútort)*
'assemble – disassemble (furniture)'

Finally, let us also stress that both Serbian and Hungarian are prone to deriving lexemes from basic antonymous pairs:

zdravlje – bolest / *egészség – betegség*
'health – illness'

zdrav – bolestan / *egészséges – beteg*
'healthy – ill'
zdravo – bolesno / *egészségesen – betegen*
'healthily – sickly'
ozdraviti – razboleti se / *meggyógyul – megbetegszik*
'recover – fall ill'
korist – šteta / *haszon – kár*
'advantage/benefit – damage'
koristan – štetan / *hasznos – káros*
'beneficial/useful – damaging'
korisno – štetno / *hasznosan – károsan* '
in a beneficial way – in a damaging way'
koristiti – štetiti / *használ – károsan hat*
'be beneficial/useful – be damaging/harmful'

6. CONCLUSION

The hypothesis which we formulated at the beginning of our analysis has been confirmed: antonymous meanings do represent a universal which is expressed in different ways across languages, in accordance with the basic characteristics of each individual language.

In both Hungarian and Serbian, the members of antonymic pairs of words may share the same root or they may be derived from different roots. In Serbian, words of opposite meanings usually share the same root and one member is derived from the other one by *ne*-prefixation. However, since there is no corresponding morpheme in Hungarian, the antonyms of nouns in this language are derived either by adding a negator before the lexeme or by compounding, in which case the first base is an adjective expressing negative characteristics. The antonyms of Hungarian adjectives are built using the suffix *-tlan/ tlen*, *-talan/telen*, *-atlan/ etlen* (-less).

Finally, it can also be concluded that both Serbian and Hungarian are prone to deriving lexemes from basic antonymic pairs.

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IZRAŽAVANJE ANTONIMNIH ZNAČENJA U MAĐARSKOM I SRPSKOM JEZIKU

Rezime

Budući da je antonimija u suštini logički pojam, polazimo od pretpostavke da ona kao pojava postoji u većini jezika, dakle predstavlja jezičku univerzaliju koja se u raznim jezicima izražava na različite načine. Baš zbog logičke pozadine ove pojave, mnogi lingvisti u svetu su se bavili ovom problematikom, pokušajući da je sagledaju i opišu što preciznije. Pri dokazivanju svojih stavova oni su uglavnom polazili od svog maternjeg, što se često poklapa sa nekim od svetskih jezika, pokušavajući da načine tipologiju antonimskih značenja. Podele su uvek zavisile od ugla iz kojeg se prilazi ovom pitanju. Neki su u prvi plan stavljali semantičke, a drugi formalne karekteristike leksema. Ovaj rad sa jedne strane ima za cilj da predstavi razne načine u pristupu ovom problemu u lingvističkoj literaturi do sada, a zatim i da ukaže na strukturu antonimnih značenja u mađarskom i srpskom, koji i tipološki i geneološki pripadaju različitim grupama jezika. Posebna pažnja se poklanja sintetičkim i analitičkim sredstvima za iskazivanje suprotnosti. Naime, i u mađarskom i u srpskom jeziku postoje jednokorenski i raznokorenski antonimi, ali je način njihovog građenja različit. Dok se u srpskom jednokorenske lekseme suprotnog značenja najčešće grade pomoću prefiksa *ne*-, u mađarskom jeziku se kod imenica suprotnost postiže dodavanjem negatora ispred same lekseme, ili pomoću

složenica čiji je prvi član pridev za izražavanje negativnih karakteristika. Kod prideva, međutim, u mađarskom jeziku postoje posebni sufiksi (*-tlan/tlen*, *-talan/telen*, *-atlan/etlen*) sa isključivom funkcijom stvaranja antonimih značenja, što doprinosi sintetičnosti izražavanja. Može se na kraju zaključiti i da su oba jezika sklona stvaranju derivata od osnovnih antonimijskih parova.

Ključne reči: antonimija, suprotna značenja, srpski jezik, mađarski jezik

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RECOGNISING AND MEETING THE NEEDS OF GIFTED EFL SENIOR PRIMARY-SCHOOL PUPILS

Giftedness is a unique combination of exceptional ability, motivation and creativity. It is not a state that learners reach by a particular age and, therefore, recognition of such learners should be an ongoing process. Certain common features can enable teachers to recognize gifted learners. Namely, the gifted are articulate and participate more often in communicative activities; they read avidly, quickly making full sense of text, and are able to call on a wide repertoire of nuances in their understanding; they write well across a range of text types; they are interested in problems and can often see more than one solution, making connections more quickly than their peers; they engage deeply with their work and may develop interests independently. Gifted learners potentially differ from their classmates on three key dimensions: 1) learning speed; 2) depth of understanding; 3) numerous interests. To meet the needs of gifted learners in heterogeneous EFL classes at primary-school level it is necessary to recognise, address and accommodate these defining characteristics. The paper will explore how and to what extent it is possible to recognise primary-school gifted learners and expose them to challenging learning environments, and whether EFL teachers receive in-service training for dealing with them.

Key words: giftedness for foreign languages, EFL teachers, teachers' views, didactic-methodological work with gifted learners, in-service teacher training.

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: GIFTEDNESS FOR FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Some learners learn foreign languages faster and more thoroughly than their classmates (Harmer 2007: 85). The process of acquiring one's mother tongue also varies from individual to individual. Many foreign language teachers have encountered a situation in the classroom where certain learners were making quick progress in learning a foreign language (L2), while others were progressing very slowly even under "ideal" circumstances. Giftedness for foreign languages (talent) is a difficult notion to define. Language aptitude represents a psychological construct which can be recognised by expert and layman alike and

no one questions the claim that innate language aptitude varies from learner to learner, whether at a young age or at a later age (Dörnyei 2005: 33). According to Dörnyei (2005), even foreign language teachers find it difficult to define what language aptitude or giftedness for foreign languages involves and their definitions vary considerably, as is the case with psychologists and language learning experts. One of the central issues in foreign language teaching is the unsolved question regarding the nature of foreign language aptitude. A question that is frequently asked is whether there is a single specific ability that sets a successful language learner apart from others, namely if there is a single unique language learning ability whose nature allows it to be analysed and measured objectively (Dimitrijević 1986: 50; Dörnyei 2005: 33-34). Such ability does not exist. Instead, there is a range of cognitive abilities which combine into language aptitude and facilitate the foreign language learning process (according to Carroll and Sapone 1959, as cited in Dörnyei 2005: 34).

The 1950s and 60s, the golden age of research into language aptitude, brought forth two language aptitude tests, which are still in widespread use. These tests are the MLAT (The **M**odern **L**anguage **A**ptitude **T**est), created by Carroll & Sapone in 1959 and the PLAB (The **P**imsleur **L**anguage **A**ptitude **B**attery) created by Pimsleur in 1966. According to Carroll (Carroll 1981: 105) language aptitude consists of: 1) *Phonetic coding ability*, which is considered the most important component of language aptitude and represents the ability to perceive relationships between the sound and the symbol, i.e. coding, assimilating and memorising phonetic material; 2) *Grammatical sensitivity*, which entails the ability to recognise the grammatical functions of words in sentences, i.e. the awareness of grammatical relationships and the ability to create syntactically coherent verbal materials; 3) *Inductive language learning ability*, which represents the ability to adopt grammatical rules and language features (including the dimensions of meaning and form) inductively from the provided language materials; 4) *Rote learning ability*, which represents the ability to learn the relationship between sounds and meanings quickly and efficiently as well as memorise them.

There are several characteristics which enable foreign language teachers to recognise gifted L2 learners (interpreted according to Dean 2008: 13-15; Lightbown and Spada 2006: 55): gifted learners usually start learning L2 while still at an early age; they acquire language material quickly and easily; they express themselves and communicate in L2 with ease and with people older than themselves; they guess the meanings of words precisely and enthusiastically, i. e. they manipulate language resources in order to make hypotheses, which they later try out in practice; they have a very high IQ: typically over 130; they give equal consideration to both meaning and form; they possess highly developed writing skills and like to experiment with creative writing; they constantly seek out situations where they will actively use L2; they successfully grasp and inter-

pret texts in L2 that they come across; they are very interested in the culture of L2 and look for ways of learning more about it; they have a positive self-image and are self-confident; they are able to provide multiple solutions to language situation problems, as well as to draw unusual and original conclusions in class; they show readiness to work long and hard in order to master the language; they ask numerous questions in order to deepen their knowledge of L2. It is important to point out that not all gifted learners will display above-average abilities equally in all the aforementioned aspects (Dean 2008: 15). The combination of cognitive and affective factors and the individual differences between all L2 learners (as well as those in other fields/subjects) have a strong influence on the process of learning through interaction with the context in which L2 is being learned.

Surprisingly few studies have been carried out into extraordinarily talented L2 learners. Such studies are, according to some experts, difficult to conduct as there are not many gifted learners who could be gathered into a single group in order to carry out a satisfactory factor analysis (Biedroń & Szczepaniak 2009: 54-55). This is also supported by the opinion that the criteria for selecting the case studies presented in literature are somewhat inconsistent Biedroń & Szczepaniak 2009: 54-55). According to Sternberg (1998) it is necessary to examine the so-called implicit theories of teachers, learners and school psychologists regarding giftedness because teaching gifted learners is often based on the implicit theories of their teachers regarding the characteristics of gifted children and the teaching models applied to them despite a large amount of expert literature. The aim of this paper is to examine the implicit theories of EFL teachers regarding the giftedness of primary-school EFL learners, and to consider the implications of those theories for the learning process and EFL teaching.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research in this paper included the views of teachers on the construct of giftedness for foreign language learning. The aim of this study is, as was pointed out in the introduction, to gain an insight into how EFL teachers in primary schools (grades 5-8) perceive the phenomenon of giftedness for foreign languages, which didactic and methodological methods for working with gifted learners they propose within the regular syllabus and which competences teachers need to possess to work with such children. Other aspects that reach into the essence of this complex problem will also be considered.

Methodology. The study that was carried out was in the form of a questionnaire for teachers, consisting of twelve questions: eleven open-ended questions and one closed-ended question. The questionnaire recorded demographic variables such as gender, age, years of experience, the school where the teachers

work and the geographical location of the school. The questionnaire was anonymous but the teachers were left with the option to give their names, which part of them did. This in no way diminished the validity of the study as teachers gave comprehensive and honest answers in both cases. The survey was carried out by e-mailing the questionnaires to the teachers or by distributing them directly in the schools. The survey was carried out at the beginning of the second semester of the academic year of 2012/2013.

Sample. The survey included 52 English teachers from 24 primary schools in Serbia. Of the whole sample, 48 teachers (92.3%) were women and 4 teachers (7.7%) were men. The majority of subjects were middle-aged. The average age was 38.4 years. The age distribution of the sample can be seen in Figure 1.

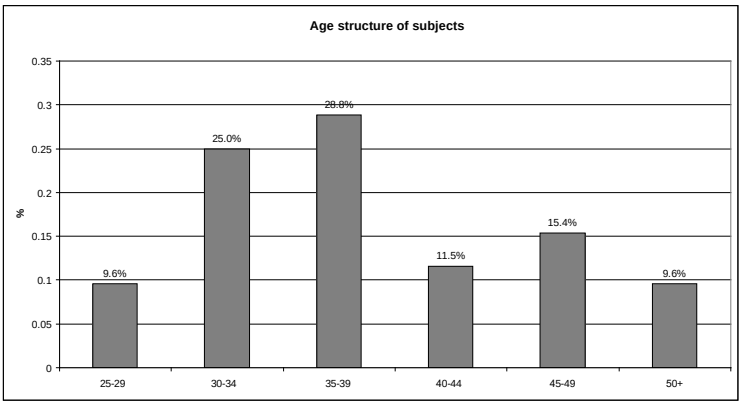

Figure 1: Age Structure

As far as the length of employment is concerned, most surveyed teachers possess considerable experience; a third of the subjects have over 16 years of work experience (36.5%) and the subjects' average length of employment is 13.4 years. This distribution can be seen in Figure 2. Length of employment is significant for the study as many years of practical experience working with gifted children imply an understanding of the nature of the phenomenon of giftedness and as a result, these teachers are able to suggest measures which can significantly contribute to the development of the potential of gifted foreign language learners.

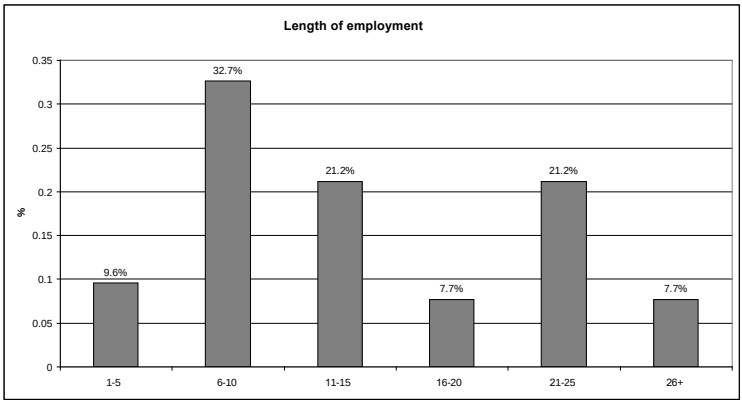

Figure 2: Length of employment

2.1. Results and discussion

At the beginning of the study we wanted to find out what the teachers thought were the specific characteristics displayed by extraordinarily gifted primary school EFL learners, which was covered in the first part of the questionnaire. We tried to summarise all the occurrences of giftedness for foreign languages listed by the teachers and classify them into categories which are not mutually exclusive, but which overlap so that a single characteristic may be classified into two or more categories. This provided a comprehensive overview or a so-called cognitive profile of a gifted learner, which proves the thesis that giftedness for foreign languages is a multi-dimensional construct and that the realisation of language aptitude comes down to the interaction of cognitive and affective aspects through high performance in language abilities. Exceptional achievement in EFL learning (and language in general) is based on highly developed verbal skills, a high potential for learning, extraordinary curiosity towards L2 elements and culture, constantly seeking challenging materials to learn, a positive self image, which can be seen from the following table:

Learning styles and strategies	*Motivation and attitude (affective domain)*	*Cognitive abilities*	*The field of language*	*Personality traits (affective domain)*
1. They apply their knowledge of English in other areas of learning as well, **2.** They compare the rules and principles of a language and draw independent conclusions, **3.** They thrive on challenges and constantly look for opportunities to use their English, showing little fear of errors, **4.** They often look for answers that go beyond the syllabus, **5.** They request increasingly demanding tasks, which they perform with ease.	**1.** They learn the English language because they like it, they find it entertaining and useful, **2.** They have a special affinity towards British and American culture, music, literature, films, etc., **3.** They apply themselves more in class than their peers, **4.** They show special interest in extra-curricular activities, **5.** They ask many questions about and do a great deal of research into the English language and culture, **6.** They show interest in the English language from an early age, **7.** They like to role-play.	**1.** High general intelligence, **2.** Critical thinking, **3.** Good memory, **4.** They memorise and reproduce language material better than their peers, **5.** They possess a functional knowledge, **6.** They stand out with their creative thinking.	**1.** They quickly, easily and independently learn both grammar and vocabulary within and outside of the syllabus, **2.** Highly developed listening and speaking skills, **3.** A rich vocabulary and an excellent knowledge of slang and colloquialisms, **4.** They read and re-tell texts fluently and they pronounce words correctly, **5.** They are good at describing people, places and events, justifying their opinions and participating in discussions, **6.** Their language use is fluent and accurate.	**1.** They are very self-confident and competitive, **2.** They like to be successful and to be noticed, **3.** They are ambitious and like to dominate, **4.** They are perceptive, creative and inventive, **5.** They have a wide range of interests and are always keen to learn, **6.** They are communicative and socially adaptable, **7.** They have original ideas and a rich imagination.

Table 1. The characteristics of gifted primary-school EFL learners

To *Question 2*: *Have you gained your insight into the characteristics of gifted learners of English by observing and systematically monitoring them or do you rely on other sources such as literature, exchanging information with colleagues, the school psychologist, reliable instruments, attending accredited*

seminars, etc.? Of the total sample, 48 teachers (92.3%) replied that they gained such insights from their years of experience, i.e. by observing such learners, recording and systematically comparing information about them, 26 teachers (50%) exchanged information with more experienced colleagues, 12 teachers (23%) relied on literature and teachers' manuals, only 9 teachers (17.3%) attended seminars, 7 teachers (13.4%) consulted the school psychologist, 1 teacher (1.9%) communicated with the parents and 1 teacher (1.9%) exchanged information with colleagues at seminars.

The teachers are, as a rule, highly motivated to work with gifted children so it comes as no surprise that 17.3% of the teachers attend seminars on this topic. However, based on the teachers' view that there are increasingly fewer high-quality seminars and the analysis of the Catalogue of Accredited Teacher Development Programmes for education workers in Serbia (cf. Anđelković et al. 2011), we can conclude that there are very few programmes for encouraging gifted learners. In other words, there are no programmes which deal exclusively with giftedness for foreign languages. Programmes dealing with identifying and working with gifted learners in the fields of mathematics, physics, visual arts and music are dominant (see Catalogue 2009/10; 2010/11; 2011/12). In any case, there are programmes in the field of education which deal with encouraging learning and include learning styles, multiple intelligences, etc. which in turn represents a firm basis for gaining professional competences and fulfilling the professional requirements of EFL teachers for working with all children – including gifted ones. Furthermore, without questioning the teachers' ability to recognise and lead gifted children in the right direction, it is still necessary to consider other valid means of gathering data such as: testing intellectual abilities, objective tests (using standardised prognostic tests, language proficiency tests, etc.), observing behaviour, biographical data (when available), check lists and assessment scales of characteristic forms of language behaviour, qualitative language achievement analyses, analyses of the achievements of gifted learners in enriched in-class activities, data gathered from interviews with parents, peer assessment and the gifted child's self-assessment.

The next, third question was designed to find out whether and how teachers were acquainted with the issues and principles of the development of giftedness for foreign languages in the course of their pre-service training. It came as no surprise that 15 teachers (28.9%) replied that they were insufficiently acquainted with the issue of giftedness in the course of their undergraduate studies, 29 (55.8%) were not acquainted at all and 8 (15.3) said that they were acquainted, e.g.:

T49: *I had the opportunity to receive a little bit of information on this topic in my ELT Methodology and Pedagogical Psychology courses, learning more through theory and less through practice.*

Pre-service teacher training cannot provide teachers with all the necessary knowledge and skills they will need to cope with various aspects of their future profession. Teachers can gain key competences necessary for working with the gifted through their own belief in lifelong learning, through various forms of professional development, of which attending seminars is one of the most readily available. These methods notwithstanding, it is still necessary to find a way to bring this problem closer to the learners during their undergraduate studies (and not only during post-graduate or doctoral studies).

The fourth question dealt with the most appropriate form of educational work with gifted EFL learners within the regular syllabus and the teachers were asked to select an appropriate answer and justify it, possibly even to suggest an answer not provided in the multiple-choice selection. Of the 52 teachers 19 (36.6%) believe that syllabus enrichment is the most appropriate form in our educational system, 8 teachers (15.3%) believe that streaming or cluster grouping is the most appropriate, while 1 teacher (1.9%) was of the opinion that acceleration is the most appropriate form. Furthermore, 18 teachers (34.6%) opted for a combination of enrichment and cluster grouping, 3 teachers (5.8%) opted for a combination of acceleration and enrichment, 2 teachers (3.9%) opted for a combination of acceleration, enrichment and cluster grouping and 1 teacher (1.9%) opted for a combination of acceleration, enrichment and exclusively individualised work. The following forms of fulfilling the needs of gifted learners are most commonly used worldwide (Dean 2008: 27-39):

1) *Cluster grouping* – which involves learning in a special environment (so-called special placement) in a group of learners with similar abilities while performing certain activities, and which includes pulling gifted learners out of regular classes and gathering them into one group (so-called pull-out programme), as well as forming so-called special groups within the regular school. This approach can offer greater mental stimulation to gifted learners but is contrary to the accepted concept of inclusive education;
2) *Acceleration* – involves accelerated (moderate or radical) coverage and completion of the syllabus. This approach often means that the child does not follow a special syllabus for the gifted but that it covers the regular syllabus at an accelerated pace, which makes this an adequate solution for gifted children as it is very economical and always applicable; however, from the psychological aspect, this approach may force the child to reach emotional maturity too soon, thus depriving it from the right to a "carefree childhood";
3) *Enrichment* – involves gifted children learning within a heterogeneous group of their peers according to a special, enhanced syllabus, which provides additional, more complex and cognitively more challenging educational experiences; this approach can be implemented efficiently within and also outside of the

regular syllabus and is completely in accordance with the idea of inclusion but requires much more engagement and creativity on the part of the teacher.

The surveyed teachers give preference to enrichment within the regular syllabus because they believe that this approach leads to improvements both in the depth and breadth of knowledge necessary for these gifted learners of the English language without separating them from their peers, to whom they could be good role models, e.g.:

T3: *Enrichment definitely encourages gifted children to seek out new challenges by solving language tasks which are more complex than the ones designed for average learners. This is an excellent way to make the learners aware of their progress.*

Teachers implement enrichment through various debates, reports, argumentative essays, projects with topics that learners find interesting, analysing Youtube videos, songs, retelling favourite films, computer games for language learning, graded readers with additional exercises, conversation, computer presentations, etc. Teachers who opted for cluster grouping believe that if the gifted were in an environment with peers on the same level of knowledge, they would be able to develop their giftedness and interests better and further and to make progress. One teacher comments on her choice in the following manner:

T38: *The most suitable form would be one that unifies all three approaches, but I have opted for cluster grouping because of the positive encouragement gifted learners would give one another.*

The fifth question, which asked teachers if they believed that they possessed the necessary professional knowledge, pedagogical, psychological, didactic and methodological competences to work with exceptionally gifted children in the course of regular EFL classes (grades 5-8), 24 (46.1%) of the 52 teachers believed that they did possess the necessary knowledge, 20 (38.5%) teachers believed that they possessed only part of the necessary knowledge and 8 (15.4%) teachers believed that they did not possess the necessary knowledge, e.g.:

T5: *Perhaps not entirely, but I am willing to learn and to work on developing and improving my competences, and I have been doing so ever since I graduated. (a teacher with 7 years of work experience)*

T18: *Yes, I believe that the combination of great experience, professional knowledge and the need for constant professional development make me competent to work with gifted children (a teacher with 28 years of work experience)*

The teachers who thought that they did not possess all the necessary competences, believed that it is necessary to have many years of experience and to

attend as many seminars as possible to be able to do high-quality work with gifted learners.

The aim of the sixth question was to check whether and when the Inclusive Education Model was introduced in the school they work in, as well as whether there was individual work with gifted learners. From the teachers' replies, it can be concluded that this type of differentiated teaching is still in its infancy. Inclusive education involves the preparation of a special syllabus for each subject (primarily language, mathematics and science) depending on the degree of the learners' mental and physical development. Only 4 (7.7%) teachers said that the inclusive model and working with gifted learners were introduced in 2009/2010, 9 (17.3%) teachers said that it was introduced in 2010/2011, 11 (21.1%) teachers said that it was introduced in 2011/2012 and 11 (21.1%) teachers said that the inclusive model was introduced in 2011/2012 but only for children with functional and developmental problems. Furthermore, 4 (7.7%) teachers said that the inclusive model for gifted learners was introduced in 2012/2013 and 2 teachers (3.9%) said that the inclusive model was introduced in 2013 but only for children with functional and learning disabilities. The project of inclusion is a very demanding and complex process which requires complete sensitisation, well-trained, highly motivated, creative teachers with a good knowledge of the children's specific needs, the availability of appropriate programmes, methods, approaches and professional literature as well as the necessary facilities in the school, etc. This is why many schools in Serbia do not currently follow the model of inclusive education (cf. Todorović 2011). The fact that the model did not gain full acceptance is further supported by the teachers' replies:

T41: *Yes, in 2009, but only on paper. In practice it is still not working as the parents need to give their consent and according to the school pedagogist, none of the parents were willing to give their consent for their children.*

The following, seventh, question was aimed at finding out whether there were any individual syllabi for gifted EFL learners and in which grades, to which 40 teachers (77.7%) replied that there were none, 1 teacher (1.9%) said that they existed but only in the 4th and 5th grades, 1 teacher (1.9%) said that they existed in the 6th and 7th grades, 1 teacher (1.9%) said that they existed in the 6th, 7th and 8th grades, 2 teachers (3.9%) said they existed only in the 5th grade, 4 teachers (7.7%) said that they existed only in the 7th grade, and 3 teachers (5.8%) said that such syllabi existed only in the 8th grade of primary school. Certain teachers made the following comments:

T15: *No, we write our own [syllabus] in an extremely minimised form, because this very important factor in education has been completely neglected by the Ministry [of Education] and defined quite tersely with a bunch of "impossible missions" for the teachers.*

By examining the teachers' attitudes towards working with gifted EFL learners both within regular classes and extracurricular activities in *Question 8*, we learned that almost all teachers 45 (86.5%) have a positive attitude, but that they do not have the opportunity to dedicate themselves fully to such children during regular classes and that extracurricular activities provide them with additional opportunities for dedicated work. Only 5 teachers (9.6%) replied that they were able to work with such children fully and easily during regular classes and 2 teachers (3.9%) were undecided. *Question 9* was designed to find out whether and to what extent the school or the Ministry of Education could motivate teachers to work with gifted EFL learners. The highest number of teachers – 21 (40.4%) believe that the school as an agent of the Ministry of Education should provide the necessary facilities for working with gifted children, first of all specialised multimedia classrooms, as many visual aids as possible, i.e. interactive boards, laptops, video beams, Internet access, additional textbooks and professional literature in the field of giftedness, as well as Ministry-approved tests; 18 teachers (34.7%) believe that they should be provided with opportunities for professional development in the form of free seminars, training in English-speaking countries and cooperation with schools abroad; 10 teachers (19.2%) claim that the educational system ought to be reformed in the sense of reducing the number of students in a group, increasing the number of classes, hiring teaching assistants, reducing administrative workload, etc.; 9 teachers (17.3%) believe that a mechanism should be in place providing financial rewards for teachers and 4 teachers (7.7%) are of the opinion that EFL camps should be organised as well as English language competitions for 5th, 6th and 7th graders (and not just 8th graders), public competitions for papers, student exchange programmes involving English-speaking countries and scholarships for gifted learners.

Question 10 listed 12 characteristics teachers should possess in order to work with gifted EFL learners, and the teachers were asked to choose 6 which they thought were the most important:

possessing excellent professional knowledge,	43	82%
motivation for continuous professional development and applying new ideas in practice,	41	79%
consistently motivating learners to achieve more,	38	73%
recognising the learners' potential and being aware of their characteristics,	34	65.4%
creating a positive, encouraging atmosphere in class, encouraging gifted learners to do research,	33	63.4%
flexibility and creativity in communicating and working with gifted learners,	29	55.8%

appreciating and praising the learners' creative work,	25	48%
a positive attitude towards gifted learners,	23	44.2%
possessing a wide range of interests and being a competent researcher,	21	40.4%
the ability to create individualised syllabi,	14	27%
readiness to cooperate with the gifted learners' parents,	6	11.5%
a positive attitude towards inclusive/individualised education.	5	9.6%

Table 2. Characteristics that EFL teachers should possess in order to work with gifted learners

In order to recognise, focus and develop language skills in gifted children it is necessary to be organised, focussed and have clear goals. In order to successfully meet the various requirements of inclusive education, it is necessary for teachers to possess a range of competences which are a combination of professional knowledge, relevant skills and attitudes. Teachers, who play a very complex professional role in teaching the gifted, therefore consider professional knowledge to be a key competence, followed by motivation for continuous professional development and applying new ideas in practice, motivating the gifted to achieve more, recognising the learners' potential and being aware of their characteristics, creating a positive, encouraging atmosphere in class, flexibility and creativity in communicating and working with gifted learners, and other intellectual, creative and organisational skills, which together make up the multi-layered pedagogy necessary to understand diversity and to help it function.

Question 11 was designed to find out what difficulties EFL teachers faced in working with gifted learners in regular classes and during extra-curricular activities. The vast majority of teachers said that during regular classes: they were unable to dedicate enough time and attention to gifted learners, that it was not always possible for them to give them special tasks and that as a result they were bored in class, hyperactive and disruptive to learners who were unable to cope even with the basic syllabus. This is how some teachers interpreted the current situation and the difficulties they faced:

T50: *Paperwork and limited time! It is more important to write an individualised syllabus than to spend time working with gifted learners and preparing materials, etc. Preparing for work with such children is rather time-consuming as it is a type of research and involves creativity, but one gets the impression that it is more important to put the syllabus on paper (using different pens so the inspectors would not claim it was written in a single day before their arrival!) than to actually dedicate yourself to finding interesting texts, materials that will arouse the gifted children's interest.*

Of course, teachers have fewer difficulties during extra-curricular activities but they do point out that there is: a shortage of visual aids and specialised

classrooms, a shortage of time slots for working with gifted learners, the fact that gifted learners are already overburdened by their classes and extra-curricular activities since they are often gifted in multiple fields and are torn between them, both through their own volition and through that of their teachers, etc.

At the end of the survey, the teachers were asked to state some of their own observations and make useful suggestions about working with gifted EFL learners. Almost all teachers pointed out that these children are worth all the time and effort they invest in them and that they should receive much more attention because they are "constantly overshadowed by lazy students who are not interested in any subject, including EFL (T7)" and that "enthusiasm should be met by enthusiasm" (T52). Certain teachers gave concrete suggestions, e.g.:

T52: [...] *In many cases, students who speak English fluently tend to be weaker at writing, which is a consequence of relying on their ear, music and often video games in English. With such learners it is necessary to do more writing practice, and to make it more interesting, we should include topics they find interesting. Also, gifted learners should be encouraged to gain knowledge independently, because modern education is more about the teacher guiding the learner so that the learner discovers and gains new knowledge independently...*

Modern education should put them in a better position to achieve optimum effect. In order to tap the learners' potentials more fully, it is necessary to encourage and guide them constantly towards gaining new knowledge and teaching them new ways to achieve this, to motivate them to do independent research and develop their creativity. In addition to the teachers who play a crucial role in this process, it is necessary also to involve the parents and all the existing professional psychological and pedagogical services. The teachers believe that individualised measures should be taken for each gifted learner and that it is wrong to generalise; it is necessary to determine where such learners' interests lie (role-playing, grammar, vocabulary, listening, reading), to encourage them to make progress in that field and to employ them as co-teachers helping out their weaker peers. On the whole, the teachers concluded that much effort is required to make working with gifted learners effective.

3. CONCLUSION

Although recognising gifted learners in different fields can begin at an early pre-school age, the main part of the identification process and support takes place during primary education. All theoretical and practical approaches to giftedness in languages and other fields point out that the main purpose of discovering gifted learners is to provide them with appropriate educational support

through acceleration, enrichment or cluster-grouping. In Serbia, enrichment is the most common, most feasible and most acceptable approach within regular classes, which requires extraordinary flexibility on the part of the teachers, sensitivity to the individual needs of gifted learners, i.e. their unique features as well as outstanding knowledge in the field of inclusion, especially regarding gifted learners. The quality of working with gifted learners depends on the personal and professional competence of the teacher. The data gathered through surveying EFL teachers leads us to the conclusion that gifted EFL learners deserve more attention. Appreciating the needs of both the gifted and their teachers can only contribute to creating better conditions for creative work and the advancement of the most gifted children. However, we are under the impression that working with gifted children is left to the enthusiasm of their teachers and is more the result of individual or group efforts rather than of the efforts of society at large, which is demonstrated by the absence of a national programme or strategy for helping the gifted, which would provide a legal framework as well as all the means of support for gifted learners, their teachers and teaching assistants.

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PREPOZNAVANJE I ZADOVOLJAVANJE POTREBA DAROVITIH UČENIKA ENGLESKOG KAO STRANOG JEZIKA U VIŠIM RAZREDIMA OSNOVNE ŠKOLE

Rezime

Darovitost predstavlja jedinstvenu kombinaciju natprosečne sposobnosti, motivacije i kreativnosti. Postoji nekoliko zajedničkih karakteristika koje omogućavaju nastavnicima da prepoznaju darovitost kod učenika: tečno se usmeno izražavaju i s lakoćom učestvuju u komunikativnim aktivnostima; s posebnom pažnjom čitaju velike količine materijala; uspešno ovladavaju veštinom pismenog izražavanja; kod rešavanja problema često pronalaze više različitih rešenja; veoma su zaokupljeni onim što rade i samostalno razvijaju interesovanja. Tri su ključne dimenzije po kojima se daroviti razlikuju od svojih prosečnih vršnjaka: 1) brzina učenja, 2) dubina razumevanja naučenog materijala, 3) brojna interesovanja. Da bi se zadovoljile potrebe darovitih učenika u okviru nastave engleskog kao stranog jezika na osnovnoškolskom uzrastu potrebno je prepoznati osobine darovitih i adekvatno ih zadovoljiti. U ovom radu će se ispitivati kako i u kojoj meri je izvodljiv proces otkrivanja jezički darovitih učenika osnovne škole i njihovog podsticanja u izazovnim okruženjima, kao i stručnog usavršavanja profesora engleskog jezika za rad s darovitima.

Ključne reči: jezička darovitost, profesori engleskog kao stranog jezika, percepcije profesora, pedagoški rad s darovitim učenicima, stručno usavršavanje profesora engleskog jezika.

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THE RIDDLE AS A THOUGHT-INDUCED FATE OF PAVIĆ AND NIETZSCHE

In this paper are presented some of the ideas of Nietzsche's and Pavić's writings, as well as the similarities between their thinking patterns. The similarities include the idea of the eternal return which was the foundation for their art form, especially in the case of Nietzsche. They both played with words and transformed, and the transformation is present in both ways, affecting the reader as much as the writer. The creative form itself also transforms, leaving the reader with so many open questions, believing that the very form of existence might as well be the answer to one of them. The magic of the labyrinth, of being present in the moment, as if it is the only one that shapes destiny, new art forms are welcomed and greeted – and these are only a few important moments of their creative process and of the ways in which the spirit of the reader can be shaped.

Keywords: eternal return, art, transformation, labyrinth, creation

Although they may seem widely different, Pavić and Nietzsche share a large number of similarities, even though these similarities are not completely transparent, and they are certainly not what we may notice at first glance. Both in the search of the hidden meaning of life and the metaphysical meaning of reality, expecting answers where no one expects them anymore, Nietzsche and Pavić pave new paths, one in literature, the other in philosophy, and both lost in order to be found again. Are we a question or are we just a part of the answer, are we a puzzle or a solution? How to bridge the insurmountable depths from man to his true self, from the mask to the essential? Nietzsche, in response, offers a metaphor that leads to the realization of the superhuman, and Pavić a metaphor that clothes the spirit of the new self. Nietzsche knows that his superman is afraid of flying and Pavić knows that his true nature is his *other body*, which remains hidden from the eye of the observer. In order to become a *superman* he needs to shed the skin of the old self, but does it, at the same time, mean another body and another soul and hopes? Yes, because a superman should aspire higher. What is fascinating about both of them isn't the lack of meaning, but the coherence of the same. They both want to outgrow the existential gaps and heal them with a medicine that will bring them closer to eternity in their rise. There is that love

for eternity, that expectation to encompass the multiplicity of meanings with words, to overcome the winter of life, that rise of genius who is ready to destroy to create a new world, and just as Nietzsche destroys old values to establish new ones, so Pavić goes beyond the expected limits, his composition is bold and unusual, his thought is a mystery and a riddle. The love for riddles is something that describes both of them, nothing is more attractive than mystery, which in Nietzsche's writings takes in the outlines of thought, while in Pavić's we see this diversity in the characters and their extremely unusual works, in the structure of the story itself, in the compositional whole. Nietzsche does not hesitate to swing towards the unknown and that is exactly the trait that Pavić also possesses, and while they both walk the well-known terrains with unspoken and unexplored thoughts, they pave the way to the unknown terrain with the feet of eternity.

To become a superman for Nietzsche means to become a radically free individual who has thrown off the shackles of the past, both in the form of tradition and in the form of his own past. He speaks of the individual with a strong, independent will, which is evoked in this deterministically conditioned universe. This strong Faustian determination confirms itself in the universe by subjugating it, directing the whole world towards its own vision. The superman of whom Nietzsche speaks possesses the power of a Faustian, heroic spirit. "That the innermost essence of being is the will to power, Nietzsche, despite the usually opposite appearance of his efforts, does not prove by concluding on the basis of inductive research of all areas of being: being in its being is everywhere the will to power. Moreover, as a thinker, Nietzsche always and from the very beginning, thinks on the basis of the projection of the being as a whole towards his being as a will for power" (Heidegger 2009: 611).

The entropy and energy drops stand for the inevitability of time that passes and which sets itself as a master who, after the death of God mentioned by Nietzsche, destroys everything, so it only depends on man's choice which side he will choose. "Man is already crucified between an animal and a superman – a rope over an abyss. Dangerous crossing, dangerous travel, dangerous looking back, dangerous apprehension and stopping" (Nietzsche 2005: 11).

In the first part of the book "Thus spoke Zarathustra", Zarathustra rejoices in the artistic life, which for him is a life that has made itself into an art, and all this requires an escape from time, the suppression of everything that existed before. However, this escape from time, which is presented as strongly established with the help of will, proves to be impossible in the second part. In the first part, Zarathustra is presented as naïve and carefree, while in the second part of the book we see how he emerges on the ashes of his own being, and it all happens because he has more spiritual knowledge, which ultimately leads him to leave artistic creation behind, he deviates from that naivety because he knows more, and that knowledge makes him lose the ideal of free artistic creation. In the third and

fourth part he tries to get back to the paradise he lost, but the redemption doesn't come from God but from this now and here, from the present moment. The eye of Zarathustra, the lover of wisdom, looks beyond the present moment, trying to grasp the essence of all things, but realizes that this is not feasible if it does not deviate from the present moment at the same time. Most of Pavić's characters go through a transformation in order to reach their own truth, a transformation that is never easy, but is necessary in order to solve the riddle that their life pattern represents.

Also, the notion of the movement, i.e. circular times is the central theme of Pavić's writings as well, because they are both staring at the same dose of the infinite and the elusive. It is interesting that both of them experience time as a circle, which testifies to the change of life cycles and civilizations on the world stage, a change that is nothing but a cyclical repetition of the same rise, as well as the same mistakes, only in new spirit.

It is interesting how Nietzsche imagines a great man and the path of suffering. "Suffering and helplessness – that created all the otherworldly worlds: and the brief madness of happiness experienced only by the one who suffers the most" (Ibid: 26). The French novelist Alexander Dima will say something similar: "There is neither happiness nor misfortune in this world, there is only a comparison of one state with another." Nietzsche philosophy is also his poetry, he combines two opposites as if, at the same time, both are true. "He who seeks easily loses himself". "I love one who wants to create something above himself and thus perishes" (Ibid: 61). Nietzsche feels a great, ancient truth with which many thinkers would unanimously agree today. "The worst enemy you can meet will always be yourself." (Ibid: 60). He boldly tells his truths and maxims, but still somewhere in a sense he distances himself, saying something that might be least expected from him: "It is more elegant not to give oneself the right than to remain right, especially when a person is right. Only for that one must be rich enough." (Ibid: 64). Nietzsche connects the experience of nihilism with the image of the infinite sea and the ocean, and the depiction of the ring he is talking about is also crucial, while presenting it in the correlation with the circular movement of time. Nietzsche's Zarathustra encourages us to become the creators of our own lives, by analyzing both us and everything that has influenced us, while at the same time giving our lives a free, chosen meaning that was once given by God. It is a challenge that the idea of returning something to us puts before us, to become the authors of our own lives, and that has just been achieved through the life of a superman. The superman overcomes the narrowness of existence by the power of his spirit, and Nietzsche recognizes him as an artist, a creator. The artist, the creator, forgets the present moment, his creation is a consequence of liberation form the past, for Zarathustra it is the achievement of an artist, a great artist, in fact, liberation from the shackles of time and temporal determinants.

But this liberation happens only if the artist is aware that there is a dependence of the present moment on the past and the future, that they are interconnected and conditioned. Nietzsche's ideal in the first book is naivety that leads to cognition, while cognition carries within itself responsibility and weight that completely changes the one who perceives. Did Pavić manage to ignore the knowledge in order to keep the naivety of the creator?

The moment the idea of eternal return is accepted, the person is ultimately transformed and never the same. His ideal is of a romantic spirit, although at times it does not look like that. Zarathustra realizes the connection between the present and the future, and overcomes it with the idea of the eternal return of history. Zarathustra's answer to the challenges of reality is in the idea of its eternal return, as well as in the idea of overcoming it, which is also the idea used by Pavić in his writings, especially in his book *Second body*. In that book he reveals to us the hidden connection with Nietzsche through the uninterrupted flow of thoughts about reality and the afterlife, about questions to which he is constantly trying to find an answer. Pavić questions the very purpose of existence, and shares the aspirations to find answers and the need to overcome the framework of limited self; to overcome, conquer and overpower one's own mortality – that's the most important string that connects them, as well as the one that makes them spiritual twins. Pavić and Nietzsche look at the same direction, but each in their own way. Through Zarathustra and through Pavić's path, we notice that the lover of wisdom must leave the creator behind. The past cannot be returned and the search for the past will only cause confrontation with emptiness and void. The symbolism of a circle or a ring is also very important, and the idea of the eternal return of the same is the central thought of Nietzsche's metaphysics, which does not bypass Pavić either. It may not be obvious at first glance, but one of their most striking similarities is in the very structure of the work, which often takes a form of a circle and a labyrinth of thoughts, where again nothing is unambiguous and where there is a tendency not to be transparent and easy to understand. Even when the messages are different, the basic idea and intention both remain the same – to be different, life is seen through the prism of the art of forgetting, which is highly valued by Pavić himself. Symbolism of fog and real world. Art and philosophy are inseparable from each other, they separate in time, only to reunite through the eternal cyclical movement of time. Both Pavić and Zarathustra see themselves as prophets who speak and instruct about this *now and here*. To remain faithful to earth laws does not mean to be trapped in the shackles of the Christian past, or to be looking to the future, but to embrace the present, our own world and destiny. However, just as Pavić separates himself from this vision when he talks about the symbolism of the new world, so does Nietzsche in the second part of his book *Thus spoke Zarathustra*.

The central theme is the struggle between philosophy and poetry, it is also the key problem that Nietzsche assumes, i.e. how at the same time to be a philosopher without leaving the artist behind, how, enriched with the knowledge of philosophical insights, to regain the naivety of a poet and enthusiast. For Nietzsche, the key theory is to see the world through the constant struggle of two impulses and forces. To him, the world is in constant motion, a movement maintained by this very struggle of two opposite principles. We can understand the world only through contradictory thoughts, only through a continuous process of existence and ever becoming, and Pavić would also say that we can understand the world only if we look at it as a miracle and a riddle that is still waiting to be solved. With their writings, they pose a challenge to the reader, and the precondition for the solution is a radical review in thinking and reversal of all previous ideas, because they create under the pretext and under the aegis of paradox. Pavić also depicts a pronounced continuity in thinking while talking about the central themes of his thoughts. They are both fascinated by the idea of eternity, which is reflected differently through their work. For Nietzsche, the game of opposites is extremely important, cause only through opposites do we reach the essence. Aren't Pavić riddles the same dance of opposites? The task of art is to reach the truth, but not by a purely rational process, i.e. not in the least by a rational process, but by an intuitive insight, a Dionysian tragic insight that reveals before our eyes the face and reverse of all things.

Just like for Nietzsche, and for Pavić, the whole world is a kind of process, but the contrast between them can be found in the fact that Pavić is often outside the outline of life that is now and here, while Nietzsche dreamed of a world that transcends the present, but which can be created only from the framework of the present, by the energy and power of one *superman*. The variety of symbols they use is a distinctive feature of both, Nietzsche shows readiness to create a new world, although that means destroying the old one, and Pavić is a little more deterministically oriented. For him, the creation of a new world is a natural consequence of the collapse of the old, which has reached the definitive end of its cyclical existence, the old world must disappear in order for the new to come to life. For Nietzsche, nihilism represents the collapse of the highest values that represent man and humanity, God is dead and the world of becoming is the only world for us. Nietzsche, claiming that God is dead, puts the world in an ungrateful position – on the one hand he points out to man that everything he has, everything he is and possesses is now left to himself and there is no longer a supreme figure who establishes laws and can be held accountable in the world. It is exactly the placement in this position that brings the "cure" that establishes new principles and new values in our world. On the other hand, his view of art, which he now presents as a kind of escape that we use to avoid facing reality is also interesting, and it means that we have to start re- understanding our world,

because God can no longer be our support. Nihilism is also a consequence of ordering the world with anti- value, values that are wrongly grounded. The world is in a such a position because it does not observe the cyclical movement of time in the right way. It is historically necessary to understand only form the perspective of the present moment, the only moment in which we can really find ourselves, and again, the only moment which is our ladder of connection with the future, when we understand the future as an undeniable consequence of the present.

For Nietzsche, history is another name for the world of becoming in which we live, the transcendent meaning of the world can only be viewed from an internal, personal perspective, because we are that history in its uninterrupted course, and viewed from the perspective of the present moment. Pavić is also that history through all his characters because he does not escape subjectivity either. There is no objective writer, one who writes beyond himself. The writer speaks about himself through his characters, so that, sometimes unconsciously, he reveals to us parts of his personality, his hopes and aspirations, his alter ego. Also, we are the one who, through what we do, through the deeds that shape our life, give history its full meaning, we are the ones who project value into what happened. That is the reason way the importance of re-creating value is important for Nietzsche, because we are the only ones who can and must do it. History, therefore, is not a subject that does not concern us, but it is of the closest importance to us, because we are its active parts, this river can not flow past us, or this river can flow only because of us, as Pavić would symbolically present it. "If you feel a flame in yourself, run, because you never know when it will vanish and leave you in the dark" (Pavić 2002: 51). Nietzsche, like the poet and a dreamer, dreams of perfection in a form of a perfect man of impossible strength. He dethrones religion and every thought about the creator of eternity, in order to put creator of the future on the throne. He does not believe in God who created man, but in man who creates God. He doesn't believe in myth but still tries to create a myth. But could an imperfect world ever produce a Nietzschean man, and could, after all, such a man fully express himself in the right light? Nietzsche's idea is a man of iron will, but above all he is a man woven of dreams and illusions. In the domain of ethical realization, it is clear that he doesn't preach about equality but firmly believes that the stronger has the right to the weaker, which shows that he subordinated everything to that idea. Like Dostoevsky's heroes, especially Raskolnikov, he was also obsessed with the idea that shaped all his thoughts and colored them, redirecting them to a different understanding. Dostoevsky has an interesting view of ordinary and unusual people, except that for him, unlike the Nietzschean idea, God is the one who has absolute power, and he does not allow unjustified destruction of a world for the sake of creating a new one, because there is a force above man called to decide. But an unordinary man is different in a way, he represents a creator, and a creator in the highest degree of his creation,

a man who is aware of his power and uses it. "Creation is a great salvation from suffering and it makes life easier. But in order for a creator to come into being, it requires pain and a lot of transformation." (Nietzsche 2005: 82). Nietzsche does not justify giving up that challenge at all, nor does Pavić do so at any moment. The life we live is the only possible life through which we can observe values, and their reevaluation begins the moment we get rid of the burden that holds us back and organize our lives according to the rules of our choice, rules which are not imposed form the outside. Nietzsche's idea of eternal return of the same can only be realized through poetry, only poetry can reflect the nature of life in becoming, and more credible than science and philosophy can, because they concentrate on theorems and explanations, allowing them to escape the metaphorical essence that the poet reaches through intuitive insight. The key point is that beauty is achievable, not through the infallibility of scientist's theorem, but through the intuition- oriented work of a poet. For Nietzsche, the central idea of human existence is embodied in the idea of love for one's destiny, which is the central purpose of human life. Pavić's belief in destiny can be seen when he says that: "Our nature is not simple -we are full of what we already are, this flesh, blood, our own being, but we are also full of the future in advance… And somewhere in that future lies, at its bottom, death" (Pavić 2002: 176). So, for him, the future is already predetermined. Neither Nietzsche nor Pavić are afraid to turn some of our most conditioned beliefs, as in a mirror. Music, according to Nietzsche, imitates the essence of nature, he believes that Dionysian and Apollonian principles are skillfully incorporated into the ancient tragedy and make up its essence, but these considerations also have the task of pointing to something else, and that is constant change. For him, life takes place in constant change, and, on the other hand, that change also has a repetitive character. Art is an illusion into which people flee in order not to face reality, a refuge, an escape, and a sea of possibilities. Nietzsche's ontology is based on the idea that power and movement act as superior to being, therefore, his ontology consists of unity and processes, and while he often uses the motives of sea and ocean, Pavić uses the symbol of fire. Nietzsche, like Schopenhauer and Byron, is also an undisputed pessimist, and in his philosophical poem *Thus spoke Zarathustra*, his anger and disappointment that he preaches about the ideal he has not yet found is most clearly read: "And you, my brothers, must be saved by much greater man than all the saviors were, if you want to find the way to freedom! It has never been a superman before" (Nietzsche 2005: 89). He is troubled by the fact that everyone is too human, and that everyone, sooner or later, surrenders to their weaknesses, but sometimes illusion is enough to prevent hopes from being dispelled, and illusion here acts as a proactive response to nihilism. Like Nietzsche, one who endlessly devotes himself to an idea eventually becomes either a shadow of that idea or the idea itself, and Zarathustra's path teaches us, again, that there are questions that are

more important than answers, just as answers that do not require questions. Once a particular thought is given, then the thinker forgets (Zarathustra's review in the second, third and fourth parts of the book). In order to find his way again he needs to go back to the very beginning, but even if there is a possibility of return, he can't escape from what he has now realized. Zarathustra has already found a part of the end in every beginning, and in the very nature of man the answers to all existential questions. Every question is a search for oneself, every answer represents a new possibility, that is what Zarathustra's path openly teaches. Heraclitus would say that character is man's destiny, character is a part of his psyche, and that is cosmic fire which makes man's nature and represents the source of all activities and therefore destiny. Here, as in Nietzsche's case, fate is subordinated to man instead of ruling him, human nature is placed before destiny as a decisive external factor, but still, Heraclitus is not neglecting the interconnection of human nature with the general laws of the universe.

Nietzsche placed superiority above all other expectations of man, he expects him to take responsibility for what he wants to become and bridge the gap that separates him form it. Also, what Nietzsche often does, it is to point out that he came to his ideas following his own path, just as someone else also has his own path, and the only correct one does not actually exist, which is why everyone has their own individual reason for existence. The most important questions about life cannot be answered by anyone other than ourselves, "in exactly the same way one and the same thing can be kept and lost" (Pavić 2002: 44). Nietzsche also criticizes the virtues that are considered to be inherent in human nature because he thinks that those virtues are nothing more than an appearance, that, instead of these values being natural and inherent, they actually serve the interests of minority. Pavić thinks similarly, which we notice in many of his stories. What they both have in common is a sense of revolt against social conventions and social foundations, a desire to overcome ignorance and find answers to key existential questions. "And what belongs to me in all seas, catch for me: I am waiting for it, the most vicious of all fishermen" (Nietzsche 2005: 201). Both Pavić and Nietzsche are thinkers who question established norms, who play with words and expressions. Transformation is a synonym for both, because they both believe that unexplored aspects of personality are revealed through change, and that the narrowness of existence is finally overcome through change, transformation is, for both, a path to a higher level of consciousness and a higher level of living. Isn't it that transformation is just a veil for the knowledge we already have, because "no one is followed in vain throughout his life by the same dream" (Pavić 2002: 74). They both believe that: "Ordinary people had to wait until life itself revealed its secrets to them: but the secrets of life were revealed to the minority, the chosen ones, even under the veil" (Wilde 2006: 110).

"We are all masons, but we were given an unusual marble for masonry: hours, days and years- and sleep and wine are glue. We are all masons of time, we cast shadows and catch water on the navel: everyone builds his house of moments, everyone builds his house of time, everyone raises his hive and his oil lamp of particles of time, we carry time in a box to light a fire in the smithy" (Pavić 2002: 123). The power of creation, about which Pavić metaphorically speaks on this occasion, first of all, arises form forgetting, because a person can either create or forget, but not both. The superman is the only one who willingly forgets, becomes blind to the past, and that is the first condition of his joyful creative creation, because, in Nietzsche's vision, the superman is an artist personally. But isn't losing our yesterday the same as losing our today? The rejection of the past is a metaphor for the death of the old self, so that, *like a phoenix*, a new self is built on its ashes. Nietzsche and Pavić leave us a riddle of creation, a riddle that has its own unique solution for each person individually, that is what they both preach about. One and only right path is an illusion, we choose the path and the path chooses us, everything is interconnected. But the problem that now arises is to what extent can the creator retain his initial naivety? Do the thoughtful insights of a philosopher extinguish the intuitive cognition, which is the first condition for poetry, so can we reconcile intuition with exactness? Do critical insights extinguish the freedom of a poetic, uncritically and intuitively directed spirit, i.e. does the genesis of philosophical consciousness establish autonomy over poetic inspiration? One world has to disappear to create another, or can it simply be outplayed? The new world is a sign of change that takes place in a transformed subject that moves on the path of self-discovery, and that path of change which does not lead to the outside but to the inner being of the personal self is another common feature of Pavić and Nietzsche. Neither one nor the other wants to narrate the reader, but to help him discover himself through countless labyrinth of thoughts. Form is important, but now not only as a form of thought, but as a starting point for shaping the spirit. The spirit finds its way behind the door of the unconscious self, they do not teach but they awaken in the reader a longing for what is already a part of him, they send the reader on a self-revealing *mission* and inspire him with the strength to strive for self-actualization. There is no sense that cannot become superfluous, and just at the moment when that might happen *the iron curtain* falls and Zarathustra ends his thought dance, while their riddle whispers to the reader, "In whatever way you interpret and read, the solution is always you", because now the aspiration is not self-discovery of the artist, but also of the reader. The artist is the one who finds the last expression of the eternal return of the same, by uniting the past and the future in an unpredictable dance of the moment. He boldly recreates the past using the vision of the future as a model. The artist has overcome the gap between the past and the

future by using a creative process that thus allows him an insight into the world beyond his own, while his thoughts are also his reward.

"Eternal return of history" is now the personal creative process of the artist, a reality that he re-creates, constantly striving to create his own world. Both Nietzsche and Pavić are unequivocally aware that, the moment the artist leaves the past behind him completely, he can no longer create, because he lacks everything for which the past was necessary. The sea is an undeniable and indispensable symbol of both, but the sea is now synonymous with wisdom, no matter how it might be disguised. *The sea* represents the possibilities of knowledge to which our true nature is the only answer, and perhaps that true nature is our *other body*, just as Pavić desire for knowledge was his second body. Will is an indispensable aspect that we notice in the hesitation of Pavić's heroes, and through the fearlessness that Nietzsche talks about.

The strong spirit is supported by the challenge of the new self, the self that becomes stronger the moment the riddle becomes the answer to the question "who am I". The quarrel of the individual with the collective unconscious now contributes to breaking down the barrier that creator sets before himself. Nietzsche embarked on a philosophical journey, but also studied the very meaning of words, he dedicated himself to its ambiguity, just as Pavić did, because one- sided has never been the focus of their interest but always ambiguous and puzzling. Philosophy and art do not go separately from each other, but they are like two rivers that inevitably return to the same source of knowledge. The tension between thought and cognition is the same as Pavić feels, so while his expressions depict the magical on the edge of poetic, there is a painting of poetic content on the prose canvas. They wanted to create magic through writing, and they bravely walked the path that lead them to the poetic *supreme*, because both, poetry and prose combined, are able to create a new genre whose basis is a riddle, a labyrinth, magic. That magic is perhaps the right answer for art, because what is art but the aspiration for magic that overcomes the shackles of the present. Both of them saw in art a magical escape from everyday life and a victory over the shackles of reality, so for them art has always been special, unique and a confirmation that there is a world beyond the present, a world which subdues it, conquers the past and, if necessary, transcends the future, and its name is art. The artist's vision is an elixir of magic for reality, an elixir that offers everything but promises nothing, a magician who opens the path, but the reader must step on it alone. Both Nietzsche and Pavić are thinkers who submerge into the unknown waters, who take risks and play on the edge of the abyss while smiling at it, because they know that their downfall is flight, and that even a misunderstanding of one age does not erase the pages of the future that these visionaries have already written… While Pavić's artistic sensibilities allow the present moment to be the one that repeats itself forever, because the artist recreates it in his vision

in countless ways, Nietzsche believes that the artist's refusal to see beyond the present moment is a refusal to see the true essence and a true meaning of things. The artist separates his world from the outside world, but he also achieves that his world prevails, because on the other side of truth, everyone experiences only his own experience of the world, thus unequivocally creating it, which is the task of art, but Nietzsche makes it a task of philosophy as well; so art leads us to philosophy just as philosophy leads us to art. The sea that Nietzsche and Pavić write about shows us how much art is not equal to the world of nature. Art represents the possibility of the mind to depart from the world of nature and boldly oppose it, but also never to overcome it, because nature is boundless and eternal, but the artist's vision is final and deadly. The other body grows on the ashes and the ideals of the old, but the vision survives and continues its flight long after the artist crosses his personal. Both are individualists whose ideas outgrow the collective and whose inner world richens the outside world as well. The confrontation with the outside world arises from the aspirations of the liberated artist's vision to create his own rules, and while Zarathustra calls to remain faithful to the earth, in the end he boldly denies and transcends the earthly, and Pavić, just like Nietzsche, begins the path from the naïve idealist to a self-sufficient visionary who, over the face of the abyss, creates the basis for a continuous encounter of past and future, an encounter that also depicts the circular movement of time, where the present becomes a metaphor for *eternity*.

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ЗАГОНЕТКА КАО МИСАОНА СУДБИНА ПАВИЋА И НИЧЕА

Резиме

У раду су показане сличности присутне у Павићевом и Ничеовом стваралаштву и указано је на заједничке елементе њихове мисли, као што су идеја о вечном враћању истог или бесмртност људске душе. Обојица испред свог времена и другачији, а опет мисаоно целина, иако на први поглед казују различито, суштински размишљају веома слично. Загонетке су синоним за њихов стваралачки израз, као и апсурд у ком проналазе изворе својих идеја, али и размишљања о вредностима и њиховој реевалуацији кроз поезију и уметност. Разматрано је и шта симболизам круга представља за обојицу, тј. поглед на свет кроз кружно кретање времена које заступају у својим делима, и да ли су целокупну стварност посматрали кроз детерминизам или не, као и зашто су за њих одговори тек само нова питања.

Кључне речи: Ниче, Павић, стваралац, загонетка, вечно враћање истог

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THE BLACK AND WHITE WORLDS IN FRENCH, SPANISH AND SERBIAN PHRASEOLOGY

The subject of this paper are the French, Spanish and Serbian phrasemes and phrasal nouns with adjectival components Fr. *blanc, noir, gris* / Sp. *blanco, negro, gris* / Ser. *beo, crn, siv* (Eng. *white*, *black*, *grey*). The aim of this paper is to use the method of contrastive analysis of the excerpted French, Spanish and Serbian phraseological structures to determine the extent to which the structures are formally and semantically (non) identical, that is, which concepts they express. The corpus is excerpted from several monolingual and bilingual general and phraseological dictionaries, daily and weekly newspapers, and electronic media; it consists of frequent phraseological structures of standard and colloquial French, Spanish and Serbian.

Keywords: phraseme, phrasal noun, *white*, *black*, *grey*, French, Spanish, Serbian.

1. INTRODUCTION

Colours, being one of the extralinguistic universals common to all people and languages, are a very important part of everyday existence. As a natural and cultural phenomenon, in many linguistic and cultural communities, colours are a means of expressing social identity, political and religious affiliation, that is, a means of symbolic and associative communication. Colours are used to express emotions, organize space, and indicate danger. Their symbolism is an indispensable part of religious rites, heraldry, alchemy, art, and literature (Cirlot 1978: 52).

Colours have three basic functions: 1) objectivist-physicalist (colours are natural elements of the objects of the outside world), 2) subjectivist-psychological (colour is an individual, subjective experience, i.e. a response to stimuli of the outside world) and 3) symbolic-conceptual (according to cultural conventions and the value system of one's own social community, as well as personal aesthetic sensibility, an individual attributes a certain colour to things, ideas, rituals and customs). The subjectivist-psychological and symbolic-conceptual functions partially overlap, since the subjective experience that is common to the members of one group can grow into the general sensibility of the wider commu-

nity. It is then when the function of colour begins to be observed in the cultural context of a given group, since it represents a reflection of its understandings, philosophy of life, religion, and in that case we can talk about folk symbolism of colours (Eckhart Heimendahl, in: Petrović 1986).

Given that colours are an inevitable element of human perception of extralinguistic reality and that they have a notable role in language, which is a reflection of that reality (Hrnjak 2000: 203), we decided to examine the concepts that express phraseological structures with the adjectival components *white*, *black* and *grey* in three linguistic and cultural communities, French, Spanish and Serbian. By phraseological structures, we primarily refer to phrasemes as established linguistic units composed of two or more words that do not retain their meaning, but the whole set has a unique meaning and is grammatically and semantically unchangeable (Dragićević 2007). Although they are not always as expressive as phrases, phraseological structures in this paper are also considered phrasal nouns, more precisely noun phrases, most often collocations of adjectives + nouns in Serbian (Prćić 2008), i.e., nouns + adjectives in French and Spanish.

The aim of this paper is to use the method of contrastive analysis of phraseological structures in the three observed languages to determine the extent to which the structures are formally and semantically (non)identical, i.e., which concepts they express.

The corpus[1] is excerpted from several monolingual and bilingual general and phraseological French, Spanish and Serbian dictionaries, daily and weekly newspapers, and electronic media without the intention to be comprehensive. The selected phraseological structures with the components Fr. *blanc*, *noir*, *gris* / Sp. *blanco*, *negro*, *gris* / Ser. *beo*, *crn*, *siv* belong to the standard and colloquial French, Spanish and Serbian languages, they have been confirmed in modern language practice, and their frequency was a crucial criterion in including them in the corpus. We have not included in the corpus the diverse complex nouns that belong to different terminologies (e.g. ethnology, air traffic, astronomy): Fr. *magie blanche*, *noire* / Sp. *magia blanca, negra* / Ser. *bela*, *crna magija*, Fr. *boîte noire* / Sp. *caja negra* / Ser. *crna kutija*, Fr. *trou noir* / Sp. *hueco negro* / Ser. *crna rupa*.

In our research, by complete equivalence we refer to the identity of morphosyntactic structure, phraseological and literal meaning, connotation and motivation. The phraseological structures which have the same or similar meaning in the three languages, but whose morphosyntactic structures are non-identical, are considered partial equivalents, and we present them separately; first, we

[1] The part of the corpus related to French and Serbian is taken from the paper by D. Drobnjak and S. Gudurić: *White, Black and Grey in Serbian and French Phraseology*.

present those that exist in the three observed languages, then those in two, and finally the examples that exist in only one of the languages.

2. THE COLOUR WHITE

According to the Dictionary of Symbols, "white, like its opposite colour, black, can stand at either end of the spectrum. Absolute in itself (...) it can signify either an absence of colour or the sum of all colours. Thus it is set sometimes at the start and sometimes at the finish of the daily round and of the manifested world, which endows it with ideal and asymptotic properties." (Chevalier, Gerbran 1996: 1105).

White is a symbol of the absolute truth, of the one who is, i.e., of God[2] (Portal 1857). It is a unity from which all the basic colours and all shades of nature radiate.

The colour white is identified with purity, innocence, chastity, youth, peace, virginity, marriage, white wedding dress, spirituality, holiness and life. White indicates light, warmth, shine, happiness, purity, snow, mother's milk, something good and positive. This symbolism of white as sublime arises from the specific system of colour distribution particular to Indo-European peoples, in which white belongs precisely to the domain of the sacred.

On the other hand, white also represents fear, old age (white hair), impaired health, and death.

2.1. In our research, we start from the objectivist-physicalist level on which white colour characterizes various natural elements of the external world. All phrasemes on this level refer to a person's appearance, and exclusively to their face, hair and skin.

Numerous comparative phrasemes indicate a high degree of paleness:

Fr. *blanc comme un mort* / Sp. *blanco como un difunto* / Ser. –
Fr. *blanc comme la mort* / Sp. *blanco como la muerte* / Ser. –
Fr. *blanc comme un drap* / Sp. *blanco como una sábana* / Ser. –
Fr. *blanc comme la cire des cierges* / Sp. *blanco como la cera* / Ser. –
Fr. *blanc comme la craie* / Sp. – / Ser. *beo kao kreda*
Fr. – / Sp. *blanco como la cal* / Ser. *beo kao kreč*
Fr. *blanc comme un cachet d'aspirine* / Sp. – / Ser. –

[2] In the Bible, white clothes are a symbol of the rebirth of the soul and the salvation of the chosen. The Apocalypse of John states that "He that overcometh shall thus be arrayed in white garments..." (New Testament, Revelation 3:5).

The comparative phrasemes Fr. *blanc comme neige* and Sp. *blanco como la nieve* refer to an innocent man, as well as to his hair and a particularly white object, while in the Serbian language the phraseme *beo kao sneg* expresses only the latter meanings.

The following comparative phrasemes also express the distinct whiteness, most often of the skin, hair or beard:

Fr. *blanc comme le lait* / Sp. *blanco como la leche* / Ser. *beo kao mleko*
Fr. *blanc comme l'albâtre* / Sp. – / Ser. –
Fr. *blanc comme cygne* / Sp. – / Ser. –
Fr. – / Sp. *blanco como yogur* / Ser. –
Fr. – / Sp. / Ser. *beo kao sir*

The French phraseme *se faire des cheveux blancs* has a very transparent motivation since hair can very quickly turn white, even in just a few hours, due to some great worry or emotional shock.

2.2. It is quite expected that we did not find any phraseological structure on the subjectivist-psychological level, considering that it is related exclusively to the individual, while the symbolic-conceptual level is a reflection of the linguistic and cultural features of each community where they are abundant.

We can find phraseological structures that refer to man on this level as well. In these structures, white highlights a high degree of some condition, primarily fear, anger or fatigue:

Fr. *être blanc de colère* / Sp. *estar blanco de cólera* / Ser. –
Fr. *avoir une peur blanche*[3] / Sp. – / Ser. –
Fr. *colère blanche* / Sp. – / Ser. –
Fr. – / Sp. *quedarse blanco de susto* / Ser. –
Fr. – / Sp. – / Ser. *ne videti bele mačke*

Only two phrasemes indicate some human personality trait. The French phraseme *être une oie blanche* refers to a naive and stupid woman, where the bearer of the phraseological meaning of the noun *oie* ('goose' in its secondary meaning ('a foolish woman')), and not the observed adjective which certainly contributes to expressiveness. Moral purity is expressed by the French phrase *innocent comme la blanche colombe.*

[3] In the Serbian language, there is the expression *pobeleti od straha*, but we have not included it in the corpus, since the verbs that express colours as constituents are not the subject of our interest in this paper.

In Spanish and Serbian culture, the ideal man is understood as a prince on a white horse:

Fr. – / Sp. *el príncipe en un caballo blanco* / Ser. *princ na belom konju*

The following phrasal nouns, created via metonymic transfer, denote certain professions. It is not surprising that the same structures are found in all the three observed languages, since they are types of uniforms that used to be worn or are still worn by members of these professions around the world:

Fr. *cols blancs* / Sp. *trabajadores de cuello blanco* / Ser. *beli okovratnici*
Fr. – / Sp. *batas blancas* / Ser. *beli mantili*
Fr. *blouses blanches* / Sp. – / Ser. –

The following phrasemes express various human activities:

Fr. *hisser le drapeau blanc* / Sp. *izar la bandera blanca* / Ser. *podići belu zastavu*
Fr. *montrer patte blanche*[4] / Sp. *mostrar pata blanca* / Ser. –
Fr. *marquer un jour d'une pierre blanche* / Sp. *marcar, señalar un día con piedra blanca* / Ser. –
Fr. – / Sp. *hacer blanco* / Ser. –
Fr. – / Sp. – / Ser. *otići u beli svet*
Fr. – / Sp. – / Ser. *ne videti bela dana*

The following phraseological expressions also refer to man. In addition to the observed component, the expressions also feature the names of two wild animals:

Fr. *connu comme le loup blanc*[5] / Sp. – / Ser.
Fr. – / Sp. – / Ser. *biti zaštićen kao beli medved*

[4] There are two assumptions about the origin of this phraseme. According to one, it comes from La Fontaine's fable *The Wolf, the Goat and the Kid* where the kid, left alone by his mother, asks the guest (the wolf) to show himself if he wants him to open the door. According to the second, the phraseme comes from the Brothers Grimm and their story *Wolf and the Seven Young Goats*. Since La Fontaine lived a century and a half before the Brothers Grimm, the question arises as to the reliability of the second assumption.

[5] In the 13th century, there was the phraseme *connu comme le loup* ('news that spread quickly', like the news of the appearance of a wolf in the area). It was not until the 19th century that this phraseme was intensified with the adjective *blanc*, although the phraseme *connu comme le loup gris* was also used. We find the motivation of this phraseme in the fact that the wolf is an animal that instills fear. Accordingly, when a wolf approached a village, all the villagers would spread the news very quickly, hence the meaning of this phraseme.

Both in phrasal nouns Fr. *merle blanc*[6] and Sp. *mirlo blanco* we find the name of the animal, this time a bird. They refer to a person with exceptional characteristics, that is, to something very rare, while the Serbian phrasal noun *white crow*, which also contains the name of a bird, depicts a person who differs from the environment, that is, who does not fit into the given environment.

The phrasal nouns Fr. *éléphant blanc* / Sp. *elefante blanco* originate from the countries with the Buddhist tradition. Namely, according to the legend, the Buddha's mother dreamed of a white elephant before giving birth, so people started considering this animal to be sacred. Therefore, the animal was not allowed be used for labour and became a prestigious gift among Indian princes. To less wealthy rulers, however, this kind of gift brought trouble, since taking care of a white elephant was very expensive. This phrasal noun was created by loan translation of the English construction *white elephant*. It is not common in the Serbian language and can only be found in translations.

A significant part of phraseological structures in our corpus has very diverse contents. As an example, in many of them the colour white indicates the absence of something or someone in the broadest sense:

absence of validity → Fr. *vote blanc* / Sp. *voto en blanco* / Ser. – Fr. – / Sp. – / Ser. *beli listić*
absence of sleep → Fr. *passer une nuit blanche* / Sp. *pasar la noche en blanco* / Ser. –
absence of emotion or act of love in the marital union → Fr. *mariage blanc* / Sp. *matrimonio blanco* / Ser. –
absence of activity (in business, studies) → Fr. *année blanche* / Sp. *año en blanco* / Ser. –
absence of restrictions → Fr. *donner carte blanche à quelqu'un* / Sp. *dar carta blanca a alguien* / Ser. –[7]
absence of grade → Fr. *examen blanc* / Sp. – / Ser. –
absence of success, results → Fr. *faire chou blanc* / Sp. – / Ser. –
absence of understanding → Fr. – / Sp. – / Ser. *gledati nekoga belo*
absence of natural increase → Fr. – / Sp. – / Ser. *bela kuga*
absence of husband → Fr. – / Sp. – / Ser. *bela udovica*

The meaning of absence in the structures of Sp. *no tener alguien blanca* / Ser. *nemati (ni) bele banke* and Sp. *sin blanca* is conveyed by verb lexemes in the

[6] It was created via metonymy towards *white blackbird* (a bird suffering from leucism, a genetic disorder due to which the feathers turn white, while the eyes retain their normal colour). The mentioned anomaly in pigmentation is very rare in this species, hence the meaning of the given phrasal noun.

[7] In the Serbian language, the phraseme *dati „kart blanš"* is used exclusively amongst the educated.

first two examples and by a preposition in the third. We can also notice that both Spanish and Serbian understand money as white, that is, as something pure.

Some French and Spanish phraseological structures with the constituent *white* refer to snow as the foundation of winter tourism. There are no such structures in the Serbian language, given that, due to the lack of high mountains whose peaks would be constantly covered with thick snow, winter tourism as an industry developed much later compared to the countries with extremely high mountain peaks (Pyrenees, Alps) and traditionally long winter season:

Fr. *passer une semaine blanche* / Sp. *pasar la semana blanca* / Ser. –
Fr. *or blanc* / Sp. *oro blanco (de las montañas)* / Ser. –

All the three languages have the phrasal noun Fr. *mort blanche* / Sp. *muerte blanca* / Ser. *bela smrt* with clear motivation – 'death due to freezing'. In French and Spanish, however, it also means the sudden death of an infant.

On the other hand, it is not entirely clear where the meaning of the Serbian phraseme (*biti, uraditi nešto*) *kao bela lala***.** The RSANU Dictionary offers the meaning of 'a younger female person in the house', so it is possible to assume that the motivation of the phraseme is based on the tradition that the youngest female family must unconditionally carry out the orders of her seniors.

The French phraseme *manger son pain blanc* was registered at the beginning of the fifteenth century when people used to eat dark-coloured bread, since purer and finer white flour was intended for high society. On the rare occasions, when people were could make white bread, they would usually eat it right away, leaving less delicious food for later. The Serbian phraseme *biti na belom hlebu* is not equivalent to this French phraseme, since it differs in semantics and motivation. Namely, the original meaning of this phraseme is 'to expect the execution of the death penalty after the verdict is pronounced' and it developed from court practice, that is, from a common penological procedure that was applied not only in our region but also elsewhere in the world. Namely, there was a custom of giving the best food to the death row inmates the day before the execution of the sentence, and therefore the best – white bread. These prisoners were thus actually fed "on white bread" and the connection between the expression, that is, its meaning, and the situation in which it originated is quite specific in this case. Later on, the figurative meaning of 'expecting the outcome of something with anxiety and uncertainty' developed from that (Šipka 2008: 22).

The adverbials Fr. *à blanc* / Sp. al, *en blanco* are found in several phrasemes and with different meanings:

- ‘to the limit, completely’:
  Fr. *chauffer à blanc* / Sp. *calentar al blanco* / Ser. –
  Fr. *saigner à blanc* / Sp. – / Ser. –
  Fr. *couper à blanc* / Sp. – / Ser. –
- ‘(in the) blank’:
  Fr. *cuire à blanc* / Sp. *cocer en blanco* / Ser. –
  Fr. *tirer à blanc*[8] / Sp. – / Ser. –
- ‘in the centre of the target, in the middle’:
  Fr. – / Sp. *dar en blanco* / Ser. –
  Fr. – / Sp. *tirar al blanco* / Ser. –

In our corpus we can find a few more phrasemes with different adverbial and attributive meanings:

- ‘clearly, apparently’:
  Fr. *être cousu de fil blanc* / Sp. – / Ser. –
  Fr. – / Sp. *blanco y migado, leche* / Ser. –
  Fr. – / Sp. – / Ser. *jasno kao beli dan*
- ‘carefully, cautiously’:
  Fr. *avec des gants en blanc* / Sp. *de guante blanco* / Ser. –
- ‘abruptly, directly’:
  Fr. *de but en blanc* / Sp. – / Ser. –
- ‘‘to be very similar, to be identical’:
  Fr. *être bonnet blanc et blanc bonnet* / Sp. – / Ser. –
- ‘to be an easy target’:
  Fr. – / Sp. *ser blanco fácil* / Ser. –

3. THE COLOUR BLACK

Just like the colour white, black can be stand at either end of the spectrum, representing on both sides of the chromatic scale, representing the border of warm colours on the one end and the border of cold colours on the other (Dictionary of Symbols 204: 108).

As the negation of all colours, black is associated with the original chaos, that is, with the primordial darkness and the undifferentiated world. Black is a symbol of error, nothingness, of what does not exist. Black is the negation of light, darkness, evil, misfortune, falsehood, mystery, the unknown, hidden or invisible, threat, death, pain, sorrow, hopelessness, fear, austerity (the clothes of judges and priests). The identification of black with the sinister and unfortunate probably originates from the symbolic triangle which in the representation of the

[8] The phrase also refers to the inability of a man to inseminate a woman.

ancient Slavs corresponded to the vertical coordinates of the world where white, red and black are distinguished. Thus, in this system, the colour black signified the north, which was associated with cold, misfortune and famine (Popović 1991). Black is also associated with occultism, that is, magic, due to the transmission of a negative emotional experience (black devil). Black is a symbol of grief in many cultures.

On the other hand, black symbolizes moderation, elegance, sophistication, wealth, luxury, nobility, authority, power, dignity, strength.

3.1. On the objectivist-physicalist level, numerous French, Spanish and Serbian phrasemes express a certain comparison. We can notice complete formal and semantic equivalence in almost all comparative phrasemes, given that the same black natural elements of the external world are taken as standards in the three linguistic and cultural communities. They express a high degree of blackness inherent in human hair or face, or some object:

Fr. *noir comme un corbeau* / Sp. *negro como un cuervo* / Ser. *crn kao gavran*
Fr. *noir comme une aile de corbeau* / Sp. *como el ala de un cuervo* / Ser. *crn kao gavranovo krilo*
Fr. *noir comme l'ébène* / Sp. *negro como el ébano* / Ser. *crn kao ebanovina*
Fr. *noir comme du charbon* / Sp. *negro como el carbón* / Ser. *crn kao ugalj*
Fr. *noir comme du goudron* / Sp. *negro como el alquitrán* / Ser. *crn kao katran*
Fr. *noir comme de la suie* / Sp. *negro como el hollín* / Ser. *crn kao gar, crn kao čađ*
Fr. *noir comme le diable* / Sp. *negro como el diablo* / Ser. *crn kao đavo*
Fr. *noir comme jais* / Sp. *negro como el azabache* / Ser. –
Fr. *noir comme de l'encre* / Sp. – / Ser. *crn kao mastilo*
Fr. *noir comme une taupe* / Sp. – / Ser. –
Fr. *noir comme un charbonnier* / Sp. – / Ser. –
Fr. – / Sp. – / Ser. *crn kao ciganin*

3.2. Just as we assumed, there is no French, Spanish or Serbian phraseological structure with the component *black* in our corpus on the subjectivist-psychological level.

On the symbolic-conceptual level, however, numerous phraseological structures in the three languages, with complete or partial formal correspondence, have identical associations that connect the colour black with some negative mood, state or feeling:

Fr. *avoir des idées noires*, *noires pensées* / Sp. *tener ideas negras*, *pensamientos negros* / Ser. *imati crne misli*
Fr. *voir tout en noir, voir les choses en noir, voir noir* / Sp. *ver todo negro* / Ser. *videti sve crno*

Fr. *être d'humeur noire* / Sp. *estar de humor negro* / Ser. –
Fr. *être noir de colère* / Sp. *estar o ponerse negro* / Ser. –
Fr. *colère noire* / Sp. *rabia negra* / Ser. –
Fr. *broyer du noir* / Sp. – / Ser. –
Fr. *être dans son noir* / Sp. – / Ser. –
Fr. *être noir* / Sp. – / Ser. –
Fr. *pousser au noir* / Sp. – / Ser. –
Fr. – / Sp. *pena negra* / Ser. –
Fr. – / Sp. *pintar con colores negros* / Ser. –
Fr. – / Sp. – / Ser. *biti ophrvan crnim mislima*
Fr. – / Sp. – / Ser. *gledati kroz crne naočare*

Negative character traits, such as vicious and insufferable temper, are also reflected in phraseological structures:

Fr. *âme noire* / Sp. *alma negra* / Ser. *crna duša*
Fr. – / Sp. *ser más negro que la pez* / Ser. –
Fr. – / Sp. – / Ser. *biti težak kao crna zemlja*

In the last example, the bearer of the phraseological meaning is the noun *zemlja*, while the adjective *crn* contributes to the expressiveness of the phraseme.

The human ability to combine comedy with morbidity and grotesque, with the aim of provoking some kind of shock in the audience in addition to laughter, is embodied in the international phrasal noun Fr. *humour noir* / Sp. *humor negro* / Ser. *crni humor*, which is a partial loan translation of the English term *black humour* which denotes a type of global movement in the world of art.

The following phrasal nouns also fall under the category of international loan translations:

Fr. *or noir* / Sp. *oro negro* / Ser. *crno zlato*
Fr. *travail au noir* / Sp. *trabajo negro*, *en negro* / Ser. *rad na crno*
Fr. *marché noir* / Sp. *mercado negro* / Ser. *crno tržište*

The phrasal nouns Fr. *mouton noir* / Sp. *oveja negra* / Ser. *crna ovca* refer to a person who stands out with his or her appearance, behaviour, and character traits, and is thus marked out in a given environment, even unwelcome.

The following phrasemes indicate a certain negative feeling and repulsive attitude towards another person:

Fr. *être sur la liste noire de quelqu'un* / Sp. *estar en la lista negra de alguien* / Ser. *biti na nečijoj crnoj listi*
Fr. *regard noir* / Sp. *mirada negra* / Ser. –
Fr. *être la bête noire de quelqu'un* / Sp. *ser bestia negra* / Ser. –

Fr. *regarder d'un œil noir* / Sp. – / Ser. –
Fr. – / Sp. *pasar a alguien negro* / Ser. –
Fr. – / Sp. – / Ser. *biti nekome crn pred očima*

The following phraseological structures highlight an unfavourable and difficult period:

Fr. *chapitre noir* / Sp. *capítulo negro* / Ser. *crno poglavlje*
Fr. *manger son pain noir* / Sp. – / Ser. –
Fr. – / Sp. *esa es más negra, esa sí que es negra* / Ser. –
Fr. – / Sp. *pasar las negras* / Ser. –
Fr. – / Sp. *verse alguien negro para hacer algo*, *vérselas negras* / Ser. –
Fr. – / Sp. *tener la negra* / Ser. –
Fr. – / Sp. *estar*, *ponerse negro un asunto* / Ser. –
Fr. – / Sp. – / Ser. *crno se piše kome*

Within the unfavourable period, adversity and difficulties, all the three observed languages gave rise to phrasal nouns that indicate a day/days in general (Fr. *jour(s) noir(s)*, *journée(s) noire(s)* / Sp. *día(s) negro(s)*, *jornada(s) negra(s)* / Ser. *crni dan(i)*) or particular days of the week which are marked as *black* due to some tragic event (e.g. Fr. *lundi noir* / Sp. *lunes negro* / Ser. *crni ponedeljak*). In some cultures, Friday is considered unlucky, especially Friday the thirteenth, due to the symbolism of the number thirteen, which, according to popular belief, brings misfortune.

The phrasal noun Fr. *vendredi noir* / Sp. *viernes negro* / Ser. *crni petak* originated in the United States, as retailers significantly reduce prices on the first Friday after Thanksgiving, which marks the beginning of the holiday season. The name is, of course, humorous and it was created because of the big traffic congestions and crowds in all shops and malls on this day of the biggest sales.

Black week (Fr. *Semaine noire /* Sp. *Semana negra*) and black week-end (Fr. *week-end noir* / Sp. *fin de semana negra*) refer to the week or week-end in which a number of tragic events occurred.

Years of scarcity, trouble and misfortune are described by the phrasal nouns Fr. *années noires* / Sp. *años negros* / Ser. *crne godine*.

We can find a hint of a great misfortune in the phrasemes Sp. *están negras las nubes* / Ser. *crni oblaci se nadvijaju*.

The Spanish phraseme describes someone's grim fate. We find the background image in Greek mythology, according to which the Moirai, the goddesses of fate, wove the threads of human lives. The white threads indicated a happy life, while the black indicated a short and miserable one. In ancient Rome, there was identical symbolism of these colours. Thus, during the election, the candi-

dates for the judge drew a bean from a jar. The white bean signified the favour of the gods, that is, fate, while the black meant the candidate's withdrawal.

In the Serbian language, we also come across the phraseme *zaviti nekoga u crno*, which is used in situations when someone else is dealt a heavy blow.

We find the absence of understanding, that is, knowledge, in the French phraseme *être dans le noir (le plus complet)*, which has no equivalent in the other two observed languages.

The colour black emphasizes the intensity of both bad weather and certain circumstances:

Fr. *silence noir* / Sp. *silencio negro* / Ser. –
Fr. *glace noire* / Sp. *hielo negro* / Ser. –
Fr. *froid noir* / Sp. *frío negro* / Ser. –

Contrary to this, in Spanish and Serbian there are identical phraseological structures which express a small amount of something (e.g. feelings, tangible things):

Fr. – / Sp. *negro de la uña* / Ser. *crno pod noktom*[9]

There is just one phraseme with the constituent *black* which does not indicate something negative, impermissible, frightening, but a loud laugh, and it is French:

Fr. *être noir de rire* / Sp. – / Ser. –

4. BLACK AND WHITE COLOURS

In all the three languages we can find phraseological structures that contain both the components *white* and *black*. In the following phrasemes, the opposed pair *white-black* indicates some kind of opposition, disparity:

- 'fickleness':

Fr. *dire tantôt blanc, tantôt noir* / Sp. – / Ser. *govoriti čas belo, čas crno*
Fr. *aller, passer, changer du blanc au noir* / Sp. – / Ser. –

- 'discrepancy of opinion':

Fr. *un dit blanc, l'autre noir* / Sp. – / Ser. –

- 'confusion of someone':

Fr. – / Sp. *hacer de lo blanco negro* / Ser. –

[9] It is also used as a constituent of various phrasemes, e.g. *dati crno pod noktom (ispod nokta, noktiju), potrošiti crno pod noktom.*

The following phrasemes emphasize the diversity of life, the intertwining of good and bad, beautiful and ugly:

Fr. *rien n'est ni tout noir, ni tout blanc* / Sp. *no ser todo blanco o negro* / Ser. *ništa nije ni crno ni belo*
Fr. *vie mêlée de blanc et de noir* / Sp. *la vida en blanco y negro* / Ser. –

The combination of the two components also indicates obviousness, clarity, impartiality:

Fr. *(mettre, écrire) du noir sur du blanc* / Sp. *negro sobre blanco* / Ser. *(staviti, napisati) crno na belo*
Fr. *dire blanc et noir* / Sp. – / Ser. –
Fr. – / Sp. *poner blanco sobre negro* / Ser. –

In the Serbian language, the phraseme *čuvati bele pare za crne dane* is actually advice according to which people should save money, because they can never tell what days await them in life.

5. THE COLOUR GREY

Grey colour is a compromise between white and black, a compromise between light and darkness. It is neutrality between "war and peace", indifference between extreme unrest and complete peace (Trstenjak 1987). As white is purity in itself and black is darkness, so is grey the colour of twilight and cloudiness, the colour of ash and fog, unknown and mysterious, sadness and sorrow. The grey colour causes uncertainty and insecurity, even colourlessness and lifelessness.

5.1. The phraseological structures that contain grey are not numerous in our corpus. Only few illustrate the objectivist-physicalist level and their motivation is obvious:

Fr. *cellules grises, matière grise*, *substance grise* / Sp. *células grises, sustancia gris* / Ser. *sive ćelije*

5.2. On the symbolic-conceptual level, the phraseological structures in the three languages, with complete or partial formal correspondence, associate grey with some unpleasant mood or condition:

Fr. *se faire des cheveux gris* / Sp. – / Ser. –
Fr. *faire grise mine* / Sp. – / Ser. –
Fr. – / Sp. *estar gris* / Ser. –

The state of drunkenness is depicted by the following French phrasemes:

Fr. *être, devenir (tout) gris* / Sp. – / Ser. –
Fr. *être gris comme un Cordelier* / Sp. – / Ser. –
Fr. *être gris un Polonais* / Sp. – / Ser. –

Grey colour is associated with gloomy and unpleasant weather conditions:

Fr. *journée grise* / Sp. *día gris* / Ser. *siv dan*
Fr. *il fait gris* / Sp. *hacer gris* / Ser. –

A gloomy grey image can express the monotony of life in general, as well as of various scenes:

Fr. *une vie grise* / Sp. – / Ser. –
Fr. – / Sp. *ser, poner gris* / Ser. –

The phrasal nouns Fr. *éminence grise* / Sp. *eminencia gris* / Ser. *siva eminencija* (the latter two being loan translations of French form) refer to a powerful adviser or a person who holds power unofficially (and most often secretly), usually through someone else. The motivation of this phrasal noun is not completely transparent. It originated in the sixteenth century and referred to Joseph François Leclerc du Tremblay (1577-1638), an adviser to Cardinal Richelieu, who was called The Red Eminence because of his red cardinal's cassock. Tremblay himself was fond of the Capuchins, and wore a grey cassock.

The phrasal nouns Fr. *marché gris* / Sp. *mercado gris* / Ser. *siva ekonomija*, based on the notion of grey as the colour of something concealed, implies any illegal economic activity for one's own benefit, causing detriment to the state, other individuals or economic institutions.

In the same manner, the grey colour in the following phraseological structures reflects something hidden, some hidden interest:

Fr. *mariage gris* / Sp. *matrimonio gris* / Ser. –
Fr. *en faire voire de grises à quelqu'un* / Sp. – / Ser. –

There is a single phraseological structure with positive connotation, and it refers to an elderly wise person full of experience:

Fr. *tête grise* / Sp. – / Ser. –

6. CONCLUSION

Our analysis was performed on a corpus of 267 phraseological structures, including 110 French, 93 Spanish and 64 Serbian. Based on the results, we conclude that the French language is slightly richer in phraseological structures with the components *white*, *black*, *grey* compared to Spanish and Serbian. We noticed lexical and semantic overlaps in the three observed languages in 33 cases (99 structures in total), while there are 43 non-equivalent structures in French, 23 in Spanish, and 22 in Serbian. In terms of lexical and semantic overlaps in two of the languages, they are more numerous between the two Romance linguistic and cultural communities (31), while the overlaps with the Slavic one are only sporadic (French-Serbian 3, Spanish-Serbian 6).

We noticed that the most numerous are the phraseological structures with the component *black* (118), overlap most in the three languages 22 (in total 66 structures). Although the phraseological structures with the component *white* are numerous in the corpus (106), we noticed only 5 matches in the three languages (in total 15). In addition, out of 26 phraseological structures with the component *grey,* as many as 4 (in total 12) are completely structurally and semantically identical in the observed languages.

The majority of the phraseological structures are reflected on the symbolic--conceptual level, much fewer of them are reflected on the objectivist-physicalist level, while there are none on the subjectivist-psychological level.

The phraseological structures with the components *white*, *black*, *grey* offer various semantic contents and stylistic nuances. Despite the majority of formal and semantic discrepancies, in most phrasemes in the three languages, *white* indicates the whiteness of a person's face, hair and skin, as well as the absence of someone or something. In other phraseological structures with the component *white*, semantic diversity is noticeable, so they express a high degree of a state (fear, anger, fatigue), pallor of the human face, certain professions and human activities.

On the symbolic-conceptual level, numerous phraseological structures with complete or partial formal correspondence have the same associations that associate black with some negative mood or condition or some illicit activities. Although some structures do not have formal correspondents, their semantics indicate some difficulty, sadness, danger, or bad mood or condition.

The phraseological structures that contain the components *white* and *black* together, express obviousness and clarity, on the one hand, and fickleness, discrepancy of opinion, and confusion of someone, on the other.

All the three linguistic and cultural communities associate the colour grey with a predominantly unpleasant state or mood, that is, with gloomy weather, monotonous, colourless and gloomy life, as well as with some hidden interests.

Semantic and conceptual disparity, as well as discrepancies in the surface structure of the phraseological structures with the components *white*, *black* and *grey* in French and Spanish, on the one hand, and in Serbian, on the other, can be attributed to various historical, cultural and sociolinguistic factors inherent in these cultures.

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LE MONDE NOIR ET BLANC DANS LA PHRASÉOLOGIE FRANÇAISE, ESPAGNOLE ET SERBE

Résumé

Cet article représente les résultats de la recherche de 267 structures phraséologiques avec des composantes *blanc*, *noir* et *gris* dans deux langues romanes et une langue slave. Le but de la recherche était de déterminer, en utilisant la méthode de l'analyse contrastive, leur (non) identité sémantique ainsi que les concepts qu'ils expriment. Le matériel a été extrait de dictionnaires généraux et phraséologiques monolingues et bilingues, de journaux, de revues et de médias électroniques, et est constitué de structures phraséologiques fréquentes des variétés standard et informelles françaises, espagnoles et serbes. Les résultats de l'analyse montrent que la langue française est légèrement plus riche en structures phraséologiques mentionnées que la langue espagnole, et beaucoup plus riche que le serbe. Dans la plupart des structures phraséologiques avec les composantes *blanc*, cette couleur fait référence à l'absence de quelqu'un ou de quelque chose, mais elle montre également un degré élevé d'émotion ou d'état (peur, colère, fatigue), la décoloration du visage humain, ainsi que certaines professions ou activités humaines. La couleur noire est associée à une humeur ou une condition négative, à des difficultés, au chagrin et au danger, mais aussi à des emplois non autorisés. Les structures phraséologiques qui contiennent simultanément des composantes *blanc* et *noir*, d'une part, expriment la clarté et l'explicitation, tandis que d'autre part, elles expriment une asymétrie ou une confusion. Les trois cultures linguistiques associent la couleur *grise* à un état ou une humeur principalement désagréable, c'est-à-dire à un temps sombre, à l'uniformité, à une vie monotone et à certains intérêts cachés. D'une part, les différences dans la structure de surface du français et de l'espagnol, et d'autre part, les structures phraséologiques serbes, ainsi que leur non-équivalence et diversité sémantique et conceptuelle peuvent être attribuées à différents facteurs historiques, culturels et sociolinguistiques, en partie similaire dans deux langues romanes, et dans une large mesure différente dans la culture slave observée.

Mots clés: structures phraséologiques, blanc, noir, gris, français, espagnol, serbe.

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Mihajlo Fejsa

TURKISMS IN THE RUTHENIAN LANGUAGE

There are about 400 turkisms in the Ruthenian language. Most of them have come through the Serbian language and a smaller part through the Hungarian language. The Ruthenian language was in direct contact with the Turkish language only in the Carpathian region, up to the middle of the 18th century, to the Ruthenians` settlement in Bačka. Four-fifths of the turkisms are nouns. It is possible to distinguish several suffixes of Turkish origin in the noun-turkisms (for ex. *-лия, -лук, -джия*), which represent an innovation in the Ruthenian morphological system. The majority of noun-turkisms are direct replicas. All verb-turkisms (about 35) do not represent direct replicas; they acquire the endings that are characteristic of Ruthenian verbs. There are several adverbs that are very frequent. Their meanings in Ruthenian are the same as in Turkish, or reduced; only a few turkisms acquire certain new meanings.

Key words: Ruthenian language, turkisms, Turkish influence, Serbian influence, cultural-historical loanwords, languages in contact.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with *language borrowing*, which is related to the general linguistic phenomenon known as *languages in contact*. Analyzing the consequences of the contact between two languages, Einar Haugen distinguishes: 1. *code shifting* (alternative use of two languages); 2. *interference* (interlingual identification, i.e. semantic or functional overlapping of elements of two languages; 3. *integration* (adaptation of elements taken into a system from the recipient language) (Haugen, 1956, 40). The object of this work is revealed mostly within the framework of integration. The goal of this research is the presentation of the Turkish lexicon, which has not been singled out in Ruthenian studies. Since the speakers of the Ruthenian language are usually not even aware of its presence in everyday communication, the lexicon has not been the subject of linguistic analysis.

The author expresses his gratitude to his colleague Dr. sci Radmila Šovljanski, who compiled a dictionary of turkisms based on several literary works – *The Bridge on the Drina* by Ivo Andrić, *The Way of Alija Đerzelez* by Ivo Andrić,

Collected Works by Borisav Stanković, *Large Dictionary of Foreign Words and Expressions* by Ivan Klajn and Milan Šipka and *The Quran*. Only *The Bridge on the Drina* is available to the Ruthenians in Ruthenian. The dictionary of turkisms collected by Radmila Šovljanski consists of 1,200 entries. It was given to the students of the Department of Ruthenian Studies in the form of a questionnaire to mark the turkisms which they use in everyday communication and to define their meanings.

The term *turkism* is used in accordance with Abdulah Škaljić. According to Škaljić turkisms are words or expressions that the Ottoman Turks included in the Serbian language through, as well as words and expressions which came from Arabic or Persian through Turkish language (Škaljić, 1973, 23). As a result of his research, Škaljić identified several thousand Turkish words in the language he used to call Serbo-Croatian / Croato-Serbian. Škaljić`s dictionary of turkisms contains 8,742 words / expressions for 6,878 notions. The author explains this numerical discrepancy by saying that there are two or more expressions for a considerable number of notions. Most of Serbian speakers cannot distinguish the lexemes which have Turkish origin from the lexemes which have been borrowed from other Asian languages and brought by Turkish speakers. Some of turkisms are *боја*, *бубрег*, *вез*, *ђон*, *занат*, *јорговaн*, *калуп*, *кутија*, *ракија*, *сапун*, *сат*, *топ*, *ћела*, *чекић*, *чесма*, *џеп*, *шећер* etc. The lexemes *будала* and *бена*, *спрат* and *кат* have been classified as serbisms and croatisms, but, as a matter of fact, turkisms predominate.

The Ruthenians and the Turks have never been in direct contact on the territory of today's Serbia / Vojvodina (Fejsa, 2014) .

Julijan Ramač is the only rusynist who paid some attention to Turkish elements in the Ruthenian language. In the chapter "Dictionary of serbo-croatisms" of his work *Ruthenian Lexis* (Ramač 1983, 28-47) Ramač pointed to Turkish origin of some serbo-croatisms, but he did not single out a special lexical layer on the basis of a dozen such lexemes. In general, the lexemes in question were treated as serbo-croatisms or serbisms in rusynistics since the vast majority of them entered the Ruthenian language via the Serbian language. However, some of turkisms could also come via the Hungarian language and we find them in the list of hungarisms (e.g. *бетяр, бичак, кайса, олдомаш, тепша, хасен, чижма*) (Ramač, 2002; Benčik, 2014).

In this paper the author tries to single out turkisms in the Ruthenian language. The result is a dictionary of turkisms in Ruthenian presented in the following chapter. After the forms of turkisms in Ruthenian the forms of turkisms in Serbian are given and it is possible to compare the forms. If they are identical, it is indisputable that Serbian is in the role of the mediatory language. The author also pays considerable attention to the meanings of the turkisms that entered Ruthenian.

Turkisms which have not been confirmed by at least five of the twenty informants are not included in the dictionary of turkisms presented below. Since there is a small number of students at the Department of Ruthenian Studies, in order to get more information on the topic, the questionnaire with the list of turkisms was given to ten more Ruthenian speakers.

2. DICTIONARY OF TURKISMS

аба - аба – coarse woolen cloth, aba
абаджия - абаџија – tailor of suits from aba
аван - аван – mortar
ада - ада – island
аґа - ага – military or civilian dignitary
айвар - ајвар – salad made of chopped eggplant and pepper
Алах - Алах – Allah (God)
алал-вера - алал-вера – bravo, congratulations
алат - алат – tool needed for one craft
алва - алва – a dessert made of flour, honey, almonds or walnuts
алева - алева – bright red (paprika)
алкар - алкар – participant in alka games
амайлия - амајлија see **талисман**
антерия - антерија – an upper dress with long sleeves
апс - (х)апс – prison
арпаджия - арпаџик – small onion for planting
аршин - аршин – measure of length (0.71 m)
аспида - аспида – wicked woman
ашиковац - ашиковати – to court
Байрам - Бајрам – Bayram, a holiday of Muslims
байрамовац - бајрамовати – to celebrate Bayram
бакар – бакар – copper
баклава - баклава – leafy pastry with walnuts, topped with syrup and honey
баксуз - баксуз – a man who brings misfortune
бакшиш - бакшиш – tip
балзам - балзам – a mixture of oils with pleasant odors and healing effects
банґави - бангав – lame
баш - баш – really; main (in compounds, e.g. Baš-čaršija)
базар - базар – trade fair, shopping center
баждариц - баждарити – to calibrate, to officially check measures and weights
барем - барем – at least

барут – барут − gunpowder
барутана - барутана − a building where gunpowder is stored
баталїц - баталити − to give up
безобразлук - безобразлук − rudeness, insolence
бетяр - бећар − a cheerful man, usually an unmarried guy, prone to drinking
бетярец - бећарац − a merry song of the young
бетяровац - бећарити − to live a merry life
бетяруша - бећаруша − a woman who lives a merry life
беґ - бег − a Turkish nobleman
беса - беса − pledge of honor
Бечлия - Бечлија − a resident of Vienna
бичак - бичак − short knife
бичачкац ше - ношкати се − to play a game in which a field is divided with a knife
бина - бина – stage
бинїш - бињиш − a crimson cloak
бонбонджия - бомбонџија − a candy maker, a person who sells candies
бостан - бостан − a field sown with melons and watermelons
боза - боза – boza, a drink made from corn flour, sugar and water
бре - бре – guy, dude
брош - брош – brooch, ornamental pin
будак - будак − pickaxe, cramp
будала - будала – madman, fool
буджак - буџак − a narrow space between a steam furnace and a wall
була - була − a Muslem woman dressed in dimije (baggy trousers) and veil
булюк - буљук − group
буразер - буразер – brother, bro
бурек - бурек – burek, pie with meat, cheese or vegetables
бурекджия - бурекџија − producer and seller of burek
бурма - бурма − wedding ring
бурмут - бурмут − snuff
вайда - вајда − benefit, gain
везир - везир – vezier, high dignitary
вересия - вересија − sale or purchase on hold
вилаєт - вилајет − vilayet, large territorial unit that was divided into sandjaks
вишня - вишња − cherry
гаджилук - хаџилук − pilgrimage to a holy place (to Mecca or Jerusalem)
гаджия - хаџија − pilgrim
гайдамак - ајдамак − a stick, a club
гайде - хајде − come on, let`s go
гамбар - (х)амбар – barn, granary

ганджар - ханџар – long dagger, dirk
гарамбаша - (х)арамбаша – chief of a band of haiduks (highwaymen, robbers)
гарамбияш - (х)арамија – haiduk, highwayman, robber
гарач - харач – a tax paid per man's head
гарачлия - харачлија – tax collector
гарем - харем – harem, the female part of the house
гасура - (х)асура – hasura, a mat of intertwined reed
гатишериф - хатишериф – the sultan's decree that has to be carried out
гатлас - атлас – atlas, a type of silk fabric
гашиш - хашиш – hashish, cannabis for consumption
годжа - хоџа – hodja, Muslim priest, religious teacher
ґайтан - гајтан – spun or silk ribbon
ґалама - галама – shout, noise
ґаламджия - галамџија – one who shouts
ґаламиц - ґаламити – shout
ґурабия - гурабија – cookie made of honey, butter, flour and almonds (walnuts)
ґурбета, ґурба - гурбет(ин) – gurbet, Gypsy wanderer, tramp
дахия - дахија – dahiya, janissary chief
даири - даире – a type of castanets with bells, tambourine
дармар - дармар – mess
дембелия - дембелија – dembeliya, a fictional country where honey and milk flow and where you don't have to work
дервиш - дервиш – dervish, Islamic monk
деспот - деспот – despot, tyrant
девер - девер – companion of the bride at the wedding, husband's brother
дєрма - ђерам, ђерма – long pole mounted as a lever for raising a bucket from a well
джабе, джаба - џаба, џабе – in vain, cheap, free
джамбас - џамбас – horse trader, intermediary in the purchase of horses
джамия - џамија – mosque, Muslim place of worship
джезва - џезва – a pot for making black coffee
джезвочка - џезвица – a small pot for making black coffee
джиджа-миджа - џиџа -миџа – children's toy, cheap jewelry
джин - џин see **див**
джомба - џомба – bump
джомбаста драга - џомбаст пут – bumpy road
джон - ђон – sole of a shoe
джумбус - џумбус – joy, roar, noise
дибидус - дибидус, дибидуз – dibidus, completely

димиї - димије – women salvar, dimije
див - див – giant
диван - диван – couch without backrest; conversation
диваниц - диванити – to talk
дудук - дудук – stupid
дурбин - дурбин – spyglass
душек - душек – mattress
дустабанлия - дустабанлија – flatfoot person
дюбре - ђубре – immoral man, bastard
дювеч - ђувеч – a dish of meat and rice, pepper and spices
дюмбир - ђумбир – ginger, a root used as a medicine and spice
дютором, дютуром, дютуре - ђутурум, ђутуре – all together, total, flat rate
емир - емир – emir, the ruling title in the emirate
ерґела - ергела - a herd of horses, a horse farm
еснаф - еснаф - guild, association of the same craftsmen
еснафлия - еснафлија - a craftsman, a member of a guild
еспап - еспап – goods, merchandise
евнух - евнух - eunuch, castrated man
єлек - јелек - sleeveless vest
занат - занат - craft
занатлия - занатлија - craftsman
зейтин - зејтин - olive oil, cooking oil
зорт - зорт - fear and trembling
зумбульки - зумбул - hyacinth
зурла - зурла – zurla, musical wind instrument
имам - имам – imam, a Muslim priest who leads prayers (5 times a day) in the mosque
инат - инат – stubbornness, defiance
инациц ше - инатити се – to defy
йоґурт - јогурт – yogurt
йок - јок - no
йорґан - јорган – quilt, a cross-stitched blanket filled with wool or cotton
оро - оро - oro (eagle dance)
кабасти - кабаст - large, bulky
кавияр - кавијар – caviar, salted fish roe
кадифа - кадифа - velvet
кадия - кадија - judge
казан(ь) - казан - cauldron
каймак - кајмак - crust, sour cream
кайса – кајсија - apricot
калай - калај - tin

каламиц - каламити (воћке) - graft (fruit trees)
калдерма - калдрма - road paved with cobblestones
калдермовац - калдрмисати - to pave with cobblestones
калирац - калирати - to lose from net weight due to drying, transfer or processing of goods
калпак - калпак - military hat, helmet
калуп - калуп – mould, shape (wooden or metal)
калуповац - калупити - to mold, to bring into proper shape
калфа - калфа - assistant master after passing the exam
кама - кама - - knife, dagger with short handle
кана - кана – henna, hair and nail colour
капак - капак - eyelid; cover, lid
карабатак - карабатак - the upper part of the drumstick in poultry
караван сарай - караван сарај - caravanserai, an inn with a central courtyard for travellers in the desert regions of Asia or North Africa
караула - караула - roadside watchtower, watchtower on the border
касаба - касаба - town, small town
катарка - катарка - mast on a boat
катран - катран – tar, resinous substance
кафа - кафа - coffee
кафана - кафана – café, bar
кафански - кафански - café (life, singer etc.)
кафенисац - кафенисати - to drink black coffee
кафтан - кафтан – kaftan, a man's long belted tunic
каяк - кајак - kayak
килим - ћилим - rug, carpet
киоск - киоск – kiosk, a small open-fronted hut or cubicle from which newspapers, refreshments, tickets, etc. are sold
кирия - кирија – rent, regular payment for the use of a building
кобаяґи - кобајаги - as if, pretending
кобура - кубура – trouble, difficulty
кобуриц - кубурити - to suffer and struggle with troubles and misfortunes
корбач - корбач - a whip made of intertwined leather straps
кубе - кубе – dome, cupola
кубура - кубура - small rifle, pistol
кула - кула – tower, high building (e.g. Челе-кула)
кулак - кулак - rich peasant
кулен - кулен – kulen, a thick sausage made of minced or chopped meat
кундак - кундак - the wooden part of a rifle
Куран - Куран – Quran, the holy book of Muslims (what is the *Bible* for Christians)

курталїсац ше - курталисати се - to free oneself, to get rid of
кусур - кусур – change, the money that is the difference between the price of something and the sum offered in payment
лала - лала - lala (tulip), a ridiculous name for the people of Vojvodina (from: as beautiful man as a flower)
леблебия - леблебија - chickpeas
левента - левента – leventa, a soldier from pre-military training for youth during the Second World War
ленґер - ленгер - anchor
лиман - лиман – liman, lagoon formed by the deposition of sand at the mouth of the river (and Liman, part of Novi Sad)
лимунтус - лимунтус - lemon powder extract
маджун - мацун - jam
маджунїк - лепиња с мацуном - a bun with jam
маймун - мајмун - monkey
майсторлук - мајсторлук - mastery, master skill
мамурни - мамурни – drunk, drowsy
мамурлук - мамурлук – hangover, unpleasant mood after a sleepless night or drunkenness
манґал - мангал – mangal, a metal vessel on a stand with a grill that serves as a movable heating furnace
манґуп - мангуп - naughty guy
марияш - маријаш - petty cash
мезе - мезе - a salty appetizer, a snack usually made of cheese and meat
мелез - мелез - mixed-blood, half-breed
мелем - мелем - balm, a healing ointment made from a mixture of herbs and oils
менґели - менгеле, менґели - clamping tool, vise
мермер, мрамор, марма-камень - мермер - marble
минаре(т) - минаре(т) – minaret, mosque tower
миндюша, мендюша - минђуша - earring
минтан - минтан - mintan, short sleeveless jacket
мисирка - мисирка, мисирача - a large Egyptian pumpkin
муєзин - мујезин - muezzin, a religious official who calls the faithful to prayer from the minaret
мукте - мукте - free
мумия - мумија - mummy, a body saved from decay
мусака - мусака - moussaka, a dish of chopped or minced meat, eggplant or other vegetables
муслиман - муслиман - Muslim, a member of the Islamic religion
муфтия - муфтија - mufti, the oldest priest among Muslims

мушема - мушема - wax cloth, most often a tablecloth for a kitchen table
муштерия - муштерија - customer
муштулук - муштулук - reward to the bearer of good news
му(н)тлак - му(н)тлак - clumsy and stupid man
наґрайсац - награјсати - to suffer, to pass badly
наджакбаба - наџакбаба - quarrelsome, quick-tempered
намчор - намћор – ill-tempered, stubborn person
нанули - нануле - wooden women's slippers
нар - нар - - pomegranate
натенане - натенане - slowly, calmly, without haste
нафта - нафта - oil
нахия - нахија – nahiya, administrative unit
нишанджия - нишанџија - a soldier who shoots well
новайлия - новајлија – novice, beginner
обашка - обашка - separately
ока - ока - old measure for liquid, volume and weight (1.28 kg)
олдомаш - алдомаш - a homage made by the buyer after the purchase
ортак - ортак - companion, associate
ортаклук - ортаклук - association of two or more persons for the purpose of joint business operations
Османлия - Османлија - Ottoman, Turk of the Ottoman dynasty
отоман - отоман – ottoman, soft sofa without backrest
пазар - пазар - trade business, daily earnings of traders
пазариц - пазарити - to buy, sell
пазуха - пазухо - armpit
памук - памук - cotton
пандур - пандур - guardian of order, cop
папучи - папуче – slippers, a type of shallow footwear
пара - пара – para, small money
патлиджан - патлиџан - - eggplant
паша - паша – pasha, a high civil or military rank
пашалук - пашалук – pashaluk, an area headed by a pasha
пилав - пилав – pilaf, a dish of rice, meat and spices
пиляр - пиљар - vegetable grower, seller of vegetables and fruits
помаранче, помарандже - наранџа, поморанџа - orange
попишманїц ше - попишманити се - to give up the original opinion, to change to the worse
простаклук - простаклук – vulgarity, crudeness
пубертетлия - пубртетлија - a person in puberty
Рамазан - Рамазан – Ramadan, a thirty-day Muslim fast

ратлук - ратлук - a delicacy made of flour, sugar, aromatic oils and walnuts, see **рахат-локум**
раф - раф - shelf
рахат-локум - рахат-локум - ("throat delight") see **ратлук**
рубин - рубин – ruby, red gemstone
русвай - русвај – rumpus, uproar
ршум - (х)ршум - noise, shout
саламура - саламура - brine
сарач - сарач - leather craftsman
сафир - сафир – sapphire, a precious stone of blue colour
сач - сач - a shallow iron pan under which bread is baked
сачма - сачма – shot, tiny lead balls in a hunting cartridge
сачмарка - сачмарица - shotgun
седеф - седеф - mother-of-pearl, a shiny mass that coats the inside of the shell, used to make jewelry
седефасти, седефни, седефови - седефан, седефасти - made of mother-of-pearl
сезам - сезам - sesame, a plant from which oil is obtained
сермия - сермија - property, cattle
сиктерисац - сиктерисати - to drive someone away with **сиктер** (go away! disappear!)

сиктеруша - сиктеруша - coffee before leaving
силеджия - силеџија – bully, rapist
сириджик - сирицик –a cosmetic product for Muslim women for facial whitening
скела - скела - scaffolding, a vessel on a river
софа - софа - sofa
спахия - спахија - Turkish feudal landowner
султан - султан – sultan, the title of hereditary rulers of Muslim states
султания - султанија - the sultan's daughter
сурла - сурла - trunk
сутлияш - сутлијаш - a dessert made of rice cooked in sweetened milk, rice pudding
табак - табак - a sheet of paper
талисман - талисман – talisman, an object that protects against evil and disease
таман - таман - just, just right
таманїц - таманити - to destroy
тамарис - тамарис - tamaris, an evergreen plant, used for tanning and dyeing
тамбура - тамбура – tambura, a musical instrument with 4-6 strings
тамбуровац - тамбурисати - to play the tambura

тандара-мандара - тандара-мандара - without connection and meaning (speech)
тарифа - тарифа – tariff, officially established prices of payment for something
тезґа - тезга - counter in a shop, tavern or market; tax-free earnings, undeclared work
текия - текија – tekke, dervish lodge, dervish apartment similar to the monastery (Tekke in Petrovaradin)
телал - телал - town crier
тепша - тепсија – casserole. a shallow, usually copper pan in which pies are baked
тефтер - тефтер - trade book of income and debts
топджия - тобџија – gunner, a football player who has a strong shot
трамвайджия - трамвајџија - tram driver
трампа - трампа – barter, exchange of goods without money
трампиц - трампити – to exchange
тулипан, тулїпан - тулипан - see **лала**
тулюмба - тулумба – tulumba, a kind of sweet glazed cakes
тумбац - тумбати - to tumble, to turn over (from Turkish **тумбе** − upside down, upside down)
турбан - турбан - turban
туршия - туршија - pickled vegetables, salad for the winter
урма - урма - date (fruit)
учариц - ућарити - to gain, to earn (from Turk. **чар** – profit, earnings)
ушичариц - ушићарити - to make profit (from Turk. **шичар** – benefit, profit)
ушур - ушур - miller`s fee (paid in grain)
факир - факир – fakir, Indian religious ascetic, see **фукара**
факултетлия - факултетлија - a person at the faculty
фереджа - фереџа – veil, a women's cloak with a net covering the face
ферман - ферман – ferman, order of the sultan
фес - фес - fez, cap (named after Fes in Morocco)
филджан - филџан - a cup of black coffee without a handle
фитиль - фитиљ – wick, a cotton cord or tape in a kerosene lamp
фишек - фишек – cartridge, rifle bullet; ice cream cone
фишеклия - фишеклија - cartridge bag
фукара - фукара - poor, see **факир**
хасен - хасна - benefit, profit
хасновац - хаснити - to use
чаґа - ћага - paper, document
чай - чај - tea

чаканєц - чаканац - a hammer with which the scythe is plated
чанколиза - чанколиз(а) - toady (from Turk. **чанак –** shallow dish)
чамец - чамац - boat, a vessel made of pine (from Turk. **чам** – pine)
чарапи - чарапе - socks
чардак - чардак - a basket (container) for drying corn
чаршия - чаршија - a street or square with shops or workshops (e.g. **Баш-чаршия**)
чаторня - чадор, шатор – tent, large tent for weddings, etc.
чауш - чауш - chaush, noncommissioned officer rank in the Turkish army
чевапи - ћевапи - chevapi, pieces of grilled meat
чевапчичи - ћевапчићи - chevapchichi, shaped pieces of spiced minced or minced meat grilled
чела - ћела - bald spot on the head
челїк - челик – steel, hard alloy of iron
черґа - черга - gypsy tent
черґар - чергар - a Gypsy living in gypsy tent
чефнуц - ћефнути – to satisfy one`s desires (from Turk. **чеф**, **чеиф** − good will, desire)
чивияш - чивијаш - swindler from Šabac (from Turk. **чивия** − nail, wedge)
чижма - чизма - boot
чилаш - чилаш - a horse with gray-white hair
чилаша - чилаш - mare with gray-white hair
чилибар - ћилибар - amber
чобан - чобан - shepherd, herdsman
чобански - чобански - shepherd, herdsman
чорба - чорба – thick soup, cooked dish of vegetables and / or meat
чорсокак - ћорсокак - dead end
чосави - ћосав - a man whose beard does not grow
чочек - чочек – chochek, belly dance
чукун - чукун - prefix for kinship in the fourth degree
чумур - ћумур - charcoal for barbecue
чуп - ћуп - earthen jug, jar
чуския - ћускија - stick, iron stake
чутора - чутура - water bottle, round wooden container for carrying drinks (water, brandy)
чуфта - ћуфте, ћуфта - meatball
шал - шал - shawl, scarf
шалвари - шалваре - baggy trousers, salvar
шамар - шамар - slap
шарґия - шаргија - shargia, a plucked, fretted long necked chordophone
шах - шах - chess

шах-мат - шах-мат – checkmate, the end of the game of chess ("the king is dead")
шеґерт - шегрт – apprentice, a student of a craftsman
шерет - шерет - cunning (mischievous) fellow
шеретски - шеретски - cunning, mischievous
шербе(т) - шербе(т) – sherbet, a sweet drink made of honey or sugar (and fruit juice)
шерият - шеријат - sharia law is based on Islamic religion and it can be understood as God's will for humankind
шиити - шиити - members of a religious group in Islam who consider Muhammad's son-in-law Ali to be a legitimate spiritual and secular follower of Muhammad
шиндлї - шиндра – shingles, beech board that serves to cover the roof of the house
шкембичи - шкембићи – tripe, a dish prepared from the stomach (Turk. **шкембе**)
шпинат - спанаћ - spinach
шуґи - шуге – tag, game in which one child chases and tries to touch another
яничаре - јаничари – janissaries, privileged infantry in the sultan's army, abolished in 1826
ясмин - јасмин - jasmine
ятаґан - јатаган - yataghan, a large, slightly curved knife, sharp on the inner side of the curve
ятак - јатак - one who hides a criminal or outlaw
явашлук - јавашлук - negligence, disorder in work

3. DICTIONARY ANALYSIS

The presented dictionary indicates the presence of about 400 turkisms in the Ruthenian language. More than half of turkisms are included in the capital dictionaries of Ruthenian lexicology, in the two-volume *Serbian-Ruthenian Dictionary* (Ramač et al. 1995-1995) and the one-volume *Ruthenian-Serbian Dictionary* (Ramač et al. 2010), in which they are treated as serbisms. It is possible to assume that if the Serbian language continues to have a great influence on the Ruthenian language, the number of turkisms will also increase.

As far as the types of words are concerned, most of the lexemes in the dictionary are nouns. These turkisms coincide with the turkisms in the Serbian language (e.g. *баклава*, *бакшиш*, *бурек*, *гамбар*, *гарем*, *джамбас*, *джезва*, *кулен*, *маймун*, *мангуп*, *мендюши*, *отоман*, *пазар*, *русвай*, *фереджа*, *чардак*). A small number of nouns coincide with turkisms in the Hungarian language (e.g.

тепша, *чижма*, *доган*). Most of them are basic nouns. There are also several compounds (e.g. *караван сарай*, *наджак баба*, *рахат локум*, *шах-мат*), but their constituent elements are most often not recognized by Ruthenian speakers.

It is possible to single out several nominal suffixes of Turkish origin:

-лия (e.g. *Бечлия*, *гарачлия*, *дембелия*, *дустабанлия*, *еснафлия*, *занатлия*, *новайлия*, *Османлия*, *пубертетлия*, *факултетлия*, *фишеклия*);

-лук (e.g. *безобразлук*, *гаджилук*, *майсторлук*, *мамурлук*, *муштулук*, *ортаклук*, *пашалук*, *простаклук*, *явашлук*);

-джия (e.g. *абаджия*, *бонбонджия*, *бурекджия*, *гаджия*, *ґаламджия*, *нишанджия*, *силеджия*, *топджия*, *трамвайджия*).

These suffixes are productive. They are sometimes added to the basis that are not of Turkish origin (e.g. *факултетлия*, *простаклук*, *силеджия*).

There are about thirty verbs in the dictionary, e.g. *ашиковац*, *баждариц*, *байрамова*ц, *баталїц*, *бетяровац*, *бичачкац ше*, *каламиц*, *калуповац*, *кобуриц*, *пазариц*, *попишманїц ше*, *учариц*, *ушичариц*. The verbal suffix *-isa-* (derived from the Greek aorist) can be singled out in the verbs of Turkish origin, e.g. *кафенисац*, *курталїсац ше*, *наґрайсац*, *сектерисац*; this suffix is replaced with the Ruthenian suffix *-ова-* in the standardized Ruthenian (e.g. *калдермовац*, *тамбуровац*), which does not occur in spoken Ruthenian.

Out of other types of words, a small group of adverbs stands out. The following adverbs are very frequent: *баш*, *джаба / джабе*, *дибидус*, *дютором / дютуром / дютуре*, *мукте*, *натенане*, *таман* and *тандара-мандара*.

In order to answer the question in which spheres of Ruthenian life turkisms entered we used Snežana Petrović`s classification who distinguished 23 semantic fields (Petrović 2012: 351-356). In the Ruthenian language we mostly found turkisms in the 5th (state, army, weapons, titles), 6th (occupations, crafts, trade, tools), 7th (social life, customs, games, music), 8th (religion, beliefs), 10th (house, furniture), 11th (clothes, shoes, fabrics), 12th (food, drink, tobacco) and 15th semantic field (urban life, traffic). If we add some turkisms that are not included in the dictionary of turkisms due to the low frequency, in the 5th semantic field there are e.g. *аґа*, *апс*, *баждарана*, *буздован* (*буздовань*, *бузоґвань*), *булюк*, *вилаєт*, *джелат*, *емир*, *кадия*, *кама*, *левенте*, *нишан*, *паша*, *санджак*, *сачма* и *сачмарка*, *спахия*, *тапия*, *топуз*, *фишек*, *ятаґан*, *ятак*; in the 6th semantic field: *абаджия*, *бичак*, *вайда*, *вересия*, *гайдук*, *джаба* (*джабе*), *дутян*, *еснаф*, *еспап*, *занат*, *занатлия*, *кусур*, *куюнджия*, *менґели*, *ортак*, *пазар*, *ренде*, *сайджия*, *сарач*, *сермия*, *табак*, *табла*, *теразиї*, *тефтер*, *чириз*, *чобан*, *шеґерт* etc.; in the 7th semantic field: *аманет*, *ашиковац*, *бичачкац ше*, *бакшиш*, *бетяр*, *джумбус*, *ефендия*, *зулум* и *зулумчар*, *зурла*, *конак*, *маскара*, *султанат*, *уйдурма*, *челик*, *чемани*, *явашлук* etc.; in the 8th semantic field: *аждая*, *амайлия*, *Байрам*, *белай*, *була*, *гаджия*, *дервиш*, *имам*, *кадия*, *каур* (*каурин*), *минаре* (*минарет*), *муфтия*, *Рамазан*, *годжа* etc.; in the 10th seman-

tic field: *аван*, *бакар*, *боґрач*, *бурма*, *бурмутица*, *ибрик*, *йорґан*, *казан(ь)* и *казан(ь)чок*, *калай*, *кат*, *килим*, *конак*, *кубе*, *мушема*, *олук*, *пампур*, *раф*, *сач*, *софа*, *софра*, *сундєр*, *тепша*, *теразиї*, *чумез*, *чуския*, *филджан*, *фитиль*, *фуруна*, *чардак*, *чивилук*, *чутора* (*чутура*), *шатор* etc.; in the 11th semantic field: *аба*, *антерия*, *гатлас*, *ґайтан*, *єлек*, *калпак*, *кафтан*, *кече*, *минтан*, *памук*, *папуча*, *торба*, *турбан*, *фереджа*, *фес*, *чижма*, *чоя*, *шал*, *шалвари* (*шаровари*) etc.; in the 12th semantic field: *айвар*, *алва*, *баклава*, *боза*, *бурмут*, *ґурабия*, *доган* и *доганьош*, *дєврек*, *юфка*, *кафа*, *каймак*, *качкаваль*, *леблебия*, *папазяния*, *пилав*, *ракия*, *ратлук* (*рахат локум*), *сарма*, *сутлияш*, *чеап* (*чеапчич*), *чуфта*, *чибук*, *шербе* (*шербет*), *тулюмба* etc.; in the 15th semantic field: *амам* (*гамам*), *калдерма*, *караван сарай*, *скела*, *джамия*, *махала*, *мермер*, *чаршия*, *черґа* и *черґар* etc. Based on this review, it can be said that turkisms used by nearly all members of Ruthenian national community are in the 5th, 6th, 10th and 12th semantic fields. In general, turkisms in the Ruthenian language can be classified as cultural-historical borrowings, because in the vast majority they denote terms accepted by the arrival of Ottoman civilization in the Balkans. The term *cultural-historical loanword* is used according to Desnickaja (Desnickaja 1988: 134-135).

The research did not indicate any innovations at the phonological level, but the phoneme */h/* causes some doubts when writing. Since the glottal fricative /h/ does not exist in the Serbian language, it is replaced with the velar fricative */x/*, and the turkisms that entered Ruthenian via Serbian retain */x/*. The turkisms that entered via the Hungarian language, in which the phoneme */h/* exists, keep the original pronunciation. That is the reason why there are several doublets (e.g. *гарамбаша / харамбаша*, *гарач / харач*, *гарем / харем*). In the dictionary of turkisms, the doublets are listed under the letter *г* (phoneme */h/*), bearing in mind that the phoneme */h/* corresponds to a phoneme that is characteristic of both Turkish and Ruthenian.

The research unequivocally confirmed the assumption that it is possible to single out a set of turkisms from the set of lexemes that has traditionally been treated as a set of serbisms or serbo-croatisms in Ruthenian studies. However, the research went beyond the set goals at the beginning of the research and opened a number of new questions, pointing to the need for further research concerning lexemes in which the influence of the Turkish language is noticed. Some of these questions are: 1. Were turkisms in the Ruthenian language, in addition to Serbian and Hungarian influence, also influenced by a third language (e.g. in the lexemes *чаторня* and *боґрач*)?; 2. What traces did the Turkish language leave at each level of linguistic analysis?; 3. What elements of Arab or Persian origin do тurkisms contain?; 4. Which Turkisms do denote completely new terms and are irreplaceable (e.g. *бостан*, *буджак*, *зулуфи*, *мендюши*), and which of them are synonymous and interchangeable in the modern Ruthenian language (e.g.

покрутки : *бубреги*; *шаркань* : *аждая*; *дюбре* : *гной*), which is characteristic of the centers where Ruthenians are not homogeneous? It is necessary to include etymology in further research.

4. CONCLUSION

There are about 400 turkisms in the Ruthenian language. Most of them came via the Serbian language, and only a small number via the Hungarian language.

Four-fifths of turkisms are nouns. Several suffixes of Turkish origin are noticed in nouns-turkisms (e.g. *-лия*, *-лук*, *-джия*) which represent an innovation in the Ruthenian morphological system. Most of nouns-turkisms are direct replicas. All Turkish verbs (about 35) do not represent direct replicas; they acquire suffixes characteristic of Ruthenian verbs. Few adverbs are very frequent.

Turkisms in the Ruthenian language are mostly found in semantic fields related to the state administration, army, weapons, titles; occupations, crafts, trade, tools; social life, customs, games, music; religion, beliefs; house, furniture; clothing, footwear, fabrics; eating, drinking, tobacco; urban life, traffic. The largest number of turkisms in the Ruthenian language is included in cultural and historical borrowings. Their meanings in the Ruthenian language are usually the same as in the Turkish language. Some of them are reduced. Only a few turkisms do acquire new meanings.

Taking everything into consideration it can be concluded that nowadays the influence of the Turkish language reaches, first of all, the semantic level, expanding the lexical stock of the Ruthenian language. So far, turkisms are integrated into Ruthenian language structures and do not threaten the language system but linguists should not allow that negligence and indifference prevail.

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TURCISMES EN LANGUE RUTHÈNE

Résumé

Dans la langue ruthène il y a environ 400 mots turcs. La plupart de ces mots sont venus de la langue serbe (par exemple: *бакшиш*, *бурек*, *гамбар*, *джезва*, *пазар*, *русвай*, *фереджа*, *чардак*), mais il y en a aussi, dans un nombre restreint, venus du hongrois (par exemple: *тепша*, *чижма*, *доган*). Les quatre cinquième de mots d'origine turque appartiennent à la classe de noms. Chez les noms – empruntés à la langue turque, on aperçoit quelques suffixes d'origine turque (*-лия*, *-лук*, *-джия*) qui représente une innovation dans le système morphologique de ruthène. La plupart des noms turcs sont les répliques directes. Le plus grand nombre d'entre eux sont les noms de base, mais il y a aussi des noms composés (par exemple *караван сарай*, *наджак баба*, *рахат локум*, *шах-мат*). Le plus grand nombre des emprunts turcs en ruthène sont inclus dans les emprunts culturels et historiques. Leurs significations sont le plus souvent les mêmes qu'en turc, ou elles sont réduites.

Mots-clés: la langue ruthène, les emprunts turcs, l'influence turque, l'influence serbe, les emprunts culturels et historiques, les langues en contact.

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CONCEPTUALIZATION OF ANTIVIRUS AND BACKUP COMPUTER PROGRAMS IN ENGLISH

In this article, the cognitive linguistic notion of conceptual metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980/2003) is used as a basic framework for analysing and explaining the conceptualization of antivirus and backup computer programs in reviews and advertisements in the information technology industry. The aim of the article is to establish conceptual metaphors dominating in the specified register and to explain which characteristics of these programs are highlighted via particular conceptualizations. The results show that the studied conceptualizations are based on the general source domains of DANGER, PROTECTION, and SAVING or REPAIR, which are narrowed down by linguistic (and visual) prompts to more specific domains, most commonly: BIOLOGICAL VIRUS, FIGHTING, SECURITY, INTELLIGENCE, CRIME, REPAIR, CLEANING, MANAGING, and MANIPULATING POSSESSIONS. The mappings constituting metaphors for antivirus and backup programs give rise to a number of metaphoric entailments relating to conceptualizations of the computer, the Internet, malware and dealing with malware. In general, the conceptualization of antivirus programs highlights prevention, while that of backup programs focuses on damage repair.

Key words: computers, antivirus programs, backup programs, DANGER, PROTECTION, SAVING, conceptual metaphor.

1. INTRODUCTION

Nowadays one can hardly imagine life without computers, especially the function of searching the Internet, which is an effective way of obtaining information and establishing communication. Computer-related language is laced with metaphorical words and expressions. Computers store *files* in a hierachy of *folders* usually saved in the *icon My Documents*; users can *copy*, *paste* and *move around folders*. On computer *screens* there are *windows*, which can be *opened* and *resized*; in order to delete *files* we *throw* them into the *trash can*. Computers also have *memories* and *operating systems*; as for software, it can be *installed*, *launched* and *run*, but it can *crash*, as well. Perhaps the most interesting and most widely used computer-related domain is the one related to the *world wide web*,

i.e. the online world, where we use *search engines* like Google to *surf, cruise* or *dive* into the Internet, or the information *superhighway*. As we see, abstract computer-related phenomena are associated with concrete phenomena from our everyday experience such as working in offices, operating machines, travelling by sea or on the road. Thus, the computer register is amenable to applying Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980/2003), which sees metaphor as primarily a cognitive mechanism, rather than just a linguistic, stylistic device; metaphor is a means by which we interpret the world and structure our knowledge about it, the way we think, act and express ourselves. Cognitive linguists have done research in the domain of computers, mostly focusing on conceptualizing the Internet and the world wide web (e.g. Rohrer 1997; Tomaszewsky 2002; Coulson 1996, Lombard 2005, Colburn, Shute 2008; Galichkina 2016, Sauter 2015). The object od interest in this article is related to the mentioned research, i.e. the conceptualization of the Internet, but it has a particular focus, i.e. it studies metaphorical conceptualization of antivirus and backup computer programs. Namely, searching the Internet may be an insecure activity due to imposing malware. Therefore, computer companies compete in launching and promoting various antivirus and backup programs trying to attract potential purchasers. The object of analysis in this article is the conceptualization of antivirus computer programs in English from a cognitive linguistic perspective. The term antivirus is used as a cover term for all types of malware, i.e. malicious software (e.g. viruses, worms, trojan horses, spyware, dishonest adware, scareware, crimeware, …). In texts promoting antivirus programs there are recurring words by means of which these programs, and implicitly computers and the Internet are conceptualized according to particular conventional schemes. For example, the very term *antivirus* for this type of computer program associates it with the domains of the HUMAN BODY and MEDICINE; if we read about programs *disarming Internet attacks*, there is an association with the domain of WAR; if the program *gives you security*, there is an association with the domain of PHYSICAL SAFETY. Thus, computer products are associated with concepts objectively unrelated to them, i.e. with other domains of experience. Thus, the main aim of the present article is to analyze how and explain why antivirus programs are presented indirectly by setting the analysis within the framework of cognitive linguistics, i.e. Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). To be more precise, the aims of the research are twofold:

(1) to identify conceptual metaphors underlying texts promoting antivirus and backup programs as well as metaphorical entailments, also known as specialised or sub-metaphors, and
(2) to explain which characteristics of antivirus and backup programs are highlighted in such a way.

2. CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY

The corpus contains thirty reviews and advertisements promoting antivirus and backup programs selected from the following English technology-related print magazines in the period from 2009 to 2011: *PC World*, which provides unbiased reviews of technology products, mostly computer-related, and *Wired*, which presents the most recent issues and trends in technology, business, global politics, new media, arts and culture, the environment, as well as the best new products. Additionally, the corpus is also based on ten recent antivirus programs' reviews from the year 2020 presented on the Internet: https://top10antivirus.review/

Research methodology involves focusing on words used non-literally to describe antivirus and backup programs in the selected texts, i.e. reviews and/or advertisement headlines; as far as advertisements are concerned, the pictorial element is also taken into consideration. The selected textual and visual elements serve as clues for establishing dominant conceptual metaphors. The identified metaphors are presented in the form of metaphor groups containing related metaphors which are used in the conceptualization of the computer, computer malware, the Internet, the antivirus or backup programme and the activity of removing malware. For example: COMPUTER MALWARE IS A CRIMINAL, ANTIVIRUS PROGRAMS ARE POLICE OFFICERS/DETECTIVES, INTERNET IS A DISTRICT WITH A HIGH CRIME RATE, COMPUTERS ARE VICTIMS OF CRIME. The fact that the corpus comprises texts ten years ago and now, provides an opportunity to establish whether there has been some crucial change in the conceptualization of computers, the Internet and antivirus or backup programs over time.

3. CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY IN THE DOMAIN OF THE INTERNET

This section of the article briefly presents Conceptual Metaphor Theory, as one of the theories of meaning in the cognitive linguistic framework, and shows how it can be applied to the INTERNET domain.

The basic claim in cognitive linguistics is that meaning is not contained in words, but in concepts which people form on the basis of their encyclopedic knowledge. Words are just prompts which activate appropriate concepts in the mind. The groundbreaking theory in this cognitive approach to language is Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980/2003), according to which metaphor is an important way in which man`s conceptual system is organized. Thus, metaphor is a *cognitive* phenomenon, a means by which man interprets the world and organizes his experience, rather than a linguistic, stylistic phenomenon, as it was defined traditionally.

Put most briefly, conceptual metaphor is about understanding one concept or conceptual domain through another concept. The conceptual metaphor mechanism involves *mapping* the structure of one concept, which is typically concrete, experienced by the senses and well known (*source domain*) onto another conceptual domain, which is typically abstract or not experienced by the senses (*target domain*) (Klikovac 2004: 11-12, 14). This is commonly represented as: TARGET CONCEPT IS SOURCE CONCEPT. The mappings, i.e. correspondences between entities in different conceptual domains (Evans 2007: 130), are always unidirectional, from source to target, which sheds light on the main function of conceptual metaphor – it enables an easier understanding of complex, abstract concepts by resorting to concepts from our everyday physical and sensory-motor experience, which is closer to us. For example, in the culture of the 21st century people value highly time and money, which is supported by the conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY (*I can`t waste time*; *She spends her time unwisely*); people know from their personal sensory-motor experience that they feel hot and flush when they are angry, as seen in the metaphor ANGER IS HEAT (*She got all steamed up*); people know that when they are intimate with someone, they kiss, hug, hold hands, etc, as testified by the metaphor: EMOTIONAL INTIMACY IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS (*They are very close*).

There are many authors investigating conceptual metaphor and establishing common domains of experience that are associated for the sake of easier understanding. The most influential are: Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003), Kövecses (2006, 2010), Lakoff, Espenson and Schwartz 1991); the last is the most comprehensive list of metaphorically associated domains, collected in *The Master Metaphor List*.

It is interesting to note that today the COMPUTER is the dominant source domain in the representation of the MIND (THE MIND IS A COMPUTER), whereby the functioning of the human mind is analogous to the functioning of the computer (Kövecses 2005: 104; Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 237– 243). Kövecses (2005: 104) claims that the subculture of science shows how metaphorical source domains change over time, depending on the relevant technological and cultural experience that people have. Thus, for the MIND as the target domain Plato used the metaphor of a charioteer (the charioteer = reason), Descartes thought of the person in terms of early AUTOMATON MODELS, and later the mind and person were conceptualized as CLOCKS and MACHINES. Later, Freud launched an elaborate hydraulic model, which still serves as the basis of psychoanalytic theory. Nowadays, however, the computer and the Internet, metonymically associated with it, have become an inseparable, yet complex part of human experience, and as such have developed the role of important target domains. Thus, this aricle focuses on identifying source domains used for conceptualizing antivirus and backup programs, metonymically related to the computer and the Internet.

In what follows the crucial aspects of research dealing with the conceptualization of the INTERNET will be presented since it is most closely associated with the object of the research, antivirus and backup programs which protect the computer from problems coming mostly from the Internet.

The first issue that needs to be addressed is: Why does the Internet, or the Web, need metaphorical representation? In order to account for this, the notions of the Internet and the Web, which are often used synonymously, need to be distinguished. Namely, the *Internet* is a broader concept. It is a global system of interconnected computer networks that are linked by a broad array of electronic, wireless and optical networking technologies. It is the network where all the information resides and travels via a variety of languages known as protocols. The *Web* is a system of interlinked hypertext documents accessed via the Internet. It uses the HTTP protocol, only one of the languages spoken over the Internet, to transmit data. The Internet, not the Web, is also used for e-mail, which relies on SMTP, Usenet news groups, instant messaging and FTP. Thus, the Web is just a portion of the Internet.[1]

The present article addresses the INTERNET. As definitions showed, this concept is quite abstract and elusive. In order to deal more easily with the ideas of the INTERNET, i.e. to be aware of its purpose and functioning, people have been associating it with more concrete domains, i.e. with domains within their everyday experience. Research on conceptualizing the INTERNET (e.g. Coulson 1996, Rohrer 1997, Tomaszewsky 2002, Lombard 2005) has shown that there are various web metaphors, each of which highlights certain aspects of the INTERNET, while downplaying others, as Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 10–13) argue. Some of these frequent web metaphors will be illustrated and explained:

- INTERNET IS A HIGHWAY. For example: *We travel between sites*; *we type addresses* or *locations into our browsers*; in advertisements there are pictures of highways. This metaphor focuses on *speed* and *direct access* to information on the web, rather than on an enjoyable journey since highways get us straight to a destination (Tomaszewsky 2002).
- INTERNET IS A TIDAL WAVE. For example: We *surf the Internet*. This metaphor presents the Web as something *huge* and *unstoppable*. Also, it is a passive form of transportation, because a *web surfer* does not actively seek a certain destination, but rather passively follows the available links, similarly to getting on the upcoming waves (Tomaszewsky 2002).
- INTERNET IS A COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS. For example: *There are hypertexts; we are bookmarking a certain page*; *we browse through pages*; the

[1] The definitions of the Internet and WWW are provided on the basis of the following sources: http://www.sharpened.net/glossary/definition/internet, http://www.sharpened.net/glossary/definition/www, http://www.webopedia.com/DidYouKnow/Internet/2002/Web_vs_Internet.asp, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Internet , http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_Wide_Web

main image of a site is called *index.html*; often sites are listed in topical categories, as we do with book records. This metaphor focuses on *information* and its *organization* (Tomaszewsky 2002).

4. ANALYSIS: CONCEPTS OF DANGER AND PROTECTION IN RELATION TO ANTIVIRUS AND BACKUP PROGRAMS

One can hardly refer to antivirus and backup programs without speaking metaphorically, as illustrated by the following passage promoting the best antivirus programs in the year 2020; it contains words signaling several conceptual metaphors, with the following source domains: BIOLOGICAL VIRUS, WAR, CRIME and PHYSICAL SAFETY: "*Welcome to Top10 Antivirus.Review! We have analyzed and tested the leading antivirus programs in detail for our readers and presented the most reputable providers in a user-friendly list. Don't become a victim of cyber-attacks - Choose one of the leading providers of antivirus software from the table below to protect your private data and computer! .... Why do I need antivirus software? What are some of the scariest threats online?*"[2]

The most general conclusion stemming from the analysis of reviews of and advertisements for antivirus and backup computer programs is that they exploit the concepts of DANGER, which lurks from the Internet, PROTECTION, provided by antivirus programs, and SAVING or REPAIR, provided by backup programs after damage has been done. All studied promotional texts belonging to the specified category make use of at least some of the following words: *protect* (verb), *protection* (noun), *safe* (adjective), *security* (noun), *threat* (noun), *defend* (verb), ... For example: *The faster, lighter protection*; *ESET will protect you*; *NOD 32 gives you security*; *... keeping your data safe*; *blocking threats*.

The concepts of DANGER, PROTECTION, SAVING or REPAIR are *vague*, i.e. they have a wide scope of reference in that there are so many different forms in which they can manifest themselves. In the domain of computers danger literally comes from the Internet in the form of various types of malware (malicious software), a general term used by computer professionals to mean a variety of forms of hostile, intrusive, or annoying software or program code. However, the choice of source domains, which serve to present the way antivirus and backup programs protect computers at risk, varies. For example, an advertisement for *Spyware Doctor*, an antivirus program, relies on the source domain the BIOLOGICAL VIRUS, as is signaled by the word *doctor* and a depicted stethoscope. Thus, textual and sometimes visual elements in reviews and advertisements narrow down the scope of the concepts of DANGER and PROTECTION. The aim of the present article is to determine which source domains are utilized in the conceptualization of an-

[2] https://top10antivirus.review/

tivirus and backup programs. However, prior to identifying specific conceptual metaphors, four overarching[3] conceptual metaphors encompassing all the others will be presented. Their specific realizations are contextually conditioned.

(1) The first overarching conceptual metaphor identified is: INTERNET IS A DANGEROUS PLACE. In order to account for this it is important to establish a connection between the Internet and the operating system. Namely, no application program, including web browsers, can function without the services of the computer`s operating system. The operating system Windows offers ample and limitless surfing opportunities, which is implied by its very name, which is essentially 'a window as a way out', as well as its motto in advertizing: *Life without walls*! This motto hides the conceptual metaphors OBSTACLES TO ACTION ARE OBSTACLES TO MOTION[4] and OPPORTUNITIES ARE OPEN PATHS[5]. By implication, if there are no limits to an operating system, there are no limits to the application programs it supports. Thus, one has limitless, free access to web pages containing text, images, videos, and other multimedia and navigates between them via hyperlinks (i.e. the Web). However, the fact that one can do whatever one wants in the cyber space implies that one is at a greater risk from viral threats because of the possibility of visiting non-secure, unauthorized websites.

(2) The second overarching conceptual metaphor that can be established is COMPUTER MALWARE IS A THREAT.

(3) Third, the very fact that there is a need for protection on the Internet implies that computers are at risk, which leads to establishing another new overarching conceptual metaphor related to the previous one: COMPUTERS ARE POTENTIAL VICTIMS.

(4) Fourth, if there is danger and victims, there is a logical need for a means of protection, which yields the metaphor ANTIVIRUS PROGRAMS ARE PROTECTORS.

4.1. Analysis: conceptual metaphors underlying computer antivirus programs

The following analysis provides a list and an explanation of specific realizations of the identified overarching metaphors, along with metaphoric entailments, i.e. sub-metaphors stemming from specific implied mappings.

[3] For example, the metaphor ANTIVIRUS PROGRAMS ARE DOCTORS is a specific instance of the overarching metaphor ANTIVIRUS PROGRAMS ARE PROTECTORS.

[4] Lakoff, Espenson, Goldberg and Schwartz (1991: 31). For example: *We hit a roadblock when we tried to repeat the experiment. I've hit a brick wall in my analysis.*

[5] Lakoff, Espenson, Goldberg and Schwartz (1991: 69). For example: *I can go wherever I want with this project. Open up your own opportunities.*

The following source domains are commonly active in the conceptualization of antivirus programs: BIOLOGICAL VIRUS, FIGHTING, SECURITY, INTELLIGENCE, CRIME, REPAIR, CLEANING and MANAGING. Each of them represents a metaphor group, i.e. it contains several related metaphors as concrete realizations of the four overarching Internet-related metaphors listed: INTERNET IS A DANGEROUS PLACE, etc. In other words, they feature different concrete types of a dangerous place – the Internet, danger – malware, victims – computers and protectors – antivirus programs. Thus, the specified metaphor categories are actually metaphor families which account for the representation of the very object of analysis, antivirus programs, but also for the representations of the related elements: the Internet, which operates on a computer, the computer itself, malware, which disrupts the computer, the antivirus program, which solves the problem and the manner in which the problem is solved. Consequently, all these elements constitute a well-connected closed system, which needs to be considered as a whole. This antivirus-related metaphorical system is presented below. Mappings untilized in the conceptualizations of malware, antivirus programs and dealing with malware are rendered through key words, while mappings for computers and the Internet are entailed.

(1) BIOLOGICAL VIRUS as the source domain. The most conventional metaphor in the computing register seems to be the BIOLOGICAL VIRUS metaphor, whereby a malicious computer software is presented as a biological virus: COMPUTER MALWARE IS A BIOLOGICAL VIRUS. This conceptual metaphor is based on analogy: as biological viruses enter the body and infect cells, so computer viruses[6] enter computers and infect them, i.e. have a malicious effect. They can also replicate themselves and spread malicious function from one infected system to another similarly to biological viruses, which spread infection.

The BIOLOGICAL VIRUS metaphor group in the advertisements contains the following metaphorical mappings:

COMPUTER MALWARE IS A BIOLOGICAL VIRUS
ANTIVIRUS PROGRAMS ARE DOCTORS/ MEDICINES
INTERNET IS AN INFECTED BODY
COMPUTERS ARE LIVING ORGANISMS
DEALING WITH MALWARE IS CURING

The following expressions offer ample evidence for the identified metaphors. The recurring words signalling this metaphor group are the following: *antivirus* (adjective), i.e. the very name of the product category, *virus* (noun), *doctor* (noun), *disinfect* (verb):

Protecting computers is no longer just about keeping them safe from infiltration by viruses. (Kaspersky Antivirus 2009); *Our award-winning security*

[6] The term *computer virus* is sometimes used so as to include all types of malware, even those that do not have the reproductive ability.

technology is the most effective way to stop viruses, spyware, hackers, spam and other Internet threats. (ESET NOD32); *BitDefender Anti-virus Pro 2011 does a good job disinfecting PCs*. (BitDefender 2011); *Award-winning antivirus*, *multi-level virus protection* (Total AV 2020); *The' ultimate antivirus' offers an antivirus engine* (PC Protect 2020); *Heimdal is one of the few antivirus programs that work in addition to other built in antivirus software, such as Windows Defender*. (Heimdal Security 2020); *Virus protection promise* (Norton 2020); *McAfee has won more than 50 awards for virus protection last year.* (McAfee 2020)

There are medicine-related signals in pictures, as well. For example, in the advertisement for *Spyware Doctor* there is a picture of a doctor with a stethoscope.

The metaphors relating to computers as victims and the Internet as a dangerous place are not expressed directly, but are rather entailed via related mappings between the source and the target domains. Since computer malware represents viruses to be cured, we have a mental picture of computers as people whose bodies are attacked by viruses and who need to be cured by doctors and who consume medications. Thus, the implied new metaphors are: COMPUTERS ARE LIVING ORGANISMS and INTERNET IS AN INFECTED BODY.

The BIOLOGICAL VIRUS metaphor in relation to the threats on the Internet focuses on the *prevention* of destructive programs if possible (anti-, like a vaccine), or if not, then on *efficient repair* (like curing).

(2) WAR as the source domain. The metaphor COMPUTER MALWARE IS AN ATTACKER also dominates in the studied texts. The internet is conceptualized as a battlefiled (dangerous place), where there are various physical attacks by malware, but there are also fighters using weapons to defend computers against attackers. The involved metaphorical mappings can be stated as the following metaphors (the key words are: *disarm* (verb), *attack* (verb/noun), *defender* (noun), *defend* (verb), *block* (verb)):

COMPUTER MALWARE IS AN ATTACKER

ANTIVIRUS PROGRAMS ARE DEFENDERS IN AN ATTACK

INTERNET IS A BATTLEFIELD

COMPUTERS ARE ATTACKED PEOPLE

DEALING WITH MALWARE IS FIGHTING WITH WEAPONS

For example:

Engineered to disarm threats before they strike, it maintains higher performance levels with low system resource consumption. (ESET NOD32 Antivirus 4)

ThreatSense disarms Internet attacks as they are released, not after the fact. (ESET Smart Security 4)

Panda Anti-virus Pro 2011 is an effective defender.

Kaspersky Anti-Virus 2011 is very effective at blocking new malware attacks.

Windows Defender (Heimdal Security)

There is a very creative metaphor in an advertisement for Kaspersky antivirus program. The picture presents a medieval warrior from the back wearing armour, a helmet and a spear, head down; he is retreating, obviously beaten. The headline is: *Don`t be so sad. You were very good, once upon a time* creating the following novel, creative metaphor: OLD ANTI-VIRUS PROGRAMS ARE DEFEATED MEDIEVAL WARRIORS

In general, the metaphoric mappings with WAR as the source domain focus on the *efficiency* of antivirus programs, i.e. the fact that they *thoroughly* clear the computer from viruses in analogy with physical fighting, where enemies are exterminated, i.e. *completely* destroyed. It is important to note that WAR-related conceptualization of antivirus programs is utilized only in reviews and advertisements in the earlier period, from 2009 to 2011, but not in the year 2020.

(3) SECURITY as the source domain. In antivirus programs` reviews in the year 2020 there is a very common metaphor system relating to the system of security, which is signalled by words like: *protect* (verb), *protection* (noun), *guard* (noun), *defender* (noun), *security* (noun):

COMPUTER MALWARE IS AN INTRUDER
ANTIVIRUS PROGRAMS ARE SECURITY GUARDS
INTERNET IS A DANGEROUS AREA/BUILDING
COMPUTERS ARE ENDANGERED PEOPLE/OBJECTS
DEALING WITH MALWARE IS PREVENTING IT FROM ENTERING

For example:

Includes VPN, Firewall and many other security enhancements. (Total AV); *Protect your PC, Mac or mobile device* (Norton); *Won the 'Best Protection Award' from AV-Test* (Norton); *First class malware protection* (Avira); *Effortlessly detects all ransomware threats* (Avira); *Highest levels of protection* (Panda); *The' ultimate antivirus' offers real-time protection* (PC Protect); *BullGuard is characterized by comprehensive protection* (BullGuard); *Exceptional anti-malware with 3 layers of protection* (BullGuard); *Protection for 10 devices at an unbeatable price* (McAfee); *Protects 325 million devices worldwide* (McAfee); *Absoulte security for Windows, Android, Mac and iOS* (Bitdefender); *Parental control offers parents additional online security* (Bitdefender); *Avast protects your computer well* (Avast); *Exceptional anti-malware with 3 layers of protection* (PC Protect).

The mental image stemming from this perspective is dominated by security guards protecting an area or a building from intruders. Security guards represent antivirus programs, whereas intruders represent malware.

(4) INTELLIGENCE as the source domain. This metaphor group is related to the previous one with entailments referring to the conceptualization of computer malware and computers. However, with antivirus programs and their functioning the focus is on intelligence rather than on physical protection as it is in the SECURITY metaphor group. The main mapping is: COMPUTER MALWARE IS AN INTRUDER. In this type of conceptualization antivirus programs are directly presented as people. The focus is primarily on their intelligence, i.e. their ability to discern various threats in the virtual space, but also on their being on the alert and not missing any threat. As for the Internet, there is no direct reference to the kind of threat, so the implication is that the active metaphor is INTERNET IS A TARGET FOR INTRUSION. The metaphoric mappings can be stated as follows (the key words and expressions are: *intelligent* (adjective), *smart* (adjective), *keep a close watch on*, *detect* (verb)):

COMPUTER MALWARE IS AN INTRUDER
ANTIVIRUS PROGRAMS ARE INTELLIGENT PEOPLE[7]
INTERNET IS A TARGET FOR INTRUSION[8]
COMPUTERS ARE POTENTIAL VICTIMS
DEALING WITH MALWARE IS BEING ON THE ALERT

For example:

A system so intelligent it actually knows what`s good, what`s bad, and what to keep a close watch on; *Practice protection utilizing our intelligent ThreatSense technology*; *In fact, we offer the scalable NOD 32 Anti-virus Business Edition and fully-integrated Smart Security; BitDefender Anti-virus Pro 2011 does a good job at detecting malware.*

This metaphor system with INTELLIGENCE as the source domain is not found in the newest antivirus reviews from the year 2020. It presents antivirus programs as reliable prevention systems, and thus focuses on the *prevention* of computer malware.

A special subtype of this metaphor manifests itself visually in several advertisements selected in the period from 2009 to 2011, which contain pictures of androids. They stand for antivirus programs, which are typically presented as people, as seen in the previously listed metaphors.

(5) CRIME as the source domain. COMPUTER MALWARE IS A CRIMINAL. The metaphorical mappings in this metaphor group are the following (the key words are: *cybercrime* (noun), *block* (verb), *threat* (noun), *detect* (verb), *detection* (noun), *detector* (noun)):

[7] Lakoff, Espenson, Goldberg and Schwartz (1991: 181) identified the metaphor COMPUTERS/PROGRAMS ARE INTELLIGENT PEOPLE WITH INDEPENDENT WILLS.

[8] This metaphor is termed similarly to Lombard (2005) , who identifies the metaphor COMPUTER NETWORKS ARE TARGETS FOR INTRUSION .

COMPUTER MALWARE IS A CRIMINAL
ANTIVIRUS PROGRAMS ARE POLICE OFFICERS/DETECTIVES
INTERNET IS A DISTRICT WITH A HIGH CRIME RATE
COMPUTERS ARE VICTIMS OF CRIME
DEALING WITH MALWARE IS BEING ON THE ALERT

This metaphor was not so productive as the previously listed ones in the corpus belonging to the period 2009-2011. Here, it mostly stems from presenting viral threats on the Internet as cybercrime. For example:
Worried about cybercrime? ESET will protect you… ; Effective, fast protection for your PC;
... By blocking threats the second they`re released, we`ll keep your internet experience safe and secure. (ESET Smart Security 4); *Along with anti-virus, identity theft and cybercrime protection, new Scam Alerts keep you safe from the latest cybercrime schemes like "get rich quick" offers*. (PC Tools Internet Security)

On the other hand, in antivirus programs` reviews in 2020 the CRIME metaphor focuses on detection, i.e. careful noticing of malware that is not easy to see. For example:
outstanding detection rate (Total AV); *Effortlessly detects all ransomware threats* (Avira); *One of the most accurate malware detectors* (PC Protect).

The CRIME metaphor group in relation to security issues on the Internet focuses on presenting viral threats as something *illegal* that needs to be stopped.

(6) REPAIR as the source domain. The following metaphoric mappings can be established, and the key words are: *repair* (noun/verb), *tools* (noun), *damage* (noun/verb), *damaged* (adjective).
COMPUTER MALWARE IS PHYSICAL DAMAGE
ANTIVIRUS PROGRAMS ARE MECHANICS
INTERNET IS A PLACE WITH PHYSICAL THREATS
COMPUTERS ARE DAMAGED GOODS
DEALING WITH MALWARE IS REPAIRING

For example:
Capable of repairing damaged files (Avira); *Offers tune-up tools for optimizing system performance* (PC Protect); *Avast contains several security tools to keep your system free from viruses and hackers* (Avast).

This metaphor group appears only in the corpus in the year 2020, and not earlier. Here, threats on the Internet are physical, and as such lead to physical damage of the computer, which needs to be repaired by mechanics using tools. The focus is on the destructive nature of malware, which can be solved by antivirus programs.

(7) CLEANING as the source domain. Again, this metaphor group appears only in the corpus in the year 2020, and not earlier. The following metaphoric mappings can be established (the key word is *clean* (verb/adjective):

COMPUTER MALWARE IS DIRTY MATTER
ANTIVIRUS PROGRAMS ARE CLEANERS
INTERNET IS A DIRTY PLACE
COMPUTERS ARE DIRTY OBJECTS
DEALING WITH MALWARE IS CLEANING

For example:

Clean user interface (Panda); *The‘ ultimate antivirus’ offers disk cleaning* (PC Protect); *clean interface* (Heimdal Security); *E-mails without spam – keeps your inbox clean* (Avast).

Here, malware is presented as dirt, which can spoil the functioning of the computer, but antivirus softwer acts as a cleaner, and enables smooth, non-problematic computer operating.

(8) MANAGING as the source domain. This metaphor group is also typical of presenting new antivirus programs (in the year 2020). The following metaphoric mappings can be established, and the key words are *management* (noun), *manager* (noun), *monitor* (noun/verb), *monitoring* (noun):

COMPUTER MALWARE IS A DISTRACTOR
ANTIVIRUS PROGRAMS ARE MANAGERS
INTERNET IS A CHAOTIC PLACE
COMPUTERS ARE PEOPLE IN A COMPANY
DEALING WITH MALWARE IS MONITORING WORK

For example:

The ‘ultimate antivirus’ offers startup program management, a browser manager and more. (PC Protect); *Neat network monitoring* (Heimdal Security), *The ‘ultimate antivirus’ offers an antivirus engine, real-time protection, firewall, ad blocking, disk cleaning, startup program management, a browser manager and more* (PC Protect)..

From this perspective antivirus programs are presented as managers in a company, who monitor work, whereas malware is presented as a distractor in a company. The focus is on functional properties of antivirus programs to enable the Internet and the operating system to operate as a compatible whole.

In addition to the listed types of metaphor groups, the studied advertisements often feature inconsistent use of conceptual metaphors, or *combined conceptual metaphors*. These are situations in which an advertisement begins with one conceptual metaphor and then switches to another one, with the result of intertwined metaphors. Thus, simultaneously there are double or triple mental

images of Internet-related problems and issues, and consequently an implicit focusing on different characteristics of antivirus programs. For example, in an advertisement for ESET NOD32 antivirus program four conceptual metaphors combine: the BIOLOGICAL VIRUS metaphor (*viruses*), the CRIME metaphor (*infiltration*), the INTELLIGENCE metaphor (*intelligent*) and the WAR metaphor (*disarm*, *strike*):

Protecting computers is no longer just about keeping them safe from infiltration by viruses… Loss or corruption of confidential data or sensitive client information via trojans or spyware can spell disaster for any business…. Our award-winning ESET NOD32 Anti-virus provides all your endpoints with advanced, practice protection utilizing our intelligent ThreatSense technology. Engineered to disarm threats before they strike, it maintains higher performance levels with low system resource consumption.

4.2. Analysis: conceptualization of backup programs

Backup programs have a somewhat different function from antivirus programs. They repair the damage that has already been done, i.e. try to save documents damaged by destructive computer malware, like computer viruses, worms and Trojan horses, which cause damage. Thus, they protect computers as well, but in a different way. Essentially, the main source domains involved are SAVING or REPAIR; backup programs are most commonly presented as SAVIOURS, since they repair the damage and save computer data. Reviews of backup programs basically do not contain metaphorically used words, but advertisements do. They, as a rule, make use of the following words: *safe* (adjective), *save* (verb), *restore* (verb), … The analysis of backup programs is based on advertisements from the earlier period (from 2009 to 2011).

On a more concrete level, one can distinguish between the following types of conceptual metaphors, hidden in the very word *backup*, which occurs both in products` names and advertising texts:

(1) (a) BACKUP PROGRAMS ARE PEOPLE WHO REGAIN POSSESSIONS
(b) BACKUP PROGRAMS ARE PEOPLE WHO MOVE POSSESSIONS UP

For example:

(program`s names) *Carbonite Online Backup*; *Genie-Soft backup manager*
(text in the advertisement) *Carbonite. Back it up. Get it back. We can`t stop the virus, but we can make sure your files are in a safe place… Millions of people will lose irreplaceable computer files in the next years. For just pennies a day, Carbonite Online Backup will make sure you`re not one of them…Carbonite automatically encrypts and saves your files to secure offsite data centres. It`s quick and easy to set up on both PCs and MACs. Should anything ever happen to your*

computer, you can easily restore your files. And you can securely access them anywhere – even from an iPhone or BlackBerry smart phone.[9]

These two metaphors relating to backup programs resulted from the combination of the following metaphors:

EXISTENCE IS LOCATION UP HERE[10]

CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION[11] (*get it back*)

REGAINING A PROPERTY IS REGAINING A POSSESSION[12]

POSSESSING IS HOLDING[13]

In this type of metaphorical representation the concepts of HOLDING and the UPPER PART OF THE VERTICAL SCALE are active, meaning that unaffected or "healthy" documents are held or are up. On the other hand, the documents which vanished because affected by viruses, are not in our hands any more, or they are moved somewhere deep down. Thus, saving them involves either getting hold of them again, or moving them to the surface, which is what backup programs do.

These conceptual metaphors focus on what backup programs do – they *save* files.

(2) BACKUP PROGRAMS ARE MECHANICS

Some advertisements for backup programs make use of words like *tune* or *tune up*. For example: *First look: MAGIX PC Check and Tuning 2012*, *TuneUp Utilities 2012*, *PC Tools Simple Backup*

This conceptual metaphor focuses on both what backup programs do, i.e. *repair* machines, and how they do it, i.e. very *precisely*, because tuning means making small changes to machines, so that they work as well as possible.

(3) BACKUP PROGRAMS ARE GHOSTS

Some backup programs make use of words such as *ghost* and *shadow* in the very product names. For example: *Norton Ghost 15: the famous disk cloning tool reviewed*, *StorageCraft Shadowprotect Desktop 4*.

This conceptual metaphor focuses on how backup programs work, i.e. the *manner* of the activity. The implication is that they do their task when needed, but are not intrusive.

(4) BACKUP PROGRAMS BRING LIGHT

This conceptual metaphor is rendered pictorially. For example, in the advertisement for *Genie-Soft, Genie backup manager*, the headline states: *If he*

[9] There is a picture of viruses (microscopically rendered) in the computer screen.
[10] Lakoff, Espenson, Goldberg and Schwartz (1991: 70)
[11] Lakoff, Espenson, Goldberg and Schwartz (1991: 4, 15)
[12] Lakoff, Espenson, Goldberg and Schwartz (1991: 6, 17)
[13] Lakoff, Espenson, Goldberg and Schwartz (1991: 193)

only made a backup ....! The body text states: *Can you imagine a Backup Utility that delivers a complete solution that`s easy to use yet powerful and flexible? Imagine a Backup Utility that can backup and restore all your vital personal data including emails, settings and programs to almost any remote media. Well, imagine no more as Genie-soft has it all.*

More importantly, there is a picture of a young man sitting on the floor in the dark, looking desperate.

The established metaphor relies on the following metaphors:

IMPEDIMENTS TO AWARENESS ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO SEEING[14]

BADNESS IS DARKNESS[15]

This conceptual metaphor highlights the *importance* of backup programs because without the data store in computers people remain ignorant.

5. CONCLUSION

As seen, this article presents the results of a cognitive linguistic analysis, more precisely Conceptual Metaphor Theory, as applied to antivirus and backup computer programs selected from English reviews and advertisements in the register of information technology. In general four main, overarching conceptual metaphors are established: COMPUTER MALWARE IS A THREAT, ANTIVIRUS PROGRAMS ARE PROTECTORS/BACKUP PROGRAMS ARE SAVIOURS, THE INTERNET IS A DANGEROUS PLACE and COMPUTERS ARE POTENTIAL VICTIMS. Each of them has particular specific manifestations depending on the type of malware. The main metaphors indicated directly by words (and sometimes pictures) relate to the conceptualization of antivirus programs and their functions, whereas other metaphoric mappings relating to viruses, computers and the Internet are metaphoric entailments, which gives rise to specific metaphor groups clustered around specific source domain, like BIOLOGICAL VIRUS, CRIME, REPAIR, MANAGING, ...

The results show that the studied conceptualizations are based on the general source domains of DANGER, PROTECTION, SAVING or REPAIR, which are narrowed down by linguistic (and visual) prompts to more specific domains, most commonly: BIOLOGICAL VIRUS, WAR, SECURITY, INTELLIGENCE, CRIME, REPAIR, CLEANING, MANAGING and MANIPULATING POSSESSIONS. The mappings constituting metaphors for antivirus and backup programs give rise to a number of metaphoric entailments relating to adequate conceptualizations of the computer, the Internet, malware and dealing with malware. In general, both antivirus and backup programs are conceptualized as PROTECTORS although they have somewhat different functions. Antivirus programs try to stop computer viruses during their

[14] Lakoff, Espenson, Goldberg and Schwartz (1991: 86)

[15] Lakoff, Espenson, Goldberg and Schwartz (1991: 190)

attacks. Their task is primarily to prevent Internet threats altogether or to stop them in time, so with them the focus is on prevention. Thus, they are conceptualized as DOCTORS or MEDICINES, DEFENDERS, SECURITY GUARDS, INTELLIGENT PEOPLE, POLICE OFFICERS or DETECTIVES, MECHANICS, CLEANERS or MANAGERS. In each of these conceptualizations there is a different focus in the protection strategy. On the other hand, backup programs operate if antivirus programs fail, resulting in the damage or disappearance of computer documents, so in their conceptualization the focus is on repair since damage has already been done. Thus, backup programs are MECHANICS, as well as PEOPLE WHO REGAIN POSSESSIONS (since HAVING IS HOLDING) or MOVE POSSESSIONS UP (since WHAT IS UP EXISTS). Also, backup programs BRING LIGHT, because WHAT IS VISIBLE and AVAILABLE IS LIT.

Since the analysis encompasses promotional texts in the period from 2009 to 2011 as well as those in the year 2020, i.e. 10 years later, it is interesting to note that the most recent texts from 2020 utilize new conceptualizations in which antivirus programs are presented as SECURITY GUARDS and DETECTIVES, which implies the rise in cyber-crime in the last ten years. In addition to this, antivirus programs are presented as MANAGERS monitoring work, which, again, is in line with the development of management as a profession. As the information technology domain is growing and advancing, and as the range of computer users is extending, we can expect more intriguing conceptualizations of antivirus and backup programs in the future to be created for their potential users, i.e. buyers.

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Соња Филиповић Ковачевић

КОНЦЕПТУАЛИЗАЦИЈА АНТИВИРУСНИХ И БЕКАП КОМПЈУТЕРСКИХ ПРОГРАМА У ЕНГЛЕСКОМ ЈЕЗИКУ

Резиме

У овом раду когнтивнолингвистички конструкт појмовне метафоре (Lejкоф и Џонсон, 1980/2003) користи се као основни теоријски оквир у анализи и објашњавању начина на које се концептуализују антивирусни и бекап компјутерски програми у промотивним текстовима и рекламама у регистру информационих технологија. Компјутерски производи у рекламама на енглеском језику често се представљају индиректно, уз упућивање на потпуно неповезане домене искуства, те је овде примењена теорија појмовне метафоре како би се објаснио уочени феномен. Главни циљ истраживања био је установити појмовне метафоре које доминирају у назначеним текстовима и објаснити које се карактеристике програма на овај начин смишљено истичу. Проучавани су антивирусни и бекап програми, који имају сличне, али ипак различите функције. Резултати анализе показују да се уопштено говорећи експлоатишу појмови опасности, заштите, чувања или поправке, који се конкретизују кроз појмовне метафоре с различитим изворним доменима у зависности од тога која карактеристика производа се жели посебно истаћи. Констатоване су следеће појмовне метафоре: антивирусни програм је лекар/лек, антивирусни програм је бранилац, антивирусни програм је чувар, антивирусни програм је

ИНТЕЛИГЕНТАН ЧОВЕК, АНТИВИРУСНИ ПРОГРАМ ЈЕ ПОЛИЦАЈАЦ/ДЕТЕКТИВ, АНТИВИРУСНИ ПРОГРАМ ЈЕ МАЈСТОР, АНТИВИРУСНИ ПРОГРАМ ЈЕ ЧИСТАЧ, АНТИВИРУСНИ ПРОГРАМ ЈЕ МЕНАЏЕР, БЕКАП ПРОГРАМ ЈЕ ЧОВЕК КОЈИ ВРАЋА ИМОВИНУ, БЕКАП ПРОГРАМ ЈЕ ЧОВЕК КОЈИ ПОДИЖЕ ИМОВИНУ, БЕКАП ПРОГРАМ ЈЕ ЧУВАР, БЕКАП ПРОГРАМ ЈЕ ДУХ, БЕКАП ПРОГРАМ УНОСИ СВЕТЛОСТ. Поред овога, из сваке од ових метафора констатоване су и метафоричке импликације у вези са концептуализацијом компјутера, интернета, компјутерских вируса и супротстављања вирусима, што, на крају, чини групе метафора окупљене око истог изворног домена. Антивирусни програми имају задатак да зауставе вирусе *док* нападају или *пре* него што нападну. Стога, појмовне метафоре најчешће наглашавају *превенцију*, која се концептуализује као ЛЕЧЕЊЕ, ОДБРАНА, ПРОВЕРА, ОПРЕЗНОСТ или УПРАВЉАЊЕ, тј. МЕНАЏЕРИСАЊЕ. С друге стране, бекап програми се активирају ако антивирусни програми не обаве свој задатак, а као резултат тога нестану документи. Стога, у овим појмовним метафорама акценат је на *поправци*, јер је штета већ нанета. Тако, бекап програми су МАЈСТОРИ, или ЉУДИ КОЈИ ВРАЋАЈУ ОНО ШТО ИМ ПРИПАДА (јер ИМАТИ ЈЕ ДРЖАТИ) или КОЈИ ПОМЕРАЈУ СТВАРИ КА ГОРЕ (јер ОНО ШТО ЈЕ ГОРЕ ПОСТОЈИ). Такође, присутне су и метафоре у вези са светлом, јер ОНО ШТО ЈЕ УОЧЉИВО И УПОТРЕБЉИВО ЈЕ СВЕТЛО. Будући да се анализа спроводи на текстовима из периода од 2009. до 2011. и онима из 2020., тј. десетак година касније, интересантно је приметити да се у новим изучаваним текстовима из 2020. године појављују нове концептуализације у којима се антивирусни програми представљају као ЧУВАРИ и ДЕТЕКТИВИ, што говори о порасту сајбер-криминала за последњих десет година; представљају се и као МЕНАЏЕРИ, који будно прате посао, што је, опет, у складу са развојем менаџерства као занимања.

Кључне речи: компјутери, антивирусни програми, бекап програми, ОПАСНОСТ, ЗАШТИТА, ЧУВАЊЕ, појмовна метафора.

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MINIMALISM AND GENDER IN ANN BEATTIE'S *WALKS WITH MEN*

Although the term "minimalism" defies an all-encompassing definition, it seems that various "minimalisms" share some common features, such as the interrogation of the limits of the art. Minimalism in fiction rejects those customary conventions which turn realism into a system of literary artifice: according to American novelist John Barth, minimalist fiction is terse, oblique, extrospective and slightly-plotted, its practitioners (such as Raymond Carver and Frederick Barthelme) being called "the sullen nephews of Hemingway and Chandler". The paper focuses on *Walks with Men* (2010), a recent novel by Ann Beattie, who is probably the best representative of the minimalist fiction written by women. Being protean in its manifestations, literary minimalism is also tightly connected to the visual aspects of the narrative, as will be shown in Beattie's work, mostly by contrasting her male and female characters and their understanding of failures in private and professional life. Unlike Raymond Carver, who dealt with blue-collar workers and their so called low-rent tragedies, Beattie focuses on the New York white upper middle class, dealing with her characters' grieves, pleasures and fears with a mixture of empathy and irony. Gender representations are tightly connected to the setting, tone and narrative strategies of the author, heavily influenced by her hidden agenda to show more by saying less.

Keywords: gender, women's writing, postmodernism, minimalism

Defined as an aesthetic impulse towards reduction, minimalism in art and literature focuses on careful observation. One of the highly acclaimed American novelists and short story writers, Ann Beattie (1947) often describes the anxieties of single women – or women feeling single – using the tenets of minimalism. With their double standards, observed in the fact that they struggle against singledom yet recognize its advantages, Beattie's female characters anticipate the postfeminist ideology of the nineties, which also calls for a toned-down narrative technique, stripped off all the ornaments traditional realism would require. Her style mimics the impassivity of her characters, which have passed from their youthful anomie in the 1970's to the struggling with the middle age in the first decade of the 21th century. In recent years, Beattie has invested a considerable effort to make the transition from her early, widely imitated style of elliptical nar-

ratives free of authorial comment but filled with contemporary details and bright fragments of dialogue, to a more introspective and carefully plotted approach.

Praised as a careful observer of the urban landscape and intimate relationships that are presented in sharp detail and followed by an open-ended resolution, Ann Beattie is ready to take any formal risk, especially in her earlier carrier, which was marked by an instant success. The characters in her stories written during the eighties and the nineties seem almost unable to communicate, too fragile and inarticulate to handle the duress they are exposed to. The endings of the stories used to be more tenuous and risky to the point of causing confusion. In spite of being spare and reductive, Beattie's stories were met with critical acclaim, unlike her novels, which somehow failed to apply the reductive elements of minimalism which were effective in short narrative forms. Her stories written in the 21st century tend to be more developed, the characters and emotions richer, whereas the writing becomes more subtle and detailed. However, Beattie's fictional concerns have remained constant over the years and the agents of her stories are often similar: either divorced or on their way to divorce, not quite sure of life or of themselves, sensitive and unable to be self-reliant. Relationships have always been central in Beattie's fiction, while all her stories scope remained tightly focused on the ordinary desperation of middle-class lives.

Beattie treats her characters in a uniform way, regardless of gender: what some critics call "beattiesque", "Beattieland", or "the Beattie generation" is actually a paradigm which does not recognize gender. According to William Deresiewitz (Deresiewitz, 2011), her characters are

> Self-involved stoners, serial wives, absentee parents, would-be hippies, women trapped not in domesticity but outside it—stunted, stunned, impulsive, lost; hungry for love but unable to give it. People without families, without contexts, without enduring relationships, without anything at all to hold them in place. People yearning to escape, then yearning to escape their escape. People who needed to feel unique and ended up making themselves completely typical. People who couldn't grasp what was happening to them, even though they were the ones who were doing it (Deresiewitz, 2011).

Referring to Beattie's career, Deresiewitz makes an interesting comparison with Bob Dylan: "She reminds me of Bob Dylan. Both exploded on the scene with a talent that seemed fully formed. Both created works of perfect purity, efficiency, tact. Both seemed to speak, however unwillingly, for a generation. Both produced and developed at a phenomenal pace. And both, after holding the stage for a number of years, had nowhere to go but down." (Deresiewitz, 2011).

Yet, Deresiewitz argues that Beattie's stories are completely contemporary, regardless of the fact that her early work is identifiable as belonging to a certain age. The errors and patterns of Beattie's characters, their selfishness, foolishness, self-pity and cowardice, belong to the present times as much as they

seemed to be the trademark of the baby boom generation. Ann Beattie seems to have become a storyteller who exposes her characters' unwillingness not only to discuss their problems, but even to contemplate about them, and that reluctance to involve into solitary appreciation has become one of the outstanding features of the new era of media saturation. As a result of this lack of insight, Beattie's characters cling to sudden revelations which equally border on epiphany and triviality. One of her most popular stories, "The Burning House", is a clear example of this. At the very end of the story, an estranged husband tells to his wife about the difference between men and women: "But your whole life you've made one mistake—you've surrounded yourself with men. Let me tell you something. (...) Men think they're Spider-Man and Buck Rogers and Superman. You know what we all feel inside that you don't feel? That we're going to the stars." (Ann Beattie, "The Burning House").

This speech delivered by a man is the famous ending of the story, to which Beattie has to add her personal note: "Women come up to me at readings and they have that speech cut out and it's in their wallets where they used to have pictures of their husbands and children" (Cox, 2011). The speech reveals much both about minimalism and gender: both are about something missing, and both try to compensate for the deficiencies. Minimalism leaves a lot unspoken, as the gender roles are usually created with the objective to compensate for the power and influence that are inscribed in the social roles men and women play, or fail to play. We will try to see if the greatest part of what remains unspoken concerns the unbridgeable gulf between men and women, and if this gulf is really hopeless.

"The Burning House" is told from the point of view of Amy and focuses on her complicated and controversial relationships with men. She tells all the secrets to her gay brother-in-law who is also her best friend, although stubbornly loyal to his brother. Amy's husband Frank is having an affair and plans to leave her, but during the story we learn that she has also taken a lover. Frank tells Amy that her biggest mistake in life was surrounding herself with men, thus indicating that she is alienated, with no one to talk to or open up to. As the story unfolds, we discover many other unspoken secrets that keep the house together, but they do not add up to intimacy. Amy is painfully aware of this: "I've known these people for years… But all those moments, and all they meant was that I was fooled into thinking I knew these people because I knew the small things, the personal things." Much remains hidden and unspoken, and the story ends in the sadness of an unpredicted loss. This loss is caused by inability to reflect and fully engage in the necessary perils of emotional relations.

The course of Ann Beattie's career is more or less familiar to the devoted readers. She gained attention in the early 1970s with the short stories published in *The New Yorker* magazine, and became best known as an ironic and witty chronicler of the upper-middle-class generation that came of age in the 1960s. In her later work, especially from the beginning of the 1990s onwards, she largely

concentrates on the same generation of New Englanders – grown older, prone to rumination, but not happier or calmer after having led uneventful lives. Beattie is sometimes called a compiler of trivia and a voice of the baby boomers, since she writes about the post-hippie generation's inability to cope with changes and risks in everyday life, but the traits she focuses on has become far more universal than it seemed in the 70s and 80s. Ranges of characters and situations in her short stories become more intriguing as we observe their repetitiveness and the ways they change in time. The motives such as divorce, adultery and abortion are almost obligatory in Beattie's early stories, together with the inconspicuous symbolism of objects and rituals such as the poison ivy in the novel *Falling in Place* and the story "The Second Question", or tweezing eyebrows to make eyes look bigger in *Falling in Place* and *Chilly Scenes of Winter*. Beattie uses musical or visual leitmotifs to open her protagonists' hearts to us, thus creating a distinctive kind of selective objective correlatives. These correlatives and their functions are largely dependent on the reader's sensibility and susceptibility. In search for an appropriate narrative technique to match her matter-of-factly focus upon banal details of contemporary popular culture, Ann Beattie has developed an ascetic, seemingly impoverished style of short flat sentences and non-sequiturs. Her story-telling is fragmentary and economic, regularly lacking a central theme, consistent characterization and a clear time-scheme. Still, a careful craftsmanship, profound insight and emotional depth relate her to the masters of realism such as Jane Austen or Henry James: the only difference is that Beattie uses much less than they do to say much more. Juxtaposition, montage effects and the prevalence of exposition connect Beattie's short stories to silver screen narratives more than to her contemporaries who are keen on detailed descriptions and verbosity.

Exceedingly shrewd perception and vivid imagination of Beattie's characters serve both to depict a person and narrate the story. What Beattie's storytelling shares with film narrative is not only the short cuts effect, snapshots, or juggling with urban eccentricities and brand names, but also the strategies of storytelling. Her subtle use of musical and visual leitmotifs as cues to her characters' state of mind is rare in contemporary fiction. The recurring song in the novel *Falling in Place*, Blondie's "Heart of Glass", signals the protagonists' emotional fragility, whereas "As Tears Go By" sung by the coarse voice of Marianne Faithfull which opens the novel *Another You* predicts the downfall of the main character. By the end of *Another You*, the main hero is watching the film version of Harold Pinter's "The Betrayal", a story of a love triangle where the author uses reverse chronology in structuring the plot. Beattie's character finds an equivalent for the mess of his life in the celluloid love story told backwards.

Loneliness is hitting hard upon Beattie's female characters even when they seem to be basking in bliss. Seemingly strong and composed, but fragile and vulnerable on the inside, they are trapped by their own indecisiveness and listlessness. Their quirky combination of inhibition and detachment has antici-

pated the single women featured in the high-rated TV shows such as "Sex and the City" and "Ally McBeal". Beattie's and the TV show characters reject the notions of sisterhood and collective values, more or less overtly. This could be taken as a thoroughly postfeminist attitude, were this hesitation to go with the flow less the matter of anxiety than the matter of choice.

All Beattie's characters are ready to choose the lesser evil, turning their lives into an endless sequence of neurotic hesitation to comply with their own wishes, as well as into an unseen reaching out to the world. The lives of the characters revolve around the inexplicable hesitation to pursue their goals. Unable to change, take risks and make sacrifices, they choose *status quo* resulting in lethargy and emotional stupor, obsessively attached to their dogs, plants, privileged objects or bizarre rituals, and thus finding relief in bonding to non-human – that is, non-demanding – things. The same as the constant droning of TV in Raymond Carver's stories becomes a perfect excuse not to communicate, Beattie's characters seek refuge from emotional misfortunes in becoming attached to privileged objects or their pets.

The most striking example of a privileged object turning into a powerful symbol is found in "Janus", the story of a bowl which becomes both a lucky charm and a sad reminder for its owner. The real estate agent Andrea got the enticing object from her ex-lover, and she keeps this present only because she did not dare keep the relationship. She never parts with the bowl: it is either on her coffee table, or carefully placed in the houses which she shows to prospective buyers, in order to make them intrigued and trick them into purchasing the estate. Being the symbol of Andrea's hollow and empty life, the bowl is also a magic reminiscence she needs to keep on living.

Another example refers to a more personal object: a pearl necklace. After breaking up with her married lover, a nameless hand model going under the nickname Rac (short for raccoon) from the story "The Second Question" starts taking care of a dying friend. She is on easier terms with death than with truth: when the pearl necklace of her lover's wife she was wearing broke during a sexual intercourse, Rac swallowed several pearls so that the necklace would not be the same length when restrung. She wanted to warn her rival of the imminent change: however, the message of "breaking bonds" did not get through. "The Second Question" and "Janus" demonstrate the importance of visual cues: while the bowl is represented as a Holy Grail of inexplicable power, the pearl necklace invokes the conflicting images of binding and bonding.

The story "Where You'll Find Me" is narrated by a nameless woman in her late thirties, whose splendid isolation invokes the issue singledom that will become hype in the 1990s, at least in the respect of sad ironic tone and quirky metaphors she uses to introduce herself:

> Friends keep calling my broken arm a broken wing. It's the left arm, now folded against my chest and kept in place with a blue scarf sling that is knotted behind my neck, and it weighs too much ever to have been wing like. The accident happened when I ran

for a bus. I tried to stop it from pulling away by shaking my shopping bags like maracas in the air, and that's when I slipped on the ice and went down (Beattie, 1986: 185).

After this telling image has seeped in, the character can use our knowledge of the episode and her acknowledged fear of balance to cast an ironic image of herself: "I am a thirty-eight-year-old woman, out of a job, on tenuous enough footing with her sometime lover that she can imagine crashing emotionally as easily as she did on the ice." (Beattie, 1986: 188). However, this ironic self-introduction can never be far from self-pity. While her seeming stronger and more energetic brother Howard helps her to put her coat on, she feels helpless and vulnerable, invoking the initial metaphor again: she feels "like a bird with a cloth draped over its cage for the night. This makes me sorry for myself, and then I *do* think of my arm as a broken wing, and suddenly everything seems so sad that I feel my eyes well up with tears." (Beattie, 1986: 188).

Encouraged by Howard to confide something in him as teenage girls do, this wounded bird tells of a romantic San Francisco episode. A man who kept gazing at her in a restaurant left his card in her hotel and several identical messages: "Who are you? Please call." She does not respond, but keeps the card. A couple of months later, she sends her photograph to the unknown admirer, leaving no return address. She equals her experience of sudden and inexplicable emotional intensity to the effects a "bad movie" produces, whereas passionate, impulsive and incurably romantic Howard asks her not to let the man slip away. Whether for fear or indifference, she sticks to a non-romantic explanation: a "magic encounter" might not be more than an unsuccessful one-night stand. Thus singledom becomes a privileged position of manipulating the fantasy of others: however, the character's fear of commitment strikes the readers as more saddening than they would have expected.

Howard's sister decides to keep the card of the man who is never going to find her. She prefers the suspension of the romantic encounter over the suspense of a secret love-affair, and her reluctance to take emotional risks seems good enough to wrap up the narrative. However, the story takes an unexpected turn: Howard confesses having a passionate affair with his friend's student. Seemingly more romantic than his sister, he turns out to be less responsible: the affair is bound to complicate his otherwise hectic life with a mother of two whom he met on a blind date and quickly moved in with. Thus emerges a pattern of a reckless emotional behaviour disguised by romantic idealism, which casts a different light upon the life choices of Howard's sister. The focus of the narrative has suddenly moved from the discretion of the single girl to the failings of the partnership.

This change of focus is quite common in Beattie's stories, and the critics have noticed her narration of double intention: "Beattie's female speakers are telling stories with value, self-assertion, and closure. But they puzzle the readers because they tell two stories at once: the open story of the objective, detailed present is juxtaposed with a closed story of the subjective past, a story the speaker tries hard not to tell." (McKinstry, 1987: 111-112). Whereas the narrators of

"The Second Question" and "Janus" tell the stories of other people or inanimate objects in order to forget about their own loneliness, the experience of the female narrator in "Where You'll Find Me" serves as a backdrop for the story of her brother's emotional disorder. Beattie's single girls dread new commitments, but also the possibility of hurting other people. Passive and cowardly they may be, they act as responsible and mature persons.

On the surface, the female characters tell one story of objective present, but beneath it, they either struggle to come to terms with their emotional past. In his article "The Shock of Unrecognition", Anatol Broyard admitted that after reading Beattie's stories he felt "like a psychiatrist at the end of a hard day": "I would like to run out and hug the first stodgy person I can find. I am beginning to feel like an alarmed ecologist of personality." (Broyard 1976: 27). The "Beattie people" constitute a strange lot that makes us wonder whether a certain ecology of human relationships is indeed necessary. Unable to change, reluctant to take risks and incapable of draining the cup of experience, these characters choose status quo and emotional stupor which are both alarming and painful. The anomie of her characters resulted in Beattie's writing accused of being bland, unengaging, her stories are criticized for being plotless, and themes and situations considered all too repetitive.

Mixed reviews of Beattie's novel *Walks with Men* might prove that minimalism has come to the end of its powers, but that it still has helped articulating new gender anxieties.With her much praised collection of stories *Follies* Beattie finally invents a newly flexible voice that reflects both her patented gift for social observation and her more recent interest in her characters' inner lives, a voice that allows her to move fluently back and forth in time, back and forth from memory to rumination. While her earliest characters tended to live resolutely in the present tense, refusing to connect the dots from their pasts, the people described in *Follies* are in the position of looking back over the receding landscape of their lives and reconsidering their choices and mistakes. They still have time to reinvent their lives, but they are acutely aware of the ticking clock and life's unexpected twists, so that their youthful anomie does not take a revolutionary turn. Some of these people lead solitary existences, unable or unwilling to connect, while others are captured by their everyday routine, such as aging parents, estranged spouses and stubborn children. There is an intense awareness that the family ties cannot alleviate the sense of alienation and loss.

As her characters have grown older and more aware of the passage of time, the theme of random and precarious nature of life has become more prominent in Beattie's new stories. Accidents and unexplained events, as well as Beattie's unwillingness to explain or connect events has turned into a hallmark of her style. The author's minimalism became more focused on reducing the plot than minimizing the characters. The best example of the newly acquired plot random-

ness is offered in the lengthy novella "Follies", which tells of a car accident that brings together a middle-aged CIA operative and a nurse in an assisted-living facility: she hires him for a task that will lead to his unexpected death, which will remain unknown to his girlfriend and his partner. In "Just Going Out," two children who are being brought up by their uncle in Minneapolis become involved in a menacing e-mail exchange with a young, mentally disturbed filmmaker from New York; years later, one of them has a chance encounter with a woman who was exploited by the same man. Almost all the stories from *Follies* show that even the problems of a less spectacular kind can result in devastating consequences. Either an insecure and heart-broken woman of fifty witnesses her mother's slide into dementia, or a young woman sees her carefully planned party turned into disaster. Beattie manages to capture irony and sadnesses of living a lonely life, and carefully maps the emotional faults of her characters, who can all be accused of living an improvised life.

Set in the early '80s, Beattie's latest novel *Walks with Men* is a variation of the Faustian motive of the devil and his disciple. A young literarily inclined woman, named Jane, meets an older man who teaches her how to be clued-in and refined, deliberately tricking her that artistic taste is all. "In 1980, in New York, I met a man who promised me he would change my life, if only I'd let him. The deal was this: he'd tell me anything, *anything*, as long as the information went unattributed." (Beattie 2010: 1). In short, Jane Jay Costner, a summa cum laude from Harvard, lets Neil, a professor at Barnard, change her life. Because Jane thinks knowing about men will "give [her] information about the way I could make a life for myself" (Beattie 2010: 1), she agrees to Neil's terms: she will not tell anyone he is the source of her new taste and sophistication, not even her boyfriend in Vermont. When she decides to break up with her boyfriend Ben, she tells him: "I know this is going to be hard for you to believe, but I met a man in New York. He's everything we hate: a professor who sounds professorial; somebody who writes for the mainstream press. But I've fallen in love." (Beattie 2010: 10). Neil thus becomes a role model of patriarchy that promises power and freedom, but catches Jane in the web of dependency and subjection instead.

Neil promises to share his wisdom about men and the ways of the world with Jane, but as it happens in all Faustian stories, the promised chunks of wisdom for which Jane trades her body and her inner peace turn out to be quite superficial, bizarre and more or less useless. Yet she believes Neil when he tells her "that purchasing only the finest brands or shopping at thrift shops was the only way to acquire things – anything in between was bourgeois and pathetic" (Beattie 2010: 12-13). He also instructs her that "only dumb people bought cars instead of leasing them; crystal wineglasses were for morning orange juice, and grappa was best sipped from the bottle; Turgenev was a greater writer than Dostoyevski" (Beattie 2010: 13). Some of Neil's tips are difficult to comprehend: "Don't use hair conditioner", he says; "Electricity is sexy. When your hair falls

forward, it reaches out. It lets me know some part of you wants something." By "revealing" to Jane that asparagus are the best vegetable or that she should wear only raincoats made in England, Neil turns into a cruel parody of male authority. Jane's lover (and later husband) is nothing but a pompous pedant full of specific suggestions about how to live a better life, and the reader is puzzled with the fact that she needs a very long period of time to understand that he is only superficial and snobbish. If Jane learns anything by the book's end, it is the fact that any human experience can undo such guidance.

The greatest part of the book is focused on Jane's passive acceptance of Neil's guidance and control. She is unable to see through his lame excuses and cowardly lies, and seems to be unnaturally cold and indifferent while narrating about her youthful obsession and illusion. Jane and Neil move into an apartment in not-yet-fashionable Chelsea, and she takes on the role of a dutiful wife who ardently does research about birds in the South to help Neil for a book he is supposedly writing. "I did my research, did my homework, and often went to the movies with friends. Some of them couldn't imagine why I believed Neil was writing every night until dawn (Because he came back to my apartment. We had early-morning sex. He told me writers wrote at night.)." (Beattie 2010: 12). Although Jane seemed to be naive and gullible, she turned out to be unable to compromise with Neil's lies and emotional blackmail. When she discovers he is married, she manages to summon enough will to get herself out the door and sleep on a friend's floor for a couple of weeks. However, one night after too much chardonnay she returns to Neil, wearing a raincoat over her nightgown and ready to accept his proposal.

Walks with Men is a young woman's testimony of a willful subordination to a masculine authority simply because a man promises to make her powerful and knowledgeable. Jane knows that "clichés so often befall vain people" (Beattie 2010: 13), but she never tries to justify her choices. "The '80s were not a time when women had to put up with male tyrants. No woman had to fit herself around a man's schedule. To do so was lazy, as well as demeaning. But I didn't introspect; I didn't ask enough questions." (Beattie 2010: 13). Jane admits that she pretended that whatever she did for Neil was "charming, old-fashioned dutifulness" (Beattie 2010: 13), and the reader is puzzled with her complacency and readiness to accept any condition or situation imposed by the man she was obsessed with. Jane simply registers her blunders and submission, her lack of initiative and excess of faith rather impassionately, with no urge to explain or justify her actions. The fact that she did not ask questions is registered bemusedly, as if the character herself was surprised or bewildered with her own reactions. Beattie's minimalism is thus used to picture a heroine who is painfully numb and a stranger in her own life.

The narrator begins to see through her Henry Higgins early on, for in spite of being naive and passive, she is wise and calm, since she knows she has personality without Neil's instructions; at least she had had a short-lived fame

before she met him. Her rejection of social conventions and denial of gender and social prescriptions is perceived in her early career: "I became something of an overnight sensation, when I was 21, for an interview I gave The New York Times, in which I — one of that year's summa cum laude Harvard graduates — disparaged my Ivy League education, at graduation, in the presence of President Jimmy Carter, and stated my intentions to drop out and move to a farm in Vermont." (Beattie 2010: 4). At first, Jane vacillates between being a rebel and a dutiful old-fashioned woman. She makes a wrong choice and readily tells about it without pain or regret. Jane offers us a flat and indifferent account of her life, making it seem rambling, aimless and without initiative, leaving us to pine for an omniscient glimpse into her soul that might explain her passivity.

The story of a twenty-something woman in New York who falls for a man she knows to be manipulative, was largely criticized for piling on incidents without a connecting thread. In spite of her passive critical insight, Jane seems to be stuck in the role of reflector: when she is alone, she seems dull and passive but when encouraged the men, she becomes witty and insightful. She draws her ambition and motivation from the men in her life and, figuratively speaking, she takes her walks with men because she is too insecure and frightened to walk alone. Jane's emotional paralysis is the result of her inability to be independent, but such a simple issue is difficult to understand because Ann Beattie consistently omits transitions between the dialogue and the action, demanding an unreserved suspension of disbelief. Beattie's refusal to overdetermine her characters and her reluctance to explain their behavior is a hallmark of her style, and one of the reasons she came to be identified as a minimalist. One might think that she chooses minimalism as the best way to present the mystery of human life: she simply shows that things happen in a way that is not always explicable, and her characters try to cope with the unpredictabilities the best they can.

In *Walks With Men* we are pretty much living in a universe of accidents and unexplained events; Beattie's unwillingness to explain or connect becomes radical when she introduces the motif of death. For instance, when Jane's old hippie boyfriend from Vermont whom she had left for Neil, now known as Goodness, comes to the city and visits her, he brings no sudden change or resolution we might expect. Goodness reemerges in Jane's life only to be pushed under the wheels of a subway train. She learns of his grisly death on the evening news, and that is about all. Beattie tells of this death in a cold and detached manner, as if she wanted to accentuate the randomness of life. Discussing Beattie's style, Margaret Atwood argues that: "The detail is casually dropped on the reader's head in passing, not treated with special rhetoric, just there, like a vase or a clock; and it is the evenness of tone used to describe both horrific event and trivial observation alike that accounts perhaps for the eerie, shell-shocked effect of Miss Beattie's prose. By now this is a technique she wields with absolute control." (Atwood, 1982). Atwood understands Beattie's hunger for details as a metaphysical pursuit

of signs: "No one is better at the plangent detail, at evoking the floating, unreal ambiance of grief." (Atwood, 1982).

With their concentration on surfaces and every sentence pared to the bone, the microscopic attention to detail, where every word and punctuation must carry a great deal of weight, minimalists still provoke attention and interest. The ambivalence of the signals this fictional style sends to the world is best seen in an episode from the novel *Falling in Place*: John, an art director of a marketing company, is flipping through an artist's portfolio and "wonders whether or not it was deliberate that one long black hair was stretched across two sample layouts on top of the plastic". John asks his secretary for one of her long blond hairs and puts it where the other one has been, hoping that the rejected artist will notice the substitution and see it as a proof that the editorial duties have been performed. Ann Beattie's fiction is hanging on such a thin line – the readers may observe the small changes, and yet they may not; either they will grasp the meaning, or let it go. The long blond hair here seems to wrap up the limits of minimalism.

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EN BITI, *ŠETNJE S MUŠKARCIMA*: MINIMALIZAM I ROD

Rezime

Minimalizam je još uvek neadekvatno i neprecizno definisan pojam u interpretaciji savremene umetnosti; međutim, prisustvo ovog termina u muzici, likovnom stvaralaštvu, arhitekturi i teoriji pripovedanja ukazuje na isto – na potrebu za svedenošću reprezentacije i odsustvom eksplikacije. U radu se analiziraju osnove minimalističke pripovedne poetike, koju odlikuje ekonomija jezičkog izraza i svođenje klasičnih elemenata pripovedanja kao što su naracija i deskripcija na ekspoziciju vizuelnog sadržaja. Pisci minimalizma pokušavaju da prikažu realnost onakvom kakva u kontinuumu jeste, ne pokušavajući da je intenziviraju kao što čini tradicionalna realistička proza, i odbijaju svako sažimanje i zaoštravanje koje bi pripovedanje učinilo napetim i dramatičnim. Pripadnike ove prozne škole, koja uključuje tako različite pisce kao što su Rejmond Karver, Frederik Bartelmi, Bobi En Mejson i Meri Robinson, duhovito nazivaju "namrgođenim nećacima Ernesta Hemingveja i Rejmonda Čendlera". Minimalistička poetika i njena fokusiranost na vizuelizaciju detalja biće predstavljena na primeru proznog opusa američke književnice En Biti, s akcentom na detaljima iz romana *Šetnje s muškarcima* (Walks with Men, 2010). Usredsređena na seizmografsko beleženje jednolične svakodnevice usamljenih, preosetljivih i često disfunkcionalnih junaka, autorka najčešće opisuje žensko iskustvo i ženski senzibilitet. Bilo da pripovedaju u prvom ili trećem licu, njene junakinje su po pravilu svedoci tuđih kriza i problema, i priče su često sačinjene od nanizanih vizuelnih doživljaja koji odslikavaju ne samo sećanje ili iskustvo, već i odnos prema svetu koji odlikuje uporna pasivizacija junaka. Kratke priče ove autorke odlikuju se doslednom ekonomičnošću izraza u predstavljanju moralne paralize i emotivne pasivnosti junakinja i junaka, a rad će pokušati da odgovori i na pitanje da li se minimalizam, u težnji ka redukciji i suzdržanosti, jednako dosledno realizuje i u predstavljanju rodnih razlika.

Ključne reči: rod, ženska književnost, postmodernizam, minimalizam.

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Snežana Gudurić

LANGUAGES AND CULTURES FROM TWO PERIODS IN A SINGLE TERRITORY OF SERBIA: TWO EXAMPLES

The paper presents, on the one hand, the results of research of Romanophone communities on the territory of Vojvodina; on the other hand, it presents the results of research related to the long-extinct Vinča culture and its language, whose traces were found on the territory of Serbia, but spread over the wider part of present-day South-east Europe, as wider archaeological research shows. In their new homeland, the Romanophone population, regardless of their ethnicity, lost, over time, their language and customs, blending with the language and culture of the environment, although their languages and customs lived on in their native countries. Today, their surnames speak of their origin. The traces of the material culture of the long lost civilization can be found in numerous carvings; whose nature is still a source of dispute between archeologists and paleolinguists: the former argue that the carvings are ornaments and marks (of school or property), while the latter claim the carvings represent a developed script.

Key words: onomastics, Romanophone population, surnames, Vojvodina, Vinča culture, Serbia.

1. INTRODUCTION

Language as a means of communication between people has long been the subject of myth, rather than science; no matter how much linguistics, archeology and genetics nowadays try to combine their data to discover the origin of mankind and their most important means of communication, the origin of language still remains clouded in history. The study of many languages from different parts of the world has shown that there are certain similarities between them, yet also incredible differences. However, this linguistic diversity on Earth is endangered today more than ever in history – some languages are disappearing, alongside the traditional ways of life of the people who spoke them. On the other hand, many minority communities, which most often use the dialects of their national language, are slowly losing their language and customs in multinational environments, blending with the language and culture of the majority population.

Although their languages live on in their native countries, the dialectal features particular to each region where such dialects were spoken are lost forever.

Today, linguistics is trying to record existing languages, speeches and dialects through a series of projects that include both making audio recordings and describing idioms that are used by ever fewer people today.[1]

Ancient civilizations, in addition to the significant number of monuments in the form of various buildings (pyramids, temples, arenas, palaces and other types of buildings), decorative and everyday objects (vases, jars, containers for storing and preparing food), weapons or underground tombs, also left us with a considerable amount of inscriptions on stone, brick, leather, fabric and papyrus, and also on paper – from a later period. From everything that has reached us, and above all from the available inscriptions, we can draw quite reliable conclusions about individual languages as systems, their structure and vocabulary. However, the spoken nature of the languages used by these ancient peoples remains at the level of more or less supported assumptions. A graphic image or inscription can help, but the question remains how reliable it is[2]. Owing to Champollion, we can read hieroglyphs today; Evans and Chadwick enabled us to uncover the secrets of Linear B, but the question of Linear A remains open, as well as of some other scripts and languages that represent both mystery and challenge to this very day.

2. THE FATE OF WESTERN ROMANCE COMMUNITIES IN VOJVODINA

The territory of today's Serbia is equally interesting for the study of minority languages and the research related to languages and civilizations lost in the fog of distant history.

If we take a look at the linguistic and cultural image of modern Serbia, we cannot escape the impression that this is a specifically shaped mosaic of nations, traditions and languages, which have lived for centuries in a single geographical space, but with different political borders through the ages. With Albanians and Gorani in the south, Bulgarians and Vlachs in the east, Hungarians, Romanians, Slovaks and Ruthenians in the north, and the members of the former constituent

[1] Based on their endangerment, languages are divided into three major groups (Comrie et al. 2004: 13): a) extinct languages (no living speakers), b) endangered languages (there are living speakers, but younger generations learn them less and less from their parents - they will disappear in one or two generations; the possibility of learning from grandparents) and c) living languages (younger generations adopt them naturally).
According to Michael Krauss (Language, 1992), in a hundred years, 90% of the languages spoken on the planet today (about 6,000) will be either dead or have the status of dying.)

[2] Compare modern fr. *oiseau* or eng. *enough* whose graphic images whose graphic images do not refer directly to the corresponding acoustic images.

peoples of the former Yugoslavia scattered throughout the country, Serbia today can be proud to have something no other European country has: a six-language parliament in one of its provinces - Vojvodina. Of course, in addition to the members of the most significant communities listed here, there are others (Germans, Czechs, Ukrainians, Turks...), which are few today, but which still, to a greater or lesser extent, preserve their language and customs (Kicošev, Njegovan 2010).

This ethnic image of Serbia is primarily a result of economic, political and historical factors in the late 17th a 18th century (migration of Serbs, colonization, flight of poor Romanian peasants from the north across the Danube to the south of Serbia, planned settlement of areas under Turkish rule by Christians…).

Many pages have been written about each of these peoples, their languages, traditions and culture, as well as about their interaction, and there is a relatively abundant literature on this.[3] However, in our case, we are interested in the communities that are less known, which used to be important in this area at one time, but which as a whole failed to resist the processes of assimilation. It is about the West Romance population that arrived in these parts during the colonization that the Austro-Hungarian monarchy carried out in a planned manner throughout the 18th century, with the aim of strengthening the southern borders of the empire, primarily with the German national element. Besides the Germans, however, the Romanophone population also came to this area: Italians, French and Spaniards.[4]

The settlement of the Romance population in Vojvodina was mainly explored by historians and ethnographers; from the linguistic point of view, the Romanophone settlers were the subject of research by Nicolaus Hess[5] i Georges Rebattet[6], as well as Milorad Arsenijević, who gave the greatest contribution to the study of names of Romance origin in the northern Serbian province.[7] The French people in Banat were also described by André Rosambert[8], who visited the former French villages in the region of Banat after the Second World War and published several papers on the subject, the most important of which was

[3] Certainly, the most significant works were created within the projects of various institutes of SASA, especially the Institute for Balkan Studies and the Institute for the Serbian Language.

[4] Although Romanians are the most numerous Romance group in Vojvodina, we will not deal with the issue of Romanian names in this paper, since it is a Balkan Romance people, not Western.

[5] He dealt particularly with toponymy; he wrote two articles about the three French villages. See References.

[6] The cultural advisor of the French Embassy in Belgrade in the 1960s; he was especially interested in patronymics and anthroponyms, but the results of his research were never published.

[7] He conducted research within the European project PATROM; he wrote and defended his doctoral dissertation on Italian and Western Romance surnames in Vojvodina. See References.

[8] André Rosambert, academician and professor at the University of Nanc

certainly the one published in 1952 under the title *Émigrations et implantations occidentales en Europe sudorientale*[9].

This paper is a synthesis of the results obtained by previous researchers, supplemented by new data collected in the regions of Bačka and Srem during the first decade.[10]

The Romance population began to arrive in southern Hungary as planned at the beginning of the 18th century, as part of the first colonization.[11] In that first wave, the most numerous colonists were the Germans from the western areas of the German Empire; Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, French and Italians arrived in a slightly smaller number, whereas Spaniards were the fewest (Kicošev, Njegovan 2010: 16). The second colonization, which was also the strongest in terms of the number of colonists that arrived, took place during the reign of Maria Theresa[12], and the third during the reign of Franz Joseph. Although the arrival of individuals or entire families of Romance origin in these areas was recorded in later years, this influx of population did not have the character of organized settlement and did not leave deeper traces in the onomastics of this area.

Historical sources are rather scarce and today it is not possible to establish the exact number of the French colonists, but according to the preserved archives and indirect sources, they were most numerous in Bela Crkva and Gudurica, while the other places where they arrived nowadays belong to Romania. Another circumstance influenced the fact that we cannot say with certainty how many French colonists were involved during the Carolingian colonization – apart from being brought by the state, the colonists were also brought by large landowners, often behind the back of the state administration. However, the fact is that the French, who arrived during this particular period, were scattered in many villages in Vojvodina, most of them being in Banat.[13]

The Italians who arrived in the first wave were few, as well as the Spaniards who began to settle in Banat in early December 1735[14], with the recorded

[9] For his work, Rosambert also received a special charter from Pope Pius XII as a sign of gratitude for research related to the easternmost distribution of the French in Europe.

[10] The data were collected during visits to families in the villages and towns of Bačka and Srem, in new telephone directories, in the press, lists of students at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad, and tombstones.

[11] The so-called *Carolingian* (named after Emperor Charles VI), which began after the withdrawal of the Turks and the signing of The Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718 and lasted until the Austro-Turkish War of 1736-1739.

[12] Between 1745 and 1772, it was named Teresian after Maria Theresa.

[13] In 1725, the French *Boisse* family, Germanized to *Boas*, settled in the White Church, then in 1731, the Maçon family, Germanized to *Massjung*, *Massio*, *Mason*, and in the same year, the *Duchon* / *Duschon* family.

[14] The Spanish colonists came to Austria-Hungary at the time when Austria lost Sicily and Naples (1714-1715). The supporters of the Habsburgs who performed military and administrative services, as well as the beneficiaries of Austro-Hungarian pensions and other privileges, moved

arrival of the families Serano, Estri, Perez, Oliva, Formosa, Baquer, Salazar, Rodriguez, Andres, Calo, Calon, Carreras, Ferre, Lopez, Garcia, Marcos, Martinez, Medina, Mora de Murcia, Navarra, Rivas, Sanchez... (Arsenijević 1991: 17). As the Spaniards continued with their customs, which the neighbouring population considered strange, the Land Administration, with the consent of Vienna, decided to settle them in one place, for which they chose the town of Becskerek (Zrenjanin). They designated the area for the new settlement and specified the size of the houses and the layout of the rooms, the space between the houses, the location of the economic buildings, etc. They even determined the name of the future town – *La Nueva Barcelona*.[15] However, the new war with the Turks and the unhealthy air in Banat did not please the Spaniards, so most families decided to leave their new town and settle in Buda and Pest, where a significant Spanish community was founded. Those who remained were scattered throughout the villages and mingled with the rest of the population. They lost their language and customs and completely assimilated with the local population, adapting their habits, customs and names to their German or Hungarian neighborhood (Mileker 1886: 12, Jankulov 1961). The name *La Nueva Barcelona* remained until the end of the 19th century, when the settlement was renamed *Little America*, after the emigrants returning from America.

During the second colonization, which was carried out alternately by the imperial authorities and landowners, the most successful was a Johann Oswald, who managed to bring about 1,600 people from Lorraine[16], Trier, Mainz and Luxembourg to Banat. According to Dr. Schiff of Mercidorf[17], there were 18% Germans, 58% French and a total of 24% Italians and Spaniards (Rosambert 1952: 53). During this period, three villages were built in Banat for the French colonists: *Saint-Hubert*, *Charleville* and *Seultour*.[18] The first and second villages were named after the villages around Metz from which the colonists came, and

to Vienna and Buda following the Austro-Hungarian authorities. A new wave of Spanish refugees from Naples and Sicily set out for Vienna in 1733 (the beginning of The War of the Polish Succession). Originally well received, the Spaniards, unable to adapt to a different climate, mentality, way of life and increasingly difficult financial situation, came into conflict with the Viennese authorities, who decided to move them to Banat. At the beginning of December 1735, 74 families of Spanish origin and a few Italians arrived in Pančevo, from where some were displaced to other Banat municipalities, including Vršac, Timișoara (Romania) and Bela Crkva.

[15] Catalan: *nova*.

[16] Extremely difficult life in Lorraine, high taxes, floods, lack of food, as well as recruitment and mobilization in the Seven Years' War, have influenced many Lorrainians' decision to leave this area. The wave of emigration was so great that on 1 June, 1769, the French authorities made a decision to ban expatriation (Stanglica 1935 in Arsenijević 1992: 23).

[17] Today in Romania.

[18] The French also settled in mixed Franco-German communities, e.g. in Novi Kozarci and Bogaroš.

the third after the lonely tower (*seule tour*) around which a new settlement was built. Initially, the French community had their own school and church, but the third generation of French, under strong pressure from their neighbors, at first Germans and later on Hungarians, completely lost their customs and language, only to be blended in with their German or Hungarian environment in the following generations. This was especially facilitated by the fact that almost all of the colonized French were very poorly educated, most of them even being completely illiterate, and the administrative affairs were managed by their German or Hungarian neighbours. The three French settlements constitute what is today Banatsko Veliko Selo, and the memory of the former three French villages is preserved by the names of certain parts of this settlement, adapted to the pronunciation of the modern Serbian language: *Sveti Hubert*, *Šarlevil* and *Soltur*.The third colonization brought a lot of Italians and a negligible number of French. The latter settled in Plandište (Zichydorf), especially the Lorrainians, Luxemburgers and Burgundians, and this village was called Mormintyé around 1861 (Arsenijević 1992: 30); they also settled in Banatski Brestovac (Brestowatz) and Orcydorf, today known as Ordijeva pustara.

The presence of Italians in this area became more significant only after this third colonization. Namely, the first group of Italians, who arrived with the Spaniards during the first colonization, came from the south of the Apennine Peninsula. The Italians who arrived at the end of the 18th century were a very desirable ethnic group that was purposely and systematically brought from Veneto, Lombardy, Friuli, and even from Emilia-Romagna. The emigration particularly affected the provinces of Trento and Alto Adige. The Italians were especially interesting to the Viennese authorities because of their exceptional skill in growing silkworms. In addition to silk production, the Italians proved to be skilled in growing rice in the Banat wetlands, as well as in raising almond and olive groves (Arsenijević 1992: 31-32, Kicošev, Njegovan 20010: 18). Although they were mostly scattered in the villages, significant groups of Italians lived in the cities where industry was being developed: in Vršac, Bela Crkva, Mercidorf, and primarily in Timișoara, with a purely Italian neigbourhood, which is still called Timișoara-Factory.

Vojvodina experienced another wave of Italian immigrants – it was in the 19th century, at a time when many Italians were brought with their entire families for the needs of building railways.[19]

If we make a review of all the three colonizations, we come to an approximate number of the Romanophone settlers: about 35,000 French, between 5,000 and 7,000 Spaniards and between 5,000 and 10,000 Italians (Arsenijević 2001: 35). All this Romanophone population blended over time with the Germans,

[19] About 100 such families came to the Vršac area alone (Arsenijević 2001: 33).

Hungarians and rarely Serbs (due to religious incompatibility). Concerning the French, the process of assimilation lasted a bit longer, since they lived in ethnically compact villages, where a few elderly residents could be found praying in French in the late 19th century. (Hess 1928: 198-201, Arsenijević 2001: 35)

What has lasted the longest and which today mostly testifies to the existence of Romanophone families in Banat and wider in Vojvodina, are the surnames, which have undergone numerous modifications over time. Namely, in the 18th century, the official language, but also the language of everyday communication, was German. In written communication (official acts and documents, contracts, requests, complaints), Latin was also used until the end of the century, but since the 19th century, German was the only official language of the state administration. At home, the colonists continued to use their language: the second generation was bilingual[20], and the third generation lost most of their language and completely switched to the official language of the social environment. This transition was often imposed by the state administration, sometimes it was simply a consequence of administrative errors, but it was not uncommon for it to be completely voluntary.

The first adaptations of the names of the colonists were made on the lists of those who came to Banat and Bačka, at the beginning of the 18th century. Thus the name *Michel Ducarne* was recorded as *Michael Dukarn*, the name *Francisco Vall de Oriola* as *Franz Vall de Oriola*, *Jean-Baptist Cachenot* was recorded as *Johann Baptist Kaschno*, *Francesca Capillo* as *Franzischika Capillo* and *Jan Ockov* as *Johann Ockov*.[21] Romance surnames were consistently recorded in their Germanized form:

Martin → Marteng,Colin →Koleng i *Kohlen, Perrin →Perreng, Vautrin → Wottreng, Picard → Bikar, Thibault → Dippold, Dibold, Diebold, Tibolt, Düpold, Aubertin → Oberting, Oberteng, Oberding, Obertin, Fizanni → Fizand, Lenard → Lenhar , Lenhard, Lenhart, Mayette → Majet, Lacaille → Lakaj, Colin → Kohlen, De Jean →Teschan, Mougeon →Muschong, Lefort → Lefor, Lapin →Laping.*

The adaptation of the following names has also been confirmed: *Michel → Mischel, Villard → Willar, Laurent → Loran, Richard → Rischar*.

During the two centuries, traces of the Germanization of the names of Romanophone colonists almost completely disappeared given that this population for the most part blended in with the Hungarian ethnic group (Kirilović 2006). This would account for the forms: *Paul → Pál; Nicolas→ Miklos; Pierre,*

[20] This state was also recorded in the mid-19th century (Hess 1928, Milleker 1933, Arsenijević 1992).

[21] The list of the Romance names of the first colonists and their adaptations is given according to Arsenijević 1992.

Peter → Péter; François, Franz → Ferenz; Jean, Johan(n) → János;Michel, Michael→ Mihály;Georges, Georg → Győrgy, as well as *Gaudin → Gaudenyi.*

However, the majority of names and surnames have undergone phonological modifications conditioned by general phonetic laws.

The most present was the decline of unstressed vowels: *Cauderet →Kotre, Cachenot → Kaschno, Maréchal → Marschal*. On the other hand, the final consonant group was broken up by inserting a vowel unit: *Lefèvre →Lafeber*.

The French vowels that did not exist in German were replaced by similar ones from the German vowel system. Thus, instead of the silent *e* and the front close *ø*, the close *e* was pronounced:

Leblanc – Leblan, Mathieu – Matje.

In cases where there was a final nasal vowel in French, the German script of that time consistently records it with *– (i /e/a)ng* : *Lapin → Laping, Aubertin → Oberting, Martin → Marteng, Vautren → Wottreng, Perrin → Perreng, Marchand → Marschang, Damant → Dammang, Amant → Hammang*[22], *Masson → Massong*.

Complete denasalization was recorded sporadically and in the following way: *Laurent → Loran, Bertrand → Bertram, Martin → Martin* (along with the form *Marteng*).

Consonant changes were most often related to the processes of sonorization: *Parmentier → Barmentje, Thibault → Dippold, Picard → Bikar* and desonorization: *Blaise → Bless, Loudier → Lutje*.

One of the surnames that produced most forms is *Thibault* which appears as *Dibold / Dippold / Diebold*, as well as *Tibolt / Thibault / Thibo*.

Some surnames appear in double forms: *Ambroš* and *Ambruš*, *Lenard* and *Lenart*, *Lavro* and *Labro....*

The change in the form of Romance names and surnames, both phonologically and orthographically, continued throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, but in this period the changes went in the direction of their Hungarianization, Croatization and/or Serbization, where the commitment to a particular religion represented a significant element in their final adaptation. Therefore, nowadays we can encounter the forms *Ambrušić / Ambrošić, Lenartić, Berarov, Arasko / Araškov, Soldatić / Soldatović, Šilić, Šofejović, Žakanov / Žakonov...*

An interesting case is with the forms *Ferarin* and *Ferarinov*, which are related to the *Ferrari* family, who arrived from Ferrara during the first colonization. The Serbian neighbors very quickly added the suffix *–(i)n* to the basic form of the surnames of their new neighbours of the Catholic faith. After the Second World War, one of the two Ferarin brothers converted to Orthodoxy and added the suffix *–ov* to his surname, believing that the form of *Ferarinov* was more in

[22] The sound *h* appears in the initial position due to the influence of a strong German expiration.

line with his new identity. The other brother still bears the surname *Ferarin*[23], is of the Catholic faith and declares himself a Croat.

Whether they feel and declare themselves as Hungarians, Croats or Serbs, most of the descendants of the Spanish, Italian and French colonists are aware of their origins, especially since their surnames send a clear message about their roots.

3. ON SOME TRACE OF NEOLITHIC CULTURES ON THE TERRITORY OF SERBIA

It is not only the Romanophone language communities that have been lost over time in our region. There were other cultures about which we do not have so much information, but which try to tell us something about themselves from the depths of historical darkness, revealing themselves through messages once lost through the millennia, but finally brought to light. Unfortunately, we are still not able to fully and correctly understand these messages; perhaps we are not ready for them yet, or we may just be missing some "Rosetta Stone" that would clearly show us the path to follow in their deciphering. These are, in fact, some long-lost communities from the Mesolithic and Neolithic, whose traces were discovered at several sites in Serbia (Lepenski Vir – Mesolithic, Vinča and Starčevo –Neolithic, etc.), and whose presence was also confirmed at some sites in Romania (Tordosh, Tartary), Bulgaria (Sitovo, Gradeshnitsa, Karanovo), Greece (Aegean region) and Turkey (Troy).

These cultures primarily explored by archaeologists, while the number of works by paleolinguists and linguists on the possible forms of means of communication of these communities is very small. Despite the very scarce material at their disposal, some researchers have tried to offer appropriate interpretations of the relations that existed between certain communities of the time, basing their claims on the artifacts that testify to highly developed trade relations between these ancient cultures long gone[24]. And the developed trade also implied a devel-

[23] Fellow citizens call the members of this family *Fereren*i (*Fererinka*, *Fererin*). Recorded in Irig.

[24] Numerous excavations and research carried out in recent years in the Danube region, the Balkans and the Aegean-Anatolian areas, have significantly improved knowledge about the Vinča civilization, especially its origin, many aspects of its development, spreading and role in the long and complex history of Neolithic and Chalcolithic societies of Eastern and Southeastern Europe. The role of Greek archeology in solving these problems is of great importance. Recent excavations in eastern Macedonia (Sitagroi, Dikili Tash, etc.) and in Thessaly (Plateia Magoula, Zarkou, Makrishori, etc.) show that only one horizon with black pottery can be associated with the Middle Neolithic of northern Greece, which is without any Anatolian influence, which corresponds to the expansion (or, at least, strong influences) from the area of the middle Danube region, i.e. the Vinča culture, all the way to the northern shores of the Aegean. "(Seferijades 1990). See also: Vasić 1906, 1932, 1936, Todorović 1969.

oped means of communication, which today remains only in traces in the form of inscriptions on stone or on objects found at the above-mentioned localities. The systematization of these records started only in the middle of the last century, although Miloje Vasić had already claimed for them to be "literate symbols":

"On the already considerable number of ceramic products from Vinča, whole rows of written symbols have been found, which cannot be read yet. These symbols alone prove that the founding of Vinča coincides with the age of literacy and that the lines of these written symbols, once read and explained, will turn this, for now, "prehistoric" period into a historical period, which will significantly move the border of history in our area further back into the past. "(Vasić 1933: 4)

In their study in the early 1960s, Todorović and Cermanović dedicate one chapter to written symbols found on ceramic parts discovered in Banjica, Gornji grad, Gomolava, Ledine, near Aradac and Kormadin (Todorović - Cermanović 1961). They state the general characteristics of the symbols, classifying them according to the place[25] and technique[26] of the inscription, and invite other experts to give their opinion on these "letters". This invitation remains unanswered and only nine years later would Jovan Todorović (Todorović 1969: VII-VIII) accept the task of providing a more complete list of symbols found in Vinča (Figs. 1 and 2):

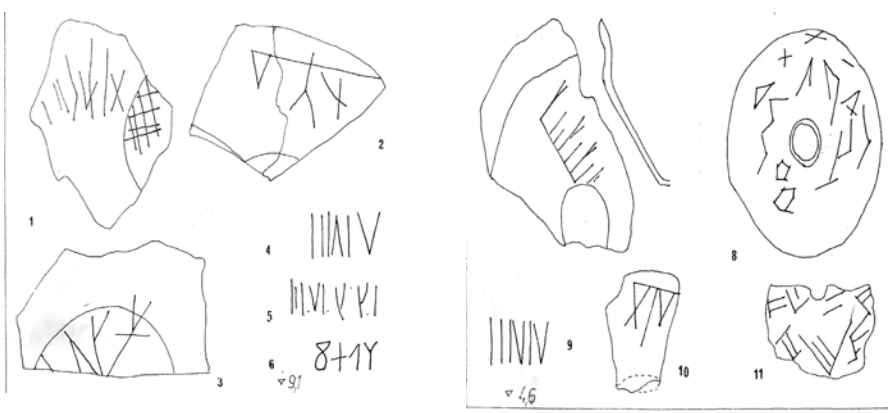

Fig.1 The symbols found in Vinča, source: Todorović 1969.

[25] At the rim, near the bottom or at the very bottom of the bowl.
[26] Before or after baking.

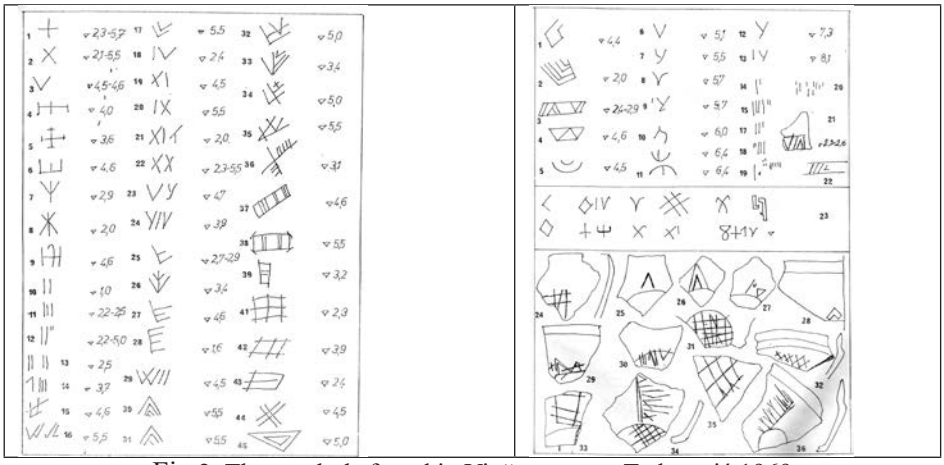

Fig.2. The symbols found in Vinča, source: Todorović 1969

Todorović (Todorović 1969: 80) noticed that certain symbols also appear on the other sites within the region of Southeast Europe and therefore offered their comparative table (Fig. 3).

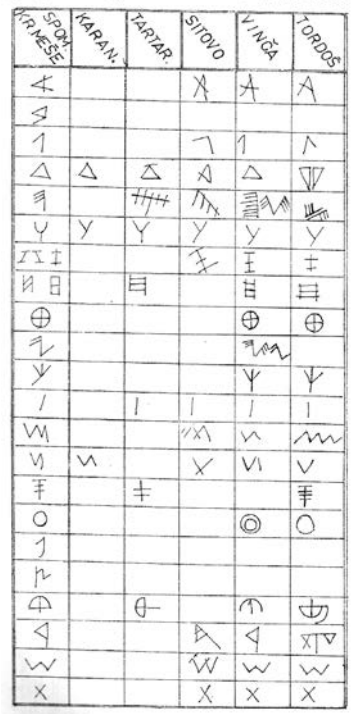

Fig.3. Comparative table of the signs found at archeological sites in Southeast Europe, source: Todorović 1969.

The discovery of another site – Lepenski Vir (1965-1970), gave new impetus to the research of the symbols from the Neolithic era.[27] Relying on the archaeological findings of D. Srejović, S. Bilbija (Bilbija 1984) and, later on, R. Pešić (Pešić 2008) tried to prove that the written messages of a distant and hitherto forgotten culture had finally come to light.[28]

It remains a great mystery why two such great scientists as they were, each in his field, Dragoslav Srejović and Radivoje Pešić, failed to join their forces and provide a more complete insight into the lives of the ancient inhabitants of Lepenski Vir and Vinča. Both noticed that certain markings constantly appear in the vicinity of the altar in Lepenski Vir, in a group of 7 or more and in different layouts. Depending on the movement of the sun and the angle of observation, these marks change their form and thus the content, i.e. the message. These three symbols are A Λ Δ, made of stone, buried around the altar and connected to the altar, the whole settlement and the cosmos. And that is where any similarity in the interpretation of the two scientists ends. One of them notices in these symbols a geometric mapping of the shapes from nature (a hill in the shape of Λ, an angle created by two hills in the shape of V, a horizontal water level in relation to the hill Δ) (Srejović 1969). The other, however, notices in them "basic elements of a form of language", finding that the different manifestation of these basic symbols provides a system of 48 characters that is quite sufficient to convey a variety of messages (Pešić 2008: 12-18).

From the large number of symbols found in Vinča, Pešić chooses several and compares them with the known systems of ancient scripts: Ancient Phoenician, Phoenician, Cypriot, Cretan linears A and B, Ancient Greek, then with Anglo-Saxon runes, Brahmi, Palestinian and Western Semitic, but also with Latin, Glagolitic and Cyrillic alphabet, as well as in the alphabet of the extinct Etruscan culture.

[27] See the works of S. Bilbija, R. Pešić, V. Milosavljević, G. Grinjević, M. Gimbutas.

[28] The age of these cultures is estimated at about 10,000 years B.C. for Lepenski vir and 5,500 years B.C. for Vinča.

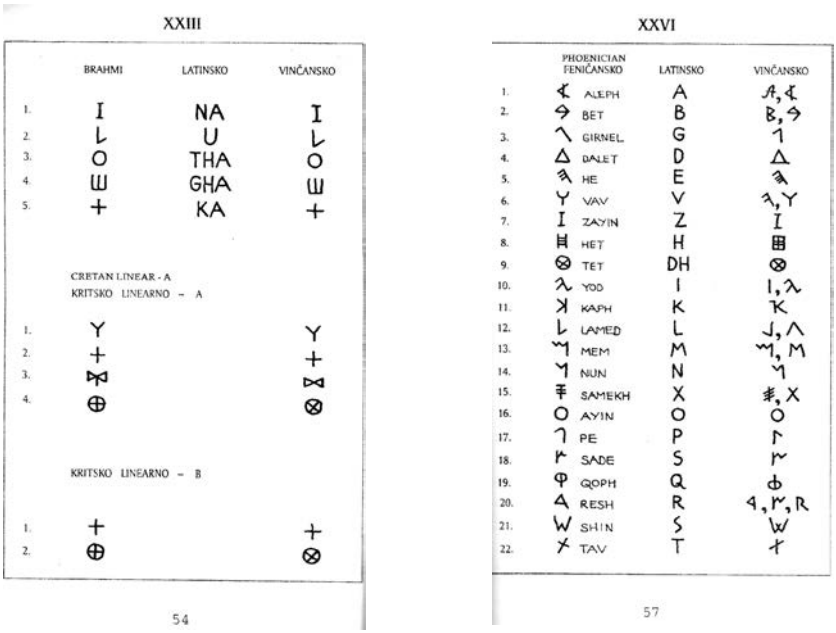

Fig.4. Comparison of Vinča script with other ancient scripts (source: Pešić, 2008)

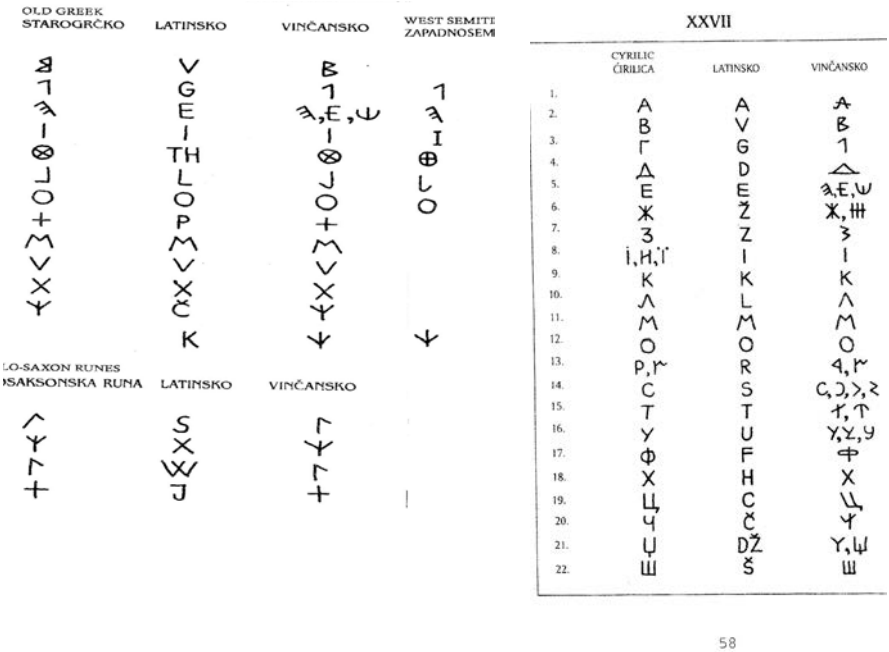

Fig.5. Comparison of Vinča script with other ancient scripts (source: Pešić, 2008)

Recent research on the Vinča site pushes the issue of the Vinča "letters" into the background. In the monograph *Vinča, Prehistoric Metropolis, Researches 1908-2008*[29], there are only 15 lines dedicated to the Vinča symbols. The authors admit that "the enigmatic inscribed symbols are another important open question in Serbian and European science, the answers to which have been sought for many years by archaeologists and paleolinguists, but also by amateurs and fans of archeology" (Tasić 2008: 35). Assumptions about the role of the symbols are different: it is possible that they are markings of ownership, bail, but it is also possible that they are pictograms or pictorial script, as well as that they represent an already formed phonetic alphabet.

The fact is that we still cannot know for sure which group of people the people of Vinča belonged to, which makes it largely impossible for us to decipher the language they spoke. There are, however, unusual similarities between the symbols of this culture and the symbols left to us by some other cultures outside the territories we have mentioned. In 1984, Svetislav Bilbija published his study *The Ancient European Language and Etruscan Alphabet,* in which he points out the flagrant similarity of the symbols that appear in the records of different cultures, Etruscan in the west, Slavic in the east and the ancient cultures (Vinča, Lepenski vir) in the Danube region.

In the past decade, Petar Milosavljević also gave significant encouragement to the study of Vinča symbols with his monograph Serbian Letters (Milosavljević 2006).

In order to open the doors of the world of ancient civilizations that once inhabited today's Serbia and the wider Danube region one day, it is necessary to unite the works of researchers from different disciplines, archaeologists, (paleo) linguists and even geneticists. This is not only to repay our debt to the ancestors, but also to leave our testament to future younger researchers, since the negligent attitude towards the results of previous research in this field affects the further prolongation of the interruption of the civilizational continuum that had existed in this area for more than seven millennia.

[29] Within the project of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, the National Museum in Belgrade and the Museum of the City of Belgrade entitled *One hundred years of research of the archeological site of Vinča - Belo brdo*, project manager: Dubravka Nikolić.

Fig.6. Comparative overview of the symbols discovered on Etruscan, Lycian and Lydian monuments, (source: Bilbija 1984).

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LANGUES ET CULTURES DES DEUX PÉRIODES DANS LE TERRITOIRE DE SERBIE: DEUX EXEMPLES

Résumé

Ce texte présente les résultats des deux recherches menées séparément : la première porte sur le destin des communautés romanophones en Voïvodine, notamment sur les Français, les Italiens et les Espagnoles venus en Voïvodine lors des trois colonisations au XVIIIe siècle; la seconde essaie de réconcilier les faits archéologiques avec les recherches des (paléo)linguistes pour obtenir une image plus claire et plus exacte d'une culture danuvienne perdue depuis des milénaires dans les ténèbres historiques, dont les traces ont été découvertes sur plusieurs sites en Serbie.

Alors que les noms de famille tels que *Ambrušić / Ambrošić, Lenartić, Berarov, Arasko / Araškov, Soldatić / Soldatović, Šilić, Šofejović, Žakanov / Žakonov* des voïvodiniens témoignenent de leur origine, bien que ces populations romanophones ait complé-

tement perdu leurs langues et leurs moeurs en se noyant dans la population et la langue majeure, par contre, la culture des sites de Vinca et de Lepenski vir ne nous est que partiellement connue, la langue de leurs habitants nous restant absolument inconnue. Les chercheurs ne reussissent pas à se mettre d'accord sur la nature des signes trouvés aux deux cites: les uns les traitent de signes décoratifs ou de marques de propriété, les autres prétendent qu'il s'agit d'un système de l'écriture bien évolué.

Mots-clés: l'onomastique, population romanophone, patronymes, Voïvodine, culture de Vinca, Lepenski vir, écriture, Serbie.

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THE ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY OF RUTHENIANS IN VOJVODINA

Sociolinguistic studies which investigate ethnolinguistic vitality reach conclusions about the potential which a language community has to survive in the future. The aim of the present research was to examine the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Ruthenian national minority in Vojvodina. Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (BEVQ) was conducted on 30 respondents belonging to two age groups (older and younger). Although the sample was small, the results indicate that Ruthenians strive to maintain their language daily, with the help of cultural manifestations, learning their mother tongue at school and everyday communication with family and friends. The results show that Ruthenian still has the advantage over Serbian when it comes to the feelings of identity and belonging, although Serbian is dominant in the field of work and administration. The conclusion based on the beliefs of the speakers of Ruthenian is that the Ruthenian language has the potential to survive in Vojvodina.

Key words: sociolinguistics, ethnolinguistic vitality, cognitive orientation, Ruthenians in Vojvodina

1. INTRODUCTION

Ethnolinguistic vitality of a language community is a widely researched topic in sociolinguistics because it looks into the potential which a language has to survive. The higher the ethnolinguistic vitality is, the higher the chances that a minority language will continue to exist are.

The present paper investigates the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Ruthenian national minority in Vojvodina, which is a multi-ethnic region. Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (BEVQ) was used in the research. The aim of the present research was to examine our respondents' beliefs on the present and future of their mother tongue, and therefore predict the potential of Ruthenian to persist as the dominant language of the Ruthenian national minority in the future.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. Ethnolinguistic vitality

The notion of ethnolinguistic vitality (EV), involving factors which have an influence on language community maintenance, was introduced by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1997). Objective factors which influence EV include status, demographic and institutional support factors. The more present they are, the higher the EV of a language group will be. Therefore, the degree of EV determines whether a group will succeed in keeping its status "as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1977: 308). Moreover, the authors claim that groups which are characterized by low EV, or those without it, have scarce chances of continuing to exist. As opposed to them, groups with high EV have high chances of keeping their identity in a multi-ethnic context.

Status variables include economic, social, sociohistorical and language factors (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1977: 310). Economic status refers to the level of control over the economic life in the community, which a language group has gained. Being closely related to economic status, social status refers to the degree of esteem that a group has ascribed to itself. Sociohistorical status is important as well, because it relates to the periods in which a group attempted to realize its collective identity. The last variable is language status, which can increase or decrease the EV of a language community, depending on how prestigious the language is (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1977: 311).

Demographic variables include two groups of factors: group distribution and group numbers (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1977: 312). Distribution factors cover national territory, group concentration and group proportion. National territory refers to a minority group's homeland (Oliviera, 1976). Group concentration and proportion affect EV as well. If group members are concentrated in one place, their language stands a better chance of survival. Likewise, the higher their number in comparison with the majority group is, the higher the chances of keeping a distinct identity are (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1977: 313). As far as group numbers as a variable are concerned, they are defined by five factors: absolute numbers, birth rate, mixed marriages, immigration, and emigration. Absolute numbers refer to the number of speakers belonging to a minority ethno-linguistic group. A group's birth rate is also relevant in comparison with the birth rate of a majority group. As far as mixed marriages are concerned, it seems that they favour majority groups (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1977: 314). Therefore, avoiding mixed marriages can be beneficial for minority groups. Immigration can have a both positive and negative impact on EV, depending on whether the immigrants belong to the same or a distinct ethnic minority. Emmigration has a

negative impact on EV, because it reduces the number of speakers, who need to learn another language, indirectly supressing their native one (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1977: 315).

Institutional support factors include formal and informal support, which a language gets through institutions. The domains in which that support is visible include the mass media, parliament, using a minority language in education, religion, work, and advancement in the public and private sectors of the economy (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1977: 316).

Finally, it has been argued that a subjective assessment of vitality of a group by its members is equally important as its objective vitality (Giles and Johnson, 1981; Bourhis et al., 1981). Speakers' language experience affects their beliefs on language, as well as their willingness to learn and use a language. Subjective EV has shown to be a strong predictor of linguistic behaviour, when measured as a system of beliefs (Allard and Landry, 1992: 230). It will be discussed in detail in the next section.

2.2. Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality theory

Allard and Landry (1986: 2) formulated subjective ethnolinguistic vitality theory, viewed as a belief system, and based on Kreitler and Kreitler's (1972) cognitive orientation model of human behaviour. According to this model, overall human behaviour is led by one's cognitive orientation (Allard and Landry, 1986: 3). In order to predict group behaviour, it is necessary to assess one's cognitive orientation in relation to the structural variables which are believed to affect the EV of a group. There are four types of beliefs: general beliefs (present vitality, future vitality, and social models), norm beliefs (legitimate vitality), personal beliefs (valorization, belongingness, personal efficacy) and goal beliefs (goals and desires) (Allard and Landry, 1994: 125). Four of the mentioned beliefs do not refer to the self. They are "exocentric" in the sense that they refer to the perception of sociological factors and the behaviour of others, which can influence the EV of a group (Allard and Landry, 1994: 126). The remaining four beliefs are "egocentric" because they refer to the self.

Exocentric beliefs include:

1) Present vitality beliefs: perceptions of group members on the present vitality of the majority and minority group in that region. Present vitality beliefs are formulated in relation to demographic, economic, cultural, and political capitals (Allard and Landry, 1994: 126).
2) Future vitality beliefs: perceptions of group members on the future vitality of the majority and minority group in that region. The perceived

present and future vitality concordance points to the belief on stability of the present vitality of a group (Allard and Landry, 1994: 126).

3) Legitimate vitality beliefs: perceptions of group members on what would be fair for each ethnolinguistic group to have (Allard and Landry, 1994: 126).
4) Social models beliefs: perceptions of the current behaviour of friends and significant others. These beliefs reflect the influence of social models on language behaviour (Allard and Landry, 1994: 126).

Egocentric beliefs are:

5) Valorization beliefs: the extent to which a group member considers access to the resources set by the EV factors in a given environment important (Allard and Landry, 1994: 127).
6) Goals beliefs: what a respondent wants or could do in relation to the resources set by the EV factors in a given environment (Allard and Landry, 1994: 127).
7) Efficacy beliefs: whether a group member considers himself/herself capable of achieving their goals in a given ethnolinguistic environment (Allard and Landry, 1994: 127).
8) Belongingness beliefs: the sense of belonging to an ethnolinguistic group (Allard and Landry, 1994: 127).

Before we proceed to the research method and results, the Ruthenian minority in Vojvodina will be briefly presented.

2.3. Ruthenians and the Ruthenian language in Vojvodina

According to the population census of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia from 2011, Ruthenians form 0,72% (13928) of the population of Vojvodina. They are mostly concentrated in the Kula and Vrbas municipalities, with 60% of the overall number of Vojvodina Ruthenians (Raduški, 2003). Their religion is Greek-Catholic. They speak the Ruthenian language, which is one of the six official languages of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.

Ruthenians lived on the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary for centuries. 260 years ago, they started moving to Srem and Bačka, today's Vojvodina territory (Fejsa, 2010). In the 18th century, they received the support of the Habsburg Monarchy, which needed a larger population in the southern parts of its country (Gavrilović, 1977). After the end of WWI and the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Ruthenians were cut off from their patron (Fejsa, 2014). That was when their fight for the national and cultural identity within Serbia began.

In 1919, the Ruthenian language, which had only been colloquial until then, obtained the status of a literary language (Fejsa, 2014). Soon after, the first

grammar of the Ruthenian language was published (Костельник, 1923). In the Constitution of Yugoslavia from 1974, Ruthenians got constitutive equality with other nationalities, and Ruthenian became one of the official languages of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. Ruthenians in Vojvodina then received the support of the media, primary and secondary school system, as well as radio and TV programme. Since 1981, they have also had an opportunity to enrol in the Ruthenian Language and Literature Department, at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad (Fejsa, 2014).

Vojvodina Ruthenians are today recognized as a distict nation with their own literary language. Ruthenians have succeeded in keeping their language and culture through systematic education, cultural manifestations, as well as maintaining their relationship with the Greek-Catholic Church. Strengthening their relationship with Carpatian Ruthenians after 1989 revolutions had an important impact as well (Fejsa, 2014). However, the Ruthenian language is listed as "definitely endangered" in the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (Moseley, 2010). It is exactly for that reason that research on the ethnolinguistic vitality of Ruthenians in Vojvodina is an important subject.

3. METHOD

3.1. Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire

Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (BEVQ) is a reliable instrument for measuring ethnolinguistic vitality, developed by Allard and Landry (1987). It consists of 4 exocentric (present vitality, future vitality, legitimate vitality, and social models) and 4 egocentric scales (valorization, goals, efficacy and belongingness), which examine subjective and objective group members' perception of ethnolinguistic vitality.

Every scale contains 12 questions which refer to demographic, economic, cultural, and political capital (three each), which makes 96 items in total. Each item asks the respondent to make two judgments, both for their first and second (majority) language. The respondents answer the questions using a 9-point Likert scale.

Questions within the cultural domain cover cultural activities (item 1), television (item 2) and education (item 3). Language and work (item 4), socio-economic level (item 5), and business and industry (item 6) are examined within the economic domain. The political domain explores government services (item 7), linguistic rights (item 8), and language use

by local government representatives (item 9). The demographic domain tackles questions related to intra- and inter-group marriage (item 10), immigrants' language use (item 11), and the cultural and linguistic character of the region (item 12).

BEVQ was modified in order to include questions for the Serbian (majority) language and the Ruthenian (minority) language.

3.2. Participant profile

30 participants took part in the research, 15 participants from the younger and 15 from the older generation. The gender variable was not controlled for, because we could not find an equal number of male and female participants. The age of the younger generation participants was between 16 and 19 (average age 17.53), and they all attended high school in Novi Sad. There were four participants from Djurdjevo, four from Kucura, six from Ruski Krstur, and one from Novi Sad. Four of them were male, and eleven female.

As far as the older generation participants are concerned, they were between 41 and 55 (average age 46.53). Five of them were male, and ten female. Twelve of them were from Ruski Krstur, and three from Kucura.

4. RESULTS

4.1. Present vitality beliefs

As it can be seen in Table 1, both younger and older respondents assessed the current state of the culture in Ruthenian with lower scores than in Serbian, with the exception of education. The availability of cultural activities, assessed in the first question, was rated quite highly in Serbian, while it was rated lower in Ruthenian. The contrast was even sharper with television programmes, assessed in the second question. As opposed to cultural activities and television programmes, the results for the third question show that our respondents were very satisfied with the conditions for learning Ruthenian, especially the younger-generation respondents.

As far as the current economic conditions are concerned, the results clearly show that Serbian has the advantage over Ruthenian as a dominant language at work (fourth question). It is interesting that both generations rated the degree of material and economic state of Serbian and Ruthenian families virtually equally (fifth question), which implies that they do not consider their economic status to be lower than that of the majority group. However, according to our respondents,

business and industry are controlled by Serbian, not Ruthenian citizens (sixth question). Yet, the average score for Ruthenian families was not minimal, but moderate, which means that they still believe that Ruthenians sometimes control the industry in the region in which they live.

The scores given by the younger and older generation differed much in the political domain, examined in the seventh, eighth, and ninth question. According to older respondents, local public services are available much more rarely in Ruthenian than they are in Serbian (seventh question). Likewise, older respondents believe that the right to address someone and be addressed in one's mother tongue is respected in Serbian, which is the case in Ruthenian to a much lesser extent (eighth question), whereas younger respondents do not share their opinion. In the ninth question, language use by local government representatives was again estimated lower by older than by younger respondents.

The answers provided by younger and older respondents were again more equally distributed in the last three questions, which deal with demographic issues. It is interesting that all the respondents believe that intra-group marriages are characteristic of both Serbians and Ruthenians (tenth question). The answers to the eleventh question have shown that the immigrants to this region use Serbian twice as frequently as Ruthenian. Finally, the answers to the last question revealed that while younger respondents believe that this region's cultural and linguistic character is very strongly Serbian, and quite strongly Ruthenian, older respondents believe that it is mildly Ruthenian, and very strongly Serbian.

Questions	Older generation		Younger generation	
	Serbian	Ruthenian	Serbian	Ruthenian
1.	8,73	4,8	7,733333	5,4
2.	8,93	3,4	9	3,466667
3.	8,7	6,8	8,333333	7,933333
4.	8,47	3,8	7,866667	4,933333
5.	5,27	4,53	5,466667	5,066667
6.	7,53	4,6	7,2	4,2
7.	8,26	3,27	8,6	5,066667
8.	9	4,33	8,333333	7
9.	8,87	3,33	7,933333	4,733333
10.	7,13	6,93	7,666667	7,266667
11.	8,53	4,2	7,933333	4,6
12.	7,93	3,4	7,333333	5,533333

Table 1 – Present Resources

4.2. Future Vitality Beliefs

If the results obtained for the present (Table 1) and future resources (Table 2) are compared, it is clear that the scores for Serbian did come closer to the absolute value, while the results for Ruthenian remained around average. Overall, the predictions of our respondents were not pessimistic.

The results for future resources are similar to the ones obtained in the first part. Cultural activities and TV programmes will be extremely numerous in Serbian, and moderately frequent in Ruthenian in 2027. It is interesting to note that TV programmes in Ruthenian will be slightly more available in the future than they are now, as jugded by our respondents. As far as learning conditions are concerned, they will be slighly worse in the future.

As it was expected, the average score for Ruthenian as a language at work in the future was even lower, whereas the score for Serbian was higher. It is interesting that both generations rated the degree of material and economic state of Serbian and Ruthenian families virtually equally again. Business and industry will be controlled more by Serbians in the future, although the average scores were higher for both groups in comparison with the current situation.

When it comes to the next three questions, the situation did not change much in comparison with the present resources. Local public services will be available even more rarely in Ruthenian. Older respondents believe that the right to address someone and be addressed in Ruthenian will be respected more in the future, whereas younger respondents believe that it will be respected slightly less. The results for the language use by local government representatives were very similar to the results obtained in the first part.

Finally, the answers to the last three questions were almost identical to the answers in the first part. The only difference was that the younger generation believes that Ruthenians will marry each other less in the future, and that this region's cultural and linguistic character will be less Ruthenian than it is today, whereas the older generation believes that the immigrants will use Ruthenian even less.

Questions	Older generation		Younger generation	
	Serbian	Ruthenian	Serbian	Ruthenian
1.	9	3,8	8	5,133333
2.	9	4,2	8,8	3,666667
3.	8,33	6,6	8,4	6,866667
4.	8,73	3,6	8	4,6
5.	5,47	4,87	6	5

6.	7,8	4,8	7,466667	5,133333
7.	8,67	3,13	8,133333	4,333333
8.	8,87	4,8	8,2	6
9.	8,67	4,2	8,133333	4,8
10.	7	6,93	7,6	6,466667
11.	8,8	3,27	7,933333	4,6
12.	8,13	3,33	7,6	5,066667

Table 2 – Future Resources

4.3. Legitimate Vitality Beliefs

As Table 3 shows, our respondents believe that Serbian and Ruthenian should have almost equal rights. The older generation gives a slight advantage to the majority lanugage. It should be pointed out that the younger generation might be slightly more idealistically oriented, because their estimations for Serbian and Ruthenian were almost always the same.

Questions	Older generation		Younger generation	
	Serbian	Ruthenian	Serbian	Ruthenian
1.	8,33	6,47	6,733333	7,066667
2.	8,2	6,53	7,733333	6
3.	8,8	8,47	8,066667	8,4
4.	8,27	5,73	7,533333	7,2
5.	7,4	7,27	6,8	6,666667
6.	7,73	7,2	6,733333	6,666667
7.	8,4	5,47	7,733333	7,266667
8.	8,53	6,2	7,666667	7,133333
9.	8,33	5,53	7,733333	6,333333
10.	6,07	5,87	6,8	6,666667
11.	7,53	6,07	7,933333	6
12.	7,33	5,73	7,133333	6,6

Table 3 – What is considered fair

Culturally-oriented answers show that our respondents consider cultural activities and TV programmes in Serbian important, but they also believe they

should be numerous in Serbian. A somewhat unexpected result was obtained for the first question, in which the younger respondents rated cultural activities in Ruthenian more highly. As far as mother tongue learning conditions are concerned, our respondents believe that schools should pay equal attention to teaching both Serbian and Ruthenian.

Economically-oriented answers show that our respondents believe that the language of work should mostly be Serbian. As far as their economic status is concerned, they believe that it should be equal to the status of the majority group, and above average, which was expected since it was rated similarly in the first two parts of the questionnaire. Likewise, even though this is not the case in reality, our respondents believe that the level of control over business and industry should be high with both Serbians and Ruthenians.

Politically-oriented questions gave results in accordance with the previous two parts of the questionnaire. Local public services should always be available in Serbian, but they should often be available in Ruthenian as well. The right to address someone and be addressed in one's mother tongue should be respected in both cases, although the older respondents gave a higher mark for Serbian. Local government representatives should always speak Serbian, and they should sometimes/often speak Ruthenian as well.

The tenth question yielded similar results. The respondents believe that both Serbians and Ruthenians should marry someone of the same nationality. The immigrants should very often speak Serbian, and sometimes Ruthenian. Finally, this region should represent a territory with a strong Serbian, but also moderately strong Ruthenian cultural and linguistic character.

4.4. Social Models Beliefs

The last part of the questionnaire representing exocentric scales is given in Table 4. It shows that our respondents' friends' behaviour differs much from previous results.

Questions	Older generation		Younger generation	
	Serbian	Ruthenian	Serbian	Ruthenian
1.	5,8	5,87	7,133333	6,866667
2.	7,8	4,67	8,733333	5,4
3.	6,53	5,73	7,8	6,2
4.	7,4	6,67	8,333333	5,4
5.	8,47	4	8,333333	5,2

6.	8,67	3,8	8,066667	5,466667
7.	7,73	4,6	7,066667	7,066667
8.	9	5,6	7,533333	7,733333
9.	8,33	4,13	8,266667	6,333333
10.	5,47	7,53	7,2	7,466667
11.	5,67	5,87	3,466667	4,133333
12.	7,2	6,13	7,4	6

Table 4 – My friends' current behaviour

When it comes to cultural activities, we can see that our respondents' friends equally attend activities in Serbian and Ruthenian. They watch television in Serbian much more often, which was expected, because TV channels in Serbian are more numerous. What was somewhat surprising, taking into account high ratings given for learning their mother tongue, was that our respondents' friends communicate more often in Serbian at school.

Similarly, language in which their friends communicate at work is more frequently Serbian. This result was especially prominent with the younger generation. One of the answers in which the difference between Serbian and Ruthenian was the greatest in favour of Serbian was related to the language which young people with the best job prospects use. The same case was with the next question, from which we see that our respondents' friends use Serbian much more frequently than Ruthenian when they apply for a job.

Younger and older respondents' answers differed much in the political domain. Younger respondents said that their friends communicate with different government institutions in both Ruthenian and Serbian, whereas older respondents said that their friends do so very often in Serbian, but only sometimes in Ruthenian. Moreover, older respondents believe that the right to address someone and be addressed in one's mother tongue is always respected in the case of Serbian, while it is only sometimes respected in the case of Ruthenian. However, younger respondents believe that this right is often respected in both cases. The answers to the ninth question were more similar, with a more prominent difference between Serbian and Ruthenian with the older generation. Both groups of respondents believe that their friends would rather use Serbian if they wanted to succeed in jobs at different levels of public institutions.

It is interesting that our older respondents' friends have fun in Ruthenian much more frequently than in Serbian, whereas that is not the case with our younger respondents' friends, who have fun in both languages equally. The answers to the next question regarding the communication of their friends with a person who has recently moved to their area were unexpected, because both

languages were rated quite low, especially with the younger generation, which implies our respondents' lack of wish to communicate with immigrants. In the end, the last question revealed that the language that young people use in their everyday communication promotes the multi-cultural and linguistic character of Serbian and Ruthenian, with Serbian having a slight advantage.

4.5. Valorization beliefs

The results for the first, out of four egocentric scales, are given in Table 5. They show that our respondents consider both Serbian and Ruthenian important.

Questions	Older generation		Younger generation	
	Serbian	Ruthenian	Serbian	Ruthenian
1.	5,53	6,8	6,933333	8,4
2.	6,6	5,73	7,733333	7,533333
3.	8	8	7,866667	8,533333
4.	6,53	5,4	7,666667	7,266667
5.	8,6	6,6	8,066667	7,8
6.	6,27	5,87	7,666667	7,466667
7.	6,93	4,53	7	6,4
8.	7,2	6,8	7,4	7,533333
9.	7,2	5,33	7,333333	6,466667
10.	5,07	4,73	6,666667	7,8
11.	5,67	5,93	3,733333	5,333333
12.	6,53	6,67	7,333333	7,6

Table 5 – What is considered important

Attending cultural activities in Ruthenian is slightly more important than attending cultural activities in Serbian for all the participants. On the other hand, watching television in Serbian is somewhat more important than watching TV in Ruthenian for older respondents, whereas younger respondents rated them equally. It is interesting that the importance of learning one's mother tongue was rated equally as well, with Ruthenian being given a slight advantage by the younger generation.

Serbian was slightly favoured in the next three questions. First, it is very important to our respondents to speak Serbian at work, while it is moderately (older respondents), or quite important (younger respondents) to them to speak

Ruthenian. Moreover, speaking Serbian is more relevant for being able to get a desired job. Finally, it is more important to communicate with colleagues at work in Serbian than in Ruthenian. It is interesting to note that the differences between the two languages were negligable with the younger-generation respondents.

The situation was very similar with the next three questions. It is more important to our respondents to be provided with public services in Serbian than in Ruthenian. It is almost equally important to them that the right to address someone and be addressed is respected in both Ruthenian and Serbian. However, it is more important to them that local government representatives speak Serbian.

Finally, our respondents gave a slight advantage to Ruthenian in the last three questions, especially younger respondents. In their answers to the tenth question, related to the communication with their spouse, older respondents, quite unexpectedly, slightly favoured Serbian, which was not the case with the younger generation. The next question, concerning the importance of communicating with a person who has moved to their area recently, brought unexpected results, especially with the younger generation, since the average scores were quite low for both languages. The last question revealed that our respondents care slightly more about the cultural and linguistic character of this region being Ruthenian.

4.6. Goals beliefs

The next scale, given in Table 6, refers to goals and wishes. It is clear that the results for Serbian and Ruthenian are quite evenly distributed.

Questions	Older generation		Younger generation	
	Serbian	Ruthenian	Serbian	Ruthenian
1.	7,67	6,87	7,466667	8,333333
2.	7,67	6,53	8	7,333333
3.	6,8	7	7,066667	7,466667
4.	7,13	5,6	7,4	7,333333
5.	7,47	6,27	7,2	8,333333
6.	6,6	6,13	7,466667	7,266667
7.	7,33	5,53	8,066667	5,866667
8.	6,87	6,33	7,466667	6,133333
9.	7	5,73	7,333333	6,733333
10.	6,2	8,4	5,333333	8,2
11.	6,2	6,6	3,133333	5,066667
12.	6,67	6,33	6,866667	7,333333

Table 6 – What I want or could do

All the respondents want to participate in cultural activities in both Serbian and Ruthenian. Older respondents gave a slight advantage to the activities in Serbian, whereas the result was reverse with younger ones. When it comes to TV programmes, both older and younger participants would like to almost always watch programmes in Serbian, and often in Ruthenian. At school, they want to communicate in Serbian and Ruthenian, almost equally.

In the next three questions, our participants slightly favoured Serbian. Older participants would like Serbian to be the mostly spoken language at work in the future, whereas they would only sometimes like to speak Ruthenian. Younger participants rated both languages equally. The results for the fifth question are particularly interesting, because it was expected that Serbian as a language that they need to improve in order to get a desired job would be rated quite highly. Older participants did rate Serbian more highly than Ruthenian, but younger participants gave a slightly higher mark to Ruthenian. This could mean that Serbian is becoming their dominant language, which is why they want to improve their Ruthenian. Both groups want to communicate with their colleagues at work in Serbian slightly more often than in Ruthenian.

In the political sector, the results were quite evenly distributed. Our respondents want to communicate with local public services often in Serbian, and sometimes in Ruthenian as well. In order to protect their linguistic rights, they would like clerks to address them only slighly more often in Serbian than in Ruthenian. Finally, they would like to communicate with local governement representatives in Serbian more often than in Ruthenian.

The results for the last three questions in this part were different. Our participants would like to communicate with their partner sometimes in Serbian, but almost always in Ruthenian. Younger participants rated their wish to communicate with a person who has recently moved to their region very low, for both Serbian and Ruthenian. Older participants rated both languages more highly. In the end, both generations would like the region in which they live to have cultural and linguistic characteristics of both Serbian and Ruthenian.

4.7. Efficacy beliefs

In this part of the questionnaire, the respondents estimated the extent to which they are capable of achieving different goals while using Serbian or Ruthenian. Table 7 shows that the average scores for Serbian were higher.

Questions	Older generation		Younger generation	
	Serbian	Ruthenian	Serbian	Ruthenian
1.	7,8	7,67	7,733333	8,66667
2.	8,2	7,13	8,2	8,133333
3.	8,53	2	8,466667	6,333333
4.	8,67	4,73	8,733333	7,066667
5.	5,87	3,93	8	7,4
6.	7,8	2,87	8,2	3,533333
7.	7,07	2,47	8	4,933333
8.	9	3,73	8,333333	7,4
9.	8,93	3,27	8,333333	6,8
10.	8,47	8,13	8,2	6,6
11.	8,07	7,67	5,533333	5,8
12.	7,47	6,07	8	8,066667

Table 7 – What I can do

As far as cultural activities are concerned, it can be concluded that both groups have fun in both Ruthenian and Serbian. They may have more fun and get better informed while watching Serbian programmes, but that difference was negligable with younger respondents. However, the older generation believes that studying in Ruthenian is almost impossible, whereas the younger generation estimated this possibility as average.

Our respondents said that they can almost always achieve their professional goals if the language at work is Serbian. Older respondents think that that is only sometimes possible if the language at work is Ruthenian, while younger respondents believe that they can often achieve their goals in Ruthenian as well. Moreover, all our respondents think that it is easier to achieve a high degree of material and economic state if they use Serbian at work. However, it should be pointed out that the scores given by younger respondents were higher than the ones given by older respondents for both languages. The difference between Serbian and Ruthenian was the most prominent with the last question. Taking into account the control over business and industry, older respondents believe that it would be practically impossible to send a job application in Ruthenian. Even the younger generation believes that would be quite hard to achieve.

Serbian was systematically rated more highly in the next group of questions concerned with the language used in public services. The difference in the scores was much more prominent with the older generation. Very good services

are provided in the public sector in Serbian. Older respondents believe that is not the case with Ruthenian, whereas younger respondents think that the services provided in Ruthenian are satisifactory. Older respondents also believe that they are always capable of expressing their requests and needs in everyday communication in Serbian, yet that is rarely the case with Ruthenian. This implies a lack of waiters, clerks, postal workers, shop assistants etc. speaking Ruthenian. Younger respondents believe that they can express their needs in both Serbian and Ruthenian, almost equally. The results for the next question regarding our respondents' ability to express their needs while communicating with local government representatives were virtually the same.

Our respondents believe that they are almost equally capable of improving relationships in which they need to communicate in Serbian and in Ruthenian. It is interesting that the score for Serbian was higher than the one for Ruthenian with younger respondents. All the participants agree that they could make friends with people moving to their region who speak neither Serbian, nor Ruthenian, by using either of the two. In the end, older respondents believe that they could achieve their goals more easily in the region with Serbian cultural and linguistic characteristics, but the difference between the two languages was not large, whereas it was negligible in the younger generation.

4.8. Belongingness beliefs

The last egocentric scale represents the scale of the respondents' personal sense of identity and belongingness (Table 8). The results were significantly in favour of Ruthenian.

Questions	Older generation		Younger generation	
	Serbian	Ruthenian	Serbian	Ruthenian
1.	3,53	6,93	4,133333	7,6
2.	4,27	5,13	4	7,466667
3.	1,27	8,47	2,266667	8,6
4.	4,27	5,8	3,466667	8
5.	1,33	5,07	2,4	8
6.	1,8	5,73	2,466667	8
7.	8	7,6	4,4	7,933333
8.	3,33	4,27	2,8	7,866667
9.	4,6	6,4	2,733333	8,133333

10.	2,8	8,53	2,333333	8,466667
11.	1	8,87	1,8	8
12.	3,33	8,67	3,066667	8

Table 8 – Personal sense of belongingness

When they think about music, concerts, films, or when they watch TV programmes, our respondents feel that they are Ruthenian, even though they do not completely exclude being Serbian as well. The difference was more prominent with the third question. Considering the values which they have acquired and the education they have received, our respondents feel almost completely Ruthenian, whereas their sense of belonging to the Serbian nationality is virtually inexistent.

The situation was the same for the next three questions. When they think about the products produced in their region which they like, when they dream about their career, or when they think about their prospective employer, our respondents consider themselves Ruthenian. It is important to stress that the younger generation rated Ruthenian much more highly than the older generation.

The results for the next group of questions were different. It is interesting that the older generation stated that their interests, values, way of thinking, and behaviour would be protected in the best way if they were protected by the laws guaranteeing rights to Serbian, more than Ruthenian, citizens. Younger respondents' scores were reversed – their score for Ruthenian rights was twice as high. When they think about people assigned to different positions in the public services, older respondents rated both quite low, whereas younger ones stated that they feel Ruthenian. When they think about the way in which they use post office, bank, health, and education services, both groups of respondents feel more Ruthenian than Serbian, although the difference between the two was more prominent with the younger group.

In the end, the observed differences between the younger and the older generation disappeared in the last part of this scale. Both generations feel almost completely Ruthenian, when they think about the person they are going to marry in the future. If they were to meet a family who has moved to their region recently, and speaks neither Serbian nor Ruthenian, they would introduce themselves as Ruthenians, not Serbians. Lastly, when they think about what it means to be a citizen of the territory on which they live, they almost completely feel Ruthenian, and only slightly Serbian.

5. CONCLUSION

The conclusion based on the beliefs of the speakers of Ruthenian is that the Ruthenian language has the potential to survive in Vojvodina in the future. The results of the questionnaire have shown that Ruthenian still has the advantage over Serbian when it comes to the feelings of identity and belonging, although Serbian is dominant in the field of work and administration.

It would be useful to conduct interviews with our respondents in the future. A structured interview would provide us with a chance to clarify some unexpected answers, and obtain additional valuable information, which was impossible with a questionnaire that was done in pencil. Another drawback of the research was a limited number of respondents, which should be enlarged in the future.

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ETNOLINGVISTIČKA VITALNOST RUSINA U VOJVODINI

Rezime

Sociolingvističke studije koje se bave pitanjem etnolingvističke vitalnosti dolaze do zaključaka o potencijalu koji jezička zajednica ima da se održi u budućnosti. Jezička iskustva pojedinca utiču na njegova uverenja o jeziku, kao i voljnost da koristi i nauči jezik, a subjektivna etnolingvistička vitalnost se pokazuje kao snažan prediktor jezičkog ponašanja (Alard i Landri, 1992: 230). Alard i Landri su formulisali teoriju subjektivne etnolingvističke vitalnosti, sagledane kroz sistem uverenja (1986: 2), koja se zasniva na modelu kognitivne orijentacije ljudskog ponašanja (Krajtler i Krajtler, 1972). Da bi se predvidelo ponašanje grupe, neophodno je da se oceni kognitivna orijentacija pojedinca u odnosu na strukturne varijable za koje se veruje da utiču na etnolingvističku vitalnost grupe, a to su opšta uverenja, uverenja o sebi, uverenja o normama i pravilima i uverenja o ciljevima (Alard i Landri, 1994: 125). Cilj istraživanja je bio da ispita subjektivnu etnolingvističku vitalnost rusinske nacionalne manjine u Vojvodini. Korišćen je upitnik o uverenjima o etnolingvističkoj vitalnosti, engl. *BEVQ* (*Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire*), koji je uradilo 30 ispitanika, 15 ispitanika iz mlađe i 15 iz starije generacije. Iako je uzorak bio mali, rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da Rusini nastoje da održe svoj jezik putem kulturnih manifestacija, učenja maternjeg jezika u školi, kao i svakodnevne komunikacije sa prijateljima i porodicom. Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da je rusinksi jezik u velikoj prednosti kada je u pitanju identitet i osećaj pripadnosti ove jezičke zajednice, iako je srpski jezik dominantan u oblasti posla i administracije. Zaključak zasnovan na uverenjima rusinskih govornika u Vojvodini jeste da rusinski ima potencijal da se održi u budućnosti. Ipak, neophodno je sprovesti studiju koja će uključiti veći broj ispitanika, kako bi se potvrdili dobijeni rezultati.

Ključne reči: sociolingvistika, etnolingvistička vitalnost, kognitivna orijentacija, Rusini u Vojvodini

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COMPETENCE FOR USING SENTENCES WITH SUBORDINATE CLAUSES IN WRITTEN EXPRESSION OF SEVEN-YEAR-OLDS

All the measures which are relevant to the degree of syntactic maturity in children's texts of certain age, are based on the use and readiness of a child to use those constructions in written expression. Bearing in mind that including the subordinate clauses in the structure of main sentence, implicates the high level of syntactic complexity, for the basic aim of this work, was to research the competence for production of subordinate clauses with the pupils of the first grade in primary school in written discourse. Examinees wrote three different essays, showing that the corpus consisted of 147 texts. The analysis of a gathered material encompassed both quantitative (the length of the text given the number of words, sentences and clauses) and qualitative parameters. Registered occurrence of certain types of subordinate clauses and the frequency of their use was established. The results enabled insight into average length of the seven-year-old pupils' texts, together with what types of subordinate clauses children at this age could use without difficulties.

Keywords: subordinate clauses, later language development, written expression, seven-year-olds

1. INTRODUCTION

Even though development for production of texts has been recently paid important attention to, many phases of this process are still not clarified enough.

The development of this ability is usually analyzed from the aspect of syntactic maturity which is concretized by using complex syntactic constructions, first of all subordinate clauses and inclusion in the structure of the main clause. On the other hand, the production of clauses in coordination relation is analyzed as an indicator of the lower level of syntactic development. The fact that these changes in the syntax happen gradually, the phases up to the end of secondary school concurs the belief that the development of competence for written production is a process which is long-lasting and complex (Ivanović i Kašić, 2014).

Before gaining elementary literacy, children are mutually different in speech production. Individual differences in speech expression among children of preschool age start from the speaking expression of parents, preschool teachers, that of a role model. The frequent use in constructions with subordinate clauses in the closer surroundings of a child is an important predictor for the occurrence of such sentences in their speech. The research shows that children whose parents more often used the subordinate clauses children themselves more often produce such clauses (Huttenlocher, 2002). Such children will have developed syntactic competence and will form the subordinate clauses with greater success in the scope of hierarchical higher units. In syntactic sense these children will be more skillful and able than the children whose role models produced simpler constructions (Huttenlocher, 2002). In compliance with these findings there is a conclusion that syntactic competence is an important predictor of school success in the period of broadening language competence (Loban, 1976).

So pupils who have difficulties in writing in a very important way lose pace with other children because the written form is primary means with which teachers mark the quality level of their knowledge (Graham, 2008). Analyzing the writing effects on understanding the text is a conclusion that pupils who write shorter forms while learning, have a more developed ability to understand a text than children who only answer the questions (Marshal, 1987, according to Vacca & Vacca 2000). The questions, some researchers believed, limit the scope of learning while writing on a certain topic influences wider viewing of some occurrence or problem. However the circumstance which makes the problem worse is the fact that pupils are usually writing an expository type of text in order to reproduce the well-known fact and not to widen their knowledge in some area (Vacca & Vacca, 2000).

During the classes at the beginning of reading and writing, children find a range of difficulties while forming the sentences and sensible complete texts (Loban, 1976). Not finding the skilful ground in the grammatical and semantic structure of a text, point out the difficulties in formulation of a sentence and shows that there exists an immaturity in syntactic development. However, one should bear in mind the fact that ”confusion” may occur in writing with children who have a typical development, especially the ones when they try to produce long, complex expressions. In this sense, producing non-grammatical constructions or wrong used lexemes does not show that there are certain difficulties in language development because it is not unusual that adults make mistakes. This occurrence underlines the facts which for a very long time were neglected - the language development does not end when a child starts to go to school but it continues up to the end of the high school and even after that (Nippold, 1998).

Bearing this in mind, this work presents the results of research of the competence to use sentences with subordinate clauses in the written expressions of pupils in the first grade of the primary school.

1.1. The development of the competence to produce sentences with subordinate clauses in the written discourse

The development of children's syntax is usually analyzed from the aspect of the syntactic maturity which is most often defined as the ability to produce complex syntactic structures (Silva, Sanchez- Abchi & Borzone, 2010). It is getting more concrete through the index of complexity in which the most important feature depends on the forming of subordinate clauses and their inclusion in higher hierarchy units (ibid).

If the language flow has the features of a typical development, from the age of six to seven years a child becomes aware of the language, language units and their possible combinations. The beginning of metalinguistic awareness occurs in interaction through spontaneous changes and questions (Clark, 1978, according Ravid & Tolchinsky, 2002). A child starts to analyze the expressions from the point of view of the speaker (production) and co-speaker (understanding). However, clear and analytical awareness of the language processes and constructions together with an understanding about the structure of the language is far beyond the ability of children and most of all they did not make these connections completely before adolescence (Ashkenazi & Ravid, 1998). With children of preschool age the syntactic awareness is manifested in such a way that children know that there exist some irregularities in a sentence and they are aware of them but they're not able to correct them or explain them and to be able to see what is wrong in the given example. The awareness about the syntactic structure of a sentence develops with this, so about the age of seven and eight, some children are to give adequate explanations in connection with correcting grammar mistakes (Eisenbeiss, 2013). The tasks with which they check the level of syntactic awareness are the ones in which it is expected from a child to put the words whose places haven't changed into correct position and to rearrange their order in a sentence, or offer non-grammatical constructions and that so the child should see the mistake and form a grammatical range (Cain, 2007).

Native speakers of shtokavian dialect during the younger primary school age, broaden the language competence and understand use of communicative sentences in which the exponents of the secondary sentence constituents are expressed by subordinate clauses. At first, they acquire subordinate clauses with additional constituent function (declarative, final, consecutive) and constituent function of nouns' complements (relative). Subordinate clauses with constituent

function of verbal complements according to the order of acquiring are separated into two groups. The first of these ones acquired are comparative, temporal, and clause of place, while causal, concessive and conditional are acquired finally from the age of eleven until the age of twelve (Kašić, 2002).

In the scope of the written discourse, children should have their ideas formed by language to organize into constructions, where there exists a hierarchy. "Putting the clauses together" means to arrange the units which are connected syntactically, topically and in a discourse. Such connection is realized with conjunctions of parataxis and hypotaxis, non personal verb forms and elliptic constructions. At the beginning, children order the sentences one by one with the order which is close to the order of occurrences. Seeing and understanding the causal relations, brings the child to the variants of more complex syntax and usage of subordinate clauses before another language means. On the other hand, complex syntactic means give a child the ability to discover the complex relations which are usually connected with cause and effect.

The existing of subordinate clauses in the scope of complex sentences and complex-compound sentences, their greater production, stagnation in use or lack of them in written texts of children, provide researchers with a very important data on the degree of syntactic maturity of their written discourse (Hunt, 1965, 1970, according to Ivanović, Kašić, 2014). At the same time, producing complex syntactic structures signalizes the reached level of syntactic competence which is reached and which is present in the texts produced by children of various age (Hunt, 1965, 1970). According to this, one can deduce that mutual combinations of sentences and combinations within them leads to our complex syntax, towards acquiring complex syntactic constructions (Hillock, 1986, according to Applebee, 2000). Children incorporate such constructions into written discourse forms, think about the topic and search for the best way in which they can express their ideas and transform them into sentences gradually acquiring complex syntactic structures, enriching vocabulary with specific school lexicon and broadening meaning relations between them. (Schelletter & Leinonen, 2003).

1.2. Development of competence for written production

When a child faces writing for the first time most often it happens at preschool age. It is reflected in drawing the letters which is a new and pleasure activity for a child, but without the phonetic and graphemic analysis and synthesis, which is necessary for the development of the written speech in the full sense of its meaning (Gligorović, 2013). While acquiring the written language it is necessary to encompass three important writing components: planning, transforming ideas into the written form (writing in the narrower sense) and revision of the

text. The given phases of this writing process do not develop simultaneously and this fact is the place where there are the main differences between children's texts and the texts of adults.

With children, first of all there occurs a phase of acquiring and translating the thoughts' contents into the language expression (translating = transcription, text generation, Beringer & Swanson, 1994). This is the central phase in the writing process. Text generating, the writing in the narrow sense, divides common markers with speaking. In the scope of this phase there comes the choice of contents, the choice of lexemes and syntactic formulations, while transcription is connected exclusively with the writing. In the contrast with the fact that the children are quite good in the role of speakers when they start to write, the development of their written expression shows that this production is not without the effort and that it causes great difficulties to everybody (Mc Cutchen, 1996). With children who have just reached literacy level, in the phase of learning the elementary laws of writing, there does not exist the phase of planning, neither the phase of text revision. Comparison of written content and the final version of the text with the 10-year-olds, shows that that one third of their notes changes just a bit in the final version. Contrary to this, children at the age of 12 and 14 make greater changes. Such results point out to two facts: that children gradually acquire the ability to plan the text and that simply they cannot articulate their plans as adult speakers (McCutchen, 2008). To them, essentially, planning is not as important because this process is not obvious and visible - they speak what they will write about and they speak out loud about every detail they describe (Graves, 1981; Flood & Lapp, 2000). This greatly makes the phase more easy up to the very generating of the text (when they hear themselves it is easier for them to decide which words they will transform into sound). In this very manner, reading out loud the text that they wrote will help them decide what they need to write next (Flood & Lapp, 2000).

If we compare the existing phases of the seven-year-olds during the beginning of the classes with what happens when it comes to the adult speakers and writers, it is visible that with children there exists a rudimentary preparation in the sense of planning before producing the text. When they write an essay about a topic their writing is viewed as the writing of what they know about the task which is given to them. The differences may be seen during generating the text and the transcription, together with the revision -- children much more readily go over that text and pay less attention to the spelling rules and writing punctuation (Wagner et al, 2011).

Revising the text presents the difficulty to children because it involves the processes of discovering and diagnosing certain problems which occur during the very production of the text and it demands from a child to choose the appropriate strategy and apply it to making solutions to the existing problems. It

has to acquire and understand and learn very well the reading itself and writing in the narrow sense (text generating) (McCutchen, 2008). While experienced writers do this phase very intensively, taking into account the whole text, the structure, coherency and meaning (if there are unclear and confusing parts) as the paragraphs and subparagraphs of the text, to the level of the sentence; children most often have the revision the *local* level - they keep the scope of the sentence and the choice of words (Butterfield, Hacker & Albertson, 1996; Fitzgerald, 1987; McCutchen, Francis & Kerr, 1997; according to Midgette, Haria& MacArthur, 2008). The last phase means revision of the written material which enables the production of writing to be compared with the mental representation of the planned text. It encompasses the evaluation of what is written, including procedures which make the text better (the content and the form of it) (Olive et al. 2009). Experienced writers, who correct what they wrote, view the complete structure of the text, connection of sentences together with the message they have in the whole of the text, what they want to say and the message they want to give, grammar and letter mistakes. The beginners, children in elementary school (but in the high school as well) during revision, as it was said, they stay exclusively at the level of the word and a sentence and they don't pay attention to the above sentence units or paragraphs (Fizgerald, 1987; McCutchen, Francis & Kerr, 1997; Butterfield, Hocker & Albertson, 1996; according to Midgette, Haria & Macarthur, 2008).

Children of the early school age did not possess the knowledge about the criteria which are necessary for successfully marking their text (MacArthur, 2007). Also, during the writing process, they do not give the clear aims and they do not judge the principles with which they can guide themselves, while they're writing and revise what is written (Graham, MacArthur & Schwartz, 1995).

2. RESEARCH

2.1. Research Aims

The basic aim of this work is to research the competence for subordinate clauses production in the written discourse of pupils in the first grade in primary school. From the basic aim there appeared a practical aim: developing the strategies in the process of gaining literacy which facilitates bringing children syntax closer to the written schemes of the ones by grown-up speakers and bringing the systematic instructions with which they would reach higher levels of competence for written production in the lower grades of primary school (Ivanović, 2015b).

2.2. Methodology and Corpus

49 pupils participated in this research and they were the pupils of the first grade of one Belgrade Primary School. All the examinees were native speakers of Serbian language that is the shtokavian diasystem. Every child, during the three school classes, in the period of one week, wrote one type of a text (narrative, exposition, and description) so that the corpus was composed of 147 texts. Every child received the same printed guidance which guided him or her what the mandatory parts of the texts were and reminded them which elements it should encompass. The texts were by genre and by the topic very diverse. As they gathered texts presenting the part of the corpus of a wider research on this occasion they did not take into account the features of the texts which were sensitive to the genre, and various types of texts enabled different types of sentences.

The analysis encompassed quantitative (the texts' length was measured by the number of words, communicative sentences and clauses) and qualitative (types of communicative sentences and subordinate clauses) parameters. In the scope of researching the competence for production of subordinate clauses in the written language with seven-year-olds, after the parameters which related to the length of the text, analysis encompassed various types of sentences which appeared in the corpus, that is kernel sentences, simple (extended) sentences, compound sentences, complex sentences and and complex-compound sentences. Except for the given ones, there are some non grammatical constructions, elliptic and senseless sentences. Syntactic parameters also include the number and the type of subordinate clauses in the main clause which appeared in the narrative, expository and descriptive type of text.

So the next step in the analysis encompassed all subordinate clauses that exist in the Serbian system of predicative sentences - declarative, relative, position, temporal, causal, conditional, concessive, final, comparative and consecutive.

The statistical work with the given variables was done using the software package SPSS. The data were given in the tables and present the part of descriptive statistics (arithmetic mean, minimum, maximum). Apart from this, some data are presented in the percentages and for some there is a given scale of their frequency of use.

3. RESULTS

As one can see is the table 1, the pupils in the first grade of the primary school, in the written discourse produce on average 58 words (57,55). Also one can notice that individual variations are very present, and in this sense the shortest text had at least 21,67 words, while the maximum number words was double the average, that is it consisted of 127,67 words.

When the average number of communicative sentences in the texts of the seven-year-old is in question, it is about seven (7,09), while the range between the minimum and the maximum to the average number of sentences in the text is somewhat smaller than the average number of words, so the smallest number of sentences was the one with only four, one text had the most number of 11,33.

The wide spectrum of variations is very present in the number of clauses which were produced on text level. On average, one text in the first grade of the primary school has 12,39 clauses, while 5,33 is the number which is related to the minimum number of closes at the top, that 20,33 is the maximum value for the given syntactic variable.

Table 1 – Text length expressed in a number of words, sentences and clauses

N=49	Average number of words in a text	Average number of communicative sentences in a text	Average number of clauses in a text
	57,55	7,09	12,39
Min.	21,67	4,00	5,33
Max.	127,67	11,33	20,33

In table 2 the number of various types of communicative sentences in the text of a seven-year olds is presented, and in the brackets is the value expressed in percentages. It is obvious that only simple (extended) sentences appeared in every text in the scope of the analyzed corpus, that is there were written essays in which there were not kernel sentences, senseless or elliptic productions and non grammatical constructions, but also neither type of compound, complex or complex-compound sentences - Even though there exist texts with three complex or compound sentences (which presents the maximum for every text), there are texts with 6,67 simple (extended) sentences.

Table 2 - Average number of all types of sentences in the text (in percentages)

N=49	Kernel sent.	Simple (extended) sent.	Compound sent.	Complex sent.	Complex-compound sent.	Non-grammatical sent.	Senseless sent.	Elliptic sent.
(%)	,38 (5,3%)	3,01 (42,4%)	1,39 (19,6%)	1,16 (16,4%)	0,65 (9,2%)	,43 (6,05%)	,04 (0,58%)	,03 (0,4%)
Min.	,00	1,00	,00	,00	,00	,00	,00	,00
Max.	2,33	6,67	3,00	3,00	2,00	2,00	,67	1,33

The structure of texts in the first grade of primary school, when we take into account their average values, look like this: seven-year-olds produce the greatest number of simple (extended) sentences, on average about 3. However it is 42.4% percentages from the general number of sentences, one could conclude that these are by far the most numerous ones. Next are compound sentences (1,39 or19,6%) which means that taking into account the kernel sentences which occurred on average 0,38 (5,3%) means that about 70% of the complete general number of sentences belongs to subject-predicate constructions (that is simple sentences) and compound sentences, traditionally belong to constructions which are complex in the sense of greater number of predicates, but they are not complex in syntactic sense as the complex and complex-compound sentences are (with the relations of coordination and subordination).

So, senseless and elliptic sentences happened in the whole corpus of the texts very sporadically, they won't be analyzed here anymore (both types of sentences occurred less than 1% by text), but further analysis of the results will encompass sentences in which there exist at least one subordinate clause, that is complex or complex-compound sentences.

As it can be seen in table 2, there were texts in which pupils, not once, produced sentences with subordinate clauses, but there were texts with three complex sentences, that is 2 complex-compound sentences. On average, seven-year olds wrote texts with 1,16 that is 0,65 of such constructions. Which means that almost 1/4 of the whole number of sentences had at least one subordinate clause. With this data indirect connection is the number of non grammatical productions (0,43 that is 6,05 is%) , even though that detailed analysis was not done, on the first glance it is clear that the greatest number of non-grammatical sentences was constructed with the trial of forming complex syntactic structures.

Table 3 shows the average number and the interrelations of subordinate clauses which occurred in the scope of the wider hierarchy higher unit, complex sentence. It is visible here that 10 types of dependent clauses which are in Serbian language, 8 occurred in the written discourse of the seven-year olds, while concessive and place sentences were not registered. It is also visible that there are texts without subordinate clauses and that on average complex and complex-compound sentences consist of just one subordinate clause, not more.

Table 3 - Average number of dependent clauses in dependent complex sentences

N=49	Declarative	Relative	Of place	Temporal	Causal	Conditional	Concessive	Final	Comparative	Consecutive
	,35	,12	,00	,41	,30	,006	,00	,14	,03	,03
Min.	,00	,00	,00	,00	,00	,00	,00	,00	,00	,00
Max	1,33	,67	,00	1,33	1,67	,33	,00	1,00	,67	,33

In order to be able to view the results more clearly and to get along in them more easily, the table 4 is given and in it, the frequency of the use of subordinate clauses in the texts of the first grade pupils were given. As it shows, in the corpus of texts with different genres (narrative, descriptive and expository) there isn't a single seven-year-old that produced place and concessive clause. Among the adverbial ones, children produced mostly those with the meaning of time and cause, they used these complements: declarative and partly final (final ones occurred, however, sporadically in adverbial function).Comparative, consecutive and conditional clauses occurred in smaller numbers, and relative with adjectival value are in the middle of the table.

Table 4 - Frequency of usage of subordinate clauses in the texts of first grade students

Temporal clauses	,41
Declarative clauses	,35
Causal clauses	,30
Final clauses	,14
Relative clauses	,12
Comparative clauses	,03
Consecutive clauses	,03
Conditional clauses	,01
Concessive clauses	,00
Clauses of place	,00

4. DISCUSSION

Trying to determine the flow and parameters of the later syntactic development and also to explain the facts which are concerned with syntactic development (most of all in written language) during schooling, the greatest number of the researchers examined understanding in the production of subordinate clauses. In the usage and readiness of a child to use them in the written expression the greatest part of it lies in of all the measures which are relevant for the syntactic maturity. Anyhow, including subordinate clauses in the structure of the main sentence implicates the higher level of syntactic complexity (and with it maturity), an important part of the analysis of our corpus is based exactly on researching and examining subordinate clauses.

Certain authors believe that trials to give adequate explanation about acquiring syntactic constructions in the later phase of language development were bound to be failures, because of the fact that language development in this period is not based on acquiring new structures that it is based on the ability of a child to try as much as possible and to enlarge the degree of complexity structure, that is to include with success the greater number of constructions in the structure of one sentence (Applebee, 2000; Myhill, 2008). Writing in this sense presents a better base for examining complex structures because the texts had features with a higher level of syntactic complexity. As it is written, they all try harder (and more compared to when they speak) and try to reach the maximum trying to leave and make the batter impression to the person who is reading the text.

From the existing 10 types of subordinate clauses, in the first grade 8 types of them appeared. Clauses of place and concessive clauses were not in the corpus of the texts of pupils in the first grade.

What is the difference to children in the first grade according to one research (Ivanović, 2014) in the texts of ten-year olds there appear all types of dependent clauses. The most frequent ones are declarative and time clauses (except that they switched places compared to the first grade) while together with these causal and relative clauses are equally frequent in occurrence. At least a number of produced clauses are clauses of place, consecutive and concessive and dependent (Ivanović, 2014).

When they acquire language, children analyze and organize information which they hear from their surroundings. They hear sentences in which some of the primary or secondary constituents were expressed by subordinate clauses, they analyze them with greater difficulty and organize information with greater difficulties than when the closer and wider surroundings use simpler constructions, like kernel and simple (extended) sentences. In the period of acquiring language, complex sentences are too complex for the child to process them successfully; because of this, children most of all and most often and very early acquire the structure of a simple sentence in order to be able, according to using the simple sentence structure, build up complex constructions with subordinate clauses (Elman 1993; Newport 1990; according Diessel, 2004). Because of this, the first complex sentences are with relatively simple structure which means that they are not acquired completely as a whole and in the same manner, but certain types of subordinate clauses possess specific strategies of acquiring. Because of the fact that subordinate clauses are acquired through specific order, it is necessary to exist specific conditions. It is believed that the order by which they are acquired in the written expression presents a replica of the speech model except that this period of acquisition is shorter because children are cognitively more ready after the preschool period. In the later phase of language development chil-

dren have greater experience in language usage then they had at the beginning of this very process of language acquisition (Ivanović, 2014).

Moskoljević quotes that children first acquire simple, easy structures in writing (Moskovljević, 1989). When children start to form their sentences with two or more predicates, they first construct compound sentences, in order to, while mastering the structure of complex sentence, they first acquire the ones in whose structure they have a subordinate clause which includes the structure of the main sentence and that formally looks like composing of independent clauses (Diessel, 2004).

Corpus analysis of the texts are carefully divided into different types of sentences, showing that a child that is in the process of acquiring sentences with two or more clauses which we call complex sentences, has two levels. First, lower level depends on composing independent clauses connected with compound sentences and forming complex sentences in the scope with which they are added subordinate clauses with determinative function (dependent clauses of adverbial type). Second, higher level is presented by complex sentences in which primary and secondary constituents are expressed by complementary and relative clauses (dependent clauses with noun and adjective value) (Diessel, 2004; Kašić, 2002). The speed with which a child will acquire any of these two types of models of complex constructions depends on several factors: frequency of certain types of constructions in the structure of native mother tongue, but also in the language surroundings which the child is in connection with. What the process of acquisition will look like depends on the syntactic and semantic complexity of the given construction, communicative function that certain sentences bear and social and cognitive development of a child (Diessel, 2004).

The results which appeared in our research point out the order of the acquiring the written sentence form, that is on the order of the acquisition of a subordinate clause in the written discourse. They are greatly in correlation with a statement that subordinate clauses that have a function of adverbial complements are more similar and closer to independent clauses (because of that they are essentially not included in the structure of the main clause that, they are most often only added to it, that is the predicate of a dependent clause is formed behind the predicate of the main clause). So, the logical order in having them, would be that they are acquired parallely with them, that is earlier than subordinate clauses with complementary and attribute function (Diessel. 2004).

In traditional grammar, independent clauses and subordinate clauses with adverbial value differentiate in category - the first ones with the main clause make a symmetrical structure, while the other ones form non-symmetrical construction. Some authors rather view these two types of clauses as a continuum of similar, connected constructions (Diessel, 2004). Some of the most frequent

types of subordinate clauses with adverbial function are - temporal and causal. Apart from, according to frequent usage of the two types of subordinate clauses, a conclusion may be reached that expressing adverbials (secondary sentence constituents) for time and cause through subordinate clauses, it is very frequent and that children who are already seven years old they have learnt the logical order of occurrences, do know time relations, and cause and effect concept and the that one is examined in various parts of cognitive sciences (Sowa, 2000; Meyer, 2000; according to Diessel & Heterle , 2011). If relations of coordination and subordination are viewed as a single continuum, in this case the cause and temporal clauses belong to edge parts of, both poles, that is, they present the point in which they intersect with characteristics of one and the other relation - both coordination and subordination (Ivanović, 2014).

Other subordinate clauses of adverbial type, like comparative or conditional clauses are the ones which are most rarely used in texts of the 7-year olds. It is believed that this is the comparison (manner) clauses except that they have an adverbial function (of equality) they are also very often used in the function of an complement (of inequality) which presents a more obligatory, and with it, the higher level and the degree of inclusion into the main clause, so, they are acquired much later. Apart from that, the determiners of manner more often in Serbian language are expressed by some phrasal construction (like NP or preposition+NP) than by a dependent clause. Conditional clauses, for example the ones with the adverbial type are more complex to use, they present a greater problem for the children to acquire (Kašić, 2002) because they need a higher cognitive level and already acquired conditional module if - then are more closely connected with the main clause, that is, the level of integration with the main clause is much higher (Diessel , 2001; 2004; coding to Diessel & Hetterle, 2011). The level of formal integration into the main sentence depends on several factors. Most of all, morpho-syntactic characteristics of the verb play an important role which functions as a predicate in a subordinate adverbial clause (Cristofaro, 2003; according to Diessel & Hetterle, 2011). Apart from this, it is important how the adverbial sentence is positioned relating to the main clause (in front of it or behind, on the left from predicate or on the right) (Diessel. 2001, 2005; according to Diessel & Hetterle, 2011) and what is intonation connection of the main and subordinate clause if speech expression is in question (Chafe, 1984; Ford, 1993; according to Diessel & Hetterle, 2011).

So, children first acquire those clauses which are positionally connected to the main clause, with which occur after it, while the ones which are positioned in front of it (inversion occurs more often in the written expression than in speech, and conjunctions and conjunction connections together with the features of relation are also differentiated according to the usage in the certain modality of language- some are more often used in writing, and others is speech). In the written

expression inversion order of syntactic constructions enables the one who writes to point out what is important to him or her and to guide the one who reads the text to the most important part of the information (Myhill, 2008). The greatest number of examples of causal clauses in texts which are analyzed is positioned behind the main clause:

Na<&> primer<&> slični su zato što oba deci donose radost kao sestra i brat.(I exp 3, ž);

Ja se sa njom igram zato što je zanimljivo. (I des 6 ž)

Also, causal clauses which are placed behind the main clause more often are connected with specific conjunctions, which acquired earlier (both in speech and in writing), as for example: *jer, zato što*. Causal conjunctions are the typical ones for written form and they occur later (like *budući da, zbog toga što*, *pošto*) and are usually used when causal sentences are occurring in front of of the main clause; they are hard to find in speech (Diessel, 2005; according to Diessel & Hetterle, 2011).

Temporal and causal sentences are much more often used then other subordinate clauses - it is found in the study which is done among school children (La Brant, 1933; Harrell, Watts, according to Hunt, 1965). Temporal sentences can be found in front and behind the main clause, and because of this their number in the texts of children from the age of 8 to 10 is very high. Conditional sentences on the other hand, are more often positioned in front of the main clause, they are more tightly tied to them, and because of this, children have greater problems using them. Inversion form can be designated as marked compared to the typical order where a subordinate clause comes after the main clause, so the children try to manage with it and acquire it later. As they grow, they acquire more easily these constructions and with this the conditional clauses whose number rises with the ageing, but they occur more frequently in the third and the fourth grade (Ivanović, 2014).

Concessive clauses occur in the very small number of sentences and texts at the level of the whole corpus in the research which we quoted, and from it there there may be a conclusion that acquiring these constructions takes more time and the children put them into the system after the age of 10 (Ivanović, 2014). Their frequency of use is at all examined ages at the very bottom of the table which proves the hypothesis that children find it difficult at the younger primary school age to produce subordinate clauses with the function of concessive complement.

Apart from concessive clauses, the first grade pupils have never produced place clauses. Bearing in mind that in the structure of the Serbian language the usual form with which they express adverbial complement for place is a preposition-case construction, and that very rarely in the Serbian language the clause is used as an exponent of this constituent, some frequency of the use of place

clauses is not expected because it is probably not the case with the adult native speakers of Serbian language where we couldn't find more of these. So, place clauses with a function of an adverbial complement for place are not frequent in the language of the surroundings in which the children are found, so they did not occur in the written form of seven-year-olds.

Apart from the dependent with adverbial function of cause and time, the ones who are acquired at the earliest stage are the clauses with complement constituent function, we above all mean declarative and final clauses. As it is seen in the results, both types are very frequent and can be found in the upper part of the table.

If we take into account the frequency of such constructions in the language of the child surroundings, their form and function which they perform in the structure of the mother tongue, then the system very well expects that declarative clauses may be in the second position. Because the usual function is a complement function, they usually have the function of a direct object, the characteristic of (transitive) what verbs ask for a complement in the type of a construction with declarative clauses. The speech of adult speakers is full of such constructions and the child hears complement clauses everyday very often. Apart from this they are very frequent in speech, so the written expression is not very retrograde and different from the speech expression when it comes to the usage of declarative sentences and when they are in question. In other words, the very structure of the language system, lexis and grammar make children use the declarative clause after the transitional verb which is used in the main sentence. At first children use complement clauses mostly in the sentences which are formed according to the mold of modal verbs which have obligatory complement, and they are learnt as a whole (Thompson & Mulac, 1991; according to Diessel & Tomasello, 2000). So the fact that declarative clauses in the function of an object is most frequent (unmarked), the higher level of syntactic maturity is attributed to the text in which declarative clause is used in the function of a subject (marked) (since it is more rare, and with it is highly regarded and valued) and it is believed to be the better proof of syntactic development of the same sentence which gives this function of an object (Hunt, 1965).

Since final clauses have the function of a final complement and final adverbial, it is more often in the text of younger children that they are seen and used as complements function (with verbs of aware movement) when does structure of such sentences is closer to the model of declarative clauses. Final sentences with the functions of complement which are linked to the structure of the main sentence are more often in our corpus, for example:

Ja idem kod dede na leto da ga posetim. (1 exp 13m)

According to the given quotations of some authors, the most important characteristic which should be paid attention to, while forming criteria for es-

tablishing the level of syntactic maturity of texts of children of school age is the number of subordinate clauses with adjectival value (when the function of noun determiners). In eight years, with children of the 4th grade till the end of Secondary School, the number of relative clauses started to be used twice as much (Hunt, 1965).

As they mature, children use more and more relative clauses which become more complex and more diverse (Diessel & Tomasello, 2000). This means that at the beginning children write (the same as they acquire them in spoken language) communicative sentences which in themselves have a relative clause with which they together have one unified, all encompassed meaning, in order to later move towards constructions which essentially become expressions with two prepositions (Diessel & Tomasello, 2000). Most often with attribute and apposition function. Communicative sentences in whose structure children include relative clauses remind the researcher to the structure of basic simple sentences, even though formally with two predicates, (they are connected to the isolated noun into an noun syntagm (another picture that I painted) or, even more often, to copulative predicative (that is the sugar that doesn't belong there) (Diessel & Tomasello, 2000). Later there occur the real complex sentences which in itself include the relative clause with which it is what modified most often the subject and the object of the main sentence.

5. CONCLUSION

Sentence structure is a key indicator of a syntactic level in school age children development (Ivanović, 2013). As a process of acquiring writing it's formally begins with the child's going to school, in this work the competence to produce subordinate clauses of a seven-year olds was researched with which the phenomenon of acquiring the form and structure of a written sentence is followed from the very beginning; with it all the examinees are native speakers of Serbian language. As they get along with schooling more, their sentences vary and become very complex. According to the given results one may conclude that most often they acquire subordinate clauses with adverbial and noun value, with which are formed after the main clause, and they're including in the structure of the main clause looks like connecting of independent clauses, it is more formal than essential. The real reflection of more advanced syntax are relative clauses. They are specific because they, what is different from the other types of subordinate clauses, are formed and organized by certain lexeme and in the way that they are essentially included into the larger structure. This process of puzzling and including relative clauses into the hierarchy higher structure presents

difficulty with children of younger age so it is expected the number of relative clauses is becoming greater with chronological ageing of a child.

The fact that in the written form all the types of subordinate clauses did not appear as the fact that they are not registered by using their functions, it underlines the key feature of the later language development - development of the language continues, not primarily by acquiring new constructions but with widening the existing ones.

Translated by Jelena P. Đorđević

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SPOSOBNOST UPOTREBE REČENICA SA ZAVISNIM KLAUZAMA U PISANOM IZRAZU SEDMOGODIŠNJAKA

Rezime

Pokušavajući da odrede tok i parametre kasnijeg sintaksičkog razvoja i da objasne činjenice koje se odnose na razvoj sintakse (pre svega pisane) tokom školovanja, najveći broj istraživača je ispitivao razumevanje i produkciju zavisnih klauza. Na njihovoj upotrebi i spremnosti deteta da ih koristi u pisanom izražavanju najvećim delom počivaju sva merenja koja su relevantna za stepen sintaksičke zrelosti tekstova dece određenog uzrasta. Budući da uključivanje zavisnih klauza u strukturu upravne rečenice implicira i viši nivo sintaksičke složenosti (a samim tim i zrelosti), osnovni cilj rada je bio da se ispita sposobnost produkcije zavisnih klauza učenika prvog razreda osnovne škole u pisanom diskursu. Četrdeset devetoro ispitanika je pisalo po tri različita sastava tako da se korpus sastojao od 147 tekstova. Analiza prikupljenog materijala obuhvatila je i kvantitativne (dužina teksta izražena brojem reči, rečenica i klauza) i kvalitativne parametre. Registrovana je i ispitivana pojava pojedinih tipova zavisnih klauza a utvrđena je i frekvenca njihove upotrebe. Rezultati omogućuju uvid u prosečnu dužinu tekstova sedmogodišnjaka, kao i u to koje tipove zavisnih klauza produkuju deca na ovom uzrastu bez većih teškoća. Osim toga, rezultati ukazuju da postoje i one vrste zavisnih klauza koje se javljaju sporadično ili ih upošte nema i koje su još uvek u pisanju izvan njihovih dometa. Podatak da deca od deset vrsta zavisnih klauza na kraju prvog razreda najčešće konstruišu izrične i vremenske, a da nijednom nisu upotrebila dopusnu ili mesnu klauzu u tekstovima, potvrđuje činjenicu da se i u školskom periodu, iako sporijim tempom, nastavlja kasniji jezički razvoj.

Ključne reči: zavisne klauze, kasniji jezički razvoj, pisani izraz, sedmogodišnjaci

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DERIVATIONAL BASE EXTENSION IN ENGLISH, SERBIAN AND BULGARIAN

The paper attempts at analysing the occurrences of epenthesis and synthesis in their morphological and phonological aspects in three different languages, English, Serbian and Bulgarian, as well as other cases of base extension in derivation. Alongside this, one of the objectives of the paper is to attempt at establishing the reasons which lead to base extension, and to account for the causes of the occurrence of morphological extension. The research was conducted on more than a thousand lexemes from lexicological studies and textbooks. There are instances of both phonemic and morphic expansion in English, particularly effected by empty morphs such as *-al, -ari-, -at-* and *-ic-* for formative purposes based on analogy with suffixes or reasons such as avoiding unfavourable consonant clusters at morpheme boundaries. The last formative has corresponding forms in Serbian and Bulgarian. Serbian is also characterized by morphophonemic extensions, such as with *-k-* which may contain semantic features, as it may indicate affective language. The expected results of greater similarity between typologically related languages such as Serbian and Bulgarian have been confirmed, where the dominant type of base extension with analytic languages is derivational synthesis.

Key words: derivation, base extension, affixes, English, Serbian, Bulgarian.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Research topic

The topic of this contrastive linguistic study is the formative extension of the word base in derivational processes, i.e. the formal differential that occurs between the input units in deriving complex lexemes and the final outcome in the form of a derivative. The term **derivational base extension** can be determined as an addition of any morpho-phonemic content to the derivational base prior to other rule applications,[1] which is conditioned by the ensuing affixation or potentially other formative mechanisms in contemporary lexeme formation. The

[1] The term *base* is used to refer to the basic unit of derivational morphology, while in inflectional morphology the similar concept would be referred to as *stem*.

phenomenon could be illustrated by concrete examples, where the forms <t> in *drama-**t**-ic*, *drama-**t**-ist*, <pt> in *rece-**pt**-ion*, or <al> in *antiseptic-**al**-ly* could be said to present instances of base extension. The overall objective of this paper is to establish the concept of base extension more firmly as a constituent unit in morphological analysis and hopefully ascertain the indications which speak in favour of accepting this phenomenon as such rather than considering allomorphic variations of affixes, as in the illustrations provided. In another approach, most notably represented by authors such as Aronoff (1976), Scalise (1986), Spenser (1991) and Klajn (2002; 2005), similar examples would be regarded as demonstrative of alternative manifestations of the suffixes {*-ic*}, {*-ion*}, and {*-ly*}, namely those orthographically presented as <-tic>, <-ption> and <-ally>.

One of the starting assumptions of the research is that base extension should be distinguished from the process of infixation, which itself is a kind of affixation and presupposes endpoint derivatives, whereas with base extension, affixation is a secondary operation, following the extension-adding itself. The American linguist Yu defines infixation as "an affix infixing if it appears as a segmentally distinct entity between two strings that form a meaningful unit when combined but do not themselves exist as meaningful parts." (Yu, 2007: 10). In the Serbo-Croatian linguistic tradition, this formative unit with the name of *infix* is treated as *spojnik* 'linker', a conjoining vowel, joining formant, infix or interfix (Klajn, 2002: 23), where this type of vowels "[…] need not be separate morphemes added to the base, but final vowels of the base itself - […]" Klajn (2002: 146). Obviously, no distinction is maintained between the concepts of *infix* (as define above) and *interfix* (added 'between two stems'), which have their separate purposes and clear conceptual differences (Cf. Müller, et al., 2015: 242).

1.2. Research objectives and method

One of the basic aims of this study is to establish a relation among three languages, English, Serbian and Bulgarian based on the comparison of rule-governed, morpho-phonological base extension modalities within lexical derivation. Affixation, as a lexeme-formation process, is based on relatively simple mechanisms and clear principles, particularly in analytic languages where the average number of morphemes per word averages below two. The affixational rules presume a formative base (either free or sometimes bound) to which derivational affixes are appended in a fairly systematic way. In English, contrary to the two Slavic languages, affixation is most commonly a "clean" process, leaving no residue nor any inexplicable formal or semantic surplus elements. However, it is not irrelevant which affixes and in which order are added to the base in order to form complex derivative lexemes.

(1) a. Eng. [*un*-] + [*happy*] + [-*ness*] > [[[*un*-] [*happi*]] [-*ness*]]

b. Ser. [*polu*-] + [*čas*] + [-*ov*] + [-*an*] > [[[[*polu*-] [*čas*]] [-*ov*]] [-*an*]] 'half-hour'

c. Bul. [*о*-] + [*добр*-] + [-*	en*] + [-*но*] > [[[[*о*-] [*добр*-]] [-*ител*]] [-*но*]] 'affirmative'

In a certain, still undetermined but not very prominent section of the lexicon, this clean-cut morphological analysis of the derivative outcome is not possible, as it happens that the complex lexeme is simply not a plain summation of the input values and elements of lexical structure. Thus, another important aim of the paper would be to analyse and systematise these 'surplus forms', the manifest forms of base extension within derivation, in particular the cases of epenthesis and synthesis, with the idea to detect the prevailing modality of base extension, as well as discuss some of the phonological and morphological implications. Additionally, one of the key intentions of the study is to attempt at accounting for the causes of this phenomenon on a more general level, to uncover the main reasons why instances of morphological epenthesis and synthesis should occur in language in the first place. In other words, this paper aims at finding answers to questions such as whether base extension occurs sporadically and with no solid motivation, or whether it is the case that formal extension of the base occurs upon well-founded patterns conditioned by specific linguistic factors.

As for the methodological approach, the research was conducted on the basis of complex-lexeme morphological analysis on a corpus sourced from lexicographic and lexeme-formation studies from the three languages consisting of more than 1,000 items with fuzzy morphemic boundaries. Although extending the input form of a derivational base is not qualified by considerable frequency, comparing the same or similar instances from different languages may result in generalisations with significant implications for the entire process of affixation, or contribute to reaching important conclusions about the contrastive relation among the languages in question.

The principal modalities of base extension which can be registered in world languages (Crystal, 1997) and which have been described in the following text are labelled as *prosthesis*, *epenthesis* and *synthesis*, including *syllabic replication*.

1.3. Derivational prosthesis

Prosthesis is a morphophonological change which, as its name suggests, refers to the extension of the word base by adding phonemic content to the initial part of the base, before any consecutive affixation can take place. In a condensed, formulaic statement of the rule as represented in (2), the part PU stands for the *prosthetic unit*, namely the linguistic material for the extension, while *base* and *affix* are to be understood as the traditional terms in lexeme formation.

(2) [[[PU]-[base]] + [affix]]

1.4. Derivational epenthesis

Epenthesis, or insertion, involves an extension to the phonological/morphological composition of the word base, without any apparent or clear predetermined motivation of this kind of intervention in form. As the term is explained in one of Serbia's most authoritative dictionaries *A Dictionary of the Serbian Language* (Rečnik srpskoga jezika) epenthesis is "[…] insertion of one or more phonemes in a word (usually for metric reasons" (Vujanić, et al., 2007: 357). The notion of epenthesis, according to D. Crystal (1997: 330), can be determined as a type of phonemic change, where an additional phoneme is introduced to the middle of the word, as in the example of extending the Old Icelandic form *ofn* to the Old English form *ofen*, which eventually produced the Modern English lexeme *oven*. To a limited degree, the said phenomenon could be ascribed to formation patterns analogical with the already existing examples, but it has never amounted to a regular rule. Epenthesis can occur at the phonological level, most commonly in the central segment or towards the end part of the base with a phonemic insertion which presents a kind of discontinuity in the original form of the base, in Serbian either *osnova* or *osnovica*.[2] This kind of epenthesis can be either consonantal or vocal. On the other hand, it can also be realised at the morphological level, where whole morphs can be entered within the composition of the lexical base. In this respect, it is affixes, primarily infixes but also other forms which can be added to finalise the base for further derivational operations. In the formulaic expression of this morphological feature provided in (3), the base is a discontinuous morpheme or a lexical base split by the inserted structure (EU), or "epenthetic unit".

(3) [[[ba-[EU]-se]] + [affix]]

[2] In the terminology employed by D. Šipka (2005: 30).

M. Aronoff tends to use the concept of epenthesis in a broader meaning to indicate "[…] an automatic phonological rule of **epenthesis** (i.e. insertion of a phonological segment or segments) […]" (Aronoff, 2011: 75)

1.5. Derivational synthesis

In accordance with the previous definition, derivational synthesis would entail the addition of any morpho-phonological segment to the end part of a formative base, which causes the base form to be formally different from the input segment in derivation. As it can be seen from the formulation in (4), this kind of "synthetic unit" (SU) is considered a part of the base, rather than an interfix, before the affixation by means of a derivational suffix in question has occurred.

(4) [[[base]-[SU]] + [affix]]

1.6. Syllabic replication

Replication or reduplication is a morphological operation by which a word segment, either from the front or the back part of the base is replicated. Reduplication can be met in both inflectional and derivational morphological processes, where sometimes even the entire base is copied in the formative outcome. In the example verb in (5), the given word which means 'to wrap up, to band' (Vujanić, 2007: 404), contains a replicated first syllable of the base, most probably in analogy with the verb *za-kukulji-ti*, a word with similar meaning of 'making something hidden and complex', but with a simple and transparent base in *kukulja* 'hood'.

(5) Ser. v. *zamumuljiti*
za-mu-mulji-ti
en: PREFIX-REP. SYLL.-COVER- INF.SUFFIX
'to cover up'

2. THEORETICO-METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The concept of base extension as it has been understood within this research entails a formative element which possesses certain phonological content, but its precise semantic determination is most frequently missing. When this phenomenon is in question, it refers mostly to the cases where the derivational base is added a form which may but need not resemble a morph of a particular

morpheme, for instance <al>, i.e. an **empty morph** as it contains no meaning, or it may appear not to be fully differentiated in semantic terms.[3] Thus, these formatives would not produce an existing or possible word, as Eng. adj. **archaic-**al*** or Serb. adj. **krit-**ič*** 'crit-ic' do not complete a word form, so that they could not be considered as suffixes or other forms of affix in these particular cases. On the other hand, this operation, i.e. extending the base, would provide an adequate input base-form for the affixation which results in institutionalised words such as Eng. adv. *archaic-al-ly* or Serb. adj. *krit-ič-an* 'critical'. The extension itself is not a suffixal morpheme as it does not cause a lexical category shift of the resultative form. Moreover, it can be claimed that extensions express a greater level of affinity toward the base than toward other affixal morphemes, an approach which presupposes the acceptance of certain theoretical postulations to be discussed further. As a morphologically relevant phenomenon, base extension is an across-the-board operation, and can appear in all the domains of lexeme-formation: noun, verb, adjective and adverb formation, not restrictive of any lexical category.

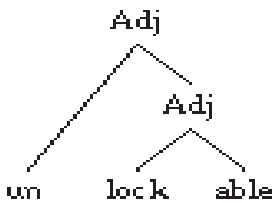
It should be mentioned here that the entire study is based on the theoretical frame of the morphological theory which incorporates the morpheme as the centre of the formative process (the so-called **morpheme-based morphology**), as opposed to the word as the starting point of morphological analysis. This theoretical foundation where it is all about morphemes which are combined into words based upon rules similar to the syntactic ones was set by M. Halle (1973). So as to achieve a better insight into the key characteristics of the phenomenon, the theoretical model chosen for the analysis in this paper is the early and basic model of Generative Morphology. One of its fundamental assumptions is that language structure, and lexical structure in this case, is generated upon certain rules within the deep structural level and which obtains its final shape at the surface of the language expression, having passed adequate filters that verify the authenticity and acceptability of the outcome formulation. Another important presupposition for the understanding of this approach is that language organisation is, viewed globally, of hierarchical nature, where lower-order units combine to yield higher-order entities. What remains as a bone of contention in the whole background is the issue of the combinatory process itself and the number of elements combined at each individual formative stage. One of the most prominent ideas which has been substantially corroborated in linguistic literature is the **binary branching constraint** proposed by R. Kayne (1984), and later adopted by Chomsky (1995). According to this constraint, one of the corner-stone principles in both structuralist and a good deal of generative linguistics, language organisation is not likely to produce ternary structures, i.e. three individual elements

[3] *Empty morphs* have been defined as word-structure formative elements, usually between the root (base) and affix, forms which seem to have no meaning at all. See Jovanović (2014: 69).

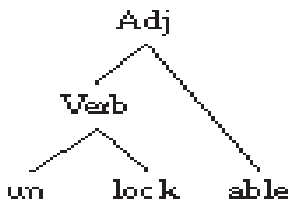
grouped into a unit simultaneously. More likely, it is only two lower-scale units at a time that can enter into combinations to produce higher-scale structures.

One of the most important principles of Generative morphology, as defined by M. Aronoff (1976) is the principle "one affix, one rule", in accordance with which every morphological operation occurs at a separate stage or structural layer, conforming to the hierarchical composition of language units. The chief argument in favour of this approach is generally semantic in nature. The binary structuring is postulated in order for an adequate semantic interpretation to be made possible with the communicative intentions of the communicator in the foreground. Even a simple example as the one in (6) could make it evident that although the same formative elements are engaged in the derivation of the English adjective *unlockable*, two different interpretations could be drawn depending on the implementation of the derivational rules and the layer of affixation, namely 'which cannot be locked' and 'which can be unlocked'. This kind of differentiation is almost impossible to maintain within the traditional analysis that is not restrictive with ternary or polysynthetic operations in derivation.

(6) a.



b.



That the condition of binary branching (or combinatory operation) performs better when it comes to expressing the semantic content than any ternary combinations is also to be seen elsewhere, for instance in the lexeme composition domain, both in analytic and synthetic languages. The illustrations given in (7) a. from English and b. and c. from Serbian, respectively, are instances of ambiguous compound forms. Even in other typologically synthetic languages such as Italian, for example, binary structure is postulated in lexeme formation rather than any modality of parasynthetic formation involving simultaneous prefixing and suffixing, or instantaneous double suffixation.[4] Even lexical items that are frequently quoted as examples of parasynthesis, such as the verb *demoralise* 'reverse of moralise (improve the morals of)' can be accounted for by this approach, as there is always a stage that is dominating over the other in the two-step derivation procedure.

[4] See Scalise (1986: 147-151)

(7) a. Eng. [[*German*] [[*language*] [*teacher*]]] vs [[[*German*] [*language*]] [*teacher*]
b. Ser. *čisto belo rublje*
[[*čisto*] [[*belo*] [*rublje*]]]
'clean white wash'
c. Ser. *čisto belo rublje*
[[[*čisto*] [*belo*]] [*rublje*]]
'pure-white wash'

Further on, it can be accepted that prefixes and suffixes by definition cannot be considered as complex units, since as affixes they present morphemes, and morphemes as such are monemes and indivisible units which entail a fusion of specific form and meaning. If we were to accept the idea of two individual suffixes jointly added to the base in derivation, the question of suffix priority would arise. Which of the two suffixes is attached first? On the other hand, it could be an instance of adding suffixes to suffixes before their joint suffixation operation which is against some of the basic postulates of morphology (neoclassical compounds) and the hierarchical structure of words. The idea of complex or compound suffixes goes against the principle of binary organisation of language units, and other principles of lexeme formation. Normally, just as suffixes cannot be attached to prefixes only,[5] suffixes cannot be attached to other suffixes but to bases, either affixed or not. Moreover, if this phenomenon should be considered as a compound suffix, the issue of headedness would also complicate matters a bit, as compound lexical structures (excluding compound prepostions) are characterised by headedness. Which of the suffixes is to be regarded the head of this compound unit may prove to be an unsolvable problem.

The Slavic languages, including Serbian, have often been used to corroborate the idea of compound affixation, or simultaneous attachment of more than one derivational suffix (Scalise, 1986). As opposed to English where the infinitive verb form is an analytic structure, as the verb *to write* with the infinitive particle *to* and base form *write*, in Serbian the infinitive verb form is a synthetic form, as with *pisati* 'to write' with the stem *pisa-* and the infinitival suffix *-ti* (with other verb classes it is *-ći* or *-sti*). The infinitive form is a non-finite verb form which bears significance in inflection, rather than in derivation, so that the infinitive suffix should not be taken in derivation as bearing any impact in the derivational processes. Defining the basics of the infinitive form, Trask (2007: 117) states that contrary to Spanish *completer* "to complete" and French *venir* "to come" with their distinctive infinitive forms, English uses uninflected forms such as *complete* and *come*. Other places in linguistic literature can confirm that the infinitive ending/particle is not to be regarded as derivational in nature (Rad-

5 Ibidem, p. 75.

ford, et al, 2009: 215), among other reasons due to the fact that this form (the infinite) can perform various grammatical, that is nominal functions (Bussmann, 1996: 564-565). The example below from Serbian shows that in the course of derivation there are elements that cannot be accounted for as plainly bases and affixes (8), as opposed to e.g. Ser. v. *grom-ko* 'thundery' and the manner in which derivation can take place at every stage strictly observing the binary structure of units, e.g. [[[grom] [-ov-]] [-nik]] in (9).

(8) Ser. adj. *gromovit*
grom-ov-it
thunder:$_{\text{BASE-EXTENSION}}$-ous:$_{\text{ADJ.SUFFIX}}$
'thunderous'

(9) Ser. n. *gromovnik*
grom-ov-nik
thunder:$_{\text{BASE-EXTENSION}}$-nik:$_{\text{N.SUFFIX}}$
'thunderman'

Although the form *gromov-* does not produce any conventionalised derivative, not counting the possessive form, it is still necessary as a precursor to the derivation by a noun-forming suffix. This can be supported by numerous formations that are non-existent as free forms before the final stage of affixation, *cantankerous*, *comprehensive*, *indefatigable*, *obnoxious*, *ostentatious*, to name but a few.

Base extension could be considered a segment of the so-called **Readjustment rules** which are supposed to regulate the shaping-up of the base in the phonological sense before it can serve as a syntactic input unit.[6] Aronoff (1976: 88) distinguishes **Truncation rules** by means of which particular morphs from base-ends are eliminated before further suffixation, as in Italian adjective formation, for instance, It. *prosod-ia+-ico* > *prosodico* from **Allomorphic rules** by means of which the manifest form of certain morphemes is adjusted to other morphemes in the sequence.

[6] The position and role of Readjustment rules in morphology has been discussed by Chomsky and Halle (1968), Aronoff (1976), Scalise (1986), Halle and Marantz (1993).

3. BASE EXTENSION IN ENGLISH DERIVATION

3.1. Phonemic base extension

3.1.1. Consonantal base extension

Aside from inflectional operations, where certain phonemic content is added to the stem before any grammatical forms could be derived by suffixation in relevant categories, for instance *long* /lɒŋ/ > *lon**g**er* /ˈlɒŋ**g**ə/ where the stem ending is extended for the phoneme /g/,[7] similar additions can be noted with derivational processes, as exemplified in (10).

(10) a.	[*bomb*]	/ bɒm/	>	[[[[*bom*-] [-***b***-]] [-*ast*-]] [-*ic*]] / bɒmˈ**b**æs.tɪk/
b.	[*malign*]	/məˈlaɪn/	>	[[[[*mali*-] [-***g***-]] [-*n*-]] [-*ant*]] / məˈlɪ**g**.nənt/
c.	[*solemn*]	/ˈsɒl.əm/	>	[[[*solem*-] [-***n***-]] [-*ize*]] /ˈsɒl.əm.**n**aɪz/

It is clear that the graphemes which serve as representatives of phonemic forms towards the final parts of the base morphemes in these concrete cases obtain a full functional justification as they signal the phonemes not present in the underlying form of the base or the derivational suffixation input form. In each of the examples in (10), the affixal form is initiated with a front vowel which, in all likelihood, leads to clear syllable identification and a need for consonantal intrusion at syllable initial segments, except for the example in (10) b.

Another group of items involves separating two vowels from potential contact, the last from the prefix and the first from the base. Denning, et al. (2007: 123) treat this phenomenon as /d/-insertion, since the consonant used to make a break between the vowels is the voiced alveolar plosive, as in the examples from (11). It cannot be considered an interfix, as it is not used systematically between two roots or bases. The bases are *-igi-* (*igium*, of unknown origin), *-und-* (*undare* 'to rise in waves') and *-it-* (*itum* pple of *ire* 'to go'). In *se-greg-ate*, there is no intervention, as the base *-greg-* starts with a suitable consonant, as well as in *in-und-ate* or *ab-ound*. However, the forms such as *redound* and *dunder* therefrom, may suggest that the consonant is not an insertion to the prefix, but rather a case of base prosthesis. In etymological reference books (Skeat, 2007: 414), the po-

[7] Other instances of stem extension with inflectional rules pertain to the concept of "empty morphs", as in the plural of Eng. *child* > *child-r-en*, where before the plural suffix {*-en*}, an empty morph in the form of the phone [r] occurs. The concept of empty morph was introduced by C. Hockett in 1947, while M. Aronoff labelled the phenomenon as the morphic function of form (1994: 44).

tential form of the prefix {*re-*}is also listed as *red-*, appearing in *redact*, *redeem* and the like. On the other hand, Klein (1966: 1315) claims that *redeem* "[…] was prob. influenced in form by ME. *demen*, 'to deem, judge". If the approach that the prefix is extended rather than the base is followed, any generalisation will be lost in the individual instances of prefixal variation. The interpretation by which the consonant [d] is a part of the prefix particularly with vowel-initialled bases is not consistent, as there are many cases where there is a contact between two vowels, such as in *re-act*, *re-en-act*, *re-invent*, etc. The number of items with this specificity is extremely small compared to the number of lexemes derived by the prefix {*re-*} so that <red-> could be either explained as a product of d-initialled base reanalysis, or the last consonant should be ascribed to the base as an added extension. Finally, as it can be seen from the words in (11) it is not only one prefix that has to be considered in this respect, but several (*pro-*, among others, as in *prodigal*) and all of them involving the same consonantal intervention:

(11) a. [*pro-*]+[*-igi-*]+[*-ous*] > [[[*pro-*][[-***d***-][*-igi-*]]]+[*-ous*]] > *prodigious*
b. [*re-*]+[*-und-*]+[*-ant*] > [[[*re-*][[-***d***-][*-und-*]]]+[*-ant*]] > *redundant*
c. [*se-*]+[*-it-*]+[*-ion*] > [[[*se-*][[-***d***-][*-it-*]]+[*-ion*]] > *sedition*

Similarly, in a number of prefixed words from Latin, the final consonant of the prefix and the first of the base are separated by another consonant. The consonants involved are obstruents or plosives, either bilabial, alveolar or velar, and their contact is suspended by a sibilant, most often by [s] (Denning, et al., 2007: 1243).

(12) a. [*ab-*]+[*trac-*]+[*-t-*]+[*-ion*] > [[[*ab-*][[[-***s***-] [*trac-*]] [*-t-*]]]+[*-ion*]] > *abstraction*
b. [*ab-*]+[*cess-*] > [[*ab-*][[-***s***-] [*cess*]]] > *abscess*
c. [*ab-*]+[*con-*]+[*-d*] > [[*ab-*][[[-***s***-] [*con-*]] [*-d*]]] > *abscond*
d. [*ob-*]+[*tens-*]+[*-ible*] > [[[*ob-*][[[-***s***-] [*tens-*]] [*-ible*]] > *ostensible*

Some of the most conspicuous, although not most common, ways of expending the derivational base in English include the concept of epenthesis, a process that Stockwell and Minkova consider as phoneme insertion between two other phonemes. Obviously, in this treatment of the process a difference is not made among various kinds of phoneme insertion depending on the position in the base, which can be supported by their definition: "Epenthesis (*epi+en* 'in', *thesis* 'placing') is the technical term for inserting a sound between two other

sounds. Both vowels and consonants can be inserted within an existing morpheme" (Stockwell and Minkova, 2001: 125). Not even this broad understanding of the notion of epenthesis is characterised by the absence of exceptions and generally it can be reduced to instances of extension of the final segments of the base by either consonants or vowels. The other modality is inserting the phone [n] behind [r] and in front of the suffix with a vowel beginning as in the adjective *fraternal*.

(13) a. [*mater*]+[-*al*] > [[[*mater*] [-***n***-]] [-*al*]] > *maternal*
b. [*pater*]+[-*al*] > [[[*pater*] [-***n***-]] [-*al*]] > *paternal*

Another type of base extension by means of /n/-synthesis that can be proposed is the pattern exhibited in (14), particularly as it makes the difference in meaning and distinguishes the item from *alter-at-ion*. The examples *bin-ocul-ar* or *trin-ity* would not be clear cases of this pattern as these are based on the prefixal forms *bin-* and *trin-* from the Latin *bini* 'double' and *trinus* 'triple', independently of the forms {*bi-*} and {*tri-*} which occur in the majority of the cases, even with vowel-initialled bases, as in *bi-annual* and *tri-angle*.

(14) [[[[*alter*] [-***n***-]] [-*at*-]] [-*ion*]] > *alternation*

Along with the mentioned extension, derivational synthesis could also be registered in the cases where the consonant [t] is found in-between the boundaries of the base (most frequently a simplex form) and the suffix for adjective derivation. This kind of extension which can be found in all the studied languages is a legacy from the classical languages of Latin and Greek. In English the preservation of the classical extension has its good justification, as the consonant is there to ensure the break between two consecutive vowels (one open and one more closed) at morpheme junctures of the base end and suffixal beginning and prevent the occurrence of a **hiatus**, which is not necessarily the case in Serbian adj. *trauma-t-ski* 'traumatic'. This could be explained as a necessary consonantal addition, an extension in the form of the final consonant to the base that is not present even when potentially orthographically represented by a grapheme (Cf. *bare* / beəʳ/ > *barish* /ˈbɛərɪʃ/). It could be argued that the examples in (15) were imported in the cited form with bases from classical origin, already including the consonant. However, a number of more recent formations, such as *drama-t-ology* or *trauma-t-ology*, and particularly *psycho-t-ic* based on *psyche*/*psychosis* which are not necessarily based on the Greek genitive form seem to support the claim of the base extension approach even more clearly.

(15) a. n. [*drama*]+[-*ic*] > adj. [[[*drama*] [-***t***-]] [-*ic*]]

b. n. [*trauma*]+[-*ic*] > adj. [[[*trauma*] [-***t***-]] [-*ic*]]
c. n. [*dogma*]+[-*ic*] > adj. [[[*dogma*] [-***t***-]] [-*ic*]]
d. n. [*coma*]+[-*ous*] > adj. [[[*coma*] [-***t***-]] [-*ose*]][8]

The base of (15) a. was introduced to English from the Greek form *δρᾶμα*, over the late-Latin *drāma*.[9] In terms of contemporary English word-formation, this appears to be a more sustainable explanation than the one of Greek final stop deletion offered in Denning, et al (2007: 122), by which the input base form is *dramat*, supposedly from the Greek genitive form. No explanation has been given of how this base form evolved from *dramatos*, as the full genitive is cited in etymological sources, nor why any specific forms would be used for derivation in other patterns.[10] The exceptions to this rule include the examples of *systematic* and *problematic* where the base is expanded additionally for the vowel [a], so as to separate two plosives from one another, one bilabial and the other alveolar, may be attributed to a morphic extension by <at>. Anyhow, as the items were imported from Greek via Latin into English, the original forms being L. *sistema* and L. *problema*, the extension stems from as early as the Antic period.[11] Having taken into consideration several relevant parallels, it is highly likely that this cannot be interpreted as allomorphy of the suffixes {-*ic*} or {-*ist*}, {-*ise/-ize*}, but as an extension of the derivational base itself before suffixation takes place to form new adjectives, nouns and verbs.

Aside from this type of base extension, derivational synthesis could also be registered in English, a kind of synthesis which encompasses /p/-consonant insertion at the end of the base during the process of derivational suffixation by means of {-*ion*}, and before the extension by [t]. In order to facilitate the transition from the voiced consonant [m] to the voiceless [t], as with the examples in (16), on the one hand, and then from the bilabial to the alveolar phoneme, on the other, in both spoken and written language the voiceless sound [p], i.e. the grapheme <p>, appears as a bridge. The verbs that undergo this synthesis are similar in terms of the ending: Eng. v. *to assume, to redeem, to resume, to subsume*, but not verbs such as *to exhume* > *exhum(e)-at-ion*, *to illume* > *illum(e)-in-at-ion*, *to inhume* > *inhum(e)-at-ion*, where additional extension by other morphs is visible.

(16) a. v. [*consume*]+[-*ion*] > n. [[[[*consum(e)*] [-***p***-]] [-***t***-]] [-*ion*]]
b. v. [*presume*]+[-*ion*] > n. [[[[*presum(e)*] [-***p***-]] [-***t***-]] [-*ion*]]
c. v. [*redeem*]+[-*ion*] > n. [[[[*redem*] [-***p***-]] [-***t***-]] [-*ion*]]

[8] From the Latin suffix -*osus*. See Klein (1966: 1099).
[9] See OED 2009, entry *drama*.
[10] https://www.etymonline.com/word/drama?ref=etymonline_crossreference
[11] See Skeat 2007: 393.

On more theoretical grounds, this operation was endorsed within the Re-adjustment rules if no other formative rules could be applied:

> Chomsky and Halle (1968) also suggested that RR's should operate when the output of a WFR is not an acceptable input to the phonological rules for other reasons, for example, in the case of the abstract nominal derived from the verb *receive,* which is not **receive + ion,* but *reception.*
>
> Scalise (1986: 57)

3.1.2. Vocalic base extension

The cases of derivational synthesis include primarily the instances where adjective derivation from nominal bases comes with base extension at the final syllable, particularly following a consonantal segment composed of two plosives such as, [p], [t] or [t], as illustrated in (17) a. and b.

(17) a. [*concept*]+[-*al*] > [[[*concept*] [-***u***-]] [-*al*]]
b. [*contract*]+[-*al*] > [[[*contract*] [-***u***-]] [-*al*]]

Not taking into consideration the cases where there occurs /ə/-insertion into various locations in the base depending on the pronunciation, without any apparent motivation, English allows for two general tendencies in the derivational epenthesis. These are inserting the vowel phonemes [j] and [u], i.e. the grapheme <u> in orthography, and the phoneme [p], that is <p> in orthography.[12] In complex adjective formation based on suffixes of open syllabic form, there can occur base extending within the process of suffixation and in particular after plosive consonants, either bilabial, alveolar or velar, especially before [l].

(18) a. n. sing. [*circle*]+[-*ar*] > [[[*circ* [-***u***-] *l(e)*]] +[-*ar*]]
> adj. *circular*
b. n. sing. [*title*]+[-*ar*] > [[[*tit* [-***u***-] *l(e)*]] + [-*ar*]]
> adj. *titular*
c. n. sing. [*couple*]+[-*ate*] > [[[*co(u)p* [-***u***-] *l(e)*]] + [-*ate*]]
> v. *copulate*
d. n. sing. [*table*]+[-*ate*] > [[[*tab* [-***u***-] *l(e)*]] + [-*ate*]]
> v. *tabulate*

It can be deduced here that irrespective of the openness of the suffixal syllable, not every combination of a plosive and the liquid [l] would result in extension. Similar to the example given in (18) a., the English noun *cycle* which

[12] See Stockwell and Minkova (2005: 125-126). The authors label this phenomenon as U-epenthesis and P-epenthesis.

contains the consonantal pair [kl], can be a base for adjectival derivation by the suffix {*-ic*}, but the epenthesis would be omitted, e.g. *cycl-ic*. As it seems, it is necessary for the suffix to be initiated by an open vowel. An exception, as brought up by Stockwell and Minkova (2001: 125), is the example n. sing. *epi**stl**e*, where the derivative develops as *epist-**o**-l(e)-ar(y)*, which presents a deviation from the rule of base extension by /ə/, and what can be caused by the fact that the plosive itself cannot be fully perceived in pronunciation of the input noun, and the outcome adjective.

Among other, rather clear cases of extension, the addition of vowel in front of Latinate suffixes can be counted in, as with {*-cide*}, where the base is extended by the vowel phoneme /ɪ/, the condition being that the base ends in an alveolar or bilabial plosive. The claim that this is a question of extension, and not of interfixation, can be supported by the examples with similar bases and suffixes, such as *pest-i-lence*, *herb-i-vore*, *patr-i-arch*, *insect-i-fuge* and the like:

(19) a. [[[*fratr*-[***i***]]-[*cide*]] > *fratricide*
b. [[[*insect*-[***i***]]-[*cide*]] > *insecticide*
c. [[[*patr*-[***i***]]-[*cide*]] > *patricide*
d. [[[*pest*-[***i***]]-[*cide*]] > *pesticide*

3.2. Morphic base extension

3.2.1. Analogical base extension in <al> /əl/

In a limited number of cases, base extension can occur at adverb derivation by {*-ly*} suffixation from a particular type of adjectives. A small number of complex suffix-based adjectives with {*-ic*} can serve as a direct base for the derivation of adverbs with the mentioned adverb-forming suffix, as in the example (20) a. However, a contingent of adjective bases cannot be suffixed directly as in (20) b. but a morphophonemic unit has to be added to the base to ready it for adverb derivation. The base extension takes on the form of an affix-like morph which does not have the potential to form a word, as verified by (20) c., thus rendering <al> devoid of the suffix status, but rather the whole formation stands for an intermediary stage that serves the purpose of preparing the base for adverbial suffixation in analogy with full-fledged adjectival bases, exemplified by (20) d.

(20) a. [*frantic*]+[*-ly*] > [[*frantic*] [*-ly*]] > *franticly*
b. [*basic*]+[*-ly*] > **basic-ly*
c. [*basic*]+[*-al*] > **basic-al*
d. [*basic*]+[*-al*]+[*-ly*]] > [[[*basic*] [-***al***]] [*-ly*]] > *basically*

Thus, these forms ending in <*al*> are possible words, but still not institutionalised, or they can be treated as "filtered" by the filter that does not allow for illicit or words ill-formed by the inflectional morphological rules to surface, adhering to the terminology propounded by M. Halle (1973). The following, fairly exhaustive list, includes 91 adjectives collected during the empirical part of the research, verified by the most authoritative dictionaries in both UK and US English:

(21)

achromatic	*cinematic*	*magnetic*	*psychosomatic*
acrobatic	*civic*	*majestic*	*realistic*
aerobic	*diaphragmatic*	*melodic*	*sarcastic*
alcoholic	*didactic*	*melodramatic*	*sardonic*
altruistic	*drastic*	*metabolic*	*schematic*
anemic	*eclectic*	*metallic*	*scholastic*
anesthetic	*ecstatic*	*meteoric*	*seismic*
antagonistic	*elastic*	*misanthropic*	*somatic*
antibiotic	*enclitic*	*mnemonic*	*sonic*
antiseptic	*eugenic*	*monochromatic*	*stereophonic*
aquatic	*euphemistic*	*monolithic*	*sub-aquatic*
archaic	*euphoric*	*monosyllabic*	*sympathetic*
aromatic	*exotic*	*narcotic*	*symphonic*
arthritic	*galvanic*	*neurotic*	*symptomatic*
athletic	*gigantic*	*nostalgic*	*technocratic*
barbaric	*hectic*	*numismatic*	*telephonic*
bombastic	*hydraulic*	*operatic*	*thermostatic*
bureaucratic	*idiosyncratic*	*organic*	*titanic*
caustic	*ionic*	*patriotic*	*tonic*
characteristic	*kinetic*	*photogenic*	*traumatic*
charismatic	*linguistic*	*plastic*	*vitriolic*
choleric	*lunatic*	*polysyllabic*	*ultrasonic*
chromatic	*lymphatic*	*prosaic*	

Along with the cited words, in his overview of complex adjectives based on {*-ic*}, Jespersen (1965: VI, 390) mentions *despotic*, *domestic*, *dramatic*, *idiotic*, *laconic*, *phonetic*, *photographic*, *prehistoric*, *satanic* and *systematic*, but the contemporary internet presentations of the Collins i Merriam-Webster online dictionaries accept them and list them in their word stock.

3.2.2. Analogical base extension in <ari> /əri/

The last cluster-form extension refers to a phonemic sequence appended on the base before suffixal derivation based on the adjective-forming suffix {*-an*}. This is a mode to obtain nouns derivationally related to adjectives. The empty

morph is also sourced from the Latin suffix *-arius*, and after the morph is added the adjectives in line with the following should arise, where adjectives like **libertan* or **libertary* could not exist. The number of syllables in the base seems to be of no consequence, as both two and three syllable bases allow for this type of extension, all ending in the voiceless alveolar plosive:

(22) a. [[[*egalit*-][-***ari***]] [-*an*]]
b. [[[*humanit*-][-***ar****i*]] [-*an*]]
c. [[[*libert*-][-***ari***]] [-*an*]]
d. [[[*veget*-] [-***ari***]] [-*an*]]

As opposed to the word *librarian*, in which the derivation is established on the basis of *library* +-*an*, in the given case there are no basic input units of the form **humanitary*, **egalitary* and so on, but *humanity, necessity, utility* and the like. Naturally, not even forms such as **humanitan* or **egalitan* can be confirmed. Judging by the semantics of the examples in question, base extension by -*ari*- is present with nouns and adjectives which stand for personal convictions, attitudes, philosophical principles, and life-styles. This may be taken as the basic difference in comparison to the very suffix of the same or similar form, which has a much wider semantic scope.

3.2.3 Analogical base extension in <at> /ət/

Another form of morphic base extension in the noun derivation process should be proposed here, namely the formant <at> or /ət/. This is not a systematic or motivated morphological process, as could be vouched by the qualifications of Beard (1995: 69): "For no reason relevant to English morphology, stems borrowed from Greek ending on labials are extended by the suffix *-at: dram-at-ic, schem-at-ic*." It remains debatable whether the form could be regarded a suffix at all, bearing in mind that suffixes are morphemes with a clear form-meaning pairing establishment. In a fairly large portion of the corpus of derivatives with vowel contact at the boundaries, it may be difficult to discern whether it is a matter of base extension by <*at*> or affixation by means of {-*ion*} on a verb base derived by the verb-forming suffix {-*ate*}: *graduation* (to graduate), *impropriation* (to impropriate) and *permeation* (to permeate).

However, the reasons for implicating the form <*at*> may not be always completely clear, as in all the derivational expressions of a base, it appears to end in a vowel, as with *drama*-: *dramaturge*, *dramaturgy*, *dramatize*, *dramatist*. Supposedly, there could be assumed a fusion of the last vowel of the base and the first of the extension. This can be conformed elsewhere in noun derivation, among other formations in: *ammoni-at-ion* (ammonia), *herni-at-ion*

(hernia), *neur-at-ion* (neuro), etc. In a limited number of cases, the vowel integrity of the last base phoneme remains intact in front of the extension, as in *biliation* (bili) or *mercuriation* (mercury). Alternatively, the input base can be reduced, as exemplified by *pupari-at-ion* (puparium 'outer covering') or extended by another vowel as in *rac-i-at-ion* (race).

In order to shed additional light on the entire issue, some further remarks should be offered here. One of the commonest suffixes for nominal derivation to designate a condition, process or result, the Latinate suffix {*-ion*} is sometimes quoted in different variants, which may be justified by the claim that these are sometimes listed as its allomorphs. In the English language, the forms are *-ation*, *-ition*, *-sion*, *-tion*, *-xion*, all of which are frequently brought into a relation with the suffix. However, this view of the unit may appear to be in discord with one of the basic tenets of morphology and the notion of **morpheme**. From the beginnings of the scientific studying of word structure, morphemes have been defined as "[…] minimal meaningful units of which the language is composed (Nida, 1949: 6), or similar to that. Giving the same definition, Carstairs-McCarthy (2002: 144) points to certain dubious cases. Apparently, the form <ion> is the "least common denominator", whereas the other formal variants would have to be interpreted in another way. Actually, etymologically speaking, this suffix is the basic form upon which other forms have developed, which could be affirmed by looking up the same entry in the most authoritative dictionary of the English language: "*-ion*, suffix repr. F. -ion, L. -io, -iōnem, a suffix forming ns. of condition or action, rarely formed from adjs. or ns." (Simpson, 2009). Some of the other positional variants, such as *-sion, -xion,* seem to be the outcome of morphophonemic rules on consonantal base endings which leads to a transformation into a sibilant in contact with the vowel-initialled suffix. Moreover, other derivatives in a different lexical category could point to the fact that this should be regarded a case of base extension, rather than that of allomorphic variation or suffix compounding. As a matter of fact, even OED (2009) in its entry for ***-ation***, which is questionably termed "compound suffix", ascribes the first vowel to the base in the very explanation of the entry:

> A compound suffix, representing, often through Fr. -tion, OF. -cion, ME. -cio(u)n, L. -tio, -tiōn-em, consisting of -io, -ion-em added to the -t of a L. participial stem, as in rela-t-ion, comple-t-ion, frui-t-ion, muni-t-ion, protec-t-ion, deten-t-ion, op-t-ion: see -ation and -ion1. Rarer forms are -sion, -xion, as suspen-s-ion, infle-x-ion.
>
> (Simpson, 2009: *-ation*)

If one is to accept the approach that this is an instance of suffix compounding, rather than base extension, one would have to postulate the existence of other suffixes such as *-tic* or *-atic*, in *problematic*, for instance, then *-tive* and

-ative as in *informative*, and account for the base in the pair *normative* and *normation,* contrary to some of the best-respected and most influential surveys of English word-formation, specifically those of L. Bauer (1983: 120) and I. Plag (2003: 96).

Thus, it could be claimed that we could list the graphemic pair <*at*> as base extension with possible phonemic vowel variations, which can be met in numerous examples in the language. This is confirmed in a way by E. Selkirk (1982: 62) and the example *pertub-at-ion*. At that, the extension postulated cannot be assigned in any way to the phonologically related verb-forming suffix {*-ate*}, as in *cre-ate* and the derived noun therefrom *cre-at-ion*:

(23) a. [[[*explan*] [-***at***]] [-*ion*]]
b. [[[*imagin*] [-***at***]] [-*ion*]]
c. [[[*organiz*] [-***at***]] [-*ion*]]
d. [[[*visit*] [-***at***]] [-*ion*]]

Finally, the process of base extension could be also observed on non-Latinate bases such as *flabbergast* or *jobe*, where the extension precedes the suffixation by {*-ion*}, as in *flabbergastation* and *jobation*. The possible causes for the extension may include postponed palatalization to ensure better morpheme identification and understanding of the lexical item itself. Without the extension, with bases ending in the alveolar plosive [t] in front of the vocal start (or glide) of the noun forming suffix {*-ion*}, there would occur a synthetic process which would result in a pronunciation such as */ˈflabərˌgeiʃn/ or in a number of other formations on Latin-based bases such as */ˌæk.sɛp.ʃən/ for *accept-ion, etc.

Other open-end suffixes in English may be preceded by this base extension, namely the adjective-forming suffix {*-ive*} in the case of adjectives as presented in (24), half of which are on Germanic bases:

(24) a. [[[*affirm*] [-***at***]] [-*ive*]]
b. [[[*babbl-*] [-***at***]] [-*ive*]]
c. [[[*perform*] [-***at***]] [-*ive*]]
d. [[[*talk*] [-***at***]] [-*ive*]]

However, from a large number of derivatives based on open-ended suffixes such as {*-ish*}, it can be deduced that this base extension need not be appended before any suffixation by an open-end suffix. Apparently, the base extension is applicable only with suffixation by Class I suffixes, or affixes that cause stress-shifting as defined by D. Siegel (1979) and akin to the determinations by Kiparsky (1982). Such suffixes would include all those by the application of which the primary stress of the lexeme is moved to any of the consecutive syl-

lables. In the English language these include: the noun-forming suffixes {-*ion*}, {-*ity*}, and {-*y*}; the adjective-forming {-*al*}, {-*ic*}, {-*ive*} and {-*ous*}.

3.2.4. Analogical base extension in <ic> /ik/

This morphic form of extension occurs in a rather limited number of instances in English, based on an analogy with the adjective suffix {-*ic*}, or the nominal base of the same form. The base ending has a pronounced affinity toward noun derivation based on the suffix {-*ian/-an*} originally from the Middle French -*ien*, which despite its spelling pattern is realised as /ən/ in speech. The inexorable effect of the contact between a velar from the extension and two vowels encircling it is palatalization of [k] to [ʃ]. Such words belong to the contingent of items designating professionals, but without the extension, like *logician*, *musician*, *magician*, and also *physician*, *arithmetician*, *politician*.

(25) a. [[[*beaut*-][-*ic*]] [-*ian*]]
b. [[[*diet*][-*ic*]] [-*ian*]]
c. [[[*metaphor*][-*ic*]] [-*ian*]]
d. [[[*mort*-][-*ic*]] [-*ian*]]

4. BASE EXTENSION IN SERBIAN DERIVATION

Serbian linguistic literature contains a number of stem extension considerations, notably in the papers and grammar books by Ivić (1957), Nikolić (2001), Mladenović (2001; 2005) and others, but the works dealing with derivational base extension are not many. This is partly due to the fact that Serbian is a very complex synthetic language and that at times it may be considerably difficult to tell apart constituent units in lexical items.

When it comes to Serbian, most frequently the difference between the morphemic and phonemic content of the input base form and affixes on the one hand, and the derivational outcome on the other can be reduced to the insertion of the interfix vowel which brings together the first and the second segment of the new formation. In the greatest majority of the cases, the interfix is either <-*o*-> or <-*e*->, as in the words *zakon-o-davac* 'law-giver', *vic-o-teka* 'joke-collection', *kralj-e-ubistvo* 'king-murder' (regicide), affixes which could also be found in Bulgarian, whereas in English, the first of the two is the commonest interfix in total. Klajn (2002: 25-27) takes into consideration other possible interfix forms such as <-i-> as in *Car-i-grad* 'The Tsar's City' (Constantinople/ Istanbul) and <-u->, as well as the zero alternative in *baba-devojka* 'granny-girl' (spinster). In Serbian composition, it is perhaps more common a feature to have the input bas-

es clipped (the second element more often) rather than extended, as in the words such as *zim-zelen* ‘winter-green’ (coniferous) or *plav-o-ok* ‘blue-eyed’.

4.1. Phonemic base extension

4.1.1. Consonantal base extension

Just as in English, Serbian also has examples of base extensions transferred from the classical languages. Alongside the concomitant adaptation with a necessary adjective-forming suffix in Serbian such as {*-an*}, the base extension in the form of the alveolar plosive consonant /t/ is the same, followed by another morphic extension for the formant <*-ič*> [itʃ]. It is not a part of the suffix as it also appears in nominal derivations with the suffix {*-nost*} as in *poet-ič-nost* ‘poetic value’. The intermediate form **traumatič-* does not possess any meaning itself, nor a word status, but it is only this form that could be the appropriate base for suffixation by the mentioned adjective-forming suffix. The derivational base should be similarly adapted before suffixation with other adjective suffixes, for instance {*-ski*} in *dogma-t-ski* ‘dogmatic’ or noun-forming as {*-izam*} in *dogma-t-izam* ‘dogmatism’, or in *dogma-t-ik* and *dogma-t-ič-ar* ‘dogmatist’, and the like.

(26) a. Ser. adj. *dramatičan*
drama-t-ič-an
drama-$_{\text{EXTENSION}}$-$_{\text{EXTENSION}}$-ic:$_{\text{ADJ.SUFF.}}$
‘dramatic’

b. Ser. adj. [*trauma*] > [[*trauma*] [-***t***-]] > [[*trumat-*] [-*ič-*]] > [[*traumatič-*]] [-*an*]]
trauma trauma -t:$_{\text{EXTENSION}}$ traumat- -ic:$_{\text{EXTENSION}}$
traumatic- $_{\text{ADJ. SUFFIX}}$
‘traumatic’

Similarly, the same form of consonantal base extension can be found at verb derivation, as in *trauma-t-iz-ova-ti* ‘traumatise’, while with some other examples, such as *problematizovati* ‘problematise’ or *sistematizovati* ‘systematise’, the morphic boundary is less clear. Although the derivational direction could be traced to the adjective form *problematičan* ‘problematic’, wherefrom the noun *problematika* ‘problematics’, the etymology of these words confirms that the explanation is the same as for the English language (section 3.) and that the extensions were imported within the words taken from the classical languages with any consecutive adaptations.

In the majority of other cases, base extension is carried out by means of synthesis, that is by the addition of certain phonemic content to the back part of the base. Certainly, one of the most prominent consonantal extensions would be by the alveolar liquid [l]. As opposed to the treatments in the Serbian suffixation domain, where there are different suffixes such as the pairs *-ac/-lac*, *-ica/-lica*, *-ište/-lište*, a base extension of <l> could be postulated, as in (27).

(27) a. Ser. v. *pisati* > n. *pisac*
pisa-ti — *pisa-(a)c*
write:$_{\text{BASE}}$-$_{\text{SUFFIX INFINITIVE}}$ — write:$_{\text{BASE}}$-er:$_{\text{N. SUFF.}}$
'to write' — 'writer'

b. Ser. v. *čitati* > n. *čitalac*
čita-ti — *čita-l-ac*
read:$_{\text{BASE}}$-$_{\text{SUFFIX INFINITIVE}}$ — read:$_{\text{BASE}}$-$_{\text{EXTENSION}}$-er:$_{\text{N. SUFF.}}$
'to read' — 'reader'

The fact that the derivations on the same base *čita-* 'read' in Serbian seems to retain the synthetic consonantal [l] can be verified in the examples of nouns such as *čita-l-ište* 'readership', but also adjectives *čita-l-ač-ki* 'reading', and the others involving palatalisation of the two consonants [ts] from {*-ac*} and [s] from {*-ski*} in the suffixes into [tʃ] <č>. The noun *čita-o-nica* 'reading room' is perhaps another statement of the diachronic process of transforming [l] into [o], as it is also synchronically relevant a process within inflectional Serbian morphology, such as the plural formation in n. plur. *čita-o-c-i* 'readers' from n. sing. *čita-l-ac* 'reader'.

Other forms are detectable in the forms *juče-**r**-ašnji,* 'of yesterday', *do-juče-**r**-ašnji* 'of before yesterday', *malopre-**đ**-ašnji* 'of little while ago', making the difference when compared to the two input forms of the base and suffix in *malopre-šnji*.

One of the commoner types of base extension in Serbian would involve the addition of the velar plosive consonant [k] to the derivational base during a formative process which would not entail multiple suffixes added simultaneously, or processes such as synaffixation or parasynthesis.[13] Such words include the adjectives *đavol-**k**-ast* 'devilish', *srebren-**k**-ast* 'silvery', *svilen-**k**-ast* 'silky', *žens-**k**-ast* 'womanish', *žut-**k**-av* 'yellowy', *žut-**k**-asti* 'yellowish'. However, is can be argued that this presents an instance of a morphophoneme, as the phonemic expression invests certain semantic content into the derivative along with the formative. The meaning element that is added to the adjective can be interpreted

[13] Synaffixation is a form of parasynthesis which presupposes that two suffixes have a simultaneous role in the process of word formation, which may entail the existance of discontinuous morphemes and circumfixes as in the Germanic languages or the case of two affixes used simultaneously in the derivational processes of the Slavic languages. See R. Lieber/ P. Štekauer (2014: 126-127).

as "of an indeterminate degree, level or quality with respect to X (whatever is expressed by the base)". Pragmatically speaking, a note of affectation is perceivable with this base extension in addition to the designated meaning, as it carries a ring of disapproval on the part of the speaker. The same pattern can be observed with Serbian verbs; however, here the morphophoneme /k/, is involved in an epenthetic operation. As opposed to the verb *dira-ti* 'to touch', upon the same base by means of epenthesis the form *dir-**k**-a-ti* 'to fondle' could be obtained, *svir-**k**-a-ti* 'to whistle' on the basis of *svira-ti* 'to play an instrument', *gur-**k**-a-ti* 'to poke, to nudge' instead of *gura-ti* 'to push', etc. As the same element is to be registered in the cases where the base is combined with other suffixes, it appears that this explanation is even more acceptable: *dir-**k**-a-nje* 'fondling', *svir-**k**-a-nje* 'whistling', *gur-**k**-a-nje* 'nudging', etc.

Another phenomenon linked with the previous type of extension should be analysed here. In a number of Serbian verbs patterning like *ras-pit-**k**-iv-a-ti se* 'to ask around', *za-muc-**k**-iv-a-ti* 'to stutter', *za-pit-**k**-iv-a-ti* 'to ask frequently', the base extension is related to the one discussed, even in words of much more complex meaning structure, as well as in prefixed items. Along with affectedness, the extension can indicate repetitiveness and frequency of action which may be irritating to the speaker. A relation may be established upon a similar basis in the derivational paradigm with verbs which undergo the said consonantal epenthesis, i.e. insertion of [k] into the base before further derivation by the suffix {*-ra*} which communicates repetitiveness. Common examples include *kuckarati* 'to tick/type frequently' and *puckarati* 'to crack repeatedly'. The suffixation by the verb-forming suffix follows the process of base extension as there is a form *kucka-ti* 'to tick/type mutedly and often' and *pucka-ti* 'to crack in low-key'. It is only in the example (28) d. that the process of vowel mutation of the base is visible (*zva-* to *ziv-*) during the derivational rule application.

(28) a. Ser. v. *lupa-ti* 'to tap'
b. Ser. v. *lupkarati*
*lup-**k**-a-ra-ti*
tap-$_{\text{EXTENSION}}$-$_{\text{VERB SUFFIX}}$-$_{\text{VERB SUFFIX}}$-$_{\text{SUFFIX INFINITIVE}}$
'to tap repeatedly and irritably'
c. Ser. v. *zva-ti* 'to call'
d. Ser. v. *zivkarati*
*ziv-**k**-a-ra-ti*
call:$_{\text{BASE}}$-$_{\text{EXTENSION}}$-$_{\text{VERB SUFFIX}}$-$_{\text{VERB SUFFIX}}$-$_{\text{SUFFIX INFINITIVE}}$
'to call repeatedly and annoyingly'

There is a tendency with certain Serbian linguists, most notably Grickat (1995) and Klajn (2002; 2003), to treat this phenomenon as a separate suffix

-*kast*, without any sustainable and more elaborate explanation. When considered in opposition to another related adjective-forming suffix, they do not postulate a suffix such as -*kav*, which in analogy with the previously mentioned suffix should also have an allomorphic variation initialled by this velar plosive consonant. Instead of considering the possibility of base extension rather than suffixal composition, Serbian morphologists list a very large number of suffixes varying based on the initial consonant, so that only for Serbian verbs the overviews of word-formation would number as many as 50 different derivational suffixes, whereas the derivation of nouns registers around 400 different suffixes (Klajn, 2003: 397-401).

4.2. Morphic base extension

4.2.1 Base extension in <ij> /ij/

The first type of base extension could be applied to adjective formation and noun formation on the extended based adjectives. These occur before suffixation with the suffix {-*alan*} as -*al*- would not produce any adjectives but nouns in Serbian. Klajn (2003: 312) mentions several formations, some of which are *principijalan* 'principled', *ekvatorijalan* 'equatorial', etc.

(29) a. Ser. n. *kolega* 'colleague'
b. Ser. adj. *koleg(a)-ij-alan*
colleague-$_{\text{EXTENSION}}$-al:$_{\text{ADJ.SUFFIX}}$
'acting like a good colleague'

4.2.2 Analogical base extension in <ov> /ov/

In adjective derivation with the Serbian suffix {-*it*}, the nominal base tends to be extended by a morph which varies in form with no consistent conditioning factors, which must have prompted Klajn (2005: 192) to refer to these as "complex suffixes". Some of the most illustrative adjectives would be: *bajk-ov-it* 'fabulous', *lek-ov-it* 'medicinal', *trn-ov-it* 'thorny', as well as the variant form *grč-ev-it* 'convulsive' or *sloj-ev-it* 'layered'. The extension is based on analogy with the Serbian possessive suffix {-*ov*}, the meaning of which cannot be identified at any point.

(30) a. Ser. adj. *kamen-it* 'stony'
b. Ser. adj. *stenovit*
sten-ov-it
rock-$_{\text{EXTENSION}}$-y:$_{\text{ADJ.SUFFIX}}$
'rocky'

4.2.3 Analogical base extension in <ra> /ra/

With Serbian verbs, depending on the status of the infinitive suffix, according to Piper and Klajn (2014) the range of infinitive suffixes is *-ati*, *-atati*, *-eti*, *-iti*, *-tati* and others, as opposed to only the suffix {*-ti*} corresponding to the English infinitive particle *to*. The description of Stanojčić et al. (1989: 121) acknowledges this problem by offering an analysis of the item *list-a-ti* 'to leaf' with {*-ti*} as the infinitive suffix and {*-a*} as a verb-forming suffix, which appears to do much better justice to the phenomenon, particularly when forms like *o-list-a-lo drveće* '*trees come into leaf*' or *list-a-nje* 'coming to leaf' are taken under scrutiny.

The morphophonemic base extension may have its most conspicuous expression within the processes of double derivational affixation in Serbian, where by adding a prefix with an additional syllable in the course of derivational suffixation the base is affected and changed. With the examples where layered affixation would yield non-existent forms, it is possible to postulate base extension which need not necessarily present an institutionalised word, but a kind of sub-lexical formative which again itself enters another level of affixation. Instead of establishing parasynthetic derivation and simultaneous prefixation and suffixation, as in (31) c. it may be acceptable to presuppose, not without any support in linguistic literature background,[14] a binary lexical structure such as *kuraži-ra-* as a base for further prefixation with the prefix *de-* to designate a process opposite to encouraging. In a number of complex derivational forms, it can be seen that a prefix may bring about additional base extension operations. It should not be mistaken for the verb suffix {*-ra*} from the examples in (28), but could be analogically related to the Greek-based suffix {*-isa/-ira*} (Klajn, 2003: 352-356), as it is added to noun and adjective bases to productively form Serbian/ Croatian verbs (Babić, 2002: 503, 504). This extended base is used in further derivation with different suffixes on imported bases, the noun-forming *program-i-ra-nje* 'programming' or adjective-forming *program-i-ra-(a)n* 'programmed'. Along with the example such as v. *is-pečat-i-ra-ti* 'to stamp on all the items', one of the best examples of this type of extension is the one given in (31):

(31) a. Sr. n. *kuraž* 'courage'
b. Sr. v. *kuraž-i-ti*
courage-$_{\text{VERB SUFFIX}}$-$_{\text{SUFFIX INFINITIVE}}$
'to encourage'
c. Sr. v. *dekuražirati*
de-kuraž-i-ra-ti

[14] In his paper Guevara (2006) considers the basic reasons for the existance of the hypothesis of binary structuring in language. When it comes to Word-formation, the idea that binary structure is more acceptable than n-ary is advocated by Aronoff (1976), Lieber (1980), Selkirk (1982), Scalise (1986) and others.

de:$_{\text{PREFIX}}$-courage-$_{\text{VERB SUFFIX-EXTENSION-INF.SUFFIX}}$
'to discourage from effort'

This form could be brought into a relation with the form <sa>, as they appear to be alternants. Actually, in Croatian the previous extension would be employed much more often in the stead of <sa>. The formations would also include: *hipnot-i-sa-ti* 'to hypnotise', and the derived adjectival form *hipnot-i-čki* (*hipnot-i-sa+-ski* palatalised), *racional-i-sa-ti* 'to ration', etc. The extension perhaps should not be linked to the verb suffix {*-iz*(*a*)} as in *racional-iz-ova-ti* 'to rationalise', since there is a meaning distinction between the two lexemes that has to be maintained (Piper and Klajn, 2014: 238).

(32) a. Sr. v. *hval-i-ti se*
brag:$_{\text{BASE-VERB SUFFIX-INF.SUFFIX REF.PRONOUN}}$
'to brag'
b. Sr. v. *hval-i-sa-ti se*
brag:$_{\text{BASE-VERB SUFFIX-EXTENSION-INF.SUFFIX REF.PRONOUN}}$
'to brag around'

4.2.4 Base extension in <ša> /ʃa/

One of the most frequent extensions that occurs with bases of varied origin in Serbian derivation is the formative <ša>, possibly originating from the comparative degree suffix. It is primarily added to adjective bases to prepare them for further prefixation. The examples in (33) exhibit different combinations on the base *mek* 'soft' wherefrom different verbs can be obtained, but also adjectives, as can be confirmed by (33) d. Klajn fails to designate the formative as such (2003: 336), specifying only <a> as the suffix in words such as *olakšati* 'to make easier', *smekšati* 'to soften up', *ulepšati* 'to beautify'. Additionally, the extension may be found in *o-su(v)-š(a)-i-ti* 'to dry up' and probably *okol-i-š(a)-a-ti* 'to prevaricate'.

(33) a. Sr. v. *mekšati*
mek-š(a)-a-ti
soft:$_{\text{BASE-EXENSION}}$-en:$_{\text{VERB SUFFIX-INF.SUFFIX}}$
'to soften'
b. Sr. v. *s-mek-š(a)-a-ti*
'to soften up'
c. Sr. v. *raz-mek-š(a)-a-va-ti*
'to keep softening'
d. Sr. adj. *s-mek-š(a)-an*
'softened'

4.2.5 Base extension in <uš> /uʃ/

This modality of base extension is somewhat different from the others, as applying the formant leads to different verb suffix selection. It can be seen from the examples in (34) that the verb-forming suffix for derivation is different without and with the extension, the suffixes being {-*a*} and {-*i*}. Much commoner would be lexemes with the additional extension by consonantal -*k*-, as in *ljulj-uš-k-ati se* 'to swing gently' and the like.

(34) a. Sr. v. *pev-a-ti*
sing:$_{\text{BASE-VERB SUFFIX-INF.SUFFIX}}$
'to sing'
b. Sr. v. *pev-uš-i-ti*
sing:$_{\text{BASE-EXTENSION-VERB SUFFIX-INF.SUFFIX}}$
'to sing softly'
c. Sr. v. *pen-i-ti*
foam:$_{\text{BASE-VERB SUFFIX-INF.SUFFIX}}$
'to produce foam'
d. Sr. v. *pen-uš-a-ti*
sing:$_{\text{BASE-EXTENSION-VERB SUFFIX-INF.SUFFIX}}$
'to foam profusely'

In a small number of cases, the base extension is present in the form of an alternative lexical form with no apparent motivation, as with the adjective *drukčiji/drugačiji* 'different' where one of its alternative manifestations carries a base extension, as in: *druga-čiji* vs *drug-**oj**-a-čiji*. Perhaps among these could be included the examples Klajn (2002: 31) cites as *bab-**injo**-logija* 'granny-wisdom', *crn-o-**manj**-ast* 'dark-complexioned', *crn-**pur**-ast* 'dark-faced', the second element of which is of "unclear meaning" according to the author.

The analytic approach as presented in this paper could be applied to another set of examples, many more instances of derivational base extension in Serbian word-formation which could not be presented here due to space limitations. The proposed method could considerably simplify the treatment of derivational suffixation in the language, particularly in those domains where the previous descriptions of the formative elements would include as individual and distinct suffixes the ones for the formation of adjectives as: -*ičast,* -*ikast*, -*kast*, -*olast*, -*njast*, -*uljast*, -*ušast*, -*uškast*, as opposed to {-*ast*} akin to the English suffix {-*ish*}. This implies that there could be established other base extension forms in Serbian derivation upon the model presented in 4.1.1 which this survey cannot encompass, but which any oncoming description of Serbian derivation could take into serious account.

5. BASE EXTENSION IN BULGARIAN DERIVATION[15]

The Bulgarian language, as a separate language in the Eastern-Slavic branch of the Satem Indo-European languages, is characterised by certain features that differentiate it from the Serbian language. Some of the most conspicuous discrepancies include the use of post-positioned articles in Bulgarian, articles being virtually non-existent in Serbian and the fact that there is no infinitive verb form. There are additional differential characteristics between Bulgarian and Serbian that are of no import for the present overview.

In the literature dedicated to the description of Bulgarian, as well as in that of Serbian, for that matter, the surveys of word derivation mechanism within morphology, do not appear to be very systematic. For instance, certain grammar books of the language provide a treatment of the rule by which a nominal base can be used for derivation of other nouns regarding the origin of the individual or an inhabitant of a place. The suffix is {*-ин*} [in], but it is indistinctive from other forms such as *-анин,-янин, -чанин*. (Antova, 2002: 50)

Nevertheless, when the subject matter of this inquiry is taken into consideration, the analysis of basic Bulgarian derivation shows that derivational base extension occurs predominantly in the form of morphic extension, unlike Serbian, while the phonic one is based on foreign sources and is shared by the other two languages.

5.1. Phonemic base extension

As in the other two languages, Bulgarian also acquired the classical base extension in the process of adjective formation from nominal bases on account of suffixation following the alveolar plosive consonant [t]. However, in this respect, Bulgarian is closer to Serbian, as it presupposes a second order extension by the formative morph *-ич* [itʃ] before the suffix attached. In line with the example given in (35) would be other Bulgarian adjectives imported from Greek and Latin, such as *догматичен* 'dogmatic', while the line (35) b. is supposed to indicate the formation stages.

(35) a. *драма-т-ич-ен*
drama-t-ič-en
drama-$_{\text{EXTENSION}}$-$_{\text{EXTENSION}}$-ic
'dramatic'

[15] The informant and professional consultant for Bulgarian, professor Svetlana Stojanov, HS "Ivan Vazov ", Dimitrovgrad, Serbia.

b. [*травма*] > [[*травма*] [-***т***-]] > [[*травмат*-] [-*ич*-]] > [[*травматич*-] [-*ен*]]

‘trauma’ trauma -t:$_{\text{EXTENSION}}$ traumat- -ic:$_{\text{EXTENSION}}$ traumatic- $_{\text{ADJ. SUFFIX}}$

‘traumatic’

5.2. Morphic base extension

As confirmed by the instances presented in the next several examples from Bulgarian, the form for the first person singular number present tense verb *куп-я* ‘I buy’ where the affix {-*я*} [ia] is an inflectional suffix for the formation of the present tense, should be extended by the formative <*ва/ува*> before the ending for the first person singular imperfective verb ending -*м* is added, illustrated in (36) a. Similar formations go along with the instances such as *до-пис-ва-м* ‘I write to’ and the imperfective *на-пис-ва-м* ‘I am writing’ or *пред-чувст-ува-м* ‘I am sensing’.

(36) a. Bul. v. *куп-ува-м*
*kup-**uva**-m*
buy:$_{\text{BASE-EXTENSION-1}^{\text{st}}\text{.SINGULAR.PRESENT}}$
‘I buy’

b. Bul.v. *за-пис-ва-м*
*za-pis-**va**-m*
down:$_{\text{PREFIX}}$- write:$_{\text{BASE-EXTENSION-1}^{\text{st}}\text{.SINGULAR.PRESENT}}$
‘I write down’

With adjective formation, base extension occurs during suffixation by the suffixes {-*ен*} <en> / [en] and {-*ески*} <eski> [eski] to a nominal base, as demonstrated in (37). The extension form <-*ич*-> [itʃ] as such would lead to forming no independent lexical item of either nominal or adjectival nature without the final suffix. On the other hand, forms without the extension, e.g. **демон-ен* make no institutionalised words, but they would have to be in the form of *демон-**ич**-ен* ‘demonic’ or *истор-ич-ески* ‘historic’.

(37) a. Bul. v. *иконом-ич-ен*
ikonom-ich-en
econom-:$_{\text{BASE-EXTENSION}}$-ic:$_{\text{ADJ.SUFFIX}}$
‘economic’

b. Bul.v. *геометр-ич-ески*
geometr-ich-eski
geometr-:$_{\text{BASE-EXTENSION}}$-ic:$_{\text{ADJ.SUFFIX}}$
‘geometric’

When the derivation of nouns is concerned, akin to the Serbian linguistic literature, in the Bulgarian word formation sources, affixes would be listed with a variety of different manifest forms. However, many of those could be ascribed to formal extensions attached to the affix rather than the base, as in derivatives *трън-**чан**-ин*, 'an inhabitant of Trn' *сел-**ян**-ин* 'villager'. A particularly interesting case is the use of nominalised onomatopoeic words in derivation. Here, an extension of the base by the form <-*от*> <ot> [ɔt] occurs before the process of suffixation by the noun-forming suffix {-*евица*} [evitsa], with words such as *треск-**от**-евица* 'crashing' and *пук-**от**-евица* 'banging', the pattern of which is explained structurally in (39).

(38) a. Bul. n. *пирдоп-**чан**-ин*
pirdon-chan-in
Pirdon:$_{\text{BASE-EXTENSION}}$-ite:$_{\text{N.SUFFIX}}$
'an inhabitant of Pirdon'

b. Bul. n. *гражд-**ан**-ин*
grazhd-an-in
city:$_{\text{BASE-EXTENSION}}$-ite:$_{\text{N.SUFFIX}}$
'citizen'

(39) a. Bul. n. *грм-**от**-евица*
grm-ot-evitsa
thunder:$_{\text{BASE-EXTENSION}}$-ance:$_{\text{N.SUFFIX}}$
'thundering'

b. Bul. n. *шум-**от**-евица*
shum-ot-evitsa
rustle:$_{\text{BASE-EXTENSION}}$-ance:$_{\text{N.SUFFIX}}$
'rustling'

6. CONCLUSION

This approach to base extension in the derivation of English, Serbian and Bulgarian, allows for the existence of a formant which extends the base before any affixation occurs and has its justification and defined purpose in the formation of complex lexemes. It is a way of establishing a consistent and simplified system of complex lexical item analysis, where the emphasis is placed on explaining different occurrences by some of the basic principles in the organisation of natural languages, namely that of the binary structure of higher order units.

When the previously exposed considerations are summed up, several important generalisations might be reached. First of all, it should be stressed that it is the complexity and specificity of derivational operations, both from the mor-

phological and phonological viewpoint, which cause the linguistic phenomenon in the research focus and that it is not language specific. It has been shown in the paper that base extension can be found in languages of different typological characteristics, in basically analytic languages as English, but also in various synthetic languages as Bulgarian and Serbian. A certain rather low level of correspondence that can be attested among these languages when it comes to units of extension is a result of inherited derivative characteristics from classical languages, primarily Latin. A parallel line could be drawn between the extension in the form of *-ic-* in English and *-ič-* in Serbian, and *-ич-* in Bulgarian. In English and Serbian, the extensions at the phonological level are more common. Consonantal extension is much more prevailing in both languages, providing 8 different patterns in English and 4 in Serbian. In Bulgarian, as a language characterised by the lack of infinitive verb forms, a relatively small number of base extension cases can be detected and these would normally include more phonemes than one in a morphic kind of base shaping-up before any additional morphological processes can take place. When it comes to English individually, the extension seems to be more applicable before Class I suffixes are to be appended to the base in the process of derivation.

Depending on the type of the base involved in the derivation and the derivational means engaged, there may occur changes in the phonemic constitution of the base compared to the input form within affixational word-formation. No cases of derivational prosthesis were registered in the corpus of examples examined, while syllabic reduplication as a form of base extension seems to be a very rare occurrence, typical of Serbian. As it can be concluded from the analysis of the extension in all the languages, the dominant cases in all the languages by far are those of derivational base synthesis, when the extension is located at the end part of the base, or after any derivational suffixes. The cases of phonemic epenthesis were only sporadic, as confirmed in the examples of the English adjective *mali-**g**-nant* / məˈlɪgnənt /, and the Serbian verb *lup-**k**-a-ti* ‘to tap repeatedly’, etc. As opposed to English, where consonantal extension is also present, in Serbian consonantal epenthesis can assume a semantic function as such formations indicate affected nuances and irritability on the part of the speaker, as in the examples of extension based on the form <k> [k] . The introduction of the meaning component signals that this ***-k-*** can be regarded as a morphophonemic unit, as it is systematically used to convey semantic and pragmatic information.

One of the chief reasons for the occurrence of this linguistic phenomenon is the necessity to overcome gaps in derivational paradigms of certain lexical sets. This kind of compensation can be established as early as in the classical languages, so that the base extension models in the contemporary languages were taken from lexemes sourced from Latin and Greek. As for the other reasons, two kinds of motivation are to be linked with base extension in deriva-

tion. The first is phonemic or phonetic in nature, since there is a requirement, as elsewhere in language, to eliminate unfavourable phonemic combinations and unlikely speech-sound contacts in words, independently of any phonoaesthetic criteria. The primary driving force in that respect is the avoidance of the *hiatus*, or resolving a morphemic junction which involves two vowel phonemes. This particularly holds for the cases of front open vowel phonemes, so that in all of the three observed languages a consonant or a closed syllable appears as a form of base extension, mostly with lexemes imported from classical languages. However, according to the findings in this analysis, sometimes it is through insertion of consonants identical by the place of articulation that the phonetic imbalance between the base ending and the suffix beginning can be overcome, as with *assume+-pt-ion* > *assum-pt-ion*. Thus, the inadvertent and difficult to pronounce consonantal contact between two plosives, the bilabial voiced [m] and the alveolar voiceless /t/ can be prevented by another plosive, but a bilabial voiceless phoneme [p]. The secondary motive and important stimulation in extension by engaging morphophonemic units within or at the very end of the derivational base is anticipation of adverse phonemic pairs or unpronounceable sequences, particularly two consonants of conflicting articulatory properties. In that situation, the extension is most frequently of vocalic or syllabic nature.

When morphic extension is considered, it has a specific formal-semantic function in the adaptation of the base in the three languages. Certain modes of base extension can be formally identified with suffixes, but without the semantic content therein, as with the English *-al-* which is a necessary formative during adverb formation, whereas in Serbian and Bulgarian the most frequent forms encompass <*ič*> or <*uч*> and <ov> or <от>. Generally speaking, all of the cases of morphic extension in English are based on analogy with formally identical suffixes. On the other hand, Serbian, as a synthetic language, exhibits a large potential when it comes to adjective, noun and verb base extensions, a wide array worthy of a separate study on its own.

The final conclusion is that Serbian and Bulgarian have more similarities in the ways of formulating the base for derivational purposes, while they share with English only the common heritage from the Latinate lexis adapted to the respective linguistic systems.

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DERIVACIONO PROŠIRENJE OSNOVE U ENGLESKOM, SRPSKOM I BUGARSKOM JEZIKU

Rezime

Rad nastoji da sistematizuje i obrazloži pojavne oblike derivacione epenteze i sinteze u tri tipološki različita jezika, kao i druge slučajeve proširivanja polaznog oblika. Drugi cilj rada je pokušaj da se utvrde uzroci koji dovode do pojave proširenja osnove i razlozi zbog kojih se javlja morfofonološko proširivanje. Osim toga, analiza je usmerena ka pronalaženju odgovora na pitanje da li su ovakve alomorfske promene osnove najčešće bez dobrog utemeljenja, te ih zato treba uzimati kao lingvistčku egzaptaciju, ili se radi o slučajevima formalne ekstenzije sa razložnom pozadinom u više jezika uslovljenim određenim faktorima koji nisu isključivo metričke prirode i koji se mogu posmatrati kao konstanta. Proučavanje se bazira na kontigentu od preko hiljadu reči iz leksikografskih studija, dok se polazišta zasnivaju se na radovima Stockwell/ Minkova (2001), Scalise (1986), Aronoff (2011), Klajn (2002). Očekivan je manji stepen sličnosti među analitičkim i sintetičkim jezicima, pri čemu kod analitičkih jezika dominiraju primeri derivacione sinteze.

Ključne reči: osnova reči, derivacija, proširenje, engleski, srpski, bugarski.

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COMPREHENSION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY BY READING THE LANDSCAPE: AN EXAMPLE OF SCOTLAND

The paper focuses on diverse artistic depictions of Scotland in order to pinpoint the evident connection between its main landscape features and widespread stereotypical images influencing the formation of national identity. It was in the 19th century that Scott postulated a unifying national myth of a country whose inhabitants' main features reflect the unified opposites of its landscape – being romantically stern and wild, picturesque and awe-inspiring, benevolent and dangerous. The idea of dueling polarities within one entity" (Martin 2009: 84), known as "the Caledonian Antysyzygy", will be discussed from the perspective of the interrelatedness of the Scottish landscape and identity in the work of a variety of authors (Corrie, Burns, Welsh, Soutar). Their creative insights into this issue will be combined by the critical outline provided by Martin *(The Mighty Scot: Nation, Gender and the Nineteenth-Century of Mystique of Scottish Masculinity*, 2009) and Finlayson (*The Scots*, 1988).

Key words: landscape, national identity, stereotypes, "Caledonian Antysyzygy".

In her review of Martin's *The Mighty Scot: Nation, Gender and the Nineteenth-Century of Mystique of Scottish Masculinity* (2009), Abrams rightfully claims that whereas there is an extensive research into the material lives and representations of Scottish women, serious studies of Scottish masculinity are rather hard to find and mostly limited to two diverse images of Scots: "the hard man" image in the twentieth century or the refined manliness cultivated during the period of the Scottish Enlightenment (Abrams 2010: 634). The gap between these completely diverse representations of Scottish men is rather conspicuous, so Martin decisively sets on a critical quest in search of a myth of Scottish masculinity that contributed to the formation of the Scottish national identity not only within the boundaries of Scotland and the United Kingdom, but also world wide.

"A rugged primal" Highland masculinity (Martin 2009: 6) represents the central image in Martin's study, depicted as a necessary element in the English construction of Scots within the UK. After the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707,

the most common representation of Scottishness was related to the notion of "Britain's masculine heartland" (Martin 2009:3), whereby, in the absence of a nation-state, the only way of the nation to reproduce itself was the narrative. A great part of Martin's study is thus dedicated to a well-known Scottish literary figure, Walter Scott, whose image of the Scottish nation was practically based on the fusion of nation and masculinity, or, as Abrams insightfully claims, "the imagining of the nation was conducted through narratives of the mystique of Highland masculinity" (Abrams 2010: 634).

To Sir Walter Scott, Scotland was the land of "brown heath and shaggy wood", "the mountain and the flood", rustic, rural, harsh, unforgiving and unkind, but still a home, both literally and metaphorically. It was in the 19th century that Scott in his collection of ballads, *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Borders* (1802-1803), postulated a unifying national myth of Scotland as a country whose inhabitants' main features reflect the unified opposites of its landscape – being romantically stern and wild, picturesque and awe-inspiring, benevolent and dangerous. In Canto Six of *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805), Scott identifies his mother country as an inspiring Muse to his poetic creativity:

> O Caledonia! Stern and wild,
> Meet nurse for a poetic child!
> Land of brown heath and shaggy wood,
> Land of the mountain and the flood,
> Land of my sires! What mortal hand
> Can e'er unite the filial band,
> That knits me to thy rugged strand! (Scott 2010: 172)

Bearing in mind the indestructible "filial band" between the poet and the "rugged strand" of his mother country, it is no surprise that with his romantic description of the Scottish landscape, Scott largely contributed to including Scotland in the 'Grand Tour', "the cultural European tour that enticed much of the travel-minded gentry in the 18th and 19th centuries" (BBC 2014: 1).[1]

However, although the concept of Scottish masculinity, constituted by the myth of rugged Highland virility, "a timeless masculine essence" (Abrams 2010:635), could be successfully implanted south of the Scottish border, in Scotland it represented a rather problematic notion. It turned out that the majority of Scots (those geographically associated with the Lowland region) could not appropriate this figure of authentic Scottishness. "The idea of dueling polarities within one entity" (Martin 2009: 84), generally known as "the Caledonian Ant-

[1] For a further research on Walter Scott, see Kostic, *Scottish Prospect for the Future: Where Do We Go From Here?,* Faculty of Philosophy, Novi Sad, 2014, pp. 253-259.

ysyzygy" phenomenon[2], which denotes the unexpected merging of opposing or paradoxical cultural viewpoints, in Martin's study refers to two contrasted poles: the primitive, warring Highlands and Calvinist, industrializing Lowlands. This polarity is further in the book traced through various economic, social and cultural notions of Scotland, poignantly revealing the author's shrewd perception of "the dilemma of Scottish nationality" as a "tortured relationship" of Lowland Scotland with its Highland half (Martin 2009: 108).

In the same vein, in his popular study, *The Scots* (1988), Finlayson states that the people living in the Lowland area in general tend to have very negative feelings towards the Highlanders, almost as if they were a separate nation. Simultaneously, the Highlanders are equally hostile towards the Lowland Scots. A typical image of the Highlanders by their fellow countrymen from the Lowland region could approximately be summarized in the following fashion: the Highlanders lived their quiet way of life, separated from the rest of the country, not really aware of the things happening around them. They lived peacefully in their communities, called clans, and the only authority there was their clan chief. The Lowlanders generally found them uncivilized because they refused to give up on their traditional way of life. However, the people living in the Highland area are also described as unable to harm, non-malicious, able to forgive and forget, independent and self-sufficient, which are the characteristics not commonly found in their Lowland regional counterparts (Finlayson 1988: 34, 35).

Finlayson finally concludes that the particular environment does shape the character of the Scot, both the Highland and the Lowland. He ultimately describes the Highlanders as large, grand, dignified, secret, romantic, and the Lowlanders as merely having an austere feeling, pragmatic to the bone, particu-

[2] The very inventor of the term, G. Gregory Smith, writes on its connection with the Scots: "..- we have a reflection of the contrasts which the Scot shows at every turn, in his political and ecclesiastical history, in his polemical restlessness, in his adaptability, which is another way of saying that he has made allowance for new conditions, in his practical judgement, which is the admission that two sides of the matter have been considered. If therefore Scottish history and life, are, as an old northern writer said of something else, 'varied with a clean contrair spirit,' we need not be surprised to find that in his literature the Scot presents two aspects which appear contradictory. Oxymoron was ever the bravest figure, and we must not forget that disorderly order is order, after all." (quoted in Finlayson 1988: 22)
G. Gregory Smith talks about the contrasts which occupy the lives of the Scottish people as being constantly present, in politics, in the history of their church, in literature, and elsewhere. Finlayson transfers this division further to the geography of the country by concentrating on the conspicuous differences between the two major cities of Scotland, Glasgow and Edinburgh. The first is a typical industrial city, the second - the city of students, lawyers and bankers. Each of these two has its distinctive features, specific for their particular type of residents. Both cities have developed in their own time, in their particular area, but totally opposite to one another. They came to be rivals, divided as the Scottish character: Edinburgh, representing a Lowland reserved type; Glasgow representing a Highland exuberant type of personality (Finlayson 1988: 23).

larly keen on the practical opportunities in the sphere of industrialization of the land (Finlayson 1988: 35). It is no wonder then that a ragged, romantic Highland masculine type has been more appealing in the creation of the Scottish stereotype to the peoples living outside Scotland and the UK. However, as both Martin and Finlayson deduce in their respective studies, this stereotypical image of Scots has generally represented a great burden to the majority of Scottish population from the moment of its conception during the 19th century to the present day.

This idea will be further explored in the paper through the interpretation of selected literary works (Robert Burns' *Scots Wha Hae*, William Soutar's *Scotland*, Joe Corrie's *Scottish Pride* and Irvine Welsh's *Trainspotting*). The stereotypical interrelatedness of Scottish landscape and national identity in the work of a variety of authors from different historical periods fundamentally exposes completely opposed views on Scottish nation ranging from a paramount sense of national pride (in Burns's comprehension of national identity from the 18th century) to the present-day feeling of bitter remorse and anguish, even disgrace, of being Scottish (in Welsh's 20th century critical perception of 'Scottishness').

….

It is impossible to start a literary survey of Scottish issues without referring to the work of Robert Burns, nowadays usually regarded as the first national poet of Scotland, or the Scots Makar from the 18th century. Apart from the fact that Burns wrote on a myriad of diverse poetic subjects, he also collected folk songs from across Scotland and often revised or adapted them. This was a practice later recognized by Walter Scott who gathered and published national folk tales and ballads, mostly in an archaic and obsolete version of Scottish Gaelic. This is precisely the reason why for modern Scots both Burns and Scot represent national heroes – they managed to hand oral traditional and historical materials down to future generations and, in this way, make them immortal.

A good illustration of the previous claim is Burns's poem "Scots Wha Hae" ("Scots Who Have", in the English translation) (1793), which served as an unofficial national anthem of the country for a long time. Originally written in Scots, the poem depicts Robert the Bruce's address to his military troops before the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314, which is still regarded as one of the crucial dates in the Scottish history. The celebrated King of Scots from the 14th century, Robert the Bruce, was triumphant in the Scottish Wars of Independence against the militarily superior English forces led by King Edward II. In his address to the soldiers, Bruce verily represents the stereotypical image of "a rugged primal" Highland masculinity (Martin 2009: 6):

Wha will be a traitor knave?
Wha will fill a coward's grave?

Wha sae base as be a slave?
Let him turn an flee.
Wha, for Scotland's king and law,
Freedom's sword will strongly draw,
Freeman stand, or Freeman fa,
Let him on wi me.[3] (Bold 1993: 12)

It goes without saying that after such a robust, uplifting, patriotic address, not a single soldier considered fleeing the battlefield as a possible option. Burns clearly states that the willing sacrifice made by Bruce and his soldiers should represent a potent legacy for future generations. The poem distinctly contains a mighty warning to his fellow Scotsmen against the forcefully imposed English domination.

The popularity of Burns's poem nowadays testifies to the fact that Scots are in general beset by history, being themselves products of a rather vivid historical and cultural chain of events. This trait can also be comprehended as a stereotypical Highland Scottish quality: without prior thinking and rational envisioning of the English military superiority, led solely by intense patriotic feelings, genuinely adoring every rugged bit and piece of Scotland, Bruce's army managed to defeat the military advanced, loathed Englishmen. The memory of this incredible Scottish victory from the 14th century is still rather potent in the minds of modern Scotsmen, which stereotypically makes them proud Highland traditionalists, as Finlayson validly states. He further generalizes on the relevance of tradition and history to his contemporary fellow countrymen:

> It goes without saying that the interpretation of the past is a subject that animates the Scots like no other, and it is a brave man who will attempt publicly to state his own version. He can expect flat denial and disagreement on all sides from his fellow countrymen. Should a stranger, a non-Scot, attempt an analysis of the Scots, he will be faced not with sniper fire but a solid phalanx of artillery from the Scots standing, for once, shoulder to shoulder. The personal element will become subsumed in a collective defense of patriotism, national prejudices, and the desire to maintain the old myths. The Scots are their own history, a history kept alive like a flame by a nation of guardians who, all too often, are consumed by it. (Finlayson, 1988: 16-17)

[3] This is an English translation of Burns's poem:

Who will be a traitor knave?
Who will fill a coward's grave?
Who's so base as be a slave? -
Let him turn, and flee.
Who for Scotland's King and Law
Freedom's sword will strongly draw,
Freeman stand or freeman fall,
Let him follow me. (Bold 1993: 12)

Though frequently consumed by a robust defense of the old myths, as Finlayson claims (Finlayson, 1988: 16-17), a potent sense of tradition and history persistently led each generation of Scotsmen to preserve their national heritage. For instance, during the late twenties and early thirties of the 20th century, a major Scottish literary revival took place. The leading theoretical and artistic figure of this movement was Hugh MacDiarmid, a Scottish poet whose main preoccupation was the role of Scots and Gaelic in shaping modern Scottish identity. Also called the Lallans revival – the term Lallans (Lowlands) having been used by Robert Burns to refer solely to the notion of language, the movement's main postulates included the strengthened cultural liaisons between Scots and Gaelic (and not Scots and English as was the case until then). In the preface to an anthology of Scottish poetry, *The Golden Treasury of Scottish Poetry* (1940), MacDiarmid bluntly stated that the prime aim of Scottish literary renaissance was to recharge Scots as "only a stage in the breakaway from English, preliminary to the great task of recapturing and developing our great Gaelic heritage" (MacDiarmid 2011:3).

William Soutar was one of the poets included in MacDiarmid's anthology as one of the leading figures of the Scottish Renaissance literary movement. Hence, a strong sense of belonging to Scottish tradition, particularly from the perspective of writing in Scots or Gaelic, was of paramount importance to Soutar. One of his poems in which the poet's sense of belonging to Scottish tradition can most clearly be seen is definitely "Scotland". Soutar writes about his vision of Scotland as a home for the homeless mind, the only place one can experience existential security and avoid fear of the great unknown that death brings:

It is owre late for fear
Owre early for disclaim:
Whan ye come hameless here
And ken ye are at hame. (Robertson 2003: 258)

An intense feeling of national pride is rightfully detected in Soutar's lines. Although it is expressed in a more lyrical fashion than Burns's epic outburst in "Scots Wha Hae", the main features of Highland masculine stereotype can still be detected here – the poet dignifiedly expresses his grand feelings towards the mother country, as if demonstrating his deepest reverence for a beloved one, in a secret and romantic fashion. The fact that he achieves this poetic effect by writing in Scots further reinforces Soutar's patriotic and nationalist outlook.

In the manner similar to Burns, Joe Corrie, Soutar's contemporary, emphasizes the supreme sense of national pride by referring to the Scottish victory at Bannockburn:

It's fine when the clerk says,
"Nae 'dole' here for you!"
To proudly turn,
And think o'the bluidy slashin'

The English got
At Bannockburn. (Robertson 2003: 258)

Although not directly dealing with the matter of reading the Scottish landscape, the main concepts of Highland masculine virility potently lurk behind the poem's metaphors. The poet obviously talks about a difficult life of an average unemployed Scot in the first half of the 20th century. He is on the dole, but even this financial support on the part of the state is frequently denied to him by nameless bureaucrats, proper representatives of the loathed system. However, each time he is arrogantly rejected by the state, this unemployed Scottish individual, at the verge of survival, proudly thinks about the glorious Scottish victory over the dominating English military forces at Bannockburn (1314) and impertinently dashes off. Corrie's choice of elevating national topics, as well as the fact that his poetry is written solely in Scots made T.S. Eliot declare that he was "the greatest Scots poet after Burns" (Joe Corrie, Scottish Poetry Library 2017:1).

However, at the end of the 20th century, the sense of national pride surprisingly takes on a completely different form. A good illustration of the previous claim is definitely a well-known monologue of Renton, the main hero from Welsh's novel "Trainspotting" (1993) and its filmed blockbuster version, directed by Boyle in 1996. In this particular monologue, Renton's vivid outburst at the naïve suggestion of one of his friends that being Scottish inevitably involves a great amount of national pride is potently captured:

> It's SHITE being Scottish! We're the lowest of the low. The scum of the fucking Earth! The most wretched, miserable, servile, pathetic trash that was ever shat into civilization. Some people hate the English. I don't. They're just wankers. We, on the other hand, are *colonized* by wankers. Can't even find a decent culture to be colonized *by*. We're ruled by effete arseholes. It's a SHITE state of affairs to be in, Tommy, and all the fresh air in the world won't make any fucking difference! (*Trainspotting* 1996)

Bearing in mind the unsuccessful Independence Referendum (2014) and Brexit (2016), this monologue captures the origins of a long-lasting Scottish/English animosity starting with the English invasion of Scotland in the late 13th and early 14th centuries' Wars of Scottish Independence, continuing with a generally undesirable Act of Union with England in 1707 and Scottish final merging into the United Kingdom in 1801. In the 1979 Referendum, the majority of the Scottish population voted against devolution; exactly twenty years later, in another Referendum, devolution was finally achieved. This enabled the creation of the Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh at the beginning of the new millennium thus announcing a new chapter in Scottish/English relations.

However, although it seems that the Scottish nation has finally managed to gain some power from the domineering English, Renton seems to be utterly dissatisfied with his fellow countrymen, good at shouting nationalist slogans, but basically with no practical initiative to genuinely change their political and economical position within the UK. Hence, Renton's gloomy verbal outcry reveals that although MacDiarmid's (and Burns's) ideas are rather valid and relevant for the present state of affairs in Scotland, their contemporary echoes are pretty shallow, feeble and superficial. From this perspective, it can rightfully be deduced that the stereotypical idealistic vision of "a rugged primal" Highland masculinity (Martin 2009: 6) is nowadays seriously threatened and constantly questioned.

In addition, Renton's passionate outburst at the artificially constructed feeling of national pride is well explained in Finlayson's study. Finlayson claims that the Scots use historical myths as a means of gathering the people who would otherwise have nothing in common. The myth of heroic past relies on the significance of Scottish heritage and forms a unifying force that strengthens the nation in the fight against the English, generally perceived as eternal enemies:

> The modern tendency has been for the Scots to create a historical myth of a Celtic past that serves as a focus to unite a people not noticeably unanimous in anything. The heritage of the past is a glue that binds together disparate, and often contradictory, elements in Scottish history and culture to form a common ground that provides a feeling of nationhood, a sense of Scottish identity developed largely as the result of struggle against immemorial antagonists. (Finlayson 1988: 171)

From the modern perspective, the enormous power of historical myth is constantly reiterated, so that the myth itself literally becomes an undesirable and oppressive national concoction; the continuous emphasis on the importance of history nowadays becomes a sort of a burden, as potently captured in Renton's case. Furthermore, a great number of Scots nowadays are rather suspicious regarding the historical myths' true and noble causes, but straightforwardly perceive them as evident conveyors of nationalist messages, mere patriotic fabrications used to fight the English as the ever-present enemies. Thus, the romantic notion of a "rugged primal" Highland masculinity (Martin 2009: 6) (un)fortunately proves to be quite ineffective and fruitless in contemporary Scotland.

…

One of the affirmative ways to interpret "the Caledonian Antyzyzygy" (Martin 2009: 84) is presented by Finlayson who perceives it as a "form of the integration of the self, rather than a mere confusion and conglomeration of contradictions roughly bundled together." (Finlayson, 1988: 31) It seems that every aspect of 'Scottishness' is defined by a necessary set of binary opposites: from

the domain of landscape that simultaneously reflects the Scottish character's main features (being romantically stern and wild, picturesque and awe-inspiring, benevolent and dangerous) to the two contrasted images of Scot (the hard, rugged Highlander and the refined, cultivated Lowlander) portraying diverse views on Scottish national identity. Although the attitude towards national identity has significantly changed from the 18th century onwards (the immense sense of national pride is clearly being reduced to (post)modern unpatriotic feeling of disillusionment), the plain fact is that both dueling polarities do constitute and shape contemporary Scottish nation. It has been created throughout the centuries of (un)fortunate historical and political chain of events that testify to a strong bond, or interdependence, among its sets of binary oppositions, completely integrated into a vision of a unifying national myth and, ultimately, difficult to be broken or annihilated.

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POVEZANOST NACIONALNOG IDENTITETA I GEOGRAFSKIH KARAKTERISTIKA: PRIMER ŠKOTSKE

Rezime

Rad se zasniva na različitim umetničkim predstavama Škotske kako bi se ukazalo na očiglednu vezu između, s jedne strane, osnovnih geografskih karakteristika Škotske i široko rasprostranjenih stereotipa koju utiču na stvaranje škotskog nacionalnog identiteta, s druge. U XIX veku, Volter Skot je postavio temelje škotskog nacionalnog mita govoreći o državi u kojoj stereotipne karakteristike stanovnika odražavaju njene geografske suprotnosti – oni su istovremeno romantično ozbiljni i neukrotivi, puni života i bojažljivi, blagonakloni i opasni. Fenomen "the Caledonian Antysyzygy", ideja o postojanju binarnih opozicija u okviru jednog entiteta (Martin 2009: 84), koja se zasniva na neočekivanom spajanju suprostavljenih ili paradoksalnih kulturnih stanovišta, razmatraće se u radu kroz prizmu veze između geografije i nacionalnog identiteta kojom su se bavili mnogi umetnici iz različitih istorijskih perioda (Kori, Berns, Velš, Sutar). Kreativni pogledi ovih umetnika biće kombinovani sa kritičkim uvidima Martinove (2009) i Finlisona (1988).

Ključne reči: nacionalni identitet, stereotip, geografija, binarna opozicija.

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STABILITY/INSTABILITY OF SOUND DURATION IN SPEECH TEMPO CHANGE

This work presents research results of relative sound duration, as the results of sounds duration variation according to tempo change in speech, caused by emotional state of the speaker. The research was done in the part of the corpus GEES. 20 isolated words' sounds were analyzed. Every word was segmented in particular sounds in five types of speech expression (neutral, angry, happy, fearful, sad) with 6 speakers. The segmentation was done by the software package PRAAT. And the statistical analysis was done by the software package SPSS.

The sound duration analysis in the neutral expression proved that in the researched corpus the order of sounds according to relative duration from the "longest" to the "shortest" is like this: stressed long vowels, affricates, fricatives, stressed short vowels, plosives, nasals, unstressed vowels, oral sonants. The analysis proved that during the tempo change oral sonants have the most stable duration, while the most unstable duration is with long stressed vowels. It was shown that relative duration length and stability are mutually caused in such a way that sounds of the shortest duration are the most stable, and sounds of the longest duration are most unstable.

Keywords: sounds, duration, speech tempo, variety, emotion speech expression.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Sounds duration

In the relative length in time during which speech organs stay in the position necessary for articulation of the particular sound (Simeon II, 1969: 624). Every sound must last for a specific amount of time in order to be able to be perceived so that its distinctive function may be done. The sound duration depends on a variety of factors: from types of articulation, to individual speakers characteristics, (so for example, with individually slow speaker the stressed short vowel may objectively have the same duration as the stressed long vowel with individually fast speaker) , from communicative situation, to sound function in larger speech segments, on phonetic position, on prosody organisation of

speech in larger speech segments, on phonetic position on prosody organisation of speech etc. Bearing in mind the number of factors which influence sound duration, one cannot discuss exact measures of absolute duration for a single sound, this is why this sounds' parametre concludes according to average values and relative duration is being discussed. So in literature there exists data that sound in an unstressed syllable, on average, lasts between 8 and 10 100th parts of a second. Sounds in stressed syllables last longer, and this longer duration depends on the type of stress and the type of realisation of syllable accent in various articulation bases.

The lower border of sound duration in speech is caused by human perceptive abilities, that is inabilities. If the sound duration is smaller than two one hundredth of a second, a human being cannot perceive it. The upper border of sound duration is not exactly determined, but in any case there exists the malformation border. That is, too long duration can distract the acoustic structure of sounds so they can become unrecognizable.

1.2. Speech tempo

The tempo is an important prosody speech feature which consists of speed or slowness of speech flow in time, that is, speeding or slowing during the speech process. Speeding or slowing is realised by varying segments duration, both with breath pauses variations between speech segments.

This prosody feature can be seen from the point of view of individual features of a speaker and from the point of view of the communicative situation. From both perspectives one can discuss fast, moderate and slow speech tempo.

From an individual viewpoint tempo is one of personal speech features of every individual, which reflects his or her temperament and automatised habits. The border to which speech flow may be speeding is the border of intelligibility. If a co-speaker may follow and understand the speaker, then an individually fast tempo does not disturb communication. However when the speech is speeded so much that it becomes unintelligible, it belongs to the sphere of speech pathology. The boundary of slow tempo is the boundary formed by natural speech. In too slow a tempo, speech segments become so ill-formed that they can no longer be intelligible. Sometimes such tempo is pathologically slowed down and in it, all the segments are correctly articulated, but the speech is so slow that the co-speaker pays more attention to it than the message itself, and this interrupts successful communication. The average speech tempo, with individual variations, is somewhere between these two boundaries.

From the point of view of a communicative situation the tempo is language expressive means. Every speaker adjusts his or her tempo to the needs

of the given situation, taking care of the co - speaker (co- speakers) and of the message itself, that is, of parts of the message. The speakers in every communicative situation vary duration in such a manner, they pronounce more quickly the necessary redundant parts of a message, and slow down where there are the parts of the message they give new information in. The given and the similar variety in speech the speakers draw attention to a new information, on one hand, and keep the co - speakers' attention awake, on the other hand. So, variation in duration is a process in every, communicative situation. They are necessary because of the topic that is being communicated about, because of adjustments to the co - speaker. The tempo, by the rule, is slower when the speaker talks to a child, when they talk to a person who does not speak the given language as a mother tongue, when they talk to a person whom they teach etc. In the correct fluent organisation of speech the tempo has an important role, because if it is too fast, too slow, not completely moderate all the time (monotonous), the speech without any variation disturbs the co - speakers perception of a message (Kašić, 2000: 115).

The tempo in spontaneous speech and in loud reading out loud becomes the part of a sentence intonation and is one of the proofs in pronunciation style (Simeon: II, 1969: 601). The research in tempo change in a sentence while reading out loud with native speakers of Serbian language proved that there is a connection between speeding of a tempo and growing melody line, that is, a connection between slow tempo and falling line, the tempo varies when the phrases are not of the same length and in such a way that longer parts between two breathing pauses are read with quicker tempo, and they are slowed down with shorter phrases. It is also perceived that the segments are slowed down, from the point of view of the person who reads out loud, they carry for important information while less important information draws the quickening of a tempo. Also no it is perceived that counting, while reading, brings certain slowing down (Jokanović - Mihajlov, 1996: 139).

Apart from the given tempo role in organisation of speech expression, it is possible to speed during speech and slow down the segments (sounds, syllables, pronounced word and phonetic phrases) in order to give new elements of meaning to the given message, and these elements of meaning may inform the co - speaker about the speakers' statements, beliefs, according to the message. So the phrase pronounced with speed may give the message the meaning of urgency, and the phrase pronounced slowly may express doubt and reluctance of the speaker concerning the message he or she gives. The fast and sharp tempo expresses nervousness, and the slow tempo expresses greater personal engagement, etc. (Crystal, 1996: 169).

When duration variation is caused by reasons outside linguistic nature (individual temperament, health condition, emotions, etc), tempo is a meaning which gives additional information to the speaker. So specific slowing down or speeding of a tempo may signalize: nervousness, illness, sadness, happiness, anger, fear…..

2. RESEARCH

Since during speech, the absolute duration of a sound, depends on the speech tempo, this research analyses the types of variety, (stability and instability) of sounds in change of tempo which is caused by speech expression of primary emotions.

Contemporary research of the role in variation of duration in speech expression of emotions with native speakers of Serbian language are done on a corpus of continuous speech (discourse in which there was 79 words, which lasted for about 35 seconds when they were pronounced in a neutral, emotionally unengaged speech): and the variations of duration of longer speech segments between breathing pauses were analysed, and the liability of duration of pauses in expression of primary emotions were analysed and compared to neutral speech (Jovičić, Kašić, 2004; Kašić, Jovičić, 2005). The duration of particular word phrases was analysed, as they were considered to be unique stimulus, stimuluses without any special analysis of the duration role of sounds and pauses (Ivanović, Kašić, 2011).

This research relies on the previous analysis of segmentation problem when it comes to sounds (Kašić et al, 2004), both with the analysis of sounds variation duration in words (Kašić et al. 1987), as the analysis of sounds duration in speech expression of primary emotions (Ivanović 2008).

The basic aim of this work is the analysis of reliability of sounds duration from different classification groups during the tempo change in speech in various types of speech expression (neutral, anger , happiness, fear, sadness) from the perspective of stability (instability), with parting of duration analysis of stressed long and stressed short vowels, which was not done in the previous research.

One of the aims was to analyse the tendencies of the average duration of sounds from various classification groups in the scope of sound system in Serbian articulation. The central aim was the analysis of the role of a relative ”short” and relative ”long” sounds duration in the scope of variations during the tempo change in speech.

2.1. Research methodology

The research corporation and stability (instability) of sounds duration in the change of tempo during speech, whose results are related and given in this, this was done in the already formed speech base of emotional expressions *The Corpus of Speech Expression of Emotions and Statements in Serbian Language* GEES (Jovičić et al.). The isolated segmental neutral words in which the analysis of these parameters was done are: *Marko, žurka, standard, pijaca, padavine,*

demonstracije, ponedeljak, godina, Petar, predstava, drvo, kiša, Milan, kompjuteri, zgrade, inostranstvo, klinci, Mirjana, more, rezultati. The given words expressions were pronounced by 5 speakers in five different ways: in neutral expression, in expression of primary emotions (anger , happiness, fear, sadness). The different types of speech expression were pronounced by three actresses and three actors. The simulated expression was evaluated by the responses of non trained listeners. The corpus was formed only with productions which were recognised as neutral pronunciation and as the expression of happiness, fear and sadness.

The duration was analysed in segmented particular sounds. The segmentation encompassed the pronunciation of every word in neutral pronunciation and in expression of primary emotions with 6 speakers (3930 sounds was cemented in 600 words). According to the analysis of the relative duration of sounds in the researched corpus the duration of types of sounds was determined independently from the position. The segmentation together with the appropriate duration, was realized by the software package PRAAT for acoustic analysis of speech, which gives the ability to measure a great number of acoustic features. The segmentation was done in such a way that the scope of the speech stimulus is given in the spectrogram, the borders between sounds, and then the facts of segmentation were audibly checked. In order to avoid auditory illusions, the particular voice was checked, and the special parts of the speech stimulus were specially checked before primary boundaries and the part of the stimulus after the last boundary. As the boundary of the duration of one sound and the beginning of duration of another were taken, the points of clear end of acoustic structure of one voice and the beginning of acoustic structure of another voice.“The clarity” of boundaries between sounds, depends on the combination of types of sounds, that is of a combination of vowel formants and consonant concentration noise, both and of combinations of sounds with similar to simultaneous tone and noise structure. The segmentation problems of sounds in natural continuous speech were presented in the previous work which leads on this research (Kašić et al, 2004).

Variations of sounds durations in neutral pronunciation and an expression of primary emotions were analysed according to the classification groups of sounds, because they started from the supposing that the sounds inside one class, or related according to the articulation- acoustic characteristic, and that they behave similarly in all types of pronunciation types, that is, they started from the supposition that all sounds from the same classification of the group have similar tendency of lasting and varying that duration with all the representatives of a group.

In this analysis the stressed long and the stressed short and non stressed vowels were separated because of acoustic features and the general realisation of the syllable accent and because of the nature of the Serbian stress system,

and the fact that in this research all the speakers had differentiated four accent systems. Bearing in mind that one of the features of the articulation base of Serbian language that apart from vowels in the centre of a syllable may be a sonant *r* , which can occur in interconsonant position, their variations were analysed between vowels. The explanation of such positioning is the existence of neutral vocal segment /ə/ in the pronunciation of sound *r* in all positions in which it is the bearer of a syllable (Kašić, 1998: 105).

Inside the sonant group, the nasals were specifically explained as their subgroup, concerning the fact that while articulation of nasals in oral cavity completely breaks the flow of fonation, (similarity with plosives) , while with lowering of the soft palate enables the flow of one part of formation flow from fairings to nasal cavity. This particularity in articulation of nasals in accordance to the oral (real) sonants were believed to be the reason for accentuating these sounds in the special subgroup so they were expected from the certain particularities with the nasals integration of duration variation. The sounds whose parametres were analysed in this research are: vowels (stressed long, non stressed short, and in already formed base there were no non stressed long vowels): i, e, a, o, u, vowel r; (real) sonants: j, v, r, l, lj; nasals: m, n; plosives t, d. k, g; fricatives š, ž, s, z; affricates c. The fact that the analysis was done in the previously recorded speech base influenced the choice of sounds (the conditions of recording and characteristics or speakers were not possible to be repeated), so it's brought to the certain flaws in research, as there were, for example, non-existence of long not stressed syllable, especially the non-existence of, which of course influenced that the showing of affricates duration in this research results. Even though obvious that voiceless consonants last "longer" than voiced ones, we decided that the affricates duration will be shown according to the measure of 90 times pronounced affricate c, and with way of "shorten" the the average value in duration.

Table 1- the sample of pronounced, segmented and analysed voices

stressed long vowels	240
stressed short vowels	360
non stressed vowels	1080
oral sonants	720
nasals	270
plosives	900
fricatives	270
affricates	90
all	3930

The results which were found in this work were statistically analysed. For this use the software package SPSS was used. Statistical analysis means that gaining the average values in variation fields of the measured parameters, with all the speakers and all pronounced sounds, in neutral expression and and neutral pronunciation and in speech expression of anger, happiness, fear, sadness etc.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis deduced that classification group of sounds has statistically important effect on average sound duration and on average duration during tempo variations in various types of speech expression. This means that the average duration of every sound in different variants of speech expression is caused, that is determined, by its articulation and acoustic characteristics according to which it was classified in specific classification groups.

In Table 2 there are several types of variations of average sounds duration. One type represents the range of average aberration of middle value of classification groups of sounds in five types of speech expressions according to which it may be deduced on stability and instability of sounds duration in a tempo speech change. Another type of variation presents a range of average duration of sounds in a system in the scope of particular types of speech expression according to which it may be deduced in the scope of variations which characterise expression of primary emotions compared to emotionally unengaged speech. Average values of sounds duration in colon *neutral* may present, causing proof of relative duration of sounds in the articulation base of native speakers of Serbian language close to standard language.

Table 2 Duration of variation of average sounds duration in seconds

Range of average variation from middle value	Range of average duration of various sound types in five types of speech expression				
	NEUTRAL	ANGER	HAPPINESS	FEAR	SADNESS
stressed long vowels **0.068**	affricates 0,174	stressed vowels long 0.180	stressed vowels long 0.234	stressed vowels long 0.207	stressed vowels long 0.237
affricates **0.043**	stressed vowels long 0.169	affricates 0,162	affricates 0,180	affricates 0,163	affricates 0,205
stressed short vowels **0.031**	fricatives 0,115	fricatives 0,122	fricatives 0,128	fricatives 0,117	fricatives 0,140

fricatives **0.025**	stressed vowels short 0.103	stressed short vowels 0.118	stressed short vowels 0.13	stressed short vowels 0.134	stressed short vowels 0.132
plosives **0,025**	plosives 0,099	plosives 0,101	plosives 0,113	plosives 0,097	plosives 0,122
non stressed vowels **0,022**	nasals 0,081	nasals 0,081	nasals 0,101	nasals 0,086	nasals 0,098
nasals **0,020**	non stressed vowels 0,074	non stressed vowels 0,074	non stressed vowels 0,096	non stressed vowels 0,083	non stressed vowels 0,089
oral sonants **0,012**	oral sonants 0,065	oral sonants 0,068	oral sonants 0,076	oral sonants 0,068	oral sonants 0,077
Variations scope	**0,109**	**0.112**	**0.158**	**0.139**	**0,160**

3.1. The range of average aberrance of sounds from middle value of duration

First vertical column in Table 2 proves that the range of average aberration of middle value of analysed groups of sounds in five types of speech expression in six speakers.

The greatest aberration of middle value, that is, the greatest scope of duration variation in researched corpus was determined for stressed long vowels (0.068). During tempo variations, the speakers in our sample used the expressiveness of the second stressed syllable , that is, its most sonorous part, for lengthening compared to neutral in various types of speech expression of emotions. This is in a certain way expected because of automatised articulation habits of Serbian language, native speakers they vary in four types of lasting in every vowel (stressed long, stressed short, non stressed long and non stressed short). Because the lasting is a distinctive characteristic in vowel production, it was expected that the greatest variations will be in long stressed vowels.

Also, it was expected that the affricate, as a voice in whose articulation the successive occlusion and isthmus e from middle value 0.043), that will last longer and that variations of the sound will be greater. Compared to stressed long vowels which will be prolonged in all types of speech expression of emotions, affricates are shortened in anger and fear, and prolonged in happiness and sadness.

Variations of duration in stressed short vowels (0.031) however in that in their variability distinctive is kept compared to stressed long and non stressed

short vowels. Compared to neutral speech expression, stressed short vowels are prolonged in all emotional expression.

Qualitative range of aberration is the same for fricatives and plosives (0,025). However fricatives are prolonged compared to neutral, and closes in fear are shortened, and in other three expressions they are prolonged, which means their prolonging , which means that is ”shorter” than fricative prolonging.

Stability, of duration tendencies, i.e. the small scope of variation is determined for non stressed short vowels (0,022). And stressed short vowels are kept with the same type of tendency as the other two types of vowels (stressed and short) - duration is distinctive (it is prolonged or stays the same, as in anger), and compared to neutral it is not shortened.

Nasals (on average deviation in middle values 0,020), when variation of duration in tempo change is in question, show the similar tendency as in non stressed vowels, the duration is prolonged or it stays the same (anger) and in emotionally unengaged expression.

Oral sonants have the most stable duration, with the smallest scope of variation, (the average deviation from middle value 0.012), they have the shortest relative duration and the smallest scope of variations. The average duration starts from 65 to 77 milliseconds in all five types of speech expression. As vowels, they have a tendency of prolonging during tempo change in speech.

According to the scale of average deviation of middle value duration of classification groups of sounds in speech tempo change, it is perceived that there is a tendency according to which sounds of longer relative duration have greater scope of variation, and sounds of shorter relative duration show a tendency to have smaller scope of variation.

3.2 The tendency of average sound duration in sound system of Serbian language

Vertical columns of average range of different types of sounds in five types of speech expression in Table 2 may be conditionally proving the tendency of the average duration in classification of sound groups with native speakers of Serbian language. We have to point out that there is a conditional necessity because of the great variety of this parameter in individual plans and in plan of communicating situations. So, bearing in mind, the condition of this tendency, it may be deduced that in emotionally unengaged speech (which in spontaneous situations is very rare!) The arrangement of sounds duration from ”the longest” to “the shortest” is this: affricates, stressed long vowels, fricatives, stressed short vowels, plosives, nasals, non stressed short vowels, oral sonants. It is also possible, according to this column, to differ between the longest and the shortest groups of sounds and

that duration, that is variation scope of sound duration 109 milliseconds. These results are in accordance (that is they are not in great non accordance) research of the in sound duration spontaneous speech (Kašić et al, 1987).

If one bears in mind that there is a tendency according to which sounds of longer duration have a greater scope of variation, and if one takes care of the fact that is spontaneous speech the completely unengaged emotional expression is really rare (and in this research only in neutral affricates on average they last longer than the stressed long vowels, while in all four types of expression of primary emotions affricates last shorter than stressed long vowels), and of course, if one takes into consideration that the given facts in this corpus will be only voiceless affricates, then one may deduce that the range of relative sound duration from" the longest" to "the shortest" in articulation base of Serbian language is like this**: long stressed vowels, affricates, short stressed vowels, fricatives, plosives, nasals, not stressed short vowels, oral sonants**.

These relative relations of duration between sounds in the system which is in accordance of the statement of Branko Miletić, who when it comes to consonants (mentioning the short vowels) says: so I will only mention that from sonants (which are generally considered, from durations happen to be in the middle, between short vowels and consonants) the longest nasals, then v and j, while l is considerably shorter, and r is very short. Between consultants the shortest are partition, while isthmus are longer, and half-partition are specifically longer. (Miletić, 1952: 50). Non stressed short vowels and sonants are brought to the separation of nasal and oral sonant in our research, which proved to be very justifaible concerning the researched parameter.

3.3. Variation range in sounds duration in the scope of the same type of speech expression

Vertical columns *anger, joy, fear, sadness,* in the Table 2, it shows that compared to neutral expression in speech expression the given four primary emotions are usually prolonged, the duration of all groups of sounds (only affricates are shortened in anger and fear, as plosives in fear, and nasal duration in unstressed vowels is unchangeable in anger compared to neutral expression). It is visible that this is not linear prolongation of songs that all types of expression change the order of duration; the longest duration have the stressed long vowels. So the change of order of long stressed vowels and affricates, apart from prolonged of the most groups of sounds, in researched speech corpus is one of the markers of speech expression of emotions. Marker, in comparison to neutral speaking, is even broader with variations of duration. In neutral expression this range is 109 milliseconds; In speech expression of anger variations range of

duration is 112 is milliseconds, which means that sound variation in duration is not the most conspicuous marker for this speech expression. Much greater scope of duration variations, in comparison with neutral speaking, is expression of joy, (158 milliseconds), expression of fear (139 milliseconds) and in speech expression of sadness (160 milliseconds), which means that specific type of prolongation of sounds duration is one of markers in speech expression of these three emotions.

4. CONCLUSION

According to the results of this research, with paying attention that the speakers pronounced the analysed corpus with academic scenic diction, it is possible to deliver several general conclusions which are related to duration instability of voice duration in the change of speech tempo.

The results of this research may point out two types of tendencies and their mutual conditioning.

The first type presents the tendency of stability, that is instability of sounds duration in natural change of speech temple according to which the most stable oral sonants, and most unstable stressed long vowels.

Another type is presented by the tendency of mutual relation of sound duration in the scope of the sound system according to which ”the shortest” duration is the one which have oral sonants, and ”the longest” have stressed long vowels.

The two given tendencies are mutually conditions so that the sounds of ”short” relative duration are more stable, and sounds of ”long” relative duration are more unstable in the change of speech tempo.

Tendencies of average duration and relative duration are mentioned , and not exact matches, because of that ability of speech expression (and speech parameters) multiple in the individual plan and in the plan are communicative situations, so it is difficult to mention exact measures of sounds duration in exact measures of variations.

Translated by: Jelena P. Đorđević

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СТАБИЛНОСТ/НЕСТАБИЛНОСТ ТРАЈАЊА ГЛАСОВА У ПРОМЕНИ ТЕМПА ГОВОРА

Резиме

Овај рад представља резултате истраживања релативног трајања гласова, као и резултате промене трајања гласова из одређених класификационих група током промене темпа говора изазване емоционалним стањем говорника. Истраживање је рађено на једном делу корпуса који се односи на говорна експресија емоција и ставова емоција и ставова (ГЕЕС). Гласови су анализирани у 20 изолованих речи. Свака реч је сегментирана у поједине гласове у неутралној говорној продукцији и у говорном изражавању четири примарне емоције (љутња, радост, страх, туга) код шест говорника. Сегментација је реализована софтверским пакетом ПРААТ који

даје могућност анализе и мерења испитиваног акустичког параметра. За статистичке анализе коришћен је софтверски пакет СПСС. Анализа трајања појединих гласова у речима неутралног израза у корпусу показала је следеће резултате, према релативној дужини од „најдужег“ до „најкраћег“: акцентовани дуги вокали, африкати, фрикативи, акцентовани кратки вокали, плозиви, назали, неакцентовани вокали, орални сонанти. Анализа трајања гласова у говорном изражавању примарних емоција показала је да су одређене групе гласова стабилније током промене темпа (орални сонанти, назали, неакцентовани вокали), односно да имају ограничен распон варијација, а да су остале групе нестабилније (плозиви, фрикативи, кратки акцентовани вокали), док најнестабилније трајање припада дугим акцентованим вокалима и африкатима. Доказано је да су релативно трајање и стабилност међусобно узроковани тако да су гласови најкраћег трајања најстабилнији, а гласови најдужег трајања најнестабилнији.

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Кључне речи: гласови, трајање, темпо, варијација трајања, говорна експресија емоција и ставова.

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE QUALITY OF TRANSLATIONS OF ENGLISH-SERBIAN COMPUTER-AIDED TRANSLATION TOOLS

The use of computer-aided translation (CAT) programs has become a common practice in EU institutions and translation agencies throughout the world, and their use is becoming more common in Serbia, as well. Although marketing teams of the producers of CAT programs claim that their use increases the efficiency and quality of translation, there are few studies and scientific papers that use scientific methods to analyze the impact of the CAT program use on the quality of translation, and the number and type of errors in translations that could have occurred due their use (e.g. Kučiš, Seljan and Klasnić 2009). In this paper, a combined methodology of quantitative language research, corpus linguistics and descriptive translation studies is first used to analyze the type and number of errors in a small parallel English-Serbian translation corpus containing translations created using CAT programs, in order to determine the overall quality of the translation created by means of using the CAT paradigm. After that, the experimental method is used to analyze the manner in which translators work with CAT programs, in order to determine the extent to which these programs may affect the occurrence of translation errors. The experimental part of the research was conducted in cooperation with 30 graduate students at the Department of English at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad, who translated selected texts from a parallel corpus used in the first phase of the research in conditions that emulate working in a translation agency. The analysis of the parallel corpus from the first phase of research and translations created in the experimental part of the research indicate that CAT programs do indeed accelerate the translation process, but that, at the same time, because of the specific manner in which the translation process occurs, they increase the possibility of certain types of translation errors, with the exception of errors in the field of terminological consistency.

Keywords: computer-aided translation, translation quality, parallel corpus, translation error analysis, English, Serbian

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper presents the basic statistical[1] findings on the analysis of translation errors in a small English-Serbian parallel corpus of technical texts, as well as the findings on translation errors caused by translating the same texts in experimental conditions using computer-aided translation (CAT) programs. Specifically, the paper presents findings on six types of errors: lexical errors, syntactic errors, stylistic errors, spelling errors, wrong term, inconsistently translated terms and mechanical errors .

1.1. Research goals

The companies that produce computer-aided translation (CAT) programs (e.g. SDL, Star, Atril and WordFast) argue that the translation productivity considerably increases when translators use their programs, because the translator has access to similar previously translated sentences and has the possibility to find translation equivalents by searching the translation memory, which, in essence, represents a parallel corpus. The same companies also claim that the use of CAT programs also considerably reduces the need for proofreading and checking of translations. This statement is even advertised as one of the main reasons why a potential customer should make a purchasing decision for, at the time when this study was being written, the latest version of the SDL Trados Studio: the SDL Trados Studio 2011.[2] On the other hand, the academic community takes claims of this kind with a dose of reservation, especially bearing in mind that such claims have not been verified by means of studies employing independent empirical methods (Somers 2003: 42).

In order for this paper to be completely terminologically unambiguous it is important to note that, in this paper, the term **programs for Computer Aided Translation** (*Computer-aided Translation Programs or CAT programs*) refers to programs that operate on the principle of comparing the text that is currently being translated to similar or identical text strings in the parallel corpus of previously translated text strings, whereby the parallel corpus of previously translated text strings is termed **translation memory** (i.e. *TM*), while the sentence being translated is termed a **translation unit** (i.e. *TU*).[3]

[1] The statistical approach was chosen because the scope of the paper does not allow a detailed presentation of all errors found in the corpus. However, for each group of errors, one or two representative examples are presented to illustrate the entire group.

[2] Promotional materials from the company's official website: http://www.sdl.com/nl/about-us/press-room/news/2011/sdl-launches-sdl-trados-studio-2011.asp. The relevant part of the promotional documentation has the subheading that reads "Review once only".

[3] A translation unit is most commonly a sentence, but it can be a single word (e.g. the title of a chapter or a label of a column in a table), a phrase, a clause or a sentence fragment. A translation

This work, in the light of the above characteristics of using a translation program for computer-aided translation, has two goals. The first goal of the research was to use a scientific methodology to verify computer-aided translation program manufacturers' claims that the use of their programs increases translation efficiency, terminological consistency, and the overall translation quality. The second goal of the research was to employ experimental methods in order to check whether the use of CAT programs really makes it possible to produce high-quality translations in short periods of time and whether the use of CAT programs reduces or completely eliminates the need for additional proofreading and checking of the translation. Both goals are formulated so that the research presented in this paper also contributes to the general research efforts in the domain of analyzing the effects of computer technologies on the translation of Slavic languages, given the fact that there are currently very few articles or studies on this topic (e.g. Kučiš, Seljan and Klasnić 2009).

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research presented in this paper combines the methodology of quantitative language research, corpus linguistics and descriptive translation studies, whereby the research itself was conducted in two separate phases.

The first phase of the research included an analysis of the type and number of errors in the parallel English-Serbian translation corpus (10 instruction manuals for using home appliances), which contains translations produced by using CAT programs. The main research goal at this stage was to determine the general quality of translations created using computer-assisted translation programs.

The second phase of the study consisted of an experiment with the aim to faithfully emulate the experience of actually working in CAT programs for a translation agency with aggressive turnover times (30 students translated 94 sentences within 180 minutes). The aim of the second phase of the research was to determine the extent to which computer-aided translation programs (do not) influence the occurrence of translation errors.

Within the first phase of the research (parallel corpus analysis), several programs were used: WinAlign was were used to parallelize English and Serbian texts and convert them into a TM, CATMA was used to annotate and analyze monolingual corpus elements, and ErrorSpy was used to find "mechanical"

unit can, in fact, best be defined as 'translatable' text string that begins in a capital letter and ends in a full stop, question mark, exclamation mark, semicolon, colon or a paragraph mark (i.e. newline). Punctuation marks , i.e. the rules by which a CAT program determines where a translation unit ends, can be changed by the user - these rules are commonly referred to as the rules for segmentation of text (i.e. *segmentation rules*).

errors[4] in translation. On the other hand, in the second phase of the research (analysis of translations created during the experiment) only CATMA and Error-Spy programs were used, but for the same purposes as in the first phase of the research.

3. AN ANALYSIS OF A PARALLEL CORPUS: ERRORS IN TRANSLATIONS PRODUCED THROUGH USE OF COMPUTER-AIDEDE TRANSALTION PROGRAMS

3.1. Basic information about the corpus

The corpus used in the first phase of the research consisted of ten English reference manuals for the use of home appliances and promotional technical brochures and their translations into Serbian. At this point it should be emphasized that, prior to their inclusion in the corpus, each manual was verified to have been produced through use of CAT programs: the verification did not always follow scientific methods as it sometimes involved telephone conversations with translation agencies and wholesale importers of technical equipment, while it sometimes involved the analysis of meta information in PDFs (searching for e.g. SDL Trados, DejaVu or similar words in meta information).

The corpus includes the following reference manuals (to save space, the names are only in the original language, i.e in English): *Gorenje – Built-In Hob ECT780*, *Gorenje – Built-In Hood DF610E*, *Gorenje – Built-in Oven – B9000E*, *Gorenje – Freestanding Fridge and Freezer RK2000P2*, *Siemens Gigaset C450*, *Siemens Gigaset S440*, *SonyEricsson K220i*, *SonyEricsson W580i*, *Olympus E-330 Info Brochure* and *Olympus DI catalogue 2008*[5]. Although none of the manufacturers whose instruction manuals are included in the corpus is based in an English-speaking country, based on the general trend that all technical documentation for localization is in English, and based on the already mentioned telephone conversations and other forms of verification, it can be stated with almost absolute certainty that all Serbian versions of these manuals were created as English-to-Serbian translations (i.e. not as, say, German-to-Serbian translations). Table 1 provides the basic statistics data about the corpus.

[4] What exactly is referred to by the term "mechanical" errors is explained in the second section of this paper.

[5] All instruction manuals were obtained through official web sites, technical support services or through authorized services.

	Number of words
Instructions in English	118,967
Instructions in Serbian	92,306
TOTAL:	211,273

Table 1: Basic statistics on the parallel translation corpus used in the first phase of the research.

3.2. Methodology: corpus compilation

Due to the fact that all instruction manuals that were selected for corpus compilation, both the ones in Serbian and the ones in English, were available exclusively in the form of PDF, the process of corpus compilation was done in two phases. First, all instruction manuals had to be converted from PDF to HTML. After that, in the second phase, WinAlign was used to parallelize the English and Serbian HTML file pairs, and the parallelized corpus was then saved as a text file (WinAlign Export File) containing English and Serbian translation units separated by specialized tags used by WinAlign. Figure 1 contains a screenshot that shows the process of creating a parallel corpus in WinAlign. The parallelization was performed individually for each of the selected instruction manual (i.e. one file pair at the time), and all the parallelized documents were then combined into a parallel corpus. This multi-stage procedure (as opposed to processing all files pairs at once) was necessary due to idiosyncrasies of WinAlign. More specifically, WinAlign, in the case of working with multiple documents, sorts the final parallelized text depending on the type and length of the translation unit, ie. sentences from several different documents can be found next to each other, and the linear order of sentences in the original text is disturbed and boundaries of original documents are not retained.

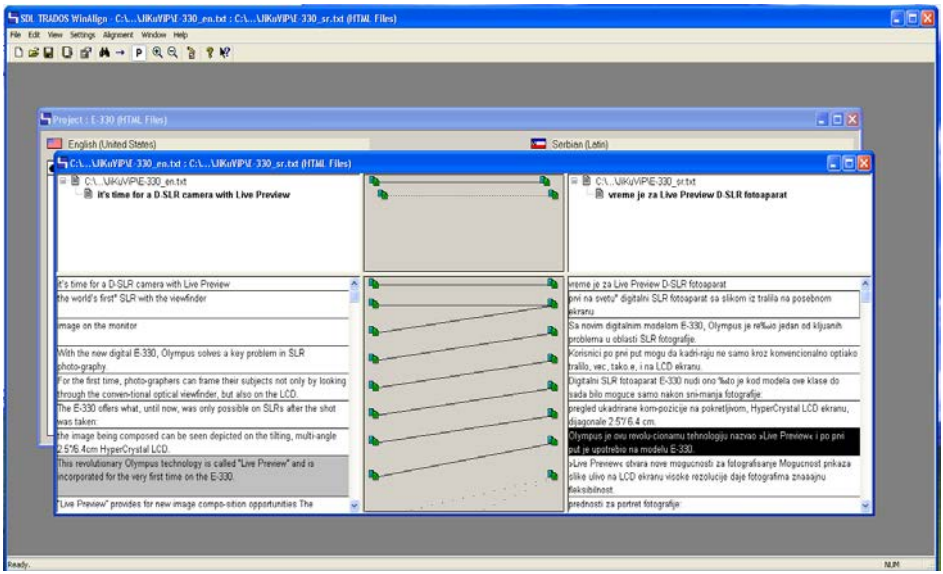

Figure 1: Parallel corpus compilation in WinAlign.

3.3. Methodology: annotation scheme and corpus analysis

The next step in the research, after the compilation of the parallel corpus, was a critical and analytical reading of the parallel corpus and annotations of errors identified during that process. Bearing in mind that there had already been some examples of experimental research on the impact of programs for computer-aided translation on translation quality (Kučiš, Seljan and Klasnic 2009), it was decided that error classifications from those studies should be the basis and the starting point for the classification and annotation errors in this study: *lexical errors*, *syntactic errors*. *stylistic errors*, and, finally, *orthographic errors*. Bearing in mind the style and register characteristics of text samples included in the corpus, and bearing in mind the research goals, too, it was decided that this error classification be expanded with three types of errors that are relevant for the use of computer-aided translation software, because these programs, according to claims of their manufacturers, eliminate: *wrong term*, *inconsistently translated term* and *mechanical errors*.

Lexical errors refer to every instance of a wrong choice of a translation equivalent, regardless of whether the error is at the level of denotative or connotative meaning, i.e. whether the word or phrase denotes a completely wrong concept or it denotes a related/corresponding concept: the main criterion for an error to be labeled as a lexical errors is that the word or a phrase used in the translation is not acceptable in the given context. At this point it is important to

stress that this paper distinguishes between lexical errors and terminology errors, although they can, depending on the theoretical approach, be regarded as the same type of errors. Terminological errors, as well as lexical errors, refer to a wrong choice of a translation equivalent, regardless of the fact whether the error is at the level of denotative or connotative meaning, but, unlike lexical errors, terminological error imply that the erroneously translated word has a specialized denotative and connotative meaning in the given thematic discourse and appear in it with a greater frequency than other words, even the ones with similar meanings, with the exception of grammatical words: in other words, a mistranslated word is a part of the *terminology* of a given text. This definition of terms and terminology is closest to what Cabré calls the linguistic definition of terminology (Cabré 1999: 11). A typical example of a lexical error is, for example, the Serbian translation of "manje madeže" (~ "small skin moles") for the English phrase "minor stains" in the manual for the Gorenje DF610E built-in aspirator. Given the fact that the word "fleka", which is the correct Serbian translation of the English word "stain", is not a word that is necessary to describe the specialized functions of the built-in aspirator, it cannot be considered a term, but an ordinary word. On the other hand, "okvir" (~"(picture/door) frame") as the (wrong) Serbian translation of the English word "frame (per second)" in the brochure about the Olympus E-330 camera can be considered the wrong term, because the specialized meaning of the word "frame" in combination with "per second" is closely related to the function and characteristics of the device described in the brochure (the correct Serbian translation is e.g. "slika u sekundi"). The same observation can be made in the case of, for example, "(staklokeramička) ploča" (~ "(glass-ceramic) cooking plate") as the Serbian translation of the English term "hotplate", but there is a difference in the severity of the error, as the "okvir" is a completely wrong Serbian translation of the English word "frame" in the phrase "frame per second", while "(staklokeramička) ploča" is a wrong term, but, as a phrase with specialized meaning, it is still a term that is relevant to the lexical field of built-in stoves. The possible correct translations of the term "hotplate" in Serbian are, by the way, "grejna površina" or "polje za kuvanje".

Syntactic and stylistic errors refer to instances of erroneous translations of grammatical constructions or stylistically unacceptable translations, where the term *stylistic unacceptability* refers to the use of a style that is not appropriate for the type of document and/or for the target audience. An example of a stylistic-grammatical error is, for example, the use of the personal form of the Serbian verb "trebati" in a context in which the use of the impersonal form is necessary (as per Serbian orthographic rules and conventions). An indicative example of a stylistic-grammatical error is the sentence from the Gorenje ECT780 instructions ("The inside bottom of the cookware should be slightly concave for

optimum heat transfer.”), where the English modal construction was translated into Serbian as “treba da je” (personal) instead of “trebalo bi da je” (impersonal).

Orthographic errors include spelling mistakes, wrong use of lowercase and uppercase letters, and punctuation errors. A typical example of this group of errors is the use of capital letters in Serbian for all words of polylexic names of technical systems, such as in the translation “Olympus je razvio sistem Dvostruke Stabilizacije Slike.” (it should have been “...sistem dvostruke stabilizacije slike...”) which originally reads “Olympus developed Dual Image Stabilization system.” – this example is taken from the Olympus E-330 brochure.

The penultimate group of errors included in the corpus annotation scheme is *inconsistently translated term*. This error implies the use of different words or phrases, or different terms, to translate one and the same term from the source text. These errors are specific to all terminologically rich texts, such as instructions for maintenance and use of devices and appliances, scientific texts and legal documents, and computer-assisted translation programs are designed to provide a means to keep this type of error at an absolute minimum, as these programs provide instant insight into previously translated language pairs, and also offer the possibility of using *terminology management software*. A typical example of an inconsistent translation of a term can be found in the manual for Gorenje ECT780, where the term “glass-ceramic (cooktop)” is translated into Serbian with as many as five different words, phrases or terms: “(staklokeramička) ploča“, “(staklokeramička) površina“, “polje za kuvanje“, “štednjak“, “ploča štednjaka“ and “ploča za kuvanje“.

The last group of errors analyzed in this paper is the group of mechanical errors. The name for this group of errors is taken from ErrorSpy, the program which is used to analyze the consistency and quality of translations created using computer-aided translation programs. Mechanical errors is an overarching label for a relatively wide range of omissions that translator tend to make during the translation process: untranslated sentence, untranslated footnote text, and incorrectly transferred numbers (e.g. instead of the number 5, the number 8 appears in the translation). Unlike other types of errors that were annotated by the researcher during the process of careful critical reading of the parallel text, these errors were identified automatically, using the aforementioned software tool: ErrorSpy. Figure 2 shows the results of the analysis of one of the instruction manuals for mechanical errors of the numerical type.

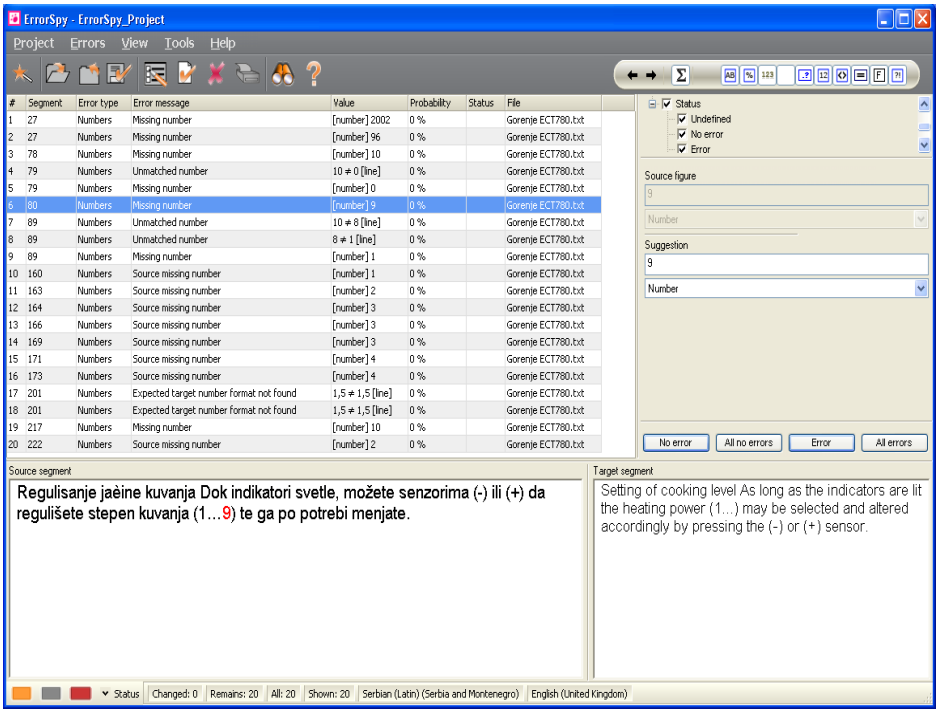

Figure 2: Analysis of numerical errors, as a subtype of mechanical errors, in the program ErrorSpy.

3.4. Methodology: results of the corpus analysis

Having finished manual annotation of the parallel corpus and having completed identification of mechanical errors using ErrorSpy, it was possible to analyze the number and type of errors in each of the instruction manuals and brochures included in the corpus, as well as in the corpus as a whole. This part of the research was performed in CATMA, a program which was specifically designed for the purpose of corpus annotation.

A quantitative analysis of errors found in the parallel English-Serbian corpus, translated into Serbian through the use of computer-aided translation programs, shows that the corpus contains all types of errors included in the annotation scheme, with the exception of stylistic errors. The general results of the corpus analysis are presented in Table 2. The table provides an absolute frequency for each type of error, i.e. it shows the total number of occurrences of each particular type of error in the document, as well as its relative frequency, i.e. the frequency of the error while taking into calculation the total number of words in the document.

	Gorenje - Built-In Hob ECT780	%	Gorenje - Built-In Hood DF610E	%	Gorenje - Built-in Oven - B9000E	%	Gorenje - Freestanding Fridge and Freezer RK2000P2	%	Siemens Gigaset C450	%	Siemens Gigaset S440	%	SonyEricsson K220i	%	SonyEricsson W580i	%	Olympus E-330 info brochure	%	Olympus DI catalog 2008	%	TOTAL:	%
Lexical errors	29	0.70	47	0.40	41	0.45	35	0.66	45	0.25	51	0.18	51	0.36	39	0.18	27	0.90	37	1.01	**402**	**0.34**
Syntactic and stylistic errors	31	0.74	11	0.09	15	0.17	17	0.32	39	0.22	28	0.10	12	0.08	14	0.07	19	0.63	29	0.80	**215**	**0.18**
Orthographic mistakes	11	0.26	16	0.14	7	0.08	13	0.25	21	0.12	30	0.10	14	0.10	10	0.05	14	0.47	19	0.52	**155**	**0.13**
Terminological errors	12	0.29	21	0.18	14	0.15	12	0.23	14	0.08	18	0.06	21	0.15	26	0.12	17	0.57	24	0.66	**179**	**0.15**
Terminology inconsistencies	19	0.46	37	0.32	23	0.25	14	0.27	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	28	0.93	37	1.01	**158**	**0.13**
Mechanical errors (ErrorSpy)	20	0.48	24	0.21	22	0.24	27	0.51	7	0.04	4	0.01	8	0.06	11	0.05	13	0.43	21	0.58	**157**	**0.13**
Total number of errors	**122**	**2.93**	**156**	**1.34**	**122**	**1.35**	**118**	**2.24**	**126**	**0.71**	**131**	**0.46**	**106**	**0.74**	**100**	**0.47**	**118**	**3.93**	**167**	**4.58**	**1266**	**1.06**
Number of words in the text (English)	4169		11669		9056		5264		17862		28647		14252		21396		3005		3647		118967	

Table 2: Results of the parallel corpus analysis: an overview by type of errors indicating absolute frequency (number of occurrences) and relative frequency (number of occurrences in relation to the total number of words in the text).

The quality of the translation is acceptable, while the frequency of errors (in relation to the number of words in the text) ranges from 0.46% to 4.56%, which means that the average frequency of occurrence of errors is 1.06%. In other words, in every one hundred words, on average there is approximately one translation error belonging to one of the analyzed groups of errors. The most obvious difference between the different documents included in the corpus is the quality of translation: multinational companies that have their own localization teams and/or qualified translation service providers (Siemens and SonyEricsson) have noticeably better translations than multinational companies that hire local translators and/or translation agencies or outsource localization to local distributors (Gorenje and Olympus). This difference is especially noticeable in the area of terminology management, as evidenced by the fact that the Serbian translations of instructions for Siemens and SonyEricsson phones did not contain a single error in the domain of terminological consistency of the translation, while such errors were relatively frequent in the reference manuals and brochures from Gorenje and Olympus. The most probable reason for the observed differences is the use (or a lack of use) of terminology management programs, because the number of observed terminological errors leads to the conclusion that translators who translated reference manuals and brochures for Gorenje and Olympus most likely did not use any terminology management programs, nor is it likely that they had access to an approved bilingual glossary of key terms.

The analysis of the parallel corpus made it possible to determine the parameters for the experimental phase of the research. In other words, it was determined that the expected percentage of translation errors using computer-aided translation programs should not exceed 1.06%, i.e. that there should be a maximum of approximately one error per 100 words.

4. EXPERIMENTAL PART OF THE RESEARCH

4.1. Methodology of the experiment

The experimental part of the research aimed to emulate real working conditions with computer-aided translation programs and to determine the extent to which their use affects the frequency of translation errors, and to compare this frequency with the frequency of errors observed in the corpus analyzed in the first phase of the research (i.e. parallel corpus analysis). The experimental part of the research was conducted in April 2010 with a participation of 30 MA students from the Department of English, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad.

As part of the experiment, students translated 94 sentences in MS Word 2003 using SDL Trados v7.1 and SDL MultiTerm XVi. The sentences included

in the experimental translation "job" were organized into two different sets from the point of view of style and register: one set of sentences constituted a sample of a prose text in the total volume of 492 words (41 sentences) while the other set represented a technical text in the volume of 447 words (53 sentences). Students taking part in the experiment were given suitable translation memories for the texts to be translated that had been previously modified so that 65% of the sentences had translation equivalents in the translation memory with a fuzzy match value of 70% or more (four of these sentences were 100% matches), 25% of sentences had fuzzy matches in the translation memory with the fuzzy match score ranging from 40% to 70%, while 10% of sentences did not have a translation equivalent in translation memory (i.e. they had to be translated from scratch). Students were also given terminological memories (i.e. glossaries) relevant for the two types of texts used in the experiment. The duration of the experiment was limited to 180 minutes, during which the students were asked to translate both texts. Additionally, they were told to translate the technical text first, and then the fiction text: this was done to emulate the prioritization of clients and jobs at translation agencies. The speed of translation translation was measured according to the data from MS Word document properties (*total editing time*). During the experiment, MS Word 2003 was setup so that the Serbian spell checker was turned on, while the primary keyboard layout in Windows was set to Serbian Latin.

After the experiment was completed, all files translated by students were analyzed in the same way as the parallel translation corpus from the first phase of the research. Translation errors were annotated in CATMA (as described in Section 2.3), while translation quality analysis was performed in ErrorSpy from the point of view of mechanical errors (also described in Section 2.3). The results of the analysis of translations created in the experimental phase of the research are presented in Table 3.

4.2. Analysis of experimental results

The general conclusion that emerges from the insights into the frequency of errors in translations made during the experimental phase of research is that the quality of translation is acceptable, but that the frequency of errors (relative to the number of words in the text) is significantly higher than in the corpus of translations from the first phase: 4.27% in the fiction text and 4.19% in the technical text. These numbers are three times higher than the average number of errors in the translation corpus from the first phase of the research, with some of the observed errors significantly changing the meaning of the translation. It is also obvious that, contrary to the claims of computer-aided translation program

producers, proofreading and checking cannot be excluded from the translation process, but it is also obvious that full terminological consistency of translation can indeed be achieved thanks to a terminology management program (or by providing translators with a previously prepared bilingual glossary).

A very important observation, from the point of view of the truth value of the claims by the manufacturers of computer-aided translation programs, is that all students managed to translate both texts within the given time limit (180 minutes), while the time taken to translate the technical text was on average two thirds of the time necessary to translate the fiction text (i.e. translating technical text was on the whole a third faster than a fiction text with a similar word count). In other words, the experiment confirmed that, in accordance with claims by their producers, the use of computer-aided translation programs speeds up translation, but primarily the translation of technical (non-fiction) texts: the average time required to translate the technical text was 54 minutes, while the translation of the fiction text took 96 minutes on average. At this point, it is important to note that the fiction text was even slightly shorter than the technical one (as measured in the number of words).

	FICTION TEXT	**TECHNICAL TEXT**	**Average number of errors (per person)**	**Average number of errors per sentence (FICTION TEXT)**	**Average number of errors per sentence (TECHNICAL TEXT)**
Lexical errors	186.00	142.00	5.47	0.15	0.09
Syntactic and stylistic errors	169.00	118.00	4.78	0.14	0.07
Spelling mistakes	206.00	231.00	7.28	0.17	0.15
Terminological errors	69.00	71.00	2.33	0.06	0.04
Terminological inconsistencies	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Mechanical errors (ErrorSpy)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total number of errors	630.00	562.00	**19.87**	0.51	0.35
Average number of errors (per person)	21.00	18.73			
Average number of errors (per person) (%)	4.27	4.19			
Number of words	492	447			
Number of sentences	41	53			

Table 3: The results of the analysis of translations created in the experimental phase: an overview by type of errors with their absolute and relative frequency.

The translations created within the experimental part of the research included most types of errors identified in the annotation scheme (see section 2.3.) with the exception of errors in the consistency of term translation and mechanical errors. As can be seen in Table 3, these two types of errors do not appear in the experimental corpus at all. In light of the frequency of other types of errors in experimental translations being three times higher than in the non-experimental corpus, it can be said that this result is very indicative because it leads to the conclusion that proper use of computer-aided translation programs can achieve complete terminological consistency of translations and that mechanical errors can be completely eliminated. On the other hand, the conclusion regarding terminological consistency cannot be expressed with absolute certainty, because the volume of the text covered by the experiment does not correspond to the volume of text that is most often translated with the help of these programs, which are generally much longer .

The most unexpected conclusion that can be reached by analyzing errors in experimental translations is that the use of computer-aided translation programs seems to increase the frequency of lexical and syntactic errors or, at least, that it increases the possibility of their occurrence. The most illustrative example of this conclusion are lexical errors such as the Serbian translation "...tako što ćete utikač nakriviti **nagore**." ("**nagore**" means "upwards") for the English original "...by tilting the plug **downwards**." At first glance, it is difficult to find an explanation as to why the translator would translate the adverbial meaning "down" with an adverbial which means the complete opposite ("up"). However, if one takes a look at the user interface in which the error occurs, shown in Figure 3, it becomes clear that the error is most likely due to a combination of using a computer-aided translation program and the translator's efforts to complete the translation as quickly as possible. Namely, if a translator gets a translation suggestion from a translation memory with a high degree of similarity, which in this case is 89%, they can easily overlook the fact that the difference in the meaning of the currently active translation unit and the one stored in the translation memory is actually huge: instead the translator may decide to accept the translation being offered without any further changes, despite the fact that Trados even indicates the words which are different. In such cases , the use of terminology management software may even represent a disturbing factor or, in the very least, a factor that negatively affects the quality of the translation, because it can easily happen that the translator, due to their increased attention on checking and ensuring terminology consistency (the terms "charger" and "plug " which have lines above them in Figure 3), may overlook or forget to change another word that happens to be the only difference between the translation from the translation memory and the new text segment currently being translated.

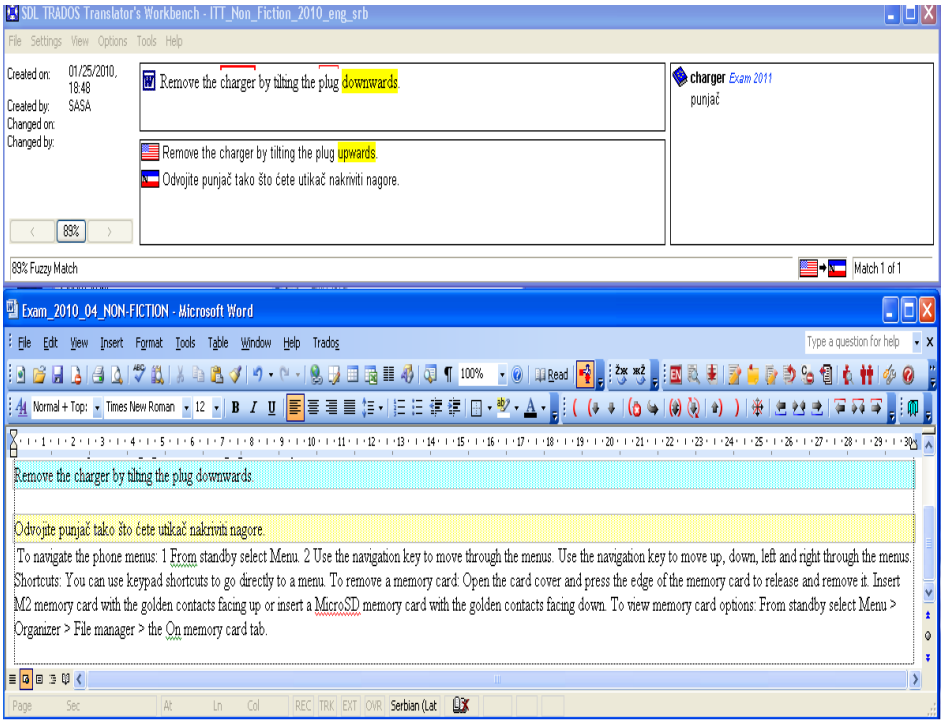

Figure 3: User interface for translation and the context in which a lexical and syntactic error occurred in experimental translations.

A detailed analysis of lexical errors in experimental translations showed that they all occurred in the context when the translation memory contains a translation with a high degree of similarity, i.e. that these errors are due to the translator's over-reliance on the translation memory and the percentage of similarity between the new source text with the translation from the translation memory (as an indicator of the translation acceptability). A suitable example from the fiction text is the Serbian translation "...nije **mirisao**..." for the verb "smell" in the English clause "... didn't **smell** of fried goats ... ", where in fact it was necessary to use a Serbian verb with the opposite meaning ("smrdeti", meaning to smell bad). In this case, like in the previous ones, the error occurred in the translation of a sentence that was taken from the translation memory with a fuzzy match (i.e. similarity) measure of 87%.

Syntactic and stylistic errors, on the other hand, may be said not to occur due to the high similarity of fuzzy matches coming from translation memory, but mainly due to taking terminology from the electronic glossary (MultiTerm), where nominal terms are listed in the nominative and verbal terms are given in the infinitive form. A typical example of this kind of a syntactic error is the Serbian

translation "uz pomoć **punjač**" (the case of the noun "**punjač**" is wrong: it should be the Genitive case, but it is in the Nominative case) for the English phrase "with a **charger**". The fact that the term "punjač" is in the Nominative, and not in the Genitive case, can only be explained by the existence of this term in the electronic glossary, where it is listed in the Nominative case, so it is taken from the glossary in the same case in which it is listed, i.e. without any syntactic adaptation. Figure 3, whose main purpose is to illustrate the way in which lexical errors occur, can also serve as an excellent illustration for the occurrence of syntactic errors due to direct importing of terms from the electronic glossary (please notice in the upper right corner of Figure 3: the term "punjač" is shown in the Nominative case). A more detailed analysis of syntactic errors showed that they did indeed occur, in most cases, either when the term was taken from the electronic glossary or when the translation was taken from the translation memory using the concordance function.

Orthographic errors, with a frequency of 7.28 errors per each translation, were the most common errors in the corpus of experimental translations. These errors, however, should not be interpreted as a reflection of traditional 'illiteracy', but should be interpreted as indicators of what Prćić (2005) calls the *careless functional style*. Namely, all errors from this group were incorrect transcriptions of foreign names or errors in spelling words caused by non-use of diacritical marks in writing. A typical example of a transcription error is, for example, the Serbian transcription "Heri" (with an "e"), instead of "Hari" (with an "a") for the English name "Harry", which was very common in experimental translations of the fiction text. A typical example of a spelling mistake caused by not using diacritical marks is, for example, the translation "uz pomoc punjača", where instead of the letter "ć" in the word "pomoć" the letter "c" (without a diacritical sign) is used. Having in mind that MS Word, in which the translation was performed, had a function for automatic correction of misspelled words, and having in mind the fact that the keyboard layout was set to Serbian Latin, such errors are very surprising. On the other hand, the errors of this kind seem to indicate that the younger generations in the Serbian society, in all probability, have not developed awareness of how to use written language correctly and lack the sense that it is necessary to use diacritical marks, which may be caused by their extensive use of modern communication devices, such as mobile phones, which have support for the Serbian Latin and Cyrillic alphabets, but only when that capability is turned on by the user of the device.

5. CONCLUSION

Although the research presented in this paper was very small in scope, both in terms of the size of the annotated parallel corpus that was the subject of quantitative analysis in the first part of the research, and in terms of the number of

respondents and the length of texts covered by the experiment, it can be concluded with a considerable degree of certainty that the use of computer-aided translation programs speeds up the translation process, i.e. makes it more efficient, and that translations made using these programs contain a relatively small number of errors. However, as the results of the experimental part of the research show, the use of computer-aided translation programs, contrary to the claims of their producers, cannot guarantee the production of translations that do not require additional proofreading and checking, because the number of errors in experimental translations was three times the average number of errors in translations from the parallel corpus that were made by translation agencies and as such were mostly likely both checked and proofread. Moreover, the results of the experimental part of the research show that the use of these programs may said to have a completely opposite effects on the likelihood of occurrence of some types of translation errors: while, on the one hand, computer-aided translation program enable the creation of translations that are terminologically fully consistent, on the other hand, these programs, because of the way in which they interact with the user i.e. the translator, may cause an increase in the number of lexical and syntactic errors in cases when there is a translation equivalent in the translation memory with a relatively high degree of similarity to the translation unit currently being translated.

Given the scope of the research, the conclusions presented here must be taken with a "pinch of salt": in order to achieve the full validity of research findings it would be necessary to repeat the same research on a parallel corpus of several million words, and the experimental part of the research would have to be done on a sample of several hundred translators who would translate texts on a large scale over a long period of time, whereby it would also be desirable for the experiment to include different programs for the computer-aided translation, i.e. not just SDL Trados.

In light of everything mentioned above, the general conclusions of this research should be interpreted primarily as guidelines for further research, and the research itself should be viewed as pilot research.

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Aleksandar Kavgić

ANALIZA KVALITETA I KVANTITETA PREVODÂ ENGLESKO-SRPSKIH KOMPJUTERSKI PODRŽANIH PREVODILAČKIH ALATKI

Rezime

Upotreba programa za pomoć pri prevođenju postala je uobičajena praksa u državnim institucijama Evropske unije i inostranim prevodilačkim agencijama, a njihova upotreba sve je češća pojava i u Srbiji. Iako marketinški timovi proizvođača ovakvih programa tvrde da njihova upotreba povećava efikasnost prevođenja i kvalitet prevoda, postoji veoma mali broj studija i naučnih radova koji naučnim metodama analiziraju uticaj ovih programa na kvalitet prevoda, te broj i vrstu grešaka u prevodima nastalim uz njihovu upotrebu (npr. Kučiš, Seljan i Klasnić 2009). U ovom radu kombinovanom metodologijom kvantitativnih jezičkih istraživanja, korpusne lingvistike i deskriptivnih prevodilačkih studija prvo se vrši analiza vrste i broja grešaka u paralelnom englesko-srpskom prevodnom korpusu manjeg obima koji sadrži prevode nastale upotrebom programa za pomoć pri prevođenju, a u cilju utvrđivanja opšteg kvaliteta prevoda nastalih na ovaj način. Potom se eksperimentalnom metodom vrši analiza načina rada u programima za pomoć u prevođenju, kako bi se utvrdilo u kojoj meri ovi programi utiču na pojavu prevodilačkih grešaka. Eksperimentalni deo istraživanja obavljen je u saradnji sa 30 studenata diplomskih akademskih studija na Odseku za anglistiku Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu koji su, u uslovima koji simuliraju rad u prevodilačkoj agenciji, prevodili odabrane tekstove iz paralelnog korpusa koji je korišćen u prvoj fazi istraživanja. Analiza paralelnog korpusa iz prve faze istraživanja i prevoda nastalih u eksperimentalnom delu istraživanja navode na zaključak da programi za pomoć u prevođenju ubrzavaju proces prevođenja, ali da, istovremeno, usled specifičnog načina rada povećavaju mogućnost pojave prevodilačkih grešaka, sa izuzetkom grešaka iz domena terminološke konzistentnosti prevoda.

Ključne reči: kompjuterski podržano prevođenje, kvalitet prevoda, paralelni korpus, analiza prevodnih grešaka, engleski jezik, srpski jezik

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THE USE OF DICTIONARIES IN TEACHING ENGLISH FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES: THE TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVE

Drawing on contemporary literature (Milić et al, 2018; Nesi, 2014), which underlies the importance of the use of dictionaries in teaching English for specific purposes (ESP), this paper presents the teachers' perspective on the frequency and ways of using general and specialized dictionaries in teaching ESP at higher education institutions in Serbia. The aim of the research is to gain a better insight into these issues in our higher education system, to demonstrate that dictionary use should be included into teaching ESP, and finally, to offer an insight into possible avenues of further research. The research is based on data collected by means of a questionnaire filled out by ESP teachers employed at 11 faculties of the University in Novi Sad (N=21). The results of the research show that although the majority of the teachers failed to pinpoint any significant problems which might affect the use of dictionaries in class and share very positive attitudes towards dictionary use in the teaching process, dictionaries are rarely used in the classroom.

Keywords: English for Specific Purposes (ESP), tertiary education, dictionaries, dictionary use

1. INTRODUCTION

The use of dictionaries is closely related to learning a foreign language and it is safe to say that a dictionary is one of the most important instructional materials because it enhances the understanding and producing of a message (Nation, 2001). However, despite this generally accepted observation, the current situation suggests that the role of dictionaries is often marginalized in contemporary foreign language teaching (Milić et al. 2018).[1] The reasons behind this situation are surely manifold, and they can be found in the general principles of the modern teaching approach and the current trends, the availability of good

[1] "Even though dictionaries are essential reference books for learning a foreign language, recent research findings indicate that their role in language teaching is often neglected." (Milić et al, 2018: 265)

dictionaries, and finally, in quick and easy access to information and different translation tools through modern technological devices. Contemporary foreign language teaching is mainly informed by the principles of the communicative language teaching approach whereby communication is favoured over language precision, a general understanding over descrete language units, and the use of the mother tongue is reduced to a minimum. Instruction focuses on developing strategies aimed at constructing language knowledge by understanding the context, relying on general knowledge and principles of logic, critical thinking, guessing and predicting. Generally speaking, these principles are in sharp contrast with the basic principles of dictionary use, which imply precision in meaning and systematicity (and often the use of the mother tongue). For this reason, there is a general feeling today that the use of dictionaries is time-consuming, that is slows down classwork and does not motivate students to actively participate in class (Scholfield, 1997). Instead of consulting a dictionary, which is often unavailable to students (another reason for not using dictionaries), students are mainly instructed to reach conclusions on the basis of the context, logical reasoning and prior knowledge.

Foreign language teaching at tertiary level is focused on mastering the language of profession and science. An important segment of this instruction is acquiring specialized vocabulary as well as general academic vocabulary associated with what is considered to be academic style. Nation (2001) reports that 8-10% of words and expressions in academic texts belong to general academic vocabulary, and 5% of them are technical terms. The role of a dictionary in adopting this vocabulary is certainly important. And by dictionary in this context we do not refer only to general dictionaries, but also specialized dictionaries covering technical terms from certain scientific fields. The question is, however, to what extent these dictionaries are available, whether they exist for all fields, to what extent they cover terms and how they present and explain them. Namely, what is characteristic of monolingual specialized dictionaries is that they are more encyclopedic than dictionary-like, i.e. they are mainly intended for native speakers, thus predominantly focused on terminology, and consequently the entries are mostly nouns, there is no pronunciation, context and examples of usage supplied (Vidić, 2014). Regarding bilingual specialized dictionaries, Nielsen (2010) suggests a more comprehensive approach to compiling these dictionaries than the one usually adopted. Considering the fact that specialized texts are mostly translated by lay people, semi-experts at beginner or intermediate language level, apart from terminology, definitions and equivalents, these dictionaries should include relevant syntactic structures, cultural aspects and genre conventions accompanied by illustrative examples and exercises. This way, in addition to acquiring new terminology, learners can acquire adequate usage and translation strategies.

Important insights into the field of practical, theoretical as well as pedagogical lexicography were given by Prćić (2002, 2005, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2018). Relevant for our paper are the dictionaries which Prćić (2018: 16) terms 'pirated dictionaries', namely dictionaries which are not the result of research or traditional academic lexicography, but which belong to commercial lexicography, are widely available and often of questionable quality since their authors and publishers typically have no formal linguistic background. Such bilingual dictionaries (for various fields, including economics, business, law, medicine, computer science, etc.) are numerous, but is seems that in the academic and professional sense their effect is unsatisfactory.

Having in mind these questions, as well as the above mentioned marginalized role of dictionaries in teaching trends nowadays, this paper explores the frequency and ways of using dictionaries in teaching English for specific purposes (ESP) at tertiary level in Serbia from the teachers' perspective.

2. THE USE OF A DICTIONARIES IN TEACHING ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Research into the use of dictionaries in foreign language teaching, including English, does not have a long tradition, and a more significant progress in this direction was made during the 1980s. During that period there were important contributions to the field of lexicography, namely pedagogical (or learners') dictionaries, intended for foreign language students, were published, and the most dominant were English language dictionaries (Nesi, 2014; Tono, 2001). The research which followed concentrated on different aspects of dictionary use in learning English as a foreign language. Early research focused, among other things, on the frequency of dictionary use in decoding and encoding language content. The results show that receptive dictionary use is far more dominant than the productive one, thus a dictionary is much more frequently used for decoding than for encoding a message, and the most frequent dictionary use is reported during reading (Battenburg, 1991; Béjoint, 1981; Hartmann, 1999; Stark, 1999). Research related to dictionary using habits was directed towards the types of dictionaries used by students, with the use of monolingual and bilingual dictionaries being investigated most. The obtained data, generally speaking, indicate that students are more likely to use bilingual than monolingual dictionaries (Atkins & Varantola, 1997; Baxter, 1980; Lew, 2004; Tomaszczyk, 1979), whereas some studies report that students are more likely to use bilingualized dictionaries (Fan, 2000, as cited in Hamouda, 2013). It was also found that monolingual dictionaries are somewhat more often used by students at higher language levels (Battenburg, 1991), and that among lecturers they are considered to be better quality

than bilingual dictionaries (Boonmoh & Nesi, 2008). As for the role of a dictionary in boosting students' linguistic competence, recent studies have mostly investigated the importance of a dictionary for improving vocabulary and reading skills. A positive effect of dictionary use on the above mentioned segment of knowledge and skill was noted in several studies (for more detail cf. Nesi, 2000 and Tono, 2001). A number of studies have investigated the extent to which students are trained to use dictionaries. The results show that language teaching in most cases fails to involve a systematic approach to developing dictionary using skills, i.e. there is little or sporadic training for students in this respect (Bae, 2011 in Nesi, 2014; Béjoint, 1981; Hartmann, 1999). What is more, several studies have focused on the difficulties students encounter when using dictionaries and the reasons which cause errors, i.e. why students do not use a dictionary to its full potential. The following are seen as the most frequent problems: not reading a dictionary entry completely, especially when polysemic expressions are concerned (Nesi & Meara, 1994), misinterpreting the grammatical information contained in the entry (Chan, 2012), or consulting wrong entries (Nesi & Haill, 2002). Numerous studies addressed the importance of signposts (cf. Prćić, 2002, 2005, 2011, 2014, 2018) for marking longer entries which help users find the adequate meaning of a word depending on the context (Tono, 1997; Lew & Pajkowska, 2007; Nesi & Tan, 2011).

More recent studies often focus on the use of digital dictionaries. As expected, the results show that electronic and online dictionaries are favoured over printed ones due to their easier availability and portability and to the decreased time required for finding the desired entry, although the speed-accuracy tradeoff (Taylor & Chan 1994 in Nesi, 2014) is often pointed out. However, by comparing the use of paper and electronic dictionaries in teaching it has been concluded that there is hardly any difference with respect to the successfulness of completing language tasks (Koyama & Takeuchi, 2003) and that the use of electronic dictionaries does not necessarily yield better results (Shizuka 2003; Dziemianko, 2010).

The mentioned studies investigated dictionary use mainly from the students' perspective by means of questionnaires, tests, observations or keeping a language learning diary. The studies which include teachers as respondents as well are few but they point to the fact that among the teaching staff there are different opinions and experiences related to dictionary use in teaching. While some advocate the use of a dictionary in class, a great number of teachers point out that this kind of practice could slow down classwork, make students lazy and mislead them into giving more importance to individual words and expressions than to understanding the content as a whole (Hamouda, 2013; Poulet, 1999; Scholfield, 1997).

Having this situation in mind, the aim of our research is to obtain a clearer picture of how language instructors feel about using a dictionary as an instructional material in teaching ESP at university and to what extent the pedagogical role of

a dictionary is realized in this segment of education, i.e. how often a dictionary is used, what types of dictionaries are used and for what purposes and activities.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The aim of this research is to gain an insight into the frequency, reasons and ways of using different types of dictionaries in teaching English as a foreign language at tertiary level of education from the teachers' perspective, as well as to investigate the teachers' attitudes towards these questions. Pertaining to the aim of the research, the following research questions are addressed in this paper:

1. How often is a dictionary used in teaching, and what type(s) of dictionaries are consulted?
2. What are the reasons for dictionary consultation;
3. What difficulties do teachers encounter related to dictionary use in teaching;
4. What is the general attitude of teachers towards dictionary use in class.

The data were collected through a questionnaire. A total of 21 ESP teachers (N=21) participated in the research from 11 faculties of the University of Novi Sad. The average number of years of their professional experience at tertiary level is 15.25 (they range from 5.5 to 25 years of work experience).

The independent variables in the questionnaire are: the total number of years of work experience, the number of years of work experience at tertiary level, and teaching students how to use a dictionary. The dependent variables are: the frequency of dictionary use in teaching, the frequency of dictionary use in self-studying, the way of using a dictionary in teaching, the reasons for dictionary consultation and attitudes (opinons/beliefs) towards using a dictionary. The values of the dependent variables are presented on a four-point Likert scale (*never, rarely, sometimes, always*) and on a dichotomous scale (*I agree* or *I disagree*). The scale with even number of values was used following Allen and Seaman (2007), who demonstrated that respondents often choose the middle value if there is one, without thinking about the question.

A questionnaire for teachers was designed for the purpose of this research (cf. Alhaisoni, 2008; Al Homoud, 2017; Almuzainy, 2005; Béjoint, 1981; Harvey & Yuill, 1997; Li, 1998; Nation, 2001; Tomaszczyk, 1979). The questionnaire consists of two parts. The first part contains demographic data, namely sex, total number of years of working at tertiary level and title of the teacher/language instructor. The second part of the questionnaire contains 5 groups of survey questions regarding the frequency of dictionary use in teaching (10 items), the frequency of dictionary use in self-studying (6 items), ways of using dictionaries in teaching (11 items and 1 open-ended question), reasons for dictionary use (9

items and 1 open-ended question), and finally, attitudes towards dictionary use (6 items). The first three groups of questions are measured by the Likert scale, whereas the last two groups by the dichotomous scale.

The survey was conducted during the summer semester of 2017/2018 at the faculties of the University of Novi Sad. It was filled out through *Googleforms*. The quantitative data were processed using the software package SPSS Statistics 20. The relevant statistical tests will be mentioned as the survey results are analized.

4. RESEARCH RESULTS

The descriptive statistics for the data collected (the mean value and the standard deviation) are presented in this section in the order the survey questions were set. Therefore, the results presented first are related to the frequency of use of certain types of dictionaries in class and in self-studying, followed by the results regarding the reasons for dictionary consultation and difficulties the teachers encounter when using dictionaries, and finally, the results which present the teachers' attitudes towards dictionary use in teaching ESP.

4.1. Frequency of dictionary use

The results which show to what extent a dictionary is used in class and what types of dictionaries are used are given in Table 1, whereas the results regarding the teachers' expectations about dictionary use outside class, i.e. during the students' self-study at home, are given in Table 2.

How often do you ask the students to use the following types of dictionaries in class?	Mean value	Standard deviation
General English-English dictionary	2.48	0.93
General Serbian-English dictionary	1.76	0.83
General English-Serbian dictionary	1.86	0.85
Specialized Serbian-English dictionary	2.19	0.98
Specialized English-Serbian dictionary	2.43	1.03
Specialized English-English dictionary	2.24	0.89
Printed dictionary	1.71	0.85
E-dictionary	2.71	0.90
Mobile application dictionary	2.43	0.93
Online dictionary	2.86	0.85

Table 1: The frequency of using certain types of dictionaries in classwork presented on the scale 1-4 (never, rarely, sometimes, always).

As it can be seen from the table, the mean values range from 1.71 to 2.86, which generally indicates a low frequency of dictionary use in teaching, i.e. shows that the respondents' answers are mainly in the category 'rarely'. The highest value (2.86) is at the same time the only recorded value which belongs to the answer group 'sometimes'. This value refers to the use of online dictionaries in class and reveals that this is the most frequently used dictionary type in the teaching process. The least frequently used dictionaries in class, as shown by the mean values, are printed dictionaries (1.71), namely general bilingual, Serbian-English (1.76) and English-Serbian dictionaries (1.86). General dictionaries are somewhat more often used in class if monolingual (2.48). As for specialized dictionaries, bilingual ones are used most, English-Serbian dictionaries (2.43), and to a somewhat lesser degree monolingual (2.24), and bilingual Serbian-English dictionaries (2.19). In general, higher values are recorded for all types of digital dictionaries, thus we can conclude that the most frequent dictionaries in classwork are online dictionaries (2.86), electronic dictionaries (2.71), as well as mobile application dictionaries (2.43).

Table 2 shows the results related to the teachers' expectations and their referring the students to use a dictionary outside their English class.

How often do you ask the students to use the following types of dictionary when studying by themselves (at home)?	Mean value	Standard deviation
General bilingual dictionary	2.29	1.06
General monolingual dictionary	2.40	0.99
Specialized bilingual dictionary	2.71	1.15
Specialized monolingual dictionary	2.38	1.12
General mobile application dictionary	2.29	0.85
Online dictionary	2.81	0.75

Table 2: The frequency of referring students to certain types of dictionaries while studying by themselves, presented on the scale1-4 (never, rarely, sometimes, always)

The recorded mean values in this segment range from 2.29 to 2.81, although, even in this case, they show that most answers are in the category 'rarely' (which is also the case with the mean value of all the questions in the two tables above and which are related to the frequency of dictionary use, which is 2.35, SD 0.64). Similarly to the case of using a dictionary in class, the data here reveal that online dictionaries are used most frequently (2.81), and, in this case, the students are more often referred to specialized bilingual dictionaries (2.71).

4.2. Reasons for dictionary use

This section presents the results which illustrate the purpose of dictionary use, more precisely how frequent the situations and activities are in which the students use a dictionary as an instructional material.

If you ask the students to use a dictionary, how often do you ask it for the following reasons:	Mean value	Standard deviation
To look up unfamiliar words	3.24	0.70
To check the pronunciation	2.57	0.81
To see how the word is used in context	2.90	0.83
To learn the grammatical information about the word	2.33	0.80
To find a translation equivalent	2.76	1.04
To find a synonym/antonym	2.48	0.81
When they write in English	3.14	0.73
When they read in English	2.95	0.50
When they translate	3.10	1.04
When they do an exercise on their own	2.71	0.90
When they prepare for an exam	3.00	0.95

Table 3: The frequency of reasons for dictionary use presented on the scale 1-4 (never, rarely, sometimes, always)

As it can bee seen, the mean values are in the range from 2.33 to 3.24, which indicates that the answers are mostly in the category 'sometimes'. And the mean value of the answers in this segment of the questionnaire (2.84) confirms this (SD 0.50). The teachers mostly ask the students to consult a dictionary in order to find the meaning of an unfamiliar word (3.24), whereas they least expect the students to learn the grammatical information about the word (2.33). A dictionary is also consulted in order to understand the context in which a certain word is used (2.90), to find translation equivalents (2.76), to find synonyms and antonyms (2.48), and to check the pronunciation (2.57). When it comes to the skills and situations in which a dictionary is consulted, the results suggest that it is mostly used when writing (3.14), followed by translating (3.10), somewhat less frequently when reading (2.95), while it is least used when students are required to do a language exercise on their own (2.71). These data can be related to the results from the previous section, i.e. to the somewhat less frequent use of a dictionary in class than at home. Namely, classwork is mostly focused on

language exercises, whereas writing and translating tasks are more convenient for completion at home since they are more time-consuming.

4.3. Difficulties regarding dictionary use

This part of the results illustrates the difficulties the teachers encounter regarding dictionary use and attempts to account for the reasons for the insufficient dictionary use in the teaching process. The following table shows these reasons, and below it are the reasons the teachers gave in the open-ended questions.

	I agree.		I disagree.	
	N	%	N	%
Students do not agree/want to bring a dictionary (or they do not have one).	11	52.4	10	47.6
There are not enough dictionaries at the institution.	9	42.9	12	57.1
Students do not know how to use a dictionary.	18	85.7	3	14.3
Dictionary use takes time (which is already lacking considering the amount of the course material).	14	66.7	7	33.3
Instead of consulting a dictionary I encourage the students to work out the meaning from context.	12	57.1	9	42.9
There is no adequate online dictionary.	15	71.4	6	28.6
There is no specialized dictionary for my field.	20	95.2	1	4.8
There is no good-quality specialized dictionary for my field.	17	81	4	19
Dictionary use would encourage the students to use their phones for other purposes.	20	95.2	1	4.8

Table 4: Observed difficulties regarding dictionary use

It can be seen from the above table that the teachers do not experience the same difficulties, i.e. it seems that the problems depend on the scientific discipline and the institutional conditions. The greatest difference is observed with respect to the availability of dictionaries across the faculties because 57.1%

of the teachers claim that there are not enough dictionaries at their institution, while 42.9% of them do not consider this a problem. Similarly, almost half the teachers (47.6%) see the unwillingness of the students to bring dictionaries to class as a problem, whereas 52.4% of them do not consider this the reason for not using dictionaries in class. A greater polarization of the answers is observed with respect to developing strategies for understanding meaning on the basis of the context, where it is evident that more than half the teachers (57.1%) do not apply this in teaching. Even though using dictionaries is generally considered to be time-consuming, most teachers do not consider this as a problem, since two thirds of the respondents failed to agree with the claim that using dictionaries takes a lot of time. When it comes to the availability of dictionaries for certain fields, the results show that, in general, the situation is not bad and that the lack of specialized dictionaries does not pose a problem for ESP teachers at our faculties. Only one teacher claims that there is no specialized dictionary for their field, and 19% of them think that there are no quality dictionaries for their fields, whereas the non-existence of an adequate online dictionary is pointed out by 28.6% of the surveyed teachers. The answers to the open-ended questions can be added to this, where one teacher reports that 'it is often necessary to use more sources, I have not found a dictionary which contains all the entries'. In other words, this respondent claims that there is a lack of a good-quality, comprehensive dictionary. As another reason for not using a dictionary in class one teacher comments 'it rarely occurs that none of the present students know the answer, so consulting a dictionary would not be practical'. This answer reflects the idea that the problem of unequal level of linguistic competence of the students in class could actually be solved by letting students at advance levels participate in explaining words and expressions to those whose competence is at a lower level.

4.4. Attitudes towards dictionaries

Table 5 shows the respondents' beliefs/attitudes regarding dictionary use in teaching ESP at the faculty.

	I agree.		I disagree.	
	N	%	N	%
Students should be trained how to use dictionaries before entering university.	7	33.3	14	66.7
I expect the students to use a dictionary when they prepare for exams.	0	-	21	100

Due to the availability of information nowadays it is not necessary to know how to use a dictionary.	19	90.5	2	9.5
Dictionaries should exist in electronic form so that students can use them more often.	21	100	0	-
Knowing how to use a dictionary enables independent learning.	0	-	21	100
In addition to using a dictionary the students should be taught strategies for understanding unfamiliar expressions on the basis of the context, word formation and the like.	0	-	21	100

Table 5: The teachers' attitudes towards dictionary use

On the whole, the results show that the teachers mainly share the same attitudes. A complete overlap in views has been observed in 4 out of 6 items. Namely, all the teachers expect the students to use a dictionary when preparing for exams, all of them think that greater availability of electronic dictionaries would enhance their usage, they all share the view that dictionary using skills contribute to independent English language learning, and think that in addition to using a dictionary, the training should include strategies for understanding unfamiliar expressions on the basis of the context, word formation, prior knowledge and the like. What the teachers disagree about most is the belief that students should be trained to use dictionaries before entering university. One third of the surveyed teachers do not share this view. Finally, as for the possibilities offered by modern technologies and the availability of information as a possible substitute for the use of dictionaries, it is interesting that the teachers do not share the same opinion because only a smaller number of them (9.5%) hold that dictionary using skills are not necessary in the era of modern technologies.

5. DISCUSSION

The results of the conducted survey lead to the conclusion that dictionaries are rarely used in teaching ESP at faculties in Novi Sad, Serbia, which is the general conclusion other authors who considered this question also reach (Milić et al, 2018). It is evident, however, that the students are expected to use dictionaries at home to a somewhat larger extent than in class. The data show that when dictionaries are used in class, the teachers mostly rely on the digital type, online or electronic, and the use of a mobile application dictionary has also been noted, wheras the use of printed dictionaries received the lowest score in the

survey. These results suggest that printed dictionaries are slowly but surely becoming a thing of the past. Regarding the use of monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, our results show that the teachers are more willing to use monolingual dictionaries, especially general ones, which is in line with the findings from the literature that the teaching staff prefer monolingual dictionaries since, as a rule, they are better quality than bilingual ones (Boonmoh & Nesi, 2008). Since the subject of this research is teaching ESP, it would be interesting to comment on the use of specialized dictionaries versus general ones. The results of the survey show that specialized dictionaries are used in teaching ESP almost as frequently as monolingual general dictionaries, first of all bilingual English-Serbian, and then monolingual specialized dictionaries, while Serbian-English dictionaries are somewhat more rarely used but still more frequently than general bilingual dictionaries. The necessity of combining specialized and general dictionaries in teaching ESP was pointed out by Peters and Fernández (2013), who argue that only by relying on more sources can students fully satisfy their language needs. The authors state that this is necessary mostly due to the use of general academic expressions whose meaning is often abstract to students, then due to the unclear dividing line between technical and semi-technical terms, and those expressions which are used in both formal and informal registers, but with different meanings (Peters & Fernández, 2013: 237). The results obtained in this research are important considering the fact that there is hardly any research on the use of specialized dictionaries in teaching ESP (Peters & Fernández, 2013), but also in view of the frequent remarks regarding the questionable quality of specialized dictionaries, which was addressed in the introductory section of the paper. Our results indicate that the surveyed teachers generally do not experience major difficulties related to the available specialized dictionaries, since 81% of the respondents claim that there is a good specialized dictionary for their field.

As for the purpose and ways of using dictionaries in teaching, the survey shows that the teachers mostly rely on a dictionary when they work on expanding the students' vocabulary, i.e. most frequently when it is necessary to explain the meaning of an unfamiliar expression. As it can be observed with more than half of the surveyed respondents, the use of a dictionary for this purpose is often compensated by enabling students to reach conclusions on the basis of the context and other available (grammatical) cues. As for particular activities, a dictionary is mostly used for writing, translating, reading, in other words, for those activities which require more time and independent work, and as such often imply working at home. This, as well as the already listed expectations of the teachers that the students should use a dictionary when preparing for exams, speak in favour of the fact that a dictionary is more commonly used in individual work at home than in class. This fact can be explained by some of the difficulties that a certain number of teachers face, such as not having dictionaries at the

institution or lacking time due to a small number of contact hours. In these situations, working with a dictionary outside class remains the only possible solution. Pertaining to these problems, this research shows that, in the teachers' opinion, the students who attend ESP classes at tertiary level in Serbia posses developed lexicographical skills acquired in the course of previous schooling, since 86% of the respondents disagree with the claim that the students do not know how to use dictionaries. This information is in sharp contrast with claims in existing literature stressing that even students at higher levels of study experience difficulties with dictionary use due to the lack of adequate training in this area (Bae, 2011 in Nesi, 2014; Chi, 2003 in Peters & Fernández, 2013: 237; Hartmann, 1999; Vidić, 2014). However, these claims have to be linked to the stated view that the students are expected to be pre-trained for using dictionaries. One third of the surveyed teachers do not share these expectations, which suggests that it is the teaching at this level that should offer students the adequate training related to dictionary use. As for the other views of the respondents, finally, it can be said that they are mainly identical regarding the necessity of using dictionaries. A small difference in views is, however, perceived related to the belief that the accessibility of information nowadays could actually compensate for dictionary use. This belief, which is shared by 9.5% of the respondents, could be explained by the rapid and continuous advancement of modern technologies in all areas, including the area of foreign language learning, and the availability of translation equivalents. Although some translation tools such as *Google translate* are currently available, they are far below the expected quality (Vidić, 2014), especially when it comes to 'small' languages such as Serbian, but the rapid technological advancement can offer hope that these tools will be considerably improved in the near future.

6. CONCLUSION

The research presented in this paper focuses on the frequency and ways of using dictionaries, difficulties and views regarding dictionary use in teaching ESP at higher education institutions in Serbia. Unlike most studies which have addressed the mentioned questions, this research considers the situation from the perspective of the teachers, not the students, which, to the authors' best knowledge, has rarely been the case. The obtained results indicate a generally low usage of dictionaries in teaching. The teachers of ESP at tertiary level mostly rely on general monolingual and specialized dictionaries, in particular English-Serbian dictionaries. These dictionaries are mostly used in the form of electronic dictionaries, with online-dictionaries being more frequent than electronic ones. Concerning the availability and quality of specialized dictionaries for certain

fields, the teachers, in general, do not stress any difficulties or objections, though the general feeling is that the greater availability of these dictionaries in electronic form would lead to their being used more often. The teachers do not face difficulties with respect to the students' training in using dictionaries, either, even though they mostly expect the students to already know how to use dictionaries, which could be interpreted as a possible reason for low dictionary usage in university-level teaching. Generally speaking, our respondents share very positive attitudes towards dictionary use and do not report great difficulties, which is surprising in view of the finding that dictionaries are rarely used in teaching ESP.

The research presented here has some limitations and shortcomings. The first such limitation is the relatively small sample of respondents, given that they are teachers of one foreign language and from only one university in the country. The second limitation concerns the research procedure, in particular the method of data collection, which implied filling out a questionnaire with mostly closed-ended questions. Open-ended questions, which require a qualitative type of research, would surely contribute to a more comprehensive interpretation of the obtained results, which should be the direction of further research in this field. However, apart from the limitations mentioned above, the collected data carry a number of pedagogical implications related to foreign language teaching at faculties in Serbia. Firstly, they point to the unjustified neglect of dictionaries as an instructional material and to the need for an in-depth study and research on dictionary use. This would further imply creating syllabuses and teaching materials which would pay particular attention to developing lexicographic habits and competencies of students through specially designed teaching activities which would require consulting a dictionary. One such example is Miškeljin (2015), a textbook intended for students of the Faculty of Education, which includes a special unit dedicated to using general monolingual and bilingual dictionaries and the necessity of combining them (with reference to electronic dictionaries), to information which can be found in dictionaries, labels and symbols, to how dictionaries can be used for expanding one's vocabulary and for independent language learning. Also, a recent study by Milić et al. (2018) confirmed the efficacy of dictionary use (in particular the *English-Serbian Dictionary of Sports Terms,* Milić, 2006) in teaching standard sports terminology in English and Serbian, if the dictionary is used a teaching material (reference book) rather than as additional reading or a handbook.

The situation reported on in this paper calls for compiling a larger number of dictionaries in electronic form, general as well as specialized, which has been recognized in this research as one of the basic avenues for further research in the field of lexicography.

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Љиљана Кнежевић – Ивана Мишкељин – Сабина Халупка Решетар

УПОТРЕБА РЕЧНИКА У НАСТАВИ ЕНГЛЕСКОГ ЈЕЗИКА СТРУКЕ ИЗ УГЛА НАСТАВНИКА

Резиме

Полазећи од савремене литературе (Милић и др, 2018; Неси, 2014), у којој се истиче важност употребе речника у настави енглеског језика струке (ЕЈС), овај рад се бави испитивањем учесталости, разлога и начина примене општих и специјализованих речника у настави енглеског језика струке на високошколским установама у Србији, и то из перспективе наставника. Циљ истраживања је да се стекне бољи увид у то у којој мери се речници користе у настави ЕЈС на универзитетском нивоу, у начине на које се то постиже, разлоге употребе речника у настави ЕЈС и циљеве који се тиме желе постићи, као и на проблеме са којима се наставници сусрећу и њихов став према употреби речника. Крајњи циљ рада је да се укаже на потребу

да употреба речника постане саставни део наставе енглеског језика струке, те да се пружи увид у могућа даља истраживања. Истраживање се заснива на подацима прикупљеним путем упитника који су попунили наставници енглеског језика струке запослени на једанаест факултета Универзитета у Новом Саду (N=21). Резултати истраживања показују да иако наставници већином не сматрају да постоје значајни проблеми који би утицали на употребу речника на часу и деле изузетно позитивне ставове према корисности речника у настави, ово наставно средство се ретко употребљава у самој пракси. Када наставници и укључе употребу речника у наставни процес, најчешће користе специјализоване и опште речнике, док се остале врсте речника обично у потпуности занемарују. Резултати студије такође откривају да су наставници у већини случајева склони коришћењу електронских речника у настави, и то најчешће онлајн речника.

Кључне речи: енглески језик струке, терцијарно образовање, речници, употреба речника.

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SERBIAN PRIMARY BASIC COLOUR TERMS AND THEIR VERBAL ASSOCIATIONS

Based on the association test for the Serbian primary Basic Colour Terms (BCTs) – namely, *bela*; white, *crna*; black, *crvena*; red, *žuta*; yellow, *zelena*; green, and *plava*; blue, which name the primary Basic Colour Categories (BCCs) according to Berlin and Kay (1969),[1] the paper discusses the possible referential meaning and, in part, transferred meanings of the given lexemes. It is done in the context of the connection of the six lexemes with both natural and artificial extralinguistic entities. In comparison with *The Matica Srpska Dictionary* (Serb. Rečnik Matice Srpske, or RMS) where the primary BCTs are defined ostensively (as the colours of natural entities), e.g. *žuta* is associated with 'wax', 'lemon', 'dandelion flower', 'buttercup flower', 'sulfur', and 'gold', our results match mainly the associations mentioned in *The Associative Dictionary of the Serbian Language* (Serb. Asocijativni rečnik srpskoga jezika, or ARSJ). In the test quite a many artificial entities are elicited, too. For instance, *bela* is the colour of 'light (day)', 'snow', and 'milk', yet also of 'the wedding inventory', and 'drugs'. In the ARSJ the associations for *bela* are 'city', 'Belgrade' (cf. Serb. *Beograd* < *beo* white + *grad* a city), 'a wall', etc. The results indicate the process of alienation of today's native Serbian speakers from the world of nature. Instead, artificial as well as virtual entities are favoured. Thus, for example, one of the associations to *žuta* is 'Cedevita' (an orange-based vitamin drink), and to *crvena* it is the character of 'Sith' from the series "Star Wars", whose weapon is a red lightsaber. As for the ARSJ, here the stimuli *crveni*, *crvenog* and *zelen*, *zeleni* lead to the formation of the following stimulus-response (S-R) associations: 'a dragon' (*zmaj*, *zmaja*) and 'the Martian', 'the Martians', respectively.

Key words: the Serbian language, colour names, referential meaning, transferred meaning, verbal associations

[1] Corbett and Davies (1997: 198) argue the BCTs do not have the same status. The first six terms are the primary basic and the remaining five are the secondary basic. The latter are also labeled as the composite colour(term)s by Wierzbicka since the colours they name are created by mixing other colours (cf. Krimer-Gaborović 2014a: 225).

1. INTRODUCTION: BERLIN AND KAY THEORY OF COLOUR UNIVERSALS

In the 1970s E. Rosch's conducted innovative research in the fields of cognitive science and psychology. Having focused on categorisation, linguistics, and mental representation of objects and concepts, Rosch offered the understanding of conceptual categories, here colour categories, which are centred on the prototypes (the clearest cases, best examples of the category). It means that colour categories have no clear-cut boundaries; instead, their prototypes are surrounded by other colours of decreasing similarity to the prototype and of decreasing degree of membership (Rosch 1975: 193).

The theory of a non-random colour categorisation in the world's languages was first defined by Berlin and Kay in 1969. Admittedly, BK described a set of the maximum 11 Basic Colour Categories (BCCs) and Basic Colour Terms (BCTs). A language can have a minimum of 2 BCCs/BCTs at the first evolutionary stage, and a maximum of 11 BCCs/BCTs at the seventh (last) evolutionary stage. The latter is an exclusive characteristic of modern industrial societies. In accordance with the BK theory, the BCTs – a far too small set in comparison to 7,500,000 different shades that the human eye recognizes (cf. Brown & Lenneberg 1954: 457; Krimer-Gaborović 2013: 41) – are generated in the exact order:

I	II	III/IV	V	VI	VII
white		yellow/green			grey
	red		blue	brown	orange
black		green/yellow			purple
					pink

Table 1.

Echoing Hardin (2013), colour categories whose foci lie close to the six primary (elementary) Hering colours, e.g. 'red', are named before categories focused near the secondary (binary, or derived) colours, e.g. 'orange'. Also in Stages III, IV and VII the orders that languages acquire the terms vary, i.e. either a word for 'green' appears first, followed by a word for 'yellow', or it is the other way round. In Stage VII, words for 'grey', 'orange', 'purple', and 'pink' appear in no particular order.

As we have shown elsewhere (cf. Krimer-Gaborović 2014a: 228–235), a theory of cross-cultural colour concepts centered on the BCTs applies very well to the Serbian language, too. In this way (1) *bela*; white, and (2) *crna*; black, reflect the extralinguistic dichotomy between 'day' and 'night', respectively; (3)

crvena; red, is thought of as the colour of 'blood'; (4) *zelena*; green, is equated with the colour of 'all the plant life – namely, grass, leaves, forest/woods, etc.'; (5) *žuta*; yellow, is associated with the Sun's colour; and (6) *plava*; blue, has two suggested prototypes in Serbian, i.e. the sky and water (e.g. sea, ocean, lake, river, etc.).

The given colours, usually referred to as unique hues, have their biological (physical and physiological) roots. In line with Hering's theory of colour vision there are three perceptual opponent pairs of primary colours: 'white' and 'black', 'yellow' and 'blue', and 'green' and 'red' (Hinks et al. 2007: 3371; Zdravković 2008: 199–204).

Along with the six spectral colours, a typical human eye – or rather its inner surface which contains photoreceptors – can also perceive light composed of different wavelengths (i.e., different spectral power distributions), e.g. 'magenta' (cf. Trstenjak 1978: 10–11, 13). There are, however, not only light colours, but also pigment colours or 'paint colours', e.g. 'pink', which is a combination of 'red' and 'white'.[2]

The universalist BK theory intertwined with the prototype theory of linguistic categorisation, which has focal colours as its corner stone, allow only partial understanding of the available meaning behind colour terms. Hence it is customary for natural categories, colours too, to be associated with cognitive reference points, with prototypes being only a special case of the reference-point mechanism. Other cognitive reference points embrace extralinguistic correlates with specific colours as their cognitively prominent features. Overall, then, the colour of fresh blood best represents the colour 'red' (i.e., the extralinguistic correlate, the cognitive reference point), and it also serves as the prototype of the given colour category (cf. Wierzbicka 1996: 314). In addition to the referential or descriptive type of meaning, often referred to as denotative meaning, the colour lexemes can have a number of transferred or connotative meanings. In general, the latter meanings are not dealt with in this study.

2. THE RESEARCH TOPIC, GOALS, AND METHODOLOGY

The paper reports on the responses obtained for the stimuli in the words association test with BK's primary BCTs (i.e., *bela*, *crna*, *crvena*, *žuta*, *zelena*, and *plava*).

The aims of the study are twofold: (1) to determine the semantic structure of the six BCTs under examination. That said, we focus on defining which entities (the responses) most commonly appear as verbalised associations (mental

[2] Pigments are either natural or man-made chemicals that prevent certain wavelengths of light from being transmitted or reflected. Pigments can be in dry powder, paste or liquid form.

images) when a particular primary BCT (a stimulus) is employed by native Serbian speakers. The stimulus-response (S-R) associations provide, furthermore, an insight into prototypical mental images associated with the given set of BCTs; and (2) to establish the extent to which our results match the referential definitions in *The Matica Srpska Dictionary* (Rečnik Matice srpske I-VI, or short RMS), and the lists of associates in *The Associative Dictionary of the Serbian Language* (Asocijativni rečnik srpskoga jezika, or short ARSJ). Even though the ARSJ is a contemporary dictionary, it is still not a specialised colour terms dictionary. Out of a total number of colour adjectives for stimuli dealt with in the ARSJ, the colour terms present in the dictionary comprise of: *beo*; white, *crn*; black, *crveni/crvenog*; red, *zelen/zeleni*; green, *plav*; blue, *braon*; brown, *narandžast*; orange, *pink*; deep pink, and *siv*; grey. All in all, there are neither the BCTs stimuli *ljubičast*; purple, *roze/roza*; pink, and *ružičasta*; also pink, nor are there any other colour names, e.g. *bordo*; burgundy, *krem*; cream, *lila*; lilac, *oker*; ochre, *purpuran*; crimson, *smeđ*; dark brown, sepia, *srebrn*; silver, *teget*; dark blue, *tirkizan*; turquoise, *zlatan*; gold(en), etc.

The relevant data were collected from 142 native Serbian speakers, comprised of: (1) 66 grammar school students (17–18 years of age), (2) 37 adults (25–75 years of age), with different levels of education and different occupations, (3) 39 primary school pupils (9–10 years of age). The task involved to write down randomly at least one (and possibly more) associations for 20 Serbian colour terms in 2 minutes for both the grammar students and the adults, and four minutes for the children. It means the respondents had just a few seconds to respond to each stimulus (colour lexeme). In the paper, however, we analyse only the S-R associations for the primary BCTs. Even though some respondents gave more responses per stimulus, just the first two were taken into consideration. Approximately, 2% of the responses were illegible.

3. THE PRIMARY BCTS AND THEIR SEMANTIC DIMENSION IN THE RMS, THE ARSJ, AND THE ASSOCIATION TEST

This chapter as well as the accompanying subchapters examine the referential (descriptive or denotational) meaning of the primary BCTs according to the RMS and the ARSJ. The given definitions correlate not only with the previously mentioned prototypes of the corresponding BCCs (a universalist view), but also with the extralinguistic culturebound referents (a relativist approach). Referential definitions are supplemented with the associations acquired by the test, each colour name being a cover term for ten most prominent extralinguistic

correlates, which are typically material (physical) objects.[3] For the purpose of clarity and conciseness, all data are presented in tabular form. To put it briefly, an attempt is made to give an overview of how modern-day generations of native Serbian speakers understand the six primary BCCs in terms of their respective material correlates.

3.1. 'White' colour

beo, -la, -lo[4] (RMS, I: 177), white	the opposite of black; 1. of the colour of [fresh] snow or milk, etc.; 2. shining, light/bright
beo (ARSJ: 120), white	snow (216)[5], city (52), clean (27), wall (20), cloud (17), dead (13), Belgrade (11), light/bright[6] (adj.), angel, bread, veil (8), lime, wedding dress (7), pale, day, beautiful, innocent, cheese (6), innocence, death, winter, ghost (Serb. duh, avet, Kasper (*Casper*)) (5), clean, coat, bride (4), car, illness, flower, man, drugs, cold, milk, gentle, powder, snowy, world, light (n.), complexion, wedding, train (3), ill, sheet, purity/chastity, clearing, cleanliness, jumper, seagull, dress, shop window, nice, bear, paper, baker, empty, tooth (2), etc.

Association test results

No.	Association	Grammar school	Adults	Primary school	Σ
1.	snow	16	8	5	29
2.	paper	15	5	9	29
3.	cloud, clouds	15	2	12	29
4.	wedding dress, wedding, veil, bride	4	13	-	17
5.	milk + cheese	7	7 + 1	-	15
6.	shirt	5	5	-	10
7.	sky	4	4	-	8
8.	cocaine, drugs	6 + 2	-	-	8
9.	rubber eraser	1	-	6	7
10.	blackboard	6	1	5	7

Table 2.

[3] Nevertheless, in the text below each table we comment on the S-R associations in their entirety.

[4] The suffixes point out at various morphological forms of the Serbian adjective *beo* (m.sing.), which mirror gender distinctions distinguished by the Serbian language – namely, *bela* (f.sing.), and *belo* (n.sing.).

[5] Numbers in parentheses illustrate the total number of responses to a particular stimulus (BCT).

[6] The Serbian word *svetao* translates into English as *light* and *bright*, even though *bright* is really and truly the translation of the Serbian words *sjajan* and *osvetljen* (cf. Krimer-Gaborović 2019: 37).

Based on the test results, the most salient associations elicited by our respondents in connection with the BCT *bela* are two natural objects, and one artificial entity – that is *snow*, *cloud(s)*, and *paper*, respectively (cf. Table 2). The lexeme *snow* is the expected answer here in light of the presence of the Serbian frozen simile *beo kao sneg*; as white as snow, the given type of comparisons being a most useful tool in providing insight into the colour category centre (the prototype) (cf. Krimer-Gaborović 2019: 212–217). The answers *cloud, clouds* are predominantly selected by the primary school pupils. Moreover, when *cloud*, *clouds* are combined with other lexemes which denote natural phenomena associated with the period in 24 hours when it is naturally light, such as *day* (4) + *light* (4) + *sky* (8), the total number of responses is 44. Overall, then, it is by far the largest number of associations connected with the BCT *bela*.[7] According to Peco (1997: 233), the phrase *beli dan*; white day, has likewise high-frequency in the Serbian discourse. The etymology of Indo-European adjective 'white', in fact, is 'the lightness, shining, and radiance', not 'the whiteness' (Ivić 1993: 7; Popović 2001: 20; Stanić 2015: 33). *Snow* is listed as the primary response (∑216) to the stimulus *beo* in the ARSJ, too. When the response *winter* (5) is added to it, the total number is even larger (∑221). In the ARSJ the frequency of the response *cloud* (17) is lower than that of the responses *city* (52), *clean* (27), and *wall* (20). Nevertheless, if the lexemes which denote the period of light between sunrise and sunset – namely, *light/bright* (8) + *day* (5) + *light* (3), are added to the association *cloud*, the drastic discrepancy between the numbers of responses concerning *cloud* and *snow* is somewhat decreased. To sum up, *snow* is the most prominent response to the stimuli *beo*, *bela*, *belo* in the ARSJ.

The high-ranking responses in our association test are also the lexemes *paper* and *the wedding inventory* (∑17) – that is, *wedding dress* + *wedding* + [bridal] *veil* + *bride*. As a matter of fact, the wedding inventory is the most frequent response in the test for the stimulus *bela* among the adult respondents. As for the ARSJ, the answer *paper* is a low-ranking association (∑2), unlike *the wedding inventory* (∑22) – that is, *veil* (8) + *wedding dress* (7) + *bride* (4) + *wedding* (3). Viewed in this manner, *the wedding inventory* is more frequent an answer in the ARSJ than the answers *wall* (20) and *cloud* (17).

The test results show, furthermore, the higher prominence of the lexemes denoting (a) *CLOTHING ITEMS AND HOME TEXTILES* (∑27), i.e. *shirt* (8) + *T-shirt* (5) +

[7] According to our respondents, *cloud, clouds* are in fact the associations connected with all achromatic colours – namely, *bela*, *crna*, and *siva*. At the same time, *beli oblak*; a white cloud, has a positive connotation, whereas *sivi oblak/crni oblak*; a grey cloud/a black cloud, have a negative connotation in the Serbian language. In fact, *sivi/crni oblak* can refer to: 1. a trouble, an adversity; and 2. bad weather conditions (heavy rain, snow, hail, etc.). In the ARSJ, *oblak* is 17 times associated with the adjectives *beo*; white, and *crn*; black, and 70 times with the adjective *siv*; grey. Obviously enough, *oblak*, *oblaci* are primarily perceived as 'grey' by native Serbian speakers.

dress (3) + *jumper* (2) + *suit* (2) + *sheet/bedding* (4) + *tablecloth* (2) + *underclothes* (1). The 'whiteness' of both home textiles and underclothes is to be understood as 'impeccable cleanliness' (Krimer-Gaborović 2016a: 197). The high-ranking status of the responses which refer to clothing items and home textiles is the result of the historical fact. The 20th century witnessed the arisal of the first synthetic pigments with stable quality, unlike the natural dyes. Other large exploiters of synthetic pigments nowadays are food and cosmetic industries, the furniture industry, the car industry, etc. Although not as numerous as in the association test, clothing items and home textiles are still the responses (∑10) which are available in the ARSJ, i.e., *coat* (4) + *jumper* (2) + *dress* (2) + *sheet* (2).

The relatively frequent answers *cocaine* + *drugs* (∑8) among the grammar students in the test indicate the young in Serbia are well acquinated with drug consumption practices, its abuse and misuse. In short, drugs seem to play an important role in the lives of the grammar school students, either because they are consumed, abused and misused by them, or because the students are fully aware of the hazards of such a consumption, abuse and misuse. In the ARSJ, *drugs* (3) are also mentioned as S-R associations.

Further frequently elicited associations in the test, which are here also collectively represented, are: (b) *FLOWERS*, *FLOWERING PLANTS* (∑15), i.e. *flower* (7) + *snowdrop* (4) + *rose* (2) + *tulip* (2)[8]; (c) *FOOD* (∑12), i.e. *salt* (4) + *flour* (2) + *chocolate* (2) + *sugar* (1) + *whipped cream* (1) + *garlic/onion*[9] (1) + *wine* (1); (d) *INTERIOR AND EXTERIOR ELEMENTS* (∑11), i.e. *wall* (5) + *chalk* (3) + *hospital* (3); (e) *ZOONYMS* (∑10), i.e. *pigeon* (4) + *rabbit* (2) + *swan* (2) + *bear* (2); (f) *TRANSPORTATION VEHICLES* (∑4), i.e. *airplane* (2) + *boat* (2); and (g) *BODY PARTS* (∑4), i.e. *the white of the eye* (1) + *complexion* (1) + *hair* (1) + *bone* (1). In the ARSJ, the *INTERIOR AND EXTERIOR ELEMENTS* (∑22) comprise exclusively of *wall* (20) and *shop window* (2). Nevertheless, there are the associations *city* (52), and *Belgrade* (11). This is most likely a result of the fact that Belgrade is often referred to in Serbian as *beli grad*; white city (*beo* + *grad* > *Beograd*). It needs to be added that the majority of the respondents from the survey reported about in the ARSJ were either born in Belgrade, or were studying in Belgrade. In the ARSJ, the cover terms *FOOD* (∑17) and *TRANSPORTATION VEHICLES* (∑7) embrace the associations *bread* (8) + *cheese* (6)[10] + *milk* (3) and *car* (4) + *train* (3), respectively. As for the collective terms *ZOONYMS* (∑4) and *BODY PARTS* (∑2), they are the cover terms for *seagull* (2) + *bear* (2) and *zub* (2), respectively. The

[8] For a more detailed description of 'white' plants and flowers in the Serbian language, see Janković (2012: 123).

[9] The Serbian word *luk* translates into English as *garlic* (Serb. (beli) luk) and *onion* (Serb. (crni) luk).

[10] Cf. the simile *beo kao sir*; as white as cheese, which is mentioned thrice in the ARSJ (*kao sir*, *k'o sir*, *k'o sirac*).

response *flower* is mentioned only three times in the ARSJ. Finally, high-ranking associations in the ARSJ are also *HOSPITAL AND HEALTH CARE* (∑40) – namely, *dead (person)* (13 + 2) + *on deathbed* (1) + *death* (5)[11] + *pale* + *palish* + *anemic* + *anemia* + *wretched* (Serb. jadan) (6 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1) + *illness* (3) + *ill* (2) + *chemist's* (1) + *pain* (1) + *hospital* (1) + *doctor* (1).

Following Palmer (1977: 99), and Ivić (1995: 14–15), the 'whiteness' of *chocolate*, *wine*, *bear*, *the white of the eye*, *bone*, etc., none of which is absolutely 'white' in colour, should be interpreted in the sense of the lightest of normal colours associated with a specific entity. For instance, *white chocolate* has an off white, yellowish, or cream-coloured hue (cf. *crna čokolada*; dark chocolate, lit. black chocolate), and *white coffee* is a very light shade of brown (cf. *crna kafa*; Turkish coffee, lit. black coffee). A polar bear's coat (Serb. *beli medved*; white bear) appears white or cream, that is the colour may range from white to ivory (cf. mrki/crni medved; *brown/black bear*). In addition to this, *white people*, contrasting with *black people*, furthermore, is a racial classification and skin colour specifier, even though the actual healthy skin colour of light-skinned people can range anywhere from 'rosy' to more 'golden' or 'yellow-toned'. Last of all, the institutionalised collocations which contain the element 'white', e.g. *white cheese* [or Feta], *white flour*, *white lily*, *white pigeon/swan*, etc., are common taxonomy labelling.

A possible explanation for the low-frequency responses *flour* (2) + *salt* (4) in the test, both of which are the ingredients which are in general consumed processed nowadays, unlike *milk* (3) + *cheese* (6), could be a reverse in the present day feeding style amid changing family structure. Besides increased consumption of ultra-processed foods, modern families are often single-parent families, hence several generations of a family no longer reside together and time-consuming, traditional dishes are no longer prepared on a regular basis. Instead, sugar and salt have already been added to ultra-processed food, and flour has already been used to make bakery products and confectionery (both are commonly consumed ready-made). Such data match in principle the ARSJ data, i.e. *cheese* (6) + *milk* (3) + *bread* (8) + *baker* (2) + *salt* (∅) + *sugar* (∅).

[11] People turn white when they die, and they often die in hospital. Usually the walls of a hospital and a clinic are painted white, bed sheets are also typically white, and doctors, hospital attendants, and laboratory workers wear white uniforms, etc.

3.2. 'Black' colour

crn, -a, -o (RMS, VI: 820), black	the opposite of white; of the colour of coal or soot[12] ([black] coffee); characterised by the absence of light, dark[13]
crn (ARSJ: 513–514), black	black person (39), coal (34), human, darkness (Serb. mrak) (29), bread (22), cloud (17), raven, dark (Serb. taman) (16), swarthy/sooty (15)[14], night, earth (soil) (14), coffee (13), dark (Serb. mračan) (12), chocolate (11), chimney sweeper, thorn (9), Gypsy (Serb. Ciganin), horse, hair (8), death, sorrow (6), pepper, Gypsy (Serb Cigan), boy (Serb. dečko), smoke, devil, coat, beautiful, Friday, dirty, darkness (Serb. tama) (5), day, soot , strong, onion, poppy seeds, guy, suit (4), boy (Serb. dečak), young man, man, eye, sun, life (3), Bjelica[15], worm, elegant, as/like night, tar, bad, ant, negative, chimney, spider, hole, hat, dark (Serb. tamno), tooth (2), etc.

Association test results

No.	Association	Grammar school	Adults	Primary school	Σ
1.	darkness, night	8 + 12	5 + 9	9 + 0	43
2.	hole + the universe + depth	8 + 3 + 1	2 + 0	1 + 0	15
3.	hair	3	3	5	11
4.	coal	3	7	-	10
5.	earth (soil)	1	5	-	6
6.	FC Partisan[16]	4	-	1	5
7.	T-shirt	3	1	-	4
8.	cat	1	2	1	4
9.	eye, eyes	3	-	1	4
10.	evening dress	4	-	-	4

Table 3.

[12] The Serbian words *čađ* and *gar* translate into English as *soot*.
[13] The Serbian words *mračan* and *taman* translate into English as *dark*.
[14] The Serbian word *garav* translates into English as *swarthy* and *sooty*.
[15] [Nemanja] *Bjelica* is a popular Serbian basketball player.
[16] The football team Partisan (Serb. Partizan) plays in black and white.

According to the Table 3, the responses *darkness* + *night* (∑43) point out at the most prominent extralinguistic referents denoted by the BCT *crna*. This number can be increased to 57 by adding the associations *hole* (11) + *the universe* (3) – both symbolise something dark, obscure, and mysterious. In the ARSJ, *darkness* and *night* are also the highest-ranking associations (∑70), i.e. *darkness* (Serb. mrak) (29) + *dark* (Serb. taman) (16) + *night* (14) + *darkness* (Serb. tama) (5) + *as/like night* (2) + *hole* (2) + *dark* (Serb. tamno) (2).

The material noun *coal* is yet another high-frequency response from the test. It is mentioned also by the RMS and the ARSJ (∑34). We find it somewhat surprising that our respondents do not mention *soot*, which is present both in the RMS (here used as *čađ*), and the ARSJ (here used as *gar/garav* (4 + 15)). Nevertheless, the association *chimney*, which denotes a vertical structure that is typically soot-covered from the inside, is mentioned twice in the test (cf. *crn kao ugalj*; black as coal, and *crn kao čađ/gar*; black as soot). The associations *chimney* (2) + *chimney sweeper* (15) are elicited in the ARSJ, too, together with *tar* (2) which refers to 'a thick black substance, sticky when hot'.

Other noteworthy black-coloured extralinguistic correlates mentioned in the test, which are here collectively represented, are as follows: (a) *HUMAN COLOURS*[17] (∑24), i.e. *hair* (11) + *eyes* (3) + *the pupil (of the eye)* (2) + *blackhead* (1) + *soul* (2) + *human individual* (2) + *son* (2); (b) *CLOTHING ITEMS* (∑18), i.e. *T-shirt* (4) + *evening dress* (4) + *jacket* (3) + *blazer* (3) + *clothing* (3) + *jeans* (1); (c) *ZOONYMS* (∑7), i.e. *cat* (4) + *raven* (3); and (d) *FOOD* (∑4), i.e. *pepper* (2) + *Coca-Cola* (2).

In regards to human colours, it needs to be mentioned that the adjective *crn* is commonly employed to assess positively aesthetic quality of human eyes, hair, eyebrows, eyelashes, moustache, since people with dark eyes and dark hair (Serb. *crnomanjast*) are the ideal of beauty in the Serbian language and culture (Ivić 1995: 39).[18] As opposed to this, the collocations *crna duša*; black soul, and *crni sin*; bad son, lit. black son, have negative connotation (cf. Kardoš 2016: 38–39), even though *crni sin* can also mean 'a dark-haired, and possiby also dark-eyed son'.

In the ARSJ the most numerous groups of associations are the following: (a) *HUMAN COLOURS* (∑73), i.e. *hair* (8) + *eye* (3) + *tooth* (2) + *human individual* (29) + *Gipsy* (8+5) + *boy* (5+3) + *guy* (4) + *young man* (3) + *man* (3); (b) *FOOD* (∑59), i.e. *bread* (22) + *coffee* (13) + *chocolate* (11) + *pepper* (5) + *onion* (4) + *poppy seeds* (4); (c) *ZOONYMS* (∑30), i.e. *raven* (16) + *horse* (8) + *worm* (2) + *ant* (2) + *spider* (2); and (d) *CLOTHING ITEMS* (∑11), i.e. *coat* (5) + *suit* (4) + *hat* (2).

Both *hell* (1) and *devil* (1) are perceived to be 'black' by our respondents, unlike *the sky* (8), *God* (2), and *angel* (7), which are all perceived to be 'white' in

[17] The very term 'human colours' is borrowed from Ivić (1995: 47–58).

[18] Ivić leaves it to the psychologists to decipher whether dark-eyed and dark-haired people can also be swarthy or must have exclusively pale skin.

colour. This culture-bound interpretation mirrors the dichotomy between night/darkness and day/light (Krimer-Gaborović 2016b: 46). In the ARSJ, *angel* (8) and *devil* (5) are likewise the responses to the stimuli 'white' and 'black', respectively. Still, here the noun *devil* is associated also with the stimuli 'red' (3), and 'green' (2).

Finally, even though 'black' has a predominantly negative connotation, it can also serve as a symbol of power and elegance (Krimer-Gaborović 2016a: 194–195; 2016b: 50–51). Thus, our respondents elicit the following associations: *[a black] evening dress* (4) + *[a black] jeep* (2) + *[a black] Mercedes* (1), all with positive connotation. Such a favourable view of the colour 'black' is influnced by its sheen (Popović 2008: 105–122; Krimer-Gaborović 2016a: 194–195). The associations *elegant* (2) for the stimulus *crn* are present in the ARSJ, too.

3.3. 'Red' colour

crven, -ena, -eno (RMS,VI: 812)	of the colour of [fresh] blood; rust colour (reddish-yellow, ginger)
crveni (ARSJ: 511–512)	blood (54), cross (35), flower (34), Communists (31), Communism (20), star (19), car (Serb. auto), square (17), love, nose (Serb. nos) (14), jumper (Serb. džemper) (12), wind (11), Ferrari (Serb. ferari), carpet (Serb. tepih) (10), scarf (Serb. šal) (9), bloody (Serb. krvavi), ants, rooster, heart, fire (8), cheeks (Serb. obrazi), tomato, Russians, rose, flag (7), cardboard (6), Indians, carnation, cheek (Serb. obraz), hot (Serb. toplo), fiery (Serb. vatreni) (5), car (Serb. automobil), pillow, Communist, coral, five-pointed star, cape, rouge, hat (Serb. šešir), dragon (Serb. zmaj) (4), army, banner, devil, apple, tongue (Serb. jezik), Khmers, bloody (Serb. krvav), pepper, joy, crab, Russian, Socialism, light (3), flowers, lantern, bright, coat (Serb. kaput), lipstick, Commies, corals, October (Serb. oktobar), belt, traffic light, sun, Tito, hot (Serb. topli), sign, supporters of the Red Star football team (2), etc.
crvenog (ARSJ: 512–513)	nose (Serb. nosa) (61), blood (31), face (Serb. lica) (27), nose (Serb. nos) (18), wine (Serb. vina) (17), cross, dragon (Serb. zmaja) (16), jumper (Serb. džemper) (13), love, cheeks (Serb. obraza) (11), Ferrari (Serb. ferarija), traffic light (10), heart, scarf (Serb. šala) (9), crab (8), car (Serb. auta, auto[19]), devil

[19] Both *auto* and *auta* are mentioned seven times each in the ARSJ.

		(Serb. đavola), coat (Serb. kaputa), fire (7), bull (Serb. bika), male goat, sea, rooster (Serb. petla), rose, glow (Serb. sjaj), passion, hat (Serb. šeširа), carpet (Serb. tepiha), star (6), flower (Serb. cvet, cveta), jumper (Serb. džempera), devil (Serb. đavo), the Yugo car, face (Serb. lice), glow (Serb. sjaja), sun (Serb. sunca), scarf (Serb. šal) (5), bull (Serb. bik), cross, sky, cheek (Serb. obraz), tomato, rooster (Serb. petao), sun, light, fiery (Serb. vatrenog), wine (Serb. vino) (4), lobster, tongue (Serb. jezika), Communism, horse, eye, October (Serb. oktobra), lips, flag (3), etc.			
Association test results					
No.	Association	Grammar school	Adults	Primary school	∑
1.	blood	27	9	18	54
2.	rose	18	9	8	35
3.	heart + passion	9 + 2	2	-	13
4.	rouge + lipstick	4 + 1	5 + 3	-	13
5.	fire	2	3	2	7
6.	apple	2	-	4	6
7.	T-shirt	3	1	1	5
8.	ballpoint pen	3	-	2	5
9.	star[20]	4	-	-	4
10.	dress	1	3	-	4

Table 4.

As is evident from the Table 4, *blood* is the absolute cognitive reference point (the prototype) in the minds of native Serbian speakers associated with the BCT *crvena* (cf. *crven kao krv*; red as blood). It is so both in the RMS and the ARSJ (∑96), i.e. *blood* (54 + 31) + *bloody* (8 + 3).

Based on the selection of other responses connected with the stimulus *crvena*, it is obvious that our respondents consider the colour 'red' to be a warm colour, hence the relatively high ranking of the association *fire* (∑7) in the test. The noun *fire* (∑24) is a prominent association in the ARSJ, too, i.e. *fire* (8 + 7) + *fiery* (5 + 4). Furthermore, there are other answers which denote *WARMTH* (∑18), i.e. *hot* (5 + 2) + *sun* (2 + 5 + 4).

[20] The association *star* can relate to a FC Red Star (Serb. FK Crvena Zvezda), on the one hand, and a communist symbol, on the other hand.

Additional high-ranking association mentioned by our respondents is *rose* (∑35), whereas *heart* (∑9) and *passion* (∑4) are mentioned less frequently. It is to be pointed out, furthermore, that *heart* is the symbol of love in the Serbian language and culture (Drobnjak & Gudurić 2017: 218), similar to *the red rose* which stands not only for love, but also for passion and desire. The given associations are found in the ARSJ, too, i.e. *rose* (∑13), and *heart* (∑17).

The remaining red-coloured extralinguistic correlates evoked in the test, which are here collectively represented, go as follows: (a) *FLOWERS* (∑38), i.e. *rose* (35) + *poppy* (1) + *Pelargonium* (1) + *bud* (1); (b) *FOOD* (∑19), i.e. *apple* (6) + *tomato* (3) + *vinegar* (3) + *pepper* (2) + *sour cherry* (2) + *cherry* (1) + *Easter egg* (1) + *chilly* (1); (c) *CLOTHING ITEMS* (∑16), i.e. *T-shirt* (5) + *dress* (4) + *jacket* (1) + *shirt* (1) + *scarf* (1) + *jumper* (1) + *hat* (1) + *bow/tie*[21] (1) + *cap* (1); (d) *COSMETICS* (∑16), i.e. *rouge/lipstick* (14) + *[nail] polish* (2); and (e) *BODY PARTS* (∑11), i.e. *lips* (4) + *cheeks* (3) + *face* (2) + *pimple* (1) + *hair* (1).

As for the collectively represented associations in the ARSJ, these are: (a) *HUMAN COLOURS* (∑171), i.e. *nose* (14 + 61 + 18) + *face* (27 + 5) + *cheek/cheeks* (5 + 4 + 7 + 11) + *tongue* (3 + 3) + *lips* (3) + *eye* (3) + *Indian/Indians* (5 + 2); (b) *CLOTHING ITEMS AND HOME TEXTILES* (∑96), i.e. *jumper* (12 + 13 + 5) + *scarf* (9 + 5 + 9) + *hat* (4 + 6) + *coat* (2 + 7) + *cape* (4) + *carpet* (10 + 6) + *pillow* (4); (c) *ZOONYMS* (∑54), i.e. *crab* (3 + 8) + *bull* (4 + 6) + *rooster* (6 + 4) + *ants* (8) + *male goat* (6) + *coral/corals* (4 + 2) + *horse* (3); (d) *FLOWERS* (∑64), i.e. *flower/flowers* (34 + 5 + 5 + 2) + *rose* (7 + 6) + *carnation* (5); (e) *TRANSPORTATION VEHICLES* (∑61), i.e. *car* (17 + 7 + 7 + 4) + *Ferrari* (10 + 10) + *the Yugo car* (5) + *Porsche* (1); and (f) *FOOD* (∑41), i.e. *wine* (4 + 17) + *tomato* (7 + 4) + *apple* (3) + *pepper* (3) + *lobster* (3). Moreover, it is interesting to note the importance of a fantastic beast elicited in the ARSJ – namely, *dragon* (4 + 16).

Even though our focus here is on the material nouns as S-R associations for the BCT *crvena*, we shall briefly point out at quite a large number of abstract nouns related to *COMMUNISM AND COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY* (∑103) in the ARSJ, possibly a historical reminiscence of the Serbian (and Yugoslav) Communist past, i.e. *Communists/Communis*t (31 + 4) + *Communism* (20 + 3) + *Commies* (2) + *Socialism* (3) + *five-pointed star* (4) + *flag* (7 + 3) + *banner* (3) + *Russians/Russia* (7 + 3) + *army* (3) + *October* (2 +3) + *Khmers* (3) + *Tito* (2).

[21] The Serbian word *mašna* translates into English as *bow* and *tie*.

3.4. 'Yellow' colour

žut, -a, -o (RMS, II: 52)	of the colour of wax, lemon, dandelion, buttercup, sulfur, gold
žut (ARSJ: 195–196)	sun (109), lemon (82), Chinese (34), sick/ill[22] (29), flower (27), sickness/illness (22), Moon (21), jealousy (16), dandelion, sunflower (15), tooth, jaundice (14), leaf (13), banana (11), ant (9), dirty (8), happy/cheerful (Serb. veseo) (7), daffodil, chick (Serb. pile), gold (6), ducat (gold coin), egg, canary, dog (5), paper, yolk (4), Japanese, autumn, face, Romanian, old, taxi, Vranje (3), etc.

Association test results

No.	Association	Grammar school	Adults	Primary school	∑
1.	the Sun, sunshine/sunlight	42	19	22	83
2.	lemon	4	12	1	17
3.	flower, flowers	3	6	1	10
4.	dandelion	3	4	-	7
5.	leaves + autumn	1 + 1	2 + 2	1 + -	7
6.	sunflower	4	2	-	6
7.	chick	1	1	1	3
8.	giraffe	1	-	2	3
9.	yolk	2	-	-	2
10.	Chinese	2	-	-	2

Table 5.

According to the Table 5, it is obvious that native Serbian speakers consider 'yellow' to be a distinct colour of the natural world. The most prominent responses (∑83) are *the Sun* (the star round which the Earth orbits) + *sunshine/sunlight* (the light or warmth received from the Earth's Sun) (cf. *žut kao Sunce/sunce*; yellow as the Sun//sunshine/sunlight). This number can be further increased to ∑87 by adding the related individual associations from the test – namely, *sunny* (1) + *sunbathing* (1) + *summer* (1) + *spring* (1). Moreover, there are the responses which can be indirectly connected with *the Sun*, *sunshine/sunlight*, and *summer*, i.e. *sand* (1) + *desert* (1) + *beach* (1). In the RMS, however, *the Sun*, *sunshine/sunlight* are not associated with the BCT *žuta*. As opposed to

[22] The Serbian adjective *bolestan* translates into English as *sick* and *ill*.

this, in the ARSJ, *(the) Sun*[shine/light] (∑109) is the dominant response connected with the stimulus *žut*.

The response *lemon* is a natural correlate of the BCT *žuta* in all sources we have consulted.

Other celestial bodies mentioned in the test are: *star* (2) + *the Moon* (1). The association *Moon* (21) is elicited in the ARSJ, too.

Besides *lemon* (17), other 'yellow' (a) *FOODS* (∑27) in the test are: *yolk* (2) + *mayonnaise* (2) + *mustard* (2) + *honey* (1) + *curcuma* (1) + *mango* (1) + *Fanta* (1). In the ARSJ, yellow *FOODS* (∑105+) are: *lemon* (82) + *banana* (11) + *egg* (5) + *yolk* (4) + *cheese* (2) + *honey* (1), etc.

In the minds of native Serbian speakers, *žuta* is also the colour term commonly used to describe the colour of phytonyms (more often), and zoonyms (less often). According to the test results, the *PHYTONYMS* (∑38) are: *flower/flowers* (10) + *a bouquet of flowers* (1) + *dandelion* (7) + *(autumn) leaves* (7) + *trees (with yellow leaves)* (1) + *sunflower* (6) + *daffodil* (2) + *buttercup* (1) + *melon* (1) + *wheat* (1) + *straw* (1)[23]. The (c) *ZOONYMS* (∑11) are: *chick* (3) + *giraffe* (3) + *parrot* (2) + *dog* (1) + *duckling* (1) + *bee* (1). In the ARSJ, the *PHYTONYMS* (∑37+) are: *dandelion* (15) + *sunflower* (15) + *daffodil* (6) + *corn* (1), etc.; and the *ZOONYMS* (∑20+) are: *ant* (9) + *chick* (6) + *canary* (5), etc.

The available S-R associations from the test include the responses: *giraffe* (3), and *Chinese* (2)[24]. Neither, however, is native to Serbia. In fact, both giraffes and Chinese have been a rare sight in Serbia until recently. Today the world has become a global village due to communication revolution and native Serbian speakers can now see giraffes on tv, in the printed media, on the Internet, in zoos, etc. Further, more and more Chinese people are visiting Serbia, at least this was so until Covid-19 pandemic. In the ARSJ, there are also the responses *Chinese* (Serb. Kinez sg., and Kinezi pl.) (34 + 1) + *Japanese* (1).

Following Folmar (2011: 31), 'yellow' is both 'a warm colour' and 'a cool colour'. It depends on whether 'yellow' resembles more 'red' or 'green', respectively. In metaphorical terms, 'yellow' can mean both 'life' and 'death'. On the one hand, our respondents connect *žuta* with *glow* (1) + *heaven* (1) (the associations here are those of *the Sun*, *sunshine, sunlight* and *gold* (1)). And figuratively speaking, *žuta* is *joy* (Serb. radost) + *happiness* (Serb sreća) + *optimism* (Serb. vedrina) + *smile* (∑6 = 2 + 2 + 1 + 1). On the other hand, however, *žuta* is perceived to be the colour indicator for *sickness/illness* (3) + *jaundice* (1) + *Hep-*

[23] In the association test, both *wheat* and *straw* are indirectly referred to using the noun *field* (1). The implications are either 'a wheat field', or 'the newly harvested field'. There is also the response *meadow* (1), which is most likely the association connected with 'the new-mown meadow (grass was cut, somewhat dried, and then moved to the haystack to fully dry)'.

[24] As it is the case in English, it is a common practice to describe Asians as *yellow people* in the Serbian language.

atitis C (1) + [(ugly/bad) yellow] *teeth* (1). The given dichotomy is evident from the ARSJ, too. The responses here are: *happy/cheerful* (7) + *optimistic* (1) + *good mood* (1) + *happiness/luck* (Serb. sreća) (1) (cf. *gold/golden/the colour gold* (6 + 2 + 1) + *ducat* (5)), as well as *sick/ill* (29 + 22) + *jaundice* (14) + *dirty ears* (1) + *dirty teeth* (1). Moreover, 'yellow' with a 'green' undertone has the same negative meanings as the colour 'green' itself. Some negative meanings associated with *žut* in the ARSJ are: *jealousy* (16) + *envy* (1) + *disgust* (1) + *mucus* (1).

Finally, 'yellow' is considered to be the sign of the nature's death and dying which is the motivation behind the responses: [yellow] *leaves* (4) + *autumn* (3) + [yellow] *grass* (1). The mental associations are those of withered and dry plants. In the ARSJ, there are also the answers: *autumn* (3) + [dry and/or yellow] *leaves* (1) + *withered leaf* (1).

3.5. 'Green' colour

zelen, -a, -o (RMS, II: 295)	of the colour of leaves, grass (a primary spectral colour); which is covered with green vegetation
zelen (ARSJ: 211)	pine (135), leaf (75), grass (62), young (Serb. mlad) (33), watermelon (28), garden (16), tree (13), horse, lawn (11), cabbage (9), meadow, immature/unripe (Serb. nezreo), walnut, forest/woods (Serb. šuma), tooth (8), tomato, alien/extraterrestial (Serb. vanzemaljac) (7), [immature] human individual, jumper, bush (Serb. grm), eyes, park (6), carrot, bush (Serb. žbun) (5), tea, lizard, apple, cucumber, the Martian, Muslim, [green] with rage, ring, grasshopper, carpet, healthy (4), car, forest/woods (Serb. gora), peas, oak, kiwi [fruit], thread, lemon, [spring] onion, Hungarian, young man (Serb. mladić, momak), [green] with envy, nature, wreath (3), etc.
zeleni (ARSJ: 211–212)	grass (101), leaf (59), nature (30), park (25), pine (23), forest/woods (Serb. šuma), lawn (20), tree, garden (15), alien/extraterrestial, wreath (14), meadow (12), spring, aliens/extraterrestials (10), eyes, carpet, tooth (9), pasture, traffic light (8), the Martians, Muslims, [greenpeace] movement (7), flower, tea, young, belt, natural/nature's (6), cardboard, people, the Martian, Muslim (5), grove, cucumber, rest/break (Serb. odmor), grasshopper, table (4), car, [Green] Beret, hill (Serb. breg), [immature] human individual, bush (Serb. grm), roof, little, young (Serb. mladi), immature/unripe, tomato, Shiptar (derogatory term for Albanians), bush (Serb. žbun) (3), etc.

Association test results					
No.	Association	Grammar school	Adults	Primary school	∑
1.	grass	43	29	22	94
2.	leaf, leaves + treetop	8	7	6 + 1	22
3.	nature	11	5	2	18
4.	forest/woods (Serb. šuma + gora) + pine + Brazil	4+1+1+1	5	-	12
5.	tree, trees + olive	5 + 1	2	1	9
6.	plants	5	2	1	8
7.	meadow	5	1	1	7
8.	eye, eyes	5	1	1	7
9.	spring	3	2	-	5
10.	lettuce	2	2	-	4

Table 6.

Echoing Trstenjak (1978: 14), 'green' and 'red' are the colours of life as nearly all of nature's life forms here on the Earth are made of these two pigments. In fact, the green (floral) pigment chlorophyll and the red (blood) pigment haemin or hemoglobin are chemically highly similar.

In our respondents' minds, the BCT *zelena* is a stimulus which evokes the associations *life* (3) + *spring* (5), as well as *[good] health* (∑14) – that is to say, *healthy* (4) + *health* (1) + *organic* (1) + [greenpeace] *movement* (7) + *green party* (1). There are also the references to *the state of being young and fresh* (∑55) – that is, *young* (33 + 3) + [immature] *human individual* (6 + 3) + *young man* (3 + 3) + *youth* (2) + *freshness* (2). In general, *zelena* is perceived to be the colour of (a) *THE LUSH VEGETATION (PLANTS AND CROPS)* (∑167), i.e. *grass* (94) (cf. *zelen kao trava* green as grass) + *meadow* (7) + *leaf/leaves* + *treetops* (22) + *nature* (18) + *forest/woods* + *pine* + *Brazil* (12) + *plants* (8) + *bush* (1) + *garden* (1) + *(back)yard* (1) + *gamefield* (1) + [wide open] *spaces* (1) + *chlorophyll* (1). The most prominent responses in the ARSJ are also related to *green plants* (∑730+ = 224 + 506), out of which the most common ones are *grassy plants* (∑224), i.e. *grass* (∑163 = 62 + 101) + *lawn/lawns* (∑33 = 11 + 20 + 2) + *meadow* (∑20 = 8 + 12) + *pasture* (8). Other 'green' entities elicited in the ARSJ (∑506+) are: *pine/*

pines (∑160 = 135 + 23 + 2) + *leaf/leaves*[25] (∑138 = 75 + 59 + 2 + 2) + *forest/woods/grove*[26] (∑36 = 8 + 20 + 2 + 4 + 2) + *tree* (∑28 = 13 + 15) + *oak* (3) + *nature/natural/nature's* (∑39 = 3 + 30 + 6) + *garden* (∑31 = 16 + 15) + *park* (31 = 6 + 25) + *bush* (∑17 = 6 + 5 + 3 + 3), *wreath* (∑17 = 3 + 14) + [green] *belt* (6), etc.

Other associations obtained from the test, which are here collectively presented, are as follows: (b) *FRUITS AND VEGETABLES, BEVERAGES* (∑13), i.e. *lettuce* (4) + *apple* (2) + *peas* (1) + *parsley* [leaves] (1) + *watermelon* (1) + *kiwi* (1) + *lime* [fruit] (1) + *tea* (1) + *coffee* (1); (c) *EYE/EYES* (7); (d) *ZOONYMS* (∑3), i.e. *frog* (2) + *chameleon* (1);[27] and (e) *WATER BODIES* (∑3), i.e. *swamp* (1) + *river* (1) + *sea* (1).

In the ARSJ, the inventory of more prominent associations is highly similar to the one in the test – that is, *FRUITS AND VEGETABLES, BEVERAGES* (∑88), i.e. *watermelon* (28) + *cabbage* (9) + *tomato* (7 + 3) + *cucumber* (4) + *peas* (3) + [spring] *onion* (3) + *beans* (2) + *lettuce* (2) + *spinach* (1) + *walnut* (8) + *apple* (4 + 1) + *kiwi* (3 + 1) + *lemon* (3 + 1) + *tea* (6) + *soup* (2), etc; *EYE/EYES* (11 = 2 + 9); and *ZOONYMS* (∑14+), i.e. *lizard/European green lizard* (4 + 1 + 1), *grasshopper* (4) + *deer* (2) + *frog* (1) + *crocodile* (1), etc.

It is to be noted, furthermore, that clothing and accessories are relatively common associations connected with the stimulus *zelena* in the ARSJ, yet not in the test (only *trousers* are elicited once). The *CLOTHING AND ACCESSORIES* (∑24) in the ARSJ are: *jumper* (6 + 2) + *coat* (2 + 1) + *jacket* (1) + *cape* (1) + *suit* (1) + *umbrella* (2) + *belt* (6) + *scarf* (2). Moreover, in the ARSJ there are the associations to *HOME TEXTILES* (∑9) – that is, *carpet* (4) + *blanket* (Serb. prekrivač) + *rug* (1 + 1) + *pillow* (1).

Other high-frequency associations in the ARSJ, yet not in the test, are *ALIENS/EXTRATERRESTIALS* (∑50+), i.e. *alien(s)/extraterrestial(s)* (∑32 = 7 + 14 + 10 + 1) + *Martian/Martians/Mars* (∑17 = 4 + 5 + 7 + 1) + *little green men* (1), etc. Finally, in the ARSJ, yet again not in the test, the stimuli *zelen*, *zeleni* evoked the responses which indicate *zelena* is perceived to be *THE COLOUR OF ISLAM* (∑23+)[28] on the one hand, i.e. *Muslim* (n.)/*Muslims*//*Muslim* (adj.) ((5 + 1) + (7 + 1)) + [Green] *Beret*[29] (3) + *Shiptar* (3 + 1) + *Turk* (n.) (1) + *Bosnia* (1),

[25] Serb. words *lišće* (foliage or the remnants of such foliage, that which one must rake up in the autumn, and not specific leaves) and *listovi* (each individual leaf is visualised as a unit) both translate into English as *leaves*.

[26] Serb. words *gaj* and *lug* translate into English as *grove*.

[27] The noun *dragon*, which denotes a mythical flying reptile creature that breathes smoke and fire, is mentioned twice in the ARSJ.

[28] Indeed, the colour 'green' has a number of traditional associations in Islam. In the 12th century, 'green' was chosen as dynastic colour by the (Shiite) Fatimids, in contrast to the 'black' used by the (Sunnite) Abbasids. In the Quran, 'green' is the symbol of paradise. 'Green' was supposedly Prophet Mohammed's favourite colour, etc.

[29] The reference is to *the Green Berets* – namely, a paramilitary organisation founded in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, in early 1992.

etc., and *THE TRADITIONAL HUNGARIAN COLOUR* on the other hand, i.e. *Hungarian* (n.) (3 + 1)[30].

In the test there are, furthermore, the associations connected with *the army* (2). The hue which evokes the given associations is military 'olive green', rather than common 'green'. Our respondents also mention the association *emerald* (1). The responses *army* (2) + *soldier* (1) + *soldiers* (1) are found in the ARSJ, too. There is, however, no response *emerald* (∅) in the ARSJ.

Finally, judging from the selection of associations in the test as well as in the ARSJ, it is obvious the transferred meanings associated with the Serbian BCT *zelena* are either (a) positively and neutrally connotated, e.g. 'youth [young age]', 'immaturity', 'naivety', 'inexperience', or (b) negatively connotated, e.g. 'illness/sickness', 'envy', 'jealousy'.

3.6. 'Blue' colour

plav, -a, -o (RMS, IV: 444)	a primary spectral colour, i.e. an intermediate colour between 'purple' and 'green'; of the colour of clear sky or sea; deep 'blue' (Serb. 'modar')
plav (ARSJ, 2005: 374)	sky (160), sea (78), deep blue (31), hair (17), boy (Serb. dečko) (15), car, human (individual), beautiful (Serb. lep), bruise (8), cloud, eyes (7), jumper, bobby/cop (Serb. pandur), police officer (Serb. policajac) (6), forelock, boy (Serb. dečak), police, freedom (5), [gem]stone (Serb. kamen), gentle, eye, Russian (n.) (4), the Danube, stupid, pigeon, the Adriatic Sea, basketball, blood, beautiful (Serb. lepo), young man (Serb. momak), man, German (n.), bird, vault, plum, merry, water (3), etc.

Association test results

No.	Association	Grammar school	Adults	Primary school	Σ
1.	sky	50	28	18	96
2.	sea	18	20	1	39
3.	eye, eyes	11	2	1	14
4.	water	6	3	2	11
5.	sports shoes (sneakers)	-	-	9	9

[30] 'Green' is one of the colours of the Hungarian flag. It is said to symbolize the Hungarian mountains. There is also a pigment called *Hungarian green*.

6.	hair + human (individual)	3	3 + 1	1	8
7.	car	2	3	-	5
8.	river	3	1	-	4
9.	boy + boyhood (childhood)	1 + 1	2	-	4
10.	bruise + blow (n.) (Serb. udarac)	1 + 1	-	-	2

Table 7.

The key association for *plava* in the test (all age groups) is *the sky* (96). It is so in the ARSJ (∑160), too. Although our respondents mention *sea* less often (39), the number can still be increased to (∑62) by adding the responses connected with other 'blue' water surfaces – that is, *water* (11) + *river* (4) + *ocean* (1) + *swimming pool* (1), as well as the answers indirectly connected with 'sea/water', i.e. *depth* (1) + *waves* (1) + *Greece* (1) + *summer* (1) + *sailboat* (1) + *boat* (1). In this manner, the drastic difference in the number of responses with reference to *the sky*, on the one hand, and *sea/water*, on the other hand, is somewhat decreased. The explanation behind high-frequency response *the sky*, yet not *sea*, should be sought in the fact that native Serbian speakers perceive 'the blueness' of *the sky*, yet not *sea*, on the daily basis (the former is an ever present entity in the Serbian extralinguistic reality). The respondents mention the water-linked associations (∑14) in the ARSJ, too – namely, *The Danube* (3) + *The Adriatic Sea* (3) + *water* (3) + *lake* (1) + *seas* (1) + *ocean* (1) + *river* (1) + *boat* (1), yet again not nearly as often as they mention *the sky*.

The associations *horizon* (1) + *space*[31] (1) – the latter being a reference to the vastness of the sky and/or sea – and the associations *wide/broad*[32] (1) + *big* (1), provide more evidence that the colour *plava* is perceived as nature's colour for water and the sky. One should also take into consideration the metonymically-driven associations *peace*[33] (3) + *relaxation* (1). The identical and similar associations to the stimulus *plava* are also present in the ARSJ, i.e. *infinity* (1) + *horizon* (1 + 1) (Serb. horizont + vidik) + *nirvana* (1) + *peaceful/calming* (1) + *peace/calm* (1) + *rest* (1) (Serb. odmor) + *freedom* (5).

Moreover, native Serbian speakers perceive *plava* as a typical (a) *HUMAN COLOUR* (∑21), i.e. *eye*, *eyes* (14) + *hair* + *human (individual)* (7). It is to be pointed out though that both *blue hair* and *blue man* should be understood not as 'blue' coloured hair and man, respectively, but as *blond hair* and *a person hav-*

[31] The Serbian word *prostranstvo* translates into English as *space*, *vastness*, *immensity*, etc.
[32] The Serbian adjective *širok* translates into English as *wide* and *broad*.
[33] People are normally peaceful and serene by water and when looking at the clear sky.

ing blond hair, respectively. Echoing Ivić (1995: 24–28), the blond hair colour is 'pale yellow' or 'golden' – "that is, it resembles the colour of ripe grain or straw".[34] The responses related to *HUMAN COLOURS* are found in the ARSJ (∑41), too, i.e. *kosa* (17) + *forelock* (5) + *eyes* + *eye* (7 + 4) + *human* [individual] (8). The S-R associations in the test are furthermore: *bruise* (1) + *blow* (1). And there are the associations *bruise* (8) + *battered* (1) in the ARSJ. In other words, the stimulus *plava* evokes the associations to the colour of subcutaneous hematoma.

Other associations from the test worth mentioning, which are here collectively portrayed, are: (b) *CLOTHING ITEMS* (∑5), i.e. *clothes* (1) + *shorts* (1) + *dress* (1) + *skirt* (1) + *jeans* (1); and (c) *PRECIOUS AND SEMI-PRECIOUS STONES* (3), i.e. *sapphire* (1) + *diamond* (1) + [gem]*stone* (1) (Serb. kamen). Even though, *kamen*; lit. stone, probably relates to a gemstone, we have to allow for the possibility that the reference here is in fact to *plavi kamen*; blue vitriol, a hydrated copper sulfate which is used as a fungicide for grape plants, fruit trees, and vegetables. In the ARSJ, *CLOTHING ITEMS* (∑7) are: *jumper* (6) + *jeans* (1); and *PRECIOUS STONES* (∑5) are: [gem]*stone* (4) (Serb. kamen) + *sapphire* (1).

In the ARSJ, there are additional S-R associations which need to be looked at. It is the associations: *bobby/cop* (1) + *police officer* (6) + *police* (5) + *police officer* (1) (Serb. milicajac (colloq.) < milicionar). The given responses call to mind a mental picture of dark 'blue' uniforms of the Serbian police (cf. *police blue*). In fact, police officers are colloquially referred to as *plavci*; the "blues", in the Serbian language. For instance, *Convinced the "blues" would not pull out their batons on them,* [...] (Politika,[35] 24 September 2006), and *In May 2014, he was arrested for a grave traffic offence by the New York "blues"* (Gloria:[36] 12 November 2018).

In the ARSJ, *FOODS* (∑4) are also mentioned – that is, *plum*[37] (3) + *aubergine* (1). It should be noted here, however, that naturally 'blue' foods are nearly impossible to think up, not to mention actually find in the extralinguistic reality. As a matter of fact, not even all plums are considered as 'blue', since some can have 'purple' skin. This is also true for the colour of aubergine (cf. Serb. *plavi patlidžan*; lit. blue aubergine). The only decent representative of 'blue' foods are *blueberries*, although their genuine colour is closer to 'bluish' than 'blue'. Indeed, the colour 'blue' is an appetite suppressant. A strong repulsion in humans towards 'blue' coloured food is motivated by: (a) the lack of genuinely 'blue'

[34] "[...] dakle boje je koja nalikuje boji zrelog žita ili slame".

[35] *Politika* (Serbian Cyrillic: *Политика*; Politics) is a Serbian daily newspaper, published in Belgrade.

[36] *Gloria* is a Serbian language weekly women's magazine published in Belgrade.

[37] Cf. a compound adjective *šljivoplav*; lit. plum + a linking morpheme -o- + 'blue', and a simile *plav kao šljiva*; lit. blue as a plum. Nevertheless, the lexical units *šljiva*; lit. plum, *šljivast*; lit. plum-like; *šljiva-boja*; lit. plum-colour, *boja šljive*; lit. the colour of plum, are all used to describe 'purple' colour (Krimer-Gaborović 2019: 110).

foods in the nature, and (b) the fact that foods which have a bluish tinge indicates a mould infestation and decay (Krimer-Gaborović 2019: 66, foot. 18).

'Blue' is perceived also as a culture-bound gender indicator by native Serbian speakers. In short, 'blue' symbolises (d) *BOYS*, *BOYHOOD AND MEN*, *MANHOOD*, and this is a global attitude. In the test there are the S-R associations *childhood* (1) + *boy* (1); and in the ARSJ (∑26) it is the associations *boy* (15 + 5) + *young man* (3) + *man* (3).[38]

The colour 'blue' is also (e) *THE MOST FAVOURED EUROPEAN COLOUR* (∑3) (cf. Pasturo 2001; Krimer-Gaborović 2014b: 239; 243–244), hence the response *beautiful* (8 + 3) in the ARSJ. As can be seen from the ARSJ, *plava* is also associated with [the Serbian national] *basketball* [team] (3).

Psychologically speaking cool 'blue' contrasts with warm 'red'. Therefore, our respondents elicit the S-R association *cold* (1), and the association *cold* is mentioned twice (1 + 1) (Serb. hladan + hladno) in the ARSJ.

4. CULTURAL ASPECTS OF COLOUR ASSOCIATIONS

According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2002: 343–344), on the hand, the relationship between a colour and its meanings seems to be natural, but on the other hand, it is unique and unpredictable. For instance, 'black' is the colour of mourning in most of Europe, but in northern Portugal brides used to wear 'black' for the wedding. And, 'white', not 'black', is considered the colour of mourning in China, and other countries of East Asia and Africa. This illustrates the semantic arbitrariness of the colours 'white' and 'black'. Yet, the methaphorical usage of the white-black dychotomy, which symbolises the moral contrast between 'good' and 'evil', has not always been practised in Europe (Petrović 1994: 8, 11, 15; Gerbran & Ševalije 2004: 51). For example, the Slavic peoples have long used the phrase *bela žalost*; white sorrow, to refer to death (Krimer-Gaborović 2016a: 192).

The very fact that many colour meanings are under the influence of the dominant cultural attitudes and values of a particular language community is helpful in understanding the culture-specific associations generated by our respondents (grammar school students and adults), e.g. *wedding dress*, *wedding*, *veil*, and *bride* (∑17) for the stimulus *bela*, and *funeral* (∑8) for the stimulus *crna*. True, the given associations are not elicited by the primary school students, the consequence of their incompleted cultural conceptualisation of the BCCs 'white' and 'black'.

A similar culturebound practice applies to the BCCs 'blue' and 'pink'. The colour-gender norms – manifested in the custom of using the colours 'blue'

[38] Cf. *Blue is for boys and pink is for girls*.

and 'pink' as gender signifiers – have been adopted pretty much everywhere in modern Western societies, Serbia, too. For instance, the S-R associations *little girl* (Serb. devojčica) and *young girl* (Serb. devojka), both of which stand for 'femininity', are 20 times evoked for the BCTs *roze/roza* and *ružičasta*; all: 'pink'; whereas the associations *boy* (Serb. dečak) and *boyhood* (Serb. dečaštvo), both of which stand for 'masculinity', are 4 times evoked by the stimulus *plava*; 'blue'.

In 1960s, M. McLuhan, a Canadian educator, philosopher, and scholar, coined the phrase "the world is a global village". It reflects the genuine nature of our current 'network society', where the Internet, the Skype, mobile tech and other innovations have brough the world closer together than ever before. Eventually, it has allowed for a variety of cultural concepts and definitions to be carried over from one society to another, for example from the Anglo-Saxon culture to the Serbian culture.[39] Due to the Anglicisation of the Serbian language and culture, *the Sith* (Serb. Sit), who are the main antagonists of the Star Wars universe, appear to be an association for the stimulus *crvena*; red, in the test. The Sith are notable for their red-bladed lightsabers, black dress, and use of their aggressive feelings. Besides, adult Sith characteristically have skin of a crimson-hue. At the same time, *a Jedi* (Serb. Džedaj) is a member of the Jedi Order, who are leaders and peacekeepers in the Star Wars universe, and who wield a green lightsaber. And in "Return of the Jedi", Luke Skywalker's lightsaber colour switched from 'blue' to 'green', possibly representing his development as a skilled Jedi warrior, hence the association *Jedi* for the stimulus *plava*; blue, in our test.

Finally, we shall only briefly comment on certain cultural differences between English and Serbian. For example, the association *pigeon* (Serb. golub (m.), golubica (f.)) for the stimulus *bela*, which is mentioned by native Serbian speakers in the test, has its English counterpart, *a dove*, which holds the same significance of purity, love, and peace. The BCT *bela*, furthermore, evokes the general association *complexion* (Serb. ten, koža), since the majority of Serbian people are white people. As opposed to this, the "melting pot" metaphor implies a melting of races in the US and Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and more recently in the UK, too. In short, today native English speakers are very much accustomed to seeing people who have different skin colours, hence the BCT *white* seems less likely to evoke an association *the colour of the skin* (or *complexion*), which is typical of the Serbian language. Another culture-specific item is the association *FC Partizan*, and its cultural equivalent is a football team which plays in black and white stripes in a country which has English as its official language, e.g. *Juventus*, *Newcastle United*, etc.

[39] Thus, for example, 'green' has become the colour of money in the Serbian culture (cf. *zelembać*; greenback) besides the traditional 'yellow' and 'gold(en)' – cf. *žuti dukat*; the ducat, lit. the yellow ducat; and *zlatnik*; a gold coin (Krimer-Gaborović 2016a: 194, 201).

4.1. Impact of Age and Surroundings on the Selection of Colour Associations

The surroundings in which the BCTs association test is conducted also somewhat influences the obtained S-R associations. For example, the primary school pupils mention the associations *eraser* (6) and *chalk* (3) for the stimulus *bela*; white. Both children and adults mention *paper* (29) for the same stimulus, whereas only the pupils and the teenagers, who were tested in their classrooms, elicit the associations *blackboard* (∑7) and *wall* (5) for the stimulus 'white' (neither response was given by the adults).[40] The answer *wall*, however, would have probably been different had the test been conducted in a laboratory with say 'yellow' or 'grey' walls.

As stated earlier, the associations *cocaine* + *drugs* (∑8) are elicited by the grammar school students, yet not the other two groups of respondents. The primary school pupils associate *sports shoes (sneakers)* (9) with the stimulus *plava*, while the grammar school students and adults connect the same stimulus with the association *car* (∑5). The data speak for themselves: the pupils certainly do not drive cars, and as for the other two groups, they obviously conceptualise 'blue' as the colour of some other referents, rather than sports shoes.

Of course, the surroundings can also be understood in the broader context of a dwelling place. Thus, for example, two respondents who dwell in Subotica, a city in northern Serbia, mention the association *FC Spartak [Subotica]* for the stimulus *plava* (the Spartak football players are often nicknamed *the Blue Pigeons*), and one respondent associates *the Lake Palić*, which is situated 8 kilometres from Subotica, with the BCT *zelena* (the lake water is of a bad quality, and is intensively green in colour because of algae). *Plava* is also associated with the Serbian national sports teams by native Serbian speakers, hence the culture-specific association *basketball* (3) for the stimulus *plava* in the ARSJ.

The association *river* (∑4) is elicited for the stimulus *plava* by both the grammar school students and adults who come from the human settlements built by the river, e.g. Belgrade, Novi Sad, etc. As for the tested primary school pupils, they give no such answer since they all come from Subotica, and Subotica is a city which has no river. Nevertheless, the pupils mention the associations *water* + *sea* (2 + 1). As already mentioned, *the sky* (∑96) is a more frequent response than *water* (*sea* + *Greece* + *water* + *river* + *swimming pool*, etc. (∑62+)) among all the groups of respondents. It is a direct consequence of the surroundings in which the respondents live – that is, the blue sky is the omnipresent extralinguistic entity to native Serbian speakers, yet it not so much the case with water (sea, river, etc.). It is perhaps somewhat surprising that the association *swimming*

[40] Adult respondents were tested in all kinds of surroundings – at their homes, in the workplace, at restaurants, pubs, bars, cafés, etc.

pool coexists with the associations related to the far more diverse natural bodies of water (although a landlocked country, Serbia is rich in fresh water). The tendency, however, seems to coincide with estrangement of modern man from the natural world.

5. CONCLUSION

Based on the results obtained from the association test, it can be concluded that meanings of the six primary BCCs in the Serbian language relate to the well known extralinguistic entities (cognitive reference points). Admittedly, 'white' is perceived as the colour of 'day(light)', 'black' as the colour of 'night (darkness)', 'red' is conceptualised as the colour of 'blood', 'yellow' is seen as the colour of 'the Sun', 'green' as the colour of 'the lush vegetation (e.g. grass)', and 'blue' is perceived primarily as the colour of 'the sky', and only secondarily as the colour of 'water bodies (the sea)'. In the RMS, however, 'yellow' is defined to be the colour of 'wax', 'lemon', 'dandelion', 'buttercup', 'sulfur', 'gold'; and in the ARSJ, 'white' is associated primarily with 'snow'.

Clothing items, and to some extent also home textiles, appear as high-frequency colour associations in the test as well as in the ARSJ. The only exception in the test is the BCT *zelena*. In the ARSJ, the stimuli *zelen*, *zeleni* are connected with the associations: *jumper* (6 + 2) + *coat* (2 + 1) + *jacket* (1) + *cape* (1) + *suit* (1) + *umbrella* (2) + *belt* (6) + *scarf* (2). All these prove how the testing environment impacts the nature of the responses obtained – namely, the ARSJ association test must have been conducted in the cold season (during the academic year).

Due to the experience of beliefs, attitudes, and values typical of the 21st century, the colour associations from the test refer to the extralinguistic entities which are absent from the RMS (the latter source is based on the less current corpus). Thus, for example the novel S-R associations from the test are: (1) *bela* → *cream*; (2) *crna* → *a Nigerian student*; (3) *crvena* → *Father Christmas*, *FC Red Star* (Serb. FK Crvena Zvezda), etc.; (4) *žuta* → *banana*, *curcuma*, *Fanta*, etc.; (5) *zelena* → *kiwi*, *chameleon*, etc.; and (6) *plava* → [Pionir] *Galeb* [Milk] *Chocolate*,[41] etc. Nevertheless, only novel associations with a sufficient degree of prominence should be selected and included in a new Serbian monolingual dictionary, disregarding whether it deals with general or specialised language.

Taking into consideration the above mentioned, it can be concluded the existing definitions of the six Serbian BCTs in the RMS need to be refreshed in some new monolingual dictionaries. It should be done by selecting a number of

[41] The chocolate has a 'blue' packaging.

new natural referents that today's native Serbian speakers are more familiar with, to replace the ones that might have obscure meaning:

(1) Thus, for example, the existing definitions of *žuta* in the RMS (II: 49) – which evoke mental images "of the colour of wax, lemon, dandelion, buttercup, sulfur, gold" – need to be innovated by *the Sun* as a new referent. Moreover, it seems quite reasonable to replace the noun *buttercup*, which is mentioned only once by the tested respondents, with some better known plants, e.g. *sunflower*, *banana*, etc. (sunflowers are nowadays a commonly cultivated crop on the Serbian fields, and bananas have widespread use in Serbian diet). Both of the plants are mentioned in the ARSJ, too. Similar to this, it is questionable whether modern-day native Serbian speakers are aware of the 'yellowness' of *sulfur* and *wax*, bearing in mind sulfur is no longer commonly used in the Serbian household to disinfect wine barrels, and candles are no longer made solely from beeswax. Instead, today's candles come in all colours, shapes, and sizes. True, native Serbian speakers are much more familiar with the 'yellowness' of *yolks, chicks*, etc. (both of the nouns are mentioned in the ARSJ, too);

(2) the existing definitions should be supplemented by the artificial referents, too, e.g. the definition of the BCT *bela* should no longer be exclusively "of the colour of snow, milk, salt, and sugar". Instead, *the wedding inventory* should be mentioned, too (it is present in the ARSJ as well).

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VERBALNE ASOCIJACIJE U VEZI SA LEKSEMAMA KOJIMA SE IMENUJU PRIMARNO-OSNOVNE BOJE U SRPSKOM JEZIKU

Rezime

U skladu sa Sosirovom idejom o uspostavljanju asocijativnih veza između jezičkog znaka s jedne strane, i mnoštva vanjezičkih entiteta s druge strane, u radu se govori prevashodno o deskriptivnim (konceptualnim), a onda delom i asocijativnim značenjima šest srpskih leksema kojima se imenuju boje, i to konkretno šest osnovnih naziva za boje (engl. *basic colour terms*), kako su ih to prvi definisali Berlin i Kay (1969). To su

nazivi: *bela*, *crna*, *crvena*, *žuta*, *zelena* i *plava*. Polazište za analizu kako prirodnih, tako i veštačkih korelata u odgovarajućoj boji, predstavljao je test asocijacija sproveden s uzorkom od ukupno 142 ispitanika uzrasta 10–75 godina. Dobijeni odgovori upoređeni su sa rečničkim definicijama šest naznačenih leksema koje su preuzete iz (1) *Rečnika Matice srpske*, ili, kraće RMS, i (2) *Asocijativnog rečnika srpskoga jezika*, ili, kraće ARSJ. I dok su u RMS lekseme kojima se imenuju boje definisane isključivo pozivanjem na prirodne vanjezičke korelate, npr. *žuta* je boja 'voska', 'limuna', 'cveta maslačka', 'cveta ljutića', 'sumpora' i 'zlata', na temelju sprovedenog testa asocijacija pokazuje se da izvorni govornici savremenog srpskog jezika navode takođe brojne veštačke korelate. Primera radi, naši ispitanici *belu* ne percipiraju više isključivo kao kolorit 'snega', 'mleka' i 'svetlosti', već je povezuju takođe sa 'venčanjem i svadbenim inventarom', recimo venčanica i/ili nevestinski veo. Ukoliko je, shodno važećim postulatima kognitivnolingvističke teorije, jezik prozor u čovekov um, tada ne samo da se anketom prikupljeni rezultati podudaraju s podacima u ARSJ, već se uočava postepeno otuđivanje izvornih govornika savremenog srpskog jezika (i to pre svega urbanog stanovništva) od sveta prirode, a u korist veštačkih i virtuelnih fenomena i koncepata. Tako je, recimo, jedna od asocijacija iz ankete u vezi sa osnovnim nazivom za boju *žuta* bezalkoholni, instant napitak 'Cedevita', dok je za *crvenu* to 'Sit', lik is serijala naučno-fantastičnih filmova „Ratovi zvezda". Pripadnici Siti reda imaju crvenkastu kožu i/ili nose crvenu odoru i/ili crveni, svetleći mač.

Ključne reči: srpski jezik, lekseme kojima se imenuju boje, deskriptivno značenje, asocijativno značenje

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JOUAL IN LITERARY TEXTS AND SONGS IN FLE CLASSES

When discussing French language and the French-Canadian civilization in FLE (French as a foreign language) classes, it is inevitable to mention joual – the vernacular language spoken by the majority of Quebeckers. This article aims to introduce the learners to one of the variations of French language through the study of literary texts and songs from Quebec. Since joual corresponds to the state of Quebec society, it is very important to introduce it in the teaching of French as a foreign language and to show the learners not only the numerous characteristics of this variation such as phonetic, morphosyntactic or lexical characteristics, but also to introduce them to a civilization that was significantly influenced by the English language. It is essential for anyone studying the linguistic variations of the French spoken in Canada to bear in mind this particular characteristic, since it is an integral part of the Quebec society and identity.

Keywords: Standard French, Quebec French, joual, literary text, song.

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to reflect on the approach to one of the varieties of French through songs and literary texts from Quebec in FLE (French as a foreign language) classes. Since our students (in Serbia) are not very familiar with the francophone civilization and society in Canada, because of the geographical distance, we wanted to introduce them to the elements of this culture as well as to one of their own varieties of French, joual. This variety is not much present to a great extent in the FLE textbooks, even thought it might be a good motivational trigger for learners, given that it represents the richness and diversity of the French language. Additionally, the paper aims to show whether this variety has remained a linguistic phenomenon, with a temporal distance of forty years, and how we can use it as educational material in teaching FLE.

Before further elaboration on this subject, it is important to define the term *joual*. It is a variety of Quebec French spoken in Montreal, and according to Le Petit Robert it is the "word used in Quebec to globally designate the differences (phonetic, lexical, semantic; Anglicisms) of popular Canadian French either to

stigmatize them or to make them a symbol of identity". (Rey-Debove and Rey 2000, 1379). This name, a distortion of the French word *cheval* (Eng. *horse*), was introduced for the first time by André Laurendeau (1959) in an article in *Le Devoir*, and the following year "popularized" in the work of Jean-Paul Desbiens *Les Insolences du Frère Untel*, where he analyzed the pronunciation and the variety of the language spoken by his pupils. It is the common speech of the French-speaking working class of Montreal contaminated by English, which evolves more easily, generalizes or abandons rules, and which is different from the colloquial language.

> While the colloquial level relates to a communication situation, the word popular describes a language level composed of the current realizations of the language spoken in popular circles. In Quebec, this popular language is called "joual". While the colloquial language is characterized by numerous sound drops, the popular language features significant variations in: the timbre of vowels and sharpness of articulation, choice of words, and grammatical structures.[1]

In our corpus we will see the differences between the colloquial level, the popular level (joual) and the correct level (standard), and if they have any common features. Given the fact that joual has a double form (written and oral) we propose a corpus composed of two literary texts and two songs, works of authors representative of the French-speaking population in Canada, which could be used as authentic documents in FLE classes.

Before turning to the analysis itself, is important to note that literary texts have benefited, as much as grammar and translation, from having a special place in the first FLE textbooks. However, textbooks today have strayed far from these traditional textbooks. They bring us new and unpublished materials, varied and authentic documents that allow us to broaden the knowledge of both learners and teachers. They also introduce new means for practicing French as well as new learning strategies. In this way, they lead us to new areas of interculturality and contemporaneity, which are given great significance in the teaching aids of the 21st century.

A song, also being an authentic document, can represent the spoken language in the best way. It is a "minor art, but of major importance. This is its paradox. […] Human beings have always sung. [...] It means that it is natural for human beings to sing, just as much as it is natural for their being or their essence to speak." (Zarka 2004, 3-4). A song makes a connection between the music, the language and the culture of a people. It is also a testament to the diversity and richness of a language as well as the state of a society. From a teaching point of view, a song represents a valuable resource which complements the teaching of a

[1] Available at: http://wwwens.uqac.ca/~flabelle/socio/languepopulaire.htm

foreign language. It is used not only for the acquisition of linguistic and communication skills, but also for the acquisition of cultural competence, that is to say, it includes the three skills necessary in learning a foreign language. A song also offers the possibility to work with different media - video, audio and text. Finally, its playful and creative aspect can make it a good motivation for learning. It is for this reason that songs should be introduced more into textbooks, with attention paid to the intended objectives, as with all types of teaching aids.

Now we will move on to pedagogical analysis of the literary text and the song in FLE classes while working on the variety of Quebec French – the joual.

2. JOUAL IN LITERARY TEXTS AND SONGS IN FLE CLASSES – THE 1970S

In this part we will present two teaching aids from the 1970s, an excerpt from a literary text, the play *À toi, pour toujours, ta Marie-Lou* by Michel Tremblay and the song "Jonquière" by Plume Latraverse.

2.1. Literary text

Michel Tremblay is one of the first francophone writers who used joual as a written form in their works. His works have been translated into over 35 languages and today is an indisputable and living reference for joual. The characters in his plays are mid-school students who reflect a very harsh reality. In the play *Marie-Lou* there are four characters, two parents: Marie-Louise and Léopold, and their two daughters Carmen and Manon. Throughout the play there are two long intertwining dialogues between two sisters and their parents, with a distance of ten years. Tremblay "translates a world he knows well: that of the neighborhoods and workers of eastern Montreal" (Tremblay 2002, 23). It is a world whose language is characterized by the use of joual, a variety of Quebec French that moves away from "standard" French by creating new rules and using Anglicisms at all linguistic levels.

To work with this play we are going to choose three language skills[2] according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) for the levels A2 and B1, and the following excerpt from the play:

- reading : reading and comprehension of the text; draw the students' attention to new words (identify the words and constructions belonging to joual and have them underlined); have "language errors " corrected as well as Anglicisms, offer the appropriate words or grammatical constructions, with reference

[2] It is impossible to work on listening skills, since the teaching aid is written.

to standard French; sort the bold words from the text into the appropriate columns of the table given below (learners will notice that there are words that can appear in two columns, e.g.: *ben* – colloquial French and popular French - joual, etc);

- **speaking:** brainstorming about the issue of Canada's historical and geographic location and bilingualism;

- **writing:** writing an essay with the topic of preserving the mother tongue and the good and bad influences of other languages.

TEXTE	FRANÇAIS STANDARD	FRANÇAIS POPULAIRE de Montréal-JOUAL	FRANÇAIS FAMILIER
Toé/ Moé		+	
J'vas		+	
Chus		+	+
t'as (es) sorti(e) du lit		+	
J'srais		+	+
Icitte		+	
dans'cuisine		+	
Veux-tu	+	+	+
où c'est que		+	
T'à l'heure		+	+
Eux autres		+	
Graisse de bine		+	

Excerpt from a theatre play (pp. 38-40)

« […] MANON : Tout est resté pareil…
LEOPOLD : **J'les** veux **dorées !**
CARMEN : Pour **toé**, peut-être…
LEOPOLD : Juste **dorées…**
CARMEN : Pour **moé,** tout a changé…
LEOPOLD : Ah ! **pis** laisse donc faire… **j'vas m'les** faire **tu-seul…**
MARIE-LOUISE : **Chus** capable de te faire des **toasts**, **chus** pas infirme !
CARMEN : Tout a changé…
MARIE-LOUISE : **Chus** pas infirme !
MANON : Si tu penses que **t'as** rien qu'à sortir **d'la** maison pour que **toute** change !

CARMEN : **J'le** pense pas, Manon, je l'ai **faite**…
LEOPOLD : **J'pense** que **j'vas** en prendre, du café… […]
MANON : **Moé, j'srais** gênée **d'me promener** de même **sur la rue** !
MARIE-LOUISE : Pourquoi **t'es** pas resté couché ?
MANON : Veux-tu **ben** me dire…
MARIE-LOUISE : C'est samedi…
MANON : … **où c'est que** t'as pêché ça, **c'te** déguisement-là ?
CARMEN : Quand tu décides de changer, Manon, **y** faut que tu changes **toute ! Toute !**
LEOPOLD : Tu m'as réveillé quand tu t'es levée, **à matin**…
CARMEN : En dix ans, **chus** devenue une autre femme…
MARIE-LOUISE : Ah… **J'p**ensais pas… J'**ai** pourtant **faite** attention…
MANON : Dix ans…
LEOPOLD : Tu m'as réveillé quand **t'as sorti** du lit en courant, Marie-Louise !
MANON : Aie…
LEOPOLD : J'ai **toute** entendu ton concert, dans les toilettes !
MANON : **C'est pas** croyable…[…]
MANON : On dirait que c'est comme un grand ruban **en arrière de moé**… **Toute** pareil… […]
CARMEN : Tu restes **assis icitte, dans'cuisine,** comme une prisonnière, pis tu pense **à eux autres** !
LEOPOLD : Les yeux **dans'graisse de binne,** pour faire plus pitié… »

2.2. Song (Chanson)

This section covers the chanson of the 1970s and one of the most famous representatives of the Quebec counter-culture, Plume Latraverse. Before proceeding to the usual strategies, we should mention the fact that the chanson in Quebec has undergone a slightly different evolution from its counterpart in France. Until the 1960s, the chanson in francophone Canada was, from the point of view of style and versification, a tender ballad like the one sung by the French, except that it had American melody, like some censored amalgam of Europe and America. However, its status changed from the 1960s when it went through some kind of revolution; the language was used with all its peculiarities, without any censorship. This is the period when joual will take its full rise.

Joual is closer to rock and blues than to the French ballad. In the 60s and 70s, the chanson could no longer be performed outside of its time, its geography, its society, its "country", imaginary or real. The language of progressive groups supports a North American affirmation of culture. Joual is no longer punished and despised, it becomes a subversive force. This duality also informs us of a

daily experience and a social situation of the language linked to its political dimension. (Beaulieu 2005, § 8)[3]

This new Quebec scene would feature many artists among whom we have chosen Plume Latraverse. He is one of the founders of the Quebec chanson who has won numerous awards including the Pop-Rock Award for best Quebec lyricist. His songs present joual in all its power and at all language levels. As the teaching material we have chosen his song "Jonquière", published on his album *Pomme de la route* (1975). Upon the first listen to the song, we can notice an accent that is different from that of France, as well as a vocabulary imbued with a mixture of French and English. We can also see that the words were not subjected to the magnifying glass of "censorship". In this way, his style leaves a very significant mark in Quebec culture. He addresses a familiar audience, who like him accept all the qualities and flaws of Quebec society. For implementing this song in classroom, we propose the following strategies:

- listening: before listening, give the students the title of the song ("Jonquière") and ask them what it could mean (one of the three urban districts of the city of Saguenay, Quebec); to make learners aware of a new variety of French; draw attention to the rhythm and accent of the song, ask about the phonetic differences between the variety of Quebec French and standard French;

- reading: present the words into two columns, the one reserved for Anglicisms and the other for the words in standard French; ask the students to match the words from the first column with their meaning in the second column (*botte* – être très soûl, *toune* - tube, *spot* – de l'anglais « spot-light », lumière de scène, *stage* – scène, *crowd* – public, *flush* – être généreux, *pitcher* – lancer, *roach* – bout de joint, *fun* – plaisir, *pep* –dynamisme):

ANGLICISMES	FR. STANDARD
botte	plaisir
toune	lumière de scène
spot	bout de joint
stage	être généreux
crowd	dynamisme
flush	scène
pitcher	lancer
roach	tube
fun	public
pep	être très soûl

[3] Available at : http://archives.lautjournal.info/autjourarchives.asp?article=2235&noj=238.

- **intercultural approach**: match the following two columns of words: matching the words of joual, from Quebec French, with their meaning (*à dret* – à droite ; *Jonquière* – arrondissement de la ville de Saguenay ; *chus* – je suis ; *pantoute* – pas du tout ; *Black Label* – marque de bière canadienne ; *pus* – plus ; *Eddy Mitchel* – chanteur, parolier, acteur français ; *ben* – bien ; *icitte* – ici ; *à soir* – ce soir):

FRANÇAIS JOUAL	FRANÇAIS STANDARD
À dret	pas du tout
Jonquière	marque de bière canadienne
Chus	ici
Pantoute	plus
Black Label	à droite
Pus	chanteur, parolier, acteur français
Eddy Mitchel	bien
Ben	arrondissement de la ville
Icitte	je suis
À soir	ce soir

- **speaking:** brainstorming about present-day music; ask the students some questions (e.g.: "What songwriter from your country does Plume Latraverse remind you of?"); start a debate with the topic: "What are the good and bad influences of music on a society?" .

- **writing:** writing a song from some words given in previous columns; the students are divided into groups (three or four students per group).

***Jonquière* (1975) –** Plume Latraverse

Soûl comme une botte
Assis au Bock pas loin d'la porte
J'r'garde danser les Black Label
Sur une vieille toune d'Eddy Mitchell
Curieux... j'y pensais justement même pas
Mou comme une crotte
Chaud comme un spot dans mes culottes
Qui éclaire le stage où j'm'en vas jouer
J'ai une demi-heure pour dégriser
Curieux... j'y pensais justement même pus
De charmants étudiants pleins d'pep
m'ont invité à leur cégep
pour aller jouer d'la belle musique
pas pour faire mon grand alcoolique
Fou comme une plotte
Une plotte qui s'frotte s'in cadre de porte

Qui flotte à dret, qui flush à gauche
J'me pitche su l'stage avec mon roach
Curieux... j'y pensais pus pantoute
doux,doux,doux,doux,doux
C'est une belle crowd icitte à soir
Chus ben content d'être v'nu vous voir
J'vous r'mercie ben pour la grosse bière
J'ai eu ben du fun à Jonquière

3. JOUAL IN LITERARY TEXTS AND SONGS IN FLE CLASSES – THE 1990S

The following section concerns the new generation of artists, writers and singers, who continue to create their works like the previous Quebec artists but with a temporal distance of forty years.

3.1. Literary text

The new generation from Quebec also brings us a lot of talented artists, among whom we have chosen Danielle Letourneau, also known as Zoomba, and her first novel *N'importe qui et moi aussi* (1998). Classified as a detective story, according to some critics, it gives us the

> portrait of a generation neither punk nor straight, seated between two chairs. […] Lots of humor, winks, strong images, effective writing, a detective story, crossed adventures, a little sex, a little violence, and tenderness: all its elements are there to anchor this story well to the story of our time. (Zoomba 1998, 228)

The language used by the author is "rather dirty, bilingual and full of joual, which promises an original novel at the least" (226). It is a mixture of modernity (from the point of view of the subject) and of tradition (from the point of view of the language register), and it is for this reason that certain extracts from this novel can be used as a good example of the variety of Quebec French in FLE classes. The extracts make it possible to work on the three usual strategies given that we have the written teaching material:

- reading: give the students the summary of the novel for introduction; give them an excerpt from the novel, for example:

Excerpt from chapter 24 (pp. 122-123)

[Mona (travaille à la Régie de l'assurance automobile à Québec) et Britte parlent de Plourde. Mona pense qu'il peut être l'assassin] :

« […] — **Tu penses-tu** que Plourde est une sorte de **serial killer** ? (Britte)
— **Ben** oui, j'ai trop vu de films. **Ben** non, je **pense pas**. **Y** trouvait que ses sujets gardaient pas la pose assez longtemps ? **Je le sais-tu** ? Toi, **t'as pas** une idée ? Tu le connais mieux.
— Moi ? Je proteste : […] Pas **pantoute**.
Mais Mona l'appuie, sans doute pour se dissocier.
— Vous vous ressemblez, en plus, quand j'y pense : vous **avez la chienne** des mêmes affaires**,** les mêmes réactions. Vous faites le même genre de **jokes**, … […]
J'**ai** de nouveau le **moton**.
— Mona a raison. La grosse différence entre lui et toi c'est que **t'es** sûre d'avoir de droits sur personne. Sauf sur moi, **ces temps-ci**, pourvue que ça dure, soit dit en passant. Lui, **y** se cré…
Encore une fois, le téléphone sonne. Louis termine sa phrase avant de répondre :
— Il est certain de pouvoir choisir à la place des autres. Comme toi **t'es pas** capable de rien décider, même pour toi-même, **par boute**, tellement tu veux pas avoir de rapport avec rien. Mais c'est pareil, dans le fond…
Facile à dire : ça ne veut rien dire. Louis enchaîne :
— Allô ? … **Ben** oui. **OK, ben**, **venez-vous-en**… **Ben** non, **c'est correct**, il peut venir, lui aussi.
Il raccroche.
— **Pis** ?
— **Pis** rien. **Y** ont rien trouvé, **y s'en viennent**. Brigitte, **braille pas**… **Ben** voyons ! **A** pleure tout le temps, **ces temps-ci**… C'est pas ça que je voulais dire. Si tu lui ressemblais tant que ça, je **t'aimerais pas de même**… **Ben** voyons ! **Pis y** vont le retrouver, Théo.
Louis me prend dans ses bras, Mona me caresse le dos. Je me mets à rire en les repoussant.
— À force de me tenir avec **vous autres**, je suis en train de devenir **moumoune**. **J'ai pus** de pudeur, **j'ai pus** rien : vous me connaissez probablement mieux que moi. Si vous me **retenez pas**, je me soûle, je vous **conte** ma vie, **pis** je rentre chez les missionnaires.
Mona me regarde en pleine **face**… »

- transcribe the text into standard French both grammatically and lexically. It is possible to use dictionaries (monolingual dictionary, dictionary of Canadianisms/Quebecisms, French–Quebec dictionary, etc.);

- improving vocabulary by adding Quebec expressions and their translation into standard French. The students look for the correct meaning for each phrase. First we let them look for the meaning on their own, then we offer them the new list with two columns that they will match by adding a few more expressions (*avoir la chienne* – avoir peur; *avoir le moton* – avoir la gorge serrée ; *c'est correct* – ça va ; *s'en venir* – venir ; *de même* – comme çà ; *c'est écoeurant*

– c'est génial ; *être tanné* – en avoir marre ; *c'est beau* – c'est bon ; *y fait fret* – il fait froid ; *c'est pas pire* – c'est pas mal):

FRANÇAIS JOUAL	FRANÇAIS STANDARD
Avoir la chienne	Comme ça
Avoir le moton	Il fait froid
C'est correct	Ça va
S'en venir	C'est pas mal
De même	C'est bon
C'est écoeurant !	Venir
Être tanné	Avoir peur
C'est beau	C'est génial !
Y fait fret	En avoir marre
C'est pas pire	Avoir la gorge serrée pas mal

- **speaking:** start a debate with the topic: "How to motivate young people, raise their interest in healthy living and divert their attention from the evils (drugs / depression / idleness / suicide) of the 2oth century?"

- **writing:** write an essay with the topic: "Are there solutions for the problems of young people (in Serbia) in the 21st century?"

3.2. Song (Chanson)

The Quebec chanson in the 1990s became influenced by world music and thereby "imposed itself, one might say, an internationalist function of the chanson. The Quebec chanson has conquered the terrain of its own language: neither less nor more French, neither less nor more American: Quebecois under all influences. (Beaulieu 2005, 2). In 1995, Quebec saw the birth of the group *Les Cowboys Fringants*, who have not left the scene in Quebec and worldwide ever since. They are a group of four musicians, friends of pleasure, as the name of their group suggests, who paint their music as a mixture of folk, rock and country. They "seem to come from a traditional country with an urban accent. […] they are explicitly awakening linguistic awareness". In their songs, the language expresses a power of identity affirmation, a source of historical consciousness" (*ibid.*). The humorous approach to their songs responds to the daily concerns of many "native Quebecers".[4] The song we chose, "Ces temps-ci", which appeared in the album *La grand-masse* (2004), allows us to work on the four strategies:

- **listening**: play the song to the learners, without the lyrics; brainstorm about the question of the feelings inspired by the song and the rhythm (e.g.:

[4] Available at: http://www.qim.com/artistes/biographie.asp?artistid=406.

"What does this song make you think of? Why?", etc. – the students justify their answers) and about the prosody (e.g.: "Is there a difference between the French of the song and what we call standard French?");

- **reading**: either distribute the verses of the song to the students in the wrong order and play the song to them a second time so that they can reconstruct the lyrics, or give them the lyrics with gaps that they will complete by listening to the song again and using the list of missing words; emphasize "new" words and grammatical structures that do not belong to standard French: *icitte* – ici ; *à soir* – ce soir ; *y* – il ; *mouiller à siot* – pleuvoir à verse ; *show* –spectacle ; *swelle* – chic ; *pis* – puis ; *c'est platte* – c'est ennuyeux ; *jaser* – parler ; *chu* – je suis ; *c'pas* – ce n'est pas ; *ces temps-ci* – à cette période ; *quecqu's'maines* – quelques semaines ; *pu'* – plus ; *bibittes* –petites bestioles ; *ben* – bien ; *avoir de l'allure* – être convenable ; *se dire à la r'voyure* – se dire au revoir ; *fais-toi z'en pas* – ne t'en fais pas ; *boute* – période ; *à frais virés* – appel interurbain aux frais du destinataire; *kik* –béguin; *j'vas* – je vais ; *shoe-claques* – sorte de chaussure de sport ; *pack-sac* – sac à dos ; *tsé* – tu sais ; *toé* – toi.

***Ces temps-ci* (2004) -** Les Cowboys Fringants

Icitte à soir, **y mouille à siot**
On a donné un pas pire **show**
Le motel est pas vraiment **swell**
Une chance t'es là **pis** qu'j'te trouve belle...

J'te r'garde dormir comme un bébé
C'est platte j'avais envie d'**jaser**
C'pas grave **chu** habitué Chérie
De m'parler tout seul **ces temps-ci**...

Depuis **quecqu' s'maines** j'dors **pu'** d'mes nuits
J'ai la tête remplie de **bibites**
C'est vrai que j'mène une drôle de vie
Des fois j'me dis qu'c'est d'la bullshit

J'aimerais ça pouvoir me r'trouver
Parce qu'**chu** mêlé comme ça s'peut pas
Le monde entier pourrait crever
Chu juste **ben** quand t'es dans mes bras...

Mais **fais-toi z'en pas** trop pour moi
J'en ai vu d'autres, **chu**'un grand garçon
C'fait longtemps qu'je me fais pu d'fausses joies
J'sais qu'ça r'vire en vraies déceptions

Le soleil vient juste de se l'ver
Dehors on entend les moineaux
Qui gazouillent comme pour me rappeler
Qu'tantôt je r'pars pour **Gatineau**
Je r'viens pas dans l'**boute** avant mai
D'ici là donne-moi d'tes nouvelles
Tu m'appelleras à frais virés
Pour me souhaiter joyeux Noël...

Sais-tu au moins qu'tu m'as fait croire
Qu'il est encore possible d'être heureux
?**Pis** ça c'est c'qu'on appelle d'l'espoir
C'toujours ça d'pris quand t'as pas mieux

T'étais sûrement pas rien qu'un **kik**
Mais là c'pas mal trop compliqué
Si dans vie y faut prendre des risques
Faut savoir aussi s'en aller

Je sais qu'y s'passera jamais rien
Qu'entre toi **pis** moi **ç'a pas d'allure**
Quand j'vas r'partir au p'tit matin
On va **se dire à la r'voyure**...
Même si j't'aimais **ben** p'tit trésor
Et que mon coeur s'tait accroché
Quecqu'part sur ta route du nord
Entre **Baie-Comeau pis Port-Cartier**

T'es heureuse ici qu'tu m'disais
Loin des gens stressés de **Montréal**
Pis y'a ton **chum** qui est dans l'portrait
C'est moi l'perdant si j'fais l'total

Ça fait que j'vas m'fermer la gueule
Et continuer mon ch'min tout seul
A'ec mon p'tit coeur dans les **shoe-claques**
Pis ton sourire dans mon **pack-sack**
Mais **tsé** tu peux m'rappeler pareil
T'es comme mon p'tit rayon d'soleil
Dans ce monde complètement fucké
Où j'aurais p'être eu besoin d'**toé**

- **speaking:** given the fact that there are toponyms in the song, offer the students the map of Quebec and introduce them to this corner of the world; brainstorm about everything they already know about French-speaking Canada; acceptance of new concepts.

- **writing**: writing an essay with the subject: "Does traditional music play an important role in the development of a people?"

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Anyone learning French should be made aware that there are several good varieties of this language. Each French-speaking country contributes to the richness of French, like Canada where joual is part of Quebec society and identity. We can see that even over time the joual survives from one generation to the next and that it is impossible to omit it, especially if we are talking about the work of certain Quebec writers and musicians. For this reason, it is very important to make the students aware of this variety of French while integrating it into authentic and original teaching materials. Literary texts and songs are among two types of teaching materials which offer the possibility of teaching FLE in class. By introducing them further into teaching FLE, this would allow us to discover other French-speaking cultures as well as their varieties of the French language.

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LE JOUAL DANS LE TEXTE LITTÉRAIRE ET LA CHANSON EN CLASSE DE FLE

Résumé

En parlant de la langue française et de la civilisation canadienne francophone dans une classe de FLE il est inévitable de mentionner le joual en tant que langue vernaculaire, commune, parlée d'une majorité québécoise. Le but de cet article est de faire découvrir aux apprenants l'une des variétés du français à travers la chanson et le texte littéraire québécois. Comme le joual correspond à un état de la société québécoise il très important de l'introduire dans l'enseignement du français langue étrangère et de démontrer aux apprenants non seulement de nombreuses caractéristiques de cette variante du français parlé au Québec aux niveaux phonétique, morphosyntaxique, lexique, mais aussi de leur faire découvrir une civilisation qui a subi une grande influence de l'anglais. Pour tous ceux qui étudient les variations linguistiques du français au Canada, il est très important d'avoir en vue notamment celle-ci, car elle fait partie de la société et de l'identité québécoise.

Mots clés: français standard, français québécois, joual, texte littéraire, chanson.

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THE CONCEPT OF FRUIT IN FRENCH, ITALIAN AND SERBIAN PHRASEOLOGY

In this study we analyse French, Italian and Serbian idioms comprising the fruit names as their component. The aim is to observe the semantic and lexical similarities and differences of the chosen idioms, as well as to classify the idioms according to the concepts that they denote. Furthermore, the study explores how the lexemes that denote *fruit* motivate the phraseological meaning. Idioms are classified into three groups: "Man's characteristics"; "Man's states"; "Man's attitude towards the world that surrounds him". The analysis of our corpus shows that semantic and lexical equivalence between the three languages is not very common as a result of particularities of national cultures. On the other hand, conceptual similarities, as well as similarities in the metaphorical language may be influenced by the affiliation of the French, Italian, and Serbian language communities to the European cultural circle.

Keywords: fruit, idiom, French language, Italian language, Serbian language.

1. INTRODUCTION

The subject of this study are French, Italian and Serbian idioms whose components denote fruit names (e.g. Fr. *pomme* / It. *mela* / Ser. *jabuka*; Fr. *poire* / It. *pera* / Ser. *kruška*; Fr. *raisin* / It. *uva* / Ser. *grožđe*, etc.).

The aim of the study is to determine lexical and semantic (dis)similarities of the chosen idioms by using the comparative-contrastive analysis. Lexical and semantic equivalence entails idioms to have the same meaning and to contain the same lexeme which denotes fruit. The aim is not to determine semantic equivalents of different structures.

Furthermore, the objective of the research is to classify idioms according to concepts they denote. Conceptual network of idioms is established through semantic decomposition, in a way that idioms are associated with suitable descriptors (features which present the similarities) (Dobrovol'skij 1995). By grouping the idioms this way, we will explore the extent to which the idioms of the three languages conceptualise in the same manner, and the extent to which they depend on the language and the culture.

The corpus was excerpted from several monolingual, bilingual, and phraseological dictionaries of the three observed languages and it contains idioms from the modern standard of each language[1], as well as colloquial idioms.[2]

In this study, we define idioms as established language units with stable structure which consists of at least two words. The idioms have unique and stable meaning which cannot be deduced from the meaning of each of the components (Mršević-Radović 2008; Dragićević 2010). Our corpus will also include nominal and verbal phrasal lexemes which do not represent 'free text', but need a syntactic and semantic support of surrounding items (Matešić 1982; Mršević-Radović 1987; Prćić 1997).

Lexemes which compose the idiom can motivate phraseological meaning with their primary (basic) and secondary (transferred) meaning (Dragićević 2010). In addition, a large number of idioms have their origin in the Bible, mythology and fables (Mršević-Radović 1987). In this study, we will determine how lexemes that denote *fruit* motivate the background image of chosen idioms in the three languages.

As Drobnjak and Gudurić (2012) point out, various cultural and sociolinguistic factors, as well as different language groups can contribute to the differences of phraseological realisations. Therefore, the hypothesis is that our corpus will contain lexical and semantic dissimilarities between the idioms of the three languages that are a consequence of the specificities of national cultures.

2. CORPUS ANALYSIS

The idioms were classified into three conceptual fields: "Man's characteristics", "Man's states" and "Man's attitude towards the world that surrounds him". Within the conceptual fields, we joined the idioms with corresponding descriptors.

Alongside the idioms, we stated the literal translation[3] into English in order to show which components the idioms consist of with the aim to explain their motivation more easily. Literal translation of idioms is sometimes not what we would consider natural English language, and may seem illogical.

[1] Corpus does not include French and Italian idioms which are marked as outdated in the majority of dictionaries. The criterion for the Serbian corpus was personal language competence, as well as the research of the current use of idioms in newspapers, magazines, and electronic media.

[2] In this study, we do not pretend to analyse all of the idioms comprising the fruit names as their component, thus some of the idioms may be excluded from the corpus.

[3] Literal translation of the idioms is marked with an asterisk *.

2.1. Conceptual field "Man's characteristics"

The conceptual field "Man's characteristics" includes idioms which are related to people's character, intellectual and physical traits.

2.1.1. Character traits

Our corpus contains idioms which: on one hand, describe people who are naive and do not think their actions through, and on the other hand, people who overthink:

- **Naivety**

Fr. *bonne poire* (fam.)[4] (*good pear) / It. – / Ser. –
Fr. *bonne pomme* (fam.) (*good apple) / It. – / Ser. –

In French colloquial language *an apple* and *a pear* can be used with the meaning of 'head', 'face', because of their form, and thus can denote a person metonymically. It is possible that the identification of pears with the face, or the head, has its origins in the famous Daumier's caricatures (dating back to 1831) where king Louis Philippe's face was presented in the shape of a pear (Dictionnaire de l'Académie française). In order to explain the motivation of the idiom *bonne poire*, as well as the new idiom *bonne pomme*, it is necessary to connect them with the idiom *la poire est mure* (*the pear is ripe, 'good opportunity') (Rey, Chantreau 2007: 747) and with the knowledge that ripe pear falls on the ground by itself, just like naive people fall into a trap on their own. Consequently, *good pear* metaphorically refers to the person who, because of their kindness and politeness, presents an easy victim for teasing.

- **Recklessness**

Fr. – / It. *cogliere i fichi in vetta* (*to pick figs at the top) / Ser. –
Fr. – / It. *lasciar le pere in guardia all'orso* (*to leave pears on guard to a bear) / Ser. –
Fr. – / It. – / Ser. *kao grlom u jagode* (*like with a throat into strawberries)

Three different kinds of fruit have influenced the creation of idioms which are used to describe reckless and careless people. Among Italian idioms we find the components *fig* and *pear*, whereas Serbian idiom contains the component *strawberry*. Unlike the clear background image of the Italian idiom *cogliere i fichi in vetta* where a careless and reckless person climbs on top of a fig tree, whose fragile branches break easily under the weight, the motivation of Serbian idiom *kao grlom u jagode* is unclear (Mršević-Radović 1987: 97). The Italian

[4] Colloquial idioms are marked with (fam.).

idiom *lasciar le pere in guardia all'orso* describes an action of a person who has entrusted something to someone who is not trustworthy. This idiom, which was created by means of mere contrast (i.e. unexpected and unusual occurrences in real life), refers to naivety as well.

- **Prudence**

Fr. *se presser le citron* (fam.) (*to squeeze yourself the lemon) / It. – / Ser. –

Background of this French idiom is the squeezing of a lemon which in colloquial language figuratively represents a person's head. This idiom describes a person who overthinks (in order to find a solution to a problem).

The sturdiness of nuts on one hand, and the softness of cooked fruit on the other were the key for the motivation of idioms which describe people of firm character and opposite to that, people who are too lenient and soft:

- **Indomitability**

Fr. – / It. – / Ser. *tvrd orah*[5] (*firm walnut)

The firmness of walnut's shell motivated the background image of the listed Serbian idiom which describes a person who is very difficult to subdue and overpower.[6]

- **Be of weak character**

Fr. – / It. *essere come una pera cotta* (*to be like a cooked pear) / Ser. –

Contrary to the firm walnut, cooked pear in Italian language metaphorically describes a person who does not have a strong personality, and is thus considered a weakling.

2.1.2. Intellectual characteristics

One idiom in our corpus refers to a person who is not intelligent:

- **Not being intelligent**

Fr. *vieille noix* (fam.) (*old walnut) / It. – / Ser. –

[5] This idiom is also used with the meaning 'a problem which is difficult to solve'.

[6] The idiom *zagristi u tvrd orah* is listed in the conceptual field "Man's attitude towards the world that surrounds him".

In this idiom, a walnut refers to a person's head because of its shape. This idiom has a pejorative meaning 'simpleton, dummy' and refers to a person of outdated views. However, it can also be used to express affection, with the meaning 'silly you'.

2.1.3. Physical traits

The size of an apple motivates the meaning of the French idiom which qualifies height:

- **Short people**

Fr. *haut comme trois pommes* (*high like three apples) / It. – / Ser. –

This French idiom is most commonly used to describe short children (Rey, Chantreau 2007: 750) whose height is compared with three stacked apples.

Among the Serbian idioms there is one which describes people (most commonly brothers and sisters) who look alike:

- **Physical similarity**

Fr. – / It. – / Ser. *kao da si jabuku raspolovio* (*as if you halved an apple)

The lexeme *apple* motivates the phraseological meaning with its "nearly perfect globe like shape" (Biderman 2004: 128) which would give two equal halves by a longitudinal cut.

One Serbian idiom refers to physical repulsion:

- **Unattractiveness; repulsion**

Fr. – / It. – / Ser. *orah iz ruke da mu ne uzmete* (*a walnut from his hand you wouldn't even take)

This Serbian idiom is used to describe a repulsive person, someone who we do not wish to touch. However, it is not clear why the idiom contains a walnut as a component, and not any other fruit.

The following idioms describe a person who has rosy cheeks and red lips:

- **Rosy cheeks**

Fr. *être rouge comme une pomme* (*to be red like an apple) / It. *essere bianco e rosso come una mela* (*to be white and red like an apple) / Ser. *biti crven kao jabuka* (*to be red like an apple)

- **Red lips**

Fr. – / It. *rosso come una fragola*[7] (*red like a strawberry) / Ser. –

Pretty, rosy and healthy face colour in French and Serbian language is expressed and emphasised by the red colour of an apple, whereas the Italian idiom involves white colour as well. Indeed, red and white in Italian serve to refer to pale white face which combined with rosy cheeks symbolises health and beauty (Klajn 2000: 742).

In Italian idiom *rosso come una fragola*, red colour of a strawberry is used to emphasise the beauty of woman's lips.

2.2. Conceptual field "Man's states"

The conceptual field "Man's states" includes idioms which refer to a man's emotional, mental and physical state.

2.2.1. Man's emotional state

This subcategory includes one French idiom which refers to a person who feels bad and good at the same time, as well as to a person whose personality is difficult to understand, because it seems as if they are both joking and being serious:

- **Having mixed fillings; being satisfied and dissatisfied at the same time**

Fr. *mi-figue, mi-raisin* (*half-fig, half-raisin) / It. – / Ser. –

Dried figs and raisins were eaten in France during the Great Lent in the 14th century. Considering that raisins were more highly valued fruit than dried figs, which had low market value, these two kinds of fruit figuratively mark the contrast. Possible motivation for the meaning can be found in the story about merchants from Corinth who added dried figs, as the cheaper fruit into raisins. In the 15th century, this idiom was used in the form of *moitié figue, moitié raisin* (*partly fig, partly raisin), with the meaning 'good and bad mixed together', and today's form of the idiom was coined in the 18th century (Rey, Chantreau 2007: 413–414).

Among the idioms which indicate a person's emotional state, we included one French idiom the meaning of which was motivated by the banana's shape:

[7] It can refer to objects as well (Quartu 2010).

- **Showing the good mood with a big smile**

Fr. *avoir la banane* (fam.) (*to have the banana) / It. – / Ser. –

This idiom, which indicates good mood, refers to the position of a banana when it is laid down horizontally with its ends turned up. This position reminds of a wide smile, thus the lexeme *banana* in French can be used as a synonym for a smile (Larousse).

There is an idiom in the Italian sub-corpus which indicates disinterest:

- **Indifference; disinterest**

Fr. – / It. *non importare un fico secco* (*do not care a dried fig) / Ser. –

In the 14th century, dried figs were worthless food eaten by the poor, so they were not sold at all in the Mediterranean region, but given away for free (Pittàno 2008: 146–147). This kind of attitude towards dried figs motivated the meaning of the listed Italian idiom which refers to a person who does not pay much attention to something, because they do not think it is worth more than a dried fig (Quartu: 2010).[8]

2.2.2. Man's mental state

- **Indecisiveness; hesitation**

Fr. – / It. *grattarsi la pera* (fam.) (*to scratch yourself the pear) / Ser. –
Fr. – / It. – / Ser. *čekati limun* (*to wait for a lemon)

Same descriptors were paired with idioms which contain lexemes that denote different kinds of fruit and are based on different background stories. In Italian colloquial language *a pear*, because of its form, denotes a person's head, while the motivation for the Serbian idiom can be found in the sour taste of a lemon because of which a person does not dare to take it. However, according to Čajkanović (1994: 141), it is possible that the idiom was partly motivated by the role lemon plays in traditional Serbian wedding customs, in which this fruit serves like an invitation to a wedding, thus when someone waits for a lemon, it means that they are waiting for an invitation and they are hesitant until the invitation arrives.

2.2.3. Man's physical state

Unlike the idioms in which the red colour of fruit indicates the beauty of rosy cheeks and lips, in French and Italian we find idioms where a red colour

[8] Dried fig motivates the meaning of the idiom *far le nozze coi fichi secchi* in the same way. We listed this idiom in the conceptual field „Man's attitude towards the world that surrounds him".

in the face is a consequence of emotions (i.e. confusion, shame, or anger) (Rey, Chantreau 2007: 153; Trésor; Larousse; Treccani):

- **Blushing**

Fr. *devenir rouge comme une cerise* (*to become red like a cherry) / It. *diventare rosso come una ciliegia* (*to become red like a cherry) / Ser. –

In all three phraseologies yellow colour of a lemon (as well as yellow colour of a quince in French) is used to describe a person who has yellow, unhealthy colour of the face which is a consequence of certain illnesses (most commonly liver disease (Centre National de Ressources Textuelles et Lexicales)):

- **Being sickly yellow in the face**

Fr. *jaune comme un citron* (fam.) / It. *giallo come un limone*[9] / Ser. *žut kao limun* (*yellow like a lemon)
Fr. *jaune comme un coing* (fam.) (*yellow like a quince) / It. – / Ser. –

Our corpus contains one idiom from each of the languages which describes a tired person:

- **Exhaustion; fatigue**

Fr. *être dans les pommes (cuites)* (*to be in apples (cooked)) / It. - / Ser. –
Fr. - / It. *essere alla frutta* (*to be in fruit) / Ser. –
Fr. - / It. - / Ser. *isceđen kao limun* (*squeezed like a lemon)

The French idiom was used by a French writer George Sand in the correspondence *Lettre à Mme M. Dupin* (Rey, Chantreau 2007: 750) and it was coined on the basis of the idiom *être cuit* (*to be cooked, meaning 'to be tired'), while the Italian idiom was motivated by a habit of eating fruit at the end of a meal, which metaphorically refers to physical and material exhaustion. The Serbian idiom can refer to mental exhaustion, along with the physical. What is interesting is that the component of the French idiom is an *apple*, of Serbian a *lemon*, while the Italians use the hypernym *fruit* instead of a specific kind of fruit.

Unlike the aforementioned idioms which refer to illness and exhaustion, the next idiom refers to wellbeing:

- **Good health**

Fr. – / It. – / Ser. *biti zdrav kao jabuka* (*to be healthy like an apple)

[9] The Italian idiom can refer to a person whose face is pale because of illness (Treccani, Zingarelli).

People in Serbia use an apple as a remedy for many illnesses (Čajkanović 1994: 98–99), thus this idiom compares a person of extraordinary health with this fruit. In addition, the fact that in the 13th century in France the idiom *être sain comme une pomme* (*to be healthy like an apple) was used (Rey, Chantreau 2007: 750)[10], testifies that the connection of an apple with health is not only part of Serbian folklore. Making a connection between an apple and the concept of health can be noticed in the English proverb *An apple a day keeps a doctor away*, which exists in the three observed languages: Fr. *Une pomme par jour éloigne le médecin*, It. *Una mela al giorno toglie il medico di torno*, Ser. *Jabuka na dan tera doktora iz kuće van* (Marčeta 2019: 179).

There is one idiom in French sub-corpus which refers to the loss of consciousness:

- **Unconsciousness**

Fr. *tomber dans les pommes* (fam.) (*to fall into apples) / It. – / Ser. –

The origin of this French idiom is uncertain. It was recorded in 1889 for the first time, and it might have been created by combining the idiom *être dans les pommes (cuites)* (*to be in apples (cooked)) and the verb *se pâmer* meaning 'to faint' (Rey, Chantreau 2007: 750).

One idiom from our corpus describes a person whose hands tremble:

- **Uncontrollable hand trembling**

Fr. *sucrer les fraises* (fam.) (*to sweeten the strawberries) / It. – / Ser. –

The background of this idiom has an image of trembling hands while sweetening the strawberries. This movement metaphorically indicates a person whose hands and body are trembling because of excitement, fear, or old age.

2.3. Conceptual field "Man's attitude towards the world that surrounds him"

Within the conceptual field „Man's attitude towards the world that surrounds him", idioms were grouped based on the man's attitude towards other people, situations, and money.

[10] This idiom is not actively used in contemporary French, thus it was not included in our corpus.

2.3.1. Attitude towards other people

Certain idioms of our corpus describe men's bad behaviour towards others:

- **Ridicule; mockery**

Fr. *se payer la poire de quelqu'un* (fam.) (*to pay yourself the pear of someone) / It. – / Ser. –
Fr. *se payer la pomme de quelqu'un* (fam.) (*to pay yourself the apple of someone) / It. – / Ser. –
Fr. – / It. – / Ser. *pokazati (kome) šipak* (*to show someone a briar)

While French idioms contain the components *pear* and *apple*, which figuratively denote a man's head, Serbian idiom *pokazati (kome) šipak* ('to make fun of someone showing him that he won't get anything') was motivated by the gesture of showing a thumb between the forefinger and the middle finger, which looks like the fruit from the dog rose tree. It was believed that this symbolic movement protected from evil forces (Biderman 2004: 388).

- **(Financial) exploitation**

Fr. *presser quelqu'un comme un citron (presser le citron)* / It. *spremere qualcuno come un limone* / Ser. *isceditі nekoga kao limun* (*to squeeze someone like a lemon)
Fr. *presser l'orange et jeter l'écorce* (*to press (squeeze) an orange and throw away the peel) / It. – / Ser. –

In all three languages the background image of squeezing lemons metaphorically expresses exploitation.[11] The French idiom *presser l'orange et jeter l'écorce*, with the same meaning, was used by Voltaire in the 18th century in the correspondence *Lettre à Madame Denis* (*Letter to Madam Denis*).

- **Insidiously do something so that someone else does not succeed**

Fr. *glisser une peau de banane* (*to slip a banana peel) / It. – / Ser. –

Motivation for this French idiom comes from the action of placing a banana peel beneath someone's feet.[12]

- **To end a romantic relationship**

[11] The same image motivated the Serbian idiom *isceđen kao limun* which was included in the conceptual field "Man's states".
[12] We find the image of a person slipping on a banana peel in the Italian idiom *scivolare su una buccia di banana* which was included in the subgroup "Attitude towards situations".

Fr. – / It. *dare le pere* (*to give pears) / Ser. –

Considering it is customary to eat fruit at the end of lunch after which guests leave, giving a pear figuratively denotes the end of a romantic relationship.

Contrary to the previous idioms, the following idioms indicate friendship and readiness to make concessions and sacrifices for the wellbeing of another person:

- **To expose oneself to uncomfortable or risky situation for someone**

Fr. *tirer les marrons du feu* / It. *cavar le castagne dal fuoco* / Ser. *vaditi kestenje iz vatre* (*to pull chestnuts out of the fire)

Italian and Serbian idioms *cavar le castagne dal fuoco*, *vaditi kestenje iz vatre* come from the French idiom *tirer les marrons du feu* which was popularised by La Fontaine in 1678 in the fable *Le Singe et le Chat* (*The Monkey and the Cat*). In this fable, monkey tries to persuade the vain cat to take hot chestnuts out of the fire for him, so he could eat them. Although La Fontain made this idiom popular, it can be found even earlier in works of other writers (for example, Oudin, 1640; Molier, 1656), but in an extended form *tirer les marrons du feu avec la patte du chat* (*to pull chestnuts out of the fire with the cat's paw); *tirer les marrons de la patte du chat* (*to pull out chestnuts from the cat's paw). Interestingly, the shortening of the original form led to the meaning 'to acquire personal benefit from a certain situation' in which the idiom can be used in French colloquial language (Rey, Chantreau 2007: 585).

- **To make equal concessions; to split the profit and the risk equally; to make a compromise**

Fr. *couper la poire en deux* (*to split the pear in two) / It. – / Ser. –

The meaning of this French idiom was motivated by the splitting of a pear into two equal parts. A pear refers to money because of its succulent and sweet taste.[13]

Italian sub-corpus contains idioms which refer to the need of a man to present himself to others differently than he actually is:

- **Affectation**

Fr. – / It. *fare i fichi* (*to make figs) / Ser. –

[13] V. idiom *garder une poire pour la soif* (Ch. 2.3.3.).

The sweet taste of figs motivates the meaning of this idiom which is used to describe a person who is too kind and nice.

- **Giving a fake good impression; making false promises**

Fr. – / It. *far tanti pampini e poca uva* (*to make a lot of vine leaves, and little grapes) / Ser. –

This idiom can also be used to describe a plan for which there were great expectations, but which was never realised as expected. The background of this idiom lies in the image of vineyard which has a lot of vine leaves, and little grapes (Quartu 2010).

One Italian idiom refers to the indulgent and submissive behaviour:

- **Submission**

Fr. – / It. *lasciar schiacciare le noci in casa propria* (*to let be crushed the walnuts in house your own) / Ser. –

This idiom was motivated by the crushing of walnuts, which metaphorically refers to oppression.

2.3.2. Attitude towards situations

This subgroup, interestingly, does not include a single French idiom.

Serbian idioms in this subgroup refer to man's participation in uncomfortable and difficult situations:

- **To start a strenuous work**

Fr. – / It. – / Ser. *zagristi u tvrd orah* (*to bite into a hard walnut)

- **To start an uncomfortable job**

Fr. – / It. – / Ser. *zagristi u kiselu jabuku* (*to bite into a sour apple)

- **To be in trouble**

Fr. – / It. – / Ser. *naći se u nebranom grožđu* (*to find oneself in unpicked grapes)

The idiom *naći se u nebranom grožđu* was motivated by a story about grape thieves who would find themselves in an uncomfortable situation if the guards of the vineyards found them (Šipka 2007: 232–233). Considering that this idiom exists only in the Slavic languages, Šipka jokingly remarks that these na-

tions are either more prone to trespassing into other people's vineyards or more devoted in punishing the grape thieves.

Italian idioms are used to describe man's behaviour in certain situations:

- **To wait for better things that are to come**

Fr. – / It. *salvare la pancia per i fichi* (*to save stomach for figs) / Ser. –

The background of this idiom has an image of a man who eats little at the beginning of a meal saving himself for the sweet fig which is eaten at the end of the meal. The idiom can also be used with the meaning 'to keep oneself out of trouble', 'not to expose oneself to danger'. Based on this idiom, the term *panciafichista* (*figbelly) was coined by the participants of World War One for those who were the supporters of neutrality (Quartu 2010).

- **To take unnecessarily excessive measures in order to reach a certain goal**

Fr. – / It. *tagliare il fico per cogliere i fichi* (*to cut down a fig tree to pick the figs) / Ser. –

The background of this idiom has the image of unnecessary cutting of a fig tree in order to pick few figs.

- **To make a careless mistake which could have been avoided; to do damage out of carelessness**

Fr. – / It. *scivolare su una buccia di banana* (*to slip on a banana peel) / Ser. –

A careless mistake which could have been avoided is metaphorically expressed with the image of a man who slipped on a banana peel.

- **To fake disinterest**

Fr. – / It. *fare come la volpe con l'uva* (*to do like the fox with grapes) / Ser. –

This idiom has its origin in Aesop's fable *The Fox and the Grapes*, and is used to describe a person who pretends not to be interested in something because it is unavailable (Quartu 2010).

2.3.3. Attitude towards money

This subgroup includes French and Italian idioms which describe frugal attitude towards spending money:

- **Thrift**

Fr. *garder une poire pour la soif* (*to save a pear for thirst) / It. – / Ser. –

A succulent pear, which can quench thirst, symbolically denote money saved for rainy days.

- **Stinginess**

Fr. – / It. *far le nozze coi fichi secchi* (*to make a wedding with figs dried) / Ser. –

Unlike the French idiom, which refers to the man's responsible and cautious attitude towards money, in the background of the Italian idiom we find an image of a stingy man who wants to organise wedding ceremony without giving a lot of money, so he serves cheap and inappropriate food for the guests.

3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The results of the research suggest that the background images of the French, Italian and Serbian idioms comprising the names of fruits are motivated by the way that fruit looks (shape (e.g. *bonne poire*; *kao da si jabuku raspolovio*), colour (e.g. *devenir rouge comme une cerise*; *rosso come una fragola*)), as well as by certain characteristics (hardness, taste, ability to be squeezed (e.g. *spremere qualcuno come un limone; zagristi u kiselu jabuku*; *tvrd orah*)). In addition, some of the idioms are based on customs (e.g. *dare le pere*; *essere alla frutta*), gestures (e.g. *pokazati kome šipak*) or they originate from literary works (e.g. *être dans les pommes (cuites)*; *fare come la volpe con l'uva*; *vaditi kestenje iz vatre*). However, the exact origin of some idioms is uncertain because of the overlapping of various influences and sources (e.g. *tomber dans les pommes*; *kao grlom u jagode*).

The conceptual grouping of the idioms indicates the anthropocentric character of the three corpora. Indeed, a large number of idioms refer to man's characteristics, states, as well as to his attitude towards other people. Additionally, corpus analysis indicated that the majority of idioms which contain names of fruit as a component have negative connotation (e.g. *se payer la poire de quelqu'un*; *spremere qualcuno come un limone*; *pokazati kome šipak*).

We found only four examples of lexical and semantic equivalence in all three languages (e.g. Fr. *presser quelqu'un comme un citron (presser le citron)*

/ It. *spremere qualcuno come un limone* / Ser. *isceditи nekoga kao limun*; Fr. *tirer les marrons du feu* / It. *cavar le castagne dal fuoco* / Ser. *vaditi kestenje iz vatre*), which confirms the hypothesis that various cultural and sociolinguistic factors, as well as different language groups can contribute to the differences of phraseological realizations. Conversely, the results of the conceptual analysis show that the lexemes which denote fruit names motivate the background image of the chosen idioms in the similar way in all three languages. It is possible that the similarity in metaphorical language of the French, Italian, and Serbian language communities may be influenced by their affiliation to the European cultural circle.

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ПОЈАМ ВОЋА У ФРАНЦУСКОЈ, ИТАЛИЈАНСКОЈ И СРПСКОЈ ФРАЗЕОЛОГИЈИ

Резиме

Предмет овог рада су француски, италијански и српски фраземи који као компоненту садрже лексеме које означавају воће (нпр. фр. *pomme* / ит. *mela* / ср. *јабука;* фр. *poire* / ит. *pera* / ср. *крушка*; фр. *raisin* / ит. *uva* / ср. *грожђе* итд.). Циљ истраживања је да се методом компаративно-контрастивне анализе установе лексичка и семантичка (не)подударања фразема, као и да се утврди начин на који лексеме које означавају *воће* мотивишу формирање позадинске слике одабраних фразема тријe језика. Фраземе смо сврстали у три концептуална поља („Човекове особине“; „Човекова стања“, „Човеков однос према свету који га окружује“), у оквиру којих смо им придружили одговарајуће дескрипторе који их прецизније описују. Анализом корпуса установили смо да су само четири примера лексички и семантички еквиваленти у сва три посматрана језика. С друге стране, подударности у концептуалним пољима око којих се фраземи групишу и сличан начин на који воће мотивише позадинске слике фразема произлазе из заједничких особина европске културе и указују на сличности у метафоричком начину изражавања говорника француске, италијанске и српске језичке заједнице.

Кључне речи: воће, фразем, француски језик, италијански језик, српски језик

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CHAVAL, HOMBRE, MACHO, TRONCO AND *TÍO* AS DISCOURSE MARKERS IN THE COMMUNICATION OF SPANISH YOUNG PEOPLE

The paper analyses pragmatic functions of the appellative forms *chaval/chavala, hombre, macho, tronco,* and *tío/tía* in spoken communication of the Spanish youth. Since the masculine forms are used in addressing both male and female interlocutors, the research starts from an assumption that c*haval/chavala, hombre, macho,* and *tío/tía* have surpassed their traditional appellative function, and the examples in which the given lexemes do not function as nouns have been analysed. Moreover, these lexemes have undergone the processes of grammaticalisation and semantic weakening and have acquired certain pragmatic values. Some of the functions these discourse markers can have refer to the functions of attracting and riveting interlocutor's attention (*Eh, tú,* ***chaval***.), as well as the function in speech acts which express amazement, astonishment, praise, admiration, encouragement, impatience, (***Tía****, coño, vete al grano*.), reprimand, an attempt at calming somebody (***Macho****,* ***tío****, ya te vale*), etc. Using a quantitative analysis method, the examples were excerpted from a corpus consisting of contemporary Spanish films whose protagonists are considered to be the representatives of the youth.

Keywords: *chaval/chavala, tronco, hombre, macho, tío/tía,* discourse markers, grammaticalisation, speech acts, youth language, language of film.

1. INTRODUCTION[1]

The paper analyses pragmatic functions of the appellatives and appellative vocatives *chaval/chavala, hombre, macho* and *tío/tía* in spoken language of the Spanish youth. Since the use of masculine forms has been noted in addressing both male and female interlocutors, it is assumed that the forms chaval/chavala*, hombre, macho* and *tío/tía* have surpassed their traditional appellative function, thus the research analyses the examples in which the given lexemes have not been used as nouns, but have undergone the processes of semantic weakening and grammaticalisation in order to acquire certain pragmatic values.

[1] This research is a part of a doctoral dissertation (2015) *Ingroup identity markers for addressing and naming in (in)direct communication with the Spanish and Serbian youth* and was presented at the international conference *Languages and cultures across space and time* V in 2015.

The paper analyses colloquial conversations typical for the representatives of the Spanish youth, therefore, using the quantitative analysis method, the examples were excerpted from the corpus consisting of contemporary Spanish films. The corpus consists of 15 contemporary Spanish films whose protagonists represent the Spanish youth. Thus constructed corpus of film discourse is useful mainly because of the data collection speed, as well as because of the diversity of situations which it depicts, and finally because of the fact that it represents a reflection of society and culture whose part it is. In this way, adequately used examples of authentic language were acquired.

In selecting film as a corpus, Marta Dynel's approach was used (Dynel 2011: 44 according to Panić Kavgić 2013: 108) according to which film discourse, although not spontaneous, must appear to be so, showing many features of authentic speech, while the interactions that the protagonists enter into and the lines they are uttering are designed so as to mimic the real use of language and the naturalness of real language users.

Moreover, one of the advantages of an audio-visual corpus is the fact that we have "the voice of the speaker, which provides a researcher with a possibility to capture the speaker's mood and different emotions, which enables the interpretation of speaker's utterance with the help of intonation" (Jørgensen 2008: 153).

Pišković (2007: 325) also speaks in favour of selecting the corpus composed of film dialogues. This author says that speech acts are easily recognised in dialogues so film scripts are quite convenient for speech act theory analysis. The attitude towards film as a valid linguistic sample and data resource for linguistic analysis have also been shared by Mulder 1998, Rose 2001, Piazza 2011, Rossi 2011, Álvarez-Perehre 2011, and Reyes López 2014.

This paper focuses on the youth language and selects examples from film dialogues whose protagonists fulfil the criterion of being representatives of the youth. However, sociologists who study the youth have not come to an agreement on the exact age span which constitutes this period. Some of them regard the youth as a period from the age of 15 until the age of 25, while others expand it to the age of 30, and even 35, which goes in favour of the on-going tendency of contemporary society to prolong youth.

Segalan (2009: 255) thinks that the youth represents the life period of vague age boundaries, since the entering into this age period can be determined, while the exit is not as clear. This author notices that gaining independence, which is determined by three factors: having a permanent employment, living on their own, and starting a marital life, occurs later and later in life (Segalan 2009: 265). Therefore, we can talk about youth until those three conditions are met, and since the film characters whose lines have been used as examples in the research have not met all the conditions yet, they are considered to be relevant members and representatives of the youth.

2. ABOUT THE DISCOURSE MARKER CATEGORY

When he talks about discourse markers, Portolés (1998) points out that they originated from adverbs and conjunctions, and he later expands the category to include other parts of speech, for example adjectives like *bueno* and nouns like *hombre* and *mujer* (Fernández Loya 2005: 198). Due to frequent use in spoken language, the word *hombre,* as a discourse marker, was the first one to arouse the interest of linguists (Briz Gómez 1998, Martín Zorraquino 1999, Portolés 2001, Boyero 2002, Gaviño Rodríguez 2011). Attracting and riveting attention of the interlocutor is said to be the main function of this marker (Briz 2003: 146), thus it has been considered to be a conversational marker and put into the subgroup of contact control markers (Sp. *marcadores de control de contacto*) or vocative markers (Sp. *marcadores vocativos*). Their function is to mark the relationship established between the speaker and the hearer during a certain speech event, to indicate the way in which speakers relate to the messages they are uttering and the face they want to show in the particular speech event. Because of their function of creating and intensifying intragroup relationships, as well as expressing affection, solidarity and complicity with other members of the group, young people use these markers in order to create a phatic communion (Briz 2003: 146). Since uncertainty and search for identity are characteristics of this period of life, it is crucial for young people to have the sense of belonging to a particular group and to know that they have been accepted in it. Generally speaking, these markers represent a symbol of group identity, and they create an atmosphere of closeness between interlocutors. Thus, it is the display of positive verbal politeness. These discourse markers are linguistic means which help the speaker mark their relationship with the hearer whom they consider a worthy member of their "team" and the hearer interprets that marker as a sign of group affiliation (Landone 2009: 36), or the speaker marks their speech in relation to those who they consider not to be the members of their "clan", like in the example:

¿Cómo que ***tronco****? Yo no soy* ***tu tronco****.* (AG 1:07:12)

Jorgensen (2008: 388) thinks that the speed of youth speech influences the quantity of discourse markers they use in communication, so instead of using all possible functions of discourse markers in standard language, young people, so to say, "abuse" certain specific functions of these markers (Jørgensen and Martínez 2007: 9), among which are the contact control markers. As a consequence of their frequent use, the markers become "worn out" and acquire more abstract, more pragmatic, interpersonal meanings which are determined by the communication situation (Andersen 2001: 35).

Therefore, the appellative function of certain lexemes disappears once they suffer the consequences of semantic weakening and pragmatic enrichment, i.e. they undergo the processes of grammaticalisation and pragmaticalisation. Grammaticalisation is the process of turning a semantically loaded lexeme into

a semantically empty one. The process refers to "the change whereby lexical terms and constructions serve grammatical functions in certain linguistic contexts and, once grammaticalised, continue to develop new grammatical functions" (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 232). However, there are authors who think that discourse markers are created by the process of pragmaticalisation (Frank-Job 2006: 361). Pragmaticalisation is the process in which a word or a phrase changes its propositional meaning in a given context, and acquires an essentially metacommunicative, discourse-interactional meaning. The more the linguistic unit is grammaticalised, the greater its pragmatic value will be (Nigoević 2011: 128- 129). In this way, the appellative form *hombre*, which has undergone the process of grammaticalisation, reaches the level of discourse markers, and as such is used as an intensifier in certain speech acts. Apart from this marker, the corpus contains more appellatives functioning as discourse markers, like *chaval*, *tío*/*tía*, *tronco/ tronca, macho* which:

1. do not take any modifiers, which is not the case when they are used as real appellatives:
   Ese tío *es un maricón.* (7V 26:10)
   ¿Será pringao ***el tío****?* (7V 17:44)
   En el fondo es ***un buen chaval****.* (PF 44:57)
   ¿Cómo que tronco? Yo no soy ***tu tronco****.* (AG 1:07:12)
   Siempre ha sido ***una tía potente****.* (MG 10:10)

2. are used in addressing both male and female interlocutors, and only occur in a singular form:
   Tío*, que soy tu amigo, a mí me lo puedes contar. ¿Cómo es?* (7V 9:42)
   Macho, tío*, ya te vale.* (AOCN 1:30:06)
   Tronco*, que esto no es la joyería.*
   ¡Hostia, ***chaval****! ¡Qué fuerte!* [2](LaJ 40:05)
   Hombreee*, ¿que pegar es una costumbre?* (AG 41:02)

The *Clave* Dictionary (2002: 1762) defines the word ***tío***/***tía*** as someone's father's or mother's brother or sister, as a person whose identity is unknown to the speaker, as an individual, and states that it can also be used as an appellative or as an intensifier of an insult. The lexicographic entry for ***tío/tía*** in the dictionary of the Spanish jargon states that it is an appellative form primarily used by young people (Sanmartín Saez 2003: 803).

The dictionary by M. Moliner (2001: 1317) states that ***tronco*** is used primarily as an appellative form which indicates the closeness between young people, while the dictionary of the Spanish jargon defines it as a marker typically used by young people (Sanmartín Saez 2003: 832). The *Clave* Dictionary (2002: 1806) defines ***tronco*** as a friend or a colleague.

[2] Juani is talking to her female friend Vane.

According to Sanmartín Saez (2003: 215), the forms ***chaval/chavala*** are widely used in everyday speech and have practically become a part of the standard language. The *Clave* Dictionary (2002: 385) defines ***chaval*** as a boy, a young man, or a young person.

Hombre (The *Clave* Dictionary 2002: 950) is a representative of the human race, an adult male person, but it is also an interjection used to express amazement, astonishment, admiration, or discomfort.

According to the *Clave* Dictionary (2002: 1130), ***macho*** is a male representative of any animal species and is also used as an appellative, while Sanmartín Saez (2003: 521) compares it to the lexeme ***hombre***, stating that it is used as an appellative, or a filler word in an informal spoken interaction.

If we take into account the fact that lexemes *hombre*, *chaval*, *tronco, macho* and *tío*, like all other vocatives, have pragmatic potential observed by Alonso Cortés (1999: 4040), analysing them solely as vocatives is considered to be incomplete. Therefore, this paper analyses the use of these discourse markers functioning as intensifiers of certain speech acts. In particular, these are **expressives** which represent speech acts expressing either positive or negative feelings or psychological states (Yule 1996: 53). Examples of expressives are speech acts used to apologize, praise, congratulate, complain, insult, etc.

3. INTENSIFICATION AS A PRAGMATIC CATEGORY

For this research, it is interesting that colloquial language, which belongs to an informal and spontaneous register and which speakers can freely and without hesitation use to express their emotions, is extremely rich in expressions which intensify the content of an utterance (García Zapata 2011: 7). Intensifiers are considered to be pragmatically very effective:

Bala, por favor, ¿qué vas a hacer, ***tío****?* (AG 1:05:45) instead of:
Bala, por favor, ¿qué vas a hacer?

Briz (Briz 1998: 113) understands intensification as a pragmatic category, and defines intensifiers as pragmatic embellishments which intensify the uttered. Intensification is one of the strategies employed by speakers when they intend to influence the hearer or to show their intention in a particular communication situation. Therefore, intensifiers are linguistic and pragmatic means of intensifying the utterance, employed by the speaker in order to achieve a stronger effect on the hearer.

In order to achieve the intensification of an utterance, speakers use different morphological, syntactic, lexical, and phonetic means. Briz (Briz 1998: 113-114) also draws attention to the use of semantic means like irony and hyperbolic metaphors, and, of course, suprasegmental (prosodic, suprasentential) means like pitch, tone, intonation, etc. in order to achieve pragmatic intensifica-

tion. Furthermore, this author (Briz 1998: 129) differentiates between **semanti-co-pragmatic intensifiers** which influence the uttered, i.e. the very content of the uttered, and **pragmatic intensifiers** which influence the manner in which it is uttered, influence the illocutionary force of the speech act or influence the presence of interlocutors in a speech event.

4. THE FUNCTION OF INTENSIFIERS IN SPEECH ACTS

Since these forms are defined as conversation markers from the subgroup of contact control markers, and having in mind the fact that they are a characteristic of spoken language, examples in this corpus are taken from contemporary Spanish youth films. The following is the analysis of the use of discourse markers functioning as intensifiers in various speech acts observed in this corpus. These speech acts come from the subgroup of expressives used by the speaker to express their emotions following a disappointment, encouragement, anger, amazement, etc., putting emphasis on the speaker's psychological states.

4.1. Speech Acts of Greeting, Attracting Attention, Starting a Conversation[3]

1.1.1. Young men communicating among themselves:
¿Adónde vas, ***chaval****?* (FC2 1:06:00)
Eh, tú, ***chaval****.* (TGdT 51:29)
Mira, ***tío****, ya va siendo la hora de que dejes de echarme la culpa por todos tus marrones.* (ElC2 13:53)

1.1.2. Young men communicating with young women:
No examples recorded

1.1.3. Young women communicating among themselves:
Perdona, ***tía****, que llego tarde.* (P 1:00:19)
¿Qué haces aquí, ***tía****?* (ePdmC 9:45)
¿Cómo estás, ***tronca****?* (ePdmC 9:50)

1.1.4. Young women communicating with young men:
No examples recorded

4.2. Speech Acts of Giving Explanation

1.1.5. Young men communicating among themselves:
Uno no, ***hombre****, te pegaba tres.* (7V 18:50)

3 Corresponds to the phatic function of language

1.1.6. Young men communicating with young women:
No examples recorded
1.1.7. Young women communicating among themselves:
No examples recorded
1.1.8. Young women communicating with young men:
No examples recorded

4.3. Speech Acts of Giving Confirmation

1.1.9. Young men communicating among themselves:
Hombre, *claro, el enchufado.* (TGdT 28:47)
1.1.10. Young men communicating with young women:
No examples recorded
1.1.11. Young women communicating among themselves:
Que sí, ***tía****, que sí lo conozco.* (TGdT 27:13)
Sí, ***tía****, es que entonces era un niñato pero es que ahora está buenísimo.* (TGdT 27:23)
•*Como mola.*
$_0$*Ya,* ***tía*** (LaJ 42:11)
1.1.12. Young women communicating with young men:
*Yo soy una mentirosa del copón****, chaval****.* (TGdT 11:05)

4.4. Speech Acts of Rejecting

1.1.13. Young men communicating among themselves:
Pues, yo paso ***tío****.* (AOCN 15:20)
1.1.14. Young men communicating with young women:
$_0$*Tenemos que hablar.*
•*Ahora no* ***tía****, llevo un subidón.* (MG 11:45)
1.1.15. Young women communicating among themselves:
No examples recorded
1.1.16. Young women communicating with young men:
Oye, ***tío****, que ahora no puedo hablar.* (AG 27:45)
Oye, ***tío*** *de verdad. No. Conmigo no.* (S 4:58)
Oye, ***tío*** *de verdad. No tienes ninguna posibilidad. No quiero ser grosera ni borde pero me apetece ir sola a mi casa.* (S 11:09)

4.5. Speech Acts of Calming Someone Down

1.1.17. Young men communicating among themselves:
Alfonsito, ***macho****, tú deja trabajar a los profesionales, que está testao.* (FC2 8:15)
Chino, no quiero problemas, ¿vale, ***tío****?* (3MSC 1:29:30)
Tranquilo, ***chaval****.* (C 1:01:38)
Macho*,* ***tío****, ya te vale.* (AOCN 1:30:06)
Tranquilo, ***tío****. Hago lo que puedo.* (ElC2 17:20)
Espérate un rato, ***tío****, no seas ansioso, que te la acabaras de meter.* (MG 20:33)
Bala, por favor, ¿qué vas a hacer, ***tío****?* (AG 1:05:45)
o*¿Qué buscas aquí?*
•*Nada,* ***hombre****, tranquilo.* (C 1:04:25)

1.1.18. Young men communicating with young women:
No examples recorded

1.1.19. Young women communicating among themselves:
No examples recorded

1.1.20. Young women communicating with young men:
No examples recorded

4.6. Speech Acts of Giving Encouragement and Support

1.1.21. Young men communicating among themselves:
Vamos a medias, ***macho****.* (AOCN 20:15)
Emilio, ***tronco****, a la chapa.* (FC 49:11)
Tío*, que soy tu amigo, a mí me lo puedes contar. ¿Cómo es?* (7V 9:42)

1.1.22. Young men communicating with young women:
No examples recorded

1.1.23. Young women communicating among themselves:
Vámonos, ***tía,*** *da igual, vámonos.* (ePdmC 4:23)
Pasa, ***tía****, pasa. ¿300 euros 8 horas? Nooo, tú puedes conseguir algo mejor.* (AG 6:20)
Tronca*, vamos para Madrid.* (LaJ 36:00)

1.1.24. Young women communicating with young men:
Dame un abrazo, ***tío****.* (PF 31:46)

4.7. Speech Acts of Giving Somebody Reprimand

1.1.25. Young men communicating among themselves:
Ay, qué borde, ***macho****.* (AOCN 20:34)
Estás perdiendo facultades, ***macho****.* (TGdT 36:10)
¿Qué dices, ***macho****?* (AOCN 53:07)

1.1.26. Young men communicating with young women:
No examples recorded

1.1.27. Young women communicating among themselves:
Jessy, ***tronca****, últimamente tienes un hambre.* (LaJ 11:42)
Pero, ***tronca****...* (AG 27:37)
Venga, ***tronca****, que bajes de las nubes* (AG 4:42)

1.1.28. Young women communicating with young men:
¿Hombreee*, que pegar es una costumbre?* (AG 41:02)

4.8. Speech Acts of Expressing Anger

1.1.29. Young men communicating among themselves:
Ni de coña, ***chaval****. Tú eres un puto chorizo.* (15A1D 40:05)
¡A ver si te enteras que yo no estoy en la cárcel, ***chaval!*** (7V 9:51)
¡Esa era la tía que me robo, ***tío!*** (C 14:48)

1.1.30. Young men communicating with young women:
No examples recorded

1.1.31. Young women communicating among themselves:
*¿Pero de qué va esta boquera****, tía****?* (ePdmC 14:35)
No me des la barra, ***tía****.* (ePdmC 21:27)

1.1.32. Young women communicating with young men:
Yo tampoco te entiendo a ti. ***¡Tío!*** (S 1:03:34)
¡Toma, ***chaval****!* (LaJ 23:50)

4.9. Speech Acts of Issuing Threats and Protesting

1.1.33. Young men communicating among themselves:
*... puta madre, ¡****chaval****!* (ElC 11:00)

1.1.34. Young men communicating with young women:
No examples recorded

1.1.35. Young women communicating among themselves:
No examples recorded

1.1.36. Young women communicating with young men:

¡Cerdo! ¡No te vuelvas a acercar a mí en tu vida, ***chaval****!* (LaJ 1:20:50)

4.10. Speech Acts of Provoking

1.1.37. Young men communicating among themselves:
¿Qué pasa, ***tío****, te vas a rajar ahora?* (ElC2 9:45)

1.1.38. Young men communicating with young women:
No examples recorded

1.1.39. Young women communicating among themselves:
No examples recorded

1.1.40. Young women communicating with young men:
¿Que no me voy? Vas listo, ***chaval****.* (LaJ 19:40)

4.11. Speech Acts of Showing Excitement

1.1.41. Young men communicating among themselves:
La vida hay que vivirla a tope, ***tío****, a tope.* (MG 38:17)
Es mi novia, ***chaval****, mi novia.* (AOCN 18:01)
Voy a ir a por esa tía. ¡Ya lo veras, ***chaval****!* (FC 28:28)
¡Que te han concedido la beca, y a nosotros, ***chaval****!* (FC2 7:24)
*Y aquí hay más nivel que en Oxford, ¡****chaval****!* (FC2 10:04)
Eres famoso, ***tío****.* (15A1D 29:52)
Es la puta polla, ***chaval****.* (7V 25:57)
Esto es una locura, ***tío****.* (LaJ 9:35)

1.1.42. Young men communicating with young women:
Qué guay, ***tía****.* (AG 30:20)

1.1.43. Young women communicating among themselves:
¡Hostia, ***chaval****! ¡Qué fuerte!* (LaJ 40:05)
Qué fuerte, ***chavala****.* (LaJ 42:40)
Esta máquina me adora, ***chaval****.* (TGdT 1:20:37)

1.1.44. Young women communicating with young men:
¡Un beso, ***tronco****!* (AG 27:49)

4.12. Speech Acts of Expressing Disappointment

1.1.45. Young men communicating among themselves:
Aquí no hay nadie, ***tío****.* (FC2 11:34)

Eres tan burro, ***tío****. No ves que tiene valor sentimental.* (15A1D 32:40)
Tronco*, que esto no es la joyería.* (C27:33)
Han ido a por mí, ***macho****.* (FC 5:54)

1.1.46. Young men communicating with young women:
No te entiendo, ***tía****.* (S 1:03:33)

1.1.47. Young women communicating among themselves:
Ay, ***tronca****.* (ePdmC 9:08)
Me pongo súpertriste, ***tía****, súpertriste.* (P 29:14)
Que cabrón es, ***tío****.* (ePdmC 1:04:04)
Estaba en otra fiesta pero, ***tía****, estaba llena de gays.* (3MSC 10:45)
Yo no puedo más, ***tía****, Vane, que no puedo más del curro, mi viejo, de la mierda esta, del puto Jonah.* (LaJ 35:00)
Tronca*, qué pasote.* (AG 1:22:04)

1.1.48. Young women communicating with young men:
Tío*, estoy harta.* (MG 55:36)
Tío*, pero mira cómo estás.* (MG 57:41)
Esto es una mierda. Lo dejo, ***tío****.* (MG9:07)

4.13. Speech Acts of Giving Praise and Showing Respect

1.1.49. Young men communicating among themselves:
Joder, ***chaval****, parece que tienes unos huevos tan grandes como los míos.* (15A1D 33:00)

1.1.50. Young men communicating with young women:
No examples recorded

1.1.51. Young women communicating among themselves:
Hola, Caye, ¡qué guapa estás, ***tía****!* (P 23:48)
Ay, ***tía****, me encanta tu top.* (LaJ 8:45)

1.1.52. Young women communicating with young men:
Hombre*, un poco bestias pero muy simpáticos tus amigos los míticos.* (TGdT 18:56)

4.14. Speech Acts of Issuing Threats/ Warnings

1.1.53. Young men communicating among themselves:
Ándate con ojo, ***chaval****.* (ElC 36:51)

1.1.54. Young men communicating with young women:
No examples recorded

1.1.55. Young women communicating among themselves:
No examples recorded
1.1.56. Young women communicating with young men:
¡Cerdo! ¡No te vuelvas a acercar a mí en tu vida, ***chaval****!* (LaJ 1:20:50)
Cuidado ***chaval****, ya sabes que sé taekwondo.* (TGdT 36:47)

4.15. Speech Acts of Expressing Astonishment and Surprise

1.1.57. Young men communicating among themselves:
¿Qué haces, ***tío****? ¡Suelta!* (C 2:20)
¡Joder, ***tío****!* (FC2 1:22:15)
1.1.58. Young men communicating with young women:
No examples recorded
1.1.59. Young women communicating among themselves:
Anda, ***tía****, pero si es un cuadro.* (MG 44:12)
1.1.60. Young women communicating with young men:
¿Qué coño te pasa, ***tío****?* (S 43:36)
¿Qué dices, ***tronco****? Me pierdo total.* (AG 3:49)

4.16. Speech Acts of Expressing Impatience/Nervousness

1.1.61. Young men communicating among themselves:
No examples recorded
1.1.62. Young men communicating with young women:
No examples recorded
1.1.63. Young women communicating among themselves:
No examples recorded
1.1.64. Young women communicating with young men:
No lo voy a repetir, ***tío****, no, porque tengo razón.* (TGdT 1:04:50)
Tía*, coño, vete al grano.* (AG 4:20)

4.17. Discourse Markers: The Results of the Spanish Corpus Analysis

After the analysis of the corpus had been done, we selected 16 speech acts in which the discourse markers analysed here had been used as intensifiers. It was noticed that the marker *hombre* (5 examples) was no longer used in youth speech and was replaced by the markers *tío* (28 examples)/ *tía* (19 examples), *chaval* (21 examples)/ *chavala* (1), *tronco* (4)/ *tronca* (7) and *macho* (7), which are considered to be typically youth markers according to Sanmartín Saez (2003). Therefore, in the speech of the Spanish youth, the markers *chaval*, *tron-*

co, *tío* and *macho* had to go through the process of grammaticalisation, semantic weakening, the same way the marker *hombre* had undergone the process before in order to receive the discourse marker status (Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lazaro 1999: 4172). These words have lost their appellative function and have undergone semantic weakening in favour of pragmatic enrichment. Thus, they have undergone the process of grammaticalisation, and their semantic weakening is confirmed by the fact that female speakers very often, in communication with other women, use masculine forms instead of feminine ones (*See* examples 1 and 2). This can also explain why there are more examples of masculine form markers being used:

1. *Qué cabrón es,* ***tío.***
When two girls are discussing one of the girl's boyfriend (ePdmC 1:04:04)
2. *¡Hostia,* ***chaval****! ¡Qué fuerte!*
When Huani is talking to her friend Vanessa (LaJ 40:05)

Furthermore, there are no examples of masculine forms being used when male speakers are talking to their female interlocutors.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

According to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, *hombre, tronco, macho, chaval/chavala* and *tío/tía,* used as discourse markers, belong to the areas of sociolinguistic and pragmatic competences. From sociolinguistic point of view, the value of these lexemes is their use concerning integration and identification with a particular social group. They belong to the positive politeness strategies, since they enhance the positive image the speaker wants to display in a speech event, and they also regulate the tone of interaction between interlocutors.

This paper identifies examples of analysed appellatives and appellative vocatives *hombre, tronco, macho, chaval/chavala, tío/tía* when they are semantically weakened and have acquired discourse marker values for contact control, with a phatic function of attracting hearer's attention, starting, maintaining and finishing a speech event, and also examples of their use as intensifiers in expressing different speech acts from the category of expressives. The corpus contains the highest number of examples of speech acts expressing excitement (16 examples), disappointment (13), anger (7), greeting someone, attracting attention, starting a conversation (7). One example is a speech act of explaining, while groups of speech acts expressing impatience/nervousness, speech acts of provoking, and speech acts of threatening and protesting each have two examples in the corpus. This corpus shows that, in communication of the Spanish youth, the marker *tío* is the most frequent, while the marker *chaval* is not too far behind.

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CHAVAL, HOMBRE, MACHO, TRONCO Y *TÍO* COMO MARCADORES DISCURSIVOS EN LA COMUNICACIÓN DE LOS JÓVENES ESPAÑOLES

Resumen

Este trabajo representa un análisis de las funciones pragmáticas de los apelativos *chaval/a, hombre, macho, tronco* and *tío/a* en la comunicación de los jóvenes españoles. Dado que se ha notado el uso frecuente de las formas masculinas en la interacción de las chicas, la hipótesis inicial de este trabajo se basa en el hecho de que los apelativos españoles *chaval/a, hombre, macho, tronco* and *tío/a* van perdiendo su función apelativa tradicional. Analizamos el proceso de debilitación de estos apelativos que pasan por la gramaticalización y pragmatización para convertirse en marcadores discursivos. Una de las funciones pragmáticas que pueden ejercer es llamar la atención del interlocutor (ej. *Eh, tú, chaval*). El análisis del corpus de esta investigación muestra numerosos actos de habla expresivos como sorpresa, admiración, asombro, impaciencia (ej. *Tía, coño, vete al grano*), etc. en los que estos marcadores discursivos se utilizan como intensificadores. Usando el análisis cualitativo hemos extraído los ejemplos de nuestro corpus hecho de las recientes películas españolas cuyos protagonistas son miembros de la juventud.

Palabras clave: chaval/a, hombre, tronco, macho, tío/a, marcador discursivo, gramaticalización, lenguaje de los jóvenes, actos de habla, lenguaje de película.

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THE ACQUISITION OF QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF ENGLISH DIPHTHONGS BY NATIVE SPEAKERS OF SERBIAN

In this paper we provide the results of the experimental study of the acquisition of the production of English diphthongs by native speakers of Serbian, specifically focusing on the temporal (durational) characteristics of diphthongs. The subjects were 15 first year students of English at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad, who were recorded producing English words containing diphthongs within frame sentences. The recordings were acoustically analyzed for durational characteristics, and the measurements were compared with the values of three control English native speakers and the reference values from the literature. The results point to an uneven level of acquisition of most temporal features between different diphthong classes. Further analysis revealed that the uneven levels of acquisition for specific groups of diphthongs are comparable to the overall level of acquisition of the spectral characteristics of diphthongs.

Keywords: diphthongs, phonetics, phonology, English, Serbian

1. INTRODUCTION

A well-established fact in the study of second language acquisition is that learners typically have an 'accent' (e.g. Strange 1995 and articles in that volume), which is partly the consequence of transfer from the phonological system of their native language (L1) into the second language (L2). Among other reasons, this happens due to the mismatch in the inventory sizes of L1 and L2 (where one of the languages may have fewer or more phonemic elements), due to the phonetic differences in otherwise similar phonemes in L1 and L2, phonemic or allophonic status of a sound in L1 or L2, but also due to the differences in the temporal patterns of segments in the two languages. Despite the prolific research into some of the above mentioned factors over the past several decades, some problems of transfer in L2 segmental acquisition have been rarely, if ever, addressed. In particular, the contribution of temporal patterns to 'foreign accent' has

been investigated to a lesser degree, while the interaction between the spectral and temporal features in L2 phonological acquisition has been given even less attention. The temporal properties in question can be inherent to a given segment (phonemic length); they may also be influenced by an adjacent segment (allophonic duration); or they may be related to a larger, prosodic structure.

In the present study, we address the issue of such interaction in the acquisition of English diphthongs by learners whose L1 is Serbian. In the first section of the paper we give the overview of previous studies into some of the factors of L2 phonological acquisition mentioned. This section also provides the rationale for the present study, founded in the results of previous research. The subsequent section describes the experiment design and research methodology, followed by the exposition of the results and ensuing discussion. In the final section we sum up the findings and conclusions, but also point to certain deficiencies of the present study and suggest further lines of research.

2. PRELIMINARIES

2.1. Previous research

It has long been known that one of the factors that exert strong influence on the acquisition of the phonological system in second language learning is the phonological inventory of the learners' native language (L1). Among other factors, the acquisition of L2 is also dependent on the learners' age, time of learning and amount of exposure to L2, and as a result of such complexity, the learners' interlanguage is a changing structure, progressing from more 'accented' speech to more native-like features.

Within the field of second language acquisition, a number of studies have been concerned with the acquisition of L2 segmental features, especially in relation of the models proposed by Flege (1995), Best (1994) and Major (2001). Since our study deals with the acquisition of vowels, we shall sum up some of the main findings related to our work.

Since vocalic inventories of languages may vary significantly, a learner whose L1 has a relatively small number of vocalic contrasts may encounter difficulty learning a language with a rich vocalic inventory. This is usually manifested as poor discrimination between contrasts non-existent in learners' L1 both in perception and production. In other words, the learner may substitute both members of the contrast with a single category of his/her L1. This phenomenon was accounted for by Best's *Perceptual Assimilation Model* (PAM, Best 1994), which predicts that two L2 categories are assimilated into the vocalic space of a single L1 category. If, on the other hand, an L2 vocalic category is comparable,

or sufficiently similar to an L1 category, there is a tendency for substituting that foreign sound with the equivalent sound of L1. By the same token, an L2 vowel which is more "different" from an L1 vowel will be sooner acquired in the learner's interlanguage. These facts are well documented in numerous studies, and are predicted with Flege's *Speech Learning Model* (SLM, Flege 1992).

The differences and similarities mentioned above are mainly concerned with the spectral differences between vowels of L1 and L2 inventories. One acoustic feature which was often neglected in the study of L2 phonological research is the temporal patterns of L2 segments in the perception and production of L2 learners. A study by Bohn and Flege (1997) indicated that native speakers of a language and L2 learners viewed segmental duration differently in the target language. This study showed that German learners of English, especially the inexperienced ones, relied either solely or heavily on the durational cues in the perception and production of the vocalic contrast /e/ vs. /æ/ in L2. The phenomenon was further confirmed in the research conducted by Escudero (2000; 2002) in the acquisition of the vocalic contrast of Scottish English /ɪ/ vs. /i/ by native speakers of Spanish. The author also points to the difference in the reliance on spectral cues (typical of native speakers) and durational cues (typical of L2 learners). Escudero suggests that the acquisition of the spectral and durational cues may be two independent processes, taking place in different developmental stages/patterns. Another study relevant for our research is Smith, Bradlow and Bent (2003), which deals with the acquisition of temporal features in foreign-accented English. The authors point to considerable variability among native speakers regarding many temporal parameters (e.g. Smith 2000, 2002) and hypothesize that L2 learners' temporal properties of speech may contribute to foreign accent. The results of their study show that the difficulty in mastering some temporal features is positively correlated with foreign accent, and that more 'native-like' pronunciation also involves better performance in the temporal properties of segments.

2.2. Research in acquisition of English vowels by Serbian learners

The empirical study of the acquisition of English monophthongs by Serbian learners conducted by Paunović (2002) was concerned with the spectral features and phonemic length contrasts of vowels. The results therein point to the developmental nature of vowel acquisition both in terms of spectral differences and long vs. short vowel contrasts. The study conducted by Marković (2007, 2012) on the acquisition of all English vowels (monophthongs and diphthongs) showed that apart from phonemic length, other temporal features may be responsible for foreign-sounding accents. In particular, the reduction of length in pre-fortis position was acquired at different levels for different vowels by the subjects of

this study. These findings led us to investigate more deeply into the problem of acquisition of spectral and durational features and the interaction between them.

The results of the study of the acquisition of the English vocalic contrast /e/ vs. /æ/ by Serbian learners (Marković 2009) pointed to heavier reliance on the durational cues, especially in the subjects' production of this foreign contrast. The results of the study of the acquisition of English monophthongs by Serbian learners conducted by Jakovljević and Marković (2015) was primarily concerned with the acquisition of allophonic length (pre-fortis shortening/clipping – pre-lenis lengthening) in English. The results indicate that this allophonic feature is unevenly acquired and may be dependent on the level of the acquisition of spectral features.

The study conducted by Marković and Jakovljević (2013) dealt with the problem of acquiring English diphthongs by learners whose L1 is Serbian. Being a language of a relatively simple vocalic inventory, Serbian has no phonemic diphthongs. The results of the study indicated that these complex vowels did not only pose difficulty in terms of spectral features, but also regarding other aspects. The distribution of energy and pitch were unlike native speakers', and so were the temporal features investigated. The relative duration of the respective elements of diphthongs tended to be different from native speakers', while allophonic duration (pre-lenis and pre-fortis realizations) was irregularly acquired depending on the diphthong class. In the study reported by Marković and Jakovljević (2016), the authors examine the acquistion of vowel clipping in English by native speakers of Serbian, investigating the process and scope of vowel clipping in Serbian and analyzing the degree of transfer in the acquisition of vowel clipping in English (L2). The authors point to the relation between vowel clipping and vowel quality in the acquisition process

This led us to conduct the present study, in which we compared the acquisition of diphthongs from the standpoint of spectral properties and temporal patterns. The acquisition of spectral features was investigated on the basis of formant values (F1 and F2) of diphthongal elements. Among the temporal patterns investigated, we looked into the durational ratio of the first and second elements of the diphthongs and the relation of the duration of pre-lenis (long) and pre-fortis (short) allophones.

2.3. Vowel clipping in English and Serbian

The term 'vowel clipping', or 'pre-fortis clipping', stands for the reduction of the vowel duration in front of fortis obstruents without any change of the vowel quality, compared to vowels in open syllables or in pre-lenis and pre-sonorant position. As has been attested in numerous studies, the reduction of vocalic du-

ration is a universal property which happens due to the distinct mechanisms of the articulation of fortis and lenis consonants (Chen 1970). According to Chen, the difference in the duration depends on the speed of the transition from the vowel to the consonant closure (1970: 152). Since the articulation of fortis consonants builds up greater intraoral pressure, the transition from the vowel to the consonant is faster, and the duration of the vowel therefore shorter. On the other hand, lenis consonants do not require such an effort, and the resulting transition is therefore slower, i.e. the duration of the vowel is longer.

In this sense, vowel clipping is a phonetic, rather than phonological distinction. Despite the fact that pre-fortis clipping is a universal tendency of all human languages, the degree to which vowels reduce their duration varies across languages from minimal, imperceptible, to marked differences in duration. Vowel clipping is especially significant in languages in which obstruents exhibit the discrepancy between the concepts of phonological voicing, i.e. the phonological contrast [+/-VOICE], and phonetic voicing, i.e. the presence of the vocal fold activity. Since English phonologically voiced obstruents often undergo complete devoicing word-finally without voicing being fully neutralized, the duration of the preceding vowel represents the most significant acoustic cue for differentiating between the pairs of words contrasting in phonological voicing of the final obstruent (Collins and Mees 2005: 51; Cruttenden 2008: 206; Roach 1998: 33; Yavas 2006: 58). Focusing on the tendencies concerning English vowels, Cruttenden (Cruttenden 2008: 95) states that the degree of clipping increases from short monophthongs to long monophthongs and diphthongs, where it is the most significant. Thus, for example, long vowels in English can be even twice longer in open syllables or in front of lenis obstruents or sonorants than if they are followed by a fortis consonant at the same speaking rate and under the same phonological conditions. Vocalic duration has thus become a major auditory cue facilitating the discrimination between syllable final fortis and lenis consonants/sonorants. It seems that the universal phonetic property has been 'exaggerated' in English so as to become an allophonic feature, rather than a physiologically conditioned articulatory property.

On the other hand, in the languages in which phonologically voiced obstruents exhibit phonetic voicing in word-final position such as French, Spanish or Italian, the process of vowel clipping is treated as insignificant, whereas the terms 'fortis' and 'lenis' seem to be unnecessary and can be replaced with the terms 'voiceless' and 'voiced' respectively (Collins and Mees 2005: 51). This observation also applies to Standard Serbian (and Croatian) whose phonologically voiced obstruents do retain some degree of phonetic voicing word-finally (Petrović and Gudurić 2010: 104-105; Bakran 1996: 84). Although the reduction in vowel duration does take place in front of Serbian voiceless obstruents, this being a universal tendency (Chen 1970; Laeufer 1992), the degree of clipping

is far less significant than in English. In the experiments with words in isolation and within frame sentences, Marković (Marković 2007, 2012) and Jakovljević (Jakovljević 2012, 2014) show that the ratio between the duration of Serbian long monophthongs in front of voiced and voiceless obstruents rarely exceeds 1.2, whereas in the case of short monophthongs it tends to be rather negligible. In the study of segmental duration on a large annotated database of spoken Serbian language, including 33083 vowels, Sovilj-Nikić (Sovilj-Nikić 2007) shows that phonologically long stressed vowels are only 9.55% longer in the pre-lenis than in the pre-fortis occurrence, and phonologically short stressed vowels are 8.39% longer in the pre-lenis occurrence.

3. RESEARCH DESIGN

The research corpus consisted of 31 frame sentences containing two monosyllabic words with a diphthong. The sentences were in the form of question 'Did you say W1 or W2?' (W1 – the first word, W2 – the second word) and the corresponding answer 'I said W2 and W1'. Each of the words had CVC structure, without consonant clusters either in the onset or coda position. One of the words contained a voiceless consonant in the coda, and its pair (preferably minimal pair where one could be found) had a voiced consonant. The words were carefully chosen so as to contain consonants which do not significantly affect the spectral character of the target vowel, therefore retroflex, lateral and nasal consonants, as well as semivowels were deliberately avoided. Wherever possible, the words contained a voiced vs. voiceless pair of the same manner and place of articulation (such as *mace* and *maize*, or *height* and *hide*).

The subjects of the study were 15 female first year students of English, who are sufficiently proficient in English (approximately B2 level according to the Common European Framework), and who had learned English on average for 9 years, most of them at school and at language schools in their home country, without visiting an English speaking country. The students had not had any phonetic training prior to the research. All the subjects participated in the research voluntarily. They were chosen on the basis of their regional background, so that all of them are the speakers of Standard Serbian, with some recognizable features of the spoken variant of the urban dialect of Novi Sad. None of the subjects reported any hearing impairment. Three female native speakers (aged 34, 27 and 31) of British English were recorded reading the same sentences. All of them are speakers of Standard English, one having slightly recognizable regional characteristics of London speech. The other sources for comparison were the data on formant frequencies provided by Cruttenden (2008: 96).

The speakers were first familiarized with the content of the sentences, and during the recording, each of the sentences was presented separately on the computer screen. The subjects were instructed to pronounce the sentences as naturally as possible, and were allowed enough time between two subsequent sentences. The recordings were digitalized at 44.1MH sampling frequency, and were analyzed with the *Praat* software for speech analysis (Boersma and Weenink 2011).

The values measured for the purpose of this study were the total duration of the diphthong; the duration of each element of the diphthong; and F1 and F2 formant frequency values of the first and second element of the diphthong.

4. RESEARCH RESULTS

The results of the research are provided in the following three subsections. In Subsection 4.1, we compare the degree of clipping of English diphthongs in front of fortis obstruents in native and non-native speakers' production (referred to as 'NS' and 'NNS' respectively). The duration ratios between the pre-lenis and pre-fortis realizations are analyzed separately for each group of diphthongs: diphthongs gliding to [ɪ] (referred to as 'class 1'), diphthongs gliding to [ʊ] (referred to as 'class 2'), and diphthongs gliding to [ə] (referred to as 'class 3'). The acquisition of temporal relations between the elements of English diphthongs is discussed in Subsection 3.2. Lastly, in Subsection 3.3, we provide the measurements of formant frequencies for individual English diphthongs in order to examine whether durational and spectral properties tend to be related in the acquisition process.

4.1. The acquisition of pre-fortis clipping of English diphthongs

The results of the research point to a rather significant degree of pre-fortis clipping of English diphthongs in NS' production (Table 1). According to the measurements, the mean ratio between pre-lenis and pre-fortis duration is 1.78, which indicates that the diphthongs followed by lenis obstruents tend to be approximately 78% longer than the diphthongs followed by fortis obstruents. By contrast, the analysis of NNS' production shows a rather low degree of pre-fortis clipping (Table 2). The mean duration ratio between pre-lenis and pre-fortis realizations of English diphthongs in NNS' production is 1.17, which indicates that the diphthongs followed by lenis obstruents tend to be only 17% longer than the corresponding pre-fortis realizations. Therefore, it can be concluded that the Serbian subjects have poorly acquired the degree of clipping characterizing English diphthongs in front of fortis consonants. The only similarity between NS

and NNS' production can be observed in the relation between the degrees of clipping for different classes of diphthongs. The analysis shows that the diphthongs which belong to class 1 tend to be more significantly reduced in length than the diphthongs of classes 2 and 3 in both NS and NNS' production (cf. Table 1 and Table 2).

Table 1: Duration ratio between pre-lenis and pre-fortis realizations for three classes of English diphthongs in NS' production

Class of diphthongs	Ratio
Class 1	1.84
Class 2	1.75
Class 3	1.74
MEAN	1.78

Table 2: Duration ratio between pre-lenis and pre-fortis realizations for three classes of English diphthongs in NNS' production

Class of diphthongs	Ratio
Class 1	1.33
Class 2	1.09
Class 3	1.09
MEAN	1.17

The analysis also shows that the degree of clipping in NS' production tends to be rather uniform with the class where a particular diphthong belongs (Table 3). Thus, in group 2, the duration ratios between pre-lenis and pre-fortis duration are almost identical for the diphthongs /əʊ/ and /ɑʊ/, while in class 3, the ratios of the diphthongs /ɪə/ and /ɛə/ in all the examples measured were identical.[1] Less uniform behavior is observed only in the production of the diphthongs of class 1, in which the degree of clipping increases from /ɔɪ/ and /eɪ/, to /ɑɪ/, where it is the highest.

Table 3: Duration ratio between pre-lenis and pre-fortis realizations for individual English diphthongs in NS' production

Class 1			**Class 2**		**Class 3**	
/eɪ/	**/aɪ/**	**/ɔɪ/**	**/əʊ/**	**/ɑʊ/**	**/ɪə/**	**/ɛə/**
1.81	1.94	1.76	1.76	1.74	1.74	1.74

[1] The diphthong /ʊə/ was omitted from the analysis since it tends to be produced as the monophthong /ɔː/ in both NS and NNS' production.

Interestingly enough, the clipping pattern of the diphthongs which belong to class 1 tends to be rather similar in NNS' production, i.e. the lowest degree of clipping is observed in the articulation of /ɔɪ/ and the highest in the production of /ɑɪ/ (Table 4). However, the clipping of the diphthongs of classes 1 and 2 is not as uniform as in NS' production. The degrees of clipping of the diphthongs /əʊ/ and /ɛə/ as well as the diphthongs /ɑʊ/ and /ɪə/ are almost identical despite the fact that they belong to different classes.

Table 4: Duration ratio between pre-lenis and pre-fortis realizations for individual English diphthongs in NNS' production

Class 1			**Class 2**		**Class 3**	
/eɪ/	**/aɪ/**	**/ɔɪ/**	**/əʊ/**	**/ɑʊ/**	**/ɪə/**	**/ɛə/**
1.30	1.50	1.19	1.12	1.06	1.07	1.11

4.2. The acquisition of temporal relations between the elements of English diphthongs

Another significant temporal feature of English diphthongs is the relationship between the durations of the first and second target vowel. The first target being acoustically more dominant, most of the diphthong length is concentrated on this element, while the second is "only lightly sounded" (Cruttenden, 2008: 119). This relationship remains relatively stable even if the whole diphthong duration is reduced in pre-fortis position.

As was expected, the results of the measurements in our research show that in NS' production the first diphthongal element tends to be longer than the second one (Table 5). Furthermore, it can be observed that the mean duration ratios between the elements are almost identical in pre-fortis and pre-lenis environments. The first element is approximately 27% longer than the second one in pre-fortis contexts and 31% longer in pre-lenis contexts, which indicates that the strength of the following obstruent does not significantly influence the temporal relations between the diphthongal elements. Finally, the results show that the temporal relations between the elements do not depend on the diphthong class either, i.e. the duration ratios are almost identical for all classes of diphthongs in both pre-fortis and pre-lenis contexts.

Table 5: Duration ratio between the 1st and the 2nd element for three classes of English diphthongs in NS' production

Class of diphthongs	Pre-fortis realizations	Pre-lenis realizations
Class 1	1.27	1.28
Class 2	1.28	1.30
Class 3	1.27	1.33
MEAN	1.27	1.31

Longer duration of the first diphthongal element is also observed in the articulation of NNS (Table 6). However, this temporal pattern is rather irregular and varies across the diphthong classes both in pre-fortis and in pre-lenis occurrences. In the pre-fortis environments, the first diphthong element is on average 15% longer than the second. In the pre-lenis contexts, the first element is 42% longer than the second one. Yet, these mean values may not be particularly relevant, since there are conspicuos variations across the classes in the two environments. This is especially the case in the production of the diphthongs of classes 2 and 3. In class 2 the mean duration ratio between the first and the second element is 1.16 in pre-fortis, and 1.7 in pre-lenis environments. In class 3, the duration of both elements is almost identical, thus the ratio between the elements is rather low both in pre-fortis and pre-lenis contexts (cf. Table 5 and Table 6) compared to the NS' production.

Table 6: Duration ratio between the 1st and the 2nd element for three classes of English diphthongs in NNS' production

Class of diphthongs	Pre-fortis realizations	Pre-lenis realizations
Class 1	1.23	1.48
Class 2	1.16	1.70
Class 3	1.07	1.08
MEAN	1.15	1.42

The results of measurements in individual diphthongs reveal that the diphthongs of the same class show rather uniform behavior with respect to the temporal relations between the elements in NS' production (Table 7). By contrast, in NNS' production, the results of the measurements are mainly inconsistent (Table 8). The only diphthong which is produced almost as in NS' production is the diphthong /eɪ/. The production of the diphthongs /aɪ/, /ɔɪ/ and /əʊ/, /ɑʊ/ in particular, is characterized by a rather high duration ratio between the first and second element in pre-lenis contexts. These results clearly point to the fact that

the subjects associate pre-lenis lengthening with the first element alone. Again, the lowest ratio between the two elements in the diphthongs /ɪə/ and /ɛə/ both in pre-fortis and pre-lenis contexts may be taken as another proof of the low overall acquisition level of class 3 diphthongs (cf. Table 7 and Table 8).

Table 7: Duration ratio between the 1st and the 2nd element for individual English diphthongs in NS' production

	Class 1			**Class 2**		**Class 3**	
	/eɪ/	**/aɪ/**	**/ɔɪ/**	**/əʊ/**	**/ɑʊ/**	**/ɪə/**	**/ɛə/**
Pre-fortis realizations	1.26	1.27	1.27	1.24	1.31	1.25	1.29
Pre-lenis realizations	1.27	1.30	1.26	1.28	1.32	1.33	1.29

Table 8: Duration ratio between the 1st and the 2nd element for individual English diphthongs in NNS' production

	Class 1			**Class 2**		**Class 3**	
	/eɪ/	**/aɪ/**	**/ɔɪ/**	**/əʊ/**	**/ɑʊ/**	**/ɪə/**	**/ɛə/**
Pre-fortis realizations	1.30	1.10	1.29	1.08	1.23	1.04	1.10
Pre-lenis realizations	1.29	1.56	1.60	1.66	1.75	1.05	1.11

4.3. The acquisition of the quality of English diphthongs

In order to examine if there is a relation between the acquisition of durational and spectral properties of English diphthongs, we compared the average F1 and F2 values of both diphthongal elements in NS and NNS' production (Table 9). The formant frequencies provided in Table 9 are based on the production of the subjects who participated in the research. In order to gain a deeper insight into the achievement in mastering the quality of English diphthongs, we also considered the values characterizing NS' production, which are provided by Cruttenden (2008: 96).

Based on the formant frequency values, the diphthongs of class 1 are relatively well acquired. On the other hand, the diphthongs of class 2 are generally poorly acquired. Both in / əʊ / and / ɑʊ /, the second element is a back vowel of the [u] quality, which clearly points to the transfer from L1. The first element of / ɑʊ / is produced as a central vowel, again reminiscent of the subjects' L1,

lacking the fronting typical of native speakers' pronunciation. Also, rather poor acquisition is observed in the production of the diphthongs of class 3. The first element of the diphthong / ɪə / tends to be produced similarly to the Serbian vowel /i/ under long accent. This is clearly seen from the average F1 values in NNS' production, which tend to be lower in comparison to NS' production, whereas the average F2 values tend to be higher. This indicates that the first element is articulated as a considerably more peripheral (high and anterior) vowel than in NS' production. In the other diphthong of this class / ɛə /, the first element is rather consistently replaced by the Serbian vowel /e/, which is higher than in English and which results lower F1 in comparison to NS' articulation.

Table 9: Mean F1 and F2 frequencies (Hz) in NS and NNS' production of English diphthongs

		NS' production				**NNS' production**			
		F1'	**F1"**	**F2'**	**F2"**	**F1'**	**F1"**	**F2'**	**F2"**
Class 1	**/eɪ/**	581	327	2241	2666	560	389	2380	2654
	/aɪ/	886	435	1336	2478	902	432	1333	2453
	/ɔɪ/	480	336	931	2445	492	381	913	2363
Class 2	**/əʊ/**	688	351	1459	1562	558	399	1308	1013
	/ɑʊ/	901	658	1750	1024	898	511	1408	977
Class 3	**/ɪə/**	468	603	2412	2107	360	523	2612	1853
	/ɛə/	819	819	2102	2072	543	682	2299	1729

On the whole, the analysis of formant frequencies reveals the difference in the level of attainment among the three classes, but it also points to the subjects' general tendency of articulating the diphthongal targets as corresponding monophthongs. According to Lehiste and Peterson (1961: 276), "neither of the elements comprising the diphthongs is ordinarily phonetically identifiable with any stressed English monophthongs". Still, in the subject' production most diphthongal targets (with the exception of class 1) are to a certain degree replaced by monophthongal vowels, either resembling L2 monophthongs, or being completely transferred from L1. Both from the acoustic and perceptive viewpoint, such sounds lack the "monolythical" nature of English diphthongs, but rather sound like sequences of two monophthongs.[2]

[2] This is further corroborated by intensity measurements, which in most instances of poor acquisition show that the second element is articulated with more energy (intensity), unlike native speakers' articulation.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The results presented in the paper are based on mean values, although, admittedly, there is a lot of variation among the subjects who participated in the research. The analysis therefore points to an uneven and, in some cases, rather poor acquisition level of the durational properties of English diphthongs by Serbian native speakers. The differences between NS and NNS' production are observed in the degree of clipping of English diphthongs in pre-fortis contexts as well as the temporal relations between the diphthongal elements in both pre-fortis and pre-lenis contexts.

Furthermore, the analysis shows that the acquisition of the features in question is not the same for all the classes of English diphthongs. The degree of pre-fortis clipping as well as the duration ratio between the first and the second element are more successfully acquired for the diphthongs of class 1 in comparison to the diphthongs of classes 2 and 3. The overall duration of diphthongs of class 1 is most significantly reduced if they are followed by a fortis obstruent (Chart 1) and the duration ratio between the diphthongal elements is the closest to NS' production in both pre-fortis (Chart 2) and pre-lenis contexts (Chart 3) for this particular diphthong class.

Chart 1: Duration ratio between pre-lenis and pre-fortis realizations of English diphthongs in NNS' production

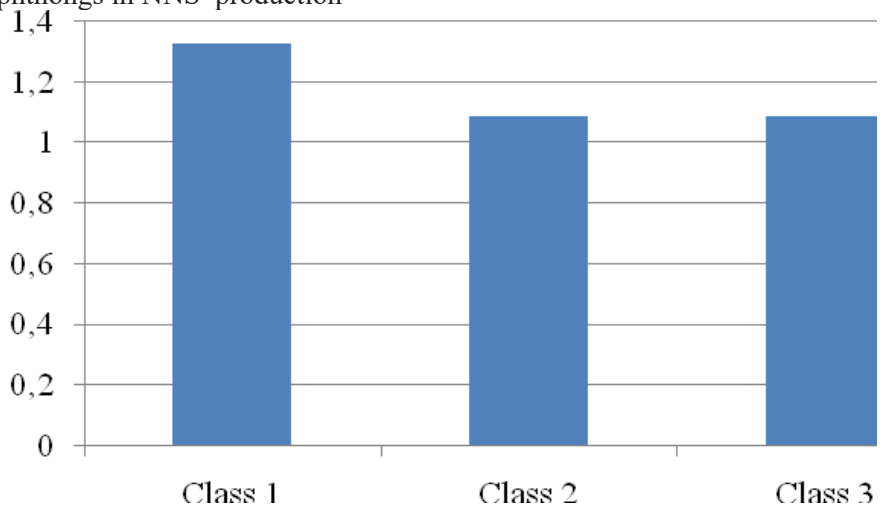


Chart 2: Duration ratio between pre-fortis realizations of the 1st and the 2nd diphthongal element in NS and NNS' production

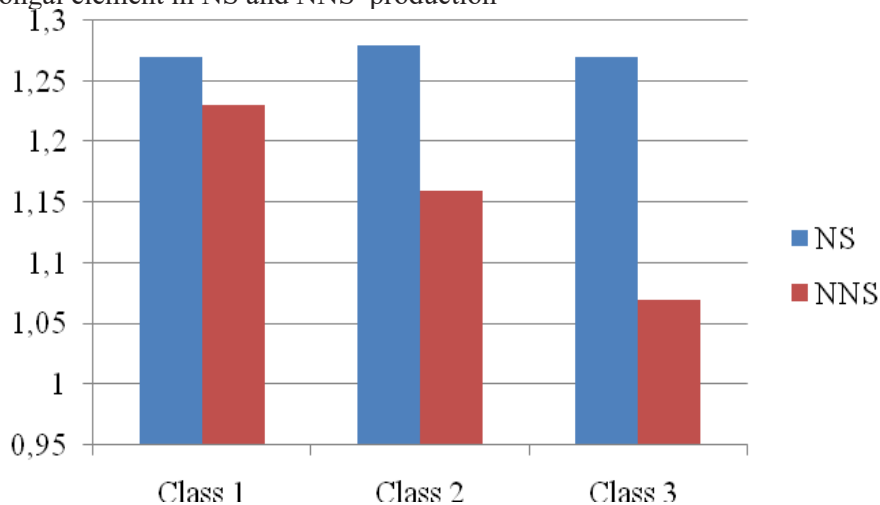
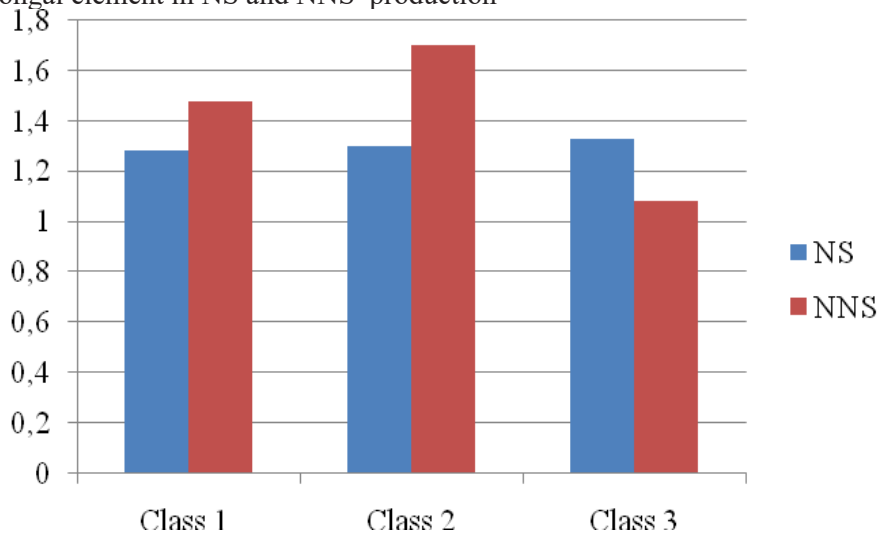


Chart 3: Duration ratio between pre-lenis realizations of the 1st and the 2nd diphthongal element in NS and NNS' production



Remarkably, a rather similar tendency was observed in the acquisition of the spectral properties among the diphthong classes. The quality of the diphthongs of class 1 is more successfully acquired than the quality of the diphthongs of classes 2 and 3. The conclusion that can be drawn from this comparison is that durational properties and quality tend to be related in the process of diphthong acquisition. This is not completely in line with some of our previous findings

related to the acquisition of spectral and durational properties of monophthongs (Jakovljević and Marković 2015; Marković 2009, 2012). This discrepancy may be the result of the difference in the experimental designs and the number of examples considered. We therefore believe that future research should cover more examples and include more detailed statistical analysis, which should reveal the correlation between the attainment level of the spectral and temporal differences more reliably.

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УСВАЈАЊЕ КВАЛИТАТИВНИХ И КВАНТИТАТИВНИХ КАРАКТЕРИСТИКА ЕНГЛЕСКИХ ДИФТОНГА КОД ГОВОРНИКА СРПСКОГ ЈЕЗИКА

Резиме

Рад представља резултате експерименталног истраживања усвајања енглеских дифтонга у продукцији изворних говорника српског језика. Карактеристике којима се рад посебно бави јесу темпорална својства у продукцији испитаника. Испитаници у истраживању били су студенти енглеског језика (15) на Филозофском факултету Универзитета у Новом Саду и три контролна изворна говорника. Испитаници су у студијским условима снимани док су изговарали циљане речи унутар реченица. Снимци су анализирани методом акустичке анализе у програму *Praat*. Мерене су вредности трајања целог дифтонга, појединачних елемената и формантске вредности елемената. У даљој анализи поредили смо степен усвојености трајања првог и другог елемента дифтонга и однос између њих, трајање дифтонга испред звучних и безвучних консонаната и величину скраћења у потоњем случају. Добијене вредности поређене су са снимцима контролних говорника и референтних вредности из литературе. Резултати показују недовољан степен усвојености у дистрибуцији трајања између елемената дифтонга у појединим класама дифтонга, као и недовољно усвојен процес скраћивања испред безвучних консонаната. Степен усвојености поменутих вредности углавном варира између три класе дифтонга, а поређење са усвојеношћу квалитета (формантске вредности) указује на тенденцију подударања између усвојених спектралних и темпоралних карактеристика.

Кључне речи: дифтонзи, фонетика, фонологија, енглески језик, српски језик.

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ГЛАГОЛЬНЫЕ ЛЕКСЕМЫ С ПРИСТАВКОЙ *РАЗ-* В РУССКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ И ИХ ПЕРЕВОДНЫЕ ЭКВИВАЛЕНТЫ В СЕРБСКОМ И АНГЛИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКАХ

Русская деривационная система богата не только большим числом аффиксов, использующихся при образовании новых слов, а также и многочисленными элементами смысла, вкладывающимися в новые лексемы, как в случае приставки *раз-*. В статье анализируются русские глагольные лексемы с приставкой *раз-*, среди которых есть и лексемы с постфиксом *-ся*, а также их переводные эквиваленты в сербском и английском языках. Работа основана на материалах оригинальных и переводных текстов русской, сербской и английской художественных литератур. В отдельной части работы на материале русского языка рассматриваются нестандартные глагольные лексемы, употребляющиеся в интернете, которые указывают на современные тенденции в использовании приставки *раз-*.

Ключевые слова: приставка *раз-*, деривация глаголов, русский язык, сербский язык, английский язык.

1. ВВЕДЕНИЕ

1.1. Цель исследования

Префиксальная и суффиксальная деривации глагольных лексем — живой и активный процесс в русском языке. Разнообразие русской деривационной системы отражается не только в большом числе аффиксов, использующихся при образовании новых слов, но и в многочисленных элементах смысла, вкладывающихся в новые лексемы, как в случае приставки *раз-*.

В статье анализируются глагольные лексемы с приставкой *раз-* в русском языке (среди которых и лексемы с постфиксом *-ся*) и их переводные эквиваленты в сербском (принадлежащем к той же самой славянской группе) и английском (принадлежащем к германской группе) языках. Исследование начинается с перечня различных значений приставки *раз-*, входящих в зна-

чения мотивированных глаголов русского языка, а затем делается попытка уловить, какими языковыми средствами переводчики более или менее удачно перенесли определенные элементы смысла в сербский и английский язык.

1.2. Корпус

Работа основана на материале романа «Мастер и Маргарита» Михаила Афанасьевича Булгакова и переводных эквивалентов в сербском и английском языках, однако часть примеров взята из переводных и оригинальных текстов романов «Гарри Поттер и философский камень» Джоан Кэтлин Роулинг и «На Дрине мост» Иво Андрича. В отдельной части исследования анализируются глаголы, встречающиеся в процессе интернет-общения, так что подкорпус этой части исследования составляют примеры, взятые из интернета.

1.3. Методы исследования

Для *tertium comparationis* взяты значения глаголов, образованных префиксальным способом при помощи приставки *раз-* в русском языке: начинательно-интенсивное (с постфиксом *-ся*), мультипликативное, результативное, центрифугальное, тотально-объектное и аннулятивное значения. В данном исследовании был запланирован и анализ интенсивного значения, но в анализируемых текстах не было примеров, которые соответствовали бы этому значению. В исследовании проводится контрастивный анализ переводных эквивалентов в сербском и английском языках.

2. ОБРАЗОВАНИЕ ГЛАГОЛОВ ПРЕФИКСАЛЬНЫМ СПОСОБОМ ПРИ ПОМОЩИ ПРИСТАВКИ *РАЗ-* В РУССКОМ И СЕРБСКОМ ЯЗЫКАХ

В этом разделе перечисляются и обсуждаются теоретические основы из источников, рассматривающих префиксацию глаголов при помощи приставки *раз-*.

2.1. Префиксация глаголов при помощи приставки *раз-* в русском языке

В «Русской грамматике» (РГ–1980) в разделе, посвященном морфологии и образованию глаголов, глаголы с приставкой *раз-* представлены

пятью типами: (1) глаголы со значением направления в разные стороны, распространения, разъединения с помощью действия, названного мотивирующим глаголом (*разослать*); (2) глаголы со значением аннулирования результата действия, названного мотивирующим глаголом. В РГ–1980 авторами утверждается, что многие глаголы этого типа мотивируются глаголами совершенного вида, образованными с помощью приставки *за-* (*разминировать* мотивируется глаголом *заминировать*); (3) глаголы со значением интенсификации действия основного глагола (*разобидеть, растолстеть*); (4) глаголы со значением восприятия или объяснения чего-нибудь во всех подробностях с помощью действия, названного мотивирующим глаголом (*разглядеть*); (5) глаголы со значением совершения действия, т. е. доведением до результата (*разбудить*) (РГ–1980: 370). Следует отметить, что в отдельном разделе выделены глаголы, образованные с помощью приставки *раз-* и постфикса *-ся*, которые разделены на два подтипа: (1) глаголы со значением направления в разные стороны, разъединения с помощью действия, названного мотивирующим глаголом (*разбежаться*), которые можно отнести к первому подтипу глаголов, образованных только с помощью приставки *раз-* и (2) глаголами со значением начала действия и его интенсификации (*разговориться, размечтаться*), которые можно отнести к шестому подтипу (6) (РГ–1980: 388).

Шелякин (Шелякин 2008: 106–113) считает, что в русском языке нет формальных приставок, имеющих чистовидовое значение, поэтому видовые пары с приставкой *раз-* он дополняет значениями: (1) действия, направленные на дробление, разрушение, уничтожение предмета и его увеличение, и (2) интенсивность воздействующего действия.

2.2. Префиксация глаголов при помощи приставки *раз-* в сербском языке

Следует отметить, что сербские лингвисты также неоднократно старались анализировать приставку *раз-* на материале сербского языка.

Иван Клайн хорошо заметил, что Д. Кликовац в своей работе «*О значењу српског глаглоског префикса раз- (когнитивнолингвистички приступ)*» пришла к выводу, что значение приставки *раз-* может быть связано с ‘прототипическим’ значением (Klajn 2002: 247–248), которое автором (Кликовац 1998: 174–175) объясняется как центрифугальное движение, движение от центра к периферии. Разнообразие типов энтитетов (сущностей), которые перемещаются, разделяются или распространяются действием, названным в основе мотивирующего слова, разветвляется семантическим описанием этой приставки в статье Д. Кликовац, а развитая метафорическая природа

этой приставки также способствовала расширению семантического описания. Клайн сужает эту разветвленную схему к шести значениям данной приставки: (1) разделение, разрушение объекта или разъединение множества (серб. *раздати*), перемещение в разных направлениях (серб. *разаслати*); (2) увеличение объема или площади объекта, как следствие движения в двух или трех измерениях (серб. *развити, размотати*); (3) изменения твердости или агрегатного состояния (серб. *растопити*); (4) отмена результата действий, ведущих к конструкции, связыванию или к большей компактности (серб. *разградити*); (5) ингресивное и фактитивное значения (серб. *развеселити*); (6) перфективация, хотя Клайн указывает, что нет конкретных примеров глагола, в котором данная приставка была бы исключительно признаком перфективации (серб. *расхладити*).

Л. Попович в книге «*Језичка слика стварности. Когнитивни аспект контрастивне анализе*» (Поповић 2008: 236–242) выделяет шесть значений этой приставки в сербском языке: начинательно-интенсивное (серб. *разљутити се*), мультипликативное (серб. *распитивати се*), результативное (серб. *разбити*), дистрибутивное (серб. *распродати*), тотально-объектное (серб. *размотрити*) и аннулятивное (серб. *распаковати*) значения.

Б. Тошович в монографии «Способы глагольного действия в сербском, хорватском и бошняцком языках» (2009а: 173-175) выделяет следующие способы действия глаголов, образованных при помощи приставки *раз-*: эволютивный (серб. *разбрбљати се*), интенсивный (серб. *развеселити се*), чрезмерно-интенсивный (серб. *разлијенити се*), аугментативный (серб. *распјевати се*) и дистрибутивный (серб. *распоклањати*). В книге «Трансакционал русского и сербского / хорватского / бошняцкого языков» Б. Тошович (2009б) анализирует аффиксы (среди которых и приставку *раз-*), использованные для выражения различных способов действия глаголов в русском языке и их эквивалентов в бошняцком, хорватском и сербском языках.

«*Речник српскога језика*» («Словарь сербского языка» = ССЯ) (2011) предлагает следующие значения этой приставки:

„*раз- (понекад раза- испред групе сугласника; испред безвучних сугласника рас-; испред предњонепчаних сугласника ђ, џ, ћ и ч – раж-, раш-) префикс у сложеним глаголима (и њиховим изведеницама) којима се означава: 1. а. дељење, одвајање, међусобно удаљавање јединки, делова неког скупа, односно целине; ломљење, распадање, расипање нечега: разагнати, разаслати, разбацати, раздвојити, разделити, развести се, разложити, разломити, разбити, растерати, растурити, расути, разашиљати, раздеоба итд. б. радња супротна радњи означеној основним глаголом: размрсити, разоружати, разочарати и сл. 2. а. ширење нечега, повећавање обима, опсега, размера нечега: разрасти се, раширити се, разлити се, распро-*

стр(е)ти се, размахати се и сл. б. достизање високог степена интензитета неког процеса, стања: разбуктати се, разгорети се, распалити се, ражестити се, распричати се, ражцилитати се и сл. 3. настанак неког стања: разболети се, разнежити се, раздражити се, разљутити се, разбеснети се. 4. а. лишење нечега, одузимање одређеног својства, права, чина и сл.: распопити, разбаштинити, рашчинити, расцарити и сл. б. ублажавање интензитета нечега; прекидање или завршешак неког стања; уношење промене у неку средину, односно настанак неке промене: разводнити, разблажити; разбудити, разведрити се, разданити се, разбистрити се." (ССЯ: 1086)

3. АНАЛИЗ ПРИМЕРОВ ГЛАГОЛЬНЫХ ЛЕКСЕМ С ПРИСТАВКОЙ *РАЗ-* В РУССКОМ И ЕГО ПЕРЕВОДНЫХ ЭКВИВАЛЕНТОВ В СЕРБСКОМ И АНГЛИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКАХ

При анализе русского материала и его переводных эквивалентов было замечено, что переводные эквиваленты не соответствуют в полной мере значениям русских глаголов. В этом разделе будет показана только часть проанализированного корпуса.

3.1. Начинательно-интенсивное значение

Начинательно-интенсивное значение встречается у глагольных лексем с приставкой *раз-* и постфиксом *-ся*, которые обозначают начало действия и его усиление.

Рассмотрим следующие примеры:

1) а) – Левий Матвей, – охотно объяснил арестант, – он был сборщиком податей, и я с ним встретился впервые на дороге в Виффагии, там, где углом выходит фиговый сад, и **разговорился** с ним.

б) *Леви Матеј – брзо је објаснио ухапшеник – он је био скупљач пореза и први пут сам га срео на цести у Бетфагеји, тамо гдје на углу завршава смоквињак, и* ***разговарао*** *с њим.*

в) '*Matthew the Levite*,' *said the prisoner eagerly.* '*He was a tax-collector. I first met him on the road to Bethlehem at the corner where the road skirts a fig orchard and I* ***started talking*** *to him.*

2) а) А вы загляните к нему внутрь – что он там думает… вы ахнете! – и Иван Николаевич зловеще **рассмеялся**.

б) *Погледајте у његову нутрину, што он тамо мисли... ви ћете јаукнути! – и Иван Николајевич* ***се*** *злокобно* ***насмијао****.*

в) *If you could look inside him and see what he's thinking you'd be sickened*! '*And Ivan Nikolayich* ***gave a hoot of*** *malicious* ***laughter****.*

3) а) Он даже **рассмеялся** во сне от счастья, до того всё сложилось прекрасно и неповторимо на прозрачной голубой дороге.

б) *Он* ***се*** *чак у сну* ***насмијао*** *од среће, тако је све било лијепо и непоновљиво на прозирном плавом путу.*

в) *In his sleep he even* ***laughed*** *from happiness at the unique beauty of that transparent blue pathway.*

4) а) Фонтан совсем ожил и **распелся** во всю мочь, голуби выбрались на песок, гулькали, перепрыгивали через сломанные сучья, клевали что-то в мокром песке.

б*) Водоскок је сасвим оживио и* ***распјевао се*** *из све снаге, голубови су се спустили на пијесак, гукали, скакали преко сломљених гранчица, кљуцали у мокром пијеску.*

в) *The fountain* ***was*** *now* ***playing again at full strength****, pigeons had landed on the terrace, cooing and hopping between the broken twigs and pecking at the sand.*

5) а) – Впрочем, мы **размечтались**, – воскликнул хозяин, – к делу.

б) *– Уосталом, ми* ***сањаримо*** *– ускликнуо је домаћин. – На посао!*

в) '*But we'****re daydreaming****,*' *exclaimed the host.* '*To business*!'

Начинательно-интенсивное значение в сербском языке морфологически может быть выражено глаголами с приставкой *раз-* и возвратной частицей *се.* Однако не все глагольные основы сочетаются с этим значением.

В примере (1) перевод на сербский язык не выражает начинательно-интенсивное значение, потому что у лексемы *разговарати* нет начинательного значения и значения усиления действия, что подтверждается и в ССЯ:

'*разговарати*, *-оварам несвр. 1. а. обраћати се речима један другоме*, *говорити с неким*, *причати*; *расправљати о нечем*: *~ пријатељски*; *~ о филму*.' (ССЯ: 1088)

Сербский глагол *распричати се* может выступать соответствующим эквивалентом русского глагола *разговориться*.

'*распричати*, *распричам свр. разнети причањем*, *разгласити. – Жене су о њему све распричале по селу. ~ се* ***ударити у причање***' (ССЯ: 1114)

Тот же самый переводный эквивалент предлагается и в словаре «*Руско-српски речник*» («Русско-сербский словарь» = РСС) (2008) под редакцией Боголюба Станковича.

‘*разговориться*, *-юсь*, *-ишься*, *-ятся сврш. разг. 1. ступити у разговор 2.* ***распричати се***’ (РСС: 708)

В английском переводе встречается катенативная конструкция с фазовым глаголом *started talking*, которой присуще только значение начала действия, однако значение усиления действия не выражено.

В примерах (2) и (3) у русского глагола *рассмеяться* начинательно-интенсивное значение. Потверждение этому можно найти и в «Словаре русского языка» (СРЯ) (2008):

‘*рассмеяться*, *-еюсь*, *её́шься*; *сов.* ***начать сильно смеяться***, *ответить смехом. Р. в ответ на легкомысленный вопрос*’ (СРЯ: 653).

В РГ–1980 среди глаголов с начинательно-интенсивным значением приводятся только глаголы, образованные префиксально-постфиксальным способом, но не выделяются глаголы, образованные путём префиксации при помощи приставки *раз-*, т. е. не выделяются глаголы, мотивированные возвратными глаголами (напр. *рассмеяться*).

В сербском переводе (3б) русский глагол *рассмеяться* переводится лексемой *насмијати се*.

‘*насмејати јек. насмијати*, *-јем свр. шаљивим*, *смешним речима*, *поступцима и сл. учинити да се неко почне смејати*, *навести некога на смех*, *засмејати .• ~ се 1. а.* ***ударити у смех***, *огласити се смехом. б. одразити смех*, *показати веселост* (*о очима*). *2. издовољити се смејући се*, *исмејати се*: *сит се -. 3.* (*некоме*) *подсмехнути се.*’ (ССЯ: 779)

Приставка *на-* при добавлении к сербским глаголам образует глаголы, выражающие большую или обильную степень совершения действия, выраженного мотивирующим словом, единичное совершение действия, совершение одного элемента действия, выраженного мотивирующим словом, частичный охват объекта действием, совершение действия не в полной мере, более низкую меру действия, более слабую меру или интенсивность действия мотивирующего глагола (ССЯ: 734). В этом примере приставка *на-* может иметь два противоположных значения ‘*большая или обильная мера совершения действия*’ и ‘*частичный охват объекта действием, совершение действия мотивирующего глагола не в полной мере*’. Именно из-за этих противоположных значений перевод *насмијати се* можно толковать двояко. Клайн считает, что значение более сильного насыщения только встречается у глаголов, которые с добавлением приставки становятся возвратными, как в случае глагола *наспавати се.* Поэтому автор считает, что приставка *на-* у глагола *насмејати се* служит для перфективации (Клајн 2002: 258). В переводном словаре эквивалентом глагола *рассмеяться* является глагол з*асмејати се* (РСС: 730). Клайн (2002: 253) глагол *засмејати се* выделяет в группу глаголов с приставкой *за-*, вносящей ингресивное значе-

ние, т. е. значение начала действия. Интенсивность совершенного действия в этом случае может выразиться при помощи наречия.

В английском переводе (2в) встречается конструкция *to give a hoot of laughter*. Конструкции типа '*глагол + объект'* замечены Новаковым (Novakov 2005: 90) при переводе сербских глаголов с приставкой *за-*, обозначающих начало действия. Интенсивность действия в английском переводе выражается семантикой конструкции *a hoot of laughter.* Этот перевод можно считать правильным, поскольку в переведенном тексте переданы значения начала и интенсивности действия, однако в примере (3в) перевод не передает начинательно-интенсивное значение действия.

В примере (4) на русском и сербском языках встречаются идентичные средства выражения начинательно-интенсивного значения, т. е. глаголы с приставкой *раз-* (в русском с постфиксом *-ся*, в сербском с возвратной частицей *се*). В английском переводе данная глагольная ситуация переводится словосочетанием *was playing again at the full strenght*, которая удачно передает значения начала и интенсивности действия.

В примере (5) русский глагол — глагол совершенного вида в форме прошедшего времени. Глагол *размечтались* обозначает действие, начинающееся и усиливающееся. В сербском переводе предлагается глагол несовершенного вида в форме настоящего времени *сањаримо*, а в английском переводе встречаем настоящее длительное время *are daydreaming*. В переводных примерах у глаголов нет начинательного и интенсивного значений. Правильным переводным эквивалентом в сербском языке, который передал бы начинательно-интенсивное значение, является глагол *занети се*.

Обратим внимание и на следующие примеры:

6) а) Тогда **раздался** сорванный, хрипловатый голос прокуратора, по-латыни сказавшего.

б) *Тада* ***се зачуо*** *раздрти, промукли прокуратов глас који је рекао латински.*

в) *Then the hoarse*, *broken voice of the Procurator* ***barked out*** *in Latin*.

У глагола *раздаться* есть компонент начинательно-интенсивного значения. В сербском переводе используется моментальный перфективный глагол *зачути се*, имеющий ингресивное значение. В английском переводе встречается фразовый глагол *bark out* с наречной частицей *out*, вносящей в значение фразового глагола элемент интенсивности действия. Частица *out* может указывать и на теличность и переход от аспектуального класса '*действия*' к аспектуальному классу '*достижения*' (Brinton 1985).

7) а) – На свете не было, нет и не будет никогда более великой и прекрасной для людей власти, чем власть императора Тиверия! – сорванный и больной голос Пилата **разросся**.

б) – *На свијету није било, нема и никада неће бити веће и љепше власти за људе него што је власт императора Тиберија! – Пилатов препукли и болни глас* ***је бујао***.

в) ‘*There never has been, nor yet shall be a greater and more perfect government in this world than the rule of the emperor Tiberius*!’ *Pilate’s voice* ***rang out*** *harshly and painfully.*

Глагол *разрастись* в примере (7), помимо прототипического пространственного центрифугального значения, также имеет начинательно-интенсивное значение. Этот пример соответствует мнению Д. Кликовац (Кликовац 2004: 175), что подходящая метафора читается как ‘*интенсивность – это размер*’, т. е. что абстрактное значение начала интенсивного действия связано с пространственным смыслом увеличения объема. Следует обратить внимание на то, что в русском языке используется глагол совершенного вида и что тип аспектуального класса в данном примере ‘*достижение*’, в то время как в сербском переводе используется глагол *бујати*, выражающий на лексическом уровне пространственное значение и значение возрастающей интенсивности. В английском переводе используется фразовый глагол *ring out* с частицей *out*, имеющей значение интенсивности (*громко звучать*), однако в большинстве фразовых глаголов она обозначает теличность, т. е. указывает на достижение внутренней цели (Brinton 1988: 168). Частица *out* повлияла на смену типа аспектуального класса основных глаголов *ring* и *bark* от класса ‘*действия*’ к классу ‘*достижения*’. Использование частицы *out* в этом случае можно объяснить концептуальным представлением о том, что человек является контейнером через концептуальную метафору ‘*слова — это объекты, выходящие из горла*’, а специфическое значение фразового глагола *to ring out* является результатом концептуальной метонимии ‘*звук, вызванный событием, вместо события, которое его вызвало*’ (Milošević 2016: 163). В примере (7) английский переводный эквивалент больше соответствует исходному примеру по типу аспектуального класса, чем сербский перевод.

3.2. Мультипликативное значение

Мультипликативное значение глаголов с приставкой *раз-* в вышеупомянутых исследованиях русистов не упоминается, однако Людмила Попович анализирует это значение в исследованиях, посвященных глаголам сербского языка (2008: 236–242).

Рассмотрим следующий пример:

8) а) А между тем меня силою задержали здесь, тычут в глаза лампой, в ванне купают, про дядю Федю чего-то **расспрашивают**!

б) *Међутим, мене су овђе силом задржали, свијетле ми лампом у очи, купају у кади,* ***распитују се*** *о стрицу Фећи!*

в) *And meanwhile I'm being kept here by force while they flash lamps at me, bath me and* ***ask*** *me idiotic* ***questions*** *about uncle Fyodor!*

В СРЯ глагол *расспрашивать* встречается только как глагол совершенного вида и у него следующее значение:

'*расспросить*, *-ошу*, *-осишь*; *-ошенный*; *сов. задать кому-н.* ***вопросы*** *с целью узнать*, *выяснить что-н.*' (СРЯ: 730)

В переводном словаре предлагаются эквиваленты *распитати се*, *запитати се*. (РСС: 730)

'*распитати*, *распитам свр. 1. (некога) поставити некоме* ***више питања****, дознати питајући. – Распита дечка о другим стварима. 2. в. распитати се. – Распитај за наше*, *како живе. _ - се питајући сазнати*, *обавестити се. – Распитао се да дозна праву истину.*' (ССЯ: 1112)

Очень важно отметить, что и у русского и у сербского глаголов мультипликативное значение. На мультипликативность в словарных определениях указывают существительные во множественном числе, в русском определении имя существительное *вопросы*, в сербском определении существительное *питања*. Русский и сербский глаголы имеют признак внутренней множественности действия, т. е. подразумевают повторение несколько одинаковых микродействий. Мультипликативность глагола *расспрашивать* в английском переводе выражена с помощью имени существительного *question* во множественном числе (*questions*).

3.3. Результативное значение

Результативное значение глаголов с приставкой *раз-* может быть связано со значением перфективации, если видовая пара образуется путем перфективации глагола несовершенного вида при помощи приставки *раз-*. У префигированных глаголов в этом случае не будет никаких дополнительных значений, кроме значения достижения цели, хотя Шелякин (Шелякин 2008) считает, что не существует формальных чистовидовых аффиксов.

Рассмотрим следующий пример:

9) а) Степан Богданович так крепко спит, что **разбудить** его она не берётся.

б) *Стјепан Богданович тако дубоко спава, да га она неће моћи* ***пробудити***.

в) *Stepan Bogdanovich had been sleeping so soundly that she had been unable* ***to wake*** *him.*

В примере (9) у русского глагола *разбудить* имеется чисто результативное значение и этот глагол представляет собой видовую пару глагола *будить*, что отмечается и в СРЯ (630). Такое подтверждение имеется и в переводе на сербский язык (*пробудити* / *будити*).

Интересно, что и в сербском языке крайне мало примеров видовых пар, образованных путем перфективации при помощи приставки *раз-* (*хладити* / *расхладити*). Английский перевод соответствует исходному тексту и с точки зрения семантики, и в видо-временном плане.

3.4. Центрифугальное значение

Для значения указания в разные стороны и разделения сущностей энтитетов, а также и для значения расширения сущности (энтитета) характерно общее прототипическое центрифугальное движение, т. е. движение или распространение от центра к периферии, поэтому мы назвали это значение центрифугальным, несмотря на то, что с помощью этого прототипа движения можно описать и другие значения глаголов с приставкой *раз-*. Значения, проанализированные в этом разделе, соответствуют первому и второму значениям (со всеми их подзначениями), представленным в статье Д. Кликовац (2004: 171–188).

Начнем анализ со следующего примера:

10) а) Во все города были **разосланы** телеграммы с запросами о Лиходееве, и из Ялты был получен ответ, что Лиходеев был в Ялте, но вылетел на аэроплане в Москву.

б) *У све градове* ***разаслани су*** *телеграми с питањем о Лиходејеву, и из Јалте је стигао одговор да се Лиходејев налазио у Јалти, али је одлетио авионом у Москву.*

в) ***Telegrams*** *asking for information on Likhodeyev* ***had been sent*** *to every town and a reply came from Yalta that Likhodeyev was there but about to leave for Moscow by aeroplane.*

В этом примере сгруппированные объекты движутся центрифугальным способом. Языковые средства и в русском, и в сербском языках совпадают. И в русском, и в сербском языке для выражения центрифугального значения используются глаголы с приставкой *раз-*. В английском языке

центрифугальное значение выражается на семантическом уровне словосочетания *had been sent to every town*.

Рассмотрим следующий пример. В нем описывается сущность, которая разбивается на несколько частей:

11) а) Его воля как будто **раскололась**, и он почувствовал, что слаб, что нуждается в совете.

б) *Његова воља као да* ***се расцијепила*** *и он је осјетио да је слаб и да му је потребан савјет.*

в) *His will-power seemed* ***to crumple****. He felt himself weak and in need of advice.*

В примере (11), как и в предыдущем, для русского и сербского глаголов характерно выражение центрифугального значения при помощи приставки *раз-*, тогда как в английском языке это значение выражено на лексическом уровне.

Рассмотрим следующий пример, описывающий центрифугальное распространение звука:

12) а) Высокий тенор Берлиоза **разносился** в пустынной аллее.

б) *Високи Берлиозов тенор* ***разлијегао се*** *пустом алејом.*

в) *Berlioz's high tenor* ***resounded*** *along the empty avenue.*

Для глагола *разноситься* в примере (12) характерно типичное пространственное центрифугальное значение. Сербский перевод передает центрифугальное значение при помощи глагола с приставкой *раз-* и возвратной частицей *се*, так как в английском переводе употребляется глагол *resound*, обозначающий наполнение пространства звуком, а предлог *along* указывает на центрифугальное распространение звука.

13) а) площадь, с которой перед прокуратором **развернулся** весь ненавистный ему Ершалаим с висячими мостами...

б) *терасу с које* ***се*** *пред прокуратором* ***простирао*** *цијели, њему толико мрзак, Јершалајим, с његовим висећим мостовима...*

в) *the terrace from which the whole of Pilate's detested city of Jerusalem* ***lay spread out*** *before the Procurator with its suspension bridges...*

В примере (13) сербский глагол *распростирати се* в большей мере соответствовал бы центрифугальному значению из исходного (русского) текста, т. е. значению распространения из одной точки в разные стороны. В английском языке значение распространения и дистрибуции удачно передается при помощи наречной частицы *out* (Глођовић 2014: 132). В русском тексте используется глагол совершенного вида, так как в сербском — глагол несовершенного вида (с признаком '*теличность* –').

3.5. Тотально-объектное значение

Для глаголов тотально-объектного значения характерно интенсивное совершение действия, названного мотивирующим глаголом, с помощью которого можно воспринять или объяснить что-нибудь во всех подробностях.

Рассмотрим следующие примеры:

14) а) Пока иностранец совал их редактору, поэт успел **разглядеть** на карточке напечатанное иностранными буквами слово “профессор” и начальную букву фамилии – двойное “В”.

б) *Док их је странац пружао уреднику, пјеснику је успјело* ***разабрати*** *на посјетници ријеч »професор«, тискану латиницом, и прво слово презимена – двоструко »V« – »W«.*

в) *Whilst the stranger was offering them to the editor*, *the poet managed* ***to catch sight of*** *the visiting card. On it in foreign lettering was the word* ‘*Professor*’ *and the initial letter of a surname which began with a* ‘*W*’.

В примере (14) в переводе на сербский язык употребляется глагол *разабрати*, лексическое значение которого соответствует русскому глаголу *разглядеть*. В СРЯ глагол *разглядеть* определяется как ‘*всматриваясь*, *распознать*, *осмотреть*’ (СРЯ: 653). В переводе на английский язык встречается фраза *to catch sight of* со значением ‘*смочь что-нибудь увидеть или заметить, быстро увидеть*’ (COD: 1348). В русском языке глагол *разглядеть* указывает на совершение действия длительным и тщательным просмотром, в то время как в английском переводе возможно толкование очень быстрого совершения действия. По типу аспектуального класса русский и сербский глаголы принадлежат к классу ‘*свершения*’, английский — к классу ‘*достижения*’.

15) а) Только сейчас он был уже не воздушный, а обыкновенный, плотский, и в начинающихся сумерках Берлиоз отчётливо **разглядел**, что усишки у него, как куриные перья, глазки маленькие, иронические и полупьяные, а брючки клетчатые, подтянутые настолько, что видны грязные белые носки.

б) *Али сада више није био прозиран, него обичан и тјелесни, и у сутону који се спуштао Берлиоз* ***је*** *јасно* ***видио*** *његове брчиће попут кокошјег перја, очице, ироничне и полупијане, коцкасте хлаче, толико подвинуте да су се виђеле прљаве бијеле чарапе.*

в) *This time*, *however*, *he was not made of air but of flesh and blood. In the early twilight Berlioz could clearly* ***distinguish*** *his feathery little moustache*, *his little eyes*, *mocking and half drunk*, *his check trousers pulled up so tight that his dirty white socks were showing.*

В примере (15) в сербском переводе встречаются глагол совершенного вида *видети* и наречие *јасно*, которые совместно передают значение сочетания *отчётливо разглядел.* В английском переводе употребляются наречие *clearly* и глагол *distinguish*, которые передают тотально-объекное значение.

Глагол *разобрать* в зависимости от контекста переводится по-разному:

16) а) Тут в государственной библиотеке обнаружены подлинные рукописи чернокнижника Герберта Аврилакского, десятого века, так вот требуется, чтобы я их **разобрал**.

б) *У државној библиотеци пронађени су изворни рукописи црнорисца Херберта Аурилакијског, из десетог стољећа. Од мене се тражи да их* ***прочитам****.*

в) *Apparently your National Library has unearthed some original manuscripts of the ninth-century necromancer Herbert Aurilachs. I have been asked* ***to decipher*** *them.*

17) а) ...игемон **разобрал** дело бродячего философа Иешуа по кличке Га-Ноцри, и состава преступления в нём не нашёл.

б) *...хегемон* ***је размотрио*** *предмет лутајућег филозофа Јешуе, названог Ха-Ноцри, и чињенице о почињеном злочину у њему није пронашао.*

в) *...the hegemon* ***had examined*** *the case of the vagrant philosopher Yeshua*, *surnamed Ha-Notsri*, *and could not substantiate* the criminal charge made against him.

В примере (16) глагол употребляется в значении '*суметь прочесть что-либо неразборчиво или сложно написанное*'. В сербском переводе более удачным было бы употребление глагола *растумачити*. В английском переводе встречается глагол *decipher*, лексическое значение которого удачно передает значение русского глагола.

В примере (17) русский глагол употребляется в значении '*исследуя*, *выяснить*, *определить*, *дать оценку чему-нибудь*', что подтверждается сербским и английским переводами.

Обратим внимание на следующие примеры:

18) а) Его быстро **разъяснят**!

б) *Њега* ***ће*** *тамо брзо* ***раскринкати****!*

в) *...they'll come and* ***sort*** *it all* ***out*** *in no time.*

19) а) *Goodness*, *didn't you know*, ***I'd have found out*** *everything I could if it was me,'' said Hermione.*

б) – Господи, неужели ты не знаешь, я **бы** давным-давно все **разузнала**, будь я на твоем месте, – сказала Гермиона.

В двух предыдущих примерах (пример (19) взят из романа Джоан Кэтлин Роулинг «Гарри Поттер и философский камень») частица *out* влияет на семантический сдвиг основного глагола и обозначает нахождение информации. В примере (18в) частица *out* влияет на смену типа аспектуального класса от аспектуального класса '*действия*' к аспектуальному классу '*свершения*'. В примере (19а) частица *out* не влияет на тип аспектуального класса, т. е. и фразовый, и основной глаголы принадлежат к аспектуальному классу глаголов '*достижения*'. Тотально-объектное значение встречается и у русских переводных эквивалентов: *разузнать* и *разъяснить.* В примере (18) в переводе на сербский язык встречается глагол *раскринкати*, образованный при помощи приставки *раз-*, имеющей аннулятивное значение, и слова *кринка* (рус. маска). Глагол **кринкати* не существует в сербском языке, так что мы не можем говорить о глаголе, выражающем аннулятивное значение. Все-таки это значение примыкает к аннулятивному значению, поскольку глагол *раскринкати* обозначает лишение определенного свойства из мотивирующего слова (маски).

3.6. Аннулятивное значение

В этом разделе будут проанализированы глаголы со значением аннулирования результата действия, лежащего в основе глагола.

Рассмотрим следующие примеры:

20) а) **Развяжите** ему руки.
б) ***Одвежите*** *му руке.*
в) ***Untie*** *his hands.*

21) а) Я извиняюсь, здесь **разоблачать** нечего, всё ясно.
б) *Опростите, ту се нема што* ***раскринкати****, све је јасно.*
в) *I'm sorry, but there's nothing* ***to reveal****.*

22) а) Ты **разлюбил** меня?
б) *Више ме* ***не волиш****?*
в) ***Don't*** *you* ***love*** *me anymore?*

23) а) Он постарался выяснить хотя бы последнее и для этого **разлепил** слипшиеся веки левого глаза.
б) *Покушао је дознати макар ово посљедње и ради тога* ***је одлијепио*** *слијепљене капке лијевог ока.*
в) *In an effort to find out, he* ***unstuck*** *his gummed-up left eyelid.*

24) а) У Дарсли было всё, чего ни пожелаешь, но кроме того, у них был секрет, и больше всего на свете они боялись, как бы кто-нибудь его не **раскрыл**.

б) *Дарслијеви су имали све што им треба али су имали и једну тајну и више од свега плашили су се да* ***ће*** *је неко кад тад* ***открити****.*

в) *The Dursleys had everything they wanted, but they also had a secret, and their greatest fear was that somebody would* ***discover*** *it.*

25) а) Из окон верхних этажей было видно, как Хагрид возился на участке и **размораживал** мётлы на поле для Квиддича...

б) *Са горњих прозора се могло видети како Хагрид* ***одмрзава*** *метле на квидичком вису...*

в) *Hagrid could be seen from the upstairs windows* ***defrosting*** *broomsticks on the Quidditch field…*

26) а) В одно из таких мгновений ему пришла в голову мысль, что он бы мог избавиться от страшной муки, навсегда **разделавшись** с паромом на далекой Дрине...

б) *У једном од таквих тренутака, он је дошао на мисао да би се ослободио те нелагодности кад* ***би збрисао*** *ону скелу на далекој Дрини...*

в) *In one of those moments he thought that he might be able to free himself from this discomfort if he* ***could do away with*** *that ferry on the distant Drina...*

Русские глаголы совершенного вида, имеющие значение аннулирования действия, образуются путем префиксации уже существующих глаголов несовершенного вида: *вязать – развязать*, *облачать – разоблачать, крыть – раскрыть, делаться – разделаться*, *любить – разлюбить*, *лепить – разлепить*. Глагол *размораживать* образуется путем вторичной имперфективации: *разморозить – размораживать* (глагол **мораживать* не существует в русском языке). Пара имперфективных глаголов *замораживать* и *размораживать* находятся в отношениях антонимии. Нельзя сказать, что некоторые из приведенных выше примеров имеют значение аннулирования результата действия, мотивирующего глагола. Однако, если имеется в виду метафорический сдвиг значения действия мотивирующего глагола, мотивированный глагол можно рассматривать как глагол с аннулятивным значением. В то время как глагол *облачать* обозначает '*одеть и накрыть кого-то одеждой (возвышенное, ироничное)*', глагол *разоблачать* не обозначает '*снимать одежду*' (кроме церковного и шутливого значений), но имеет переносное значение '*раскрытие чего-то абстрактного*'. Метафорическая одежда, покрывающая сущность, снимается, и сущность становится ясной и видимой. Аналогичные сдвиги значений происходят с глаголами *раскрыть* и *разделяться*. Глаголы *развязать*, *разлюбить* и *разморозить* напрямую аннулируют результат действия, мотивирующего глагола. В сербском языке глаголы с аннулятивным значением образуются с помощью прибавления приставки *од-*: *одвезати*, *одмрзавати*, *открити*,

одлепити. В английском языке аннулирование действия, мотивирующего глагола осуществляется прибавлением приставок: *un-* (*to unstick*, *to untie*), *de-* (*to defrost*), *dis-* (*to discover* 'обнаружить (переносное значение)' сопоставить с *to cover* '*прикрыть (предметное значение)*'), *re-* (*to reveal* '*раскрыть напр. секрет (переносное значение)*' сопоставить с *enveil* '*покрыть фатой (предметное значение)*'). Все предыдущие глаголы в сравниваемых языках имеют признак достижения цели. Глагол *разлюбить* переводится на сербский язык отрицанием перед глаголом *не волиш* и наречием *више*. На английский этот глагол переводится с помощью отрицания *don't love* и наречия *anymore*. Тип аспектуального класса в русском языке — '*достижение*', в то время как в сербском и английском языках — '*состояние*'.

3.7. Интенсивное значение

В литературе выделяется подгруппа глаголов, которой присуще значение усиления интенсивности действия, определяемое Шелякиным (Шелякин 1983: 185) как достижение высокой степени развития интенсивности действия. В качестве примеров автор приводит такие глаголы, как *растолстеть*, *разобидеть*, *разругать*, *разукрасить* и т. д. Среди примеров из проанализированного корпуса не обнаружены глаголы, имеющие чисто интенсивное значение.

4. АНАЛИЗ РУССКИХ НЕСТАНДАРТНЫХ ГЛАГОЛЬНЫХ ЛЕКСЕМ С ПРИСТАВКОЙ *РАЗ-* ИЗ ИНТЕРНЕТ ОБЩЕНИЯ

В этом разделе рассматриваются нестандартные (несловарные) глагольные лексемы, которые встречаются в общении в интернете, образованные при помощи приставки *раз-* в русском языке, представляющие собой заимствованные слова из английского языка, использующиеся в описании действий на компьютере, в интернете и в социальных сетях. Цель этой части исследования — указать на продуктивность приставки *раз-* в русском языке, которая приводит даже к появлению энантиосемии, т. е. внутрисловной антонимии.

Обратим внимание на следующие примеры:

27) Я максимально **расшерил** свой пост об этом действии, надеюсь кто-нибудь еще обязательно последует примеру.

28) Вот президент Медведев недавно своих министров не просто раскритиковал – он их ещё и **раствитил**.

В предыдущих примерах глаголы *расшерить* и *раствитить* образуются путем префиксации глаголов *шерить* и *твитить*, которые заимствованы из английского языка (*to share* и *to tweet*). Приставка *раз-* глаголам прибавляет центрифугальное значение, т. е. обозначает направление объявлений в социальных сетях в разные стороны.

Также очень продуктивной является приставка *раз-* с аннулятивным значением:

29) Специально **разлайкала** пост, чтобы тут же ещё раз поставила лайк.

30) Юзеры Facebook смогут видеть, кто их **расфрендил**.

31) Хотелось бы рассказать о том, как можно легко и быстро закомментировать или **раскомментировать** много строк сразу.

32) Сотрудник департамента парков забыл **разлогиниться** из твиттера.

Глаголы *разлайкать*, *расфрендить* и *раскоментировать* образуются калькированием с английского языка *to dislike/to unlike*, *to unfriend* и *to uncomment*. Глагол *разлогиниться* образуется путем префиксации глагола *логиниться*, калькированным с английского *to log in*. Его переводным эквивалентом в английском языке является глагол *to log out*.

Калькирование глаголов с аннулятивным значением при помощи прибавления приставки *раз-* приводит к появлению энантиосемии, т. е. внутрисловной антонимии между новообразованными лексемами и уже фиксированными в словарях глагольными лексемами. Обратим внимание на следующие примеры, которые не относятся к комьпютерной лексике русского языка:

33) Оборотистый расчёт, надо ж успеть: из походного положения – в боевое, зарядили, – успеть **развидеть** верхушку колокольни в первом же рассее, и бах!

34) Как это **развидеть**? Я хочу **развидеть** это обратно!

В примере (33) из текста «Желябугские Выселки» Солженицына 1998 г. глагол *развидеть* употребляется в тотально-объектном значении, которое встречается и у глаголов *разглядеть*, *рассмотреть*. В примере (34) взятом из интернета у глагола *развидеть* аннулятивное значение и глагол был образован путем калькирования с английского *to unsee*. Таким образом, эти две идентичные формы имеют противоположные значения '*стараться увидеть что-нибудь хорошо вопреки препятствиям*' и '*больше не видеть чего-нибудь*'.

Два антонимичных значения встречаются и в рамках нестандартного глагола *разгрустить*:

35) Я не хотел тебя **разгрустить**!

36) Давай, я тебя **разгрустить** попробую?

В примере (35) транзитивный глагол *разгрустить* выражает результативное действие. В примере (36) у глагола *разгрустить* аннулятивное значение. В английском языке встречаются похожие нестандартные глаголы с аннулятивным значением (напр. *to unsad*).

5. ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИЕ

Многочисленные значения приставки *раз-* в русском языке представляют проблему для переводчиков. Исследование показало, что переводческие эквиваленты не всегда адекватны, в первую очередь из-за пренебрежения некоторыми значениями глаголов с приставкой *раз-*. Необходимо обратить особое внимание при переводе на сербский и английский языки русских глагольных лексем с приставкой *раз-* и постфиксом *-ся*, имеющих начинательно-интенсивное значение, а также на тип аспектуального класса глаголов, чтобы избежать частичной или неверной передачи смысла. В сербском языке начинательное значение можно передать с помощью глаголов с приставкой *за-*, а интенсивность при помощи наречия. Английские катенативные конструкции с фазовым глаголом *to start* + *verb* могут передать начинательное значение. Если глаголам присуще значение достижения цели, они чаще всего переводятся на английский язык фразовыми глаголами с наречной частицей *out*. Наречная частица *out* и ее переводные эквиваленты в сербском языке являются предметом многих исследований среди англистов (Novakov 2006; Šobot 2011). Для выражения аннулятивного значения в английском языке образуются глаголы с помощью приставок *un-*, *dis-* и *de-*, а в сербском языке — с помощью приставок *од-* и *раз-*. Калькирование с английского языка увеличивает арсенал русской нестандартной лексики, а многозначность приставки *раз-* приводит к появлению энантиосемии, т. е. внутрисловной антонимии, между значениями мотивированных глаголов.

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ГЛАГОЛСКЕ ЛЕКСЕМЕ СА ПРЕФИКСОМ *РАЗ-* У РУСКОМ ЈЕЗИКУ И ЊИХОВИ СРПСКИ И ЕНГЛЕСКИ ПРЕВОДНИ ЕКВИВАЛЕНТИ

Резиме

У раду се анализирају глаголске лексеме са префиксом *раз-* у руском језику (међу којима су лексеме са постфиксом *-ся*), које су подељене у седам група, од којих је у раду обрађено шест (глаголске лексеме са почетно-интензивним, мултиакционалним, резултативним, центрифугалним, тотално-објекатским и анулативним значењем). У раду је спроведена контрастивна анализа руских глаголских лексема са префиксом *раз-* и њихових српских и енглеских преводних еквивалената на плану структурно-језичког значења и извршено је поређење њихових функционално-темпоралних и аспектуалних сема. У енглеским преводним текстовима почетно-интензивно значење руских глаголских лексема са префиксом *раз-* успешно се преноси помоћу фразних глагола с партикулом *out*, катенативних конструкција и конструкција 'глагол+објекат'. Глаголске лексеме са префиксима *un-*, *de-* и *dis-* у енглеском језику одговарају руским глаголским лексемама са анулативним значењем. Међу српским преводним еквивалентима заступљени су глаголи са префиксом *раз-* и повратном речцом *се*, а уколико могућност формирања глагола помоћу датих форманата не постоји, значење почетка се може изразити ингресивним глаголима са префиксом *за-*, док се значење интензитета може изразити прилогом. Руске глаголске лексеме са анулативним значењем су у српском (преводном) корпусу најчешће превођене помоћу глагола са префиксом *од-*. У посебном делу истраживања анализиране су нестандардне глаголске лексеме са префиксом *раз-* у руском језику, које се користе у комуникацији на интернету приликом описивања

радњи на компјутеру и друштвеним мрежама. Калкирање енглеских глагола и различита значења префикса *раз-* доводе до појаве енантиосемије међу руским глаголским лексемама (нпр. *разгрустить*, *развидеть*).

Кључне речи: префикс *раз-*, деривација глагола, руски језик, српски језик, енглески језик.

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THE EUROPEAN UNION, THE BALKANS AND MULTILINGUAPHOBIA

… leaving one's [language and] culture, while possible, is best seen as renouncing something to which one is reasonably entitled.
(Kymlicka, 1995: 90)

Since the establishment of the EU, multiculturalism and multilingualism have been the foundations upon which rest all recommendations and legislative proposals on preserving, fostering and expanding the languages and cultures of the European continent. The Balkans and the EU are still learning how to cope with this diversity. The idea of coexistence of different languages is a difficulty accepted by the nations having spent centuries building their own identity. As the idea of the EU as a community of different languages and nations has been seriously threatened by recent immigrant crisis, multiculturalism is looked on as a "failed project" that divides rather than joins. Some EU members and Balkan states unquestionably accept multilingualism, while others do not allow any discussion about it. The result is obvious – multilinguaphobia. The question arises as to whether all languages and nations are equal or is it just a simple propaganda under the guise of democracy and of alleged democratization of Balkan and European societies.

Key words: Balkans, European Union, multilinguaphobia, diversity, minorities.

1. INTRODUCTION: THE EUROPEAN UNION AND THE BALKANS

The EU as a supranational integration of most European countries certainly is a union of countries (28 of them so far are member states, with a total of 24 official languages), and even if preferred to, it could not be established according to Herder's one language – one nation – one country model. Although it has all the attributes and characteristics of a typical state (territory, population, citizenship, power, 'birthday' – Europe Day, national anthem, flag, currency, but without the Constitutional Treaty, which was rejected after the Dutch and French referendum) – that is why it is sometimes referred to as the Country of Europe or the United States of Europe, the EU is perceived both as an institution and as a system surpass-

ing in this way the scope of the organization for international cooperation. Built on the Franco-German idea of cooperation in 1950, followed by its first enlargement the next (1951) year, the very name (concept) The EU was firstly mentioned in the Treaty of Maastricht (Treaty on the EU). Amongst many agreements that followed afterwards, we should point out the 1997 Amsterdam Treaty which, among other things, confirmed the plans concerning the Union's enlargement to the East and to the Balkans. This agreement was also focused on the question of asylum seekers and immigration question – that is on the 'new' minorities, introducing at the same time a clause of suspension, according to which some member states could suspend their rights if they seriously violate the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights (as well as those language ones) and fundamental freedoms.

As expected, the Union further continues to encourage multiculturalism and multilingualism, as its motto is 'unity in diversity'. Nevertheless, in spite of everything, the linguistic reality differs greatly from the stated goals. English due to its position on a global level – which means outside the Union itself and all over the world – holds a status that even the Union was unable to affect, and that is the English-only status[1]. The EU could simply confirm it, first implicitly and later on explicitly, when the so-called working languages of the European institutions were established and when it became quite evident that the communication reach of French and German (which follow English, but with a much lower proportion) is less than in the case of English. Whether the Union will remain stable in the future, tightly integrated, or its disintegration will occur – we cannot predict. But the fact is, and this is seen in the diachronic section clearly, that history repeats itself cyclically – from the tower of Babylon to the present day.

In an attempt to build a multicultural democratic society, Europe has constantly faced numerous problems, including the question of minorities and the frequent migration of European and non-European population as a result of the wars worldwide or poor economic conditions. In the context of language policy of protection of the rights of minorities and promotion of minority languages the majority languages are not excluded; in other words, another kind of monolingualism is not promoted but, on the contrary, bilingualism and multilingualism are being strengthened. Linguistic minorities actually coincide with ethnic / national minorities to whom language is very important in the construction of their collective identity in the territory of the majority community, whether these are indigenous minorities that have lived for centuries in a certain area or allochthonous minorities, i.e. immigrants.

Migrations naturally open the problem of ethnicity / nation thus involving collective identities – ethnic and national ones, as well as problems such as linguistic nationalism, linguistic imperialism and linguicism as a result of various phobias, especially due to the inherent, ie. ''Inherited '' fear of the Others and the Otherness.

[1] For more see in Phillipson (2003).

Multilinguaphobia is an introduction to linguistic nationalism which in turn is an introduction to the ''real'' nationalism. Proponents of such ideas usually stand out the symbolic function of language as primary by which language becomes roughly instrumentalized and its speakers stigmatized. All these are burning problems which even after their settling down still go on smoldering and if not kept under the (political) control could become dangerous and threaten the fundamental values on which the Union is built. Despite all the problems, the EU is planning new enlargements in the future. However, drawing from the experience, future member states will have to fulfill stringent criteria. This is probably the reason why the Eurosceptics and Europhobes speak of double standards and inequality. But it is also a fact that any new enlargement occurs in a different social and political context that dictates new requirements and modified criteria. On the other hand, possible tensions could be somehow alleviated if demanded from the 'old' Member States to reconsider their earlier decisions and align them with the existing and / or new charters and conventions[2] thereby eliminating the differences between Member States whereas the impression that some are 'more equal' than others would not be created.

For the Balkan region it could be said that it has always been (and still is!) multilingual well ahead in comparison to contemporary united Europe and this is the very feature that distinguishes it from the rest of the European continent due to numerous centuries of mutual influences, interweaving and multiplication of cultural, civilizational, linguistic and historical relations. The final result has been in a form of very well built up and recognisable Balkan Weltanschauung relatively distinctive both among all modern Balkan nations as well as members of different minority communities. Looking at the general level, we can speak about the existence of a common Balkan awareness and about the unique Balkan culture, irrespective of religious and civilizational background.

If we are to put an effort and answer the question of how many Balkan languages there are today, we would encounter obstacles. To give a completely accurate and reasonable response to this question is, conditionally speaking, as hard as to say exactly how many nations, minorities and ethnic groups there are in each Balkan state. The reason therefore lies in the fact that the contemporary Balkan linguistic picture is riddled with complex daily political and strong national and nationalist aspirations which further complicate the situation. The disintegration of Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian, which culminated in the 1990s and which (hypothetically speaking) ended in 2007, by proclaiming Montenegrin as the official language of Montenegro, shows the feedback between the above elements. At the same time, it has demonstrated how a language can be burdened with nationalist, ideological and emotional layers. Furthermore, one should not forget the many (political and primarily economic) pressures coming from the side, particularly those

[2] For instance, that also France ratifies the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.

from the EU, which have conditioned a gradual change of the language policy of each Balkan country towards the speakers of minority languages. Nevertheless, all these pressures have not been fully successful. One of the reasons is still hidden in the definition of the concept of minorities, i.e. in a variety of its interpretations. The problem is even greater when a minority should be characterized as indigenous or allochthonous since it is about different ranges of language and of all other rights.

Additional language disintegrations in the Balkan linguistic areal are also influenced by other factors the features of which are mainly of a socio-linguistic nature and which are related to the fact how an individual or a community, perceives himself/itself in relation to other similar or separate linguistic ones. The role of language in this case comes down to a specific marker of their individual ethnic identity, which, consequently, highlights the cultural and civilizational one. Edwards (Edwards, 1985: 6) once proposed the consideration of the ethnic identity of a nation and/or minority in two ways, perfectly reasonable and acceptable according to him:

I. objective, which would take into account the so-called "stable" factors, such as language, religion, race, geography, terrain and cultural heritage, and
II. subjective, through factors extremely susceptible to changes in an environment, since they are based on voluntary segments and go somewhat more into the domain of collective beliefs and attitudes (which often touch upon prejudices and juxtapositions).

Something similar has previously been underlined by the American linguist Ferguson: "in every speech community attitudes and beliefs about its language exist such as those about other languages and about language in general. Some are true, that correspond to objective reality, some include aesthetic and religious concepts whose validity cannot be empirically tested, and some are quite wrong, in whole or in part "(Ferguson, [1959] 1968: 375). When it comes to the modern Balkans, interweavings between the objective and subjective elements is so complex that it is sometimes difficult to draw a precise line of demarcation between them. On the territory of the former Yugoslavia, in relation to the whole Serbo-Croatian spoken areal, subjective and objective factors completely pulled aside Slovenian and Macedonian. Following its demise, it became quite evident that the idea of the existence of a unique language form had not been an objective factor, even less stable, while religion and cultural heritages were not considered strong enough to frame a common (Yugoslav) collective identity.

2. KNOWLEDGE OF A LANGUAGE OR LANGUAGES?

There is an old saying in almost all European languages: the more languages you know, the more you are human. It seems that it had anticipated a need

of foreign language learning and, consequently, spread in social environments long before all of modern European laws, charters and recommendations of the linguistic rights of minorities and communities. However, no matter how democratic, human and universal this statement is by its nature, it certainly raises a question. If knowledge of foreign languages has always been important, and in some cases quite crucial for the survival of individuals and nations, why have all foreign languages not been taught on a broader scale? Or, to rephrase the question – if knowledge of foreign languages has a great value and power, why are all the foreign languages not learnt to an equal extent? Perhaps the question seems tautological, but it is deeply motivated by a factual situation clearly visible in the today's Balkans and in the EU – only a limited number of languages has been favored primarily from numerous extralinguistic reasons (from which have emerged attitudes to each language, which are, of course, arbitrary) in relation to all the other ones. It is true that all languages cannot be known and learnt as it is true that in the Balkans there is only a small number of people who speak foreign, hence Balkan, languages. Although the afore/mentioned saying is absolutely correct in its essence and in the spirit of altruism, the social practices of the Balkan and European nations directly refute it, because "every language still does not have its prestige" (Friedman, 1997: 32-35).

In other words, although it is necessary to know foreign languages, each society independently decides (doesn`t it?) which languages should be recognized as acceptable and, consequently, prestigious. To give just one example, due to political, religious, social, traditional, cultural and other reasons in all Balkan societies there have always been a natural tendency towards learning one modern world (European) language – either German, French or Russian, and (since the end of World War II, English as well) – but not any contemporary Balkan one. Seen from the point of view of prestige, it is a historical fact that no contemporary Balkan language in any Balkan society from the nineteenth century onwards has been valued as prestigious or important. Therefore, it is quite obvious that mostly from socio-political reasons, and later from economic and cultural ones, Balkan languages, including Modern Greek have been studied at the university level (here mainly the Faculty of Philology in Belgrade) in the Republic of Serbia. Abrupt turning of the Balkan societies towards the Greek language was motivated by the fact that since the end of the Cold War Greece has been the only country member of the EEC in the Balkans but also a leading economy, which, as the most developed Balkan country, has had its interests to start economic development of the entire Balkans further integrating it into the latter EU (Gligorov et al., 1999: 31-39).

For this reason, the Hellenic Plan for the Economic Reconstruction of the Balkans was designed in 2002 with substantial financial support from major Greek banks. To achieve this plan from the long-term vantage point, it was

necessary to further strengthen the already existing studies of the Modern Greek language in Balkan nations. The latter opening of cultural centers of the Hellenic Fund by the Balkan countries (Sofia, Belgrade, Bucharest) has further underscored the expansion of the Greek cultural, economic, industrial and civilizational element. At the same time, the historical reminder of the importance of cooperation with Greece in the formation of the anti-Turkish coalition at the beginning of the twentieth century and the role that Greece had offered the Serbian army after its withdrawal through Albania in the First World War have been some of the most important elements to additionally encourage the Serbian side to turn towards Greece and to accept learning Modern Greek on a wide scale, primarily at institutional (university) level. Nevertheless, let us point out that so far such reciprocity has not been introduced at any Greek state educational institution by establishing departments or centers for learning Balkan languages. The experiment with the outpost of the University of Macedonia in Florina, where the students of economics and management were offered a possibility to learn one Balkan language and Russian as a language of choice in the period of two years has failed, especially from the moment when Greece was hit by a vigorous economic crisis which prevented further funding of this project. This means that it is up to individuals whether and how they would learn Balkan languages, if they are in such need.

When observing the ethnic structure of modern Balkan states, we can see the following picture. According to all official statistics from the census of 2011, in Greece there is no category of minority languages – as many as 95% of people have reported Greek as their mother tongue[3] – due to the fact that the possibility of stating another language was omitted in the survey. Almost a mirrored situation is observed from the census In Albania –98.76% of the population said that their mother tongue is Albanian (Census, 2011: 73). The question of the existence of minorities and ethnic groups in both countries has not been considered at all. Perhaps the best example of this would be the position of Aromanians that the Greek side considers as Greeks – crucial here is the religious and civilizational context, since all Aromanians in Albania are members of the Greek Orthodox Church and speak Greek together with Albanian. The Albanian side also regards them as Greeks, while the Aromanians still identify themselves as a separate ethnic, cultural and linguistic community. However, the Albanian authorities do not recognize Aromanians as a separate minority or community, hence all those who have identified themselves as Aromanians have been automatically classified as

[3] According to the data published by the Statistical office following the Census, only Greeks live in Greece ((ELSTAT, 2013: 3). However, this is only a view from the inside and an own perception and position. The view from the outside i.e. an external objective assessment is entirely different: there are several (autochtonous) minority languages in Greece such as: Turkish, Albanian, Macedonian, Romani and Aromanian.

members of the Albanian population. In Bulgaria the census has showed that the Turks are the second national community in number and as a consequence it was recognized[4], but Turkish as a minority language was not.[5] In early 2000, the Bulgarian National Television broadcast a program in the Turkish language which was soon canceled. After the 2009 elections, when representatives of the Turkish parliamentary party again raised the issue of broadcasting in Turkish in the parliament, there was a violent reaction of the deputies of the nationalist Ataka Party who prevented any possibility of presenting such proposals for consideration and a vote by their inappropriate speeches at the podium and statements given for TV stations. This negative attitude echoed uncomfortably in the European Parliament so an urgent explanation was demanded from the Bulgarian parliamentary representative Rumyana Zheleva (Румяна Русева Желева, 1969). Her answer was absolutely in line with such a negative attitude and behaviour: "It is not possible that the majority is terrorized by inappropriate demands of a minority."

3. BALKAN MULTILINGUAPHOBIA

Fear of the presence of "the others" in "our own territory", in addition to nationalism, chauvinism and antagonism, certainly entails even the fear of possible existence of a language (or languages) "different from ours." In fact, these two fears are always coupled together and cause a negative attitude of a majority towards a minority. According to Todorova, "nationalism in the Balkans in the nineteenth century was constructed primarily around linguistic and religious identities" (Todorova, 1999: 176), which is a correct observation, since a strong coupling between nations, languages and countries, i.e. territory was (and still has been!) incorporated in the creation of modern Balkan states. This ethno-linguistic attitude was among the first contested by Sapir, saying that "totally unrelated languages share in one culture, closely related languages – even a single language – belong to distinct culture spheres" (Sapir, 1921: 213). The fact is that the current ethno-linguistic stream is rooted within Herder`s views on language, nation and country (Bauman-Briggs, 2003; Blommaert, 1999; Kroskrity, 2000; Silverstein 2000). To be more precise, his points and perspectives were unfailingly accurate at the very end of the eighteenth century, but the truth is usually neglected that Herder was an ideologist of German young bourgeoisie to whom the existence of many independent German small states (and boundaries between them) was not acceptable, especially in the economic and commercial mindset, as such small

[4] For more see: http://www.omoilindenpirin.org/documents/report.pdf

[5] That this is not the instance of Turkish but also of other minority languages is confirmed in a paper by Lazarova and Rainov (2011:101). In this case also there are two kinds of perspectives we are talking about: the fact is that there are also (autochtonous) minority languages in Bulgaria as well. Other than Turkish, these are Romani, Macedonian, Armenian and Greek.

political entities could not have been players on the world scene or could not have caught up with all the innovations in techniques, science and technology – let us remember that it was perhaps the main reason why the United Kingdom had managed to take control over the vast areas of our planet, since it did not have an equal competitor. Very quickly Herder's ideas were taken over and, almost in the same mold, applied among other nations, including all the Balkan ones.

In this respect, the affirmation of a linguistic patchwork of the traditional, historical and ethnic (imaginary) space at the beginning of the formation of contemporary Balkan states was *a priori* rejected as a possibility. Any form of linguistic diversity different from the majority one was perceived as a great danger for the country and nation, as there was always a possibility that the newly established national and territorial unity could be easily endangered. The structure of the population of the Balkan countries which were gradually expanding at the expense of the weakened Ottoman Empire was penetrated, among many converts, also by members of different ethnic communities. All of them were given the possibility to leave the country, as most did, but those who remained, for various reasons, were subjected to strong assimilation into the majority. If they could not be converted religiously, although there were such attempts in Bulgaria and Greece, for example, the authorities tried linguistically prohibiting (less often restricting) the use of their mother tongues in everyday communication, making provision for stringent penalties for violating those law provisions. From the political and national point of view, bilinguals in the Balkan countries during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were regarded as "extremely uncertain factors" whose loyalty was openly suspected. Officially propagated monolingualism was modified in the course of time. The merging of Vojvodina into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918 conditioned the acceptance of existence of multilingualism, as large populations of Germans, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks and Romanians joined the newly established state, whose knowledge of Serbian was not sufficient. On the other hand, a different policy was led in Macedonia – the Macedonian language, regardless of its realistic existence, was completely ignored, suppressed and even negated, for which the Yugoslav government was supported by the Bulgarian side. The same can be said for the Albanian language.

After the Second World War in the Balkan countries, with the exception of the former Yugoslavia, language policy based on propagation of absolute monolingualism remained completely unchanged. In the former Yugoslavia multilingualism was represented at the official level – pursuant to the provisions of the Constitution, Slovenian and Macedonian together with all minority languages – Albanian, Hungarian, Romanian, Czech, Slovak – were equally used in addition to the Serbo–Croatian/Croato–Serbian. In this respect, Yugoslavia was a true conglomerate of multilingualism, but in practice the domination of major

Serbo–Croatian/Croato–Serbian was visible, whose speakers were conditionally speaking the "privileged" language and were released from learning other (i.e. minority) languages. In all nationally mixed areas such as Vojvodina and Kosovo and Metohija, teaching in schools took place in the majority language of these communities (Hungarian, Romanian, Albanian), while pupils had the obligatory learning of Serbian which by subsequent reforms of the educational system became optional and at the very end was completely abolished. The identical situation existed in the areas where Serbo–Croatian was spoken – minority languages were initially mandatory and then optional to pupils, only to be eventually canceled. All this resulted in parting away of members of different nations and minorities in time, including in linguistic terms. Thus, for example, in early 2012 a sensational piece of news was published – in our opinion, extremely alarming from the linguistic point of view! – that young generations from Subotica, either from the majority Serbian or Hungarian environment communicate among themselves exclusively in English.[6] Insufficient knowledge or ignorance of the other's language is bridged by the use of English as the (global) contact language.[7] Although the official educational authorities of Vojvodina immediately denied these allegations, characterizing them as very tendentious and malicious, we believe that the truth is actually somewhere in between bearing in mind the proverb "there is no smoke without fire".

The accumulated negative cultural, civilizational, historical and national attitudes and prejudices of neighboring Balkan nations are the result of objective ignorance of the others, on the one hand, and excessive glorification of its own historical, cultural and other achievements, on the other one. This relation, which included the closure of the Balkan nations and their societies within their ethnic boundaries, caused the crystallization of a general antagonistic image from the Middle Ages onwards, within which each Balkan language had assumed its so-called primary position. Even today it is often heard in Serbia "speak Serbian so that the whole world can understand you" (govori srpski da te ceo svet razume); in Greece it is still insisted on the fact that the Greeks "have given vocabulary throughout Europe and the world"; in Albania only Albanian is "the most melodious language" (*gjuha sa e ëmbël*); while in Bulgaria it is believed that Bulgarian is "the source of all Slavonic languages."[8] In the modern times, which

[6] For more see: http://www.blic.rs/Vesti/Vojvodina/302646/Razumeju-se-samo-na-engleskom-jeziku.

[7] Lack of competence (be it linguistic, communicational and/or pragmatic) of the Other's language is an indicator of something else – the importance of the own existing linguistic and national identity coinciding in such instances, which is „preserved" in this very manner so that no other identity is acquired. Such a position allows neither stratification nor multiplicity of the identity to any extent whatsoever.

[8] This is due to the fact that extensive Slavistic and Indo-European resources adopted over time the term Old Bulgarian (старобългарски език in Bulgarian and Altbulgarisch in German)

inevitably entail much more closer and tighter links and cooperation between all nations, such "incidents" do not fit into the idea of European multiculturalism and multilingualism. Nevertheless, such attitude is not only typical of the Balkans. The French writer Claude Gagnier (1928-2003) said on one occasion: *"Un homme qui parle trois langues six trilingue. Un homme qui parle deux langues est bilingue. Un homme qui parle qu'une langue est Anglais"*. His opinion is really true, since it points to the continuing lack of interest of the Englishmen to learn foreign languages[9] – as English has become the universal language of planetary communication it is aboslutely unnecessary to learn any foreign language because wherever you go, you feel "as if you were at your own home."

On the other hand, if we possess competence in any other language(s), but assuming that none of them is English, we shall be equally considered ''illiterate'' as we do not know English. It is certain that a hypothesis based on saying "the more languages you know, the more you are human" cannot be true as our lack of ability of communicating in English clearly "deletes" our compentences in other languages, owing to the prestige that English has had on the global level as a lingua franca. English has become the first foreign language in almost every curriculum in Europe and worldwide. According to Ostler (2010), on the list of the world's largest languages English is in the first place because for more than 330 million speakers it is a mother tongue while for over 810 million speakers English is the lingua franca. Therefore, it is very difficult to speak of linguistic equality in these circumstances, if we take into consideration the relation of English and all the other majority and minority languages which also seek to find their place in the realms of discourse and public communication. But when it comes to a different linguistic picture, when looking at the relations between existing languages in a particular environment, region or country, then the linguistic map and the issue of linguistic equality between majority and minority languages is in the domain of national and supranational (European) language policy and such kind of problems are to be quickly dealt with.

In the twenty first century it sounds almost unbelievable that the question of linguistic equality has not been positively resolved in all the Balkan societies in spite of numerous European and international charters, documents and recommendations that have meanwhile been signed and ratified by some governments of the Balkan countries. Namely, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Romania and Serbia have signed and ratified the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages. Macedonia has also signed it, but it has not been ratified yet. Neither Albania nor Bulgaria and Greece, two of the latter are also members of

denominating Old Slavonic.

[9] Information to be found on the following pages: http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2006/dec/03/schools.education, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-15189033, http://www.theguardian.com/education/2013/sep/11/uk-languages-teaching-crisis.

the European Union, have signed or ratified the document which implies, diplomatically speaking a complex situation of minority languages in those countries, regardless of the monitoring of the European Union. Another equally important European document – the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities concerns the very linguistic rights. Both documents came into force in 1998 underlining the importance of preserving linguistic diversity (the Charter) and linguistic rights (the Convention), but only of the autochthonous languages, while the allochthonous ones have not been even mentioned. It is worth noting that Greece, as a Balkan country and as a member of the EU, has only signed but not ratified the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. All other Balkan countries have signed and ratified the document.

However, as in the Balkans numerous unresolved national, historical, and religious problems are still smoldering, the attitudes to each other's language should and could not be surprising. Even the ever-so-present scars inflicted during the political-religious conflicts and wars in the 1990s had caused reinforcing nationalistic views in the southern Slav-speaking area and directing attention to their own linguistic expression which, in accordance with the aspirations, has been re-worded in the name of their language. According to this fact there has been no place for the other one(s) until recently. In any Balkan, European, and even world environment prevails a natural tendency that the dominant language group directly controls all key social elements (education, economy, administration, etc.) essential for normal state functioning. Anyone who knows the dominant language (to a satisfactory or very good extent) has got a (relatively limited) access to them. As Nelde (1997) properly noted, "other language groups are limited in their language use to specific domains, usually solely private and / or low status and are thus left with the choice of renouncing their social ambitions, assimilating, or resisting in order to gain greater access to the public realm". Results of recent research on the use of Albanian in contemporary Belgrade have corroborated this very fact while pointing to a somewhat limited number of domains in which Albanian is spoken and emphasizing a rather institutionalized and compartmentalized use of this Balkan language in Belgrade (cf. Mandić-Sivački, 2015).

4. CONCLUSION: THE NEW MODELS OF LANGUAGE POLICY?

In the Balkan societies Balkan languages are still stigmatized in one way or another, maybe not so visibly with the open support of the state and its institutions, but mostly with the support of the national collective that has not yet matured in the general linguistic terms. Seen from the ideological point of view, there is still no awareness of the fact that every modern Balkan language

is equally valuable and important just like any other (major, world) language which is taught in the Balkan states as a foreign one. In the eyes of linguists, all languages are equally valid, and even those with the lowest communication range. Nevertheless, the fact is that the speakers apparently choose languages themselves under the influence of ‘’market’’, economically speaking. This, of course, is not the Martinet “linguistic economy”, but it certainly is an economic, pragmatic reason. English as a global language “opens the doors” of communication anytime, anywhere and with anyone. Major world powers, economic power, politics and the media, culture, science and sport have done their own by ‘’favouring’’ some languages, in particular English, which has become the contact language of the modern world.

On the other hand, and as a direct practice in the EU shows, linguistic diversity is indeed a major obstacle in unrestrained communication (Gal, 2006; Moore, 2011), thus confirming Bloomfiled`s extremely correct observation that the boundaries between the different linguistic communities always coincide with the “lines of weakness in communication “(Bloomfield, 1933: 47). In the Balkans, perhaps far more than in the EU, the limits and weaknesses of communication have been strongly manifested as the Balkan societies are still monolingual – in all of them the linguistic hegemony of the official language is forced in which society has no role of a supranational cohesion symbol but a strict ideological basis in a form of solid linguistic awareness of the absolute use of the language. Hence, the majority language is not neutral in the semiotic view (as it is not any superstrat), while for all the other languages it may be said that they are neither desirable nor essential. In addition, all linguistic ideologues and planners of the Balkan languages were not native speakers thereof and they observed the language only from their narrow (regional) point of view. Contrary to them, for example, as Gal has pointed out, some of the most distinguished ideologues of the modern Hungarian language were not native speakers of Hungarian so they tried to create such Hungarian which would belong to all its speakers. In other words, it is about such a linguistic system (idiom) which was not attached (or, better to say, attributed) to any kind of social group or specific region (Gal, 2001: 33, 43). In his works, the French linguist Bourdieu calls Balkan, as well as European linguistic authoritative of the official language “misrecognition” (in French: *méconnaissance*; Bourdieu, 1982; Bourdieu, 1991), which has enabled the linguistic hegemony of only one language. According to the opinion of Woolard, “the concept of misrecognition tells us that the standard is not really everybody’s language, and that it really does belong to specific ‘someones’ more than to others” (Woolard, 2008: 308).

In this way the sharp polarization between the majority language and the languages of minorities is instigated and nurtured. On the one hand, it is quite logical to accept this dichotomy, especially in a country such as Serbia where in

one of the parts of its territory five official languages are equally used (Croatian, Hungarian, Romanian, Ruthenian and Slovak) together with three minority languages (Czech, Macedonian and Montenegrin). Of course, it is not impossible to acquire competence in all these languages, but it is certainly harder to achieve it in the case of unrelated languages. On the other hand, if we look at the need to learn languages, especially from the perspective of multiculturalism, multilingualism and intercultural communication, then it is quite justified to challenge the linguistic hegemony of the dominant language which requires political readiness and the will of the majority community (nation). The majority communities in the Balkan penninsula which consider language as a part of their cultural tradition, had dedicated a good part of the nineteenth century and almost the entire twentieth century to creating their own monolingual and monocultural environmenst in which there was no place for "others". Nowadays, in the second decade of the twenty-first century this historical throwback is very difficult to change not only in the Balkans, for which necessary preconditions are required, above all a radical change in mindset and historical relations with neighboring nations.

Despite explicitly expressed animosity towards multiculturalism and multilingualism by some of today's most prominent European politicians and MEPs, and in spite of this multilinguaphobia, minority language rights are still expanding nowadays. Will Kymlicka (2001) believes that it is a defensive reaction to the construction of the nation-state and its assimilation policy, but additional reasons do lie in various aspects of post-national globalization as well (Wright, 2004). Bearing in mind that nationalism *a priori* rejects the use of minority languages in (any form of) public communication, the majority insisting on the active use of its language should change and moderate its language policy without neglecting or giving up its national identification but letting the others express their national identification and their linguistic identity. Only when we open our views does fear of others together with fear of the loss of our power disappear, especially if we try to acquaint with both the language and culture of the Other(s). And this could be possible if new language policy models based on universal (human) values were defined and, of course no less important, implemented in practice.

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EVROPSKA UNIJA, BALKAN I MULTILINGVAFOBIJA

Rezime

Neminovno je da Evropa, tačnije rečeno Evropska unija, i Balkan, ma koliko bili različiti u tehničkom i tehonološkom pogledu, dele mnoge zajedničke odlike, poput višenacionalnosti, različitost kultura i višejezičnosti. Upravo se ove odlike mogu smatrati onima po kojoj se Balkan, kao suvereni deo evropskog kontinenta, oštro razlikovao (i dalje razlikuje)

od ostatka Evrope, počevši od drevnih vremena do danas. Još jedna njihova zajednička karakteristika je ta što nijedno područje nije ponudilo na zadovoljavajući način rešenje višejezičkog pitanja u višenacionalnim, društveno izmešanim sredinama. U EU pomaci u tom pogledu su, istine radi, prilično uznapredovali u odnosu na Balkan, mada i tamo postoje teškoće kao i na Balkanu, pre svega zato što se ovo pitanje neminovno nadovezuje na pitanje jezičke ravnopravnosti svih govornika, a posebno manjinskih jezika, unutar utvrđenih držanih granica. Brojne predrasude i stereotipi, nedovoljna zainteresovanost za učenjem jezika "onog drugog" (ili "onih drugih"), složena istorijska i religijska slika, pripadnost različitim kulturnim te mentalnim sferama uslovili su da se vremenom pojavi multiligvafobija koja se na Balkanu ispoljava putem otvorenog straha većinskog jezičkog stanovništva da će biti ugroženo manjinskim jezicima i obratno, da će manjinsko stanovništvo i dalje ostati u zapećku, bez prava na upotrebu svog maternjeg jezika u društvu i na školovanje na njemu. I dok na području Vojvodine možemo, u tom pogledu, govoriti o postojanju apsolutne jezičke ravnopravnosti u praksi, ostali delovi Balkana (poput Bugarske, Grčke, Albanije), i dalje se ne mogu pohvaliti takvim demokratskim, otvorenim i proevropskim stavovima i pristupima, bez ozbira na sve već potpisane deklaracije, povelje i druge evropske dokumente koji garantuju svakoj manjini njena jezička i druga prava. I u ujedinjenoj Evropi primećuje se jezička nejednakost: ponajpre, reč je o postojanju takozvanih "službenih" i "radnih" jezika, sa jedne strane, kao i u činjenici da stanovnici Evropske unije, pored svetski poznatih (takozvanih "jakih") jezika, slabo ili bezmalo nerado uče manje poznate ("slabije") evropske jezike, sa druge. Jedino moguće rešenje leži u tome da treba prihvatiti svaki jezik ne samo kao koristan i svrsishodan, kao onaj koji vredi učiti, zbog širenja vlastitih kulturnih, intelektualnih, mentalnih, lingvističkih i drugih horizonata, nego i kao ravnopravan, kao onaj koji je zaista dostojan znanja baš kao i bilo koji drugi jezik. Svi savremeni ekonomski tokovi, sveopšta globalizacija, ujedinjenje tržišta, internet neminovno vode ka tome da je učenje i znanje onih "ostalih" jezika preka potreba, kako zbog težnje za ostvarivanjem što boljih kontakata i veza, tako i zbog međusobne komunikacije, osećaja ravnopravnosti i dodatnog ujedinjenja i zbližavanja na sveopštem humanom planu. Jer, kako kaže latinska izreka, *una gens sumus*.

Ključne reči: Evropska unija, Balkan, multilingvafobija, različitosti, manjine, jezici

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ENGLISH MULTI-WORD MOTION VERBS WITH *COME*, *FALL* AND *WALK*, AND THEIR SERBIAN EQUIVALENTS

English multi-word verbs, phrasal lexemes consisting of a lexical verb and a particle, involve different levels of idiomaticity – from literal to fully idiomatic ones. Moreover, since the relevant literature assumes that some multi-word verbs in their literal meaning include the verbs of motion and that the particle denotes a direction of that motion, this paper discusses the multi-word verbs with the lexical verb of motion in order to determine their level of idiomaticity. The research is based on an English-Serbian corpus compiled from a contemporary British novel and its Serbian translation; the English examples discussed include three verbs of motion (*come, fall,* and *walk*) combined with a particle. The analysis showed that only a relatively small number of the English examples had extended metaphorical meanings: 21% with the verb *come*, 16% with the verb *fall* and only 2% with the verb *walk*. These extended meanings were analysed within the cognitive approach and the use of conceptual metaphors, which made it possible to relate the basic spatial meanings to the extended ones. Serbian equivalents included the verbs of motion if the meaning of English phrasal lexemes was literal or other verbs (usually with a prefix) which covered the abstract meanings of the English multi-word verbs.

Key words: multi-word verbs, verbs of motion, conceptual metaphor, English, Serbian.

1. INTRODUCTION

In extensive professional literature, English multi-word verbs are typically defined as a combination of a lexical verb and an adverbial or a prepositional particle which together represent a lexical unit, that is a phrasal lexeme (Prćić 2008: 164) with semantic coherence. These verbs, which are in recent literature also called particle verbs (cf. Geld 2011), are traditionally divided into phrasal, prepositional and phrasal-prepositional verbs, depending on the type and number of particles; thus phrasal verbs consist of a lexical verb and an adverbial particle, prepositional of a lexical verb and a prepositional particle and phrasal-prepositional of a lexical verb followed by an adverbial and a prepositional particle. This

paper studies two-word combinations (phrasal and prepositional verbs) and the term multi-word verbs will be used for both of them.

When it comes to the meaning of elements which participate in the semantic structure of the multi-word verbs, these verbs can contain a lexical verb with the basic meaning of physical movement, and the particle denotes the direction or the final position of that movement. However, It is well known that such basic meaning of a lexical verb and a particle can be extended into more abstract meanings, so this paper studies precisely such changes in meaning within the postulates of cognitive linguistics, primarily of conceptual metaphor.

1.2. Goals of the research and the corpus

The basic goal of the research is to discuss the changes of meaning from basic spatial to extended, more abstract ones of the English multi-word verb as a whole, but also of its components (lexical verbs and particles). Theoretical framework which enables such a study includes the postulates about conceptual metaphor which precisely explain the extension of meanings from basic physical to more abstract ones. In addition, Serbian translation equivalents of the English examples make it possible to analyse linguistic means used in Serbian to express spatial and extended meanings, particularly verb prefixes, which also offers a possibility to compare the relevant English particles and Serbian verb prefixes.

The research is based on a parallel English-Serbian corpus. English examples were excerpted in an electronic search from a contemporary British novel *Wolf Hall* (2009) by Hillary Mantel, and the Serbian translation equivalents from its translation *Vučje leglo* (2013, translated by Vladimir D. Janković). The English novel includes 653 pages and the multi-word verbs with the lexical verbs of motiont without a vehicle (thus, not the verbs of the type *ride out*) were excerpted from this text. The search recorded multi-word verbs with five such lexical verbs: *come, fall, go, turn* and *walk*. Complete numerical data about the examples from the English part of the corpus are presented in the Table1. This Table shows that the most numerous multi-word verbs were those with the lexical verb *come* (188 or about 40%), then those with the verbs *go* (124 or about 27%), while a significantly smaller number of examples was recorded with the verbs *turn*, *walk* and *fall*, which was rather expected taking into account the frequency of these verbs and their participation in the formation of multi-word verbs. Moreover, the recorded examples with the verb *come* in great majority (about 79%) carry the literal meaning of movement (coming in, coming out) and it is similar with the verb *go*: about 75% of the recorded examples carry the basic meaning of movement. The verbs *fall* and *walk* were recorded almost only in the combinations with the basic meaning, while the verb *turn* retains the meaning of movement in

about 84% of the examples. Therefore, the multi-word verbs with the basic spatial meaning prevail in the corpus (81%) and there are 19% of multi-word verbs with the metaphorical meaning. The data about the multi-word verbs with each of these English lexical verbs are presented in the central part of this paper. The corpus, naturally, includes the same number of Serbian translation equivalents.

Table 1: General numerical data about the English part of the corpus

No.	Verb	Basic meaning	Extended meaning	Total
1	*come* + particle	149 (79%)	39 (21%)	188 (40%)
2	*fall* + particle	20 (84%)	4 (16%)	24 (5%)
3	*go* + particle	93 (75%)	31 (25%)	124 (27%)
4	*turn*+ particle	68 (84%)	14 (16%)	82 (18%)
5	*walk* + particle	47 (98%)	2 (%)	48 (10%)
	TOTAL	377 (81%)	89 (19%)	466 (100%)

When it comes to the criteria for the division of multi-word verbs from the corpus into the groups with the basic and extended meaning, on the basis of the assumptions of D. Bolinger (presented in the section 2.1.) the first group comprised those multi-word verbs in which both the verb and the particle retain their spatial meaning, while the group with the extended meaning comprised the multi-word verbs in which one component (the verb or the particle) or both components acquired a more abstract mening.

Within the required scope of the paper it is not possible to analyse in greater detail all the five recorded English verbs of motion, so only the three verbs – *come*, *fall* and *walk* – will be discussed as well as their Serbian translation equivalents.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This section presents three segments relevant for the research in this paper: the meaning of English multi-word verbs, assumptions about coneptual metaphor within cognitive linguistics, as well as the postulates about the verbs of motion in general.

2.1. Meaning of English multi-word verbs in older sources

Already older studies of multi-word verbs state that these verbs can express both basic and extended, more abstract meanings. Thus Palmer (Palmer

1989: 224-237, first edition in 1965) writes that these verbs include nonidiomatic and idiomatic combinations; the phrasal lexemes with the literal meaning include a verb of motion and the particle denotes the direction of that motion or the resulting position (for example, *run a flag*). In addition, the particle also implies completion, namely that the movement is carried out to the final position. Still, a significant number of multi-word verbs does not have a literal or transparent meaning of direction, but carries the implication of the final result (for example, *break up*). Finally, this author states that it is not always easy to delimit literal and idiomatic multi-word verbs, because there are degrees of meanings from the literal (the implication of direction) to the most abstract ones.

The next study which certainly should be mentioned is the monograph by D. Bolinger (Bolinger 1971: 96-102, 113), because it discusses the meanings of multi-word verbs (that is, phrasal verbs) in the way similar to the cognitive approach. The author also writes that the particle denotes two features – movement through a location and the final point or result, so the notion of a resulting state is significant for the entire meaning of multi-word verbs. Summing up the levels of meanings of these combinations, Bolinger believes that there is a basic directional meaning (Bolinger 1971: 98) which is modified into a more abstract one. For istance, in the case of the particle *up* this author mentions that the original meaning of physical movement towards a higher level can be associated with completeness. Thus Bolinger (1971: 99) distinguishes the primitive directional, literal meaning and the extended directional meaning, for example: that which is *up* (in the higher position) is visible. Discussing the meanings of some other particles, Bolinger also states the following: a) the particle *away* in its basic meaning implies the distance from a given position, and in its extended meaning *avoiding*, *depriving, concealing*; b) the particle *out* extends its meaning by relating the state *outside* to the exposure to view, with a certain effect; c) the particles *on* and *along* denote horizontal accessibility to the view, which is extended into *remaining within eyesight, continuation*. Summing up the meanings of multi-word verbs, this author writes that there is a semantic gradience from the concrete meanings of direction and position to the abstract meanings; these two poles are related, because there is a link between the notions of acting, advancement, completion on the one hand, and the notions of direction, position on the other (Bolinger 1971: 110). Accordingly, in multi-word verbs, along with the basic meaning, there are first-level metaphors in which the meaning of the particle is extended, the second-level metaphors in which the multi-word verb as a whole has an extended meaning, as well as the third-level metaphors in which the entire verb expression is fixed, idiomatized together with the nominal phrase as the complement (for example, *put on airs*).

2.2. Meaning of multi-word verbs and postulates of cognitive linguistics

It is well known that cognitive linguistics discusses conceptualization, creation of concepts, as a process based on metaphorization, that is on the perception of similarity between concrete physical and more absatract concepts in man's environment. Moreover, it is assumed that there are two basic domains – the source and target ones: the former is more concrete, the latter more abstract, and the more abstract one can be explained through the former, more concrete domain (Lakoff 1993: 3). The instrument of that transfer of meaning is the basic conceptual metaphor SOURCE DOMAIN IS THE TARGET DOMAIN from which other, more specific conceptual metaphors are derived. Thus, for example, love is compared to a journey (the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY), so one talks about love with the help of knowledge about a journey (Lakoff 1993: 4). Thus, as D. Klikovac (Klikovac 2004: 169) specifies, abstract meanings are derived from the basic spatial meanings, mostly through the mechanism of metaphor, that is an abstract area (emotions, intellectual activities etc.) are represented through the concrete areas (space, movement and others). For example, one conceptual metaphor can be formulated like LOWER IS LESS VALUABLE (Klikovac 2004: 188).

The conceptual metaphor has been also applied in the analysis of English multi-word verbs and there is an extensive professional literature about it (cf. Dirven 2001, Geld 2011, Geld and Maldonaldo 2011, Novakov 2017). For instance, in his article R. Dirven (2001), starting from the fact that multi-word verbs (Dirven uses the term phrasal verbs) show a certain degree of idiomatization, discusses their meanings as metaphorical in which the lexical verb denotes the container and the particle has a spatial or extended meaning; thus in the phrasal lexeme *pick out* both the verb and the particle carry a metaphorical meaning. Using the example *figure out* Dirven in greater detail describes the process of metaphorization: the verb *figure* in its basic meaning denotes *calculating, counting*, and in the more abstract one *find solution by thinking*; the particle *out* literally implies a spatial relation *outside the container*, and in its extended meaning *availability, solvability*. Therefore, through conceptual metaphors COUNTING IS THINKING and PROBLEM IS A (LOCKED) CONTAINER one can derive the metaphorical meaning of this multi-word verb *figure out*: to find solution of a problem by thinking, that is to make the closed container exposed and solvable. Conceptual metaphors are applied in this manner in the analysis of the examples from the corpus.

2.3. Verbs of motion as a specific lexical group

The verbs of motion, primarily of human movement, represent one of the basic semantic groups of verbs. They typically imply verbs with an animate subject while this animate subject changes position and moves from one to the other given point, horizontally or vertically, in relation to an orientation point. However, ''The verb of motion can be any verb which describes a transition from one state to another, both in its physical or abstract manifestation'' (Stamenković 2017: 19)[1]. Therefore, the verbs of motion also appear with the inanimate entities, for instance when an animate subject moves the inanimate object. Moreover, one can also make a distinction between the verbs whose basic distinctive feature is movement and the verbs with which movement is only an accompanying, nondistinctive feature, like *work, draw*. Finally, one can move the entire body or its part while the entire body stays in the same position, and it is possible to move on one's own or in a vehicle (Stamenković 2017: 19).

It is also important to mention the semantic classification of English verbs created by B. Levin (Levin 1993), in which the verbs of motion make a group with several classes; for instance, there are the following classes: a) the verbs denoting inherently directed motion (*climb, enter*), b) the verbs of leaving (*abandon, leave*), c) the verbs denoting manner of motion (*float, glide*), d) the verbs of motion using a vehicle (*skate, raft*), e) the verbs of dancing (*dance, jive*) and f) accompany verbs (*accompany, guide*).

Taking into account the abovementioned assumptions and criteria, this paper studies English verbs of horizontal and vertical movement with animate and inanimate subjects, as well as the verbs which imply the movement of an inanimate object by an animate subject. The verbs implying the motion with a vehicle are not included, because in that case the research would introduce an additional feature which would significantly expand the corpus and require a more extensive analysis.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE CORPUS WITH THE VERBS OF MOTION

It has already been mentioned that the central part of this paper analyses examples from the parallel English-Serbian corpus in order to investigate the extension of literal spatial meaning of English multi-word verbs on the basis of conceptual metaphors. An earlier, more traditional approarch did not relate different (literal and abstract) meanings of multi-word verbs, but only listed

[1] ''Glagol kretanja može biti svaki onaj glagol koji opisuje prelazak iz jednog stanja u drugo, bilo da se radi o njegovoj fizičkoj ili apstraktnoj manifestaciji'' (Stamenković 2017: 19).

them from the basic ones toward the derived ones – that is why L. Janda called that approach atomistic (Janda 1985: 26). Thus, for example, monolingual English-English dictionary of multi-word verbs *Collins COBUILD Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs* lists the following meanings for the phrasal lexeme *come back*: a) return of the subject to a location, b) return of a specific practice like a custom or fashion, c) return of memory etc. The first listed meaning is literal, with the features of physical movement, and those listed later already enter the realm of metaphorization and could be in that way related to the preceding meanings, but this is not done in such an approach. Cognitive approach makes it possible to relate different meanings of multi-word verbs and to present how the more abstract ones are derived from the literal ones, which is one of the goals of this research.

It has already been mentioned in the introductory part that the paper analyses the corpus with the three verbs of motion which participate in the formation of phrasal lexemes with particles – these are the verbs *come*, *fall* and *walk*.

3.1. Multi-word verbs with the verb *come* and its Serbian translation equivalents

The English verb of motion *come* in the compiled corpus forms combinations with a particle in 188 examples and it is the most frequent verb of movement in the corpus. The Table 2 presents all phrasal lexemes with this verb and their frequency. The most frequent of these multi-word verbs are *come in* (24%) and come back (23%), followed by *come out* and *come down;* all of them almost exclusively carry the basic meaning of motion which is, most likely influnced by the narrative style in the novel from which the examples were excerpted. The Table 2 also shows that there are combinations with as many as 13 particles (*about, after, away, by, back, down, in, round, off, on, out, over* and *up*), which points to the high combinational potential of the verb *come*. Among these particles, the greatest potential for the combination with the lexical verb was recorded with the particles *in* (23%) and *back* (24%). In addition, the particles *about, after, round* and *on* appear only in the combinations with the extended, more abstract meanings.

Table 2: Multi-word verbs with the verb *come* in the corpus

No	Multi-word verb	Basic meaning	Extended meaning	Total
1	come about	0	1	1
2	come after	0	2	2
3	come away	4	0	4
4	come by	1	0	1
5	come back	41	4	45
6	come down	20	8	28
7	come in	43	1	44
8	come round	0	1	1
9	come off	1	4	5
10	come on	0	8	8
11	come out	25	6	31
12	come over	0	1	1
13	come up	14	3	17
	TOTAL	149 (79%)	39 (21%)	188

Finally, examples in The Table 2 are also divided according to their meaning: there is a significantly higher number of basic meanings (79%) and the smaller number of extended meanings (21%).

As it has already been explained, the examples with the basic meaning, which prevail, imply that both the verb and the particle retain their basic spatial meaning. These are several typical examples and their translation into Serbian:

1) a) At the end of the summer, when the girls <u>come back</u> to London… (131)
   b) Devojčice <u>se</u> krajem leta <u>vraćaju</u> u London… (127)
2) a) Old John More – who must be eighty now – has <u>come in</u> for supper… (231)
   b) Stari Džon Mor, kome sad mora biti da je osamdeseta, <u>došao je</u> na večeru… (211)
3) a) Afterwards, when the queen has made her statement – a few men have been seen to cry – they <u>come out</u> into the sunshine. (144)
   b) Kasnije, pošto je kraljica dala izjavu, - nekoliko njih u publici nije moglo da ne zaplače – njih dvojica <u>izlaze</u> napolje. (138)

In the examples (1a), (2a) and (3a) the subject is animate, it is a conscious agent who makes a certain move, and the particles specify the space into which the subject enters (2a), which he/she leaves (3a) or returns to (1a). The Serbian translations (1b, 2b, 3b) contain verbs of movement *vratiti se, doći, izaći* followed by the adverbials denoting place (*u London* in 1b, *napolje* in 3b) or purpose (*na večeru* in 2b). Expectedly, the Serbian verb prefix *iz-* (in *izaći*) also keeps its spatial meaning (going out) which corresponds to the meaning of the particle *out*.

The group with the basic meaning also contains several examples with an inanimate subject, for example:

4) a) 'The sun to come out?' (19)
   b) – Da izađe sunce? (33)
5) a) … but the stories that come back are different. (238)
   b) … ali odande stižu drugačiji glasovi. (217)

The examples like (4a) and (5a) represent a specific subgroup in the group with the basic meaning: in (4a) *sun* is not a volitional agent, but humans perceive it making a movement and rising above the horizon; the verb denotes a movement and the particle location. The example (5a) is more complex, because the subject (*stories*) does not allow physical perception of movement, but it is assumed that these stories are brought by persons coming back to a given starting point, which is implied by the spatial meaning of the particle *back*. Serbian translations (4b) and (5b) support such an interpretation because the verbs *izaći* and *otići* are typical verbs of motion.

The group consisting of the multi-word verbs with the extended meaning offers a possibility to apply the conceptual metaphor, like in the following examples:

6) a) I am sure he will come over to my way of thinking. (101)
   b) Siguran sam da ću ga pridobiti za za svoj način mišljenja. (102)
7) a) Tyndale will not come out in favour of Henry's divorce… (303)
   b) Tindejl se neće založiti za Henrijev razvod… (270)
8) a) 'I am sorry the marriage with my nephew did not come off. (470)
   b) - Žao mi je što nije prošla ona ideja da se udaš za mog sestrića. (411)
9) a) 'Get me a divorce, Cromwell, will you? You and my lord archbishop, come up with some grounds. (548)
   b) Pomozi mi da se razvedem, Kromvele, je l' bi hteo? Ti i gospodin nadbiskup naći ćete već valjane razloge… (478)

10) a) 'I knew your father would come round, once he had seen her.' (650)
b) Znao sam da će tvoj otac aminovati taj brak čim nju vidi. (563)

The context points to the metaphorical meaning of the phrasal lexeme *come over* (6a), because movement in the physical space is replaced by the movement or more precisely change in the mental space. The particle *over* from the spatial meaning *across, spatially distant* acquires the meaning of crossing the given difference, entering into the mental container and accepting a standpoint, with the conceptual metaphor ACCESSING IS AGREEING/UNDERSTANDING. The Serbian translation *pridobiti* (6b) conceptualizes exactly this meaning, without the components indicating physical movement. The example (7a) illustrates the metaphorization of the spatial meaning of the particle *out*: this particle implies getting outside of the given space of the container in order to clarify one's standpoint (OUT IS VISIBLE/AUDIBLE); the translation *založiti se* (7b) also points to such a configuration. In the remaining English examples the particle also undergoes the process of metaphorization: *off* (8a) has a complex spatial meaning *separation from the container*, and the accomplished separation can be understood as the realization till the end, the process completed (in this case, with a negative result); *up* in (9a) implies the existence of the result of the mental process (UP IS VISIBLE), while *round* (10a) implies a mental movement to acquire similar views about an issue (TURNING IS CHANGING ONE'S OPINION). The Serbian translation equivalents clearly point to the more abstract meaning (not physical movement): *proći* in the sense *be accepted* (8a), *naći (razloge)* (9b) and *aminovati* (10b).

3.2. Multi-word verbs with the verb *fall* and its Serbian translation equivalents

The corpus contains a relatively small number of phrasal lexemes with the verb *fall* and only four of them have an extended meaning (16%), while other combinations keep the basic meaning of movement. The Table 3 specifies that seven particles were recorded (*away, back, down, in, off, out* and *over*); only the particles *back, in* and *out* take part in the phrasal lexemes with an extended meaning. These numerical facts point to a smaller combinational potential of the verb *fall* in the corpus, and particu-

larly to the tendency for the combinations to refer to the domain of physical movement, without the extension of meanings into a more abstract domain. The Table 3 presents detailed numerical data:

Table 3: Multi-word verbs with the verb *fall* in the corpus

No	Multi-word verb	Basic meaning	Extended meaning	Total
1	fall away	1	0	1
2	fall back	2	1	3
3	fall down	6	0	6
4	fall in	2	1	3
5	fall off	5	0	5
6	fall out	3	2	5
7	fall over	1	0	1
	TOTAL	20 (84%)	4 (16%)	24

Combinations with the basic meaning make 84% of the examples:

11) a) 'Sit down before you fall down.' (5)
    b) - Sedi tu dok nisi pao. (22)
12) a) … and the crowd shrieked and fell back, and then came on again… (354)
    b) … a masa je cičala i uzmicala, pa opet kidisala.. (313)
13) a) …till someone saw that he was about to fall over: (550)
    b) … ili dok, doslovce, nije pao. (479)
14) a) Do you see how her cheeks have fallen in? (302)
    b) Jesi li video kako su joj obrazi upali? (269)

In the two of the listed examples (11a, 13a), the verb *fall* is a typical verb of motion with an animate subject (who, because of the semantics of this verb, is not a conscious agent, but more the experiencer or patient) and the particles (*down, over*) indicate the direction of the movement. In the example (12a), the verb *fall* does not have its basic meaning of spatial movement from a higher to a lower point, but together with the particle *back* it indicates the movement backwards, the concept denoted by the Serbian translation *uzmicati*. Similarly to the multi-word verbs with the verb *come*, the last example (14a) contains a situation with an inanimate subject (*cheeks*), but remains the verb of motion, that is the verb denoting physical movemenmt with the particle *in* implying the direction. All the translations into Serbian imply movement (*pasti, zastati, upasti*), and

the prefix *u-* (*upasti* in 14b) has the spatial meaning of the preposition *u* (*in*) (cf. Klajn 2002: 282).

The phrasal lexemes with the extended meaning in this group are a few, for instance:

15) a)… if only I fall in with their wishes, and put myself out of the estate of queen and wife.' (290)
b) … jedino još ostaje da se ja povinujem njihovim željama i odreknem se statusa kraljice i supruge. (259)
16) a) He has fallen out with his brothers… (607)
b) Posvađao se s braćom… (527)

The examples (15a) and (16a) show that the particles *in* and *out* in their extended meanings also imply opposite concepts: IN IS CLOSE/CONGRUOUS and OUT IS DISTANT/INCONGRUOUS; so with these particles, the verb *fall* denotes mental closeness (15a) or mental distance (16a). The translation equivalents (15b, 16b) do nor contain the verbs of motion, but verbs denoting a mental state or standpoint (*povinovati se, posvađati se*).

3.3. Multi-word verbs with the verb *walk* and its Serbian translation equivalents

Multi-word verbs with the verb *walk* from the corpus are almost all used in the basic spatial meaning (98%); seven different phrasal lexemes were recorded with the particles *away, back, in, off, on, out* and *up*. As for the recorded particles, the particle *away* has the highest combinational potential (50% examples from the corpus), and it is the only particle in this part of the corpus with both the basic and extended meaning (just in one example). All other particles (six of them) were recoreded in phrasal lexemes with spatial meanings, which indicates a modest tendency the lexical verb *walk* in the corpus for the extension of meanings towards the more abstract domains. All numerical facts are inserted in the Table 4:

Table 4: Multi-word verbs with the verb *walk* in the corpus

No	Multi-word verb	Basic meaning	Extended meaning	Total
1	walk away	23	1	24
2	walk back	2	0	2
3	walk in	12	0	12
4	walk off	1	0	1

5	walk on	2	0	2
6	walk out	2	0	2
7	walk up	5	0	5
	TOTAL	47 (98%)	1 (2%)	48

The first group of sentences illustrates the typical examples with the spatial meaning:

17) a) As he walks away he thinks, that's a conversation I shouldn't have had. (171)
b) On odlazi i razmišlja: ovaj razgovor mi uopšte nije bio potreban. (161)
18) a) He walks up to the scarlet mound. (268)
b) Kromvel prilazi skreletnoj gomilici koja leži na patosu. (242)
19) a) Leaving Mass, against all advice he walks out among the crowds… (396)
b) Odlazeći s mise, oglušivši se o savete, on ušeta u svetinu… (348)

In the quoted examples (17a, 18a, 19a) the verb *walk* retains its basic meaning, as well as the particles: movement to a more distant position (*away*), movement to a specific point (*up*) and leaving the given container (*out*). As expected, the Serbian translation equivalents are also the verbs of motion: *odlaziti* (17b) with the ablative meaning of the prefix *od-* added to the verb of movement (Klajn 2002: 273), *prilaziti* (18b) with the prefix *pri-* carrying the meaning of getting closer (Klajn 2002: 273) and *ušetati* (19b) with the prefix *u-* and the verb of movement *šetati* (Klajn 2002: 282) which is the direct equivalent of the English verb *walk*. Still, the English phrasal lexeme *walks out* in (19a) implies going into the open space among people, while the Serbian verb *ušetati* in (19b) implies moving into a group of people.

The only example with the extended meaning contains the particle *away*:

20) a) Today, because of his office, he walks away, but tomorrow, who knows? (352)
b) Danas, zbog položaja na kojem je, još može da se izvuče, ali sutra – ko zna? (311)

The context (*his office/položaj*) indicates that it is not the case of a spatial meaning, namely of the literal leaving of a specific location. Thus both the verb *walk* and the particle *away* extend their meanings: physical movement to a more distant position transforms into the salvation from an unfavourable situation through the conceptual metaphor (AWAY IS SAFE). The basic meaning of the verb in the Serbian translation (*izvući se*) is an activity implying movement, and the prefix

iz- has the spatial meaning of the preposition *iz* (Klajn 2002: 254) which can be related to the meaning of the English particle *away*. Therefore, in both languages the lexical verb denotes movement: this verb is followed by the locative particle (in English) or preceded by a locative prefix (in Serbian) which both extend their meaning towards the more abstract concept of leaving an unfavourable situation.

4. CONCLUSION

The English multi-word verbs often contain a verb of motion and the particle denoting the direction of that motion, but this meaning of physical movement can be extended by metaphorization, by the conceptual metaphor. According to the postulates in the professional literature, the extended meanings of these verbs include the meanings in which the verb, the particle or both of these elements acquire a more abstract meaning. Such changes in meaning can be related to the basic meaning by the conceptual metaphor. Therefore, this paper investigated the corpus with English multi-word verbs which have a verb of motion as its base (specifically, the verbs *come, fall* and *walk*), as well as the Serbian translation equivalents of these multi-word verbs. Naturally, all the conclusions are valid for the situation in the corpus and the noted trends should be checked with a larger number of more diverse examples.

In the entire corpus there prevail multi-word verbs with the meaning of physical movement (about 81%), while the combinations with a more abstract meaning comprize only about 19%; this is certainly also influenced by the narrativity of a historical novel in which the phrasal lexemes are often used to describe the movements of the characters. As it has already been mentioned in the paper, the basic spatial meanings also comprized a number of the English multi-word verbs with inanimate subjects; this subgroup within a larger group of phrasal lexemes with the literal meaning certainly deserves additional study with a larger sample.

As for the three analysed English lexical verbs of movement, the verb *come* appears in the largest number of examples and also shows the largest potential for the extension of meaning, notably with the particles *down, out* and *on*. Namely, with the first two mentioned particles it can be associated with the productive conceptual metaphors DOWN IS WORSE, OUT IS VISIBLE/NOTICEABLE; the third particle (*on*) carries the spatial meaning of horizontal presence associated with the abstract meaning of continuation/extension (cf. Bolinger 171: 107).

The corpus contains a much smaller number of examples with the other two analysed verbs (*fall, walk*) which also show a lower potential for the extension of meaning (particularly *walk*). In the corpus, the verb *fall* develops meta-

phorical meanings in the combinations with the particles *back, in* and *out*. Thus the spatial meaning *inside* (the particle *in*) extends towards the more abstract implications of closeness and consensus; the opposite spatial meaning *outside* (the particle *out*) extends towards misunderstanding and dispute. The verb *walk* in the corpus shows only one combination with the extended meaning, with the particle *away*; the spatial meaning of moving to a more distant position is extended (thought conceptual metaphor) towards the meaning of overcoming difficulties or unfavourable circumstances.

The Serbian translation equivalents in the corpus, as it was expected, include two groups of verb lexemes. The first group consists of the Serbian equivalents of the English phrasal lexemes with the basic spatial meaning; these Serbian equivalents also include the verbs of motion, some of them with prefixes which themelves imply the spatial meaning (for instance, *iz-, u-*). Spatial meanings of these prefixes, except in some specific translator's solutions, mostly correspond to the spatial meaning of the English particles. In the second group, Serbian verb lexemes with the more abstract meanings were used to indicate the metaphorical meanings of the English multi-word verbs. The Serbian translation equivalents from the second group typically do not belong to the verbs of motion which underwent the extension of meanings (for instance, *pridobiti, založiti se, posvađati se)*; however, in some cases even the Serbian verb with the component of movement extended its meaning in the similar way as the English multi-word verb (for instance, *izvući se – walk away*).

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ENGLESKI VIŠEČLANI GLAGOLI KRETANJA SA *COME, FALL* I *WALK* I NJIHOVI SRPSKI EKVIVALENTI

Rezime

Engleski višečlani glagoli tipično sadrže dinamične leksičke glagole koji sa adverbijalnom ili predloškom partikulom čine leksičku celinu. Glagoli kretanja često se u engleskom jeziku kombinuju sa partikulom, a značenje te frazne lekseme može zadržati osnovni koncept fizičkog kretanja, pri čemu partikula specifikuje pravac tog kretanja, ali može podrazumevati i apstraktnija prenesena značenja. Stoga se u ovom istraživanju proučavaju engleski višečlani glagoli sa tri glagola kretanja (*come, fall, walk*) da bi se ustanovio njihov stepen idiomatizovanosti i da bi se proučilo metaforičko proširivanje značenja kako leksičkog glagola, tako i partikule koja ulazi u sastav višečlanog glagola. U takvom proučavanju polazi se od pojedinih postavki kognitivne lingvistike, posebno od pojmovne metafore. Proučavanje se zasniva na paralelnom englesko-srpskom korpusu sa primerima engleskih fraznih glagola koji sadrže glagol kretanja i njihovim srpskim prevodnim ekvivalentima. Analiza je pokazala da u primerima iz korpusa preovlađuju osnovna prostorna značenja, da veći potencijal za metaforizaciju značenja iskazuju glagoli *come* i *fall*, a znatno manji glagol *walk*. Srpski prevodni ekvivalenti, očekivano, sadrže glagole kretanja, kao i druge glagolske lekseme koje označavaju apstraktnija značenja engleskih višečlanih glagola. Uz to, prevodni ekvivalenti često sadrže i glagolske prefikse od kojih neki impliciraju slična prostorna značenja kao pojedine partikule u engleskim višečlanm glagolima.

Ključne reči: višečlani glagoli, glagoli kretanja, pojmovna metafora, engleski, srpski.

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INTERRELATION BETWEEN COOPERATIVENESS AND POLITENESS IN DISAGREEING WITH THE INTERLOCUTOR IN AN AMERICAN AND A SERBIAN FILM

The paper deals with the interconnection between the pragmatic phenomena of cooperativeness and politeness in the speech act of disagreement with the interlocutor in selected dialogues from the films *Playing by Heart* (1998, USA) and *Žena sa slomljenim nosem* (Eng. *The Woman with a Broken Nose*, 2010, Serbia). Shedding light on Grice's Cooperative Principle and its four underlying maxims, as well as on Leech's (1983) and Brown and Levinson's (1987) views on politeness and its links to the Cooperative Principle, the paper also introduces certain more recent contributions to the theory of politeness (Watts, Werkhofer, Locher), and their ideas on the nature of this interrelatedness, which they see as unfounded and thus unjustifiably and artificially established as relevant. Bearing in mind both opposing views, the paper discusses the phenomena of cooperativeness, indirectness, politeness and politic behaviour based on a qualitative analysis of selected examples of speech acts of disagreement from the above-mentioned corpus of dialogues, with an aim to contribute to a more thorough understanding of their nature in the two languages and in the contextual frames of the two cultures.

Keywords: cooperativeness, politeness, disagreement with the interlocutor, indirectness, mitigated disagreement

1. DISAGREEMENT WITH THE INTERLOCUTOR THROUGH THE PRISM OF THE COOPERATIVE PRINCIPLE AND POLITENESS THEORY

The interrelatedness of the pragmatic phenomena of cooperativeness and politeness has provoked and is still provoking considerable controversy in linguistic, anthropological and sociological circles. The speech act of disagreement with the interlocutor represents suitable language material for comparing and contrasting two linguistic schools of thought which differ, among other aspects, in defining the concept and term of 'politeness' and its link with the cooperative-

ness of the communicators. In this paper, their basic postulates will be discussed and exemplified through selected dialogues in English and Serbian, extracted from a US and Serbian feature-length motion picture. It is also expected that the analysed dialogues would make a modest contribution to the comparative study of the two cultures – American, generally seen as a predominantly individualistic, negative-politeness culture, and Serbian, primarily regarded as an integrative, positive-politeness society.

1.1. The Cooperative Principle and the speech act of disagreement with the interlocutor

Grice's 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" (Grice 1975: 45), is fundamentally about the interlocutors' need to accept a concept of communication based on mutual cooperation, in order for the communication process to be successful. The CP is based on four maxims (Grice 1975: 46-47):

1. *Maxim of Quality*, which refers to the quality, i.e. the truth value of the utterance, and requires from the speaker to tell the truth;
2. *Maxim of Quantity*, which refers to the quantity, i.e. the amount of information, and requires from the speaker not to say more or less than needed;
3. *Maxim of Relation*, which refers to making a relevant contribution to the conversation and requires from the speaker to adhere to the topic;
4. *Maxim of Manner*, which refers to the way in which the message is formulated and requires from the speaker to produce a concise and clear utterance and avoid ambiguities and repetition.

It is possible to disregard the maxims in various ways (flouting, violating, infringing, suspending, opting out of a maxim), while conversational implicatures – unexpressed intended meanings – enable successful communication even in cases of non-adherence to the maxims, when the hearer invests a certain amount of interpretative effort to overcome the difficulties arising from the breach of one or more maxims.

On the other hand, verbal disagreement with the interlocutor, i.e. the speech act of disagreeing, defined as "a verbal oppositional stance to an antecedent verbal (or non-verbal) action" (Kakavá 1993: 36), is primarily characterized by two features: the addressee's action-environment restriction, and an inherent involvement of conflict and clash of interests (Locher 2004: 94). It is, however, of crucial importance to stress that disagreement with the interlocutor does not automatically entail a lack of cooperativeness. In other words, the speaker does not agree with the hearer, but at the same time he/she may be:

1. telling the truth;

2. saying neither more nor less than is needed;
3. adhering to the topic of the conversation, and
4. expressing his/her disagreement in a concise, clear and direct way.

Therefore, the addressor, obeying the four maxims, does not breach the CP. At the same time, however, he/she usually neglects the Politeness Principle (PP).

1.2. The Politeness Principle and the speech act of disagreeing with the interlocutor

Leech (1983) conceived the Politeness Principle as stemming from the Cooperative Principle, as its necessary supplement which provides for and justifies the motivation of the speaker in cases of his/her non-adherence to the maxims. Furthermore, Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), authors of the most widely accepted view on politeness in the late 20th century, discuss the issue of indirectness in communication that breaches the CP, as one of their most significant contributions to this field. According to these authors, the speaker uses indirect forms in order to avoid performing a face-threatening act, but also to conceal or mitigate the potential antagonism between himself/herself and the hearer.

Both Leech and Brown and Levinson recognize the speech acts of agreeing and disagreeing with the interlocutor as important in their discussions of politeness. Namely, one of the maxims within Leech's PP is the *Agreement Maxim* – "minimize the expression of disagreement between self and other; maximize the expression of agreement between self and other" (Leech 1983: 132). Brown and Levinson, on their part, introduce two highly ranked output strategies of positive politeness – "seek agreement" and "avoid disagreement" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 102).

Disagreement with the interlocutor is generally regarded as dispreferred verbal behaviour (Pomerantz 1984), because such an act potentially threatens the interlocutor's *face* – his or her public self-image, which is a concept and term utilized by Brown and Levinson, but originally introduced by Goffman (1967), as "…the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (Goffman 1967: 5). As far as the ranking of politeness strategies is concerned, Brown and Levinson introduce a scale ranging from the most polite option – *say nothing*, followed by *say something off record*, *say something on record*, with *negative* or *positive politeness strategies*, to the least polite utterance – *say something bald on record*, which represents an open and unmitigated way of, in this case, disagreeing with the interlocutor.

The above ranking results in certain consequences when it comes to the speaker's choice of politeness strategies: the higher the strategy on the scale –

the higher the degree of indirectness, but, at the same time, seemingly, the lower the degree of transparent cooperativeness. At this point, it is important to stress that negative politeness strategies place emphasis on respecting the addressee's independence, privacy, individuality and his/her need not to be imposed on, and such utterances are therefore regularly characterized by a higher degree of indirectness (e.g. *Would you be so kind as to open the window?*). On the other hand, positive politeness strategies, which as a rule result in more direct utterances, aim at establishing a relationship based on mutual friendship, belonging to the same social circle, having similar goals (e.g. *Pal, please open the window just a little bit…*), which makes it possible to view the degree of directly obeying the CP as higher.

1.3. Opposing views

The last decade of the 20th century saw the emergence of new linguistic views on the discussed topics, within the so-called *postmodern approach* (Watts 2005a, 2005b, originally 1992), opposed to the previous *modern approach*, primarily represented by Leech's and Brown and Levinson's models of politeness. Among the numerous views clashing with those of the most widely accepted theoretical frameworks of the 1970s and 1980s, it is Watts's (2005a, 2005b, originally 1992), Werkhofer's (2005) and Locher's (2004) ideas that are of particular significance for the considerations in this paper.

Some of the most relevant objections to the previous models raised by the representatives of the postmodern approach can be summarized as follows:

- exaggerating the importance and universality of indirectness as a politeness strategy; (counter-argument: there are direct utterances, in certain situations and across different cultural matrices, which are considered to be more acceptable than indirect ones);
- diminishing the importance of context – cultural, social and situational;
- quantifying the risk to the hearer's face; (counter-argument: the formula for calculating the potential risk to the interlocutor's face is oversimplified and it includes restricted, arbitrary and barely measurable contextual factors: **W** = **D** (S, H) + **P** (S, H) + **R** (S, H) – according to this formula, W – *the weightiness of imposition* is equal to the sum of the value of three parameters: D – *social distance of S [speaker] and H [hearer]*, P – *the relative power of S and H*, and R – *the relative ranking of the imposition in the cultural context* (Brown and Levinson 1987: 76));
- universal applicability of the model;
- terminology centred around the term 'politeness'; (counter-argument: the spectrum of human verbal behaviour cannot only be reduced to *polite* and *impolite* utterances; instead, it is better to divide it into *politic* (socially acceptable, appropriate) and *non-politic* (unacceptable, inappropriate) be-

haviour, in which case *polite* would only represent a marked form of politic, positively marked, behaviour, while *impolite*, with *rude* as its extreme case, along with *over-polite*, constitute forms of socially inappropriate, negatively marked behaviour (Watts 2005a: xliii-xliv).

The objection to the older models which is, however, of greatest relevance to the topic of this paper is the one pertaining to the initial link between the CP and politeness theory. Thus, Werkhofer (2005: 161) reiterates Grice's point that a cooperative speaker, regardless of the degree of directness of his/her utterance, strives to succeed and, with the help of implicatures, eventually usually does succeed in *conveying his/her true intentions*. The fundamental difference between this postulate and Brown and Levinson's model of politeness is the claim that, unlike the cooperative speaker, the polite one, in order to avoid or soften a possible threat to the hearer's face, strives to succeed and eventually usually does succeed in *concealing his/her true intentions* (Werkhofer 2005: 161).

The analysis of selected English and Serbian film dialogues will focus on the problems introduced in this section, by taking into consideration both opposing views, with the aim to describe the relationship between cooperativeness and politeness in the two languages but also in the contemporary US and Serbian urban cultures adequately represented in the selected motion pictures.

2. DISAGREEMENT WITH THE INTERLOCUTOR IN SELECTED FILM DIALOGUES IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN

2.1. The selected films

Playing by Heart (directed by Willard Carroll, 1998, USA) and *Žena sa slomljenim nosem* [*The Woman with a Broken Nose*] (directed by Srđan Koljević, 2010, Serbia) belong to the category of multiprotagonist (inter-action) films, whose characters appear in a series of seemingly unrelated episodes, amidst circumstances leading to certain critical moments in their lives. The US film offers a vivid depiction of the present-day urban middle and upper-middle class in Los Angeles, the second largest and most vibrant American city, whereas the Serbian story portrays the reality of contemporary Belgrade, the country's capital and its only metropolis.

The plot of *Playing by Heart* unfolds in Los Angeles over the course of several days, in the late 1990s, and follows the life stories of eleven apparently unconnected people: Joan and Keenan, an attractive but unsuccessful young actress and a withdrawn lonely guy, who embark on a seemingly doomed relationship burdened by Keenan's painful secret; Hannah and Paul, an elderly

couple whose harmonious 40-year marriage becomes endangered by Hannah's reflections on Paul's long-forgotten love affair; Meredith and Trent, an emotionally unstable middle-aged theatre director and a successful self-confident architect, who try to get closer to each other, in spite of their conspicuously different characters and Meredith's previous traumatic experiences with men; Gracie and Hugh, a middle-aged childless couple whose lifeless marriage is falling apart under the burden of Hugh's inferiority complex and Gracie's secret affair with Roger, a priest who is in love with her; Mildred and Mark, a caring unhappy mother and her dying son, who find the strength to confide in each other in their most difficult moments and thus find solace in their openness. It is near the end of the film that the viewer puts together individual events into a mosaic that represents the complexity of human relationships and contradictory feelings between characters linked by belonging to the same familial, social and/or cultural milieu.

On the other hand, the events in *Žena sa slomljenim nosem* take place during a few days in Belgrade, at the beginning of the new millennium and, like in the American film, they depict the lives of a number of people who seem to have no connection to each other, but whose paths gradually become inextricably intertwined. The gallery of characters includes the following: Gavrilo, a depressed and quiet taxi driver, a Bosnian refugee; Jasmina, an unstable and nervous young woman with a baby born out of wedlock with Vuk, a hooligan who will not let her move on with her life; Jadranka, Gavrilo's compatriot, the former Miss Mostar who is now, as a refugee, forced to earn her living as an escort in Hotel Yugoslavia in Belgrade; Rajko, also from Bosnia, a taxi driver involved in shady weapons deals; Anica, a high-school teacher, the target of constant and aggressive courtship of her student Marko, who is unaware of her painful bond with his family; Biljana, a pharmacist in her thirties who breaks up with her rational and self-confident fiancé Goran, after she realizes that she has not got over the death of the love of her life, her former boyfriend with whose younger brother Stefan, an orthodox priest, she starts a desperate short-lived affair, while Stefan and his young wife Milica are expecting the birth of their first child. What all the listed characters have in common is a shadow of a painful personal past which threatens to overwhelm the present, but from which, at the same time, the characters try to escape and move on with their lives, relieved of the burden of past traumatic events.

To sum up, the plots each involve up to twenty characters whose intricate relationships and ambivalent feelings have one common denominator – they stem from similar cultural milieus and share a common core of expected patterns of social and linguistic behaviour. The protagonists of the selected US and Serbian film, whose verbal behaviour provides the linguistic data for this study, use contemporary spoken English and Serbian, respectively, and, therefore, the selected dialogues lend themselves well to the kind of comparative analysis in this paper.

The following section brings an analysis of the selected dialogues representing examples of speech acts of disagreement with the interlocutor, through the prism of verbal politeness. It is important to stress that, when it comes to the extent and frequency of occurrence of certain pragmatic phenomena, the number and type of examples represent a cross-section of the instances of speech acts of disagreeing in the two films.

2.2. Analysis of the selected film dialogues

At the very beginning, the aim is to take a look at the mitigation of disagreement with the interlocutor in the two languages. Mitigated verbal disagreement can be defined as "a case of disagreement whose potential face-threatening force has been softened or, even, minimized[1] by means of employing mitigating strategies for avoiding straightforward disagreement" (Panić Kavgić 2010: 431). Strategies perceived in the two selected films include: offering objective explanations and reasons for disagreeing, giving personal or emotional reasons, the use of hedges[2] and discourse markers[3], shifting responsibility, as well as addressing the interlocutor by his/her first name or nickname. This kind of classification, complemented by a few other mitigating strategies, was proposed in Panić Kavgić (2010: 431), based on a similar categorization by Locher (2004: 113). Prior to the classification itself and the analysis of examples, it is worth mentioning that there are three times more speech acts of mitigated disagreement in the US film than in the Serbian one (bearing in mind the length of both films and transcripts, i.e. the number of words uttered), which is a result very similar to that obtained by the analysis of dialogues in the films *Crash* and *Bure baruta* [Eng. *Cabaret Balkan*], elaborated in Panić Kavgić (2010).

What follows are representative examples of mitigated disagreement with the interlocutor, classified according to the above-mentioned strategies, or combinations of strategies, which were employed in each particular case:

[1] The extent to which the force of a face-threatening act has been softened by employing one of the mitigating strategies depends on whether a particular case of disagreement is perceived as weak or strong, according to the division of disagreements seen as dispreferred answers, which was proposed by Pomerantz (1984).

[2] Yule (1996) defines hedges as "cautious notes expressed about how an utterance is to be taken, used when giving some information" (Yule 1996: 130).

[3] Discourse markers include expressions such as: *well*, *oh*, *you know*, *I mean*, etc. Schiffrin (1987) defines them as "…elements that signal relations between units of talk by virtue of their syntactic and semantic properties and by virtue of their sequential relations as initial or terminal brackets demarcating discourse units" (Schiffrin 1987: 40).

- Offering objective explanations and reasons for disagreeing:[4]

Playing by Heart:
Hugh: I lost my wife and son.
Allison: Well, ask the bartender. He can find anything.
Hugh: No. *They're dead*.[5]

Keenan: That's the ugliest cat I've ever seen.
Joan: She's an angel.
Keenan*: She only has one eye*.

Žena sa slomljenim nosem:
Jadranka: Pa jesi ti lud, Gavro?
Gavrilo: Ma šta sam lud, *uzelo bi mi udruženje dozvolu, uzeli bi mi kola, stavili me u zatvor*.

- Offering objective explanations and reasons, accompanied by first-name address:

Playing by Heart:
Joan: Well, none of this means you can't love.
Keenan: *Joan*, it means exactly that. *It doesn't mean anything else*.

- Offering objective explanations and reasons, accompanied by the use of discourse markers:

Žena sa slomljenim nosem:
Biljana: Baš četvrtog.
Goran: Četvrtog.
Biljana: *Pa tad beše Tito umro*?
Goran: Pa šta onda?
Biljana: *Pa šta ja znam*, možda bude bedak. *Nije neki dan za venčanje.*

- Using hedges:

Playing by Heart:
Mildred: I'll never know everything about Mark... But I know some things about him now that I never knew before.

[4] Verbal strategies for mitigating speech acts of disagreement with the interlocutor will not be defined or further elaborated due to the restrictions imposed by the expected scope of this paper. A more detailed description of all mitigating strategies is given in Panić Kavgić (2010).
[5] Parts of the dialogues exemplifying a certain mitigation strategy are given in italics.

Meredith: *I think* we don't need to know everything about the people we love.

- Giving personal or emotional reasons for disagreeing:

Playing by Heart:
Allison: You shouldn't be alone.
Hugh: Yes, I should. *I should be alone in hell. That's where I am.*

Žena sa slomljenim nosem:
Anica: Proći će to. Samo ti je frka.
Biljana: Ne, *nego sam shvatila – koga to lažem? Sebe? Manijak, čoveče. Manijak!*

Marko: Što mi zavidiš, to je užas.
Anica: Ne, ne. *Drugo je užas*. *To je totalno suprotno od užasa, veruj mi.*

- Giving personal or emotional reasons, accompanied by the use of discourse markers:

Playing by Heart:
Paul: Stop trying to control me.
Hannah: I'm not trying to control anybody. *I just think maybe…*

- Shifting responsibility:

Playing by Heart:
Hannah: Well, you seem to know me a lot better than I know you.
Paul: *You know* that's not true.

Joan: We were together for five months.
Keenan: I thought it was four.
Joan: You were paying attention.
Keenan: *Everyone in this club* was paying attention.

The stated examples testify to the view that a certain degree of indirectness, as a consequence of applying one or more mitigating strategies, does result in utterances more polite than they would be had they been left in their unmitigated, more direct form – a fact that supports the high ranking of indirectness on Brown and Levinson's politeness scale. Negative-politeness strategies, which are, according to these authors, ranked above positive-politeness ones, were used more in the analysed US film transcript, while positive-politeness

strategies, characterized by a lower degree of indirectness, occurred more in the Serbian film. The CP is regularly breached in the above examples, especially in the more indirect cases of negative politeness, most often by flouting the maxim of relation, but the implicatures, as a rule, are understandable enough not to lead to more serious obstacles in communication.

However, indirectness does not necessarily lead to mitigation of disagreement:

Playing by Heart:
Paul: Hannah, it was 25 years ago, and it wasn't an affair.
Hannah: *Oh, don't insult my intelligence.*

On the other hand, unmitigated disagreement does not automatically mean that the utterance is impolite:

Playing by Heart:
Meredith: I can still be a wonderful person and not have anybody in my life. Look, I'm just not interested in a relationship right now.
Jane: *You are such a liar.*

Žena sa slomljenim nosem:

Jadranka: Poslednja pionirka što je Titi predavala štafetu. Znači, carica Mostara do rata. Mis Neretve '88. A vidi sad…
Gavrilo: *Sad si mis Jugoslavije.*

Anica: Obio si kola!
Marko: *To je jugo. Otvorio sam ga ključem od kuće.*

It is especially evident in the last example that the utterance is not clearly marked as either polite or impolite, but would in all probability belong to the scope of neutral verbal behaviour. This means that it would be better to apply Watts's conceptual and terminological framework and label the utterance as simply *politic*, than rely on Brown and Levinson's polite/impolite dichotomy. In other words, the utterance *To je jugo. Otvorio sam ga ključem od kuće.* [*It's a Yugo. I opened it with my house key.*] in the given context cannot be considered either polite or impolite, but would belong to that part of socially acceptable behaviour which is seen as neutral (unlike its positively marked cases – polite behaviour).

On the other hand, directness as the expected form of unmitigated disagreement with the interlocutor, more often in the American than in the Serbian film, does indeed result in impoliteness and, consequently, more transparent adherence to the CP:

Playing by Heart:

Paul: Hey, calm down. You're overwrought.
Hannah: *I am perfectly wrought*. Given the circumstances, *I'm even a bit underwrought*.
Paul: There's no such word.

Keenan: You don't have to say anything. I… I told you because I wanted to tell you. I wanted to because for the first time in a long time I wish things were different.
Joan: They can be.
Keenan: *No, they can't*.

Žena sa slomljenim nosem:

Vuk: Onda idemo, imamo dete.
Jasmina: *Ja ne idem, rekla sam ti*.

There are, however, cases, most of them in the Serbian film, where the obvious directness of the speech act of disagreement does not lead to impolite verbal behaviour, but constitutes acceptable social behaviour in the given context:[6]

Playing by Heart:

Paul: Stop trying to control me.
Hannah: I'm not trying to control anybody. I just think maybe…
Paul: *Don't think*.

Žena sa slomljenim nosem:

Vuk: On je, znači. Što ga braniš?
Jasmina: *Nije*.

Biljana: Eto, vidiš!
Anica: *Nije to to!*

Jadranka: Bog zna šta si ženi rek'o, pa je morala skakati.
Gavrilo: *Nisam, majke mi!*
Jadranka: *Jesi i ćuti!*

Finally, the dialogues in Serbian contain a number of examples of disagreement expressed through clearly impolite short interrogative forms, which,

[6] In a paper of this format, it is impossible to shed light on the contextual details surrounding and largly shaping the selected examples, i.e. the verbal behaviour of the interlocutors. Therefore, relevant conclusions are given bearing in mind the author's knowledge and awareness of them.

despite their indirectness, undeniably represent non-politic, negatively marked verbal behaviour:

Žena sa slomljenim nosem:
Biljana: Stani, čoveče, neko je skočio!
Goran: *Ko je skočio?! Šta lupetaš?!*

Anica: To je čudo!
Marko: *Šta je čudo?!* Slušaj, ja neću da odem odavde dok mi sve ne ispričaš.

Anica: Prodajte mi... Platiću, ne pitam šta košta.
Rajko: *Je l' si ti luda?!* Mogao bih te prijaviti.

Anica: Nije to to!
Biljana: *Nego šta je?* Nego šta je, 'ajde kaži!

3. CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the discussed theoretical considerations and the analysis of the selected film dialogues in English and Serbian, it is possible to reach three conclusions. The first refers to the link between directness or indirectness and mitigated or unmitigated disagreement with the interlocutor, the second pertains to conceptual and terminological matters, while the third is about the phenomenon of politeness in a wider cultural context in which the communication process takes place.

3.1. Directness/indirectness of the utterance and mitigated/unmitigated disagreement

It has been established that mitigated disagreement with the interlocutor dominates over unmitigated in the film *Playing by Heart*, and that there is more unmitigated disagreement than mitigated in *Žena sa slomljenim nosem*, which corroborates the findings and conclusions in Panić Kavgić (2010). As mitigated disagreement regularly implies a higher degree of indirectness, and, supposedly, a higher degree of politeness, it may also lead to transparent non-adherence to Grice's Cooperative Principle, justified by the need for politeness. The hearer is aided by implicatures which prevent the communication from collapsing. It has, however, been shown that unmitigated disagreement may also be expressed in an indirect way, sometimes with a touch of irony.

On the other hand, indirectness does not necessarily point to a higher degree of politeness, a fact first highlighted by Blum-Kulka (1987). This may result in a situation in which the two principles, both the CP and the PP, are breached simultaneously. In other words, non-adherence to one or more of the maxims underlying the CP cannot in this case be accounted for by the need for politeness. Finally, it has been demonstrated that directness does not necessarily imply impoliteness – a situation in which, unlike the previous case, both principles, the CP and the PP, are obeyed at the same time.

3.2. Conceptual and terminological issues

In accordance with the conclusions in the previous section, regardless of whether it has been formulated directly or indirectly, unmitigated disagreement does not necessarily result in impoliteness, but can belong to the domain of neutral, socially acceptable verbal behaviour, termed *politic behaviour* by Watts (2005a: xliii). In this paper the stance has been taken that the concept and term *politic* is more appropriate than *polite*, since politic behaviour is, in fact, polite in its marked form, while it is neutral and as such still socially acceptable in its unmarked form. Therefore, the opposition *politic* (which as its marked form also includes *polite*) vs *non-politic* (which includes both *impolite and over-polite*), in the analysed examples, especially the ones from the Serbian film, appears more applicable and appropriate than the conceptual and terminological pair *polite* vs *impolite*.

3.3. The phenomenon of politeness in a wider cultural context

Last but not least, the analysis of the selected dialogues in this paper gives a modest contribution in support of the claim that American culture is characterized by a higher degree of indirectness in communication, the emphasis being on negative politeness, on respecting the hearer's privacy and individuality and his/her need not to be imposed upon. The selected corpus in English represents a sample of conversations typical of an individualistic culture.

In contrast, the Serbian motion picture depicts a culture with a more direct way of addressing the interlocutor, whereby it is important to stress that more directness in communication does not necessarily imply impolite behvaiour, but represents a conversational style based on emphasizing similarities between the communicators and belonging to the same group or social circle, which are traits of an integrative culture, characteristic of the Central European, Easter European and Mediterranean cultural pattern. Perović (2009) comes to a similar conclusion based on her analysis of Montenegrin culture: "the difference between the

two languages [Serbo-Croatian and English] is not about the degree of politeness, but the degree of indirectness. Speakers of Serbo-Croatian, adhering to the polite forms of their language, are in fact polite, but less indirect…" (Perović 2009: 215).

It is of utmost importance to stress that it is not always easy to draw a line between what is considered to be individualistic and integrative, direct and indirect, between mitigated and unmitigated disagreement and, finally, between socially appropriate and inappropriate verbal behaviour. Therefore, it is only conditionally possible to say that a culture is predominantly individualistic or integrative. One needs to be even more cautious when speakers of a language are indiscriminately labelled as typically polite or impolite; as it has just been emphasized here, they belong to a certain culture which, when it comes to the phenomenon of verbal politeness (here, more precisely, in cases of disagreeing with the interlocutor), is characterized by a degree of directness different from that in another culture.

That is why, at the very end, it is crucial to point out that the phenomena of cooperativeness, politeness and indirectness in disagreeing with the interlocutor should be approached with a necessary degree of generalization, but also with the consciousness that "politeness is necessarily defined within the framework of a given culture" (Coulmas 2005: 321) and, it could be added, within the context of each specific situation that includes numerous extralinguistic parameters, to which due attention could not be paid in a paper of this scope. Finally, the conceptual and terminological system utilized in the study of these phenomena should be adapted to the complex cross-cultural situation reflecting a variety of acceptable or unacceptable forms of verbal behaviour.

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VEZA IZMEĐU KOOPERATIVNOSTI I UČTIVOSTI PRI NESLAGANJU SA SAGOVORNIKOM U JEDNOM AMERIČKOM I JEDNOM SRPSKOM FILMU

Rezime

Rad se bavi vezom između Griceovog principa kooperativnosti i teorije učtivosti na primerima govornog čina neslaganja sa sagovornikom u dijalozima iz američkog igranog filma *Playing by Heart* (srp. *Nekoliko lekcija o ljubavi*) i srpskog *Žena sa slomljenim nosem*. Oslanjajući se na polemiku koja se tiče prirode veze između fenomenâ kooperativnosti, učtivosti i indirektnosti, predmet interesovanja ovog rada jeste njihovo ispoljavanje u određenim situacijama, ilustrovano primerima govornog čina neslaganja

u filmskim dijalozima na engleskom i srpskom jeziku. U uvodnom odeljku razmatraju se princip kooperativnosti i četiri maksime na kojima počiva (Grice 1975), kao i pogledi na jezički ispoljenu učtivost Leecha (1983) i Brownove i Levinsona (1978, 1987), te njihova veza s principom kooperativnosti. Osvrt je dat i na novije doprinose teoriji učtivosti, začete u poslednjoj deceniji XX veka, u okviru kojih se, pre svega, spominju stavovi Wattsa (2005a, 2005b), Werkhofera (2005) i Locherove (2004). Posebno razmatranje zaslužuje nov pojmovno-terminološki okvir koji nudi Watts, sa svojom podelom spektra verbalnog ponašanja na društveno prihvatljivo i neprihvatljivo (eng. *politic* i *non-politic*), umesto, da tada uvreženog, učtivog naspram neučtivog (eng. *polite* i *impolite*). Nakon sažetog prikaza radnje dva odabrana filma i kratkog osvrta na odnose među glavnim likovima, u centralnom odeljku rada dati su primeri raznih strategija ublaženog i neublaženog neslaganja sa sagovornikom, kao reprezentativni slučajevi govornog ponašanja današnjih stanovnika jednog milionskog američkog i srpskog grada. Strategije za ublažavanje neslaganja i, time, mogućeg ugrožavanja lica sagovornika, razmotrene su kroz prizmu međusobne povezanosti ublaženog ili neublaženog neslaganja, direktnosti ili indirektnosti u ophođenju, i učtivosti, odnosno, društveno prihvatljivog ponašanja. U zaključnom odeljku sažeto se iznose glavne primerima potkrepljene postavke o vezi između spomenutih pragmatičkih pojava, zastupa se stav da je Wattsova podela spektra govornog ponašanja svrsishodnija, te se pojmovi učtivosti i društveno prihvatljivog ponašanja smeštaju u odgovarajuće kontekstualne okvire dve ovde razmatrane kulture – američke i srpske.

Ključne reči: kooperativnost, učtivost, neslaganje sa sagovornikom, indirektnost, ublaženo neslaganje

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SPACE IN LOUISE ERDRICH'S *THE ROUND HOUSE*

The focus of this paper is on the exploration of the reservation as portrayed by Louise Erdrich in her novel *The Round House*. The paper also focuses on the connection between land and the Anishinabeg community as the focal point of survival and resistance against oppression. Territory and land represent cornerstones of contemporary Native American writing. Nowhere is that more evident than in Louise Edrich's *The Round House*, the novel that focuses on the exploration of crime and injustice on the reservation which is inextricably linked to land ownership. Moreover, the novel also portrays the consequences of the loss of land to Anishinabe individual and communal identity. Land loss is connected to the process of colonization and its inherent racism and oppression which Erdrich explores. She uses the space of the reservation to portray the clash between two opposing cultures, Native and white, showing that Anishinabeg people still remain disenfranchised.

Key words: space, place, identity, Louise Erdrich, The Round House

"Every society needs ... sacred places because they help to instill a sense of social cohesion in the people and remind them of the passage of generations that have brought them to the present. A society that cannot remember and honor its past is in peril of losing its soul." (Vine Deloria Jr. 1999: 328)

1. INTRODUCTION

It seems that the issues of space permeate contemporary Native American writing. Having been colonized by white people and robbed of their land, indigenous writers portray the injustices that have been done to them by the U.S. government over the last centuries. The importance of land to Native Americans can be seen at present in protests organized by indigenous people against the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline that would endanger the sacred burial grounds of several tribal nations as well as their supplies of clean water. Therefore, land remains the burning issue addressed in contemporary indige-

nous political and artistic life. In her novel *The Round House*, Erdrich "reveals the complications regarding land ownership, legal jurisdiction for prosecuting certain crimes, and tribal sovereignty" (Sneider 2016: 151). In this paper, the problem of racism that defines the space of the reservation is explored, as well as how cultural domination affects the construction of Native American, or more particularly Anishinabe identity.

Louise Erdrich is primarily concerned with space in almost all of her works. Many of her novels take place on an imaginary reservation in North Dakota and paint the picture of life on the Great Plains. She uses this imaginary reservation as the locus for exploration of the violent history between the dominant white society and Native Americans, or more specifically the Anishinabe tribe[1] of which she is a member. Her particular focus is on the "effects of race, miscegenation, the haunting power of the past, and the ironic intersections of the comic and the tragic" (Wong in Stookey 1999: 14). However, to label her rich oeuvre as regional would do it harm since, as Hafen explains, "Erdrich has created a vision of the Great Plains that spans the horizon of time and space and ontologically defines the people of her heritage" (in Stirrup 2010: 5). It can be argued that her imaginative geography is informed with the historical journey of her people, the Anishinabeg, that is inextricably linked to the white settlement and colonization. The themes of dispossession, injustice, racism and cultural colonization explored throughout her work come together in *The Round House*, her most openly political and socially engaged novel that speaks about the contemporary life on the reservation.

In *The Round House*, the ambivalent space of the reservation proves particularly useful for the analysis of the relationship between land, justice and identity in the Anishinabe culture and how Anishinabe identity is influenced by land appropriation and cultural imposition of the white society. The background of *The Round House* a brutal rape of Geraldine Coutts, the main female character, by a white man, Linden Lark, in the vicinity of the round house which is a sacred place to the Anishinabe people. Violated by Geraldine's rape, the round house stands as a microcosm through which the consequences of colonization are brought to light in terms of the Anishinabe political and cultural sovereignty. The crime cannot be prosecuted because of intersecting jurisdictions surrounding the round house. Thus, "the theme of justice … becomes the central focus of this novel" (Kurup 2015: 65). Moreover, in *The Round House,* Erdrich emphasizes that the violence over Geraldine stems from an unaddressed crime from the reservation's past when a group of Anishinabeg was hanged for the crime they did not commit. This happened on the hanging tree located on the reservation.

[1] The term 'Anishinabe' is an endonym denoting a group of the indigenous people living in the U.S. and Canada. 'Anishinabe' is also used as an adjective, whereas the plural form is 'Anishinabeg'.

The tree functions as a symbol of injustice that persists well into the present and represents a window into the reservation's past. With all this in mind, the focus of this paper will be put on the reservation as a political entity that grants certain degree of political and cultural autonomy to the Anishinabe people. However, this political and cultural autonomy is at the same time severely restricted by the white society's discriminatory politics and imperial culture which results in the Anishinabe tribe's inability to obtain justice and preserve their tradition and culture as is portrayed through the stories about the round house and the hanging tree in particular.

2. SPACE AND SPATIAL TURN

It is important to pay attention to the notions of space and spatial turn in order to understand Erdrich's *The Round House*. For a long time, space has been neglected in the study of humanities owing mostly to the imperial discourse that dominated the sciences since the 16th century. In particular, literary theory and criticism up until the 1950s have been primarily concerned with time and temporality as the basic paradigm of human existence. The metaphor of time as a steadily flowing river (Tally 2013: 12) was nowhere better expressed than through the science of history. Historical narratives heavily depended on linearity and the idea that history brings progress and implies constant movement from the primitive past to progressive future (Tally 2013: 13). In the American context, this is evident in the narratives about colonization that feature the settlers as beacons of enlightenment and Native Americans as symbols of past, savagery, and primitivism. This concept of history arose during the Age of Enlightenment which advocated a rational and analytical approach to the processes that were taking place – primarily those of conquest and colonization of the new territories. In this vision of reality, space was regarded solely as a background to the events that were happening. New territories that were conquered were seen as material things devoid of meaning, history, political implications and contexts. Or, as Edward Soja explains, "despatializing historicism … occluded, devalued, and de-politicized space" (in Tally 2013: 12). However, the spatial turn brought a shift in such a perspective of space.

According to Tally, there are several factors that have contributed to the spatial turn in humanities (2013: 12). The Second World War and its consequences, increased globalization trends and migrations, put to the forefront the issues of space, place, land and mapping. In addition, it brought destruction and devastation on a large scale, never witnessed before. Concentration camps, holocaust, genocide and atomic bombs painted the picture of monstrosities the humankind is capable of. In the light of such events, the concepts of time and history came

to be severely criticized and reevaluated. As Bertrand Westpahl explains, "the concept of temporality … had lost much of its legitimacy" and people abandoned "the image of history as a progressive movement towards ever greater freedom and enlightenment" (in Tally 2013: 12). Also, a lot of refugees and émigrés fleeing from persecution brought to light the issues of space, or, more importantly, differences between places. As Tally argues, "[d]isplacement, perhaps more than a homely rootedness in place, underscores the critical importance of spatial relations in our attempts to interpret, and change, the world" (2013: 13). Moreover, new technological advancements such as TV, the Internet, and air travel have brought about the shortening of distances between people. However, the shortening of distances also generated the feelings of anxiety and instability. According to Tally, "revolutionary technological advancements served to suppress distance while also augmenting one's sense of place or of displacement" (2013: 14). Globalization, paradoxically, underlined the importance of space and rootedness in the ever changing and unstable world. Furthermore, the aftermath of World War Two showed that space is one of the main factors in the clash between ideologies, ideas and world powers. This is specifically evident from the fact that the war facilitated the end of the imperialist world order. In Europe, monarchies were substituted by democratic republics, whereas colonial powers such as the United Kingdom, France, Spain and Portugal were forced to liberate their colonies around the world. In the postcolonial era, people were slowly gaining political and cultural independence. In Tally's words,

> the geopolitical organization and disruptions in the postwar era called attention to the distinctively political essence of geography, as the forces of decolonization, as well as those of neocolonization, made clear that the spaces of the map were not uncontested. The very names by which we knew places such as Rhodesia or Zimbabwe, Burma or Myanmar, were revealed to be matters of immense ideological conflict, and the thoroughgoing intertwinement of history and geography... (2013: 13-14)

When discussing not only *The Round House*, but contemporary Native American literature in general, Edward Said's appeal for "geographical inquiry into historical experience" (in Tally 2013: 9) comes to mind because it emphasizes that Native American space is inherently linked to the experience of colonization in terms of land acquisition as well as the imposition of the white society's political and cultural systems onto the indigenous people. In this respect, Brian Jarvis' definition of space proves particularly useful. Jarvis defines space as "an ongoing process … a vital product and determinant of [sociohistorical] action" (1998: 6-7). He goes on to assert that space and social relations are structurally inseparable and that "there can be no geographical knowledge without historical

narrative" (1998: 7). This means that "all spaces contain stories and must be recognized as the site of an ongoing struggle over meaning and value" (1998: 7). Having all this in mind, space in the novel will be analyzed through the prism of colonization with particular focus on the reservation territory as a political entity that grants certain rights to indigenous people and yet is an ambivalent space, a locus of the continual struggle between white marginalization, discrimination and subjugation and the Anishinabeg resistance, survival and continuance.

3. SPACE IN NATIVE AMERICAN TRADITION

Space represents one of the most important elements in the construction of Native American identity and holds a special significance in the indigenous tradition which is evident in the contemporary Native literary productions. In the Native American conception of the world, space is perceived as "spherical, and time as cyclical" (Allen 1986: 66). This circular conception of the world implies that all the events and all the places have equally meaningful identity and function (Izgarjan 2014: 48)[2]. This is evident in Erdrich's *The Round House* where the stories about the past inform the present, explain it, give meaning to it, and space itself is constructed through those stories. For example, the round house and the hanging tree are particularly significant in the Anishinabeg community as places where past and present overlap and give meaning to the present events.

In the novel, space specifically refers to places that are informed with human contexts, beliefs, and values. As Louise Erdrich explains, "in a tribal view of the world, where one place has been inhabited for generations, the landscape becomes enlivened by a sense of group and family history… People and place are inseparable" ("Where I Ought to Be: A Writer's Sense of Place", 2000: 43). In this respect, the Anishinabeg sense of self, identity, community, history, and tradition stems from their connection to the geographical places that surround them – their land. In oral tradition, land is represented as the place the tribe originates from, and different geographical features are considered sacred (Grgas 2000: 165). Thus, nature and landscapes are imbued with spirituality and provide a sense of belonging to the world which is shown, for example, in Erdrich's novel *Tracks* where Fleur, the main female character, fights to protect the trees where her ancestors are buried following the Anishinabe burial tradition. Therefore, colonization and appropriation of the Anishinabe lands signify the destruction of their culture and belief system. When it comes to discussing Louise Erdrich's work, David Stirrup explains that it professes "dual commitment: to the central-

[2] All quotations from Aleksandra Izgarjan's article "Znaci vremena u romanu The Round House Louise Erdrich" and Stipe Grgas' book *Ispisivanje prostora: Čitanje suvremenog američkog romana* are translated by the author.

ity of the relationship between communities, their lands, and the *geni* loci that inhabit them; and to the necessity to resist the fixity of colonial cadastres" (2010: 12). With regards to this, it can be argued that her works paint the picture of the intrinsic relationship between the Anishinabeg and their land, whereas, at the same time, that relationship represents the main source of power against the colonial imperatives. Stirrup goes on to assert that "land, in this sense, both forms and mediates relations, becoming the locus of personal, family, and community identity and values" (2010: 12).

4. SPACE IN THE ROUND HOUSE

Whereas in the Western, white writing, "the geographies of *who* we are and *where* we are … appeared … as part of an existential crisis", as is evident in the works of Pinchon, Auster and DeLillo (Jarvis 1998: 113), in Native American literary productions, the questions of identity and its relation to places and land form a part of the struggle to survive in the oppressive and discriminatory environment of the United States. The locus of this struggle is the reservation territory which is an ambivalent space, only a semblance of home that is continually attacked from the outside forces that inevitably damage all aspects of the indigenous life as Erdrich's *The Round House* portrays.

In this particular novel, the story about the reservation centers on the issues of tribal sovereignty and land theft, racism and cultural imposition countered by the Anishinabe belief system, memories and storytelling as a means of preserving the culture and rewriting historical injustices. As already mentioned before, the central story of the novel is the rape of Geraldine Coutts, a prominent tribal member and tribal judge's, Bazil Coutts's wife, in the vicinity of the round house, which is a sacred place in the Anishinabe community. By choosing the crime of rape to explore the contemporary problems of limited tribal sovereignty, injustice, racism and white cultural domination on the reservation, Louise Erdrich directly links the main plot of the novel to the historical narrative of colonization. The violation of Geraldine in the sacred place of the round house symbolizes the white encroachment of the Anishinabe space, both geographical and cultural. The rape sets into motion the exploration of the legal practices that led to the limitation of tribal sovereignty, the story about the racism inherent in the relationship between the reservation and the outside world, as well as the story about the erasure of the Anishinabe culture. Erdrich also portrays how the issues severely influence the identity of the Anishinabe people.

Spatial turn, facilitating increased awareness of the role territory and land play in the political matters, including those concerning the Anishinabeg and their status within the United States, is evident in Erdrich's *The Round* House

from the fact that territory and justice are inextricably linked and mutually dependable in the novel. The problem of obtaining justice on the reservation territory is explored through the rape that cannot be persecuted because Geraldine is not sure where exactly it took place. As Bazil explains in the novel, three different classes of land meet on the territory of the round house, tribal trust land (owned by the Anishinabe tribe), state land (belonging to the state of North Dakota), and fee land (sold outside of the tribe). Owing to the fact that these three classes of land legally belong to different political entities, state government and the Anishinabe tribe, different police have the authority to investigate the crime. In Geraldine's case, state trooper of North Dakota, local policeman from Hoopdance (a town on the reservation), and a tribal policeman are in charge of shedding light on what happened to her (Erdrich 2012: 12). Erdrich explains in the novel that such a state of affairs is brought about by the allotment policy, the reservation system and the numerous laws that were passed during the colonization period for the purpose of acquiring the Anishinabe land. As a matter of fact, allotment policy and U.S. legislative practices represent the undercurrent of the novel that shapes the community's present. David Stirrup asserts that "[a]llotment was one of the most effective post-reservation mechanisms for containing the threat of tribal sovereignty and delivering land to settlers …" (2010: 6). The U.S. policy of allotment was directed at destroying tribal autonomy by taking the indigenous land and dividing it into 160 acre parcels. These parcels were given to individual heads of Native American families for the purpose of farming. As Stirrup explains, the aim of such a program was "to encourage individuals to farm, eventually removing the need for reservations and smoothly assimilating these communities into hegemonic society" (2010: 6). Moreover, under this policy, all the surplus land that was not allotted remained open for the white settlement. The direct consequence of the allotment program is the fragmentation of Native lands that carries legal repercussions, which is portrayed throughout *The Round House*:

> There is nowhere to stand. No clear jurisdiction, no accurate description of where the crime occurred … Here's the round house. Just behind it, you have the Smoker allotment, which is now so fractioned that nobody can get much use of it. Then a strip that was sold – fee land. The round house is on the far edge of tribal trust, where our court has jurisdiction, though of course not over a white man. So federal law applies. Down to the lake, that is also tribal trust. But just to one side, a corner of that is state park, where state law applies. On the other side of that pasture, more woods, we have an extension of round house land. (Erdrich 2012: 196)

The excerpt paints a clear picture of the reservation territory, in its physical sense, as a patchwork of shifting allegiances and jurisdictions that obstruct the Anishinabe tribe from seeking justice since tribal, local, state and federal

police all have the authority to investigate the crime depending on the exact location where it happened and who did it – a Native or a non-Native person. Precisely because of these overlapping jurisdictions, often not much is being done to prosecute the perpetrators. In the Afterword to *The Round House* Erdrich states that "1 in 3 Native women will be raped in her lifetime (and that figure is certainly higher as Native women often do not report rape); 86 percent of rapes and sexual assaults upon Native Women are perpetrated by non-Native men; few are prosecuted" (2012: 319).

The inability of the Anishinabeg to obtain justice also stems from numerous historical court cases revolving around different kinds of land disputes between the U.S. government and different Native tribes that resulted in tribal sovereignty being limited to "small, … ridiculous, … petty … [cases]" (Erdrich 2012: 48). In the novel, Erdrich addresses in particular the Johnson v. McIntosh case from 1823; the Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock from 1903; the Tee-Hit-Ton v. the United States from 1955. These cases not only served the purpose to restrict tribal sovereignty, but formed the legal basis through which the relationship of all the Native Americans to their land, including the Anishinabe people, came to be redefined from that of ownership to that of occupancy and finally, to that of the gift by the U.S. government to the Native people. The ambivalent position of the indigenous people towards their land is embodied in the reservation system, the lived reality of majority of Native people today, which is the main subject of Erdrich's *The Round House*. In the reservation system, tribes are viewed as communities that possess certain degree of autonomy and have the right of self government (Takaki 239). But at the same time, the land on which reservations stand is seen as a gift of the U.S. to the indigenous people and continues to be allotted to individual heads of families (Rifkin 203). Therefore, the tribal sovereignty itself is undermined by land ownership outside of the tribe. Erdrich thus portrays the direct consequences of colonization and dubious land acquisitions which include the parceled and fragmented reservation territory where conflicting authorities are unable to help Geraldine bring her perpetrator to justice. The fact that the perpetrator is a white man, Linden Lark, only further complicates the situation since tribal government has no authority over "non-Indian" people (Erdrich 2012: 12). The Oliphant v. Suquamish case from 1978 stripped Native Americans of their rights to prosecute non-Native people no matter where their crime took place. Such a portrayal of reservation land and the ramifications it carries for the Anishinabeg represents a prime example of Said's "geographical inquiry into historical experience" of colonization (in Tally 2013: 9). In addition, it explains how the reservation space represents an ongoing process in which history shapes the present – the Anishinabeg still fight history and its legacy of subjugation and oppression.

Furthermore, the very place where the crime occurs, the round house, is significant for the exploration of not only the story of limited tribal sovereignty and injustice, but also the suppression of the Anishinabe culture and religious practices. The round house has a dual function in the novel. It is not simply a place of crime, but represents also "an emblem of endurance, survival, and resistance" (Stirrup 11). On the one hand, it stands as the symbol of the Anishinabe community and testifies to its resistance against cultural imposition of the dominant society. This is evident from the fact that in the past it represented communal gathering place in which sacred ceremonies were conducted. As the following excerpt shows, the round house played a significant role in preservation of the Anishinabe religious practices during the time they were forbidden to practice their religion openly:

> During the old days when Indians could not practice their religion – well, actually not such old days: pre-1978 the round house had been used for ceremonies. People pretended it was a social dance hall or brought their Bibles for gatherings [so that] [b]y the time the priest or the BIA superintendent arrived, the water drums and eagle feathers and the medicine bags and birchbark scrolls and sacred pipes were in a couple of motorboats halfway across the lake. The Bible was out and people were reading aloud from the Ecclesiastes. (Erdrich 2012: 59-60)

Therefore, it can be argued that the round house represents a special place in the Anishinabe community (Izgarjan 2014: 51). However, its history speaks about land theft, oppression and cultural domination. The story of Akii and her son Nanapush who built the round house, told in the novel, coincides historically with the enclosure of the Anishinabeg on the reservation and the attempt of the U.S. government to transform the Anishinabe hunter/gatherer way of providing sustenance to farming. Through the history of the round house, Erdrich draws attention to the centuries-old suppression of the traditional Anishinabe way of life that still continues. The story about Akii and Nanapush is recounted by tribal elder Mooshum, Geraldine's father, who laments over their loss of freedom and describes the hunger which struck the reservation because the buffalo were massacred in large numbers by white people.

> Akii and her husband … were always very good at finding food even in the dead of winter – that is, until the year they forced us into our boundary. The reservation year. A few had broken soil like the white man, and put some seeds in the ground, but a real farm takes many years to build until it keeps you alive in winter. We hunted all the animals before the Moon of Little Spirit and there wasn't even a rabbit left. The government agent had promised supplies to tide us over for the loss of our territory, but these never came through. (Erdrich 2012: 179-180)

This excerpt shows the devastating consequences the Anishinabeg suffered when forced to transform their way of life. It also portrays how the federal government of the U.S. did not help the Anishinabeg even though the help was promised which resulted in numerous deaths caused by hunger. The enclosure on the reservations brought not only starvation, but it also resulted in the loss of connection between Native people and nature which represents the basis of the Native worldview and the sense of self. That connection is evident through the description of how Akii learns a buffalo song from a rabbit, passes the knowledge to her son Nanapush, who, with the help of that song, captures Old Buffalo Woman, the last remaining buffalo. Old Buffalo Woman then sacrifices herself for the benefit of Nanapush, saving him from the snowstorm. Ultimately, Nanapush feeds his entire tribe with the meat of the Old Buffalo Woman. In return, she bids Nanapush to build the round house so that "people could do things in a good way" (Erdrich 2012: 187):

> Your people were brought together by us buffalo once. You knew how to hunt and use us. You had many rules by which you operated. Rules that respected us and forced you to work together. Now we are gone, but as you have once sheltered in my body, so now you understand. The round house will be my body, the poles my ribs, the fire my heart. It will be the body of your mother and it must be respected the same way. As the mother is intent on her baby's life, so your people should think of their children. (Erdrich 214- 2012: 215)

This excerpt illustrates how Old Buffalo Woman becomes a connecting thread between members of the Anishinabe community, embodied in the round house. In this respect, the round house can be interpreted as a monument to the connection between nature and the indigenous people. It symbolizes "a cosmic identity, a harmony of the individual with the tribe, the tribe with the land, and the land with the spirit of life in the universe" (Olson and Wilson 1984: 214). Moreover, the very shape of the round house epitomizes the Native belief of circularity of time and space. It shows "that even the physical space, which for most of us is a given, independent of cultural differences, is in fact delimited differently in different cultures" (Johansen and Larsen 2002: 157). By choosing particularly such a place to attack Geraldine, Lark's assault represents an attack on the community and a desecration of a holy place for the Anishinabeg. As Kurup explains, "[t]he desecration of the round house … is akin to defacing any other building of worship or cultural gathering place" (2015: 67). In this respect, the space of the round house represents an ongoing process of continual violation of the Anishinabe people and their tradition.

The round house symbolizes the religion of the Anishinabeg and its eradication, the sanctuary from the persecution and the site of crime (Izgarjan

2014: 51). Its ambivalent nature represents "subaltern space" (Izgarjan 2014: 52) on which two different discourses, Native American and white, clash, providing space for the exploration of the Native American perspective that has been silenced for centuries. Stirrup explains that "Erdrich's treatment of the land through such metaphors speaks boldly to those political histories of Native–European relations, addressing not only the histories but the historiography itself" (2010: 12). However, the history of the round house is forgotten and the place itself abandoned. Erdrich presents its history through a dream of one of the few surviving elders of the tribe, Mooshum. In this manner, Erdrich signals that older traditions and stories that construct the identity of the Anishinabeg are slowly being forgotten. Moreover, the novel shows that the round house no longer has the communal and spiritual function in the community. This is evident from Joe's description of it when he goes to investigate what happened to his mother: "There was no door. There had been one, but the big plank rectangle was now wrenched off and thrown to the side. The grass was already growing through the cracks between the boards. I stood in the doorway. Inside, it was dim although four small busted out windows opened in each direction" (Erdrich 2012: 59). Grgas explains that as such, the round house symbolizes the loss of connection with the centripetal force that is the source of Native American identity (2000: 164).

In *The Round House*, Erdrich suggests that the rape of Geraldine is a product of a long history of unaddressed violence against the Anishinabeg in much the similar fashion as unjust laws are a product of unlawful land acquisition by the U.S. government described earlier. This is portrayed through the story about the "hanging tree" where a group of the Anishinabe people were hanged for the crime they did not commit (Erdrich 2012: 140). Similarly to the round house, the hanging tree represents another geographical location on the reservation imbued with history of injustice that continues into the present. In this way, Erdrich illustrates particularly the cyclic notion of time where the past events exist simultaneously with the present ones and give meaning to them. Joe remembers the story about the hanging when he passes near the tree:

> We turned down a dirt road and drove until we came to the tree that people call hanging tree, a huge oak. The sun was in its branches. There were prayer flags, strips of cloth. Red, blue, green, white, the old-time Anishinaabe colors of the directions, according to Randall. Some cloths were faded, some new. This was the tree where those ancestors were hanged. None of the killers ever went on trial. I could see the land of their descendants, already full of row crops. (Edrich 2012: 140)

This excerpt portrays that the hanging tree symbolizes both a site of oppression, discrimination and violence spurred by racism, and a place of remem-

brance, indicating the need for survival and resistance. This is expressed through the fact that there are new prayer flags added to the tree constantly. Moreover, Bazil emphasizes that the Anishinabeg community was able to rewrite white history by proving that the Anishinabeg who were hanged were actually innocent: "We know the families of the men who were hanged. We know the families of the men who hanged them. We even know our people were innocent of the crime they were hanged for. A local historian had dredged that up and proved it" (Erdrich 2012: 211). Thus, it can be argued that the tree functions as a metaphor through which Erdrich intervenes "in the writing of tribal histories [by] inscrib[ing] revisionist histories of cultural borderlands" (Stripes in Stirrup 2010: 11).

The story about the hanging is explored thoroughly in Erdrich's novel *The Plague of Doves*, which is the prequel to *The Round House*. *The Plague of Doves* centers on the particular event of hanging and how it shapes the lives of the descendents of both the hanged Anishinabeg and the white people who hanged them. Erdrich ties *The Plague of Doves* and *The Round House* not solely by addressing one and the same event, but also by making Linden Lark, Geraldine's rapist, descendent of one of the members of the hanging party, and Geraldine a descendent of the only Anishinabe who managed to survive the hanging. The two novels portray how the hanging "becomes part of the fabric of the community, both Ojibwe and non-Ojibwe, for generations to come" (Kurup 2015: 64). This represents Erdrich's unique way of painting the picture of the reservation across time and space. More than that, it portrays injustice and outright violence over the Anishinabeg across generations thus portraying a "generational or historical trauma" that shapes the lives of the people on the reservation (Tharp 2014: 30). Both hanging and Geraldine's rape are fueled by racism "rampant in American towns, particularly those bordering reservations" (Kurup 2015: 63). In this respect, it can be argued that the space of the reservation is defined by racial hatred from the outside world.

It can be also claimed that Lark's violation of Geraldine in the round house epitomizes white encroachment over the land of the Anishinabeg and an attack on the identity, history and culture of the people. Lark's crime replicates the history of the round house itself, and echoes the hanging mentioned before. Geraldine represents a prominent member of the Anishinabe tribe. She works in the tribal offices and is in charge of keeping meticulous records of "an impenetrable undergrowth of names and liaisons" that constitute the tribe (Erdrich 2012: 149), thus preserving the tribal history. Joe explains that his mother's job was "to parse the ever more complicated branching and interbranching tangle of each bloodline" (Erdrich 2012: 179). In this manner, Geraldine plays the crucial role in the preservation of the Anishinabe communal identity which has been under attack from the colonizing powers that sought to annihilate Native people by erasing

particularly their culture and history. Her role actually makes her a target for Lark. Namely, Geraldine helps Mayla, an Anishinabe girl Lark is obsessed with and claims he loves, to enroll her illegitimate child in the tribe. Lark kills Mayla for not returning his advances. Both Lark's crimes, the murder and the rape, reflect the history of racism and violence on the reservation.

Erdrich actually emphasizes that the abuse and oppression attack the very foundations of the Anishinabe community – the Coutts home. The novel opens with Joe Coutts's description of his home being penetrated by roots in the foundations:

> Small trees had attacked my parent's house at the foundation. They were just seedlings with one or two rigid, healthy leaves. Nevertheless, the stalky shoots had managed to squeeze through knife cracks in the decorative brown shingles covering the cement blocks. They had grown into the unseen wall and it was difficult to pry them loose… (Erdrich 2012: 1).

The excerpt symbolically represents the roots of the hanging tree reaching Geraldine and Bazil's home foundations, destroying it irreparably (Izgarjan 2014: 49). These roots, surfacing through Lark's crime, cause the Coutts family to fall apart under the burden of the violation, and helplessness to act upon it. As Erdrich explains, "[t]he long history of injustice in a community has enormous repercussions for how people function as a whole. And when people believe there is no justice to be attained, they behave in ways that are either defeated or vengeful" (in Kurup 2015: 65-66). These two responses to injustice are evident in Bazil's and Joe's reactions to Lark and his crime. The legacy of abuse, injustice and domination has tragic consequences for Geraldine's son Joe, only a 13 year-old-boy, who feels that the only way to protect his mother is to take matters into his own hands and kill Lark. Joe interprets the inability of the legal system to provide justice for his mother as a justification of his revenge plans. He is aided by his friend Cappy to execute these plans. Erdrich explains that such a resolution represents "a wrong thing which serves an ideal justice. It settles a legal enigma. It threads that unfair maze of land title law by which Lark could not be prosecuted" (Erdrich 2012: 306). The fact that two boys decide to carry out justice epitomizes a mockery of law and legal system. Killing Lark ends the childhood of Joe and Cappy who, shortly after, take to bottle. Cappy even dies in a car accident he caused by driving drunk. On the other hand, Joe's father Bazil seems defeated in the face of injustice and his son's actions. In order to justify Joe, realizing his son killed Lark, he turns to the old traditional Anishinabe beliefs:

> As I did not kill Lark, but wanted to, I must at least protect the person who took on that task. And I would, even to the extent of attempting to argue a legal precedent. What? Traditional precedent. It could be argued that Lark met the definition of a

> wiindigoo, and that with no other recourse, his killing fulfilled the requirements of a very old law. (Edrich 2012: 306)

Therefore, the implications of such a resolution include complete break from the established legal practices and turn to violence as the only possible means of addressing persistent crime and abuse.

5. CONCLUSION

Erdrich portrays the reservation in *The Round House* as the space of conflict between the white imperial discourse of racial hatred and oppression, and the Anishinabe claims of sovereignty and cultural freedom. This conflict originates from the period of colonization and subsequent establishment of the new state. In this manner, she examines the history of colonization from a geographical perspective and offers insights into the importance of land behind the machinations conducted during the period of colonization. The territorial fragmentariness of the reservation land symbolizes the collision between the two worlds which is deeply embodied in its sacred place, the round house. The round house functions as a monument to the Anishinabe culture and provides space for subversion of the dominant narratives. Similarly, the hanging tree reminds the Anishinabeg of oppression and the necessity for resistance which is provided, even though tragically, by Joe, Cappy and Bazil. In the light of the events described in the novel, it can be argued that the reservation, the round house and the hanging tree signify an ongoing process of defining the position of the Anishinabeg in the oppressive and racist world.

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PROSTOR U ROMANU *OKRUGLA KUĆA* LUIZ ERDRIČ

Rezime

Ovaj rad se bavi analizom prostora rezervata kako ga oslikava Luiz Erdrič u svom romanu *Okrugla kuća* kao i istraživanjem veze između zemlje i Anišinabe zajednice koja predstavlja izvor otpora i opstanka u represivnom i rasističkom društvu. Prostor, odnosno zemlja i mesto, predstavlja jedan od ključnih elemanata kojim se savremeni indijanski pisci bave. To se naročito vidi u romanu *Okrugla kuća* Luiz Erdrič, koji se bavi posledicama kolonizacije plemena Anišinabe koju su pratili nezakonito oduzimanje zemlje, rasizam prema starosedelačkom stanovništvu kao i represija njihovih kulturnih praksi. Roman se prvenstveno bavi istraživanjem nepravde u rezervatu koja je direktno vezana za zemlju i vlasništvo nad njom. U *Okrugloj kući* istraženi su i nemogućnost postizanja pravde kao i posledice gubitka zemlje na individualni i društveni identitet plemena Anišinabe u rezervatu. Erdrič koristi prostor rezervata kako bi analizirala sukob između dve suprotstavljene kulture, indijanske i bele, pokazujući da su savremeni Indijanci i dalje obespravljeni.

Ključne reči: prostor, mesto, identitet, Luiz Erdrič, Okrugla kuća

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SUR LES PRÉPOSITIONS FRANÇAISES *DE* ET *PAR* DANS LES CONSTRUCTIONS À SENS CAUSAL ET LEURS ÉQUIVALENTS EN SERBE

Les prépositions françaises *de* et *par* possèdent un large éventail de sens. L'objectif de ce travail est d'examiner les conditions nécessaires pour donner aux groupes prépositionnels introduits par les prépositions *de* et *par* un sens causal. Nous tenterons aussi d'expliquer, en analysant les principales caractéristiques sémantiques des éléments qui sont dans un rapport syntaxique direct avec ces prépositions, les spécificités de leur emploi causal. Avec l'aide de la méthode de l'analyse contrastive, nous étudierons les exemples tirés d'œuvres littéraires d'auteurs français contemporains et de leurs traductions et nous tâcherons de relever les constructions qui leur sont sémantiquement équivalentes en serbe.

Mots clés : prépositions *de* et *par*, causalité, constructions prépositionnelles, le français, le serbe.

1. INTRODUCTION

Dans ce travail, nous analysons les constructions à sens causal, introduites par les prépositions *de* et *par*, plus précisément les conditions et les contextes dans lesquels ces prépositions véhiculent la cause. Le corpus de notre recherche est constitué d'exemples tirés d'œuvres littéraires contemporaines (parues au XXe ou au début du XXIe siècle) rédigées en français et de leurs traductions en serbe. Étant donné que nous avons relevé un très grand nombre d'exemples, il a fallu définir les critères selon lesquels nous constituerons le corpus de notre recherche. En effet, la préposition *de* peut introduire des constructions infinitives et nominales ayant la fonction de complément circonstanciel de cause, à la différence de la préposition *par* qui ne peut être suivie que de constructions de type nominal. Il s'est avéré d'une part que, pour ce qui est des constructions nominales, le corpus comportait aussi bien des constructions précédées de déterminants que celles introduites directement, sans déterminant, d'autre part, les

constituants recteurs de la préposition étaient non seulement des verbes, mais aussi des adjectifs (combinés avec la préposition *de*).

Tenant compte de tout cela, nous avons décidé d'inclure dans le corpus de notre recherche les exemples qui répondent aux critères suivants :

1) le constituant recteur de la préposition *de*/*par* est un verbe et/ou un adjectif, les adjectifs ne pouvant être suivis que de la préposition *de*
2) le constituant qui est, au niveau syntaxique, conditionné par le choix de la préposition est un groupe nominal sans déterminant.

Ces constructions ont été choisies dans le but d'atteindre l'homogénéité du corpus au niveau syntaxique, la méthode de l'analyse contrastive ayant été choisie comme cadre méthodologique.

Cette recherche a pour objectif :

- d'examiner les aspects formel et sémantique de ces modèles syntaxico-sémantiques et de préciser les conditions minimales nécessaires pour leur construction,
- de déterminer quels types de relations causales peuvent être exprimés avec les constructions données et
- de relever les constructions qui leur sont sémantiquement équivalentes en serbe.

2. SUR LA CAUSALITÉ ET LA SÉMANTIQUE DES PRÉPOSITIONS

La causalité est une catégorie relationnelle – elle représente la relation entre deux situations au moins et peut être présentée schématiquement à l'aide du modèle suivant : *a* – *R* – *b*, *a* et *b* étant les éléments mis en relation dont l'un représente la cause et l'autre la conséquence, tandis que *R* désigne la relation existant entre eux. Nous tenons à souligner que ce modèle ne peut être appliqué qu'aux cas où les conjonctions (locutions conjonctives) ou les prépositions (locutions prépositionnelles) occupent la position *R*.[1]

Les conjonctions et les prépositions représentent les moyens les plus fréquents servant à introduire des constructions syntaxiques exprimant la cause, aussi bien en français qu'en serbe. Elles peuvent être :

- *non conditionnées par le contexte* – elles véhiculent la valeur causale dans un contexte quelconque,

[1] Si cette position est vide, *a* et *b* sont dans un rapport syntaxique direct. C'est, par exemple, le cas des propositions juxtaposées, qui peuvent également indiquer des relations causales :
Tout d'un coup ses palpitations de cœur redoublèrent de vitesse, il éprouva une souffrance, une nausée inexplicables. (ADS, 250)
Odjednom ti srčani otkucaji udvostručiše brzinu, on oseti bol, neku neodređenu mučninu. (JSLJ, 245)

- *conditionnées par le contexte* – ce n'est que lorsque le rapport sémantique établi entre les éléments linguistiques *a* et *b* peut être qualifié de causal, que l'on peut dire que la préposition ou la conjonction qui les relie obtient une valeur causale (Kovačević 1988 : 22).

Notons, par exemple, que la locution prépositionnelle *à cause de* (son corrélat en serbe est la préposition *zbog*) est un marqueur spécifiquement causal,

(1) Le soir, *à cause de* la pluie, Charlotte alluma sa lampe à l'intérieur. (TF, 61)
Uveče je Šarlota *zbog* kiše upalila sijalicu unutra. (FZ, 39)

alors que ce n'est pas le cas des prépositions *de* et *par*. Ces prépositions ne peuvent pas être qualifiées de « causales », étant donné qu'elles peuvent être porteuses d'un grand nombre de valeurs ; elles ne véhiculent une valeur concrète que dans une construction précise, en fonctions des constituants qu'elles relient.

Avant d'examiner en détail les prépositions *de* et *par*, nous considérons qu'il est important de souligner le fait que les conjonctions de subordination et les prépositions (locutions prépositionnelles) n'expriment pas la cause de la même manière. En effet, la conjonction de subordination introduit une proposition décrivant la situation ou l'événement cause (2), tandis que la construction syntaxique introduite par une préposition/locution prépositionnelle ne présente pas ladite situation (ou événement) dans son ensemble, mais seulement un de ses éléments (2a, 2b, 2c, 2d), « l'élément le plus saillant au regard de la causalité » (Nazarenko 2000 : 60).

(2) Il est sorti *parce que* son patron l'a appelé d'urgence au téléphone.
(2a) Il est sorti *à cause du* téléphone.
(2b) Il est sorti *à cause du* patron.
(2c) Il est sorti *à cause d'*un appel téléphonique.
(2d) ? Il est sorti *à cause d'*un appel téléphonique urgent de son patron.

Nous remarquons ici que ces constructions prépositionnelles représentent des paraphrases de la proposition causale, aucune ne lui étant complètement équivalente.

Pour ce qui est des considérations théoriques sur la problématique liée à la sémantique des prépositions, il existe différentes approches mais on peut en distinguer principalement deux radicalement différentes. Contrairement à celles fidèles à la grammaire traditionnelle qui avait tendance à attribuer aux prépositions l'expression de différentes catégories sémantiques (parmi lesquelles, la causalité), celles de la linguistique contemporaine soutiennent que la préposition ne fait que contribuer au fait qu'une construction syntaxique ait un sens concret.

Comme le soulignent les auteurs de la *Grammaire méthodique du français*, « en plus de leur sens fondamentalement relationnel, les prépositions ont une charge sémantique propre qui se combine avec le sémantisme des constituants qu'elles mettent en relation » (Riegel et al. 2006: 371). Par conséquent, le sens des constructions mises en relation à l'aide de prépositions est déterminé par l'interaction de la préposition avec le sens du complément qu'elle introduit, ainsi qu'avec celui des lexèmes régissant le prédicat.

De, préposition la plus fréquente[2] en français, peut être porteuse de sens très divers, si bien qu'elle est souvent classée dans la catégorie des prépositions vides de sens, abstraites ou incolores (Cadiot 1997a).[3] Les constructions syntaxiques introduites par ces prépositions peuvent exprimer des sens différents ; elles peuvent indiquer : le lieu (*venir de Paris*), le temps (*dater du XIXe siècle*), l'instrument (*écrire de la main gauche*), la manière (*boire d'un seul trait*), la cause (*pleurer de joie*), etc. Les constructions introduites par la préposition *par* peuvent marquer : le lieu (*sortir par la fenêtre*), le temps (*partir par une belle matinée de printemps*), l'instrument (*apprendre la nouvelle par la radio*) et, dans certaines conditions, la cause (*travailler par plaisir*).

Étudiant les constructions à sens causal introduites par la préposition *de*, D. Leeman (1991: 80) souligne les lacunes de la définition sémantique du complément de cause donnée par les grammairiens classiques, selon laquelle ce complément est un syntagme constitué d'une préposition (ou d'une locution prépositionnelle) et d'un nom (par exemple, *rougir de honte*, *travailler par plaisir*). Elle fait remarquer qu'il existe des contraintes liées au choix des noms et des verbes : toute préposition ne peut pas se combiner avec un nom quelconque (**rougir par honte* / **rougir pour honte*) ou avec un verbe quelconque (**travailler de plaisir*).

Par conséquent, il faut tenir compte du fait que le sens causal n'est pas inhérent à la préposition elle-même, mais qu'il représente le résultat de l'interaction de la préposition et des constituants qu'elle met en relation.

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[2] Les auteurs de l'ouvrage *L'Élaboration du Français Fondamental* (*1er degré*) : *étude sur l'établissement d'un vocabulaire et d'une grammaire de base* ont établi des statistiques précises quant à l'emploi des prépositions dans le parler quotidien. Selon ces données, la préposition la plus fréquente est *de* (50,7%), suivie de *à* (14,5%), *en* (6,7%), *dans*, *par*, etc. (Gougenheim et al. 1971).

[3] Cadiot regroupe les observations de nombreux linguistes selon lesquels l'ensemble des prépositions peut être divisé en trois groupes : 1. *prépositions incolores* / *vides de sens* / *abstraites* – elles peuvent être utilisées dans différents contextes et il est impossible de contrôler tous leurs emplois (par exemple, *de*, *à*, *en*); 2. *prépositions colorées* / *pleines de sens* – elles s'emploient le plus souvent pour « repérer dans l'espace » (Cadiot 1997b : 130) (par exemple, *contre*, *parmi*, *vers*); 3. *prépositions plus ou moins intermédiaires*, « *mixtes* » – ce sont des prépositions qui ont à la fois un sens concret – spatial, mais qui s'utilisent également pour exprimer des rapports plus abstraits (par exemple, *avec*, *dans*, *par*, *pour*, *sur*, *sous*). (Cadiot 1997a: 36-37)

3. LES CONSTRUCTIONS À SENS CAUSAL INTRODUITES PAR LA PRÉPOSITION *DE*

Dans le corpus de notre recherche, nous avons relevé 30 exemples de constructions à sens causal introduites par la préposition *de*. À la différence des modèles syntaxiques comportant la préposition *par*, dans lesquels le constituant recteur de la préposition ne peut être qu'un verbe, la préposition *de* se combine aussi bien avec des verbes qu'avec des adjectifs.

D. Leeman examine minutieusement les constructions de type V *de* N. En étudiant leurs propriétés syntaxiques et sémantiques, elle conclut que l'interprétation causale n'est pas toujours inhérente à la construction elle-même : « dans des cas tels que *griller d'impatience*, le verbe indique le haut degré, voire l'excès, plutôt que la conséquence de l'état du sujet » (Leeman 1991 : 80).

D. Leeman regroupe les constructions *de N* en trois catégories. Dans la première catégorie se trouvent les constructions dans lesquelles le verbe forme « avec *de N* une entité sémantique telle que *de N* ne peut être supprimé sans que cela change complètement l'interprétation du verbe » (Leeman 1991 : 82). De même, ce syntagme prépositionnel ne peut pas changer de position – il est toujours postposé par rapport au verbe. Le verbe n'a plus son sens initial (il n'en garde qu'une partie), mais la fonction d'intensificateur – il marque l'intensité de l'état dans lequel se trouve le sujet, cet état étant exprimé par la construction *de* + *N*.

(3) Les gens mouraient [...] *de faim*. (TF, 84)
Ljudi su umirali [...] *od gladi*. (FZ, 52)

(Les gens mouraient *de faim*.
*Les gens mouraient.
→ Les gens avaient tellement faim qu'ils avaient l'impression de mourir.)

(4) Le truc le plus douloureux qui m'était arrivé ces derniers temps, c'était de ne pas avoir été invité au défilé de John Galliano. Et puis, tout d'un coup, voici que je meurs *de chagrin*. (ADT, 22)
Nešto najbolnije što me je zadesilo u poslednje vreme bilo je to da me nisu pozvali na reviju Džona Galijana. A onda, eto ti najednom, umirem *od tuge*. (LJTT, 16)

(5) Il crève *de trouille*. (ADT, 38)
Crkava *od prpe*. (LJTT, 25)

Dans la deuxième catégorie sont classées des constructions syntaxiques dans lesquelles le complément *de* + *N* est difficilement déplaçable, mais il peut être supprimé sans que le sens du verbe change. Le syntagme prépositionnel représente la cause de l'action exprimée par le verbe – il s'agit d'une action spontanée, qui n'est pas contrôlée par la volonté. Ici aussi, le verbe possède une propriété sémantique supplémentaire : il devient le quantificateur de l'intensité du nom désignant le processus ou l'état qui représente la cause.

(6) Une nouvelle mariée [...] souriait *de plaisir*. (ADS, 194)
Jedna nova mlada [...] smeškala se *od zadovoljstva*. (JSLJ, 192)

(Une nouvelle mariée souriait.
**De plaisir*, une nouvelle mariée souriait
→ Elle éprouvait du plaisir au point d'en sourire.)

(7) Cet homme aux cheveux courts et comme saupoudrés de craie est mon mari. Je ne l'ai pas vu depuis quatre ans. On l'a enterré deux fois – dans la bataille de Moscou d'abord, puis en Ukraine. Il est là, il est revenu. Je devrais pleurer *de joie*. (TF, 149-150)
Ovaj čovek kratke kose i kao posut kredom, moj je muž. Nisam ga videla četiri godine. Sahranjen je dva puta – najpre u borbi za Moskvu, zatim u Ukrajini. A evo ga, vratio se. Trebalo bi da plačem *od radosti*. (FZ, 93)

(8) Elle parlait sans desserrer les dents et soupirait *d'ennui* avant même de vous avoir écouté. (TF, 16)
Govorila je ne rastavljajući zube i uzdisala *od dosade* i pre nego što bi počela da vas sluša. (FZ, 11)

(9) Swann entendait le bruit des vagues qui sautaient et son cœur qui, avec la même violence, battait *d'anxiété* dans sa poitrine. (ADS, 250)
Svan je čuo šum talasa što zapljuskuju i kako mu srce, *od strepnje*, sa istom žestinom tuče u grudima. (JSLJ, 245)

(10) Le chien rampe *de frayeur* et se laisse traîner. (ETR, 46)
Pas puzi *od straha* i pušta da ga ovaj odvlači za sobom. (STR, 28)

(11) Et que vient faire ici cet esclave qui gémit *de douleur* ? (TF, 59-60)
I šta radi ovde taj rob što ječi *od bola*? (FZ, 38)

(12) Il crache *de dépit*. (TF, 267)
Pljuje *od besa*. (FZ, 164)

(13) Mme Verdurin, juchée sur son perchoir, pareille à un oiseau dont on eût trempé le colifichet dans du vin chaud, sanglotait *d'amabilité*. (ADS, 29)
Čečeći na svojoj visokoj stolici kao ptica kojoj su dali kolačić zamočen u vruće vino, gđa Verdiren je ridala *od ljubaznosti*. (JSLJ, 30)

Dans la troisième catégorie, on trouve des constructions dans lesquelles le syntagme prépositionnel *de* + *N* peut être supprimé et déplacé – il peut se trouver en tête de phrase. « Il a une interprétation causale et le verbe un sens plein (il désigne une action affective, concrète, dirigée vers un objet extérieur au sujet) » (Leeman 1991 : 91).

(14) *Marc est parti *de peur*.
De peur, Marc est parti.

Dans ce cas, la préposition *de* peut être remplacée par la locution prépositionnelle *sous l'effet de* (Leeman 1991: 91) :
Marc est parti *sous l'effet de la peur*.

3.1. Propriétés formelles et sémantiques des constituants avec lesquels se combine la préposition *de*

Dans le but d'appréhender les spécificités de l'expression des relations causales avec des constructions comportant la préposition *de*, il est nécessaire d'examiner les propriétés syntaxico-sémantiques des éléments entourant cette préposition.

Les noms introduits par la préposition *de* appartiennent à différentes catégories sémantiques et désignent le plus souvent : des sentiments et des sensations (*anxiété*, *chagrin*, *colère*, *dépit*, *frayeur*, *joie*, *rire*, *trouille* ; *chaleur*, *douleur*, *faim*, *plaisir*, *soif*, etc.), des états (*sommeil*, *fatigue*, *ennui*, etc.) ou bien des traits de caractère (*amabilité*, *bonté*, *intelligence*, *orgueil*, *timidité*, etc.).

Dans tous les exemples tirés de notre corpus, les verbes recteurs de la préposition *de* sont intransitifs (*battre*, *crever*, *gémir*, *mourir*, *pleurer*, *ramper*, *rire*, *sangloter*, *sauter*, *soupirer*, *sourire*, etc.). Ils se combinent le plus souvent avec un sujet humain, mais ils peuvent également se rapporter à un sujet non humain désignant un animal ou une partie du corps humain (Hamma 2006 : 77).

À la différence des constructions introduites par la préposition *par*, un des éléments du constituant recteur du groupe prépositionnel peut être également un adjectif (*étourdi*, *fou*, *lourd*, *noir*, *pâle*, *rond*, etc.). Nous tenons à souligner qu'un nom quelconque ne peut pas se combiner avec un verbe ou un adjectif quelconque.

3.2. Équivalents de traduction en serbe

3.2.1. V + OD $N_{Gén}$

L'équivalent le plus fréquent des exemples tiré du corpus de notre recherche est le nom au génitif précédé de la préposition *od* (83,3 %).

(15) Marie sautait *de joie* et n'arrêtait pas de dire qu'il faisait beau. (ETR, 78)
Marija je poskakivala *od radosti* i stalno je govorila kako je divno vreme. (STR, 48)

(16) Le petit prince était maintenant tout pâle *de colère*. (PP, 33)
Mali princ je sad bio sav bled *od besa*. (MP, 25)

(17) C'est derrière les fourrés de la Stalinka que passait ce chemin de fer à voie étroite; on eût dit une voie ferrée miniature, avec une petite locomotive toute noire *de suie*. (TF, 172)
A iza šikare Staljinke prolazila je železnička pruga uskog koloseka; kao nekakva minijaturna pruga, sa malom lokomotivom sasvim pocrnelom *od čađi*. (FZ, 106)

(18) Elle était toute visqueuse *d'eau salée*. (ETR, 83)
Bila je sva lepljiva *od slane vode*. (STR, 52)

Cette construction peut désigner :
- une cause « interne » – dans les exemples (3), (4), (5), (6), (7), (8), (9), (10), (11), (12), (13), (15) et (16): il s'agit d'une action, d'un processus ou d'un état qui provoque une action ou un état spontané, « inconscient », involontaire (Radovanović 1977 : 132). La cause et la conséquence sont liées à la sphère de l'agent, et le nom au génitif indique le plus souvent un état psychique ou physiologique ou un sentiment (*anxiété*, *colère*, *douleur*, *dépit*, *faim*, *frayeur*, *ennui*, *joie*, etc.).
- une cause « externe » – dans les exemples (17) et (18) : ce sont des facteurs extérieurs, des états objectifs (*eau*, *chaleur*, *sueur*, *soleil*, *suie*, etc.) (Antonić in Piper et al. 2005 : 166).

Nous avons remarqué que, dans ce type de constructions, l'accent est mis sur la quantification de l'intensité ou bien sur la qualification du mode de la réalisation du processus ou de l'état représentant la cause (externe ou interne) :

(15a) Marija je poskakivala *od radosti*.
(Marie sautait *de joie*.)
→ Marija je bila *toliko* radosna da je poskakivala.
(Marie était *tellement* joyeuse qu'elle sautait.)

(16a) Mali princ je bio sav bled *od besa*.
(Le petit prince était tout pâle *de colère*.)
→ Mali princ je bio *toliko* besan da je prebledeo.
(Le petit prince était *tellement* en colère qu'il en a pâli.)

(18a) Bila je sva lepljiva *od slane vode*.
(Elle était toute visqueuse *d'eau salée*.)
→ Voda je bila *toliko* slana da je ona bila sva lepljiva.
(L'eau était *tellement* salée qu'elle en est restée toute visqueuse.)

Les constructions au génitif, introduites par la préposition *od* ont un sens ablatif, c'est-à-dire qu'elles désignent le point de départ d'une action ou d'un état, par analogie avec les expressions désignant un éloignement dans l'espace (par exemple, *s'éloigner de la côte*). Cela ne fait que confirmer les théories et les hypothèses localistes selon lesquelles la localisation spatiale est fondamentale dans la langue. En effet, la conceptualisation linguistique de l'espace a servi de modèle pour décrire des domaines sémantiques non-spatiaux, c'est-à-dire plus abstraits.

3.2.2. V + ZA N_{Acc}

Seuls 10% de tous les exemples analysés ont pour équivalent un nom à l'accusatif précédé de la préposition *za* :

(19) Qu'importait si, accusé *de meurtre*, il était exécuté pour n'avoir pas pleuré à l'enterrement de sa mère ? (ETR, 184)
Šta mari, ako ga, optuženog *za ubistvo*, pogube zato što nije plakao na pogrebu svoje majke? (STR, 118)

Cette construction renvoie toujours à une cause indirecte (Antonić in Piper et al. 2005 : 231).

4. LES CONSTRUCTIONS À SENS CAUSAL INTRODUITES PAR LA PRÉPOSITION *PAR*

4.1. Propriétés formelles et sémantiques des constituants avec lesquels se combine la préposition *par*

L'analyse de notre corpus (25 exemples) a montré que les verbes recteurs de la préposition *par* désignent une action volontaire, qui est toujours réalisée

consciemment et de manière réfléchie. Les verbes qui se combinent avec la préposition *par* expriment, dans la plupart des cas, un processus dynamique :

(20) Pour montrer qu'elle ne cherchait pas à faire sentir dans un salon, où elle ne venait que *par condescendance*, la supériorité de son rang, elle était entrée en effaçant les épaules là même où il n'y avait aucune foule à fendre. (ADS, 187)
Da bi pokazala kako ne želi da ističe svoj nadmoćni rang u jednom salonu koji je došla samo *iz snishodljivosti*, ušla je uvlačeći ramena iako nije bilo nikakve gužve kroz koju bi se valjalo provući. (JSLJ, 185)

(21) Il a détourné les yeux et, toujours sans changer de position, m'a demandé si je ne parlais pas ainsi *par excès de désespoir*. (ETR, 177)
Okrenuo je oči u stranu i ne menjajući položaj upitao me je da li ne govorim tako *iz prevelikog očajanja*. (STR, 113)

mais aussi un état résultatif :

(22) Elle éclata de nouveau d'un rire qui scandalisa les personnes qui écoutaient la musique, mais attira l'attention de Mme de Saint-Euverte, restée *par politesse* près du piano et qui aperçut seulement alors la princesse. (ADS, 193-194)
Ona ponovo prsnu u smeh, koji je sablaznio sve one što su slušali muziku, ali je privukao pažnju gđe De Sent-Evert, koja je *iz učtivosti* stajala kraj klavira i tek tada primetila princezu. (JSLJ, 191)

La préposition *par* se rattache obligatoirement à un sujet humain, à la différence de la préposition *de* qui peut se combiner avec un sujet non humain (par exemple, un animal ou une partie du corps humain) :

(23) Le chien rampe *de frayeur* et se laisse traîner. (ETR, 46)

(24) Swann entendait le bruit des vagues qui sautaient et son cœur qui, avec la même violence, battait *d'anxiété* dans sa poitrine. (ADS, 250)

Les relations causales exprimées par la préposition *par* « ne semble[nt] concerner que les êtres dotés de réflexion, de calcul, d'analyse et d'estimation », ce qui n'est pas le cas des animaux qui, « du point de vue linguistique, suivent leurs instincts et ne raisonnent pas » (Hamma 2006 : 77).

(25) ? Le chat mange la souris *par mépris*.

Les noms régis par la préposition *par* peuvent dénoter des sentiments (*amour*, *amour-propre*, *colère*, *crainte*, *désespoir*, *jalousie*, *peur*, *tristesse*, etc.), des traits de caractère (*amabilité*, *caprice*, *curiosité*, *coquetterie*, *méchanceté*, *modestie*, *paresse*, *politesse*, etc.) ou bien des états et des attitudes (*inadvertance*, *inexpérience*, *plaisanterie*, *superstition*, etc.). Ces noms ne sont pas accompagnés de déterminants et ne s'emploient pas au pluriel : **par amours*, **par amitiés*.

4.2. Équivalents de traduction en serbe

4.2.1. V + IZ $N_{Gén}$

La plupart des exemples analysés (84 %) sont traduits par une construction avec un nom au génitif précédé de la préposition *iz*.

(26) Mais tout cela, au fond, n'avait pas grande utilité et j'y ai renoncé *par paresse*. (ETR, 103)
Ali sve to, u suštini, nije bilo od velike koristi i ja sam digao ruke od toga prosto *iz lenosti*. (STR, 64)

(27) « Mais pourquoi ne me laissez-vous pas venir plus souvent ? » (...) « *Par peur* de souffrir. » (ADS, 207)
„Ali zašto me ne puštate da češće dođem?" (...) „*Iz straha* da ne patim." (JSLJ, 204)

(28) Elle n'était pas habituée à l'alcool et en avait bu trop, par zèle, *par crainte* de ne pas être à la hauteur des autres. (TF, 240)
Nije bila navikla na alkohol, a popila je mnogo, namerno, *iz bojazni* da neće biti na visini ostalih. (FZ, 148)

(29) Les jours qui suivirent, Charlotte essaya de savoir comment elles pourraient quitter la Sibérie (*par superstition*, elle n'osait pas dire : repartir pour la France). (TF, 92)
Šarlota je sledećih dana pokušavala da sazna kako bi njih dve mogle da odu iz Sibira (*iz sujeverja* nije smela da kaže: da se vrate u Francusku). (FZ, 57)

(30) Entre M. de Charlus et elle, Swann savait qu'il ne pouvait rien se passer, que quand M. de Charlus sortait avec elle, c'était *par amitié* pour lui. (ADS, 168)

Svan je znao da se između g. De Šarlisa i Odete ne može ništa dogoditi, da g. De Šarlis, kad iziđe s Odetom, čini to *iz prijateljstva* prema njemu. (JSLJ, 166)

(31) Et *par coquetterie* elle embellit le sourire que cette supposition lui arrachait. (ADS, 198)
Pa *iz koketerije*, ulepša osmeh koji joj se oteo pri toj pretpostavci. (JSLJ, 195)

Nous pouvons remarquer que la cause et la conséquence se trouvent dans la sphère de la même personne, c'est-à-dire que la construction *par N* s'emploie pour indiquer une cause « interne », une cause dite « stimulante », provocant une action consciente, volontaire (Radovanović 1977 : 129).

Ces constructions au génitif introduites par la préposition *iz*, tout comme les noms au génitif précédés de la préposition *od*, confirment la nature ablative des relations causales.

4.2.2. V + ZBOG $N_{Gén}$

10% d'exemples de notre corpus sont traduits par le génitif précédé de la préposition *zbog* :

(32) Une chambre qu'on peut traverser en trois pas, où les objets, *par manque de place*, s'agglutinent, empiètent les uns sur les autres, s'enchevêtrent: vieille machine à écrire, réchaud électrique, chaises, étagère, douche, table, spectres de vêtements accrochés aux murs. (TF, 325-326)
Soba koja se može preći u tri koraka, u kojoj se stvari *zbog teskobe* spajaju, nagomilane jedna preko druge, prepliću se: stara pisaća mašina, električni rešo, stolice, polica, tuš, sto, narogušena odela okačena o zidove. (FZ, 199)

(33) Tu as déjà souffert *par amour* ? (ADT, 152)
Jesi li u životu patio *zbog ljubavi*? (LJTT, 108)

Le plus souvent, le nom au génitif n'appartient pas à la sphère de l'agent et il est la cause, de manière indirecte, d'un état psychique ou physiologique de l'homme. C'est une cause indirecte ou passive (Antonić in Piper et al. 2005 : 167).

4.2.3. V + Ø N_{Instr}

La construction V + Ø N_{Instr} peut être l'équivalent sémantique desdites structures syntaxiques en serbe (8% d'exemples).

(34) Il avait voulu dire, en plaisantant, « votre héritage ». *Par erreur*, par ce relâchement verbal surtout que je constatais souvent chez les « nouveaux Russes » dont l'anglais devenait la principale langue d'usage, il parla du « testament ». (TF, 334-335)
Hteo je da šaljivo kaže „vaše nasledstvo". *Greškom*, a posebno nekom jezičkom nemarnošću što sam je često zapažao kod tih „novih Rusa" kojima je engleski postao glavni jezik za svakodnevnu upotrebu, ovaj čovek je govorio o „zaveštanju". (FZ, 204-205)

(35) La vérité, c'est la photo d'une autre femme trouvée *par inadvertance* dans mon sac de voyage, à Rio de Janeiro (Brésil), la veille du Jour de l'An. (ADT, 39)
Istina – to je fotografija neke druge žene koja je, *mojom nepažnjom*, pronađena u mojoj putnoj torbi u Rio de Žaneiru (Brazil), dan uoči Nove godine. (LJTT, 27)
[→ *zato što* sam bio nepažljiv]

Le nom à l'instrumental désigne une cause directe (active) ; le plus souvent, c'est un nom déverbal qui peut marquer une activité volontaire ou un état d'âme.

5. CONCLUSION

Dans ce travail, nous avons analysé les constructions à sens causal, introduites par les prépositions *de* et *par*, dans le cadre desquelles la préposition est dans un rapport syntaxique direct avec le groupe nominal sans déterminant, le constituant recteur de la préposition étant un verbe ou un adjectif. Nous avons examiné les aspects formel et sémantique de ces modèles syntaxico-sémantiques en nous focalisant aussi bien sur les conditions dans lesquelles ces constructions prépositionnelles véhiculent la valeur causale que sur la comparaison avec la langue serbe, afin de relever les constructions qui leur sont sémantiquement équivalentes.

L'analyse du corpus a montré que les éléments étant dans un rapport syntaxique direct avec les prépositions *de* et *par* sont soumis à certaines restrictions sémantiques, si bien que les noms et les verbes/les adjectifs ne peuvent pas se combiner librement – un nom quelconque ne peut pas être associé à un verbe/adjectif quelconque.

Les verbes (intransitifs) et les adjectifs peuvent se combiner avec la préposition *de*. Les noms régis par cette préposition peuvent désigner des sentiments et des sensations, des états, des traits de caractère et des actions.

Les équivalents sémantiques des constructions introduites par la préposition *de* en serbe sont des constructions comprenant:

- le génitif précédé de la préposition *od*, désignant une cause « interne », qui provoque une action spontanée, ou une cause « externe » (c'est le cas de certains exemples dans lesquels l'élément recteur de la préposition est un adjectif),
- l'accusatif précédé de la préposition *za*, désignant une cause indirecte et, très rarement,
- un adjectif accompagné d'un intensificateur ou un adverbe.

Les verbes qui sont dans un rapport syntaxique direct avec la préposition *par* désignent une action volontaire, qui se réalise consciemment et de manière réfléchie. En général, ils marquent un processus dynamique ou un état résultatif. Les noms régis par la préposition *par* peuvent désigner des sentiments, des traits de caractère, des états et des attitudes.

Les équivalents sémantiques des constructions introduites par la préposition *par* en serbe comportent les éléments suivants :

- le génitif précédé de la préposition *iz*, désignant une cause « interne », directe,
- le génitif précédé de la préposition *zbog*, désignant une cause indirecte (dans ce cas, la cause et la conséquence ne sont pas liées à la sphère de la même personne) et l'instrumental sans préposition, désignant une cause directe ou active.

Nous pouvons ajouter que les constructions avec les prépositions *de* et *par* expriment, dans la plupart des cas, une cause « interne » qui se rapporte aux états psychiques ou aux manières d'agir, conscientes ou inconscientes.

Les constructions au génitif introduites par les prépositions *od* et *iz*, en tant qu'équivalents sémantiques les plus fréquents des structures syntaxiques introduites par les prépositions *de* et *par* en français, ont un sens ablatif, ce qui ne fait que confirmer l'hypothèse du localisme, qui postule que, du point de vue linguistique, les expressions décrivant les relations spatiales sont considérées comme sémantiquement et grammaticalement fondamentales. En d'autres termes, les valeurs plus abstraites de ces constructions, dont la valeur causale, sont dérivées de la valeur spatiale à l'aide du processus de métaphorisation.

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Corpus

(ETR) Camus, A. (2003). *L'étranger*. Paris : Gallimard.
(STR) Kami, A. (2009). *Stranac*. Prevod: Zorica Hadži-Vidojković. Beograd: Paideia.
(PP) de Saint-Exupéry, A. (2001). *Le Petit Prince*. Paris : Folio.
(MP) de Sent Egziperi, A. (1997). *Mali princ*. Prevod: Miroslava Milisavljević. Beograd: Divit.
(ADT) Beigbeder, F. (2007). *L'amour dure trois ans*. Paris : Gallimard.
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(JSLJ) Prust, M. (2004). *Jedna Svanova ljubav*. Prevod: Živojin Živojinović. Beograd: Politika-Narodna knjiga.
(TF) Makine, A. (2001). *Le testament français*. Paris : Mercure de France.
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О ФРАНЦУСКИМ ПРЕДЛОЗИМА *DE* И *PAR* У КОНСТРУКЦИЈАМА СА КАУЗАЛНИМ ЗНАЧЕЊЕМ И ЊИХОВИМ ЕКВИВАЛЕНТИМА У СРПСКОМ ЈЕЗИКУ

Резиме

У раду смо анализирали конструкције са каузалним значењем уведене предлозима *de и par*. Проучавањем основних семантичких обележја елемената који су у директној синтаксичкој вези са овим предлозима, сагледали смо специфичности њихове употребе у изражавању каузалних односа. Применом методе контрастивне анализе установили смо које су њихове семантички еквивалентне конструкције у српском језику. Наша анализа је показала да оба типа конструкција најчешће исказују унутрашњи узрок који изазива спонтану, несвесну радњу или стање (предлог *de*), односно свесну, вољну радњу (предлог *par*). Најфреквентнији семантички еквиваленти синтаксичких конструкција са предлозима *de и par*, генитивске конструкције уведене предлозима *од* и *из*, имају аблативно значење, чиме се потврђују локалистичке теорије према којима је просторна локализација у језику примарна, док су апстрактнија значења, а међу њима и каузално, изведена од конкретних (просторних).

Кључне речи: предлози *de* и *par*, каузалност, предлошке конструкције, француски језик, српски језик.

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MODERN LEXICOGRAPHY, DICTIONARY CULTURE AND THE IDEAL GENERAL-PURPOSE DICTIONARY

This paper brings a discussion pertaining to three important, and interconnected, aspects of dictionary making and dictionary use at the turn of the century in this country, all building around the shared central theme of modernization of the currently dominant methodological paradigm. After some opening remarks in Section 1, principles of modern lexicography, that should preferably underlie the theory and practice of lexicography today and a list of attributes that define and uphold lexicography as a science, will be presented in Section 2. In Section 3, the concept of dictionary culture will be elaborated, together with ways of its institutional development. In Section 4, a blueprint of the ideal general-purpose dictionary will be offered, composed of its working definition, prime objectives, typological identification, prototype specification and key structural features. In conclusion, in Section 5, the main points of the discussion will be recapitulated and its possible practical implications touched on.

Keywords: modern lexicography, lexicography as a science, dictionary culture, ideal general-purpose dictionary, prime objectives, typological identification, prototype specification, microstructure, mediostructure

1. OPENING REMARKS

This paper comprises three related studies into three important aspects of dictionary making and dictionary use at the turn of the century and the millennium or, more precisely, at the beginning of the 21st century, where lexicography appears to be torn between two rival methodological paradigms and approaches to understanding its identity, status, theory and practice. The point of difference lies in the attitude towards modernization of the dominant methodological paradigm. The one, that could be named the old paradigm, is largely traditional, printed, pre-computer-assisted lexicography and the other, that could be named the new paradigm, is modern(ized), electronic, computer-assisted lexicography, striving to earn the status of linguistic science by building its own theory, methodology and practice, all with the purpose of becoming elevated from the long

and widely held belief, even though simplistic and misguided, that the stature of lexicography is merely in the realm of 'art and craft'.

In time of inevitable transition of paradigm, tangible results of lexicography, as can be observed in newly produced dictionaries and scholarly books and articles in many countries, and Serbia is no exception here, show a more or less balanced and harmonious mixture of elements of both paradigms, on a scale ranging from old-only to old-and-new to new-and-old to new-only. With the intention of contributing to the process of modernization in and of lexicography, especially locally, in this country, the aims of the ideas shortly to be outlined are threefold: firstly, to put forward a personal view on the modernization of lexicography concerning its practical and theoretical branches; secondly, to attempt to have the pendulum swing away from the old and towards the new paradigm; and thirdly, to set out a plan for the ideal general-purpose dictionary.

The exposition will be organized in the following way: principles of modern lexicography and attributes defining and upholding lexicography as a science will be offered in Section 2; essentials of dictionary culture and ways of its institutional development will be discussed in Section 3; a blueprint of the ideal general-purpose dictionary will be presented in Section 4; and in Section 5, a brief summary of the main points of the discussion and of its possible practical implications will be given in conclusion.

2. PRINCIPLES OF MODERN LEXICOGRAPHY

This section deals with the makings of modern lexicography, that has been taking shape during the last decades of the 20th century and has been seeing rapid, dynamic, innovative and many-sided advances in the first decades of the 21st century. It can be said to be guided by several (hitherto unwritten) principles, which are inferrable by careful observation of the dictionaries latterly and presently produced in electronic and/or print forms, in the United Kingdom (notably at Oxford University Press, Cambridge University Press, Pearson Longman, Macmillan, HarperCollins and Chambers[1]) and in the United States (notably at Merriam-Webster, Webster's New World, Random House Webster's, American Heritage, Wiktionary and English Corpora[2]), as well as by thorough exploration

[1] Addresses: https://www.oed.com/, https://www.lexico.com/, https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/ (Oxford); https://dictionary.cambridge.org/ (Cambridge); https://www.ldoceonline.com/ (Pearson Longman); https://www.macmillandictionary.com/ (Macmillan); https://www.collinsdictionary.com/ (Collins); https://chambers.co.uk/ (Chambers).

[2] Addresses: https://www.merriam-webster.com/ (Merriam-Webster); https://www.yourdictionary.com/ (Webster's New World); http://www.wordreference.com/definition/, https://www.dictionary.com/ (Random House Webster's); https://ahdictionary.com/ (American Heritage); https://en.wiktionary.org/ (Wiktionary); https://www.english-corpora.org/iweb/help/iweb_overview.pdf (English Corpora).

of the topics dealt with in the books and handbooks on lexicography recently published (and listed in the References). What sets apart modern lexicography is, of course, *modernization* of the traditional lexicographic process, which is being superseded by the computer-assisted approach to doing lexicography. Even though this modernization is just an evolution of the currently prevalent paradigm, it has brought about, and is increasingly bringing about, revolutionary results, undreamed-of until now. Thanks to global computerization and digitalization of almost all segments of life today, making and using dictionaries in digital form have become the two hallmarks of modern lexicography – alongside modernization, it is *digital implementation* of the entire lexicographic process, as its logical and ultimate outcome.

There now follows the author's perception and formulation of the principles of modern lexicography that have been taking shape in recent decades (cf. Prćić 2018: Chapter 1, on which this account draws).

(1) Modern lexicography is founded on SCIENTIFIC PRINCIPLES AND METHODS, which means the application of the latest theoretical, methodological and practical achievements of present-day lexicography and lexicology, as well as corpus, cognitive, contrastive and contact linguistics. The unifying research basis to all these disciplines is *pragmaticization* (alternatively, *contextualization*, or *concretization*) *of meanings*, consisting in the examination of language phenomena attested in real-life linguistic and extralinguistic contexts, which makes it possible to carry out analyses of authentic, naturally occurring stretches of written and spoken language at all levels of use. As a result, linguistic researchers, including lexicographers, can obtain objective insights into actual lexical, grammatical and other usage phenomena, and can thus assure their full and reliable lexicographic treatment, freed from subjective and intuitive judgements of many traditional dictionary editors and compilers regarding acceptable and/or recommended usage.

With respect to the scientific identity and status of lexicography, which still continues to be challenged and disputed, and even sometimes denied,[3] there is a range of criteria upholding the claim that lexicography can be, and indeed should be, regarded as a science – specifically, an applied linguistic science – by virtue of exhibiting customary attributes of science and scientific / scholarly research, the most important of which are the following (cf. Prćić 2018: Chapter 1, 2020a: 295):

- precisely delineated scope, topics and aims of research,
- theoretical and methodological apparatus, and technical terminology,
- empirical data and research methods with easily made generalizations,

[3] For a representative selection of the topics under debate, see Adamska-Sałaciak 2019; Atkins 2008; Bergenholtz 2012; Bergenholtz and Gouws 2012; Bogaards 2010; Hartmann 2001; Magay 2000; Margalitadze 2018; Prćić 2020a; Sinclair 1984; Tarp 2012, 2018; Wiegand 1984.

- research results able to be made known at the practical level in the shape of ready dictionaries and at the theoretical, methodological and practical levels in the shape of scholarly papers, books, handbooks, conference presentations, etc.,
- applicability of research results in everyday practice, including popularization of scholarly achievements,
- applicability of theoretical and practical research results in university courses, at MA and PhD studies, including the writing of MA theses and PhD dissertations,
- contribution to the advancement of lexical, lexicological and lexicographic research, as well as of knowledge of language use and general knowledge, and
- existence of professional associations, scholarly journals, books, handbooks, conferences, books of proceedings and bibliographies of dictionaries and scholarly works.

(2) Modern lexicography aims at producing FUNCTION-DRIVEN DICTIONARIES, which means focus, firstly, on the *passive* (*receptive*) function, related to users' understanding of written and spoken texts in L_1; and/or, secondly, on the *active* (*productive*) function, related to users' expressing themselves in speech and writing in L_1 or, when translating or learning a foreign or second language, in L_2; and/or, thirdly, on the *mediatory* function, related to users' understanding of texts with the aid of translation and/or to users' translating of texts from L_1 into L_2. Since the end of the 20th century, there has been a marked tendency, pioneered in leading British EFL learner's dictionaries, to conflate passive and active functions within one dictionary, and even all three functions within hybrid bilingualized dictionaries, in which the text of a monolingual, typically EFL learner's, dictionary contains additional translations of definitions, word senses and examples into another language, typically the learner's mother tongue.[4] And the fourth function, *metalexical* (cf. Prćić 1996), related to providing users with insights into form- and content-based workings of vocabulary, is implicitly covered in all dictionaries and explicitly in specialized dictionaries, dealing with segments of vocabulary, like synonyms, collocations or affixes.

(3) Modern lexicography aims at producing USER-ORIENTED DICTIONARIES, which means fulfilling users' expected communicative needs in terms of completeness, accuracy and usability of the information offered, in accordance with the type, purpose and function of the dictionary. In addition to customary linguistic information about the forms, functions, meanings and uses of words, and their combinations and components, it is desirable also to include, where/

[4] For pioneering reports on the compilation, exploitation and assessment of bilingualized EFL dictionaries, see Baker and Kaplan 1994; Hartmann 1994; Laufer and Hadar 1997; Laufer and Kimmel 1997; Laufer and Melamed 1994.

when necessary and feasible, encyclopedic information on the cultural and even conceptual system of L_1 and, in bilingual dictionaries, of L_2.

(4) Modern lexicography aims at producing USER-FRIENDLY DICTIONARIES, which means fulfilling users' expected reference needs in terms of accessibility of dictionaries and, particularly, quick and effortless findability of the information sought. This is achieved, firstly, with a detailed user's guide, explaining the methods of processing, editing and presenting the information offered; secondly, with an easily navigable multi-paragraph layout of a dictionary entry; thirdly, with effective typography, employing, in moderation, fonts of various faces, sizes and colours; and fourthly, with abstruse abbreviations and symbols reduced to an absolute minimum, if not eliminated altogether.

The latter two principles, user-orientation and user-friendliness, are two complementary facets of *user-centredness*, a unique quality of modern lexicography, directed towards meeting the needs of potential and actual dictionary users, who should represent the primary goal and motivating force of every modern dictionary planned and/or implemented today.

(5) Modern lexicography promotes DIGITAL IMPLEMENTATION of the lexicographic process, which means computer-assisted lexicography, carried out in digital, or electronic, form during all four stages of this process: firstly, in collecting and selecting written and spoken language material to be used as an electronic reference or monitor corpus; secondly, in processing, editing and presenting information in dictionaries; thirdly, in producing, realizing, publishing and distributing dictionaries; and fourthly, in utilizing dictionaries as final products. Digital implementation can be subsumed under the concept and term *electronic lexicography*, or *e-lexicography*,[5] for short, which accentuates and determines the theoretical, methodological and practical identity, and intrinsic nature, of modern lexicography.

With the above five principles on a hopefully firm footing, the way could be seen to be paved for the recognition, in time, of a sixth, brand new, principle of modern lexicography, which says:

(6) Modern lexicography stimulates INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF DICTIONARY CULTURE, consisting in popularization of lexicography, firstly, by acquainting would-be users with different types and purposes of dictionaries and, secondly, by teaching and monitoring efficient dictionary use, especially within the educational system, starting from senior classes of the primary school onwards and culminating at the university – specifically in courses on language(s), linguistics and, above all, lexicography. In this manner, forming part of general

[5] For groundbreaking contributions to theoretical, methodological and practical aspects of electronic lexicography, see Fuertes-Olivera and Bergenholtz 2013; Egbert, Larsson and Biber 2020; Gouws, et al. 2013; Granger and Paquot 2012; Kosem and Kosem 2011; Kosem, et al. 2013, 2015, 2017, 2019.

language culture, groundwork could be laid for the establishment and subsequent institutional development of dictionary culture. Due to its importance, the idea of dictionary culture and ways of its institutional development need further elaboration – in the section that follows.

3. ESSENTIALS OF DICTIONARY CULTURE

This section deals with the makings od dictionary culture, a relatively less known phenomenon related to lexicography, sometimes perhaps taken for granted and therefore, in this sense, not much written or spoken about. Conceived as a component of general language culture, as described and delimited by Bugarski (1997a, 1997b), *dictionary culture* could be defined as an acquired ability to use dictionaries efficiently, paired with the habit of resolving all usage-related problems (about vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation, spelling, etc.) and of filling gaps in linguistic knowledge by regularly consulting dictionaries and other language reference tools (like orthography books and style guides) rather than pursuing the self-deceptive practice of relying only on one's own shaky personal intuition.[6] This applies particularly to special language users, people who are professionally engaged in using language publicly and who, by the very nature of their profession, systematically influence, or are liable to influence, the usage practices of their, often linguistically receptive and impressionable, audiences and, ultimately, of the public at large. These professions include, above all, teachers of all subjects and at all levels of education – primary, secondary and tertiary, then journalists and editors, radio and television announcers, presenters and hosts, graphic and other designers, advertising, marketing and other slogan inventors, PR people and, last but certainly not least, translators and interpreters of all kinds of texts from and into all languages (for more details, see Prćić 2019).

Judging by the overall quality of the language the public in this country are faced with in the media, in literary and technical texts, in translations of films, books and other materials, and almost everywhere else, it is obvious that, with few commendable exceptions in the form of dedicated language professionals, other language users, and particularly special language users, do not devote enough attention to the language they produce in writing and speech, with the clear implication that dictionaries and other language (and non-language) reference tools are not high on their daily agenda. Rather than consult a reference tool, they prefer to be their own language authorities and to rely on their shaky intuitions and even shakier primary- and secondary-school knowledge of

[6] For different construals of the concept of dictionary culture in theory, methodology and practice, see Baskın and Mumcu 2018; Gouws 2013; Hartmann 2000; Hartmann and James 1998; Klein 2007; Nkomo 2015.

grammar, orthography and vocabulary. This unfortunate and quite unacceptable practice, going on for decades, results in stretches of language that are faulty in spelling, grammar, meaning, style, collocations, idioms, word formations, translations and, if stretches are spoken, in pronunciation. Consequently, attentive readers and listeners are left with a distinct impression of systematically careless use of language, both Serbian and others, a use that, because of its unstoppably steady and rapid spread, has assumed the character of a distinctive functional style, named, sarcastically and paradoxically enough, *sloppy functional style* (for a critical overview, see Prćić 2019: Chapter 4).

All these reasons should suffice to warrant the proposal that institutional development of dictionary culture be introduced into the educational system, starting from senior classes of the primary school and culminating at the university, especially departments of language and linguistics. The primary aim of institutional development of dictionary culture would be to demonstrate to learners the futility of people's self-reliance on their intuitions in using language and to impress on them that successful, effective and serious communication builds around rules and principles of a language. The rules and principles must be acquired, known and observed by all (linguistically and otherwise) educated and responsible members of a linguistic community and it is dictionaries and other language reference tools that have been created to be consulted and obeyed on a regular basis in order to resolve all kinds of usage-related problems, encountered especially by special language users.

Even though specific topics at specific levels of education for the purpose of institutional development of dictionary culture are yet to be worked out, it would appear, on reflection, that dictionary culture would best be incorporated into the syllabus of Serbian and other native and foreign languages, as deemed appropriate. The coverage would provide learners with the knowledge of five interrelated areas, listed here from general to specific:

- dictionaries and other language reference tools viewed as a whole,
- specific types and subtypes of dictionaries and other language reference tools,
- the most authoritative and influential dictionaries and other language reference tools,
- ways of exploiting dictionaries and other language reference tools efficiently, especially, navigating their entries so as to quickly find the information sought, and
- most importantly, developing dictionary culture should acquaint learners with the advantages of using dictionaries and other language reference tools by making them recognize how exactly these can help users express themselves in a factually more accurate and linguistically more appropriate way.

In order that this project could be launched in this country and brought to full fruition, there are several preconditions to be satisfied, by way of advance logistical support:

- compiling and publishing modern online and print dictionaries – firstly, general-purpose monolingual dictionaries of Serbian and bilingual dictionaries of all native and foreign language pairs used, learned and researched in Serbia (along the lines to be proposed shortly, in Section 4; cf. Prćić 2018: Chapter 1); secondly, specialized monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, most pressingly of synonyms, collocations, culture-specific words and anglicisms; and thirdly, terminological dictionaries, most pressingly of all areas of sciences and humanities,
- making dictionaries widely and freely available on the internet to all interested users, who would be able to consult them via their computers, tablets and mobile phones, when and where they need them,
- preparing a user-friendly exercise or resource book, or an interactive online or offline software guide, which would take learners step-by-step through the topics of dictionary culture, with special focus on techniques for efficient use of dictionaries, navigating entries and finding necessary information in all kinds of language reference tools, and
- designing the syllabus for primary, secondary and tertiary education, that would define development of dictionary culture as part of the syllabus of Serbian and other native and foreign languages taught in this country.

Finally, this project would, and could, have a scholarly research value as well, because teachers engaged in institutionally developing dictionary culture would be able, firstly, to test empirically various theoretical, methodological and practical aspects of the actual process; secondly, to find out how learners respond to what they have been taught and to what extent their perception and appreciation of language reference tools has changed; thirdly, to determine the good and less good points of the look-up techniques used by learners before and after their training in essentials of dictionary culture; and fourthly, to identify where exactly in this process there is room for methodological improvement. In this way, a significant contribution could be made to dictionary use, one of the six spheres of dictionary research (as explained by Hartmann 2001). What is more, by introducing here dictionary culture and its institutional development, the scope of dictionary research would be enriched by an important theoretical and practical addition (cf. Prćić 2020a).

4. BLUEPRINT OF THE IDEAL GENERAL-PURPOSE DICTIONARY

This section deals with the makings of the ideal general-purpose dictionary, that has, of course, not yet been produced anywhere, although existing features of some current electronic and print dictionaries do qualify for those of the ideal dictionary. However, there are still a number of design elements, sorely lacking but highly desirable, that are patiently waiting, as it were, for being recognized as necessary and/or helpful, and implemented in the ideal dictionary – of today and for the future. The discussion of the proposed ideal dictionary is divided into five parts, as follows: working definition (4.1), prime objectives (4.2), typological identification (4.3), prototype specification (4.4), and key structural features (4.5).

4.1. Working definition

Before being able to proceed, it is necessary to put forward a working definition of the ideal dictionary, where the modifier 'ideal' should *not* be interpreted as meaning, explicitly or implicitly, '(a dictionary that is) imaginary, illusory, idealistic or even quixotic, and therefore unrealistic, impracticable, utopian and, in fact, merely wishful thinking'. Rather than being chimerical, the ideal dictionary builds on down-to-earth realities, on the latest tendencies in practical and theoretical lexicography,[7] which are supplemented with the author's personal insights, observations and conceptions of what design elements a *really* usable and useful modern dictionary should have in order to provide its potential and actual users with a wide array of options for exploiting, i.e. displaying, finding, selecting and, ultimately, benefiting from a considerably wider array of information made available to them.[8]

And it is the optimally balanced interplay between these two arrays, of information on offer and of options on offer, that crucially determines how well a dictionary complies with the image of the ideal dictionary, where 'ideal' should be construed in the sense intended here and deriving from these two fundamental

[7] For extensive, detailed and useful discussions, see Al-Kasimi 1977; Atkins 1996; Atkins and Rundell 2008; Béjoint 2000, 2010; Benson, et al. 1986; Cowie 1999; Čermák 2010; Durkin 2015; Fontenelle 2008; Fuertes-Olivera 2017; Hanks 2010; Hartmann 2001; Hausmann, et al. 1989; Jackson 2013; Klotz and Herbst 2016; Kövecses and Csábi 2014; Landau 2001; Roberts 1992; van Sterkenburg 2003; Svensén 2009; Wiegand and Hausmann 1989; Yong and Peng 2007; Zgusta 1971.

[8] Most of the observations were made earlier, unsystematically though, in papers and books of diverse topics, scopes and focus, viz. Prćić 1996, 1999, 2004, 2005, 2008a, 2008b, 2010, 2012, 2018, 2019.

design principles of the dictionary. In briefest and broadest terms, the ideal dictionary could be defined as *a dictionary that puts at users' disposal the maximum amount of information and the maximum number of options for exploiting that information*. As can be inferred, the prime, and sole, purpose of the ideal dictionary is the benefit of its potential and actual users, who are provided with a powerful explanatory and educational tool made to meet as fully as possible all kinds of users' communicative and reference needs – in the ways chosen by themselves and thus achieving individualization of user experience and user exploitation of the abundant resources placed at their fingertips.

4.2. Prime objectives

In order to deal with the prime objectives of the ideal dictionary, the concept of its *target audience of users* and their communicative and reference needs should first be defined, because together they determine the overall structure and organization of any dictionary. Here, the audience is projected to consist of a very wide spectrum of users, of various ages, vocations and interests, typically starting from those around the age of 15, at senior classes of primary school onwards, catering for native speakers and foreign learners of a language, or languages, alike. Users' *communicative needs* are seen to comprise all four dictionary functions mentioned above – passive, active, mediatory and metalexical, and to cater equally for the practical, everyday needs of ordinary, i.e. non-specialist, users and for the theoretical, research needs of extra-ordinary, i.e. specialist, users, chiefly professional linguists. Users' *reference needs* are tuned to ensure that the information put at their disposal is attractively presented, quickly accessible, readily understandable and easily applicable by potential and actual users.

With this projection of target users and their communicative and reference needs, it is now possible to set the objectives that the compilation of the ideal dictionary should accomplish (the inventory of objectives and their naming build around the model originally presented in Prćić 2012 and the formulations, in part, follow those in Prćić 2018: Chapters 2-3).

(1) The dictionary's COMMUNICATIVE, AND PRINCIPAL, OBJECTIVE is to construct a complete picture of the vocabulary of one individual language, called here *primary language*, coupled, if so desired by the user, with at least one other language, or more languages, up to five, called here *secondary language(s)*. The vocabularies analysed and described would be treated as intralingually *and* interlingually connected lexical networks and, for this reason, the information offered would be composed of three interconnected dimensions:

- information about forms, functions, meanings and uses of words and idioms, as word combinations, in the primary language and, if so desired, in comparison with at least one secondary language,
- information about forms, functions and meanings of affixes and combining forms, as word components, in the primary language and, if so desired, in comparison with at least one other language, and
- information about paradigmatic, syntagmatic and word-formational interrelations of words, word combinations and components in the primary language and, if so desired, in comparison with at least one secondary language.

When the dictionary is set to display information about one language, it works in the monolingual mode and when two or more languages are selected, it is in the multilingual mode – typically and most frequently in the bilingual mode (henceforth only 'bilingual' will be used, with 'multilingual' understood by implication). The inclusion of these three dimensions of information – equally in monolingual and bilingual modes – would help users in three intended respects:

- to be able to appropriately comprehend written and spoken texts in one or more languages,
- to be able to appropriately create written and spoken texts in one or more languages, and
- to be able to appropriately translate written and spoken texts from one language into another, and vice versa.

(2) The dictionary's DESCRIPTIVE OBJECTIVE is to offer a comprehensive, detailed and reliable account of the authentic use of words, their combinations and components by codifying their typical behaviour in one or more languages, individually and/or contrastively, at the levels of graphology, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, stylistics and pragmatics, as well as on the planes of paradigmatics, syntagmatics and word formation.

(3) The dictionary's PRESCRIPTIVE OBJECTIVE is to indicate systematic departures from the standard usage of words and their combinations in one or more languages, individually and/or contrastively, and to recommend their standard uses when there are cases of variation or misuse in terms of graphology, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, stylistics and pragmatics.

(4) The dictionary's METALEXICAL OBJECTIVE is to afford a revealing insight into the functioning of the lexical system of one or more languages, individually and/or contrastively, especially in respect of the form- and/or content-based interrelations of words on the paradigmatic, syntagmatic and word-formational planes.

(5) The dictionary's LEXICOGRAPHIC OBJECTIVE is to present information about words, their combinations and components in an easily navigable, typo-

graphically effective and, above all, user-friendly manner, in conformity with the latest design trends of modern practical and theoretical lexicography.

(6) The dictionary's EDUCATIONAL AND, PARTLY, SOCIOLINGUISTIC OBJECTIVE is to raise users' awareness about the importance of developing a regular habit of resolving lexical and other usage-related problems and of filling gaps in linguistic knowledge by consulting dictionaries and other reference books, thereby contributing to the building and fostering of dictionary culture – rather than relying only on their own subjective, and often shaky, linguistic intuitions and judgements.

4.3. Typological identification

Lexicographic properties of the ideal dictionary have been determined in accordance with the customary criteria and standards laid out for classifications of dictionaries (cf. Atkins and Rundell 2008; Hartmann 2001; Lipka 2002; van Sterkenburg 2003; Svensén 2009; Zgusta 1971). The typological profile of this particular dictionary, as it has been conceived, can be created with the following ten basic properties (the inventory itself builds around the model originally presented in Prćić 2012 and the formulations, in part, follow those in Prćić 2018: Chapters 2-3).

(1) A DICTIONARY, with elements of a THESAURUS, in that it would include information about content-based interrelations of words, their combinations and components.

(2) A DIGITAL, OR ELECTRONIC, dictionary, in that it would be realized in electronic form and accessible either online or offline.

(3) A MONOLINGUAL dictionary, with an integrated BILINGUAL dictionary, in that it would contain information about the primary language and between two and five secondary languages contrastively.

(4) A GENERAL-PURPOSE dictionary, in that it would cover general, everyday, non-specialist vocabulary of each language.

(5) A SYNCHRONIC dictionary, in that it would cover current, turn-of-the-century, present-day lexical resources of each language.

(6) A MEDIUM-SIZED dictionary, in that it would comprise between 100,000 and 150,000 headwords per language, inclusive of words and word components, and exclusive of word combinations, being treated as subheadwords.

(7) An ALPHABETICAL dictionary, with elements of a CONCEPTUAL dictionary, in that thesaural information about content-based interrelations of words would be organized around sense-relatedness of clusters of words.

(8) A SEMASIOLOGICAL dictionary, with elements of an ONOMASIOLOGICAL dictionary, in that sense-relatedness of clusters of words would start from the

shared meaning and go towards words expressing nuances of shared meaning, unlike the other method which starts from words and goes towards the meanings they express.

(9) A dictionary combining THREE METHODS of dealing with linguistic data, in that it would employ descriptive, prescriptive and metalexical approaches to account for actual language use, to point out systematic errors in use and recommend standard uses, and to picture the paradigmatic and syntagmatic organization of vocabulary, respectively.

(10) A dictionary combining FOUR FUNCTIONS, in that it would be designed so as to serve passive (receptive), active (productive), mediatory and metalexical dictionary functions and in this way to satisfy all communicative needs of all potential and actual users.

It can be noticed in the above typological identification that as many as six of the ten lexicographic properties have at least two correlatives merged within a single property. Typological properties like these contribute to the *hybrid nature* of this dictionary (cf. Hartmann 2005), which is a more than welcome and desirable design principle of any modern dictionary, especially one endeavouring to become the ideal general-purpose dictionary.

4.4. Prototype specification

Having hitherto discussed the prime objectives and the typological identification of the ideal general-purpose dictionary, it now becomes possible to identify the design elements that would uniquely specify the prototype of the ideal general-purpose dictionary. Without aspiring to either exhaustiveness or definitiveness, but rather to a realistic and representative specification, a checklist of ten distinctive design elements that constitute the ideal general-purpose dictionary will now be suggested (cf. Prćić 2018: Chapters 2-7).

(1) DIGITAL (ELECTRONIC) FORM of compilation, realization, distribution and exploitation, online and/or offline, of the dictionary. This involves paperless lexicography, characterized by the use of the latest computer technology in all four stages of the lexicographic process.

(2) UNIVERSAL FREE ACCESSIBILITY of all the content made available to users. This involves open and unrestricted access over the internet to the full dictionary content without obliging users to pay, subscribe or register in any way in order to become entitled to consult it.

(3) CORPUS-ASSISTED METHODOLOGY for collection, extraction, description and codification of lexical and other information made available to users. This involves exploitation of large electronic reference or monitor corpora, of no few-

er than 500 million words per language, with each corpus containing written and spoken samples of authentic use.

(4) User-centredness in selection, preparation, organization, presentation and, above all, exploitation of the content made available to users. This involves tailoring the design of the dictionary so as to meet as best as possible users' communicative and reference needs, firstly, by offering as much as possible relevant information about words, their combinations and components; and secondly, by offering as many as possible options for fully customizing the quantity and quality of the information shown to users. With a focus slightly shifted, the totality of the information at users' disposal is intended for *all potential* users, whereas the totality of customization options is intended for *single actual* users and their individual(ized) preferences for receiving new information.

(5) User-controllable interactivity in selection of dictionary modules and features. This involves individualization of user exploitation and user experience of the dictionary, which is achieved by letting users set the primary and secondary language modules, most of the information types to be displayed and ways of their typographical presentation on-screen. With the inescapable exception of the default and lexicographically indispensable headwords, their parts of speech, definitions and, when bilingual modules are on, their translations into the secondary language(s), users are in full control of the appearance of all microstructural features regarding the lexicographic treatment of phonology, morphosyntax, semantics with pragmatics, stylistics, exemplification, etymology, cross-references and, within dedicated thematic boxes, of paradigmatic, syntagmatic and word-formational interrelations, and of moot usage points.

(6) Multimedia enrichment of textual content with illustrative audio, video and graphic content. This involves segments of recorded speech, sounds and music, of moving visual images and of still visual images, respectively, retrievable either internally, when incorporated into the dictionary itself, or externally, when accessed from a remote computer.

(7) Hyperlinked cross-referencing to specific portions of textual and/or multimedia content, retrievable internally or externally. This involves extensive interconnection of both headwords and information about them, presented in textual and/or multimedia form, largely for comparative and/or illustrative purposes, and activated either by clicking or by touching highlighted on-screen links.

(8) Easy searchability of headwords according to simple or complex preset criteria, including wildcard searches for word beginnings, middles and endings. This involves user-selectable isolation from words of specific prefixes, initial combining forms, infixes, suffixes and final combining forms, their combinations and/or other letter or sound patterns.

(9) User collaboration in contributing to dictionary editors documented candidates for new headwords and/or new meanings of existing ones. This

involves crowdsourcing in obtaining potential additions, i.e. formal and/or semantic neologisms, and thus approaching to a moderately controlled open dictionary, where users' input is subject to editors' approval and corpus-assisted lexicographic treatment.

(10) Periodic editorial updatability of the content with new headwords, information about them or emendations of existing information. This involves regular, at least biannual, revision process which consists of adding fresh content and correcting inaccuracies, so as to ensure that the information made available is always up-to-date, precise and reliable, as much as this is attainable.

4.5. Key structural features

The ideal general-purpose dictionary has so far been portrayed from three complementary theoretical angles, viz. its prime objectives, its typological identification and its prototype specification. The portrayal will be finished with a set of structural features that should be incorporated into the ideal general-purpose dictionary. All features to be enumerated follow from the three descriptions provided earlier in this section and, in effect, they represent the practical implementation of the theoretical framework developed above. Among the features, there are those that convey key pieces of lexical information about the forms, functions, meanings and uses of headwords, information that is vitally important for a full and accurate account of their linguistic behaviour and that is put at the disposal, and for the benefit, of the dictionary's users. This set of vitally important information will be called *key information* and it is in the domains, firstly, of graphology, phonology, morphosyntax, semantics with pragmatics, stylistics and etymology; secondly, of paradigmatic, syntagmatic and word-formational planes; and thirdly, of usage and misusage of various aspects of language. And the structural features representing key information will be called *key features*, which are in the domains of the dictionary's microstructure and, with (9) and (10), its mediostructure (cf. Hartmann 2001; Hartmann and James 1998).

Here now is the author's proposed inventory of the key features, alongside the types of information that they carry and that are deemed useful, necessary and, hence, expected to be included in the ideal general-purpose dictionary. As it will be seen, some of the features are established and well-known, some are established but refocused and some are new and being introduced for the first time. Without going into theoretical details of lexicology (for which see Bauer and Huddleston 2002; Cruse 2010; Lipka 2002; Murphy 2003; Prćić 2016), the first segment of the inventory comprises information and features that are common to both monolingual and bilingual modes, and the second segment brings information and features specific only to the bilingual mode (for details on both mono-

lingual and bilingual key features to be sketched out, see Prćić 2018: Chapters 2 and 4.1, 2019: Chapter 19, on which the present overview draws). To facilitate understanding, exemplification will be given with the explanations of new and refocused features.

Lexical information shared between the monolingual and bilingual modes would be conveyed by eleven key features.

(1) Spelling – provides information on the headword's standardized written form and its possible variants.

(2) Pronunciation – provides information on the headword's recommended spoken form and its possible variants, shown in IPA phonological symbols or some other set of dedicated symbols, additionally reinforceable with recordings of human pronunciation(s) of a given headword.

(3) Grammar – provides information on the headword's grammar, firstly, by indication of its part of speech and possible subcategorizations, and, secondly, by a sample of its typical paradigmatic word-forms, especially irregular ones, which depart from rule-governed, predictable, forms.

(4) Definition – provides information on the headword's descriptive meaning, whose wording should have the following qualities:

- phrased as a hyperonym-dominated rhematic part of a full sentence, in line with the tripartite formula *X | is Y | that Z*, where *X* is the headword, hyponym and referent, constituting the theme of the definition (for example, *a cat*...), *Y* is the hyperonym, dominating the rheme of the definition (...*is a small domestic animal*...) and *Z* is the description containing a set of the referent's distinctive properties and constituting the focus of the rheme (...*that has four legs, a tail and fur, catches mice, miaows, purrs when contented and that is kept as a house pet*); the definition, and especially its *Z* portion, should offer a short, clear, complete, unbiased and comprehensible depiction of a given meaning, which is, if/when necessary, preceded by an indication of its collocational restriction to achieve explicit contextualization, or pragmaticization, of the meaning depicted,
- not phrased with technical, highly specialized and semantically complex words, largely unfamiliar and therefore incomprehensible to the majority of ordinary, non-specialist, potential users, as in *feline quadruped* employed to define *cat*,
- not phrased with a synonym only, because synonyms by themselves do not define anything apart from the fact that there holds a sense relation of synonymy between the words brought together and because, for this reason, synonyms can only supplement or strengthen a definition and never replace it; this ill-considered practice contributes to the circularity and obscurity of a definition, especially when the synonym offered is of

a rare and/or semantically more complex and/or less known kind, as in *intelligent* provided to define *smart* and *bright*, and

- when defining transparent words created by the processes of affixation, composition, conversion and, where applicable, lexical blending, phrased with the motivating base included, so as to show the morphosemantic relation between the given headword and its base(s), as in *respond excessively* employed to define *overreact* instead of the derivationally related *react excessively*.

(5) Signposts – provide information and guidance on the headword's polysemous senses, which are hierarchically grouped around their relatedness by metaphor, metonymy, generalization and specialization, and indicated by sense-contextualizing signposts, that can be of three kinds (cf. Prćić 2018: Chapter 4, 2019: Chapter 19):

- denotational signpost, which contains a set of typical key words from the definition or a more general synonym,
- collocational signpost, which contains typical collocates with which a noun, verb, adjective or adverb headword habitually cooccurs, and
- thematizational signpost, which contains a label of the typical thematic field in which the sense is normally found.

(6) Sense relations – provide information on the paradigmatic comparability of the individual senses of at least two headwords, which involves synonymy, antonymy (scalar, complementary, converse, diametrical and reversive, as its subtypes) and hyponymy. If the headword is an affix or a combining form, the sense relations holding between them are synonymy and antonymy.

(7) Stylistic labels – provide information on the headword's associative meaning, if a given headword has it, by indicating its markedness in terms of lect (i.e. dialect, sociolect and chronolect) and/or register (i.e. interpersonal, medium and thematic), thereby determining the situational appropriacy of that meaning.

(8) Examples – provide information on the headword's typical behaviour in linguistic context, within sentences or phrases (or, with affixes and combining forms, within words), focusing on interrelations with other words, especially lexical and/or grammatical collocations, structural complementations and idiomatized uses.

(9) Cross-references – provide information on the headword's links with other headwords with which it is comparable in terms of content and/or form, altogether in four areas:

- semantically, bringing together at least two headwords linked by the sense relations of hyponymy, synonymy and antonymy,
- semantically, bringing together at least two headwords linked by membership in the same hierarchical or linear lexical field,

- word-formationally, bringing together prefixations linked to a given base headword (with suffixations already provided as run-on subheadwords), and
- word-formationally, bringing together at least two affixes and/or combining forms linked by the sense relations of synonymy and antonymy.

(10) Usage notes – provide information on the usage of specific forms and/or meanings of some headwords, altogether in four areas:

- discriminated synonyms, collected from those cross-referred in the description above, for which the information is placed at the basic (unmarked) member,
- lexical and/or grammatical collocations, for which the information is placed at the primary collocate,
- formally and/or semantically similar, and therefore confusable, headwords, for which the information is placed at the more salient one and cross-referred from the other, and
- non-standard (unacceptable) uses of certain forms and/or meanings, for which the information is placed at the standard (recommended) form and/or meaning.

(11) Etymology – provides information on the headword's origin, its cognates in other languages and its form- and/or content-based development. Being diachronic in nature, this particular information goes beyond the synchronic foundation of the dictionary and is, as such, dispensable. This largely metalexical information is provided here in order to further increase the thoroughness of the proposed description of headwords.

In addition to the shared lexical information, there is information pertinent only to the bilingual mode of the ideal general-purpose dictionary and it would be conveyed by four key features.

(12) Translations – provide information on the meanings in L_2 of the headword's senses, which either agree with them in form, function and content, when they are called correspondents, like *čekati* in Serbian for *wait* in English, or they agree only in function and content, when they are called equivalents, like *čekati / stajati u redu* in Serbian for *queue* in English; furthermore, the following regularities should be borne in mind:

- for each particular sense, one translation (or two at most) is normally furnished, considered to be best suited for the bulk of unmarked, non-specific contexts and thus representing the prototypical translation of a given sense,
- other translations are associated with marked, specific contexts by which they are determined,
- translations may be collocationally restricted, and

- translations may be stylistically restricted and therefore appropriate to a range of specific situations.

(13) Indication of false friends – provides information on the content- and/or form-based divergence between orthographically similar or identical words in L_1 and L_2, or in L_2 and L_1, like *old-timer* in English and *oldtajmer* in Serbian.

(14) Indication of culture-specific words – provides information on words that denote objects, phenomena, events, etc., specific for the culture of L_1, and which, for this reason, need not have ready-made correspondents in L_2, thereby causing a possible lexical gap to be filled either by an established or a newly-created equivalent in L_2, or by borrowing from L_1, like *electoral college* in English, denoting a phenomenon in the United States, and *apsolvent* in Serbia, denoting a phenomenon in Serbia.

(15) Indication of anglicisms – provides information on borrowings from English into L_2 and their standardized, or recommended, form- and/or content-based adaptations to the system of L_2, especially their orthographic and morphological forms, in case adequate translations are difficult or impossible to produce, like *mafin* and *mafina* in Serbian from *muffin* in English.

5. CLOSING REMARKS

This paper has brought a personal view on three interrelated lexicographic topics, regarding the makings of (1) modern lexicography, explaining its principles and attributes that uphold its scientific status, (2) dictionary culture, explaining its elements and ways of its institutional development, and (3) the ideal general-purpose dictionary, explained from five angles: its working definition, covering its nature and purpose; its prime objectives, covering the aims to be accomplished by its compilation; its typological identification, covering its basic lexicographic properties; its prototype specification, covering its distinctive design elements; and its key structural features, covering the lexical information on headwords to be conveyed, presented and made available to users.

The ideal general-purpose dictonary has been conceived in keeping with the principles of modern lexicography and with a view to encouraging institutional development of dictionary culture. However, there is no dictionary culture without the ideal general-purpose dictionary to support it and without modern lexicography to initiate it; there is no ideal general-purpose dictionary without modern lexicography to project it and without dictionary culture to exploit it; and, lastly, there is no modern lexicography without the ideal general-purpose dictionary, or, indeed, any modern dictionary, and without dictionary culture to put both into practice. Following naturally from this account of the makings of

modern lexicography, dictionary culture and the ideal general-purpose dictionary would be the actual making of the ideal general-purpose dictionary, in both monolingual and bilingual modes.

For this to happen in this country, the pendulum must resolutely and irrevocably swing towards the new, modern(ized), electronic, both computer- and corpus-assisted lexicography, which would start producing modern, electronic, computer-assisted dictionaries – if not instead of, then at least together with – print dictionaries. And for the ideal general-purpose dictionary of Serbian to be produced, there is a vital prerequisite for the creation of the monitor Serbian National Electronic Corpus, composed of at least 500 million words, drawn from a variety of online and print sources so as to represent a balanced cross section of all lectal and registral varieties of present-day Serbian (cf. Prćić 2018: Chapter 1, 2020b). This corpus would hopefully lead to the creation of bilingual parallel corpora of all native and foreign languages used, taught/learned and studied/researched in Serbia, which, in turn, would lead to the compilation of various kind of bilingual dictionaries. Slowly but surely what now appears to be mere wishful thinking would, in all likelihood, start to materialize resolutely and irrevocably. If only that pendulum would swing just a morsel away from the age-old lexicographic paradigm.

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SAVREMENA LEKSIKOGRAFIJA, REČNIČKA KULTURA I IDEALNI OPŠTI REČNIK

Rezime

Ovaj rad donosi raspravu koja se tiče tri važna, i međupovezana, aspekta sastavljanja i korišćenja rečnika na prelazu vekova u našoj zemlji, pri čemu svi proizlaze iz zajedničke centralne teme osavremenjavanja trenutno dominantne metodološke paradigme. Nakon nekolikih uvodnih napomena u Odeljku 1, principi savremene leksikografije, na kojima bi po mogućstvu trebalo da budu zasnovane teorija i praksa leksikografije danas, te popis odlika koje definišu i učvršćuju leksikografiju kao nauku, predstavljeni su u Odeljku 2. U Odeljku 3, razrađen je pojam rečničke kulture, zajedno s načinima njenog institucionalnog razvijanja. U Odeljku 4, ponuđen je plan idealnog opšteg rečnika, koji sačinjavaju radna definicija, glavni ciljevi, tipološka identifikacija, prototipska specifikacija i ključna strukturna obeležja. U zaključku, u Odeljku 5, sažete su najbitnije ideje ove rasprave i pružen osvrt na njene moguće praktične implikacije.

Ključne reči: savremena leksikografija, leksikografija kao nauka, rečnička kultura, idealni opšti rečnik, glavni ciljevi, tipološka identifikacija, prototipska specifikacija, mikrostruktura, mediostruktura

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THE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE KARASHOVEAN ENCLAVE: REALITY AND MYTH

The introductory part of this paper gives a brief overview of the most important moments in the history of Banat from the 6th -7th century until today, and it highlights the most significant changes in the ethnic structure of the Banat population over the centuries caused by changing the rule of various empires in this territory. The paper discusses the issue of the ethnic origin of the Karashoveans. In this sense, the historical, linguistic, ethnographic, and religious arguments presented in numerous professional papers dedicated to the Karashovean ethnic enclave are synthetically presented with false arguments, myths in circulation, which are emphasized and amplified by some factors interested in distorting the obvious reality of the ethnic origin of the Karashoveans. At the end of the paper, the confusion caused among Karashoveans regarding their ethnic origin and the evolution of their ethnic orientation from the last decade of the 19th century until today, especially in the last 25 years, was pointed out.

Key words: Karashoveans, Romanian Banat, ethnic origin, ethnic identity, religion and ethnic identity, politics and ethnic identity.

1. INRODUCTION

To gain as comprehensive and objective picture as possible about the ethnic structure of Banat or, better said, about the ethnic movements in this area throughout history, it is necessary to make at least one concise overview of the most important moments in the history of this area, and the most important historical facts should be connected with facts from other scientific professions, primarily from the domain of linguistics (language, toponymy, onomastics), but also ethnology, folklore, religion, etc.

2. THE HISTORICAL PAST OF BANAT FROM THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES TO THE PRESENT

2.1. A review of statistical data on the ethnic structure of Banat from the time when the first statistics of this kind appeared to the present day unequivocally indicates that the data presented in them is mainly contradictory, because the interpretation and presentation of data depended, and still depends, on the clients and their political and other interests at a certain historical moment. Thus, each interested party tried to prove and emphasize the autochthony, i.e. the antiquity of existence and/or numerical superiority of its ethnic/national group, using fictional, false arguments or half-truths while disputing or minimizing the same to other ethnic/national group(s). The peak of such manipulations was reached in the second half of the 19th century after the publication of Resler's theory, according to which Romanians were first mentioned in medieval documents in the area north of the Danube only in the 13th century (Roesler 1871), thus disputing the antiquity of Romanians in Banat and Transylvania. In a fierce reaction to Resler's thesis (Xenopol 1998; Onciul 1968 et al.), in the heat of controversy, some Romanian historians have challenged the antiquity of the Serbian/ Slavic ethnic element in Banat, tendentiously claiming that Serbs first appeared in Banat in the 14th century (Cotoşman 1934: 100-109; Manciulea 1943: 329-389, etc.). Due to the above, it is necessary to analyze the statistical data very carefully and objectively. At the same time, they should be considered and correlated with other relevant facts, and only after this, conclusions should be made about the ethnic composition of the population in a certain period.

2.2. From the point of view of the evolution of changes in the ethnic structure of the population, three great periods stand out in the history of Banat, which will be briefly presented and analyzed below.

2.2.1. The period from the early Middle Ages to the 12th century

Population. According to abundant data from various sources and archaeological findings, some researchers have pointed out that there are serious indications that the Slavs were in the Pannonian Plain and the Balkan Peninsula since the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, but the first reliable evidence of their mass presence in these areas, as in Dacia, is found in the monuments from the 5th-8th centuries (Erdeljanović, 1925: 276; Popović, 1955: 15; Ivić, 1929: 5; I. Popović, 1955: 25; Pejin, 2003: 3-9). Sources in the 7th -8th centuries mention Slavic tribes of the North or Severians in south-eastern Banat, Timočani in southern Banat, and Obotrites, Braničevci, Lutici in other parts of Banat (Erdeljanović, 1925: 276; Pejin, 2003: 9).

In the 7th century, 679-680., under the leadership of Asparuh, the Bulgarians came to the lower Danube where they created a large and powerful state or Bulgarian-Slavic tribal alliance, and in 796, most likely, they occupied Banat and ruled it until 895 (Erdeljanović, 1925: 277) or 934 (Pejin, 2003: 14) when the Hungarians defeated the Banat Bulgarian duke Glad, but the Hungarian government was not established in Banat at that time. The Bulgarian-Slavic state of Banat was continued to be ruled by Glad's successor, Prince Ahtum. In 1030, the Hungarian king Stefan I sent his army led by Cenad, otherwise Ahtum's military commander fled to the Hungarian king, and was baptized again according to the Western rite. In the clash of the two armies, the Banat army was defeated, and Ahtum was killed in battle. After this battle, the Hungarians established their rule over the north-western part of Banat, but other parts of Banat remained outside the reach of the Hungarian government until the 13th and 14th centuries (Erdeljanović, 1925: 277; Pejin, 2003: 15-19; Popović, 1955: 23). Evidence of this can be found in Hungarian sources from that time, in which Hungarian historians state that the Banat Slavs, whom they call *Serbs*, lived in principalities that eventually grew into parishes - areas with some self-government, and made the most important decisions at their assemblies (Pejin, 2003: 14, 24).

The church. Based on various sources, it can be concluded that Christianity appeared early in Banat, and it is quite certain that, in the 4th and 5th century, there already were Christians among the Banat population (Pejin, 2003: 20). The Banat Slavs were initially polytheists, and they converted to Christianity during the Bulgarian rule. Although he was a Hungarian vassal, Ahtum maintained ties with Byzantium, and in 971 (Popović, 1955: 22) or 1002 (Pejin, 2003: 17), in Vidin, he recognized the supreme authority of the Byzantine emperor and the spiritual authority of the Byzantine church with Slavic worship. In Morisena, the future Cenad, he founded an Orthodox monastery dedicated to John the Baptist, which would be the main stronghold of the Orthodox in Banat. However, after the death of Ahtum, Greek monks were expelled from that monastery and founded a Greek monastery in Oroslamoš (today Majdan), and instead of the Greek one, the Hungarians built a Latin monastery and a new church dedicated to St. George, they brought Benedictine monks from Venice, led by Gerhart de Sagredo, who founded the Cenad Roman Catholic Episcopate, and renamed the city of Morisena to Cenad, after the military leader who defeated Ahtum. Since then, Cenad has become the center of the spread of Roman Catholicism among the Slavs in Banat (Popović, 1955: 22; Erdeljanović, 1925: 277; Pejin, 2003: 19).

There were nine "Greek" and only one "Latin" monasteries in the Kingdom of Hungary at that time (Popović, 1955: 22), which says a lot about the ethnic structure of the population in the kingdom, although a significant number of Hungarians initially professed "Greek" rite [see maps 1 and 2].

Conclusion: According to the opinion of numerous scientists such as Schwicker, Niederle, Mileker, whom J. Erdeljanović quoted in his work, but also others[1], the majority of Slavs in Banat, if not all in this period, were Serbs (Erdeljanović, 1925: 277, 301, 304; Popović: 17). This conclusion is reached based on the data from a small number of historical sources and especially on conclusions obtained from the analysis of the topographic nomenclature of Banat. Hungarian historians also claim that the Slavs they found in the Pannonian Plain, Banat and the western parts of Ardeal (Bihor, in the area of the river Criș) were Serbs (Popović, 1955: 17; Pejin, 2003: 8, 11).

Therefore, from the 5th to the 7th century until the beginning of the 12th century, the Banat population consisted of South Slavs, mostly Serbs and, to a lesser extent, Bulgarians and Vlachs[2] (Erdeljanović, 1925: 277; Popović, 1955: 17; Pejin, 2003: 4, 6-11). Since the annexation of Banat to the Kingdom of Hungary, starting from the 11th century, Hungarians began to inhabit this area, but not in significant numbers.

2.2.2. The period from 12th to 15th century

Population. Starting from the 12th century, the previous ethnic composition of Banat began to change with the appearance of a new ethnic element – the Hungarian. According to Hungarian historical sources, the first immigration of Hungarians to Banat took place only in the 13th century, i.e. almost three hundred years after the arrival of the Hungarians in Pannonia. That first colonization was not massive, the colonists came in groups composed of nobles, military commanders, various civilians, and church officials accompanied by family members, and settled in fortress cities. This feudal-militaristic colonization took place in parallel with the creation of large feudal estates at the time when the organization of Hungary after the model of Western European kingdoms began. The colonists gradually replaced the then Slavic social and economic organization with a new, Hungarian one[3], but the toponymy of Banat, despite the process of its adaptation in the spirit of the Hungarian language and orthography, remained Slavic. Before that, before the end of the 12th century, after the victory over Serbian princes and counties, Bela III replaced the Slavic system in parishes and principalities with Hungarian counties (Krassó-Szörény, Kovin, Temes, Torontál, Csanád, and Arad) (Pejin, 2003: 24).

[1] Čaplović, Cernig, Baranj, Pešti, Salaj, Bem, Piko, Zeremski, Vitković, Simonović, Radonjić, Stanojević, A. Ivic, D. Popović et al.

[2] According to Ivan Popović [Popović, 1955: 42] and some other historians, Romanians later moved to Dacia (and Banat) from the Balkan areas south of the Danube and then Romanized Slavic Dacia.

[3] The local self-government of the Slavs in Banat was abolished in 1230 (Pejin, 2003: 28).

The data from various Hungarian sources speaks of the number and strength of the Banat Orthodox Serbs, as well as the influence they had at the royal court. Their reputation and influence are reflected, among other things, in the high positions they occupied in the hierarchy of the Hungarian kingdom or the participation of Serbian champions in dynastic struggles (Popović, 1955: 22-23; Pejin 2003: 23). It is estimated that Banat had about 80,000 inhabitants in the 13th century (3-5 inhabitants per 1km^2) (Pejin, 2003: 26).

The church. According to written sources, there were 600 Orthodox monasteries in southern Hungary before the Mongol invasion in 1241, a number that indicates that Orthodox Serbs and Romanians in southern and south-eastern Hungary had a large share of the total population (Pejin, 2003: 28) [see map 4].

Significant changes will be registered on the religious level in this period. In the first period of Hungarian rule in Banat, despite the new church organization established by the founding of the Cenad Roman Catholic Episcopate in 1030, the influence of the Hungarian Roman Catholic Church on the majorly Orthodox Banat population was insignificant. But, starting from 1230, at the request of the Roman popes, the planned persecution of Orthodox Serbs and Romanians by Hungarian kings began, which would last with greater or lesser intensity until the end of the 15th century (Popović, 1955: 24-25; Radan, 2000: 36-38; Pejin, 2003: 28-37).

Conclusion: Although the third element in the ethnic composition of Banat appeared in this colonization period of the Hungarians, the number of colonists was insignificant and did not cause large changes in it. However, significant changes took place on the religious level, where very strong persecution of Orthodoxy and the fierce action of Catholicization of Orthodox Banat Serbs and Vlachs took place.

2.2.3. The period from the 15th to the beginning of the 18th century (1504-1718)

Demographic trends and ethnic structure of the Banat population. The period from the Battle of Kosovo, from 1389 until 1560, is a period of the violent Turkish invasion of the Balkan Peninsula, which resulted in the conquest of Bulgaria and Serbian medieval lands from the Western Balkans. The Turkish conquests caused the greatest movements of the Serbian (and Bulgarian) population from this area from the 6th century onwards. As it is known, migrations moved to the North, North-West, and West across the Sava and the Danube [Ivić, 2001: 65], and one of the habitats of the settlers was Banat, where Serbs probably began to arrive from the end of the 14th century, originally from Raska [Popović, 1: 103]. According to historical sources, the first verified data on the immigration of Serbs to southern Hungary occurred in 1404 [Erdeljanović, 1925: 278, 288]. Mass migrations of Serbian people from Serbia to the areas north and northwest

of the Danube took place during the Turkish war campaigns in the period from 1459 to 1560. (1459, 1465, 1481-1483), and especially in the period 1526-1560. The Hungarians, fleeing from the Turks, left the Banat area (especially after the fall of Belgrade - 1521 and the Battle of Mohács - 1526) in which Serbs moved, mostly from the area of Raska, thus strengthening *the ancient Serbian ethnic element* in Banat [Popović, 1: 103].

Serbs south of the Danube came to Banat in smaller or larger groups led by their nobles who received large estates from Hungarian kings (Brankovic, Jaksic, Belmuzevic, Stefanovic, Lazarevici, etc.) so that at that time the plain part of Banat was predominantly if not exclusively, inhabited by Serbs, but there were, admittedly, Serbs in smaller numbers, in the hilly areas of Banat, among which we mention the ancestors of today's Banat Montenegrins, Karasevci, Svinicani, and Klisurci. Unlike plain Banat, waves of migration from Serbian areas south of the Danube swept the hilly and mountainous Banat to a *much lesser extent*, but, on the contrary, starting from the 14th century, that part of Banat was affected by *strong and continuous centuries-long migrations* of Romanians arrived from the neighboring Romanian areas - Oltenia and Ardeal [Petrovici, 1935 b: 29-30; Țintă, 1972: 73-74; Prodan, 1944: 60-74; Izverniceanu, 1935: 10-16]. Therefore, when it comes to the ethnic structure of Banat in the period from the 16th until the mid-18th century, in medieval sources, the plain Banat was mentioned under the names *Ráczvilág, Ráczország, Ráczszág* (Serbia) because it was predominantly inhabited by Serbs [Popović, 1955: 36, 40; Pejin, 2003: 80], and the mountainous Banat, mostly with Romanian inhabitants, recorded as *Oláhszág* (Wallachia) [Popović, 1955: 36, 40].

After the conquest of the largest part of Banat in 1552 and its transformation into a pashalik, the Turks also brought Serbs to Banat from the area south of the Danube.

The Church: One of the consequences of the defeat of Hungary at Mohács in 1526 consists in further weakening of the Roman Catholic Church and the spread of Protestantism and Calvinism [Pejin, 2003: 59]. Karashoveans are often mentioned as *schismatics* in documents from that period [Radan, 2000: 38-43].

2.2.4. The period from the 18th to the beginning of the 21st century

After the Austro-Turkish War and the defeat of the Turks in 1716, Banat became the crown property of the Habsburg Empire and, from 1718 to 1778, an Austrian administration was established (The Banat Provincial Administration in Timisoara), to be incorporated into Hungary in 1779. [Pejin, 2003: 77]. Immediately after the end of the war (1717) [Țintă, 1972: 83-152], the Vienna court began to carry out a *planned colonization*, bringing to Banat the colonists of predominantly Catholic faith, mostly Germans, but also the colonists of Roman (Italian, French) and Slavic origin (Slovaks, Czechs, etc.). The ethnic structure

of Banat was changing drastically and was experiencing the biggest changes from the 7th century onwards. In the mid-18th century, a large number of Serbs from the Pomorišje border emigrated to Russia (1751-1752), and migrations of lower intensity of Banat Serbs to Bačka and Srem were recorded. With the introduction of the Hungarian administration in Banat in 1860 (within the Military Border since 1872), the Hungarians continued the colonization of this area, albeit with less intensity, with a predominantly Hungarian population in Banat, and the influx of Romanians into Banat continued. After the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1918, when most of Banat belonged to the Romanian kingdom, the Romanian ethnic element was constantly strengthening (today = 84.02% of the total population), while *Serbian*, and this time *German*, was further declining.

So, although with numerous migrations, especially the Great Migration from 1690, the Serbian ethnic element in Banat was significantly strengthened, but starting from the mid-18th century until today, the number of Serbs in Banat has constantly been decreasing. If until the 18th century (around 1720) *Serbs* and *Romanians* made up the vast majority of the Banat population, from the 18th century, the foreign ethnic element became stronger, as did the Romanians, and the number of Serbs in Banat would be constantly declining. The causes of such a trend are multiple: deaths in numerous riots, wars (in which Serbs were always in the forefront) and epidemics, new migrations to Russia, assimilation, etc.

3. BANAT'S HISTORICAL PAST AND TOPONYMY

The scarcity of historical data about Banat, especially concerning the early Middle Ages, created the need to supplement them with knowledge from other scientific domains – primarily from linguistics and ethnology. In that sense, the data that toponymy, a linguistic discipline that scientists unanimously consider "the unwritten history of a nation" can provide, are extremely valuable [see Jordan, 1963: 2] because the analysis of toponyms can shed light on dark periods from the distant past for which written sources are missing.

3.1. *Toponymy of Banat in the period from 5th/6th to 15th century*

In an attempt to shed light on Banat's past, Felix Milleker recorded and analyzed 2,000 Banat topographic names from Hungarian sources of earlier centuries [Milleker, 1915], and Jovan Erdeljanović did a similar job, collecting other 1,100 different topographic names from 32 Banat settlements [Erdeljanović, 1925: 280-288]. Considering the toponyms recorded up to the 15th century that Milleker collected from various Hungarian sources, Erdeljanović states that out of a total of 676 topographic names recorded in Banat until the end of the first

decade of the 15th century, 356 can be "reliably or almost reliably said to be of Slavic origin, and that represents more than half of the whole number". [Erdeljanović, 1925: 280] (and if we have in mind the corrupted original form in which they were recorded, that number is certainly higher), and that the form of all of them has a South Slavic character and, apart from a few exceptions, Serbian dialectal features [Erdeljanović, 1925: 281]. After a linguistic analysis of the mentioned 356 toponyms with South Slavic features, Erdeljanović classified these toponyms into the following groups:

3.1.1. Toponyms of the *Serbian Ekavian type*/majority/: *Recs (Rečica / Reșița), Bélincz, Medves, Luka, Harastocz*… and many others;

3.1.2. Toponyms of the Serbian "*Ikavian*" type: *Orisacz, Liszkovizi, Priszlop, Briszt*… and others[4];

3.1.3. Toponyms of the *Bulgarian type* (7 or 8 in total): *Biallak, Oźzjak*…;

3.1.4. Toponyms that are reminiscent of the old Slavic population in Banat and refer to the *pre-Christian faith* of the South Slavs: *Bavanište, Bulvencz, Bolvasnicza* and some others.

3.2. In addition to the analysis of the mentioned toponyms, in his work, Erdeljanović also analyzes another "group of signs" - topographic terms, topographic names, and words of Hungarian origin, as well as the significant features of Serbian Banat dialects. After analyzing the aforementioned toponyms, toponymic terminology, Banat dialects, but also the most important historical sources and ethnographic facts, he draws several conclusions, which, in essence, state the following:

3.3.1. In southern Banat, there was *an old Slavic stratum of the population* until the 15th century, which later mixed with Serbian immigrants fleeing Serbia.

3.3.2. Analyzing the most important features of the Karashovean ethnic enclave /archaic speech, archaic and specific customs and costumes/ he argues that today's Karashoveans are *"basically from the oldest Slavic stratum in the Caraș river basin, and are then mixed with various immigrants from the south."*[5] [Erdeljanović, 1925: 294, 302 passim]. At the same time, based on his conclusions and accepting the conclusion of Miletič [see Miletič, 1903] and Fermendzin [see Miletič, 1903] that the *Historia domus parochiae Kraszowensis - Extractus protocolli provinciae Bulgariae et Valachiae,* Kraszowa, 1726 (manuscript) was a forgery and that the Karashoveans were of Serbian origin, Erdeljanović

4 Since Erdeljanović was not a linguist, like many linguists at the time of publishing this study, he mistakenly thought that these were ikavisms (traces of "excerpts from Serbo-Croatian ikavians") in such toponyms. It is, in fact, about the reflection of the vocal yat in the speech of the Banat autochthonous Slavs [see: Ivić, 1991: 94-116; Radan, 2000: 71-80; Radan, 2002: 66-75; Radan, 2003: 85-94; Radan, 2006: 581-593].

5 He thinks of the speakers of the Kosovo-Resava, Timok-Prizren and some western Bulgarian dialects.

rejected the theory of the Bulgarian origin of the Karashoveans as completely unfounded.

3.4. Erdeljanović's conclusions are, in essence, correct and, at the time when they were formulated, they represented an extremely valuable novelty and original contribution. After our own dialectological and ethnological research [see Radan, 2000; Radan, 2004 b; Radan Uscatu, 2012: 91-141; Radan, Uscatu, 2014, etc.] we came to essentially the same conclusion that we could somehow nuance more precisely. Namely, on a relatively narrow and elongated belt in the hilly and mountainous Banat, which was not densely populated and which stretched in the form of a port from the North-East (Lip / ov / a, Radna), through Banatska Crna Gora, to the southwestern part of Banat (Svinica, Orșova), *the Serbian ancient element* (the oldest Slavic stratum) is not only less strengthened by Serbian refugees (the exception is the Danube gorge), but is mostly assimilated by the autochthonous and immigrant Romanian population. In that hilly area, they avoided assimilation and only three islands of that "oldest Slavic stratum" survived: *Banatska Crna Gora* with *Rekaš, Karashovean enclave* (7 settlements) and *Svinica* (the fourth island - Lipova-Radna-Otvas, disappeared in about one century) [see map 7].

4. THE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF KARASHOVEAN ENCLAVE – TRUTH AND ERROR

It is known that of all Serbs in Romanian Banat, the Karashoveans were the most widely written about, and they were well known in the professional literature, so we will present the most basic information about them.

4.1. *Karashovean settlements in the Caraș valley*

Today, Karashoveans (Karaševci) in the Romanian part of Banat live in 7 settlements[6] in the Caraș-Severin County[7]: Carașova - the largest settlement, first recorded in 1333 under the name *Karasow* (followed by records: 1358 - *Nog Carassou and Kyskarassou*, 1535 - *Krassowcz*, 1550 - *Crassowcz*, 1597 - *Crasso*, 1690-1700 - *Karasevo*, 1717 - *Karasova*, ..., 1828 and 1851: *Karassova*, 1913 - *Krassóvár*, today / Romanian official name / - *Caráșova*). In the same year, 1333, it was noted in the documents that the seat of the *Catholic Proto Presbyterium* was in Carașova (in some documents it is claimed that it existed since **1285**), and in 1500 the settlement is mentioned as "oppidum" (city). 1913 -

[6] In the eighth settlement, Tyrol; they are almost gone (about fifty older people); most of them were Germanized (because they lived with the Germans) or Romanized (those who went to live in the nearby towns - Resita and Bocșa).

[7] For more details on data related to Carașova settlements, see: Radan, 2000: 24-28.

Krassócsörgő. Some unverified sources [Milleker] state that Carașova existed at the beginning of the 11th century (*Krassóvar*), Jabalče - in 1370 (cf. *Jabolnok*?), Vodnik - in 1334 or 1370 (cf. *Wodad, Vodad*?), Nermić '- 1474 (cf. *Nermigh*?), which does not mean that these settlements did not exist before the first mention in the documents.

According to the censuses of 1690 and 1700 and the 1717 recruitment, Carașova had 400 houses, which means that at that time it was one of the largest settlements and the most important administrative and religious centers in the area between the Tisza, Moris and Danube, just behind Timisoara and Caransebes.

According to some authors, the Caraș River was first mentioned in documents in **1129**, the Caraș District - *Krassófö* - in **1129**, and the *Krassó-Szöreny* County in **1230**. [Radan, 2000: 23-24].

The second recorded settlement, otherwise the smallest in terms of population, is ***Jábalč'e*** (pronounced by *Jabalčan: Jáblš'a, Jabálča, Jabálč'a*) / today: *Iabálcea* /: 1564. - *Jabalchna* (1607 - *Jabalcsia*, 1713 - J*abalcs*, 1828 - *Jabaltsa*, 1851 - *Jabalcsa, Krassóalmás*). Then follows: ***Lúpac*** / Lúpac / **1598.** - *Moyselupak* (1785, 1851 - *Lupak*; l828: *Luppak*), ***Klokótič***'/ *Clócotici* / **1690** and **1700.** - *Klokotics* (1723-1725 - *Glododis*; 1785 - *Klokodia*; 1828- *Klokodits*; 1851 - *Klokodics*; 1913 - *Krassócsörgő*), ***Rávnic*** / Ráfnic / 1723 - *Raffnek* (1761 - *Refnek*; 1785 - *Rafnek*; 1828 - *Raffnik, Ravnik*; 1851 - *Raffnik*; 1913 - *Kengyelto*), ***Nérmich***'/ Nérmet / **1723, 1761** - *Nermy* (1796 - *Nermed*, 1828 and 1851 - *Nermet*h), **Vódnik** / Vódnic /: 1723, 1828 - *Wadneck* (1851 - *Vodnik, Vizes* - 1913).

The Carașova Fortress, which Karashoveans call ***Túrski Grát***, was first recorded in documents in **1230** and **1247** under the name *Castrum Crassou* (and later *Castrum de Karassou* - 1266, *Karasow* - 1333, *Castrum regiae maiestatis Crassou* - 1358, *Castellani de Crassofew* - 1389, 1390, 1437, 1520); there are opinions according to which the fortress existed even *before* **896** [Tufescu, 1941: 509; Trâpcea, 1969: 41].

It should be said that the number of Karashoveans has been constantly declining for the last 150 years. For the sake of comparison, in 1851, there were 9,001 inhabitants in seven Karashovean settlements in the Caraș valley, in 1927 - 7,469, in 2002 - 6,294, and 2011 - 5,787 inhabitants. [in: Radan, 2000: 14-15, 31-32].

The antiquity of the largest Karashovean settlement is one of the arguments that confirms the accuracy of the hypothesis that the Karashoveans are, at least in part, the descendants of the autochthonous Banat Slavs.

4.2. *Other Karashovean settlements*

In addition to the mentioned settlements in the Caraș basin, Karashoveans used to be in the following Banat settlements: *Tilóri*/*Tiról* former *Konigsgnad, Dokneči, Slatini Timiš, Kalini, Teregovi, Žuržovi* / Gíurgiova /, Caraș -Severin County /, *Clopodia, Lip /ov / and, Radni* (Timis County), Otvasu (Arad County) and in some settlements of Serbian Banat: *Uljma, Izbište, Nikolinci, Bantski Karlovac* and others [Miletič, 1903: 168-169; Cirbus, 1884: 71]. Today, as far as we know, there are still some in *Tilóra, Uljma*, and, perhaps, in some other settlements in Serbian Banat.

4.3. *Research of the* Karashovean *ethnic enclave*

The first research of the Karashovean enclave (and, in general, of the Banat Serbs) was carried out starting from the 18th century. Various inscriptions, especially historical and ethnographic, rarely philological (Slavic studies), appear in the 18th and during the 19th century. Thus, J. Dobrovski P. Šafarik, F. Miklosic, J. H. Šviker, K. Fr. Czőrnig and many others, based on research from various sources and relying primarily on the manuscript *Historia parochiae Kraszóvensis*. *Extractus protocol provinciae Bulgariae et Valachiae* [Miletic, 1903: 170-179], which represents the Bulgarian origin of Karashoveans, and which was later determined to be a forgery committed immediately after 1718, considered Karashoveans to be Bulgarians.

4.3.1. *Causes and sources of misconceptions about the ethnic origin of the Karashoveans and their speeches*

4.3.1.1. The main source from which erroneous conclusions about the ethnic origin of this enclave come is the above-mentioned manuscript "Historia parochiae Kraszóvensis ...", where the chapter *Residentia et parochia Kraszóvensis* mentions the origin of the Karashoveans and describes the predominant activities of the Franciscans in this area. In the passage in Latin, which the author of the manuscript gives in its entirety, it is claimed that the Karashoveans immigrated to Banat in 1366 and 1393 from Bulgaria. All the literature on the *Bulgarian origin* of the Karashoveans was based on that claim, until Miletič. Other causes that have significantly contributed to researchers reaching erroneous conclusions about the ethnic origin of the Karashoveans and their speeches are the following:

4.3.1.2. *Insufficient knowledge* of this ethnic enclave, its research based on various, often unreliable sources in which data (usually partially accurate or simply inaccurate) were obtained indirectly;

4.3.1.3. *The archaic nature* of Karashovean speeches with certain *specific features* unique to them;

4.3.1.4. *Archaic, specific*, and *original* Karashovean customs and specific costumes;

4.3.1.5. *Absence of any national consciousness* - a phenomenon typical of human communities "which make up the isolated remnants of a very old population" [Erdeljanović, 1925: 299];

4.3.1.6. *The Roman Catholic religion* and *the unexplained religious past* of the Karashoveans had a particularly great influence in reaching conclusions. We have already said (see above 2.2.1, 2.2.2) that attempts to convert the Banat Slavic and Romanian positions to Catholicism began with the annexation of Banat to Hungary, and such attempts were, depending on the period, of greater or lesser intensity. The first missions of the Bosnian Franciscans within the borders of the Hungarian kingdom began their activity in the 14th century [Zach, 1979: 49-50]. Precious data that sheds new light on the religious past of the Karashoveans is provided in the work by the German historian Krista Zach [Zach, 1979], in which the work of the mission of the *Congregation for the Faith Propagation* (FIDE) from Rome to Banat is described. The data presented in this paper, which is based on documents from the Vatican archives, represent credible evidence that the ancestors of today's Karashoveans (or at least one part of them) were of the Orthodox faith (*schismatics* - as they are often mentioned in medieval documents).

4.3.2. The Karashovean community has developed for centuries away from its homeland and has managed to preserve itself as an island in the Romanian ethnic environment. To preserve their Slavic / Serbian / identity, that is, to avoid ethnic and linguistic assimilation by Romanians, the population of these seven Karashovean villages became more and more conservative and imposed *self-isolation*. At one point in their development, the acceptance of *the Catholic faith* (most likely in the period from the first decades of the 17th to the beginning of the 18th century) created another protective mechanism – the religious one, which contributed to even stronger community closure but essentially contributed to shaping special ethnic and linguistic consciousness among Karashoveans.

Due to the stated causes, primarily weak, superficial knowledge abaut this community, and especially due to accepting the authenticity of a suspicious document without verification, research until the beginning of the 20th century led to erroneous conclusions, namely that the Karashoveans were of Bulgarian origin. Unfounded association (automatism) on the religious basis of the Karashoveans with other Slavic Catholic groups (with the Banat Bulgarians) or nations (Czechs) is the main cause that led to wrong conclusions in numerous later researches of the Karashovean enclave, namely that the Karashoveans are Croats and even Czechs [Radan, 2000: 62-63].

4.3.3. *An overview of various theories about the ethnic origin of the Karashoveans*

In the second half of the 19th century, the work *Eine ethnographische Skizze* by Geza Cirbus [Cirbus, 1884, 1885/1, 1885/2] drew the attention of researchers

to the Karashovean enclave. Cirbus, despite his suspicions and expressed doubts (he considers the speech to be Serbian), he still represented the Karashoveans to be of Bulgarian origin.

After the publication of Cirbus's work, numerous studies (and even *three dialect monographs*) appeared in which the following theories about the ethnic identity of the Karashoveans were formulated[8]:

4.3.3.1. *A special ethnic group*. P. Sirku, *Narječije Karasevcev*, is the first real linguistic (dialectological) study (although scientifically modest) about the Serbian (and, in general, Slavic) speech from the Romanian part of Banat, published just before the end of the 19th century (1899), in which the author considers Karashoveans a *special Slavic ethnic community*, and their speech *a special language* (or *dialect*).

4.3.3.2. *Bulgarian origin*. Most scientists - historians, ethnographers, linguists, especially those from the 19th century, such as Baranja, Dobrovski, Safarik, Miklosic, Schwicker, Engel, Drinov, Jirecek, V. Cirbus, G. Cirbus, Chernig, Bom, Kanitz, Kleiner, P. Friđeš, G. Al. Telbiz, M. Bekova-Telbizova, T. G. Balkanski, and others believe that the Karashoveans are Bulgarians [see Radan, 2000:].

4.3.3.3. *Serbian origin*. Ivan Ivanić is one of the first scholars who considered that the Karashoveans, although Catholics, were Serbs, but he made a wrong conclusion about the date of their immigration to Banat [Ivanić, 1983: 28-29].

The greatest merits in exposing the theory of the Bulgarian origin of the Karashoveans based on the aforementioned forged Franciscan manuscript "Historia domus…" and the affirmation of their Serbian origin belongs to the Bulgarian Slavist Ljubomir Miletič. In the work, *Ueber die Sprache und die Herkunft der sog. Krasovaner in Süd-Ungarn*, published in 1903, based on solid linguistic arguments, Miletič makes the correct conclusion that the Karashoveans, although Catholics, are of Serbian origin, and that their speech belongs to the "Resava" dialect [Miletic, 1903: 161-181]. Only a few years later (1907), the same thesis was advocated by Jovan Živojnović [Živojnović, 1907: 77-79].

If Lj. Miletic is most deserving for the argumentative refutation of the thesis about the Bulgarian origin of the Karashoveans, the famous Romanian Slavist Emil Petrovici is the most deserving for a very accurate description and scientific argumentation of the thesis about the Serbian origin of the Karashoveans and their speech. In the monograph *Graiul caraşovenilor. Studiu de dialectologie slavă meridională* ("The Karashovean speech. Study of Southern Slavic dialectology"), published in 1935, Petrovici concludes that the Karashoveans originated from the southwestern part of the Kosovo-Resava dialect area [Pet-

[8] See: Radan, 2000: 61-63.

rovici, 1935: 221-224]. In his monograph, Mile Tomici also concludes that the Karashovean dialect is a Serbian Stokavian Ekavian dialect that developed in its own centuries-old way, isolated from other Serbian dialects [Tomici, 2007: 618].

Renowned scientists who consider the Karashoveans to be Serbs and, of course, that their speeches are Serbian, include J. Cvijić, A. Belić, M. Moskovljević, P. Ivić, P. Skok, L. Niderle, M. Živković, V. Vesku, B. Berić, P. Vlahović, T. Trpčea, L. Gorove, I. Čaplovič and many others [see Radan, 2000: 22-63].

4.3.3.4. *Ostaci najstarijeg slovenskog sloja u Banatu pomešani sa srpskim doseljenicima.* (The remains of the oldest Slavic class in Banat mixed with Serbian immigrants). The thesis that the Karashoveans were Serbs and that they were the descendants of the autochthonous Banat Slavs who later (in the 14th -15th century) mixed with the Serbian settlers was advocated by J. Erdeljanović [Erdeljanović, 1925: 294, 302], Ivan Popović [Popović, 1955: 45-46] and the author of this study [see Radan, 2000: 222].

4.3.3.5. There are few researchers who, in their less professional writings, are advocating the thesis of the *Croatian origin* of the Karashoveans and their speeches, such as Abbot P. Vlašić [Vlašić, 1928: 7-8, 17 passim], S. Krpan and some others [see Radan, 2000: 60-62].

4.3.3.6. Several researchers, E. Fermendžin, I. Barbulescu (I. Bărbulescu), and S. Trojanović, avoided declaring whether the Karashoveans were of Serb or Croat origin, presenting an unshaded, vague thesis that they are of *Serbo-Croat origin* [see Radan, 2000: 58, 63]. Likewise, I. Birta in his folklore study with an ethnological review [Birta, 1993: 11-38] has not decided on that matter .

4.3.3.7. Some researchers believe that the Karashoveans are the result of *a mixture of different Balkan nations*. Thus, T. Simu considers that the *Slavic-Romanian mixture with Albanian penetration* [Simu, 1939: 141], G. Cirbus [Cirbus, 1884, 1885/1, 1885/2] and M. Tomici[9] believes that the Karashoveans are the result of a Slavic-Romanian mixture with well-nuanced specific features, while V. Tufescu argues that Karashoveans are descendants of *a heterogeneous mixture of Balkan nations* (Serbs, Romanians, Bulgarians, Macedonians, Albanians) who, due to their long-term coexistence, merged into one community and developed certain specific features and that their speech belongs to the Kosovo-Resava dialect with some Romanian, even Albanian, influences [Tufescu, 1941: 513, 520-529] [see and Radan, 2000: 48, 55-56, 62].

4.3.3.8. Two scientists presented very strange theses about the origin of Karashoveans. Namely, S. S. Batzaria claims that they are of *Czech origin* because they are of the Catholic faith, and J. Szentklálaray considers them *Albanians* who moved to Banat in 1740 [see Radan, 2000: 56-57].

[9] In the end, Tomic still considers them Serbs.

5. Synthesizing the results of significant and valuable scientific papers on the Karashoveans, we list the most significant arguments in support of the thesis on *the Serbian origin of the Karashoveans*:

5.1. The most significant and convincing evidence is provided by the basic characteristics of *the Karashovean dialects* (Serbian, mostly Ekavian Stokavian dialects, closest to the Kosovo-Resava dialects [see Petrovici, 1935: 221-224; Miletić, 1903: 168, 170; Živojnović, 1907/243, III /: 78; Radan, 2000: 211-222; Radan, 2015: 83-352, etc.] or the Prizren-Timok dialect [Ivić, 2001: 282])[10]).

5.2. Ethnological arguments are also very convincing: numerous canned archaic customs, rituals, and beliefs of Karashoveans unequivocally indicate that they are a part of the Serbian ethnic corps, such as baptism [Radan, 2004b: 34-98; Radan, Uskatu, 2012: 91-141], numerous elements of Karashovean customs from the life cycle [Radan Uskatu, 2014] and annual customs (e.g., visiting houses with a star on January 6th and 7th, i.e. on Christmas according to the Julian calendar, etc.), i.e. customs related to traditional occupations (e.g., measuring the milk of sheep on May 6th, on St. George's Day, again according to the Julian calendar, etc.) [Radan, 2004b: 99-140, 178-179; Birta, 1993: 375-394].

5.3. *Historical facts* and *the historical context* of the Balkan Peninsula logically indicate that the migrations moved from the southern and south-eastern areas of the western part of the Balkans to the north and northwest as a result of the Turkish conquests of Bulgarian and Serbian medieval countries and under no circumstances could the direction of migration have been, nor has any migration been recorded in historical sources, from west to east.

6. Despite the constant efforts of Croatian, Bulgarian and other priests to convince Karashoveans that they were Croats or Bulgarians, as well as the efforts of the Hungarian and Romanian administrations that automatically registered Karashoveans as Bulgarians or Croats in the censuses, until the fourth decade of the last century Karashoveans considered themselves to be *Karashoveans*, believing that they are a separate nation and their language, which even today they call, "*Karashovean language*", means that they had their national consciousness [Miletič, 1903: 162; Petrovici, 1935: 14; Radan, 2004b: 191]. The first, otherwise insignificant, signs of hesitation in ethnic orientation appear at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century[11] when an attempt was made to impose a theory about the Bulgarian origin of this population [Ivanić, 1893: 28].

The first serious confusion in terms of opting for Croatian origin happened in the thirties of the last century when teachers from Croatia were sent to Karashovean settlements. This option, however, did not dominate, so these people still

[10] Except P. Ivić, the others - I. Ivanić, L. Niderle, P. Skok, and M. Tomić - have the same opinion [see Radan, 2000: 62].

[11] On this issue, see - Radan, 2004b: 161-209.

considered themselves Karashoveans[12] [see Radan, 2004b: 189-209]. Only in the seventies of the last century, among the generations that, with few exceptions, acquired a minimum of eight years of primary or secondary education, the option of Serbian or Croatian origin appeared, but still, individuals who chose to state their origins were in small numbers.

The biggest changes in the ethnic orientation of this population occurred after 1990, when Croatia began to implement a well-designed plan to acquire this population not only through the Catholic Church but also through its state institutions, being constantly present in the Karashovean community, offering and providing financial and political support for the newly established minority organization - the Union of Croats in Romania. Until 1994, all these efforts were half successful because the majority of the Karashovean population, especially in the Caraşova village, was ethnically pro-Serbian. Croatia won the battle of winning over the Karashoveans only after the decision to grant Karashovean citizens a Croatian citizenship, more precisely after 1995. Contrary to Croatian efforts, the state of Serbia did nothing to keep this enclave within the Serbian framework [Radan, 2004b: 182-184].

7. In conclusion, we note that the following factors have misled and confused both the researchers and the Karashoveans:

7.1. For researchers, in the first phase of research (18th -19th century), the main reason for making wrong conclusions about the ethnic origin of the Karashoveans is the reliance on the falsification of the Franciscan *Historia domus*… (see above 4.3.2.) and the Catholic religion of this population.

7.2. In the case of the Karashoveans, the basic factors that introduced confusion and hesitation in their ethnic orientation are the following: the Catholic religion and the role of the Catholic Church (and local priests) in propagating the idea of the Croatian origin of Karashoveans, the practice of state bodies (Hungarian, Romanian) religious affiliation, automatically classified in the Bulgarian or Croatian ethnic corpus, the absence of historical sources about the distant past (6th -14th century) of this ethnic enclave [see Radan, 2004b: 167-188].

These factors, as well as the lack of interest and the lack of a clear policy of the Republic of Serbia, according to its diaspora (especially towards the Karashovean Catholics) in the last hundred years, had the ultimate consequence that the majority of Karashoveans, more out of interest (going to work in Western European countries with Croatian passports) than out of conviction, accepted the offered option of Croatian ethnic origin.

[12] An exception was made by an intellectual.

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SUR L'ORIGINE ETHNIQUE DE L'ENCLAVE DE CARASOVA: REALITE ET MYTHE

Résumé

Dans la partie introductive on présente d'une manière extrêmement brève les moments principaux de l'histoire de Banat à partir des siècles VI – VII jusqu'au présent et on met en évidence les changements dans la structure ethnique de la population de cette région survenus tout au long des siècles suite à la domination alternative de plusieurs empires. Le contenu proprement dit du papier est consacré aux problèmes de l'origine ethnique des Carassoviens. C'est pour cela que l'on présente synthétiquement les arguments d'ordres linguistique, historique, ethnographique et confessionnel qui résultent de nombreuses études dédiées à cette enclave par opposition aux mythes qui circulent et qui ont été potencés et amplifiés par certains facteurs intéressés de déformer la réalité évidente de l'origine ethnique des Carassoviens. Au final on met en évidence la confusion créée parmi les habitants de Carasova vis-à-vis de leur origine ethnique et l'évolution de leurs options ethniques à partir de la dernière décade du XIXe siècle jusqu'au présent, surtout les 25 dernières années.

Mots clés: Carassoviens, le Banat roumain, origine ethnique, identité ethnique, religion et identité ethnique, politique et identité ethnique.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

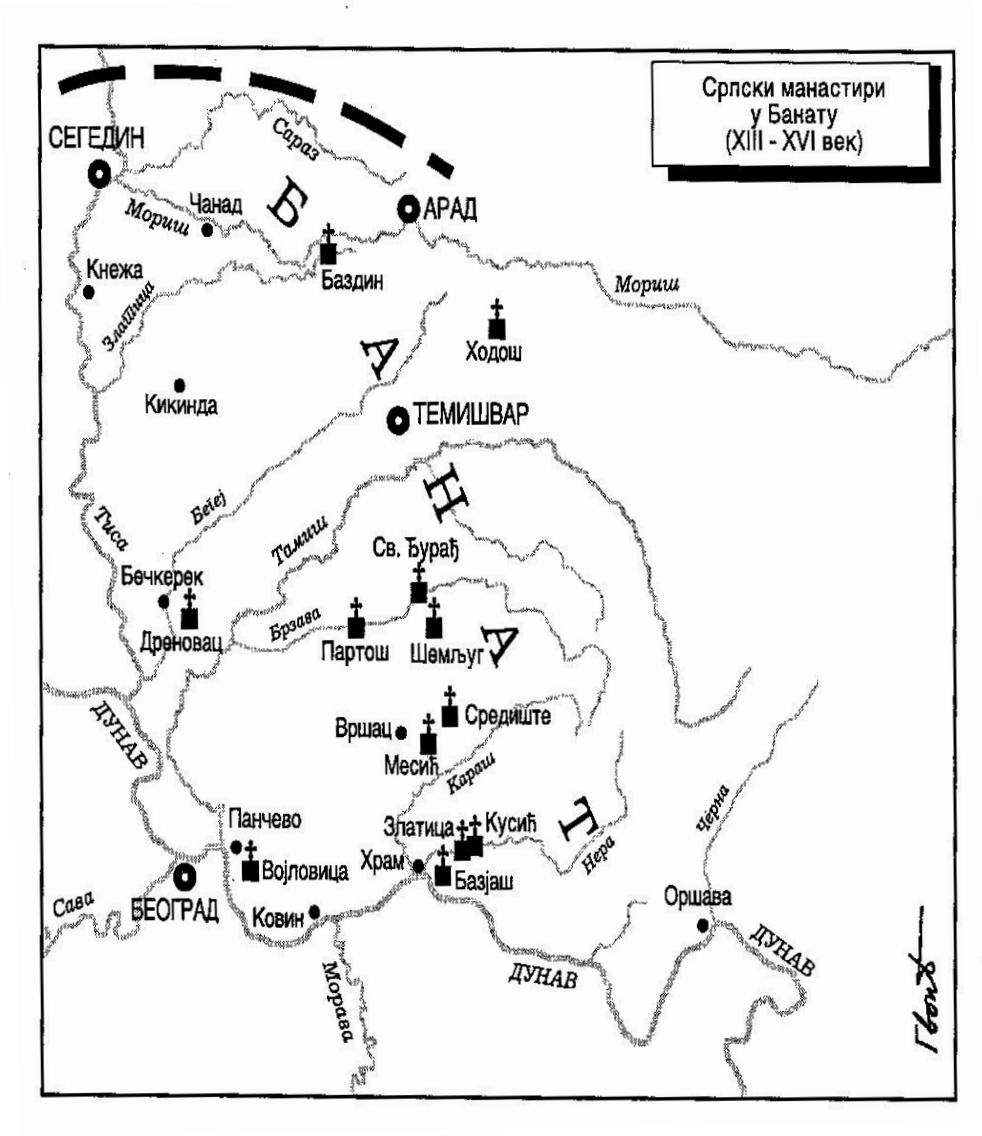
Map 1: Historical Banat

Map 2: Romanian part of Banat

Мар 3[13]

[13] Maps 3-6 are from the study of J. Pejin: J. Пејин, *Преглед прошлости Срба у Банату*, Београд-Зрењанин-Кикинда-Панчево, 2003.

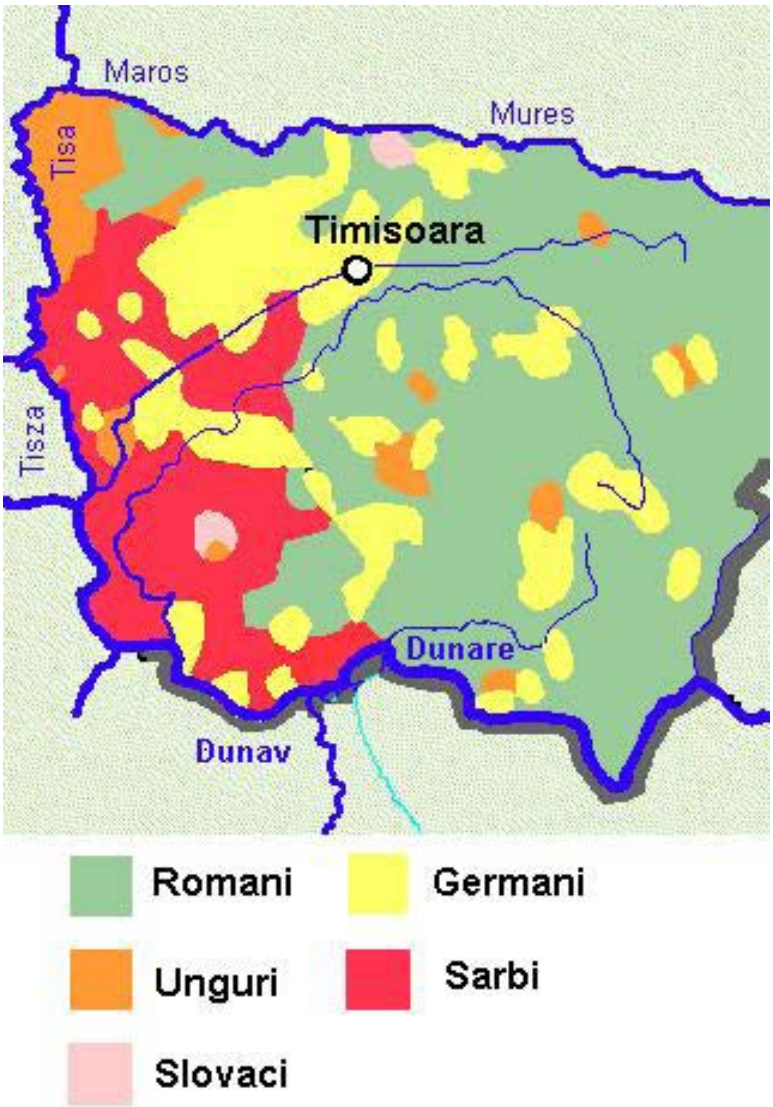
Map 4


Српски манастири
у Банату
(XIII - XVI век)
СЕГЕДИН
Сараз
Б
Чанад
Мориш
АРАД
Баздин
Мориш
Кнежа
Златица
Ходош
А
Кикинда
ТЕМИШВАР
Н
Тиса
Беч
Тамиш
Св. Ђурађ
Бечкерек
Брзава
Дреновац
Партош
Шемљуг
А
Средиште
Вршац
Месић
Караш
ДУНАВ
Панчево
Златица
Кусић
Т
Војловица
Храм
Базјаш
Нера
Црна
Сава
БЕОГРАД
Ковин
Оршава
ДУНАВ
ДУНАВ
Морава

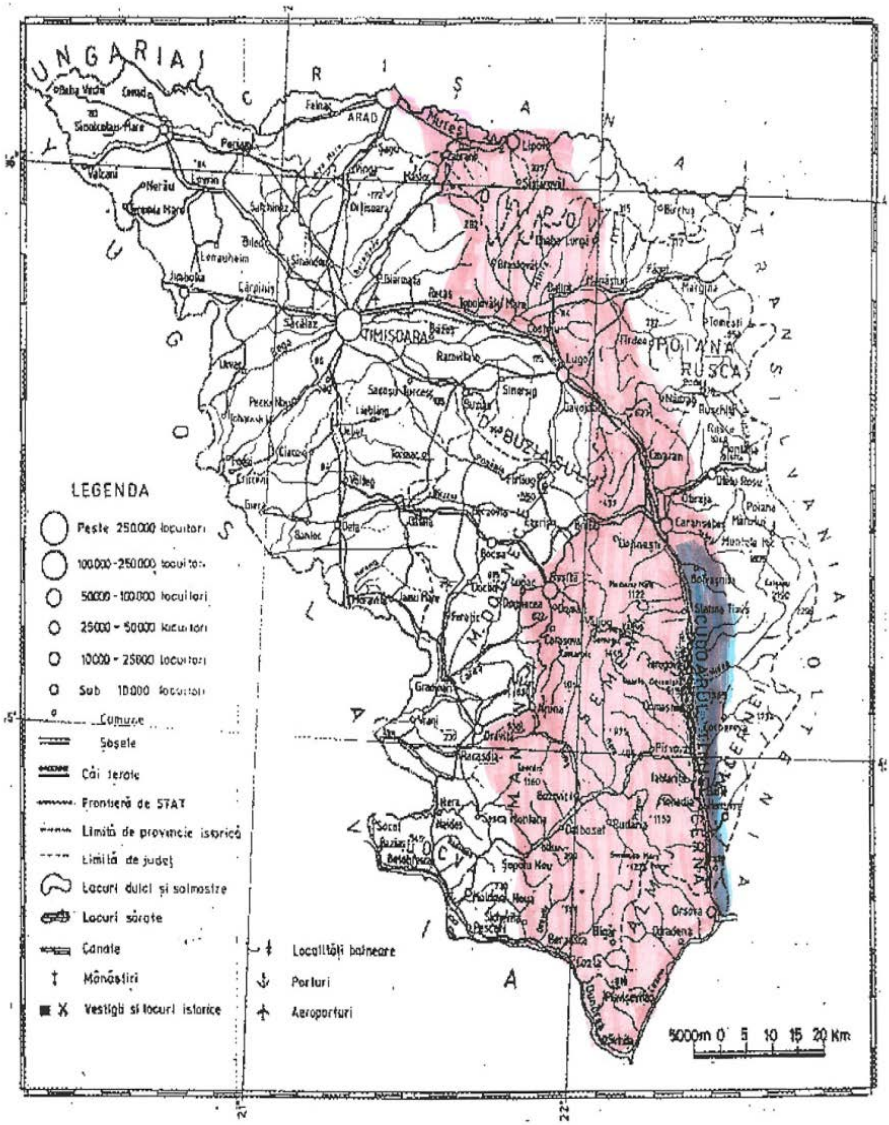
Мар 5

Банат 1780 - 1880. године
СЕГЕДИН
Сараз
Мориш
АРАД
Српски Костур
Јозепово
Великокикиндски дистрикт
Златица
Мокрин
Велика Кикинда
Карлово
ТОРОНТАЛСКА ЖУПАНИЈА
Вранево
Н. Бечеј
Кумане
Меленци
Бегеј
Тиса
Тарош
Бечкерек
Тамиш
ТЕМИШВАР
ТАМИШКА ЖУПАНИЈА
Чаково
Липова
Мориш
Фачет
Лугош
ЕРДЕЉ
Карансебеш
Брзава
КРАШО-СЕВЕРИНСКА ЖУПАНИЈА
Вршац
Караш
ДУНАВ
НЕМАЧКО-БАНАТСКИ ПУК
ИЛИРСКО-БАНАТСКИ ПУК
Бела Црква
Нера
Нова Паланка
Панчево
Сава
БЕОГРАД
Ковин
Морава
ВЛАШКО-БАНАТСКИ ПУК
Оршава
Черна
ВЛАШКА
ДУНАВ
ДУНАВ

Map 6: Ethnical structure of Banat in 1910.



Map 7: The remains of the old Slavic layer in the hilly and mountainous part of Banat

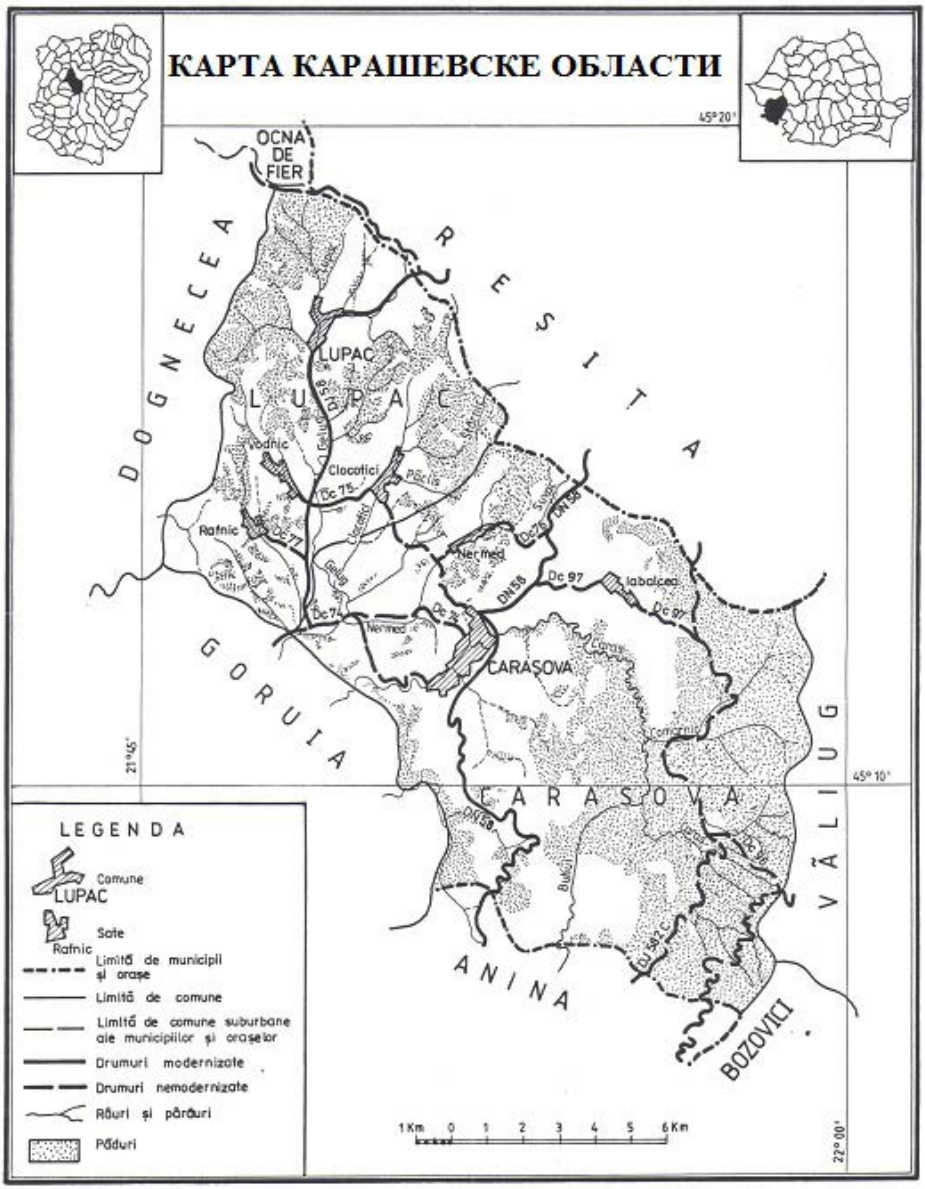


Најстарији словенски слој у брдско-планинском делу румунског Баната

Map 8

Мађарска
Југославија
НАСЕЉА
УРУМУНСКОМБАНАТУ
ГДЕ ЖИВЕ
СРБИ
Торња
Нађлак
Печка
АРАД
Чанад
Сенпетер
Мунара
Фенлак
Морош
Нађфала
Сенниклуш
Сарабола
Варјаш
Моноштор
Кештељ
Станчево
Брестовац
Лукаревац
Краљевац
Бегеј
Жомбоља
Мали Бечкерек
Кеча
Неметт
ТЕМИШВАР
Рекаш
Ченеј
Тамиш
Дињаш
Сенмартон
Парац
Иванда
Новитеч
Фењ
Чаково
Рудна
Гад
Чавош
Тир
Деша
Манастир
Сенђурађ
Сока
Деница
Дежан
Бистра
Луїак
Нернеш
Водник
РЕШИЦА
Рафник
Завалча
Клокоїш
Карашево
Нера
Лесковица
Мајдан
Соколовац
Златица
Дивић
Радимна
Белобрдска
Мачевић
Пожежена
Сїара Молдава
Луїкова
Дунав
Свиница

Map 9


КАРТА КАРАШЕВСКЕ ОБЛАСТИ
OCNA DE FIER
DOGNECEA
REȘITA
LUPAC
L U P A C
Vodnic
Clocotici
Dc 75
Păcia
Rafnic
Dc 77
Nermed
DN 58
Dc 76
Dc 97
Iabalcea
Dc 74
CARAȘOVA
GORUIA
C A R A Ș O V A
VĂLIUG
ANINA
BOZOVICI
45°20'
45°10'
21°45'
22°00'
LEGENDA
Comune
LUPAC
Sate
Rafnic
Limită de municipii și orașe
Limită de comune
Limită de comune suburbane ale municipiilor și orașelor
Drumuri modernizate
Drumuri nemodernizate
Râuri și pâraie
Păduri
1 Km 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 Km

Nataša Radusin Bardić

LES EXERCICES DE PHONÉTIQUE DANS LES MÉTHODES CONTEMPORAINES DE FRANÇAIS LANGUE ÉTRANGÈRE

Notre but est de définir le rôle des exercices de phonétique dans les méthodes contemporaines de français langue étrangère et de voir comment ils sont organisés. Nous analyserons le contenu des exercices de phonétique dans quatre méthodes destinées aux débutants (*Belleville 1, Version originale 1, Le Nouveau taxi! 1, Et toi? 1).* Nous nous intéresserons à la manière dont le système phonétique de la langue française est présenté, surtout en ce qui concerne le système vocalique instable (on sait que le système vocalique maximal contient 16 voyelles et le minimal 10 en tout). Nous nous préoccuperons de déterminer le type d'exercices de phonétique le plus représenté (celui qui se rapporte à la structure du discours segmentale ou suprasegmentale, aux aspects morphophonologiques ou à la relation phonie-graphie), nous analyserons et comparerons le contenu des exercices de phonétique. Comme les méthodes analysées sont basées sur les recommandations générales présentées dans le *Cadre européen commun de référence pour les langues vivantes* qui sont souvent sujettes à différentes interprétations, nous nous attendons à ce que le contenu des exercices de phonétique ainsi que leur distribution soit hétérogène dans les quatre méthodes analysées.

Mots clefs : exercices de phonétique, système phonologique de la langue française, français langue étrangère, perspective actionnelle.

1. INTRODUCTION

Dépendant des bases théoriques de départ et de la définition des buts de l'enseignement/apprentissage de français langue étrangère (FLE), le rapport envers la phonétique a considérablement changé dans l'histoire récente des méthodes de FLE. Ainsi, à la différence de la méthodologie SGAV qui lui donnait un rôle dominant dans l'acquisition d'une langue étrangère, l'approche communicative a grandement marginalisé l'importance de la phonétique (Guimbretière 1994 : 48-49). Les raisons de cette marginalisation reposent, notamment, sur les préconceptions suivantes : a) l'exposition à la langue cible est une condition suffisante à l'acquisition des habitudes articulatoires et prosodiques, b) il est im-

possible d'acquérir une maîtrise des habitudes articulatoires et prosodiques de la langue cible après la puberté (hypothèse des contraintes biologiques), c) la présence de « l'accent étranger » ne trouble pas le cours de la communication (Champagne-Muzar & Bourdages 1998 : 17). D'après certains didacticiens, les raisons pour lesquelles la phonétique a perdu de son importance dans l'enseignement/apprentissage du FLE résident dans les tendances générales de l'approche communicative selon lesquelles une compétence parfaite de la langue étrangère ni non plus, une compétence phonético-phonologique qu'on attribue à de l'idéalisme et souvent à un modèle de bilinguisme inatteignable ne seraient pas nécessaires à une communication réussie (Harmegnies et al. 2005 : 303, Moraz & Prikhodkine 2011 : 99).

Dans le *Cadre européen commun de référence pour les langues vivantes : apprendre, enseigner, évaluer* (CECRL), basé sur la perspective actionnelle, dans l'ensemble des compétences linguistiques, en plus des compétences lexicale, grammaticale, sémantique et orthographique, on compte la compétence phonologique. Elle comprend, notamment, la perception et la production des phonèmes et de leurs variantes allophones ainsi que des éléments prosodiques (accent, rythme, intonation, etc.) (Conseil de l'Europe 2001 : 91-92). Le descripteur d'évaluation de l'acquisition du système phonologique est défini, selon les niveaux de référence de A1 à C2 de la manière suivante : A1 – la prononciation d'un répertoire très limité d'expressions et de mots mémorisés est compréhensible avec quelque effort pour un locateur natif habitué aux locuteurs du groupe linguistique de l'apprenant/utilisateur, A2 – la prononciation est en général suffisamment claire pour être comprise malgré un net accent étranger, mais l'interlocuteur devra parfois faire répéter ; B1 – la prononciation est clairement intelligible même si un accent étranger est quelquefois perceptible et si des erreurs de prononciation proviennent occasionnellement ; B2 – a acquis une prononciation et une intonation claires et naturelles ; C1 – peut varier l'intonation et placer l'accent phrastique correctement afin d'exprimer de fines nuances de sens ; C2 – comme C1 (Conseil de l'Europe 2001 : 92). Le descripteur est basé sur une progression linéaire de l'acquisition du système phonético-phonologique de la langue étrangère bien qu'en pratique ce ne soit pas souvent le cas (Lauret 2007 : 154), ainsi que sur des critères insuffisamment clairs qui provoquent de nombreuses questions chez les didacticiens : comment juger de la présence plus ou moins forte d'un « accent étranger » dans le discours : selon la structure segmentale ou suprasegmentale du discours ? Pourquoi n'est-il pas évoqué au niveau A1, mais seulement aux niveaux A2 et B1, après quoi il n'en est plus question ? Qu'entend-on par « une prononciation et une intonation claires et naturelles » ? Cela signifie-t-il la perte de « l'accent étranger » (ce qui semble peu probable) ? Pourquoi la variation de l'intonation et le placement de l'accent phrastique ne se rapportent-ils qu'au niveau C1 ?, etc. (Moraz & Prikhodkine 2011 : 103).

Au CECRL, on mentionne, notamment que les utilisateurs définiront, dépendamment de cas concrets, s'ils accordent une plus ou moins grande attention aux sons et à la prosodie, c'est-à-dire s'ils se donnent l'exactitude phonétique et l'aisance comme un objectif d'apprentissage immédiat ou à long terme (Conseil de l'Europe 2001 : 92; Moraz & Prikhodkine 2011 : 102).

Les lacunes du descripteur du CECRL de 2001 se rapportant à la compétence phonologique sont mentionnées dans son édition complémentaire de 2018 (plus particulièrement en ce qui concerne la référence à « l'accent étranger ») où entre autres ajouts, dans le souhait d'y remédier, est introduit un nouveau descripteur plus détaillée sur cette question (Conseil de l'Europe 2018 : 140-142).

En nous appuyant sur les recommandations générales du CECRL de 2001 (Conseil de l'Europe 2001 : 91-92) se rapportant à la compétence phonologique, nous concluons qu'elles étaient sujettes à différentes interprétations dans le contexte de l'enseignement/apprentissage du FLE et nous nous attendons donc à ce que le contenu des exercices de phonétique des méthodes qui les ont suivies soient hétérogènes. Pour vérifier notre préconception, nous avons choisi des méthodes de FLE et y avons analysé les exercices de phonétique. Nous présentons nos résultats dans les chapitres qui suivent.

2. CORPUS ET MÉTHODOLOGIE DE RECHERCHE

Notre corpus se compose de quatre méthodes de FLE au niveau débutant : *Belleville 1* (BLV1), *Version originale 1* (VO1)*, Le Nouveau taxi! 1* (NTX1) et *Et toi? 1* (TOI1). En plus de suivre les recommandations du CECRL pour le niveau A1, elles partagent la caractéristique de se trouver sur la liste des manuels approuvés par le ministère de l'Éducation, de la Science et du Développement technologique de la République de Serbie, et ce pour la première année du lycée et des écoles secondaires professionnelles (BLV1, VO1, NTX1) pour l'année scolaire 2016/2017 et pour la cinquième classe de l'école primaire (TOI1) pour l'année scolaire 2018/19 (dans les deux cas, il s'agit de la première année d'apprentissage du français comme deuxième langue étrangère)[1]. Bien qu'il s'agisse de méthodes dont l'usage dans les écoles a été approuvé notamment par le ministère de l'Éducation, de la Science et du Développement technologique de la République de Serbie, ce sont tout d'abord des méthodes universelles qui sont conçues de manière à ce qu'elles conviennent au plus grand nombre d'élèves

[1] Au site du ministère de l'Éducation, de la Science et du Développement technologique on trouve les numéros et les dates des résolutions selon lesquelles les méthodes sont inscrites dans le catalogue des manuels approuvés : 650-02-839/2010-6 du 7/02/2011 (BLV1), 650-02-875/2010-06 du10/02/2011 (VO1), 650-02-75/2012-06 du 18/2/2013 et 650-02-245//2014-06 du 17/11/2014 (NTX1), 650-02-00021/2018-07 du 27/4/2018 (TOI1). Relevé le 13 novembre 2018 du site : http://www.mpn.gov.rs/udzbenici/.

quelle que soit leur langue maternelle. Il serait sans doute utile de voir dans quelle mesure les exercices de phonétique des manuels cités conviennent à un groupe spécifique d'élèves, dans ce cas, des locuteurs serbophones, mais cette approche, qui sous-entendrait une analyse contrastive phonético-phonologique du français et du serbe, ne répond pas aux buts de notre analyse, mais elle ouvre certainement la possibilité de nouvelles approches dans la recherche de cette thématique.

Nous avons analysé les exercices de phonétique des manuels mentionnés (*livre de l'élève*), mais aussi la manière dont ils sont expliqués dans ceux qui sont destinés aux enseignants (*guide pédagogique, livre du professeur*) : BLV1-GP, VO1-GP, NTX1-GP, TOI1-GP. Ces méthodes suivaient les recommandations du CECRL mais nous devons mentionner que l'élément décisif de notre choix a été qu'elles présentaient de manière dissemblable le système phonologique de la langue française (comprenant de 30 à 38 phonèmes) ce qui laissait présager un rapport différent envers les exercices de phonétique.

Notre analyse est basée sur des critères qualitatifs aussi bien que quantitatifs : définition des différents types d'exercices de phonétique, proportion des différents exercices de phonétique dans le cadre de chaque méthode en particulier et comparaison entre les résultats obtenus, comparaison des contenus prioritaires pour chaque type d'exercice de phonétique dans le cadre de chaque méthode et enfin, comparaison entre eux.

3. RÉSULTATS DE LA RECHERCHE

Avant de présenter les résultats de notre analyse qualitative et quantitative des exercices de phonétique des méthodes de FLE du niveau A1 que nous avons choisies, nous montrerons comment elles présentent le système phonologique de la langue française.

a. Alphabet phonétique dans les méthodes de FLE analysées

Dans chacune des quatre méthodes analysées est présenté un *alphabet phonétique français* sous forme de tableau au début ou à la fin du manuel (BLV1 : 14, VO1 : 123, NTX1 : 129, TOI1 : 86). Cependant, le nombre de phonèmes y varie sur une échelle de 30 (TOI1 : 86) à 38 (BLV1 : 14), comme nous le présentons sur le tableau suivant :

Tableau 1 : Alphabet phonétique dans les méthodes de FLE analysées : nombre de phonèmes				
	BLV1	VO1	NTX1	TOI1
Voyelles	16	15	13	10
Semi-voyelles	3	3	3	3
Consonnes	19	17	17	17
TOTAL	**38**	**35**	**33**	**30**

Au tableau 1, nous voyons que la variation se rapporte généralement au système vocal instable du français contemporain. Ainsi, à la différence du français standard selon lequel il faudrait différencier 16 voyelles (BLV1 : 14), dans le français parlé contemporain, il est souvent réduit au nombre de 13 dans la syllabe accentuée et à 10 dans la syllabe inaccentuée (Abry, Veldeman-Abry 2007 : 27-29, Briet et al, 2014 : 99-101, Detey et al. 2016 : 24-26). Au tableau 2, nous nous emploierons à montrer de quelle manière est présenté le système vocalique dans chaque méthode en particulier, dépendant de ce qu'elles comprennent un système vocalique maximal (BLV1 : 14), minimal (TOI1 : 86) ou qu'il s'agisse d'un compromis entre les deux partis (VO1 : 123, NTX1 :129).

Tableau 2 : Alphabet phonétique dans les méthodes de FLE analysées : voyelles			
BLV1	VO1	NTX1	TOI1
[i], [y], [u], [ɑ̃], [ɔ̃]			
[a], [ɑ], [ɛ], [e], [œ], [ø], [ɔ], [o], [ə], [ɛ̃], [œ̃]	[a], [ɛ], [e], [œ], [ø], [ɔ], [o], [ə], [ɛ̃], [œ̃]	[a], [ɛ], [e], [œ], [ø], [ɔ], [o], [ɛ̃]	+ [A] = [a], [ɑ] + [E] = [ɛ], [e] + [Œ] = [œ], [ø], [ə] + [O] = [ɔ], [o] + [Ẽ] = [ɛ̃], [œ̃]

Dans toutes les méthodes sans exception, nous pouvons remarquer que les voyelles fermées : [i], [y], [u] et les voyelles nasales [ɑ̃], [ɔ̃] sont présentes. Cependant, on remarque que les autres voyelles sont présentées avec une certaine variation. Seul l'alphabet phonétique de la méthode BLV1 fait une différence entre le [a] antérieur et le [ɑ] postérieur tandis qu'en accord avec les tendances du français contemporain, dans les autres méthodes, soit seul le [a] antérieur (VO1, (NTX1) est gardé, soit l'archiphonème [A] est utilisé avec le signe d'égalité suivi du [a]

antérieur et du [ɑ] postérieur favorisant ainsi leur valeur moyenne[2]. Si on excepte le fait que le [ɑ] est présent dans la méthode BLV1 et absent dans la méthode VO1, toutes les autres voyelles sont présentées de manière identique dans les deux méthodes mentionnées. Cependant, dans la méthode NTX1 le nombre de voyelles est encore réduit de telle manière qu'il manque, en plus du [ɑ] postérieur, le [œ̃] nasal[3] et le [ə] muet. Vu que dans le français contemporain, la différence entre le [ɛ̃] nasal et le [œ̃] est peu significative fonctionnellement, le locuteur natif faisant de moins en moins de différence dans la prononciation des deux nasales mentionnées et favorisant le premier, c'est l'archiphonème [Ẽ] pour lequel on indique qu'il réunit [ɛ̃] et [œ̃] qui est conservé dans l'alphabet phonétique de la méthode TOI1. Pour ce qui est du [ə] muet qui est injustifiablement négligé par l'alphabet phonétique de la méthode (NTX1)[4], bien qu'il soit présent dans les transcriptions phonétiques dans le manuel même (TX1 : 103, 129) et dans le manuel du professeur (TX1-GP : 32, 79, 84, 98), il faut mentionner que par ses valeurs articulatoires, cette voyelle se rapproche des voyelles arrondies antérieures : le [œ] semi-ouvert et le [ø] semi-fermé (Martinet 1969 : 215). Pour cette raison, dans la méthode TOI1 dans l'archiphonème [Œ] les voyelles sont unies par un double timbre : le [œ] mi-ouvert et le [ø] mi-fermé, mais aussi le [ə] muet. Enfin, la méthode TOI1 utilise aussi les archiphonèmes pour les autres voyelles à double timbre : d'une part, [E] = [ɛ], [e] et d'autre part, [O] = [ɔ], [o], vu que se perd la différence entre ces voyelles dans le français parlé contemporain, surtout en position inaccentuée.

À la différence du système vocalique, le système consonantique du français contemporain est stable, ce qui est démontré par le fait que les 17 consonnes du français standard sont toutes insérées dans l'alphabet phonétique, mais la méthode BLV1 a élargi cette liste en ajoutant deux consonnes : [ŋ] et [h], tel qu'inscrit au tableau 3 :

Tableau 3 : Alphabet phonétique des méthodes de FLE analysées : consonnes			
BLV1	VO1	NTX1	TOI1
[b], [p], [d], [t], [g], [k], [v], [f], [z], [s], [ʒ], [ʃ], [m], [n], [ɲ], [ʀ], [l]			
+ [ŋ], [h]			

[2] Comme l'antériorité est une tendance générale dans le français contemporain et que de nombreuses analyses du corpus oral le confirment (Léon 2001 : 90), nous considérons que dans ce cas il vaut mieux préférer le [a] antérieur à l'archiphonème [A].

[3] Bien que le [œ̃] nasal soit inscrit dans l'alphabet phonétique de la méthode BLV1, il est absent dans les exercices de phonétique où on fait seulement la différence entre : [ɛ̃] / [ɔ̃] / [ã] (BLV1 : 113).

[4] Nous mentionnons aussi qu'une erreur a été remarquée au tableau de l'alphabet phonétique de la méthode NTX1 dans la présentation des voyelles orales. Ainsi, bien qu'il soit inscrit qu'il existe 13 voyelles orales, seules 10 sont présentées : [a], [ɛ], [e], [œ], [ø], [ɔ], [o], [i], [y], [u] (NTX1 : 129).

La méthode BLV1 donne un exemple de la consonne dorso-vélaire [ŋ] : *camping* [kɑ̃piŋ] et explique qu'elle se rencontre dans les emprunts à l'anglais (qui, implicitement se terminent en –*ing*). L'entrée de la vélaire fricative [h] est inusitée et on mentionne qu'elle se rencontre dans les exclamations comme dans l'exemple : *hop*[5].

Les semi-voyelles (semi-consonnes) sont une des particularités du système phonologique du français. Il y en a trois dans la langue standard : [j], [w], [ɥ] et elles sont présentées avec régularité de manière identique dans toutes les méthodes analysées, ce qui confirme leur stabilité dans la langue contemporaine :

Tableau 4 : Alphabet phonétique dans les méthodes de FLE analysées : semi-voyelles			
BLV1	VO1	NTX1	TOI1
[j], [w], [ɥ]			

b. Analyse des exercices de phonétique dans les méthodes de FLE

Au début de toutes les méthodes analysées, les sujets sont présentés pour chaque leçon ou ensemble thématique au tableau des contenus et aussi, entre autres, ceux qui ont trait à la phonétique. Au premier plan se distinguent les objectifs communicatifs ou les définitions d'une tâche projetée en accord avec la perspective actionnelle et, dans le cadre des objectifs linguistiques, les éléments de phonétique qui ne sont donnés généralement qu'en dernier lieu (après les éléments grammaticaux et lexicaux), ce qui d'une certaine manière marginalise leur importance. Dans cette partie, seule la méthode NTX1 (où les objectifs linguistiques sont rangés de la façon suivante : grammaire, phonétique, lexique) souligne qu'il est important que la « correction phonétique s'exerce de façon constante, dès la phase de découverte des documents » et où il est conseillé « d'insister sur les marques grammaticales orales, ces alternances ou ces oppositions qui sont étudiées en phonétique fonctionnelle » et on souligne qu'il est bon « de faire remarquer, dès le début, le découpage de la phrase en groupes rythmiques, qui sont aussi des groupes grammaticaux et des groupes de sens » (NTX1-GP : 12).

Les exercices de phonétique de la méthode BLV1 apparaissent sous le titre de *Prononcez*[6] et l'introduction indique qu'ils portent sur des exercices d'« entraînement à la phonétique, à l'intonation, à la phonie-graphie »[7] (BLV1 : 3). Les

[5] La version électronique du dictionnaire *Le Petit Robert* de 2001 donne deux prononciations possibles pour l'entrée *hop* : [ɔp ; ˈhɔp].

[6] Les exercices de phonétique de la méthode NTX1 portent le même titre.

[7] La répartition où probablement seule la structure segmentale du discours se fait sous l'élément

exercices de phonétique de la méthode VO1 sont organisés sous le titre *Des sons et des lettres* et mettent ainsi au premier plan le type d'exercices qui montrent le rapport entre la convention orthoépique et la convention orthographique. Les exercices de phonétique de la méthode TOI1 sont organisés sous le titre *On entend, on prononce* et mettent donc au premier plan le type d'exercices qui indiquent l'importance de la perception dans le processus d'apprentissage d'une prononciation correcte dans l'enseignement du FLE.

Nous avons partagé tous les exercices de phonétique des méthodes analysées en quatre types selon qu'ils se rapportent :

a) à la structure segmentale du discours,
b) à la structure suprasegmentale du discours,
c) aux aspects morphophonologiques,
d) à la relation phonie-graphie.

Au tableau 4, nous présentons les résultats de l'analyse de la représentation de certains types d'exercices de phonétique dans les méthodes de FLE analysées :

Tableau 5: Analyse quantitative des exercices de phonétique dans les méthodes de FLE

	BLV1		VO1		NTX1		TOI1	
a) structure segmentale du discours	18	36 %	4	40 %	16	57 %	6	38 %
b) structure suprasegmentale du discours	16	32 %	2	20 %	9	32 %	5	31 %
c) aspects morphophonologiques	6	12 %	4	40 %	3	28 %	5	31 %
d) relation phonie-graphie	10	20 %	0	0 %	0	0 %	0	0
TOTAL:	50	100 %	10	100 %	28	100 %	16	100 %

Nous devons mentionner qu'il s'agit d'une analyse générale car nous nous sommes appuyée sur la manière dont certains types d'exercices de phonétique sont présentés dans un tableau de contenus où sont indiquées leurs formes dominantes et où il s'agit en fait souvent d'un entrelacement de plusieurs types d'exercices de phonétique. En tout cas, ce partage peut nous aider à voir à quel aspect

entraînement à la phonétique et où les exercices *d'entraînement à l'intonation* et *d'entraînement à la phonie/graphie* se distinguent comme catégorie particulière est une répartition inusitée.

des exercices de phonétique est accordé le plus d'attention dans chaque méthode en particulier. Tout d'abord il nous faut souligner le fait que les exercices de phonétique ne sont pas représentés également dans toutes les méthodes : il y en a le moins dans VO1 (10), puis dans TOI1 (16) et NTX1 (28) et le plus dans BLV1 (50). La relation phonie-graphie n'est mentionnée comme type d'exercice particulier que dans le contenu de la méthode BLV1. Dans toutes les méthodes, en rapport avec le nombre total d'exercices de phonétique, on constate que le type d'exercices traitant de la structure segmentale du discours est représenté dans une proportion semblable, de 36 % à 40 % avec l'exception de la méthode NTX1 où ce type d'exercices domine sans conteste : 57 %. Il s'agit du type d'exercices le plus fréquent (sauf dans la méthode VO1 où les exercices de structure segmentale du discours et les exercices de morphophonologie sont également représentés). Après les exercices de structure segmentale viennent les exercices de structure suprasegmentale du discours (BLV1, NTX1) ou encore, ces derniers sont également représentés avec les exercices de morphophonologie (TOI1).

Pour ce qui concerne les trois premiers types d'exercices de phonétique, ce sont les exercices de discrimination auditive et les exercices de répétition qu'on rencontre le plus souvent.

c. Contenu des exercices de phonétique dans les méthodes de FLE analysées

Après avoir relevé les exercices de phonétique les plus fréquents, nous nous sommes intéressée à leur contenu concret, c'est-à-dire à quels exercices avait été accordée la priorité lors de leur sélection.

Une importance égale était accordée aux voyelles et aux consonnes dans les méthodes de notre corpus qui présentaient le plus grand nombre du type d'exercices de phonétique qui se rapportent à la structure segmentale du discours (BLV1, NTX1) tandis que dans les autres méthodes, ces exercices portaient le plus souvent sur les voyelles (VO1, TOI1). Seule la méthode NTX1 présente des exercices sur les semi-voyelles. Pour ce qui est des consonnes, le plus grand nombre d'exercices se rapportent au son [ʀ] uvulaire ; en positions initiale et finale et en opposition au [l] dans la méthode BLV1, tandis que la méthode NTX1 distingue un exercice particulier de combinaison des sons : consonne + [ʀ]. Le reste des exercices portant sur les consonnes sont basés sur la distinction de la sonorité, particulièrement pour : [s] / [z] et [ʃ] / [ʒ] mais aussi [p] / [b] et [f] / [v]. Les exercices sur les voyelles sont présents dans toutes les méthodes. Cependant ne portant pas sur les mêmes voyelles dans toutes les méthodes, ils font preuve d'une certaine inégalité. Néanmoins nous pouvons distinguer les exercices les plus fréquents étant donné qu'ils se rencontrent dans trois des quatre méthodes analysées. Ce sont ceux qui portent sur : les voyelles nasales [ɛ̃] / [ɔ̃] / [ɑ̃] (BLV1, VO1, NTX1), les voyelles fermées [i] / [y] / [u] (BLV1, NTX1, TOI1), le [ə]

muet (BLV1, VO1, NTX1), les voyelles orales arrondies antérieures [œ] / [ø] (BLV1, NTX1, TOI1). Dans le dernier sous-groupe d'exercices, nous devons mentionner que la méthode BLV1 insiste seulement sur les voyelles semi-fermées [e] et [ø][8], la méthode NTX1 sur la différenciation des voyelles arrondies : [œ] / [ɔ̃] / [ø] et dans la méthode TOI1 sur la différenciation des archiphonèmes : [Œ] / [E] et [Œ] / [O].

Dans toutes les méthodes les exercices de phonétique portant sur la structure suprasegmentale du discours comprennent des exercices sur la liaison et seules les méthodes NTX1 et TOI1 accordent une grande importance à l'enchaînement consonantique dès les premières leçons. Des exercices d'intonation sont présents dans trois des quatre méthodes (BLV1, VO1, NTX1) : rythme (BLV1, NTX1, TOI1), découpage des mots en syllabes et différence entre syllabe accentuée et inaccentuée (BLVL1, NTX1, TOI1). Mentionnons que la méthode BLV1 accorde une importance particulière aux exercices d'intonation de sorte qu'en plus de faire la différence entre l'intonation montante et l'intonation descendante à la fin d'une phrase déclarative ou interrogative, ils comprennent des exercices d'expression de différents sentiments par l'intonation (satisfaction, mécontentement, déception). On y trouve aussi un exercice particulier sous le nom, *« Intonation : au téléphone »* (BLV1 : 69). De manière similaire, dans la même méthode est organisé un exercice d'expression de différents sentiments par le rythme (BLV1 : 123). En plus d'exercices dédiés à la différence entre syllabe accentuée et syllabe inaccentuée (NTX1 : 19), la méthode NTX1 donne un exercice particulier sur la mise en relief à l'aide de l'accent d'insistance (NTX1 : 59).

Les exercices de morphonologie impliquent généralement la mise en relief des signes oraux qui ont une fonction grammaticale et permettent, par exemple de différencier le genre et le nombre des noms et des adjectifs (BLV1, VO1, NTX1).

Enfin, les exercices de phonétique qui portent sur la relation phonie-graphie, bien que présents dans une certaine mesure dans toutes les méthodes, arrivent à la plus grande expression dans la méthode BLV1 où ils constituent même le cinquième de tous les exercices de phonétique. Ce qui surprend le plus dans ce type d'exercice et où la méthode BLV1 se distingue est le fait que, sous le terme général d'exercices de phonétique *Prononcez*, où comme l'implique le terme, on pourrait s'attendre à des exercices d'écoute et de répétition à fin d'articulation, on offre souvent des exercices qui sont en fait basés sur des dictées.

d. Exemples d'exercices de phonétique dans les méthodes de FLE analysées

[8] Au tableau des contenus, cet exercice est par erreur indiqué comme portant sur la discrimination des voyelles [e] / [ã].

Dans cette partie de notre travail, nous mettrons en relief quelques exemples d'exercices de phonétique des méthodes NTX1 et TOI1 où, à la différence des autres méthodes analysées, on accorde dès les premières leçons une importante attention à l'enchaînement consonantique, en plus de celle accordée à la liaison. Dans le guide pédagogique, la méthode NTX1 mentionne à quelques reprises « qu'à l'oral les mots ne sont pas séparés les uns des autres comme pourrait le faire croire l'écrit », et qu'il faut réagir « contre la tendance qu'a l'apprenant qui déchiffre un texte écrit à détacher les mots » (NTX-GP : 36, 37). On ajoute que la liaison s'effectue seulement à l'intérieur du même groupe rythmique, tandis que l'enchaînement se fait aussi à la limite entre deux groupes rythmiques (NTX1-GP : 36, 37). Nous donnons ici l'exemple d'un exercice de partage de mots en syllabes (NTX : 17) où le guide pédagogique explique que le but est de faire remarquer que « la syllabation (découpage des mots en syllabes) ne respecte pas les frontières des mots à cause des phénomènes de liaison et d'enchaînement » (NTX-GP : 23) :

PRONONCEZ

Les syllabes

Écoutez et lisez. Détachez les syllabes puis prononcez normalement.

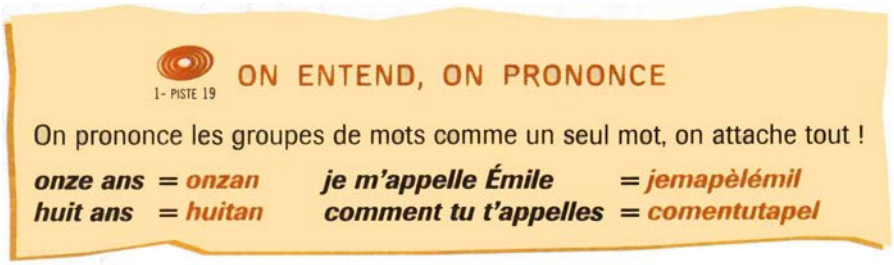
1 Voi/là/le/bu/reau. / Voilà le bureau.
2 Vou/sêtes/é/tu/dian/te. / Vous êtes étudiante.
3 Vou/sêtes/Co/ra/lie ? / Vous êtes Coralie ?
4 Je/suis/Mar/ti/na/mar. / Je suis Martine Amar.

Exemple 1. Exercice de phonétique : structure suprasegmentale du discours (NTX : 17).

Cependant, comme les règles s'entrecroisent dans le code oral et le code écrit, on peut remarquer qu'il existe une disparité dans le partage des syllabes de cet exercice. Si nous comparons les phrases des numéros 2 et 4, nous remarquons d'un côté, qu'il s'agit du principe du partage des mots en syllabes à l'écrit dans la phrase : *Vous êtes étudiante* et qu'ainsi, l'enchaînement consonantique n'est pas marqué entre la 2$_{e}$ personne du pluriel de l'indicatif présent du verbe *être* : *vous êtes* et le nom *étudiante*, et que pour le nom *étudiante*, le couple consonne [t] et le [ə] muet qui ne se lit pas est marqué comme une syllabe : *é/tu/dian/te*, bien que dans le partage des mots dans le discours devrait se faire ainsi : [vu-zɛ-te-ty-djã:t//]. D'un autre côté, dans la phrase *Je suis Martine Amar*, les auteurs

ont choisi de modifier le code écrit *Je/suis/Mar/ti/na/mar* pour montrer que le [ə] muet ne se lit pas à la fin du mot *Martine* et indiquer plus tard l'enchaînement consonantique entre le prénom qui se termine par une consonne à l'oral et le nom qui commence par une voyelle, ce qui est conforme au partage des mots en syllabes dans le code oral : [ʒə-sɥi-*mar-ti-n*a-mar//].

Dans la méthode TOI1, les auteurs ont choisi d'adapter le code écrit pour indiquer ultérieurement les spécificités phonétiques du français ainsi que la différence entre les mots graphiques et phonétiques, c'est-à-dire la différence entre les règles orthographiques et l'organisation du discours en groupes rythmiques (TOI1 : 45, 15) :


1- PISTE 19

ON ENTEND, ON PRONONCE

On prononce les groupes de mots comme un seul mot, on attache tout !

onze ans = ***onzan*** ***je m'appelle Émile*** = ***jemapèlémil***
huit ans = ***huitan*** ***comment tu t'appelles*** = ***comentutapel***

Exemple 2. Exercice de phonétique : structure suprasegmentale du discours (TOI1 :15).

Nous ajoutons encore un exemple, qui, d'après nous, est un exemple réussi d'un écrit modifié au but de démontrer le phénomène de liaison et d'enchaînement consonantique (TOI1 : 45) :

4 ***Phonétique***
Écoute et dis ce que tu entends :

	« zheure »	« kheure »	« theure »	« trheure »	« vheure »	« nheure »
1. 5 heures						
2. 6 heures						
3. 9 heures						
4. 4 heures						
5. 1 heure						
6. 7 heures						
7. 11 heures						

Exemple 3. Exercice de phonétique : structure suprasegmentale du discours (TOI1 : 45).

La méthode TOI1 se différencie des autres méthodes par le fait qu'elle présente les formes verbales selon leur prononciation et non comme c'est le cas

habituellement dans les grammaires traditionnelles qui donnent tout d'abord les formes des personnes du singulier, puis celles du pluriel. Ainsi par exemple, les formes du présent de l'indicatif des verbes en *–er* (dans ce cas, ce sont les formes qui commencent par une consonne afin que le paradigme complet soit uniforme) sont présentées de sorte que d'un côté sont placées les formes pour lesquelles les terminaisons ne se lisent pas (singulier et troisième personne du pluriel) et de l'autre celles où elles sont lues (première et deuxième personnes du pluriel) (TOI1 : 90).

SÉQUENCE 9 ***Prononciation des verbes en -er***

2- PISTE 34

Écoute le verbe à la 1ère personne puis prononce les autres personnes. Écoute pour vérifier :

1. Je danse – tu – il – on – elles nous – vous.
2. Je mange – tu – il – on – elles nous – vous.
3. Je travaille – tu – il – on – elles nous – vous.
4. Je joue – tu – il – on – elles nous – vous.
5. Je regarde – tu – Isabelle – Pierre – les copains – les copines nous – vous.

Exemple 4. Exercice de phonétique : aspect morphophonologique (TOI1).

Bien que nous n'ayons pas parlé jusqu'à maintenant de l'utilisation de la transcription phonétique dans les méthodes de FLE analysées, nous souhaitons dans cette partie y porter notre attention. Bien qu'il ne soit pas présent dans toutes les méthodes, ce type d'exercice de phonétique mérite une analyse plus détaillée dans la perspective d'une recherche particulière. Nous ne mentionnerons ici qu'un exemple d'un exercice de cette sorte, tiré du guide pédagogique de la méthode VO1 (VO1 : 02-07).

Copiez la phrase au tableau assortie de sa transcription phonétique, puis demandez-leur de l'adapter au masculin (qu'ils l'écrivent et vous la lisent).

(f.) C'est une étudiant**e** allemand**e**.
[sɛtyn etudiã**t** almã**d**]
(m.) C'est un étudiant allemand.
[sɛt**œ̃**netudiã almã]

Exemple 5. Transcription en alphabet phonétique international dans le guide pédagogique (VO1-GP : 02-07).

Nous avons choisi l'Exemple 5 parce qu'il suggère clairement que l'enseignant écrive au tableau la phrase en alphabet phonétique international en plus de

l'écrire en alphabet standard pour bien montrer les différences entre les genres féminin et masculin dans le discours. Cependant, l'exemple offert compte des fautes qui pourraient déconcerter autant le professeur que l'élève. Ainsi, au lieu d'être transcrit : *étudiant* [etydjã], *étudiante* [etydjã:t], ce nom est transcrit deux fois de façon erronée : au lieu de la voyelle [y] est utilisée la voyelle [u] et au lieu de la semi-voyelle [j] est utilisée la voyelle [i] : *étudiant* : [etudiã], *étudiante* [etudiãt].

4. CONCLUSION

En analysant les exercices de phonétique dans les quatre méthodes de FLE du niveau débutant (BLV1, VO1, NTX1, TOI1) nous sommes arrivée à la conclusion que les résultats obtenus diffèrent de manière importante bien que les quatre méthodes soient toutes basées sur les recommandations du CECRL pour le niveau A1.

Notre analyse des exercices de phonétique de ces méthodes était fondée sur des critères qualitatifs et quantitatifs. Après avoir défini quatre types d'exercices de phonétique (dépendant qu'ils portent sur la structure segmentale ou la structure suprasegmentale du discours, les aspects morphophonologiques ou la relation phonie-graphie) et avoir déterminé le nombre total d'exercices (dont le nombre variait de 10 à 50) dans le cadre de chaque méthode, nous avons voulu établir le type d'exercices qui y apparaissait le plus fréquemment. En général, nos résultats montrent surtout une proportion similaire entre les trois premiers types d'exercices où domine celui qui porte sur la structure segmentale du discours, suivi du type qui porte sur sa structure suprasegmentale et les aspects morphophonologiques et que le type d'exercices qui porte sur la relation phonie-graphie n'est indiqué que dans le tableau des contenus de la méthode BLV1 et présent dans un pourcentage significatif de 20 %.

D'importantes différences entre les méthodes faisant partie de notre corpus apparaissent surtout lors de l'analyse du contenu concret des exercices de phonétique dans le cadre de chaque méthode individuellement. Tout d'abord il faut tenir compte que le système phonologique du français n'est pas présenté partout de la même façon et que le nombre de phonèmes varie de 30 à 38, surtout en raison de l'instabilité du système vocalique (où le nombre maximal comprend 16 voyelles et minimal seulement 10). Le fait que le type d'exercices fondé sur la structure segmentale du discours soit organisé différemment dans les méthodes mentionnées ne surprend donc pas : certaines méthodes accordent la même importance aux voyelles et aux consonnes (BLV1, NTX1), certaines seulement aux voyelles (VO1, NTX1), mais il est rare d'en trouver une qui comprenne des exercices portant sur les semi-voyelles (NTX1). Quand il s'agit des exercices dédiés

aux voyelles, bien qu'on puisse distinguer les voyelles mentionnées le plus fréquemment, comme les nasales [ɛ̃] / [ɔ̃] / [ɑ̃] (BLV11, VO1, NTX1), les voyelles fermées [i] / [y] / [u] (BLV1, NTX1, TOI1), le [ə] muet (BLV1, VO1, NTX1) et les voyelles orales antérieures arrondies [œ] / [ø] (BLV1, NTX1, TOI1), nous ne pouvons pas parler de concordance absolue dans les quatre méthodes. Sauf pour ce qui est des exercices qui portent sur la liaison, quand il s'agit du type d'exercices portant sur la structure suprasegmentale du discours, nous ne pouvons pas non plus parler de concordance absolue dans les quatre méthodes, étant donné que des exercices portant sur l'intonation sont présents dans trois des quatre méthodes (BLV1, VO1, NTX1), comme sur le rythme (BLV1, NTX1, TOI1) et sur le partage des mots en syllabes et la différence entre syllabe accentuée et syllabe inaccentuée (BLV1, NTX1, TOI1) tandis que seules deux méthodes donnent une importance significative à l'enchaînement consonantique (NTX1, TOI1). C'est justement pour cette raison que nous avons distingué les exercices qui portent sur l'enchaînement consonantique étant donné qu'ils sont considérés comme prioritaires dans certaines méthodes de FLE du niveau débutant (NTX1, TOI1) alors qu'ils sont tout à fait ignorés dans certaines autres méthodes (BLV1, VO1). Enfin, bien que le type d'exercices sur les aspects morphophonologiques soit présent dans toutes les méthodes dans une plus ou moins grande mesure, nous ne pouvons pas non plus parler de concordance absolue vu que sous l'égide d'exercices de phonétique, certains contenus se trouvent dans au plus trois des quatre méthodes comme par exemple celui de la différenciation du genre et du nombre dans les noms et les adjectifs (BLV1, VO1, NTX1).

Notre recherche confirme en grande mesure notre hypothèse de départ sur l'inégalité du contenu des exercices de phonétique dans les méthodes choisies rédigées selon les principes du CECRL et destinées au premier niveau de l'apprentissage du FLE. Comme les recommandations générales du CECRL qui portent notamment sur la compétence phonologique sont souvent sujettes à différentes interprétations, les auteurs des méthodes de FLE (dans ce cas du niveau A1) qui suivent les mêmes principes généraux (perspective actionnelle), déterminent de manière différente le rôle des exercices de phonétique, et définissent donc aussi différemment leurs contenus prioritaires. Bien qu'on aspire à atteindre une compétence communicative et avant tout une interaction orale, le résultat d'une telle approche est, paradoxalement, qu'un élément important de la compétence linguistique est négligé : c'est celui de l'aspect phonétique du discours ainsi que de l'importance notable des exercices de phonétique dans l'enseignement/apprentissage du FLE qui a pour but la compréhension et l'expression orales les plus efficaces possible.

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FONETSKE VEŽBE U SAVREMENIM METODAMA ZA UČENJE FRANCUSKOG KAO STRANOG JEZIKA

Rezime

Nastojeći da utvrdimo koje mesto zauzimaju fonetske vežbe u savremenim metodama za učenje francuskog kao stranog jezika i kako su one organizovane, analizirali smo sadržaj fonetskih vežbi u četiri metode za početni nivo učenja francuskog kao stranog jezika (*Belleville 1*, *Version Originale 1*, *Le Nouveau taxi ! 1*, *Et toi ? 1*). Reč je o metodama

koje se temelje na opštim preporukama iznetim u *Zajedničkom evropskom referentnom okviru za žive jezike* (ZEROJ, 2001). Zanimalo nas kako je u njima predstavljen fonološki sistem francuskog jezika, posebno nestabilni vokalski sistem (poznato je da maksimalni vokalski sistem sadrži 16 vokala, a minimalni svega 10). Analizirali smo i koji je najzastupljeniji tip fonetskih vežbi (onaj koji se odnosi na segmentnu ili suprasegmentnu strukturu govora, morfofonološke aspekte ili grafofonološku relaciju), kao i sadržaj fonetskih vežbi. Budući da sažeta forma deskriptora za evaluaciju fonološke kompetencije u ZEROJ-u (od nivoa A1 do nivoa C2) ostavlja mogućnost različitih interpretacija, očekivali smo da će sadržaj fonetskih vežbi, kao i njihov raspored, u analizirane četiri metode biti heterogen. Naše istraživanje u značajnoj meri potvrđuje našu početnu hipotezu o neujednačenom sadržaju fonetskih vežbi u odabranim metodama izrađenim prema principima ZEROJ-a namenjenim početnom nivou učenja francuskog kao stranog jezika. Značajne razlike između analiziranih metoda dolaze naročito do izražaja u različitom načinu prikazivanja fonološkog sistema francuskog jezika (gde broj fonema varira od 30 do 38), kao i prilikom analize konkretnog sadržaja fonetskih vežbi u okviru svake metode posebno.

Ključne reči: fonetske vežbe, fonološki sistem francuskog jezika, francuski kao strani jezik, akcioni pristup.

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CONSTRUCTIONS IMPLICITES À SENS CONCESSIF EN FRANÇAIS ET EN ITALIEN ET LEURS ÉQUIVALENTS EN SERBE

Dans le présent article, nous précisons d'abord la définition de la notion de construction implicite à sens concessif – construction ne contenant pas de verbe conjugué. Nous confrontons ensuite l'emploi de ces constructions à celui des propositions subordonnées concessives, moyen le plus répandu et le plus explicite de l'expression de cette catégorie sémantique existant dans les trois langues étudiées. Par notre analyse des exemples tirés du roman de Marcel Proust *Un amour de Swann,* du texte original et de ses traductions en italien et en serbe, nous nous proposons d'établir le degré de correspondance de ces constructions (formelle et sémantique) dans les trois langues: notre hypothèse est que les deux langues romanes montrent une importante correspondance de formes, tandis qu'en serbe, langue slave, les structures portant la sémantique en question se présentent différemment.[1]

Mots-clés: construction implicite, concession, français, italien, serbe

1. CONSTRUCTIONS IMPLICITES

Dans cet article, par le terme *constructions implicites* nous entenderons les moyens linguistiques par lesquels dans les langues analysées on peut transmettre la sémantique concessive, sans recourir à l'emploi de la proposition subordonnée concessive.[2] Le terme de *constructions implicites* a été pris de la grammaire italienne : en fait, par opposition au français et au serbe, où la présence d'un verbe conjugué est obligatoire pour parler d'une *proposition*[3]*, en italien, le terme de*

[1] Cet article a été publié pour la première fois dans: *Jezici i kulture u vremenu i prostoru* II/2, ISBN 978-86-6065-178-7, Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet u Novom Sadu, 2013, pages : 115-127, avec le titre: *Implicitne konstrukcije za izražavanje koncesivnog značenja u francuskom i italijanskom jeziku i njihovi ekvivalenti u srpskom*.

[2] Les propositions indépendantes (soit juxtaposées soit coordonnées) peuvent, elles aussi, avoir un sens concessif. Elles ne feront pourtant pas l'objet de notre étude, à cause du cadre restreint de cet article.

[3] Sauf les propositions *participes* et *infinitives* en français, qui représentent des tournures syntaxiques spécifiques, héritées du latin.

proposition, plus précisément la *proposition implicite* (*proposizione implicita*) est utilisé aussi pour des structures ne possédant pas de verbe conjugué. Dans ce cas, la proposition principale et la concessive doivent avoir le même sujet.[4] Dans la suite, nous utiliserons le terme de *constructions implicites* (à la place de *propositions implicites*), pour pouvoir l'appliquer aux constructions correspondantes du français et du serbe.

2. REPERTOIRE DE CONSTRUCTIONS IMPLICITES À SENS CONCESSIF EN FRANÇAIS, ITALIEN ET EN SERBE

Dans la partie suivante, nous donnerons un aperçu des constructions implicites les plus fréquemment citées dans les grammaires, tandis que lors de l'analyse du corpus (section 3. du présent article), nous essaierons de retrouver d'autres constructions ayant la même valeur, et de suggérer la possibilité de leur classification parmi les constructions implicites à sens concessif.

2.1. Constructions implicites à sens concessif en français

Il est intéressant de dire que certains auteurs (Grevisse 1969) appellent ces constructions *propositions d'opposition*[5] *non introduites par une conjonction* (Grevisse 1969). La concession y est exprimée par :

a. une préposition (ou locution prépositionnelle) suivie d'un complément (un infinitif ou un substantif) : *malgré, en dépit de, sans + infinitif* : *L'avion a pu atterrir à Roissy malgré le brouillard.*

b. un gérondif précédé de *tout* : *Tout en comprenant les raisons de son choix, je ne l'approuve pas totalement.*

Ces constructions sont analysées en français comme *compléments circonstanciels de concession* (Grevisse 1969 ; Mauger 1968).

2.2. Constructions implicites à sens concessif en italien

En italien, les constructions implicites les plus fréquentes sont les suivantes:

[4] Il s'agit le plus souvent des constructons prépositionnelles formées autour d'un participe, d'un infinitif ou autour d'un gérondif.

[5] Dans les grammaires françaises, sauf le terme *concession*, on utilise aussi le terme *opposition*. Nous avons traité cette discordance terminologique dans un de nos articles précédents (Seder : 2012), partie1.1.

a. *pur + gérondif* (présent ou passé) : *Pur sapendo la verità, non la disse a nessuno*. [Bien qu'il sût la vérité, il ne la dit à personne.]. Dans ce cas, c'est la conjonction *pur* qui attribue la valeur concessive à cette construction (Terić 2005 : 226-228). Francesco Bianco note aussi l'emploi de la constuction *anche + gérondif,* avec la même valeur (Bianco : 2010 : 257).

Dans la *Grande grammatica italiana di consultazione* (Renzi et al. 2001) les auteurs distinguent deux types de *gérondif concessif* (c'est-à-dire de la construction *pur + gérondif*):

1. *gérondif de phrase* (*gerundio di frase*), qui partage le sujet avec la principale, et ce sujet (qui fait l'action exprimée par le gérondif) ne peut être exprimé dans la principale sous forme d'un complément d'agent. Donc, la phrase suivante n'est pas grammaticalement correcte : **Pur Ø*[6]*essendo incompetenti, molte decisioni vengono prese* <u>*dai burocrati del momento*</u>. La phrase correcte serait la suivante : *Pur essendo incompetenti, vogliono insegnare agli altri.* [Bien qu'ils soient incompétents, ils veulent apprendre aux autres.]

2. *gérondif de prédicat* (*gerundio di predicato*) : celui qui fait son action peut être exprimé dans la principale, soit sous forme de son sujet (*Pur esitando, Giorgio aveva fatto il nome del colpevole* [Bien qu'il eût hésité, Giorgio avait nommé le coupable.]), soit sous forme de complément d'agent (*Pur Ø esitando, il nome del colpevole era stato fatto* <u>*da tutti i ragazzi*</u> [Bien qu'ils eussent hésité, tous les garçons avaient nommé le coupable[7]].)

Entre ces deux types de gérondif il existe aussi une distinction sémantique : tandis que le gérondif de prédicat garde sa valeur de complément circonstanciel de manière, dans le cadre du gérondif de phrase le verbe au gérondif marque une condition, juste comme le gérondif causatif, mais de sens contraire.

b. participe passé (le plus souvent accompagné d'une conjonction concessive) : *(Benché) incalzato da molte domande, tuttavia, non rivelò nulla.* [Bien qu'il fût accablé de questions, pourtant il ne révéla rien.] (Terić 2005 : 226-228)[8]

c. infinitif, accompagné de certains adverbes/locutions adverbiales et prépositionnelles (*nemmeno, neppure, neanche, manco a, (pur) senza, a costo di, a rischio di*): *Mettono a dura prova il suo corraggio*, *anche a rischio di soffocarlo sul nascere*. [Ils mettent à l'épreuve dure son courage, au risque de le suffoquer à la naissance.] (Terić 2005 : 226-228). *Per essere un dilettante della politica, non è male.* [Bien qu'il soit dilettante politique, il n'est pas mal.] *Anna ubbidì, pur senza capire*. [Anne obéit, bien qu'elle n'ait pas compris.] (Bianco 2001 : 257)

[6] Marque du sujet zéro (non-exprimé).

[7] Dans la langue serbe, la différence entre ces deux phrases n'est pas visible, parce qu'une traduction correcte en serbe exigerait la transformation en une phrase active. La traduction littérale serait: *Iako su oklevali, ime krivca izgovoreno je *od strane svih mladića.*

[8] On peut comparer ces propositions avec les concessives éliptiques.

2.3. Constructions implicites à sens concessif en serbe

En serbe, dans le cadre de la phrase simple, le moyen principal de l'expression de la concession est la construction de type *préposition + cas* ayant une fonction adverbiale, comme par exemple : *U inat umoru / Bez obzira na umor /Uprkos umoru* nije odustajala. (Piper et al. 2005). Il s'agit le plus souvent du *génitif concessif*, *datif concessif* et *accusatif concessif*, mais on peut recconnaître la sémantique concessive dans les constructions avec les autres cas.

En outre, la concession peut être expprimée par le participe présent [9] (*ne obazirući se na umor, nije odustajala.*).

Enfin, la sémantique concessive est souvent suggérée ou renforcée par la présence de certaines particules modales, comme *ipak*, *međutim*.

3. ANALYSE DU CORPUS

3.1. construction *tout + gérondif*

Concernant cette construction il faut souligner qu'elle n'est pas réservée uniquement à l'expression de la concession. Le gérondif est souvent précédé de l'adverbe *tout* tout simplement pour « insister sur la durée » : *Elle aime travailler tout en écoutant de la musique.* (Delatour et al. 1991 : 81). Donc, nous pouvons dire que l'adverbe *tout* précédant le gérondif donne une « nuance durative » , mais il n'apporte pas une nouvelle sémantique. Conformément à cette conclusion, nous approuvons le fait que l'adverbe *tout* dans cet emploi soit très souvent omis. L'exemple suivant illustre bien ce qui vient d'être dit :

1. Cependant **tout en redressant sa taille et refroidissant sa mine** (…) Mme de Gallardon dit à sa cousine : (MP : 386) ;

1[1]. Cionostante, **raddrizandosi sulla persona e raffreddando il cipiglio**, ancora inquieta comunque sulle condizioni del principe, Mme de Gallardon disse alla cugina : (MP (it.) : 180)

1[2]. Međutim, g-đa de Galardon, **ispravljajući se, i opet hladnog izraza lica** (…) reče svojoj rođaci : (MPŽ : 148).

Par contre, dans les exemples suivants, la sémantique concessive de la construction *tout + gérondif* est hors de doute[10] :

[9] En serbe : *glagolski prilog sadašnji*.

[10] Pour justifier l'interprétation concessive d'une certaine construction, nous recourrons à sa transformation en une subordonnée concessive explicite. Notre critère sera donc la possibilité ou l'impossibilité d'une telle transformation, et la traduction en serbe servira uniquement d'une preuve supplémentaire de notre affirmation.

2.Mais il avait perdu toute relation avec celui qu'il appelait le «jeune Verdurin» et qu'il considérait, un peu en gros, comme tombé – **tout en gardant de nombreux millions** – dans la bohème et la racaille. (MP : 236)
[=Mais il avait perdu toute relation avec celui qu'il appelait le « jeune Verdurin » et qu'il considérait, un peu en gros, comme tombé dans la bohème et la racaille, **bien que celui-ci [**le « jeune Verdurin »**] ait gardé de nombreux millions**.]
2[1.] Ma poi non era più rimasto in relazione con quello che chiamava il « giovane Verdurin » e che considerava, un po' all'ingrosso, come caduto – **pur conservando parecchi milioni** – nella scapigliatura e nel canagliume. (MP (it.) : 32)
[=Ma poi non era più rimasto in relazione con quello che chiamava il « giovane Verdurin » e che considerava, un po' all'ingrosso, come caduto nella scapigliatura e nel canagliume, **benché (lui) avesse conservato parecchi milioni**.]
2[2]. Ali otad je bio izgubio svaku vezu s onim koga je on zvao „mladi Verdiren" i za koga je smatrao, uglavnom, da je – **iako je sačuvao mnogo miliona** – pao među boeme i šljam. (MPŽ : 16)
3.Quel que fût l'aveuglement de Mme Verdurin à son égard, elle avait fini, **tout en continuant à le trouver très fin**, par être agacée de voir que quand elle l'invitait dans une avant-scène à entendre Sarah Bernhardt, ,… (MP : 238)
[=Quel que fût l'aveuglement de Mme Verdurin à son égard, elle avait fini, **bien qu'elle continuât à le trouver très fin**, par être agacée de voir que quand elle l'invitait dans une avant-scène à entendre Sarah Bernhardt, …]
3[1]. Quale che fosse la cecità di Mme Verdurin nei suoi riguardi, anche lei aveva finito, **pur continuando a trovarlo molto a posto**, col sentirsi irritata… (MP (it.) : 32)
[=Quale che fosse la cecità di Mme Verdurin nei suoi riguardi, anche lei aveva finito, **benché lei continuasse a trovarlo molto a posto**, col sentirsi irritata…]
3[2.] Ma kolika da je bila zaslepljenost g-đe Verdiren u njegovom pogledu, njoj je na kraju**-iako je i dalje nalazila da je on vrlo tankoćutan**-počelo da ide na živce ,… (MPŽ : 18)
3.Pourtant, **tout en étant restée à certains égards vraiment simple** (…), elle avait soif de chic, … (MP : 284-285)
[= Pourtant, **bien qu'elle fût restée à certains égards vraiment simple** (…), elle avait soif de chic, …]
4[1]. E tuttavia, **per quanto rimasta sotto certi aspetti veramente semplice** (…) essa era assetata di eleganze, … (MP (it.) : 80)
4[2]. *Ipak*, **premda je u izvesnim stvarima ostala veoma prostodušna** (…), bila je žedna otmenosti,… (MPŽ : 59)
4.…mais **tout en se rappelant le plaisir spécial et intraduisible que lui avait fait la phrase**, (…), il était pourtant incapable de la leur chanter. (MP : 250)
[=…**mais bien qu'il se rappelât le plaisir spécial et intraduisible que lui avait fait la phrase**, (…), il était pourtant incapable de la leur chanter.]

5[1]. …ma, **per quanto ricordasse il piacere speciale e intraducibile procuratogli dalla frase, per quanto si vedesse davanti agli occhi le forme ch'essa disegnava**, era ***peraltro*** incapace di cantargliela. (MP (it.) : 45)
5[2]. …ali, **iako se sećao osobenog i neizrecivog uživanja koje mu je ta fraza pričinila, (…), *ipak*** je bio nesposoban da im je otpeva. (MPŽ : 28)

Dans les exemples (2,3) la construction implicite française est traduite en italien par une construction implicite.[11] Dans l'exemple (4) nous trouvons en italien une concessive éliptique, réduite à la conjonction et participe passé. Comme nous avons déjà dit, ces constructions sont en italien classifiées parmi les propositions imlicites (Terić 2005). Uniquement dans l'exemple (5) la construction *tout + gérondif* est traduite en italien et en serbe par une subodonné concessive, avec l'emploi des particules modales servant d' « intensificateurs de signification concessive »[12] (it. *peraltro*, sr. *ipak*).

Par opposition à l'italien, tous les exemples en serbe sont traduits par une proposition subordonnée concessive explicite.

3.2. préposition *malgré* et locution prépositionnelle *en dépit de*[13]

Si nous partons d'une appoche étymologique[14], nous pouvons nous attendre à ce que l'équivalent le plus fréquent de la préposition *malgré* soit la préposition italienne *malgrado.* Bien que ce soit justement le cas dans certains exemples (6), le corpus montre que cela n'est pas si fréquent que nous pourrions nous y attendre :

5. Comme Mme Verdurin, **malgré de petites exagérations un peu risibles**, a un amour sincère de la peinture, de la musique! (MP : 291)
6[1]. Com'è sincero, **malgrado qualche esacerazione un po' buffa**, l'amore di Mme Verdurin per la pittura, per la musica ! (MP (it.) : 40)
6[2]. Kako g-đa Verdiren, **uprkos malim, smešnim preterivanjima**, ima iskrenu ljubav prema slikarstvu, muzici ! (MPŽ : 64)

Dans les exemples (7) et (8), l'équivalent italien de la préposition *malgré* est la préposition italienne *nonostante*. Mauger (Mauger 1968 : 336)[15] note que

[11] En plus, dans ces exemples on peut noter l'équivalence entre la construction française *tout+gérondif* et la construction italienne *pur+gérondif.*

[12] Le terme a été pris de: Kovačević 2008.

[13] Dans la plupart des grammaires, la locution prépositionnelle *en dépit de* est considérée comme synonyme à la preposition *malgré*, mais toujours avec la remarque qu'elle est moins fréquente dans la langue.

[14] En fait, du point de vue étymologique, cette préposition représente, dans les deux langues, la combinaison de l'adjectif latin *malus* (mauvais) et du substantif formé à partir de l'adjectif latin *grātum* (agréable).

[15] Dans notre corpus, nous avons trouvé un seul exemple de l'emploi de la préposition *nonobstant*, dans la traduction française du roman italien *Il fu Matia Pascal* (Le défunt *Matija Pascal*):

la langue française possède « la préposition ancienne *nonobstant* (expression d'origine latine qui signifie : ne faisant pas obstacle) » et commente que dans la langue française contemporaine elle n'est utilisée qu'en langue juridique : *L'accord restera valable, nonobstant toute réclamation*.

7. **Malgré cela** il ne distinguait pas bien. (MP : 329)

7[1]. **Cionostante**, non distingueva bene. (MP (it.) : 124)

[= Nonostante ciò[16], non distingueva bene.]

7[2]**. Uprkos tome** nije dobro razabirao. (MPŽ : 98)

8. Et Swann était heureux **malgré tout** de sentir que,… (MP : 343)

8[1].E Swann, **nonostante tutto**, era felice di sentire che…(MP (it.) : 138)

8[2].I Svan je bio srećan, **uprkos svemu,** što je osećao... (MPŽ : 110)

Dans les exemples (9 et 10), la préposition française *malgré* est traduite par la locution prépositionelle *ad onta di*, synonyme à la préposition *nonostante*, mais pluitôt rare dans la langue italienne contemporaine.[17] Pourtant, ce fait n'est pas pertinent pour cet article, parce que nous nous sommes proposé d'analyser surtout l'emploi des constructions implicites par rapport aux subordonnées concessives dans les trois langues observées.

9.(…) sans doute aussi, et **malgré toutes les précautions qu'il avait prises** pour la leur cacher, la découverte progressive qu'ils faisaient de sa brillante situation mondaine, tout cela contribuait à leur irritation contre lui. (MP : 293)

9[1].(…) forse anche, **ad onta di tutte le precauzioni da lui prese** per tenergliela nascosta, la progressiva scoperta ch'essi venivano facendo della sua brillante posizione mondana, tutto insomma contribuiva alla loro irritazione contro di lui. (MP (it.) : 88)

9[2].(…) a svakako, **uprkos svoj predostrožnosti** da to od njih sakrije, i postepeno obelodanjenje njegovih sjajnih društvenih veza, sve je to doprinosilo da se oni dure na njega. (MPŽ : 66)

10. S'il y allait, **malgré son interdiction**, il pourrait la voir *aujourd'hui* même! (MP : 342)

10[1].Se ci andava, **ad onta del divieto**, l'avrebbe potuta vedere quel giorno stesso ! (MP (it.) : 136)

Compresi così, che, non ostante quel mio strambo aspetto, ella avrebbe potuto amarmi. (Pirandello : 99) *Je compris ainsi que nonobstant mon aspect baroque, elle aurait pu m'aimer*. (Pirandello Fr. : 138)

[16] *Ciò* est en italien un pronom démonstratif (*pronome dimostrativo*), plus précisment: « pronome *neutro* singolare: indica o sostituisce una cosa, generalmente rappresentata da una forma verbale o da un'intera frase.» [« pronom *neutre* marquant le singulier : il marque ou remplace la notion qui représente d'habitude soit une forme verbale, soit une phrase entière »] (Patota 2003 : 245). Il est donc clair que ce pronom est équivalent au pronom démonstratif français *cela*.

[17] Dans les grammaires italiennes contemporaines cette locution ne figure même pas. Par conséquent, nous pouvons constater que le traducteur l'a utilisée pour mieux peindre le niveau de langue du roman original, ainsi que l'époque où il a été écrit.

10[2].Kad bi, **uprkos njenoj zabrani**, otišao, mogao bi je videti još danas ! (MPŽ : 108)

Finalement, dans l'exemple (11), la construction implicite française est traduite par une subordonnée explicite en italien :

11. (…), mais il ne venait que le soir et n'acceptait presque jamais à dîner **malgré les instances d'Odette**. (MP : 257)

11[1].(…), dove però non andava che di sera e non accettava quasi mai di pranzare, **per quanto Odette insistesse**. (MP (it.) : 52)

11[2].(…), ali dolazio je samo uveče, i gotovo nikada nije pristajao da dođe i na večeru, **uprkos Odetinom navaljivanju**. (MPŽ : 35)

En serbe, dans tous les exemples nous marquons une construction implicite, plus précisément – une construction du type *préposition + cas* : *uprkos* + substantif au datif.

3.3. locution verbale *avoir beau* +infinitif

Cette locution, constituée du verbe *avoir* et le mot *beau*[18], obligatoirement suivi de l'infinitif, signifie : « [faire quelque chose] en vain », par exemple : *Elle a beau suivre un régime, elle n'arrive pas à maigrir.* [= *Bien qu'elle suive un régime*, *elle n'arrive pas à maigrir.*] (Delatour et al. 1991 : 283). Comme l'exemple le montre, les grammairiens la remplacent, avec raison, par une subordonnée concessive.

Sa classification parmi les *constructions implicites* malgré le fait que le verbe *avoir* est conjugué, exige certainement quelques explications. Vu qu'il est clair que (malgré la présence d'un verbe conjugué) on ne peut pas parler d'une *proposition concessive* – qui appartient aux *propositions conjonctives* à valeur adverbiale, il serait pertinent de considérer les stuctures contenant cette locution comme juxtapposées à sens concessif : *Elle a beau suivre un régime, elle n'arrive pas à maigrir*. Nous la classifierons parmi les *constructions implicites*, pour des raisons suivantes :

a. il s'agit d'une locution toute faite[19] ayant une syntaxe spécifique : sa signification se réalise uniquement si elle est suivie d'un infinitif, et elle est *toujours* placée devant la principale;

[18] Bien que le mot *beau* soit généralement connu comme adjectif, et donc ainsi analysé dans le cadre de cette locution (Hachette 2006; Putanec 1974), un des dictionnaires consultés (Larousse 2001), lui attribue la valeur d'un adverbe, mais dont l'emploi est limité à certaines locutions (sauf *avoir beau*,dans les locutions suivantes : *Bel et bien* [=vraiment]; De plus belle [=de plus en plus]; Il fait beau [le temps est beau, ensoleillé]; *Litt*. Il ferait beau voir cela [il serait incroyable, scandaleux de voir cela].

[19] Certains auteurs y voient *un moyen lexique* de l'expression de la concession (Wagner-Pinchon 1962).

b. cette locution ne peut jamais fonctionner de façon indépendante (bien que son rapport avec la principale ne soit pas la subordination)[20];
c. locution *avoir beau* + infinitif est réservée *uniquement* à l'expression de la concession, et comme telle elle est suffisante pour l'expression de la concession (on peut dire qu'elle est sémantiquement marquée), tandis que quand il s'agit des propositions juxtaposées ne possédant pas cette locution, la sémantique concessive est souvent conditionnée par le contexte, et très souvent suggérée par la présence des mots coordonnants (*pourtant, cependant*, etc.);
d. finalement, certains auteurs analysent cette locution comme un moyen particulier de l'expression de la concession (Papić 1992; Wilmet 2003), ou même la classifient parmi les moyens dans le chapitre consacré justement aux constructions que nous considérons comme *implicites* (Delatour et al 1991).
12. **On a beau être blasé sur les femmes, considérer la possession des plus différentes comme toujours la même et connue d'avance**, elle devient au contraire un plaisir nouveau s'il s'agit de femmes assez difficiles… (MP : 275)
12.[1] **Si ha un bell'essere disincantati delle donne, considerare il possesso delle più diverse come una una cosa nota in anticipo**, esso diventa per contro un piacere nuovo se si tratti di donne abbastanza difficili... (MP (it.) : 71)
12.[2] **Zalud** je čovek neosetljiv u odnosu na žene i smatra da je posedovanje i najrazličitijih uvek isto i unapred poznato, ono, naprotiv, postaje jedno novo uživanje ako je reč o ženama koje je toliko teško osvojiti... (MPŽ : 51)
13. **Odette avait eu beau retrancher de sa confession tout l'essentiel**, il restait dans l'accessoire quelque chose que Swann n'avait jamais imaginé, qui l'accablait de sa nouveauté et allait lui permettre de changer les termes du problème de sa jalousie. (MP : 428)
13.[1] **Odette aveva un bel sopprimere dai suoi riconoscimenti tutto l'essenziale**, nell'accessorio rimaneva sempre qualcosa che swann non si era imaginato, che lo opprimeva co la sua novità e finiva col permettergli di mutare i termini del problema della sua gelosia. (MP (it.) : 221)
13.[2] **Uzalud je Odeta izostavljala u svom priznanju sve ono bitno**, u sporednome je uvek ostajalo nešto što Svan nikada nije mogao zamisliti, što ga je poražavalo svojom novinom i što će mu potom omogućiti da promeni postavke problema svoje ljubomore. (MPŽ : 183)
14. Et **il avait beau traverser une ville de pierre** pour se rendre en quelque hôtel clos, ce qui était sans cesse devant ses yeux, c'était un parc qu'il possédait près de Combray,… (MP : 315-316)
14.[1] **E per quanto**, nel recarsi in qualche chiuso palazzo, **attraversasse una città di pietra**, la visione che di continuo gli stava davanti agli occhi era quella di un parco ch'egli possedeva presso Combray,… (MP (it.) : 110)

[20] On pourrait parler éventuellement d'une sorte de « subordination implicite » (Wagner-Pinchon 1962).

14.[2] **Iako je prolazio kamenim gradom** da bi otišao u neku zatvorenu palatu, *jednako* mu je pred očima bio park u blizini Kombrea,… (MPŽ : 86)

Dans les exemples (12, 13) la locution *avoir beau* est traduite en italien par la locution équivalente *aver un bel* (*bell*'devant une voyelle), et en serbe par l'adverbe *(u)zalud* (en vain).[21] Dans l'exemple (14) en italien et en serbe on a une subordonnée concessive.

3.4. préposition *sans* + infinitif

Avant d'entamer l'analyse de cette construction en tant que construction implicite *à sens concessif*, nous donnerons certaines remarques concernant son emploi et sa classification : dans la plupart des cas, cette construction sert de complément circonstanciel de manière.[22] En italien, les propositions introduites par la construction équivalente (*senza* + *infinitif*) sont classifiées comme propositions implicites de manière (*modales*), plus précisement propositions de manière marquant l'*exclusion* – it. *proposizioni modali esclusive* (Terić 2005; Patota : 2003) ou tout simplement propositions marquant l'*exclusion*– it. *proposizioni esclusive* (Dardano-Trifone 1997).

Dans les exemples suivants, cette construction a un sens concessif [23]:

15. Mais à un moment donné, **sans pouvoir nettement distinguer un contour, donner un nom à ce qui lui plaisait**, charmé tout d'un coup, il avait cherché à recueillir la phrase ou l'harmonie - (…) - qui passait et qui lui avait ouvert plus largement l'âme, … (MP : 247)

[=Mais à un moment donné, **bien qu'il ne pût nettement distinguer un contour, donner un nom à ce qui lui plaisait**,…]

15.[1]Ma ad un tratto, **senza poter chiaramente distinguere un contorno, dare un nome a ciò che gli piaceva**, d'improvviso rapìto, aveva cercato di cogliere la frase o l'armonia - (…) – che passava e che più largamente gli aveva aperto l'anima,… (MP (it.) : 42)

[21] Il s'agit d'un ensemble de deux propositions juxtaposées, dont l'une contient l'adverbe *(u)zalud* (en vain), ce qui donne un sens concessif à l'ensemble entier.

[22] Une telle sémantique est claire dans l'exemple suivant : Mais tandis que chacune de ces liaisons, ou chacun de ces flirts, avait été la réalisation plus ou moins complète d'un rêve né de la vue d'un visage ou d'un corps que Swann avait, spontanément, **sans s'y efforcer**, trouvés charmants…(MP : 231-232)/Ma mentre tutti quei legami, o tutti quei flirts, erano stati a volta a volta l'attuazione più o meno completa di un sogno nato dalla vista di un volto o di un corpo che Swann spontaneamente, **senza sforzavisi**, aveva trovati attraenti,... (MP (it.) : 27)/Ali, dok su svaka od tih veza ili svako od tih udvaranja bili, manje-više, potpuno ostvarenje nekog sna, što se izrodio pri viđenju jednog lica ili tela koje je Svan spontano, **bez usiljavanja**, našao da je ljupko,... (MPŽ : 12)

[23] Voir la note de bas de page N°. 9.

[=Ma ad un tratto**, sebbene lui non potesse chiaramente distinguere un contorno, dare un nome a ciò che gli piaceva**,…]
15.[2]Ali u jednome trenutku, **premda nije mogao jasno da razabere nikakav obris ni da imenuje nekako ono što mu se svidelo**, on je nastojao da prikupi tu frazu u letu - (...) – od koje mu se duša širom otvorila,... (MPŽ : 26)
16.Depuis si longtemps il avait renoncé à appliquer sa vie à un but idéal et la bornait à la poursuite de satisfactions quotidiennes, qu'il croyait, **sans jamais se le dire formellement**, que cela ne changerait plus jusqu'à sa mort; (MP : 248)
[=…qu'il croyait, **bien que jamais il ne se le fût formellement dit**, que cela ne changerait plus jusqu'à sa mort;]
16.[1]Da tanto tempo aveva rinunziato ad applicare la sua vita a uno scopo ideale e la limitava alla caccia di soddisfazioni quotidiane, sì da esser giunto a pensare, **senza mai dirselo formalmente,** che avrebbe tirato avanti così fino alla morte (MP (it.) : 44)
[=sì da esser giunto a pensare, **sebbene non se lo fosse mai detto formalmente,** che avrebbe tirato avanti così fino alla morte ;]
16.[2] On tako odavno beše odustao od toga da svoj život podredi nekom idealnom cilju i ograničavao ga na traženje svakodnevnih zadovoljstava da je verovao, **iako to u sebi nikada nije izričito pomislio**, da se to više neće promeniti do njegove smrti (MPŽ : 26)

Dans les exemples analysés la construction française *préposition sans + infinitif* est traduite de façon conséquente en italien par la construction de structure identique (préposition *senza* + infinitif), et en serbe par la subordonné concessive explicite.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Après avoir fait une étude du répertoire des constructions implicites à sens concessif en français, italien et en serbe, nous pouvons conclure que ce répertoire est également vaste dans les trois langues observées.

D'un autre côté, l'analyse du corpus nous a amené aux conclusions suivantes (voir TABLEAU I):

Le français et italien ont montré un haut degré de correspondance concernant l'emploi des constructions implicites : des quinze exemples français contenant une construction implicite, cette construction implicite est remplacée par une subordonnée concessive explicite uniquement dans deux exemples italiens.

Ensuite, les constructions implicites françaises et italiennes montrent aussi un haut degré de correspondance concernant la forme même (fr. *tout* + gérondif – it. *pur* + gérondif; fr. *malgré* + substantif – it. *malgrado* + substantif; fr.

locution *avoir beau* + infinitif – it. locution *aver un bel* + infinitif; fr. préposition *sans* + infinitif – it. préposition *senza* + infinitif).

Quant au serbe, au contraire, dans la plupart des cas la construction implicite des deux langues romanes est remplacée par une subordonnée concessive explicite. Seule la constuction préposition *malgré* + substantif est traduite, dans tous les exemples par la construction formellement et sémantiquement équivalente : préposition *uprkos* + substantif (au datif).

D'après ce qui vient d'être dit, nous concluons que l'analyse du corpus a confirmé les suppositions qui étaient à la base de cette recherche. En fait, le français et l'italien montrent une importante correspondance concernant la fréquence et le choix des moyens implicites de l'expression de la concession, par opposition à la langue serbe, où domine l'emploi de la proposition subordonnée concessive explicite.

TABLEAU 1:

FRANÇAIS	ITALIEN	SERBE
***tout* + *gérondif* (4 exemples)**	**1. *pur* + *gérondif* (2 exemples)** **2.** proposition implicite à sens concesif **(1 exemple)** **3.** proposition explicite concessive **(1 exemple)**	proposition explicite concessive **(4 exemples)**
***malgré* + substantif (6 exemples)**	**1. malgrado+ substantif (1 exemple)** **2. nonostante+substantif (2 exemples)** **3. ad onta di + substantif (2 exemples)** **4.** proposition explicite concessive **(1 exemple)**	1. ***uprkos* + substantif au datif (6 exemples)**
***avoir beau* + infinitif (3 exemples)**	**1. *aver un bel* + infinitif (2 exemples)** **2.** proposition explicite concessive **(1 exemple)**	**1. *(u)zalud* (2 exemples)** **2.** proposition explicite concessive **(1 exemple)**
***sans* + infinitif (2 exemples)**	***senza* + infinitif (2 exemples)**	proposition explicite concessive **(2 exemples)**

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ADVERBIALS WITH CONCESSIVE MEANING IN FRENCH AND ITALIAN AND THEIR EQUIVALENTS IN SERBIAN

Summary

This research deals with the category of concessionality in French, Italian and Serbian. The research establishes the inventory of formal means and syntactic procedures by which concessionality is formalized in the languages being analyzed, at the level of adverbials (without conjugated verb). The goal of this study is to first identify various procedures for expressing concessionality at this syntactic level and then, in accordance with the contrastive approach, to determine and systematize the structural congruences and incongruences in French, Italian and Serbian.

Keywords: concessionality, French, Italian, Serbian.

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FORTRESS EUROPE UNDER SIEGE: THE REPRESENTATION OF THE EUROPEAN MIGRANT CRISIS IN POLITICAL CARTOONS

Integrating the theoretical framework of Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2004, 2011, 2014; Musolff 2004, 2011, 2016) with research on multimodality from a cognitive viewpoint (Bounegru & Forceville 2011; Forceville 2007, 2009; Forceville & Urios-Aparisi 2009; Pinar Sanz 2015), we explore how the topic of the EU migrant crisis is communicated by means of the FORTRESS EUROPE metaphor in the pictorial and multimodal discourse of political cartoons. The data for the analysis consists of political cartoons gathered from various media available online during 2017, which all portray the EU as a fortress with cemented borders – a secluded space, closely guarded and surrounded by walls and fences. Following the methodology suggested by Bounegru and Forceville (2011), we try to show how the multimodally and a metaphorically constructed image of the EU as a fortress appears to be instrumental in conveying a negative axiological value and "the qualities of systematic Othering" (KhosraviNik 2014: 505), thus helping perceive "Others" as a threatening force against which the EU should be fended off.

Keywords: Critical Metaphor Analysis, multimodality, political cartoons, migrant crisis, fortress Europe.

1. INTRODUCTION

It is now widely acknowledged that present-day migrations have impacted significantly on public discourses of many countries. From a cognitive linguistic point of view, the topic of the European migrant crisis is a fertile ground for research "due to its rich potential for polemical and emotional language as well as its socio-political and historical significance" (Musolff 2011: 7). There is a great deal of studies which bear witness to "how metaphor is employed persuasively to provide cognitive frames for perspectives on social issues", such as migration (e.g. Charteris-Black 2006; El Refaie 2001; Gabrielatos & Baker 2008; Hart 2010, 2011a, 2011b; Musolff 2011, 2015; Neagu & Colipcă-Ciobanu 2014; Santa Ana 2002; etc.). Thus, the typical figurative characterisations of migration explored so far are "a natural disaster (hence the pervasive FLOOD imagery), an

invasion of enemies, an epidemic, or the spread of disease-carrying, parasitic organisms" (Musolff 2011: 12; see also Musolff 2016).[1]

The focus of our present paper, however, is on the FORTRESS EUROPE metaphor, which is a recurring metaphor activated in times of increased mass population movement. Originally, the FORTRESS EUROPE metaphor was used in media discourse and political rhetoric when the processes of the EU integration and enlargement were initiated.[2] Thus Chaban, Bain, and Stats (2007: 85-86), analysing the Australasian news media coverage of the 2004 EU enlargement, write that "[t]he images of doors being closed and safeguarded evoked an interpretation of the 'European building' in terms of a fortress". The authors add that the evidence shows that this heavily guarded *fortress* is portrayed as looking for any opportunities to *restrict* access to it. Similarly, Zinken (2007: 17) finds that the metaphor of the *European fortress* "expresses the impossibility for aspiring new members to enter into the European Union" and that this metaphor framed the public discourse on European unification in the 1990s.[3]

In this paper we explore how this metaphor is used in political cartoons, a prime example of multimodal discourse, and demonstrate how it may be instrumental in depicting the recent European migrant crisis due to its pictorial translatability into the universal language of images (Musolff 1996). Moreover, the FORTRESS EUROPE metaphor has also been proved to be particularly apt for the criticism of the EU migration policy, which is why our main aim is to show how the non-verbally and multimodally constructed image of the EU as a fortress in political cartoons appears to be instrumental in conveying a negative axiological value and "the qualities of systematic Othering" (KhosraviNik 2014: 505), thus helping perceive immigrants as "Others", or a threatening force against which the EU should be fended off.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Our analysis focuses on the organisation of what Musolff (2006) calls *metaphor scenario*, which draws on Fillmore's notion of a conceptual "scene" (Fillmore 1975) as well as on Lakoff's definition of "scenario" as a subtype of

1 Some of these characterisations have also been evidenced in Serbian media discourse on migrants and asylum seekers (see Đurović 2015, Silaški & Đurović 2019).

2 However, the term *fortress Europe* was first used for military propaganda in the Second World War to refer to Continental Europe occupied by Nazi Germany, as opposed to the United Kingdom across the Channel.

3 These findings are also corroborated by similar observations from other studies analysing Serbian media discourse (Silaški, Đurović, & Radić-Bojanić 2009: 133) and the use of the SCHENGEN WALL metaphor, which leads to viewing the EU by Serbian citizens as a *fortress* and an exclusive and impenetrable space.

idealised cognitive models (Lakoff 1987). Metaphor scenarios "constitute an essential feature of metaphor use in public discourse registers" (Musolff 2006: 28) and "help to shape the course of public debates and conceptualizations of political target topics by framing the attitudinal and evaluative preferences in the respective discourse communities" (Musolff 2006: 28). They allow us to search "for recurring argumentative, narrative and stance-taking patterns in corpora of present-day metaphor use" and "to refine our understanding of the metaphors' degree of entrenchment in their sociocultural setting and the power to 'frame' its discourses" (Musolff 2016: 133). By *contextualising* conceptual metaphors, whose cognitive potential can thus be better assessed, metaphor scenarios are of central importance to our analysis of both verbal and multimodal metaphors in media discourse related to the topic of Europe's migrant crisis.

Following Forceville (2007, 2009) and Forceville and Urios-Aparisi (2009) we also employ the theory of multimodality, which investigates how metaphorical meaning emerges from the interaction between two or more modes, as visual or "non-verbal metaphors often have targets and/or sources that are cued in more than one mode simultaneously" (Forceville 2009: 24). Our analysis of political cartoons pertaining to the European migrant crisis aims to show how the multimodal discourse under consideration functions "argumentatively and rhetorically" (Tseronis & Forceville 2017: 2), i.e. how the various semiotic modes (visual/non-verbal and verbal) combine and "play a role in the procedure of advancing a standpoint and testing its acceptability", as well as "construct or address specific audience in a certain rhetorical situation" (Tseronis & Forceville 2017: 4-5).

3. POLITICAL CARTOONS

As already said, the analysis of multimodality of metaphors in this paper focuses on the genre of political cartoons. El Refaie (2009b: 184-5) defines a political cartoon as "an illustration, usually in a single panel, published in the editorial or comments pages of a newspaper" which addresses "a current political issue or event, a social trend, or a famous personality, in a way that takes a stand or presents a particular point of view". On the one hand, political cartoons "tell an imaginary story about a make-believe world", while on the other, "they refer to real-life events and characters" (El Refaie 2009b: 186). This relationship between the real and the imaginary is metaphorical in nature, "inviting people to map properties from a more tangible area of reality onto one that is more abstract" (El Refaie 2009b: 186). This feature of political cartoon genre makes it prone to the analysis from a cognitive linguistic perspective, because, in order to interpret the intended meaning, the reader needs to be involved in the "metaphorical process of transferring meaning from the make-believe to the real world"

(El Refaie 2009a: 174). In political cartoons this is "conveyed predominantly in the visual mode", although "most cartoon metaphors also rely to some extent on verbal cues" (El Refaie 2009a: 174), as will also be shown later in our paper.

4. DATA COLLECTION AND METHODOLOGY

The cartoons used for the analysis were collected online. Namely, having previously explored elsewhere (see Silaški & Đurović 2019) the verbal manifestations of the FORTRESS EUROPE metaphor in migrant discourse, our intention was to establish how this metaphor is used for the same purpose in political cartoons, "a very specific genre, with its own history, distinctive styles, conventions and communicative purposes" (El Rafai 2009b: 184). In order to collect the data for the analysis, we conducted a Google image search, using "fortress Europe", "migrant crisis" and "EU" as key words. The search, conducted during 2017, provided us with a total of twelve cartoons, all depicting the migrant crisis. The cartoons were published in diverse media, ranging from well-established daily and weekly newspapers and magazines such as *The Economist*, *El Pais*, *The Baltimore Sun*, *Suddeutsche Zeitung* and *The Japan Times*, to news portals and personal blogs as well as the largest searchable database of political cartoons – www.politicalcartoons.com. It was beyond the scope of this paper to look into the different ideologies underlying the sources of the cartoons selected for the analysis – our only criteria were that the cartoons were metaphorical and that the caption accompanying the cartoon (if any) was in English. The metaphor identification procedure for the data was conducted following the method suggested by Bounegru and Forceville (2011) and their clear criteria for the identification of metaphors in multimodal discourse pertaining to the global financial crisis.

As far as mono- and multimodality of the selected cartoons is concerned, there are only three cartoons which contained only pictorial, i.e. monomodal images of the EU migrant crisis. In all other cartoons, the topic of the European migrant crisis is either verbally anchored, mostly in the accompanying caption, or visually rendered by means of suggestive images or symbols. In addition, two cartoons comprised concurrent verbal and visual manifestations of the migrant crisis as the target domain. Out of a total of twelve collected cartoons, nine will be used here to illustrate our main points.

5. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Our analysis of the selected political cartoons has shown that the EU migrant crisis is depicted by means of the two prominent metaphor scenarios – the CONTAINER and the MOVEMENT.

5.1. The CONTAINER scenario

The FORTRESS EUROPE metaphor belongs to the more comprehensive and complex CONTAINER metaphor scenario which, according to Musolff, is based on a firmly established conceptualisation of the nation(state)

> as a *container* with distinct *boundaries*, which separate those *on the outside* from those *inside*: immigrants are thus *outsiders* who want to *come/move into the container*. The *container* is often conceptualized as a *building* that has *doors* and other openings that can be *closed*, *open* or *half-open* (Musolff 2015: 45).

Such a conceptualisation of the state as a CONTAINER, with all its structural elements, allows the depiction of the EU as a house, so we often hear metaphorical expressions such as 'building the European house', 'entering the European house', 'being/knocking at the EU door', 'queuing in front of the EU house', 'being at the EU's doorstep', or 'waiting in the EU anteroom' (see e.g. Đurović 2013; Schäffner 1996; Silaški & Đurović 2014; Silaški et al. 2009). This structural metaphor, used to construct the identity of the European Union, however, although in use ever since the 1980s, has evolved in discourses and over time, so that the once Common European House has now begun to take another form in metaphorical terms.

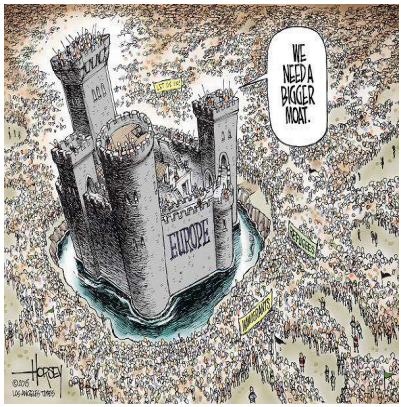
In the cartoons from our data collection, resting on both non-verbal and verbo-pictorial instantiations, the EU is conceptualised as a FORTRESS/CASTLE. Thus, the images of a closed door (cartoon No. 1), a raised drawbridge (cartoon No. 2), high, defensive walls, fences, gates and moats (cartoons No. 2 and 3 respectively), which all belong to the pervasive CONTAINER scenario, accompanied with verbal cues 'Europe' (cartoon No. 3) or explicit 'Fortress Europe' (cartoons No. 4 and No. 5) – contribute to perceiving the EU as a fortress/castle, that is as a space, closely guarded and surrounded by walls and fences viewed as boundaries which separate the interior from the exterior. The EU thus turns into a secluded EU-space, with strict borders between the EU and non-EU space.

The non-EU space is filled with immigrants, pictorially represented as standing in front of the closed door (cartoon No. 1), or around the formidable Europe fortress (cartoon No. 3), or as being allowed to enter the fortress Europe only through a half-open door (cartoon No. 4). This, on the one hand, affords a construal of the EU as a united space protected by fences and barriers which cannot be broken into, and on the other hand, immigrants as belonging to outer EU-space. Cartoon No. 5 particularly attests to this characterization of the EU as a fortress, in which the visual instantiations of the huge fortress wall rimmed with the razor fence are accompanied with verbal renderings – the ironical text *Welcome to Europe! No climbing, no flying, don't use ladders!* written on the board in front of the fortress, and the equally sardonic caption *Europe a fortress?*

What are you talking about?! Can't you see – the door is wide open!. The emotional and cognitive appeals of the FORTRESS EUROPE metaphor represented in this cartoon do not only help to exclude outsiders but also to make a sharp distinction between insiders and those on the outside, or between those 'inside the fortress' and those 'outside the fortress', thus underlining the difference between 'us' and 'them'.

Cartoon No. 1

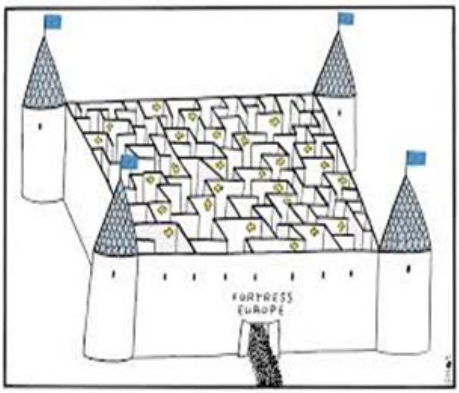
Cartoon No. 2



Cartoon No. 3

Therefore, what are the associated evaluative 'scenarios' used in the multimodal discourse of political cartoons used to describe the EU migrant crisis? The image of the fortress or castle is usually equated with security and *for those inside* this confined space offers shelter from dangers and threats coming from the outside. The walls and fences built around the EU by those inside the EU fortress help to create the image of the EU as a jeopardised space which needs to be protected against the disorderly crowd. This is why the FORTRESS EUROPE metaphor provides a neat conceptual and ideological pattern for legitimising activities of the EU officials aimed at excluding or casting out immigrants, perceived as aliens.

The logic of the *fortress Europe* seems to be synonymous with providing protection and dispelling fear of immigrants viewed as a threat. Consequently, immigrants have to be prevented from coming closer to the EU so they do not jeopardise the stability of the *EU citadel*. The FORTRESS EUROPE metaphor should supposedly signal heightened care for the EU citizens' protection, which could be efficiently achieved by fencing the EU from the rest of Europe with high walls. This is also viewed as one of the ways to overcome the fear of immigrants, perceived as a danger.



Cartoon No. 4

EUROPE A FORTRESS? WHAT ARE YOU TALKING ABOUT?!
CAN'T YOU SEE - THE DOOR IS OPEN WIDE!

Cartoon No. 5

The conceptualisation of the EU as a FORTRESS by those from the inside of the EU introduces another important notion, that of a loss of control. "Security is closely related to control because something that is represented as dangerous is something that threatens our security because it is 'out of control'" (Charteris-Black 2006: 576). Thus, the image of the fortress Europe in the cartoon No. 3 besieged by what appears to be an infinite number of people verbally cued as 'Immigrants' and 'Refugees' is accompanied by a verbal rendering "We need a bigger moat" by those inside the fortress. This is indicative of the restrictive measures that should be adopted to regain control over the uncontrolled immigration. Against the backdrop of the alarming rise in the number of immigrants wanting and waiting to enter the EU, as well as of those who have already stepped 'behind the fortress gate', "[t]he concept of a loss of control can be equated to the perforation of a container and penetration of a bounded area" (Charteris-Black 2006: 576). In rhetorical terms, this provokes the fear of an external danger, indicating that the EU needs to more energetically fortify its suprastate against the force coming from the outside and prevent any cracks in the walls surrounding the EU 'citadel'. This should also highlight positive overtones attributed to the FORTRESS EUROPE metaphor by the EU discourse participants since building walls and gates and digging deeper ditches are perceived as the protection of the EU-as-a-container against the large movements of migrants and the threat of 'Others' of any sort.

Concrete walls, barbed-wire fences and moats surrounding container-like structures, instantiated in monomodal and/or multimodal ways, appear to strengthen the perception that they are barriers which should defend the *fortress Europe* from everything viewed as non-European and foreign, therefore hostile.

This in turn reinforces the notions of isolation, alienation, and non-belongingness, also accentuated by verbal renderings in the cartoons No. 5 (*Welcome to Europe! No climbing, no flying, don't use ladders! Europe a fortress? What are you talking about?! Can't you see – the door is wide open!*). Trading on the imposed "OUTSIDER scenario" (Musolff 2010: 160), which stems from the most salient structural elements of the FORTRESS EUROPE metaphor, cartoon creators seem to convey the message that migrants are perceived as belonging to the outer-EU space, whose entering the EU space needs to be made more difficult by imposing various hurdles, literally and metaphorically speaking.

5.2. The MOVEMENT scenario

In addition to the CONTAINER scenario, another scenario, that of MOVEMENT, i.e. the more specific MOVEMENT OF WATER scenario, is also prominent in our data, particularly in the cartoons No. 6, 7, 8 and 9. In cartoons No. 6 and No. 7 the target domain is both verbally and visually rendered by means of a rough sea, waves or tidal waves.[4] Cartoons No. 8 and 9 hinge only on a pictorial representation of immigrants as a huge rush of water. As depicted in all these four cartoons, immigrants, conceived of as waves or tidal waves, are about to pour or rush into the EU fortress and flood it.

Cartoon No. 6

Cartoon No. 7

The selected cartoons reveal that the WATER imagery in relation to the EU migrant crisis is overtly or covertly intertwined with the CONTAINER imagery, in

[4] For the conceptualisation of immigrants as a *tidal wave* or *tsunami*, see Charteris-Black 2006, Hart, 2010, Musolff 2016, Santa Ana 2002, etc.

which a *fortress* or a *castle* are used to depict the EU and activate the EU AS A CONTAINER metaphor, acting as a counter-force with the main idea of protecting the state body. On the other hand, the *tidal wave* imagery activates a NATURAL DISASTER scenario, with the underlying implication of a force beyond control. This gives rise to a negative portrayal of immigrants as a force-exerting entity, whose tendency towards action or motion is viewed as an assault on the EU fortress and its integrity, leading to a bursting point, which should be prevented by the EU entity.

Cartoon No. 8

Cartoon No. 9

The pervasive MOVEMENT OF (LARGE AMOUNTS OF) WATER metaphor, which according to Musolff (2016) fits into the wider conceptual complex of a *mass movement*, as used in cartoons No. 6-9, seems to imply not only the image of the unimpeded force in physical sense, therefore a loss of control over that force, but also the magnitude of that force, conveyed by the image of a large number of immigrants. This magnitude is particularly emphasised by the images of immigrants in the cartoons No. 8 and 9, where they are equated with an immense mass of water. Such framing of migrants as an inanimate phenomenon (water), serves to pinpoint their both de-humanising and de-personalised character. More importantly, though, the cartoons No. 7 and 9, which both contain the images of migrants in boats being rushed to the EU shores, and the cartoons No. 6 and 8, where migrants perceived as waves or a tidal wave threaten to flood and destroy the EU fortress, also serve to reinforce the aspect of 'securitisation' of migration. This means understanding migration only as an issue of security for the host country – the EU, and constructing immigrants as an implicit danger to that secu-

rity. Specifically, the image of the EU officials who hurriedly fortify the Schengen wall of the EU fort to fend off the immigrants metaphorically conceived of as huge waves, therefore as a menace to the EU, are accompanied by the verbal renderings "*Manage the waves or see the collapse of our fort!*" – the cartoon No. 6, or "*We're safe in here*." in the cartoon No. 9. This seems to not only highlight the aspects of social insecurity, anxiety and fear posed by migrants in the EU member states, but also predispose further restrictive policies of the EU hosts, depicted as the additional fortification of the EU fortress.

6. CONCLUSION

Our aim in this paper was to investigate how the FORTRESS EUROPE metaphor, together with the CONTAINER and the MOVEMENT metaphor scenarios, contribute to the structuring of the concept of the European migrant crisis in the multimodal discourse of political cartoons. Our analysis has shown that the conceptualisation of the EU and its space as a FORTRESS, protected by walls, fences, gates and other elements relating to the CONTAINER scenario, buttresses a positive cognitive construction of the EU's Self, on the one hand, and a negative cognitive construction of immigrants as the Other, on the other. Either instantiated by persuasive images and symbols or couched in the text, the FORTRESS EUROPE metaphor also underlines other dichotomies, such as 'Us' vs. 'Them'; 'EU' vs. 'immigrants'; 'security and protection' vs. 'danger and threat', etc., and has proven to be very effective in demarcating the 'in' group from the 'out' group.

With this scenario-oriented analysis of the FORTRESS EUROPE metaphor in political cartoons we hope to have attested to this metaphor's communicative multifunctionality and its twofold significance for cognition: "it is both the product of and a means to shape thought, emotion and social perception" (Musolff 2016: 137). We also believe that our analysis of the FORTRESS EUROPE metaphor and the noted implications of such framing of the EU's migrant crisis may contribute to recognizing the need for the critical interpretation of this metaphor and the biases it carries.

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TVRĐAVA EVROPA POD OPSADOM: PRIKAZ EVROPSKE MIGRANTSKE KRIZE U POLITIČKIM KARIKATURAMA

Rezime

Objedinjujući teorijski okvir kritičke analize metafora (Charteris-Black 2004, 2011, 2014; Musolff 2004, 2011, 2016) sa teorijom multimodalnosti sa kognitivnog stanovišta (Bounegru & Forceville 2011; Pinar Sanz 2015), u ovom radu se bavimo temom evropske migrantske krize i načinima njenog prenošenja pomoću metafore TVRĐAVA EVROPA u slikovnom i multimodalnom diskursu političkih karikatura. Budući da je izuzetno pogodna za formulisanje kritika upućenih migrantskoj politici Evropske Unije, metafora TVRĐAVA EVROPA, koja počiva na obuhvatnijoj i kompleksnijoj slikovnoj shemi SADRŽATELJA, zajedno sa metaforičkim scenarijem POPLAVE, predstavlja moćno sredstvo za prikaz evropske migrantske krize u političkim karikaturama, i to zahvaljujući svojstvu metafora da govore univerzalnim jezikom slika (Musolff 1996). Analizirane karikature prikupljene su iz različitih medija dostupnih onlajn tokom 2017. godine i sve prikazuju Evropsku Uniju kao tvrđavu sa zacementiranim granicama – kao osamljeno, izdvojeno i pomno čuvano mesto ograđeno zidovima i omeđeno ogradama. Koristeći metodologiju i način identifikacije multimodalnih metafora iz Bunegri i Forsvil (2011), cilj nam je da pokažemo kako metaforički i multimodalno konstruisana slika Evropske Unije kao tvrđave postaje moćan instrument u pokušaju da se prenese negativna aksiološka orijentacija i ideja o odstranjivanju Drugog, čime se Drugi predstavlja kao preteća sila od koje se Evropa mora odbraniti.

Ključne reči: kritička analiza metafora, multimodalnost, političke karikature, migrantska kriza, tvrđava Evropa.

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HOW THE INTERNET FUNCTIONS AS HYPERREALITY IN *COSMOPOLIS* BY DON DELILLO AND *SREBRNA MAGLA PADA* BY SRĐAN SRDIĆ

Introduced by Jean Baudrillard, hyperreality is utterly constructed and simulated reality. As its basic unit, Baudrillard recognizes a simulacrum – a copy that no longer refers to any original. It creates a world that is essentially a simulation, relying mostly on two of its major filters: technology and the media. In DeLillo and Srdić's fiction, a major filter of the contemporary world is the Internet. It creates a unique hyperreality in which people can no longer make a distinction between what is real and what is not. In *Cosmopolis* and *Srebrna magla pada (Silver Fog Is Falling)*, the protagonists operate on an almost abstract level, leading their lives in accordance with the media and the Internet. The extent to which their lives are affected by their virtual existence proves Baudrillard's claim that there seems to be no outside of the contemporary hyperreality. The Internet functions as a hyperreality by transcending the borders of the virtual and influencing the protagonists' perception and treatment of the real world around them.

Key words: hyperreality, Internet, Don DeLillo, Srđan Srdić, Jean Baudrillard

1. INTRODUCTION

A dominant force in today's life and communication, the Internet has fascinated scientists, researchers, common people and writers in equal measure. It seems to be inseparable from almost all aspects of human life, so much so that a world without the Internet is barely fathomable today. In such a context, it was inevitable that it entered even literary circles and become a topic of literary exploration. Such is the case with Don DeLillo's *Cosmopolis* and Srđan Srdić's *Srebrna magla pada* (*Silver Fog Is Falling)*, two novels which rarely allow themselves to refer to the Internet explicitly, yet are wrapped in the virtual world of different Internet communities, both professional and casual. *Cosmopolis* depicts a world which owes its existence to the Internet, after all. It is concerned with a high-tech society whose inhabitants are essentially isolated and lost in a society

which no longer functions within the social sphere. Similar issues are explored in *Srebrna magla pada*, although a depiction of Serbian reality has little to do with the technologically advanced Manhattan from DeLillo's novel. Nevertheless, it seems to be equally affected by the Internet, since its protagonists are just as lost and confused as the ones in America are.

The effect of the Internet may seem inconsequential at the beginning, since both novels deal with serious questions of one's identity and failed communication and interpersonal relationships. Yet, under the surface, the Internet, like all other media, proves to be more or less connected to these issues, if not as their direct cause, then as an active factor that rebukes any effort of surpassing the state of confusion. Its influence is seen on various levels in both novels. The first and most obvious is the linguistic level. The effects which the Internet has on language are very peculiar, yet in these novels they serve one purpose – to show how the virtual enters the factual reality and reshapes it according to its own standards. This effect is even more frightening if we consider how the change occurred despite no one realized it even took place. The sentence constructions become clipped and fragmented, resembling modernist prose, yet their motivation and causes are far more trivial. For example, different terms are borrowed from the Internet-associated communities and introduced into everyday speech. The second level of online intrusion into real life is the confusion of time and facts. In other words, the protagonists become unable to distinguish between the factual and the fictional/virtual and choose to live in the latter at the expense of the former. A symptom of this shifted perspective that is prominent in both novels is insomnia, a frequent postmodernist tool for signaling *ostranenie* – the defamiliarization of reality and life, as well as its participants. Finally, another effect of the Internet can be seen on the level of interpersonal human relationships, which are mostly failed and dysfunctional in both DeLillo and Srdić's novels.

2. THE THEORY OF HYPERREALITY

There are few theories more relevant to the concept of contemporary media than Baudrillard's theory of simulacra. It rests upon a single phenomenon of a simulacrum – a copy that denies any resemblance and connection to the original it was shaped after. A copy that belongs to no original is like "the map that precedes the territory" (Baudrillard 1994: 1). It stands as a signifier of the actual, denying that it is essentially a mere replica. Different simulacra then jointly constitute the entire new reality based on the process of simulation. Such reality is recognized in Baudrillard's writing as the concept of hyperreality. It is directly constructed by people with the help of modern technology and media, which act as filters, and it consists almost solely of information, which has been

previously filtered, if not entirely falsified. Different theoreticians often refer to different forms of virtual realities as to "an infocosm" (Slotkin 2012: 871). These definitions seem to us today as detailed predictions of what we now know as the modern-day Internet.

The Internet might also be interpreted in terms of the postmodern crash of space. Historically, both in literature and science, people have been pushing the boundaries of the known world to gain new knowledge, but also to achieve a distance from the known. This distance would allow a dash of critical space or space for criticism. As Blanchot puts it, art (and, thus, literature) is "criticism of life" (Blanchot 2015: 218). Baudrillard also discusses the trend which sees the destruction of the space for critical thinking or discussion. He observes that "from one order of simulacra to another", there is what he calls "the tendency [...]toward the reabsorption of this distance, of this gap that leaves room for an ideal or critical projection (Baudrillard 1994: 121-122). The crash of the said space initiated the quest for a similar space in different narratives. Such pushing of the borders, or frontiers, for example, we see in the form of the Western frontier trope in American literature. As Rudolph writes, the Western frontier represents "perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with new opportunities" (Rudolph 1962: 78). She further discusses a "metaphorical connotation" of the frontier and states that it has become "impossible to ascertain the exact time when frontier lost its geographical denotation and became primarily figurative" (Rudolph 1962: 90). Matić writes that the West as a physical space no longer exists (Matić 2013: 176). The West and westward quest have become entirely abstract, metaphorical concepts. Inevitably, however metaphorical it became, the West had to be surpassed as a concept, as the nation reached the furthest Western point and conquered the land.

After several other, the most suitable new frontier eventually presented itself courtesy of science fiction, although it later found its way into different genres, as well. It was virtual reality, a new vast space for the heroes to explore. It functions on similar principles as the previously mentioned frontiers since it implies "the physical and cognitive conquest of previously inassimilable and symbolically highly charged spaces" (Csicsery-Ronay Jr. 1992: 222-223). The reason why the virtual has been so widely accepted may lie in the fact that it is "a purely human system, a consensual hallucination, with no objective status" (Csicsery-Ronay Jr. 1992: 224). The difference between virtual reality and the Internet could be seen in the locus for their respective existences. Virtual reality is usually "an imaginary space within the user's mind [...] that the user's consciousness and point of view can enter" (Slotkin 2012: 865). In other words, virtual reality comes into existence solely and directly through the mind, via a technological gadget. Otherwise, it is completely disconnected from the objective reality. On the other hand, the Internet is not necessarily bound to one's mind only,

although the mind can be interpreted as the point of access to this hyperreality, as well. It exists almost simultaneously with the objective reality, and through the years, it became deeply intertwined with it. The beauty of both spaces is that they do not have any geographical or physical boundaries – they can stretch and spread as wide as human imagination can, with new opportunities arising with each new generation so as to keep this topic fresh and interesting.

Eventually, the Internet has established itself as one of the dominant media in real life, as well; a phenomenon fit not only for literature, but also for social life and communication. In media studies, the Internet is regarded as a relatively new concept and is marked as one of the new media that demands a reconsideration of the "approach to traditional media in today's era of rapid technological and cultural globalization and convergence" (Goggin and McMelland 2009: 294). We could also interpret the Internet as the escalation of television culture and the notion of the spectacle, since "an order of simulacra only establishes itself on the alibi of the previous order" (Baudrillard 1994: 64). This would imply that the Internet follows the exact same patterns of the older media, be it television, radio or newspapers, but only maximizes its impact thanks to technology and the different manners of operating it helped develop. In terms of the media patterns and its influence on the quotidian, Kellner defines media culture as a phenomenon in which "images, sounds, and spectacles help produce the fabric of everyday life, dominating leisure time, shaping political views and social behavior, and providing the materials out of which people forge their very identities" (Kellner 2003a: 1). He states that television, radio and the old modern media (i.e. media before the Internet) each provides different referential models for behavior and self-image which essentially "helps shape the prevalent view of the world and deepest values" (Kellner 2003a: 1). Bearing this in mind, the Internet fits these roles perfectly, as it seems to be present in the everyday life of so many people to an extent that surpasses the influence that television and radio ever hoped to have. Hence, it is obvious that the initial purpose of the Internet "originally intended for communication between scientists and for military use" now sees it become "ubiquitous throughout society", a merger that penetrates and "blends with local cultures" (Cheng 2009: 146). Both Debord and Kellner wrote about a stadium in human civilization where the social sphere has become engulfed in media, so much so that one can no longer separate the two. This is achieved due to the effect of spectacles, "phenomena of media culture that embody contemporary society's basic values, serve to initiate individuals into its way of life, and dramatize its controversies and struggles, as well as its modes of conflict resolution" (Kellner 2003b: 2). Debord supports these claims in the following passage:

> Understood on its own terms, the spectacle proclaims the predominance of appearances and asserts that all human life, which is to say all social life, is mere appearance. But any critique capable of apprehending the spectacle's essential character must expose it as a visible negation of life and as a negation of life that has invented a visual form for itself. (Debord 1995: 14)

In these terms, the Internet is both a spectacle and an entity formed by various spectacles. Furthermore, one can discuss the Internet as a unique blend of social sphere and media, a step into the virtual, establishment of a new form of reality. This occurs "[w]hen a technology is transferred out of its original context of design, production, and use into a different and very specific sociocultural context" at which point "it may intertwine both actively and passively with the new contexts" (Cheng 2009: 146). In other words, the medium becomes the message, as McLuhan claims (McLuhan 1967: 107). This reality fits perfectly into what Baudrillard described as hyperreality – a reality derived in the process of simulation within which everything is constructed, fabricated and artificial. Such claims can be confirmed if we observe the common practice on the Internet, especially on social media. People are allowed to seemingly invent their identities practically from scratch (or loosely based on their real selves), fabricating their names, nicknames, even forging their own images and appearance. In such an environment, it is inevitable to discuss the influence said actions have on the quality not only of human interaction, but also on their respective lives. Starting from the assumption that the Internet is mainly designed to be a medium, we can discuss the way in which it has failed to act as a decent and neutral communication channel. For the communication to be successful, the communication and translation theory teach us that the message should not be distorted, under no circumstances. In other words, the "received and decoded message is a precise reproduction of the original message" and it should not be transformed "while it travels from one interlocutor to another" (Stroinska and Drzazga 2017: 95). Yet, the Internet proves to be an active participant in any communication, insofar as it actively modifies (and sometimes even fabricates, as with the present day phenomenon of fake news) not just the messages, but interlocutors' perception of each other, themselves and the world around them. It is also obvious that the Internet can "bring forth some unexpected influences to society" as it "is never a pure technological tool that can be simply understood in either positive or negative ways" but also a force that can "change our form of communicative action" (Cheng 2009: 150). Baudrillard goes even further, believing that the media can directly create not only an event, but also the entire reality, as discussed in this passage:

> What else do the media dream of besides creating the event simply by their presence? Everyone decries it, but everyone is secretly fascinated by this eventuality.

> Such is the logic of simulacra, it is no longer that of divine predestination, it is that of the precession of models, but it is just as inexorable. And it is because of this that events no longer have meaning: it is not that they are insignificant in themselves, it is that they were preceded by the model, with which their processes only coincided. (Baudrillard 1994: 55-56)

For all of the abovementioned reasons, the hyperreality of the Internet became an important topic of the contemporary writers, many of which see it as a part of everyday life and an important factor in the construction of human identity, especially in American contemporary literature. Serbian contemporary literature has not been largely preoccupied with this topic, it seems, although younger writers, such as Srđan Srdić, followed in the footsteps of American writers such as Don DeLillo concerning the notion of the Internet and generally the media. The two novels mentioned here – *Cosmopolis* by Don DeLillo and *Srebrna magla pada* by Srđan Srdić – are largely concerned (however implicitly) with the role the Internet has in everyday lives of their protagonists, as well as its influence on their identity, perspective of reality and self-awareness. The Internet changes the protagonists' perception of reality and their relationships with people around them, creating a dazed state in which they exist isolated within the virtual, despite sharing the physical space with other people.

3. DON DELILLO AND SRĐAN SRDIĆ'S PROTAGONISTS IN THE VIRTUAL

In both *Cosmopolis* and *Silver Fog Is Falling*, the virtual reality that is the Internet seems to have a great influence on the lives of the protagonists. In *Cosmopolis*, Erik Packer practically lives online, even though the focus of the novel is not the Internet per se. We follow the protagonist on his journey through the streets of New York, while he attempts to grasp the deeper meaning of his life that evades him successfully and effortlessly until the very end. The key topics covered in the novel are, on the most obvious level, the isolation of the individual in modern society and the constant, insatiable need for innovation and novelties. Although these are deeply connected with the Internet, they are not necessarily inseparable from it, as they can be related to several other social phenomena. Yet, the Internet is looming over *Cosmopolis* like a haunting presence, nevertheless. There is no open discussion of the Internet and the virtual reality, but it appears in all aspects of Erik Packer's life. The Internet and the modern technology that his limousine is engulfed in make his life possible in the first place, mainly since his job depends on the Internet circulation of information. His home is practically run by the smart gadgets and there is even a livestream broadcasting from

his home over the Internet, as if he lives within a reality show. It is notable that this Internet stream will be an important element of his downfall, fueling the obsession that Packer's nemesis Benno Levin is cultivating throughout the novel. The following description of Packer's limousine provides an insight into how dependent he is on technology:

> He sat in the club chair at the rear of the cabin looking into the array of visual display units. There were medleys of data on every screen, all the flowing symbols and alpine charts, the polychrome numbers pulsing. He absorbed this material in a couple of long still seconds, ignoring the speech sounds that issued from lacquered heads. There was a microwave and a heart monitor. He looked at the spycam on a swivel and it looked back at him. He used to sit here in hand-held space but that was finished now The context was nearly touchless. He could talk most systems into operation or wave a hand at a screen and make it go blank. (DeLillo, 2003: 13)

Moreover, the Internet is the environment that allowed Packer to become filthy rich, to begin with. The world of contemporary economic and financial circles seems to practically exist, if not completely, then for the most part, in the virtual. Businessmen exchange figures, they trade with ones and zeros while the money itself, as a physical guarantee of the long and intimidating ciphers online, seems inconsequential. The money in question here is imaginary, "spurious and immaterial as much as the lives of those who spend it and earn it are"[1] (Paunović 2017: 182). Packer made a fortune predicting the behavior of currencies thanks to the unique hyperreality that he inhabits, which is precisely and directly dependent on the Internet. The key thing about him and his craft is the fact that he seems as though he lives a few seconds into the future, from where he can easily master the circumstances of the present as if in retrospective. This hyperreality is almost an embodiment of a theory represented by Alvin Toffler revolving around the accelerative thrust, which can have "personal and psychological, as well as sociological, consequences" (Toffler 1990: 1). He depicts a society so accelerated in their attempt to get to the future that they live future-oriented almost exclusively. Packer is a poster child for this lifestyle; he may even be considered a pioneer with his futuristic ideas of transferring his mind into the virtual and living on a disc, an option which, sadly for him, remains unavailable in his time.

He is truly a virtual reality inhabitant since everything that happens around him seems to him more real when he sees it on the screen. Whether it is the protest happening outside his car, his movements in reaction to the said protest or even his own death, the event seems incomplete if it has not been filtered through the media and the Internet. The Internet and the media have a special connection

[1] Translated by the author of this paper

in this sense – the Internet and its virtual reality have become the hosts for the modern mass media. Even television seems to have found its new home on the Internet, since Packer watches the news about two assassinations through the same system as the behavior of yen. He seems infatuated with the world of ones and zeros, more than any other character in these two novels, as seen from the following paragraph:

> He understood how much it meant to him, the roll and flip of data on a screen. He studied the figural diagrams that brought organic patterns into play, birdwing and chambered shell. It was shallow thinking to maintain that numbers and charts were the cold compression of unruly human energies, every sort of yearning and midnight sweat reduced to lucid units in the financial markets. In fact data itself was soulful and glowing, a dynamic aspect of the life process. This was the eloquence of alphabets and numeric systems, now fully realized in electronic form, in the zero-oneness of the world, the digital imperative that defined every breath of the planet's living billions. Here was the heave of the biosphere. Our bodies and oceans were here, knowable and whole. (DeLillo 2003: 24)

The situation is similar in *Srebrna magla pada*, even though the society depicted is by far less technologically advanced. The two protagonists Sonja and O spend their days (or rather nights) mostly on the Internet. When they attempt to live in the regular, everyday reality, however, they seem out of place. Either they are deeply involved in thinking about their time spent online or they exhibit certain lack of skills and abilities that they did not miss while spending the time on the Internet. Sonja and O conduct an online interview, and that seems to be the only aspect of this novel involved with the virtual. Yet, the Internet is implicitly manifested in the patterns of behavior that both protagonists exhibit in every aspect of their lives. Their language, and the absence of one, communication, interaction with both other people and the community they belong to, all seem to suggest that they are under the influence of their existence and experiences in the virtual reality. Sonja is about to lose her job as a journalist due to the newspaper's she worked for being shut down. Her last interview, the one she is conducting with O, is even more futile once revealed that it is questionable whether the last issue of the paper is to be printed at all. She holds on tight to the interview nevertheless; so much so that it overshadows all other aspects of her life. We see her living with her family, but the communication with her husband and child seems to be missing almost entirely. Not only is their communication missing, but they also seem not to know each other at times, literally and metaphorically.

> In the sections of his temporary languidness, I have begun to look like everybody else / anybody else. Stores, markets, beauty salons, long telephone exchanges with acquaintances, homework with my son, diving into television programmes,

> cooking, and that man my astonished husband, and that boy who set out to find out everything about the rules of Yahtzee, those two would look at each other; Who is she, that was the question? Who? Someone else lives with us.[2] (Srdić 2017: 73-74)

Although they all live in the same house, their lives do not appear to be as intertwined as those of one family should. She spends her time offline meandering between simple everyday activities and thinking either about the time spent online or about something that is inspired by her time spent online. Given that, by the means of the Internet people can both "know distant things through the screen and the Internet" and "participate in events as if they were right on the scene" (Cheng 2009: 151), it is only logical that the Internet can penetrate into people's immediate realities, too. This is precisely what happens to Sonja; her virtual life creeps into her factual existence so smoothly that she does not even notice it do so.

Meanwhile, O flirts with the Internet occasionally, it seems, yet he looms over this novel in a similar fashion that the Internet does in *Cosmopolis*. He lives isolated in a town that is not his own, far removed from anyone that actually knows him. This isolation is a choice, he actively tries to separate himself from the reality in which he is a part of the community. Furthermore, his isolation is that more extreme insofar as he tries not to speak at all (or as little as possible). Practically the only time he gets to use language is when he is talking to Sonja online. All of this makes him appear more as a ghost, an idea of the man who was once successful, or even a virtual entity himself. Sonja calls him "the man on Skype" (Srdić 2017: 62), but also "the name on books", a man that no longer exists (Srdić 2017: 38). His fragmented Self exists as though in bits and bytes, we see so little of his personality that he is as vague as a virtual profile.

4. THE INTERNET AFFECTING THE LANGUAGE

In terms of language, both novels are very abstract. It is only natural, given that the Internet imposes certain patterns of language and expressions that are used on it on the way people speak, so as to fit the nature of the medium. For example, the sentences become clipped and they flow less continuously as in regular spoken or even written speech. There is an obvious communication problem in both societies of these novels, which is not necessarily solely associated with the Internet, but it indeed shows a strong influence of the virtual patterns of behavior and speech. For example, in *Cosmopolis*, Packer and his colleagues use clipped forms and structures burdened with the terminology that is essentially

[2] Translated by the author of this paper

technical. The language in use is "minimalist" and deliberately so (Paunović 2017: 182). Packer introduces units, concepts and expressions which are way too exact to be used in conversation about normal, ordinary things. He speaks about measuring time in nanoseconds, zeptoseconds and yoctoseconds, his chief of theory discusses the essence of the capital and virtual money all while Packer and his chiefs of other aspects search for something that "charts". His language is deeply marked by technology and everything it stands for. However, when he is in a situation where he needs to communicate with his wife, lover or hairdresser from his childhood (neither of whom belongs to the same professional field as him, and even the same reality as him, it seems), he struggles with words and how to talk to them. One of the reasons for this is the fact that "language does not manage to keep up with the technological advance of humanity"[3] and therefore loses its sense (Paunović 2017: 188). This is perhaps why the Internet language seems strange in everyday conversation, since in modifying itself to fit the online stream of communication, it loses sense in its original form. Therefore, Packer's language makes little sense to those who exist outside of the whirlwind of technology, information or the digital sphere in general.

In *Srebrna magla pada*, the language is even more abstract insofar as it resembles the communication on the Internet all the time. Even when Sonja is wrapped in her thoughts, her stream of consciousness is shaped as a virtual flow of words – clipped, shortened, vague and frequently incomplete. The author uses slashes (/) to specify when her thoughts become broken and she switches to another idea altogether. Perhaps the use of slashes is not completely unintentional since this sign may remind the reader of different directories on a computer or web addresses. Thus, this might imply that her thoughts are organized in the same way as information and online files. Furthermore, she wanders off from one thought to another without much deeper meaning, similarly to how conversations are led on the Internet. When she does use sentences, they resemble more modern-day texts or chat messages than actual full sentences. Her thoughts are presented to the reader in a Joycean stream of consciousness, yet there is more to them than the essentially postmodern traits of this erratic manner of narration. They seem to indicate the way in which online formats of communication take over the language system and become dominant even outside of the virtual. Yet, if this seems as no wonder in Sonja's character, it is peculiar when it appears in O, to say the least. Although he is technically a writer, O is no better at expressing himself, either. He does not use slashes, but his sentences are also clipped and, similarly to Sonja's, often incomplete and not necessarily linearly related (if they are related at all). This is particularly evident from the episode that involves a photo of a Syrian boy who drowned in an attempt to reach safety during

[3] Translated by the author of this paper

the refugee crisis in 2015. Given that the image was spread all over the Internet and made a huge impact on the so-called netizens (citizens of the Internet), this may be another indication of how much time O spends on the web, even though he tries to persuade the reader of the opposite. His stream of thoughts must be affected by the tragedy, but it is difficult to say that his fleeting attention span is completely unrelated to the Internet. He jumps from one thought to another, much like information swirl on the Internet.

What is also distinct about these novels is that neither of the characters seems present in their lives. Erik Packer lives a couple of seconds in the future. O lives only physically, since he is forcing silence upon himself for the most part of the novel and is verbally realized only when he talks to Sonja, as though he has no voice in the real world – only the virtual. Concerning Sonja, she herself does not seem present in her own life. She lost a job as a journalist, which in a way symbolizes her losing her voice, too. Thus lost in the outside world, she seems absent from the life of her family, as well – she is awake when they sleep and engaged in other activities when they are awake; ones that do not necessarily involve a conversation with her loved ones. They all depend on the virtual for context and meaning, even their identities. This is true even for Benno Levin, Packer's sworn enemy, of whose existence he is unaware, who depends on the Internet to give him a purpose or a meaning. He describes how he followed the online stream from Packer's house, mesmerized by the spectacle, even though the scene in question covered a dull and uneventful action of meditation. For him, however, it is a defining moment without which he feels dead, as he himself says:

> I used to watch you meditate, online. The face, the calm posture. I couldn't stop watching. You meditated for hours sometimes. All it did was send you deeper into your frozen heart. I watched every minute. I looked into you. I knew you. It was another reason to hate you, that you could sit in a cell and meditate and I could not. I had the cell all right. But I never had the fixation where I could train the mind, empty the mind, think one thought only. Then you shut down the site. When you shut down the site I was I don't know, dead, for a long time after. (DeLillo 2003: 198)

They are all absent from their lives and the present even further if we consider how the virtual reality is more dominant in their lives. As mentioned afore, Packer needs the screen to prove him that an event is real, Sonja is affected by her online experience at all times and O only allows himself to use language in online chats almost exclusively. In this sense, they seem to operate on more than one plane of existence simultaneously and at all times, which in turn makes them always slightly absent from all the planes in question. In other words, the Internet seems to overlap with real life for all of them. For this reason, the protago-

nists seem to resemble more fabricated virtual personalities than actual persons. Perhaps this is less true for Sonja, who seems somewhat promising of choosing to exist in the real. By the end of the novel, she will at least allow a glimpse of hope that there is still a possibility for her living an authentic, real life. For Eric, who wishes to live on a disc, and O, who wishes to live as a ghost, the future is far gloomier, dare we say catastrophic. Similar goes for Benno Levin, from *Cosmopolis*, whose future is not discussed, but whose state of mind is not promising, to say the least. He is obsessed, not only with Packer, but also with various different diseases that he believes he catches online; he states that he has "online cultural panic mainly, which [he] caught on the Internet" (DeLillo 2003: 56). This is an example of how the Internet and reality overlap quite literally – Levin projects a disease from the virtual to his actual self.

Virtual reality seems to stretch even to the protagonists' everyday reality, but it is not just the language and lack of human interaction that amplify the construction of a peculiar hyperreality they inhabit. The strange atmosphere enveloping all of them also partly comes from them being insomniacs. All of them either sleep insufficiently or do not sleep at all. Packer casually mentions that he functions on a maximum couple of hours of sleep, whereas Sonja explicitly mentions that she does not sleep at all. While there is no open mention of O's sleeping habits, the fact that he chats with Sonja at night and describes his activities during the day suggest that he is not sleeping regularly (or at all) himself. The lack of sleep in postmodern prose seems to be a symptom of a shifted reality, as it deeply affects one's perception of the world around them. These protagonists seem to be delirious at times, especially at those points when the border between the real and the virtual appears to be erased. Packer is not sure whether he is in a movie or he is actually living his life arguably from the point he makes love to his wife on a movie set. He continues to kill his chief of security as if he killed an enemy in a video game and eventually faces his enemy and death imitating movie stars and reenacting scenes from the movies (kicking the doors, shooting himself in the hand etc.). O remains the vaguest of them all; a person who might even be just a dream, a virtually simulated character loosely based on a man who used to be a successful writer. Sonja contemplates the lack of sleep in her life and desperately tries to convince herself it is a good thing. She discusses her gaining more of life than the people who waste their time alive being asleep, mostly, it seems, because she craves more from her life.

> What do I do at night? – they ask at breakfast, the two of them. Me, I don't sleep at night, that I don't do. What do I do? I am quite old, that much is true. If I don't sleep, I have at my disposal more years than those who do it, unless they've fallen asleep at another age and another time. (Srdić, 2017: 11)[4]

[4] Translated by the author of this paper

Insomnia thus, in a way, accelerates their lives. They live twice as much than they would regularly, but the intensity of their lives becomes reduced to clipped information and condensed impressions they have in the virtual world. Living their lives through or based on ones and zeroes, the protagonists mentioned seem to lack real life in their respective realities. They have little or nothing outside the virtual, not necessarily because they lack people. Packer has a wife, Sonja has a husband and a child – even O has some family that the reader suspects to be an estranged daughter. However, when it comes to having actual relationships with the said people – true, meaningful relationships – they seem to have none. They have no life to go to if they are to leave the virtual altogether mostly because they are trapped in dysfunctional families and relationships. Packer does not even recognize his own wife in the streets at first, he needs a couple of minutes to realize who she is. Sonja seems to have a deeper relationship with O, and vice versa, than she has with her own family. What is especially peculiar is her relationship with her husband, as seen from the following excerpt.

> We have separated our whereabouts; none of us ever wondered where the other one goes. This is a free world, alright. So I began to see him as a silhouette, not to see him. Not to hear him. He could, I could, we could do everything everything we could do without the other; the other didn't restrain didn't meddle didn't intervene isn't brusquely curious didn't stand in one's way didn't do anything to stop it; the other complied came out of the group of silhouettes that you hear when it snores behind the wall, it has breakfast with you and during one of them you look at it, who the hell are you, you say without uttering it, how did this guy get here and never have you seen anyone who holds a fork in such a manner.[5] (Srdić 2017: 130)

Her estrangement from her husband becomes almost literal, as he becomes but a shadow for her. For Eric Packer, his wife is a stranger to him, but at least she exists – he perceives her existence. For Sonja, it appears that her husband operates on a level as a ghost; he is not only a stranger to her, he is a being beyond her comprehension, simultaneously there for her wonder and not there when she needs her freedom to dwell on the virtual. This eventually raises the question of whether there is a distinction between virtual and actual reality in their respective cases. In other words, it is difficult for these characters to determine what is real and what is not between these two spheres of existence. Their actual reality, generally considered to be the real counterpart of this binary, is hopelessly void of any meaning and true connection. Without these, it exists solely on a physical level. Meanwhile, the virtual reality, although obviously artificially constructed, offers a greater insight into their inner selves, mostly because it cultivates interpersonal communication and meaningful, sometimes philosophical discussions.

[5] Translated by the author of this paper

5. THE INTERNET ESCAPISM

It is safe to say that at this point, people tend to prefer online communication over the actual face-to-face one. Different studies seem to suggest so, like Thayer and Ray (2006), to mention one of them. The Internet is preferred for business communication similarly across genders, with the only difference appearing in preference of online personal communication and building of personal relationships that was slightly more associated with women (Thayer and Ray, 437). Internet dwellers feel free to manipulate their personality traits for the eyes of the online community for different reasons, but mostly so as to appear as more interesting than they normally are. Such creation of an upgraded version of the Self, indicates aspirations of a more refined plane of existence and despite its obvious artificialness, it is a space of choice for people who frequently lack meaningful communication and relationships with those people who surround them in real life. For this same reason, Eric, Sonja and O will choose to turn to the Internet, as well. This is also why these novels are more openly concerned with the modern-day failure of communication, not necessarily blaming the Internet, but also not being able to find a culprit for such devastating decay of the social sphere. In *Srebrna magla pada*, it is painfully obvious that Sonja and O turn to each other because they are alone and seek connection with another, familiar soul. Though they are not always sure they will actually meet when they log in, since O refuses to adhere to any strict timetable of when he will decide to use the Internet, their urge to spend time online is driven by an essential human urge to connect and socialize. When they do not have this, they are left unfulfilled until the next meeting, as seen from one of Sonja's stream of thoughts.

> And he left me there in a dark chamber.
> I looked around the zone that was cut off by a destructive blackness: how could it happen, it has bothered me, I have borne it in mind, I have been preparing myself, how could it happen with so much vehemence? Things you cannot master, you dispel. With fingers stretched over a bloated black membrane. A puppet-like "Yoo-hoo!" has caught up with me, a grinning dereliction. He is playing with me, he will turn on me / I'm not prepared / he tactically outplayed me / the rules are his own / I can't see – I can't see. He will crawl under my nightgown, he will bite me, he will do a bunch of stuff to me and I won't be able to do a thing thingless thing. I wanted to shout: "Where are you??? Where are you??? Where are you??? Where. Are. You. I've put my hopes in his return: Koroviev. *Connecting*... However. *Call failed*... All this blankness, I couldn't fathom it. *Call failed*. Blackness. *Failed*. Blob. This is how the blackness/blankness announced itself. Blob. Then nothing."[6] (Srdić, 2017: 44-45)

[6] Translated by the author of this paper

In *Cosmopolis*, the situation is much grimmer. Eric Packer does not turn to anyone when he logs online (if we assume that he ever logs off in the first place). Matter of fact, he is aware that there is no human being waiting behind the screen for him to talk to. His story is that more depressing considering his curse of knowledge – he knows there is no one for him; it is just numbers and raw information that he is ever to encounter online. It seems that therefore yen becomes some kind of divinity to him. His human side shows in his search for something that will play a meaningful role in his life. If it cannot be people, then at least he will have his god, be it the yen or the digital world of information. It is perhaps also why he rushes to his own destruction in a series of self-harming actions. Reaching the point where even the Internet has failed him in providing something meaningful, he is on a quest to find some real experience, even if it means he will have to die for experiencing it.

Curiously enough, female protagonists seem to navigate this peculiar blend of two realities better than men. Coincidentally or not, they are the ones who are triumphant in the battle between the Internet and real life, all in favor of the actual reality. In *Cosmopolis*, none of the female characters is interested in the virtual, or even the world of finances that is connected to the virtual reality. Even Vija Kinsky, who is fascinated by technology, does not allow herself to plunge into the world of the virtual. All female characters surpass it by turning to literature, art, philosophy and physical activity, possibly in the same quest for some deeper meaning as Packer. For example, Jane Melman, Packer's chief of finance, says "'I like face-to-face. And I don't need to look at all those screens,' she said. 'I know what's happening'" (DeLillo, 2003: 40). Eric, on the other hand, will be killed undoubtedly for various reasons, one of which is the fact that he tried to live in both realities at once and tried to actively manipulate them to his own desires. In *Silver Fog Is Falling*, O remains isolated until the very end of the novel. This isolation is self-brought, but it is precisely this isolation which prevents him from living his life. As opposed to him, Sonja at least has a chance; she shows a willingness to return to the real. Even though there is a question whether she will actually succeed and return to her real life, a gleam of hope is present in her case that she could successfully navigate the tides of the virtual into the harbor of the real.

6. CONCLUSION

In *Cosmopolis* and *Srebrna magla pada* we are faced with a smoldering battle between the real and the virtual, although this epic duel is not as explicit as one would expect. In both novels, the Internet appears as a looming threat, an ominous presence that is slowly taking over every aspect of our lives with-

out appearing to do so. There is scarce mention of the Internet in *Cosmopolis*, although it is implicitly stated that Eric Packer's entire world rests upon it. The Internet is both a provider and a host of the flow of information and a contemporary incarnation of older media, which makes it all the more powerful. *Srebrna magla pada* is a bit more open about its preoccupation with the Internet, but it is discussed in glimpses, like when Sonja and O chat on Skype or when O sees the photo of a deceased refugee boy. It is disguised with the topics of modern-day lack of communication, insomnia, loss of one's voice and identity, or even ageing. Still, in both novels, the Internet proves to be, if not the direct cause, then an important wheel in the process that has led to the said issues.

It seems that the primary effect of the media is to blur the lines between the real and the fictional, the real and the virtual. In both *Cosmopolis* and *Srebrna magla pada*, the protagonists cannot take control of their experience on the Internet, let alone the Internet itself. Slowly, but surely, the virtual reality spreads over their real lives, respectively, always undoubtedly assuming the dominant position. Packer, Sonja and O seem lost in their real lives, partly because the Internet is one of the factors which distorted the real in the first place. Within such a confusing environment in which one is never entirely sure what is real and what is not, it is difficult to navigate and find something meaningful. None of them seem to succeed in this quest, although for Sonja there is still a chance. Moreover, it can be said that she already has something meaningful – her family – she is just yet to realize what is important in her life. Eric will never live to get the chance of finding something meaningful, although for him death does seem like the only shot at meaning in a life that contradicts the laws of nature, social sphere and mostly time. O remains a blur himself. He also seems to already have something meaningful in his life (in different interpretations, this can be his child and his art), but his problem is that he forced himself out of the real to such an extent, that he might not be able to navigate his way back. He remains a man on the Internet, an Odysseus who sails on the vast ocean of the virtual, with or without a Penelope waiting for him on the other side. One way or the other, whether they managed to find something real or not, the Internet remains a strong force in their lives they might never be able to break free from completely.

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HIPERREALNOST INTERNETA U ROMANIMA *KOSMOPOLIS* DONA DELILA I *SREBRNA MAGLA PADA* SRĐANA SRDIĆA

Rezime

Hiperrealnost, pojam koji nam donosi Žan Bodrijar a razmatraju mnogi postmoderni kritičari i teoretičari, jeste ona stvarnost koja je u potpunosti veštačka ili konstruisana, odnosno simulirana. Od istinske stvarnosti ona se razlikuje po tome što počinje kao kopija koja oponaša principe iz stvarnog života, da bi potom stvorila jedan novi svet. Kao osnovnu jedinicu ove upečatljive stvarnosti Bodrijar prepoznaje simulakrum – kopiju koja sa originalnim modelom po čijem je obličju nastala više nema nikakve veze. Pojedinačni simulakrumi se, potom, udružuju i formiraju ono što Bodrijar naziva hiperrealnošću, a što se u različitim situacijama može uporediti sa fenomenom virtuelne stvarnosti. Svet stvoren na taj način oslanja se umnogome na informacijama i obrascima ponašanja koju su pre svega konstrukti. Hiperrealnost time stvara svet koji počiva na

simulaciji – beskrajnom oponašanju svega što je stvarno, uz povremeno modifikovanje, odnosno prepravljanje. Hiperrealnost se, kao takva, oslanja na svoja dva filtera – tehnologiju i medije. Bodrijar vidi ova dva faktora kao dva osnovna pokretača simulacije stvarnosti. Internet, kao jedinstven spoj tehnologije i medija, napredniji nego što je bilo koji medij pre njega bio, okosnica je DeLilovog romana po imenu *Kosmopolis* i Srdićevog romana *Srebrna magla pada*. Iako se internet retko, gotovo nimalo, pominje u oba romana, on jeste neumitno vezan za sve pojave i pitanja koja se javljaju u oba romana. Otuđenost ljudi, neuspešna komunikacija i međuljudski odnosi, te izolacija jedinke iz društvene sfere redom su vezani za internet na ovaj, ili onaj način i kod Srdića, i kod DeLila. U oba ova romana, a uz pomoć interneta, gubi se granica između stvarnog i virtuelnog i to tako da glavni likovi počinju da postoje na jednom apstraktnom nivou koji je spoj njihovog stvarnog okruženja i iskustava doživljenih na internetu. Internet podjednako utiče na njihov jezik, percepciju stvarnosti i odnos prema ljudima koji ih okružuju, makar oni bili i članovi njihove porodice. Premda se internet nikada ne navodi kao krivac ili uzrok njihovih stanja i promena, neupitan je njegov uticaj na stvaranje jedinstvene hiperrealnosti koju junaci ovih romana naseljavaju. Stepen do kog će uticaj interneta biti važan za skoro svaki aspekt njihovog života pokazuje da je u Bodrijarovoj tvrdnji da ne postoji ništa što je ili može biti izvan hiperrealnosti danas više istine nego što bismo mi, likovi iz ovih romana ili sami autori voleli da priznamo.

Ključne reči: hiperrealnost, internet, Don DeLilo, Srđan Srdić, Žan Bodrijar

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GENERIC SENTENCES IN SERBIAN IN COMPARISON WITH FRENCH

In this paper we are comparing the expression of genericity in Serbian and in French. Our main focus is the subject nominal phrase — singular definite or indefinite and plural definite in French, singular with or without the determiner *jedan* and plural in Serbian — and the way it correlates with the type of genericity expressed. Sentences with plural subjects can be used to express all types of genericity, those with singular subjects (definite in French, determinerless in Serbian) are suitable for kind reference and definitions, and sentences with indefinite subjects (with the indefinite article in French and the item *jedan* in Serbian) are best suited for expressing normative genericity.

Keywords: genericity, French, Serbian, kind, essential property, *jedan*, definite article, indefinite article, singular, plural, point of view

1. INTRODUCTION. WHAT IS GENERICITY?

In the broadest sense, genericity can be defined as the expression of a regularity or of a generalized property, of „general“ or „timeless“ truths. This notion of regulartiy can linguistically be expressed in two ways: by using a kind-referring noun phrase, or by using a sentence with a property-expressing predicate. The former type of genericity is usually called *nominal genericity*, and the latter *sentential genericity* (Dobrovie-Sorin & Beyssade 2012: 191).

In this article we will try to determine how different types of noun phrases correlate with different types of genericity in Serbian as compared to French. First we will present the types of NPs in French and Serbian. Then we will proceed to discuss nominal (section 2) and sentential genericity (section 3). We will conclude by presenting a table that shows how different types of genericity correlate with different types of French and Serbian nominal phrases (section 4).

1.1 Some general observations on noun phrases in French and Serbian

In French, every noun phrase (NP) consists of a noun preceeded by a determiner. This means that, in order to form a noun phrase and thereby function as a predicate argument, the French noun can never be used without a determiner, be it mass or abstract, singular or plural (except in fixed expressions, e.g. *avoir peur*).

If we consider only the semantically most neutral determiner — the French article, we can say that there are four types of NPs in French:

singular, definite — *Le* N
singular, indefinite — *Un* N
plural, definite — *Les* Ns
plural, indefinite — *Des* Ns

Since Serbian is an articleless language, with no obligatory marking of (in)definitess, Serbian NPs can only be singular or plural. There is, however, an ongoing discussion on the article-like properties of the Serbian numeral *jedan* ('one') (Ivić 1971; Friedman 2001, 2003; Čudomirović 2012). Since there are some interesting French-Serbian parallels when sentential genericity is concerned, we will consider nouns preceeded by *jedan* as an additional type of Serbian NPs. We thus have three types of NPs in Serbian:

singular, / — N
singular, *jedan* — *Jedan* N
plural, / — N

2. NOMINAL GENERICITY — REFERRING TO KINDS

In nominal genericity, the source of genericity is the kind-referring NP (Kirfka et al. 1995). The predicate type has no bearing on the intepretation of the NP. Kind-referring NPs are sometimes also called *generic NPs*.

Semantically, kinds are individuals (Carlson 1977, passim). Unlike „ordinary" individuals — those we refer to by using proper names — kinds are characterized by spatial and temporal discontinuity, a multitude of instances (although not necessarily, e.g. *the Sun*), and a high degree of regularity (for example, all instances of a kind behave in the same way, or have the same property). Therefore something that is necessarily realized as a unique, particular individual (e.g. *John Smith*) is *not* a kind (Chierchia 1998: 349—350). Every kind has a corresponding property, but not every property has a corresponding kind. For example, *being an old shoe John lost* is a property with no corresponding kind (Chierchia 1998: 351). The term *natural kind* is most frequently used in the relevant literature. It encompasses not only biological kinds (e.g. *tiger*), but also

artefacts and social kinds (kinds determined by social factors in the broadest sens of the word, e.g. *democrats*, *the retired*) and anything that can be considered as „well established“ in a given speech community (e.g. *the Coca-Cola bottle*). Basically, anything can be construed as a kind provided it exhibits a sufficiently high degree of regularity. What is to be considered a kind or a „sufficiently high degree of regularity“ is not a matter of language itself but of preestablished conventions and shared knowledge in a given speech community.

Kind membership can be tested via *kind predicates* (or *class predicates*, as they are usually termed in French literature (*prédicats de classe*)). Kind predicates are predicates that select kinds as their arguments. For example, in English, the predicates *to be extinct* and *evolve from* select kinds as their subject arguments, and the predicate *to invent* selects kinds as its object argument (Krifka et al. 1995: 10). In French, the following predicates select kind-referring NPs as their subject arguments: *se reproduire rapidement*, *être en voie d'extinction*, *se raréfier*, *ne plus exister* (Galmiche 1985: 6), *être en voie de disparition*, *devenir de plus en plus ADJ à mesure qu'on avance vers le nord*, *augmenter de 4% par pays*, *abonder dans cette région*; *présenter des sous-espèces*, *exister en différents tailles*, *être de différentes sortes* (Beyssade 2005 : 37).[1] In Serbian, the predicates *izumreti*, *biti rasprostranjen*, *brzo se razmnožavati*, *deliti se na (pod) vrste / grupe* select kinds as their subject arguments, and the predicate *izumeti* selects kinds as its object argument.

Now that we have established what functions as a kind predicate in French and in Serbian, we need to test the compatibility of these predicates with different types of NPs. In French, a kind predicate can select a definite singular or a definite plural NP as its subject argument (1, 3), but not an indefinite singular NP (2) (except in the so-called taxonomic reading[2]); but as its object argument, a kind predicate can only select a definite singular NP (4):

(1) *Le lapin* est en voie d'extinction.
(2) **Un lapin* est en voie d'extinction.
(3) *Les lapins* sont en voie d'extinction.
(4) Babbage a inventé *l'ordinateur*.
(5) *Babbage a inventé *un ordinateur*.
(6) *Babbage a inventé *les ordinateurs*.

In Serbian, the subject argument of a kind predicate can be a determinerless singular NP (7) or a plural NP (9), while in the object argument position only

[1] Krifka et al. (1995) differentiate between kind predicates and quantificational predicates for English, such as *be common*, *be abundant*, *be rare*, *be scarce*, which can be combined with both indefinite singular NPs and „ad hoc“ kinds, such as *a rhino with blue eyes*: *Rhinos with blue eyes are common* vs. **Rhinos with blue eyes will become extinct soon.* The difference is that quantificational predicates lack the selectional restriction to kinds only.

[2] That such a reading is possible is only mentioned here in passing for completeness sake. We will not look deeper into it. The reader is referred to Krifka et al. 1995 for more information.

determinerless singular NPs are acceptable (10). The NPs with *jedan* are not compatible with kind predicates (8, 11), much like French indefinite singulars, nor are plurals in the object position (12) :

(7) *Sabljozubi tigar* je izumro.
(8) **Jedan sabljozub itigar* je izumro.
(9) *Sabljozubi tigrovi* su izumrli.
(10) Bebidž je izumeo *kompjuter*.
(11) *Bebidž je izumeo *jedan kompjuter*.
(12) *Bebidž je izumeo *kompjutere*.

We can see that French definite singulars pattern with Serbian determinerless singulars on the one hand and that French definite plurals pattern with Serbian plurals on the other hand. Whereas both French and Serbian plurals are sensitive to the subject—object dichotomy, French definite singulars and Serbian determinerless singulars are compatible with both subject and object argument positions of kind predicates. French indefinite singular NPs and Serbian *jedan*-NPs are restricted in the same way: none of them can refer to kinds (except in the taxonomic reading). We can therefore conclude, as many other before us already have for English and French, that definite singular NPs are the most suitable for reference to kinds in French, and that the same goes for Serbian determinerless singulars.

It is worth mentioning that not all NPs can refer to kinds. The head noun must be semantically related to a „well established kind" to which the NP can then refer (Krifka et al. 1995: 11). As we said before, this property of being „well establihed" can vary depending on the given speech community. Both French definite singulars and Serbian determinerless singulars are problematic with kinds that are not well established (14, 18)[3]. Plurals, however, are compatible with both well established and non-well-established kinds (15, 16, 19, 20).

(13) *La bouteille de Coca Cola* a le goulot étroit.
(14) ?? *La bouteille verte* a le goulot étroit.
(15) *Les bouteilles de Coca Cola* ont le goulot étroit.
(16) *Les bouteilles vertes* ont le goulot étroit.
(17) *Flaša od Koka kole* ima uzak grlić.
(18) ?? *Zelena flaša* ima uzak grlić.
(19) *Flaše od Koka kole* imaju uzak grlić.
(20) *Zelene flaše* imaju uzak grlić.

It should also be noted, as Krifka and his collaborators point out (Krifka et al. 1995: 68), that the speakers of a language with obligatory determiners, such as French, will always use an NP with a definite article to refer to kinds.

[3] The examples (13—20) are taken from Krifka et al. (1995: 11) (*The Coke bottle has a narrow neck* vs. *?? The green bottle has a narrow neck*) and translated into Serbian and French.

3. SENTENTIAL GENERICITY — CHARACTERIZING SENTENCES

When we say „sentential genericity", we are actually talking about a type of sentences expressing some general property or a regularity. These sentences are often called c*haracterizing sentences* (Krifka et al. 1995) — or sometimes, simply, *generic sentences*. The source of genericity in these sentences is not the predicate nor the subject NP, but the sentence as a whole: genericity actually comes from the relation established between the entity denoted by the subject NP and the property assigned to that entity via predication. The predicates of characterizing sentences (*characterizing predicates*) are always stative, which means that they express a relatively stable property of the entity they are assigned to. These predicates are considered to be inherently generic (cf. Chierchia 1998), and since Carlson (according to Gerstner, Krifka 1993: 967) they are called *individual-level* or *I-level predicates*.[4] For example, *to have blond hair*, *to be a mammal*. Characterizing sentences are compatible with adverbs such as *generally* or *in principle*. All types of NPs can be used as subjects in characterizing sentences, in both French (21—24) and Serbian (25—28), including proper names (22, 26)[5]:

(21) La baleine est un mammifère.
(22) Marie fume.
(23) Un homme ne pleure pas.
(24) Les lions sont dangereux.
(25) Kit je sisar.
(26) Marija puši.
(27) Jedan muškarac ne plače.
(28) Lavovi su opasni.

While sentences with kind-referring NPs can formally be represented as instances of direct predication $P(a)$, where a is a constant of the type e (an entity, an atomic individual) and P is a unary predicate of the type <e,t> (Chierchia 1998), characterizing sentences are best formalized as implications $P(x \rightarrow Q(x)$. Krifka et al. propose that the generic reading is due to the intensional quantifier GEN (1995: 26). The quantifier GEN, which functions as a universal quantifier over the worlds in the modal base, is activated automatically if there are no other quantifiers which can bind the variable x. The modal base (or *conversational background*) is contextually determined, and it specifies the set of worlds opera-

[4] Kind-referring NPs don't need to be used with stative predicates: *The rat was just reaching Australia in 1770.* (Kirfka et al. 1995: 12)

[5] The use of proper names as subjects of generic sentences is a complex issue which we will not investigate further here.

ted on by the universal quantifier. The formula, taken from Mari (2011), is given in (29):

(29) GEN x [P(x)] [Q(x)]
= ∀w′∈ MB(w) x[P(x,w′) → Q(x,w′)]
(in all the worlds of the given modal base, if *x* is *P* in *w*', then *x* is *Q* in *w*')

3.1 Types of characterizing sentences and types of properties

Characterizing sentences have two major subtypes, according to whether the property expressed by the predicate is said to be *accidental* or *essential*.[6] Ever since Lawler (1973), it has been widely accepted that the indefinite singular NPs in English are compatible with predicates expressing essential properties (30, 31), while English bare plurals are compatible with both essential and accidental properties (32, 33):

(30) A madrigal is polyphonic.
(31) *A madrigal is popular.
(32) Madrigals are polyphonic.
(33) Madrigals are popular.

The same can be said for French: only indefinite singulars are compatible with essential properties (34, 35), while definite plurals are compatible with both accidental and essential properties (36, 37):

(34) Un madrigal est polyphonique.
(35) *Un madrigal est populaire.
(36) Les madrigaux sont polyphoniques.
(37) Les madrigaux sont populaires.

In Serbian, on the other hand, the determinerless singular is quite acceptable with an essential property (38); this compatibility is, however, significantly lower with accidental properties (39). An NP with the determiner *jedan* is incompatible with either of the two (40, 41). Plural NPs, on the other hand, can be used with both types of properties (42, 43):

(38) Madrigal je polifoničan.
(39) ?? Madrigal je popularan.
(40) *Jedan madrigal je polifoničan.

[6] Lawler (1973) differentiates between *definitional statements* and *empirical generalizations*; Dahl (1975) uses the terms *nomic statements* and *accidental statements*; Carlson (1995) and Cohen (2001) talk about the *rules and regulations view* as opposed to the *inductionist view*; Greenberg (2003) uses the terms *in-virtue-of generics* and *descriptive generics*; Dobrovie-Sorin (2004) differentiates between quantification over indiviuals, i.e. *deductive quantification*, and quantification over situations, i.e. *inductive quantification*; Krifka (2013) uses the terms *definitional generics* and *descriptional generics*, etc.

(41) *Jedan madrigal je popularan.
(42) Madrigali su polifonični.
(43) Madrigali su popularni.

However, the idea that generic sentences with indefinite singular subjects are acceptable only if the property expressed by the predicate is somehow 'essential' to the entity denoted by the subject NP proved to be problematic, since there are examples in which that is demonstrably not the case. In sentence (44) an indefinite singular subject cooccurs with an obviously accidental property:

(44) Un footballeur gagne beaucoup d'argent.

Because of examples like these, Alda Mari (Mari 2008a, 2008b, 2011) has been working on an approach that would unify the inerpretation of all generic sentencese with indefinite singular subjects. As we said earlier, characterizing sentences are not generic because we are talking about a kind; they are generic because of the nature of the relation between the notion denoted by the noun and the property expressed by the predicate. Although the property itself can be accidental to the notion denoted by the noun — as is *gagner beaucoup d'argent* for *footballeur* — the *method* of assigning this property to the subject notion is *not* accidental (Mari 2011). The property is assigned under a certain *point of view*, and, under *that* point of view, the relation between the notion and the property is not accidental, but essential. In (44), the point of view is determined by the scale of salaries in a given community, so that when we are talking about a football player in the context of the scale of salaries, it is essential that he earns a lot of money. Under a different point of view — that is to say in a different context — a footballer will not be assigned such a property. The idea that there is something else in the equation, that we need to take points of view into consideration, is formalized (again by Mari 2011) in (45):

(45) $\forall w, x\ \exists i[P(x, w) \rightarrow Q(x, w, i)]$
(for every *x* and for every world *w* in the modal base, there is at least one point of view *i* such that if *x* has a property *P*, then *x* has a property *Q* under the point of view *i*)

One of the major advantages of this approach is that the universal quantifier does not operate on a *specified* set of possible worlds (e.g. „in all ideal worlds", „in all normal worlds" etc.). The sentence is true in *all* worlds but only under a certain point of view.

3.2 Points of view: norms and definitions

Using the approach proposed by Mari, we will now discuss different types of generic sentences in correlation with the type of NP they accept in French and Serbian. In the following examples, the French definite and indefinite singulars

(46, 47) correspond only to the Serbian determinerless singular (49), the singular with *jedan* being impossible (if the sentence is to have a generic reading), while the French definite plural (48) corresponds to the Serbian plural (51):

(46) Le chat est carnivore.
(47) Un chat est carnivore.
(48) Les chats sont carnivores.
(49) Mačka je mesojed.
(50) *Jedna mačka je mesojed.
(51) Mačke su mesojedi.

However, there are cases in which the French indefinite singular (53) corresponds to both Serbian determinerless singular (55) and to the singular with *jedan* (56):

(52) *L'enfant se tait à table.
(53) Un enfant se tait à table.
(54) Les enfants se taisent à table.
(55) Dete ne priča za stolom.
(56) Jedno dete ne priča za stolom.
(57) Deca ne pričaju za stolom.

The differences in correspondences between French and Serbian singulars in generic sentences can be attributed to the different points of view under which the given sentences are taken to be true. The sentences (46—51) are all true from a biological point of view, whereas the sentences (52—57) are true from a social point of view. We will call the first type of genericity, which crucially depends on biological laws, *definitional genericity*, and the second one, which relies more on social standards and norms, will be termed *normative genericity.*

Normative generic sentences are generally used to express different kinds of legal or social regulations, laws or rules. They are therefore common in contexts in which the speakers „negotiate" the meanings of the words used, that is to say, when they negotiate the norms an entity must satisfy in order to be named so-and-so. In this way, normative sentences are actually a type of definitions (Krifka 2013): we use definitions to say what a particular word stands for, i.e. definitions are propositions about *words*. But normative sentences are a special type of definitions, since they are used only in polemical contexts, i.e. in contexts where one of the locutors needs to refute some implicit premise. These contexts usually arise when some social norm is debated.

This also means that, depending on the context, one and the same sentence can be interpreted as either definitional (58) or normative (60). However, in Serbian, the use of the determiner *jedan* is possible *only* if the sentence is to be interpreted as normative (59, 61):[7]

[7] French examples are taken from Vogeleer & Tasmowski, 2005.

(58) *Un gentleman ouvre la porte aux dames*. Il porte une cravate même quand il dort et il participe à la chasse à courre.
(59) (*Jedan) *Džentlmen otvara vrata damama*. Nosi kravatu čak i kad spava i bavi se lovom.
(60) (Tu dis que) John est un gentleman ? Tu me fais rire ! *Un gentleman ouvre la porte aux dames*. Lui, il me l'a claquée au nez l'autre jour.
(61) (Kažeš da je) Džon džentlmen ? Ne zasmejavaj me. *Jedan džentlmen otvara vrata damama*, a on mi ih je zalupio pred nosom pre neki dan.

In definitional generic sentences, the French indefinite singular (58) corresponds to the Serbian determinerless singular (59). In normative generic sentences, the French indefinite singular (60) corresponds to the Serbian singular with *jedan* (61). The determiner *jedan* can only be used in a normative generic sentence, which means that the use of *jedan* is licenced by a socially determined point of view.[8]

3.3 Plurals and descriptive genericity

As we have shown earlier, in generic sentences French definite plurals correspond to Serbian plurals. In both languages the plural NPs are compatible with any type of property, as shown in the examples (36, 37) and (42, 43), but *only* plural NPs can be used to express inductive or accidental generalizations (37, 43), a type of genericity which we will term *descriptive genericity.* Moreover, plural NPs are compatible with both definitions (48, 51) and norms (54, 57). However, although sentences with plural subject NPs *can* be interpreted as normative generalizations (cf. 57), the plural itself does not necessarily imply that a generic sentences is normative. In other words, sentences with plural subject NPs are ambiguous between a normative and a descriptive reading, as is the case with sentences such as (57) (as observed in Stanojević 1998: 232—233, footnote). We can tentatively say that this makes statements with plural subject NPs less prescriptive than their singular counterparts with *jedan*, such as (56). The same has been observed for French.[9]

[8] Normative generic sentences with *jedan* are often used with a modal verb, which makes explicit the point of view under which the given generalization is to be viewed as essential rather than accidental. Below are some examples from Serbian media or the Internet.
(1) Takve kvalifikacije ne sme da daje jedan predsednik vlade.
(2) Imaš sve što jedna žena treba da ima, svaki bi te muškarac želeo...
(3) Šta sve jedan muškarac mora da zna?
This issue requires further investigation, and will not be pursued here any further.

[9] Galmiche comments on the difference between *Un instituteur prend sa retraite à 55 ans* and *Les instituteurs prennent leur retraite à 55 ans* : „le choix entre *un* et *les*, dans des cas de ce genre, constituait un véritable « mode de donation de la vérité »" (Galmiche 1985: 33).

Throughout this article we have largely ignored French indefinite plurals. This is because they cannot be used to refer to kinds, and they usually give rise to existential interpretations with stative predicates, which makes these sentences semantically odd. However, if a generalization is made under a socially determined point of view, i.e. if the statement is normative, the use of the indefinite plural subject becomes possible:[10]

(62) Les agents de police ne se comportent pas ainsi dans une situation d'alarme.

(63) Des agents de police ne se comportent pas ainsi dans une situation d'alarme.

This means that French also has a formal way of distinguishing between normative and descriptive statements: generic sentences with indefinite plural subjects are alway normative, whereas those with definite plural subjects are ambiguous between a descriptive and normative reading (Cohen 2001: 195, Vogeleer & Tasmowski 2005).

4. CONCLUSION

The following table shows how different types of genericity correlate to different types of French and Serbian nominal phrases:

	NOMINAL GENERICITY kind-referring NPs / generic NPs	SENTENTIAL GENERICITY characterizing sentences / generic sentences		
		essential properties		accidental properties – DESCRIPTIVE GENERALIZATIONS
		DEFINITIONS	NORMS	
French	Def N Sg Def N Pl	(Def N Sg) Indef N Sg Def N Pl	(Def N Sg) Indef N Sg Def N Pl Indef N Pl	Def N Pl
Serbian	N Sg N Pl	N Sg N Pl	N Sg N Pl *jedan* N Sg	N Pl

The most general correlation would be that descriptive generalizations favour sentences with plural subjects — definite plural in French and plural in Serbian, whereas definitons and norms favour sentences with singular subjects — indefinite singular in French and determinerless singular in Serbian. In both

[10] Both examples are from Cohen 2001 : 195.

languages singular and plural NPs can be used for kind reference (definite singular and plural NPs in French). French indefinite singulars can be used in definitions and norms, whereas Serbian NPs with *jedan* are allowed only in normative generic sentences. In this way, Serbian proves the validity of the distinction between norms and definitions amongst generic sentences.

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LES PHRASES GÉNÉRIQUES EN SERBE PAR COMPARAISON AVEC LE FRANÇAIS

Résumé

Dans ce travail nous nous intéressons à l'expression de la généricité en serbe par comparaison au français. Nous commençons par une catégorisation des syntagmes nominaux dans les deux langues. Ensuite, on examine la possibilité des SN de référer à l'espèce, véhiculant ainsi la généricité nominale, pour en venir à la conclusion que les singuliers définis du français et les singuliers nus du serbe conviennent le mieux à la référence aux espèces. La seconde partie de l'article est centrée sur la généricité phrastique. En adoptant l'analyse des indéfinis singuliers génériques en termes de points de vue (Mari 2008a, 2008b, 2011), nous étudions les contraintes qui pèsent sur l'emploi des indéfinis avec *jedan* en position de sujet en serbe par comparaison au français : l'indéfini singulier du français est possible dans les contextes définitoires et normatifs, tandis que *jedan* n'est possible que dans ces derniers. Nous avons constaté que le point de vue dit de « normes sociales » joue un rôle essentiel dans le choix du déterminant *jedan* en serbe, alors qu'en français tous les points de vue rendent possible l'emploi de l'article indéfini. Le pluriel est le moins restrictif dans les deux langues, permettant l'expression de tous les types de généricité ; aussi est-il le seul à permettre des généralisations inductives. Finalement, nos analyses des données du serbe montrent la pertinence de la différentiation entre les définitions et les normes.

Mots clés : généricité, français, serbe, espèce, propriété essentielle, *jedan*, article défini et indéfini, singulier, pluriel, point de vue.

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VERDRÄNGUNG DER DEUTSCHEN VERGANGENHEIT IN IGOR MAROJEVIĆS ROMAN *MAJČINA RUKA*

Im Rahmen ihrer Untersuchung der Mechanismen des Gedächtnisses in ihrem epochalen Werk *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit* (2006) nennt Aleida Assmann (1947) fünf zentrale Strategien der Verdrängung, die bei der Überwindung traumatischer Erlebnisse angewendet werden: Aufrechnen, Externalisieren, Ausblenden, Schweigen und Umfälschen. Die genannten Verdrängungsstrategien sind ebenfalls in Igor Marojevićs Roman *Majčina ruka* (*Mutters Hand*, 2011) erkennbar, in dem ein Teil der Handlung in Neu-Werbass (serb. Novi Vrbas) in einem Haus spielt, das einst einer deutschen Familie gehörte. In seinem Bestreben, die verborgene Wahrheit über die Vorbesitzer des Hauses zu rekonstruieren, bringt die namenlose Hauptfigur (Ich-Erzähler) des Romans, ein sechzehnjähriger junger Mann, verschiedene Ereignisse ins Rollen, die dem Leser offenbaren, in welchem Maße die Vergangenheit auch weiterhin in den Erinnerungen der Gemeindemitglieder schmerzhaft vorhanden ist. Der Autor verbindet die Lungenkrankheit der Hauptfigur mit der Geschichte des Hauses, die bis zum Ende der Handlung untrennbar voneinander bleiben. Im vorliegenden Aufsatz werden die verschiedenen Strategien der Verdrängung der traumatischen Vergangenheit im Roman *Mutters Hand* mit dem Ziel untersucht, universelle Verhaltensmuster von Tätern und Opfern sowie ihre schädlichen Folgen nach erfolgten Kriegs- und Nachkriegserfahrungen aufzuzeigen.

Schlüsselwörter: Donauschwaben, Nachkriegsliteratur, Strategien der Verdrängung, Werbass.

1. EINLEITUNG

Die Handlung des Romans *Mutters Hand* beginnt am 15. April 1979 bzw. an dem Tag, als ein Erdbeben die Kleinstadt Perast in Montenegro getroffen hat. Bis der dadurch entstandene Schaden behoben wird, verbringt die Hauptfigur des Romans, ein fünfzehnjähriger junger Mann, die Zeit bei seiner Tante Bonja in Werbass, wo er bis zum Winter bleibt. Während der genannten Zeit feiert er seinen sechzehnten Geburtstag, erforscht die Vergangenheit des Familienhauses,

enthüllt dabei verborgene Tatsachen über das Schicksal der Donauschwaben in der Wojwodina (serb. Vojvodina) und verliert seine Unschuld.

Der Roman ist der dritte Teil des geplanten fünfbändigen Werkes *Ethnofiktion*[1]. Die Erscheinung des Romans hat die Öffentlichkeit aufgerüttelt, nicht nur wegen des brisanten Themas, das der Roman aufgreift, sondern seine Erstveröffentlichung fällt auch in die Zeit, in der über das *Gesetz über die Restitution* debattiert wurde.[2] In seinem Werk behandelt Marojević ein Tabuthema – das Vermögen der Donauschwaben in Serbien, das ihnen im Jahr 1945 weggenommen wurde (Tošić 2012). Mit der kritischen Untersuchung des tragischen Schicksals der Deutschen in der Wojwodina trifft der Autor einen wunden Punkt (Beganović 2012). Er verbindet den Verlust der Unschuld eines Teenagers mit dem Massenverbrechen in der Nachkriegszeit, wobei er darauf hinweist, dass Opfer, wenn sie die Möglichkeit bekommen, Henker zu sein, oft grausamer sind als ihre Scharfrichter. In seinem Werk parodiert Marojević den klassischen Bildungsroman und fügt der Geschichte Mysterien-Elemente hinzu, die typisch für die Kriminalliteratur sind (Župac 2012). Er stützt sich ebenfalls auf die Tradition der psychologischen Romane und beschäftigt sich mit den verborgenen Teilen der Geschichte, die es zu entmystifizieren gilt (Martinov 2012). Bezüglich der Gattung „historischer Roman" wird der Roman als ein ambivalentes, literarisch-ideologisches Werk mit einem umstrittenen ästhetischen Wert betrachtet, was seine Lesart einschränkt und lenkt (Trijić 2012). Der Autor distanziert sich jedoch von einer so engen Interpretation und fügt zu Beginn des Romans den folgenden Verweis hinzu: „Das ist kein historischer Roman oder ein Roman über die Geschichte, sondern über das Erwachsenwerden eines Jungen, das plötzlich von der Geschichte überschattet wird. Er, seine Familie und ihre ehemaligen Mitbürger haben keinerlei Ähnlichkeiten mit dem Autor, seiner Familie und ihren ehemaligen Mitbürgern" (Marojević 2011). *Mutters Hand* könnte man zudem als einen Adoleszenzroman[3] betrachten. Die historischen Ereignisse, die im

[1] Der erste Teil *Hitze* (orig. *Žega*) ist im Jahr 2005 erschienen, der zweite Teil *Schnitt* (orig. *Šnit*) im Jahr 2007 und der vierte Teil *Die Reste des Tages* (orig. *Ostaci dana*) im Jahre 2020.

[2] Das *Gesetz über die Restitution des enteigneten Vermögens und Entschädigung* (*Zakon o vraćanju oduzete imovine i obeštećenju*) wurde 2011 verabschiedet und bis heute bestehen vier weitere Versionen des Gesetzes (2013, 2014, 2015, 2018). „Mit diesem Gesetz werden die Bedingungen, die Art und Weise und das Vorgehen der Restitution des enteigneten Vermögens und Entschädigung für das enteignete Vermögen geregelt, das auf dem Gebiet der Republik Serbien durch Anwendung der Vorschriften über die Agrarreform, Verstaatlichung, Verwaltung sowie anderer Vorschriften, aufgrund der Vorschriften über die Verstaatlichung nach dem 9. März 1945 von natürlichen und bestimmten juristischen Personen enteignet wurde und in gemeinschaftlichen, staatlichen, gesellschaftlichen oder genossenschaftlichen Besitz übertragen wurde (im weiteren Text: Restitution des Vermögens). Dieses Gesetz wird auch auf die Restitution von Vermögen, dessen Konfiszierung Folge des Holocausts auf dem Gebiet, das heute das Gebiet der Republik Serbien umfasst, angewandt."

[3] Der Adoleszenzroman (eng. *adolescent novel*) befasst sich mit dem Thema des Erwachsenwerdens

Werk erwähnt werden, werden jedoch in den Vordergrund der Interpretation gerückt, da der Roman ein Thema behandelt, über das nur sehr selten gesprochen wird: die Geschichte der Donauschwaben in Werbass.

Die Deutschen kamen Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts infolge der Josephinischen Kolonisation (1784–1787) nach Werbass und gründeten damals Neu-Werbass. Die Siedler waren hauptsächlich Protestanten aus Württemberg, Hessen, Elsass, der Pfalz und dem Saarland. Zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts gab es in Neu-Werbass 252 deutsche Haushalte und es wurden Sekundarschulen für die Deutschen gegründet: die erste deutsche Sekundarschule wurde im Jahr 1918 eröffnet – zunächst als evangelisches Gymnasium des Seniorenrates (1918–1920) und danach als staatliches Gymnasium. Zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen war Werbass das einzige Zentrum für Lehrerbildung (Vrbas 2017). Vor dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs verließ ein großer Teil der Deutschen die Stadt. Der Rest wurde vertrieben oder in Lagern interniert. Ende des Jahres 1945 wurde die Seidenfabrik in Werbass in ein Zentralarbeitslager für Deutsche aus Mittel-Batschka (serb. Bačka) umfunktioniert, das für die Arbeitslager in Rotweil (serb. Crvenka), Wolfsburg (serb. Kula) und Weprowatz (erb. Veprovac, nach 1950 Kruščić) zuständig war. Das Lager wurde höchstwahrscheinlich Anfang des Jahres 1948 aufgelöst (Genocid nad Podunavskim Nemcima, s.a.). Neben dem Arbeitslager entstanden auch Kinderheime. So wurde z. B. die Sekundarschule für Landwirtschaft in Werbass zu einem Kinderheim, wo Waisenkinder und die Kinder, die von ihren Eltern und Geschwistern getrennt wurden, untergebracht wurden (Rill, Stojičić 2016: 68). Die durchgeführten Maßnahmen, über die man lange geschwiegen hat, wurden durch die kollektive Schuld der Deutschen gerechtfertigt.

Die Verfolgung der Donauschwaben war ein Tabuthema bis Mitte der 1990er Jahre, als man begann, offener über diesen Teil der Geschichte zu sprechen. In diesem Zusammenhang kann Marojevićs Roman als ein literarischer Beitrag zum Prozess der „Enttabuisierung“ des Themas betrachtet werden. Man

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und den damit verbundenen Problemen (existenzielle Umwälzungen, starke Identitätskrisen, Suche nach dem eigenen Weg in der Gesellschaft, Selbstfindung im Prozess der Trennung von der Familie). In diesem Lebensabschnitt spielen Gleichaltrige und die Sexualität eine bedeutende Rolle: Bildung eines Freundeskreises, Akzeptanz des eigenen Körpers, Übernahme bestimmter Verhaltensmuster, die von einem Mann oder einer Frau erwartet werden, Aufbau intimer Beziehungen mit dem Partner, Unabhängigkeit von den Eltern, das Verstehen dessen, was man werden will und wie man es erreicht, Formung einer Vorstellung von dem Lebenspartner, Bewusstsein über sich selbst, Entwicklung des Selbstbewusstseins, Entwicklung einer eigenen Weltanschauung und Zukunftsperspektive. Die Adoleszenz kann im Alter von etwa zwölf Jahren beginnen und bis zum dreißigsten Lebensjahr dauern. Die wesentlichen Merkmale des Erwachsenwerdens werden jedoch zumeist bis zum achtzehnten Lebensjahr erworben, frühestens im Alter von sechzehn Jahren (Lange 2016: 147, 151–154). Aus dem genannten Grund konzentrieren sich die Adoleszenzromane oft auf das sechzehnte Lebensjahr des Protagonisten, ebenso wie Marojevićs Roman: Während seines Aufenthalts in Werbass wird die Hauptfigur, die zugleich der Erzähler der Geschichte ist, sechzehn Jahre alt.

sollte das Werk jedoch nicht nur auf bestimmte historische Ereignisse reduzieren, denn es beinhaltet auch eine universelle Botschaft (Tošić 2012): die schädlichen Folgen der Verdrängung für das Kollektiv und den Einzelnen. Im Roman wird genau das der sechzehnjährige Erzähler der Geschichte, der aus einer (Halb-) Kolonistenfamilie stammt, im Laufe seines Reifungsprozesses erfahren.

2. STRATEGIEN DER VERDRÄNGUNG IM ROMAN *MUTTERS HAND*

Mit dem Begriff „Verdrängung" bezeichnet man die Reaktion von Individuen oder Kollektiven auf ein traumatisches Ereignis. Die Literatur- und Kulturwissenschaftlerin Aleida Assmann befasste sich mit verschiedenen Strategien der Verdrängung bei den Deutschen in Bezug auf den Nationalsozialismus. Dabei konzentrierte sie sich hauptsächlich auf die Ebenen des individuellen und sozialen Gedächtnisses und nicht auf das öffentliche politische Gedächtnis. Im Prozess der Verdrängung der Schuld fühlten sich die Deutschen als Hitlers „Opfer", der sie verführte, ohne dass sie etwas ahnten. Da es eine lange Zeit keine offizielle politische Doktrin über die Vergangenheit gab und eine starke Tendenz hin zur persönlichen Entlastung bestand, entstand im deutschen Gedächtnis eine gewisse Asymmetrie, die zu Spannungen, Eruptionen, Skandalen und öffentlicher Aufregung führte. Vieles, was in Deutschland offiziell gefeiert wird, besteht nicht in den individuellen Erinnerungen von Einzelpersonen. Dagegen ist das, an was sich die Einzelpersonen erinnern, nicht im offiziellen politischen Gedächtnis erhalten (Assmann 2011: 181). Diese Asymmetrie, die zwischen der offiziell-öffentlichen Haltung einerseits und der persönlichen Haltung von Einzelpersonen und Gruppen andererseits entstand, ist für das Nachkriegsdeutschland charakteristisch. In Bezug auf die Position der Donauschwaben im ehemaligen Jugoslawien nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg kann man jedoch nicht von einer Asymmetrie sprechen.

Das Thema der Donauschwaben in Serbien wird auch weiterhin nur marginalisiert behandelt. Diesbezüglich kann man von einer Ausklammerung auf offizieller, individueller und auf kollektiver Ebene sprechen. Einzelne, die sich intensiver mit dem Thema befassen, sind Wissenschaftler, Journalisten und Schriftsteller (vgl. Zobenica 2014). Der Roman *Mutters Hand* thematisiert die Tabuisierung des Themas in Werbass, sowohl auf individueller als auch auf kollektiver Ebene, und die damit in Verbindung stehende Politik der Regierung, die beharrlich darauf achtet, dass ein solches Klima auch weiterhin bestehen bleibt.

2.1. Verdrängungsstrategie Aufrechnen im Roman *Mutters Hand*

Nach Assmann versteht man unter dem Begriff Aufrechnen die Strategie der Verdrängung, bei der man eine Schuld durch eine andere abschwächt, wodurch die eigene Schuld mathematisch aufgehoben wird. In Bezug auf das Leid, das durch den Zweiten Weltkrieg (während und nach dem Krieg) verursacht wurde, haben die Deutschen diese Strategie dazu angewandt, um sich als Opfer darzustellen und dadurch die eigene Schuld auszublenden (Assmann 2011: 169–170). Ungefähr 2 Millionen Deutsche kamen im Krieg ums Leben und 1,6 Millionen wurden vermisst (Schramm 2012). Am Ende des Krieges wurden viele deutsche Zivilisten bei Bombenangriffen getötet und eine große Anzahl aus Osteuropa bzw. ihrer damaligen Heimat vertrieben, darunter auch diejenigen, die auf dem Gebiet des ehemaligen Jugoslawiens lebten. Ihre Vertreibung und die Enteignung ihres Vermögens werden aufgrund der begangenen NS-Verbrechen als eine gerechtfertigte Maßnahme betrachtet und dargestellt. In diesem Zusammenhang steht auch die Geschichte des deutschen Hauses in Werbass, die in Marojevićs Roman thematisiert wird.

Das „versteht sich von selbst", dass die ehemaligen Bewohner von Bonjas Haus Nationalsozialisten waren, d. h. Menschen, die sich als höhere Wesen betrachten (Marojević 2011: 43). Angeblich hat der Vorbesitzer Majstorović „mancherlei" getan. Er hat sogar getötet, als er in der Prinz Eugen Division und im Kulturbund war. Möglicherweise hat er auch am berüchtigten Massaker von Neusatz (serb. Novi Sad) an den Serben und Juden teilgenommen (Marojević 2011: 44–45). Aufgrund dieser nicht bestätigten Annahmen werden seine Ermordung und die Enteignung seines Eigentums gerechtfertigt.

Der Schüler Isak Berger (seiner Herkunft nach ein schwäbischer Jude) verweist darauf, dass offiziell in Batschka die Ungarn und nicht die Deutschen während des Krieges regierten. Auschwitz stand jedoch unter der Leitung der Deutschen und die Ungarn haben die Batschkaer und ungarischen Juden dorthin geschickt. Es stellt sich aber die Frage, auf wessen Befehl hin das getan wurde. Über zehn seiner Verwandten und Nachnamen-Träger, fast alle Juden aus Werbass, starben in Auschwitz (Marojević 2011: 97–98). Für den jungen Juden ist das der Grund, warum die einheimischen Deutschen leiden mussten. Das Bestehen darauf, dass die Deutschen die alleinige Schuld am Zweiten Weltkrieg und am Holocaust tragen, ist demnach eine Form der Verdrängung, durch die die anderen Kriegsteilnehmer entlastet werden.

Tante Bonja rechtfertigt die sexuellen Angriffe auf die deutschen Frauen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg damit, dass in jedem Krieg Frauen vergewaltigt werden. Die Deutschen hätten doch auch, so Bonja, ihre Frauen vergewaltigt und wenn „ihre Landsleute" tatsächlich die Mutter der Donauschwäbin vergewaltigt haben, mit der ihr Neffe befreundet ist, dann „haben sie sie zumindest zum ersten

Mal mit echten Männern bekannt gemacht!“ (Marojević 2011: 192). Die Tante zeigt nicht das geringste Mitgefühl mit den Deutschen, obwohl sie selbst bitterlich weinte, als man ihr zupfiff, während sie nach ihrer Ankunft in Werbass nackt duschte (Marojević 2011: 47). Menschliches Leid bedeutet nichts, wenn es die anderen, die man als schuldig betrachtet, betrifft, selbst wenn sie tatsächlich unschuldig sind.

Tante Bonja ist der Meinung, dass die Kolonisten während ihrer Umsiedlung schlechter davonkamen als die Deutschen, obwohl sie zu der Gewinnerseite gehörten (Marojević 2011: 45). Fast gegen ihren Willen wurden sie mit dem Zug und ohne Toiletten nach Werbass gebracht. Zudem waren sie in Lastwagen und zu Fuß unterwegs. Als sie ankamen, säuberte man sie von Läusen, man ließ sie nackt duschen und sie wurden dabei beobachtet (Marojević 2011: 46–47). Tante Bonja ist jedoch nicht die Tatsache bekannt, dass die Donauschwaben in Deutschland nur durch die Hilfe des Roten Kreuzes und einiger kirchennaher Organisationen überleben konnten, denn andernfalls wären sie verhungert, weil die Einheimischen sie als Fremde betrachteten (Marojević 2011: 84). Selbst wenn sie das wüsste, würde sie das trotzdem nicht interessieren, denn ihrer Meinung nach sind die Deutschen für alles verantwortlich und deshalb haben sie alles „verdient“, was ihnen später passiert ist.

2.2. Verdrängungsstrategie Externalisieren im Roman *Mutters Hand*

Bei der Verdrängungsstrategie Externalisieren wird nach dem Prinzip „Ich war es nicht, es waren andere!“ die Schuld von sich selbst gewiesen und anderen zugerechnet (Assmann 2011: 170–174). Obwohl man einem Kollektiv angehört, weigert man sich als Einzelner die persönliche Schuld anzuerkennen, sondern man schreibt sie einer nicht näher bezeichneten Gruppe zu, die die Verbrechen begangen hat.

Die Kolonistenfamilie, die das deutsche Haus bewohnt, distanziert sich von jeglicher Verantwortung für dessen Enteignung, denn als die Kolonisten ankamen, haben sie selbst niemandem etwas weggenommen, sondern man hat ihnen nur ihre Belohnung für den gewonnen Krieg gegeben (Marojević 2011: 192). Die Mutter des Erzählers Anka betont, dass ihre Familie aus gerechtfertigtem Grund das Haus bekommen hat. Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg wurden die Deutschen nicht nur aus dem ehemaligen Jugoslawien, sondern auch aus Polen, der Tschechoslowakei und fast allen anderen von den Deutschen besetzten Ländern vertrieben. Sie verweist darauf, dass sie persönlich niemandem etwas weggenommen haben, sondern dass fast ganz Europa hinter der Entscheidung stand, dass ihnen das deutsche Haus zugesprochen wird (Marojević 2011: 129). Trotzdem kann die Schuld nicht vollständig externalisiert werden – letztendlich muss

die Last von jemandem übernommen werden. Als der Erzähler Gerhard Mosers Brief über die Leiden seiner Familie am Ende und nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg liest, wird ihm bewusst, dass Herthas Schwester und Mutter in der Seidenfabrik in Werbass gelitten haben und dass einige seiner Landsleute, mit denen er den gleichen Geburtsort und die gleiche Herkunft teilt, etwas mit dem Leid der Deutschen in der Seidenfabrik zu tun hatten. In Bezug darauf empfindet der Erzähler keine Schuldgefühle, weil er selbst niemandem etwas Schreckliches angetan hat. Hätte Hertha aber auch ihm die Schuld zugewiesen, dann hätte er sich sicherlich schuldig gefühlt (Marojević 2011: 126). Aufgrund seiner Zugehörigkeit zu demselben Kollektiv ist sich der Erzähler der Identifikation mit den Tätern bewusst. Dieses Bewusstsein ist aber auch bei dem Opfer der Gewalt, der Donauschwäbin Sonja, vorhanden.

Während des letzten Gesprächs zwischen dem Erzähler und Sonja sagt sie, dass sie einander nicht verstehen können, da zwischen ihnen zu viele Unterschiede in Bezug auf ihre Tradition und die gesellschaftlichen Verhaltensweisen bestehen. Sie betont, dass die deutschen Frauen während der sexuellen Angriffe in der Seidenfabrik dennoch immer Damen blieben. Ihre Vergewaltiger waren dagegen bloß eine „blutige Bauernhorde". Am Ende schreit Sonja den Erzähler regelrecht an, dass auch er eine junge Dame, ihre Schwester, bedrängt. Obwohl der Erzähler nur ein sechzehnjähriger Junge ist, gehört er trotzdem zu dem Kollektiv, das in den Jahren von 1944 bis 1948 innerhalb von vier Jahren etwa sechzigtausend Deutsche, hauptsächlich Zivilisten, getötet hat, ganz zu schweigen von der Anzahl der enteigneten Häuser (Marojević 2011: 205).

Obwohl Einzelpersonen versuchen, die Schuld von sich zu weisen, bleibt sie trotzdem präsent. Auf eine Gewisse Art und Weise sucht sie nach einem konkreten Schuldigen, den man anklagen und verurteilen könnte, um die Last des Schmerzes und der geschehenen Ungerechtigkeit zu mildern. Solange das Problem der Schuld und Verantwortung nicht gelöst wird, bleibt die Last weiterhin bestehen und erstickt diejenigen, die sie tragen, wobei sie auch oft auf die nächsten Generationen übertragen wird.

Der Erzähler ist sich der Schuld des Kollektivs, dem er angehört, bewusst, aber auch der Tatsache, dass er nicht persönlich die Verantwortung für die Ereignisse vor seiner Geburt trägt. Deswegen akzeptiert er keine Internalisierung. So kann er am Ende des Romans dennoch aufrecht gehen, weil er nicht mehr in dem deutschen Haus leben wird, das den Vorbesitzern einst weggenommen wurde. Auf diese Weise wird er von der Last der Schuld seiner Vorfahren befreit.

2.3. Verdrängungsstrategie Ausblenden im Roman *Mutters Hand*

Bei der Verdrängungsstrategie Ausblenden wird alles, was der Gegenstand von Kritik, Empörung, Trauer und Trauma ist, aus der Wahrnehmung und dem Bewusstsein ausgeblendet, wodurch ein amputiertes moralisches Gefühl entsteht (Assmann 2011: 174–176). Im Roman *Mutters Hand* wird die Auslöschung der Existenz der Deutschen in Werbass durch die Namensänderungen und die Schaffung falscher Identitäten, um sich der Verfolgung und Vertreibung zu entziehen, gezeigt.

Die Kolonisten ändern die Straßennamen in der Stadt, um sich leichter an das zu gewöhnen, was einst anderen gehörte (Marojević 2011: 78). So wird die ehemalige *Hauptgasse* zuerst in *Ulica Maršala Tita* (dt. *Marschall Tito Straße*) und dann in *Ulica korzoa* (dt. *Korso Straße*) umbenannt (Marojević 2011: 139). Die Änderung der Straßennamen erschwert die Rekonstruktion der historischen Ereignisse, wodurch Spuren der Vergangenheit verwischt werden und mit der Zeit verschwinden. Die Deutschen verbergen ihre Identität, indem sie ihre Nachnamen ändern und ihren Kindern serbische Vornamen geben (Marojević 2011: 44). Für den Erzähler werden die Gründe dafür nachvollziehbar, nachdem er sich einen Film über die Bewohner eines Heimes für Kriegswaisen anschaut, in dem die Kinder entdecken, dass der blonde Junge, der behauptet aus Weißkirchen (serb. Bela Crkva) zu stammen und sich als Boško Grubač ausgibt, in Wirklichkeit ein Deutscher ist und Hanno heißt, und dass der SS-Offizier auf dem Foto, das er unter seinem Kissen versteckt, sein verstorbener Vater war. Nach der Entdeckung wollen ihn die anderen Kinder im Heim erschießen. Der Mord wird zunächst verhindert. Später wird Hanno aber wieder von einer Gruppe von Kindern gejagt. Den Ausgang dieser Szene erfährt der Erzähler nicht, denn gerade als er erfahren sollte, was „wir“ dem deutschen Jungen im Film angetan haben, schaltet seine Mutter den Fernseher mit der Begründung aus, dass er zu empfindlich für schockierende Szenen sei (Marojević 2011: 128–129). Im Gegensatz zur Filmkunst, die im Roman eine gewisse Meinungsfreiheit besitzt, berichten die unter der direkten Kontrolle des Staates stehenden Medien überhaupt nicht über bestimmte Aspekte der historischen Ereignisse, sondern man vertuscht sie.

In der Zeitung mit dem ironischen Zeitungsnamen *Slobodna Vojvodina* (dt. *Freie Wojwodina*), die aus der Zeit nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg stammt, kann der Erzähler nichts darüber finden, wo die Besitzer der verteilten „faschistischen“ Häuser verblieben sind. In der Bibliothek gibt es auch keine Bücher, die über die Deutschen als Opfer berichten, sondern nur als Mörder (Marojević 2011: 134–137). Der Teil der Geschichte, der nicht der Politik der Regierung entspricht, wird einfach ausgeblendet, um die durchgeführten Maßnahmen als korrekt und gerechtfertigt darzustellen. So entsteht ein unvollständiges Bild der Realität, da die Wahrheit weder in den Medien noch in den historischen Werken thematisiert wird.

2.4. Verdrängungsstrategie Schweigen im Roman *Mutters Hand*

Mit seinem Roman fördert Marojević erfolgreich die Kritik am anhaltenden Schweigen bezüglich der Verbrechen der jugoslawischen Nachkriegsregierung an der lokalen deutschen Bevölkerung (Đoković 2012). Das Schweigen der Opfer und das Verschweigen der Täter gehören ebenfalls zu den Strategien der Verdrängung, die von Assmann erwähnt werden (2011: 176–179). Die Mauer des Schweigens, auf die der Erzähler während seiner Recherchen stößt, sowie die nicht überzeugenden Antworten, die ihm während der Handlung des Romans gegeben werden, erhöhen die Zweifel des Erzählers (Tošić 2012) in Bezug darauf, dass nicht alles so ist, wie man es ihm darstellen möchte. Das ermutigt ihn wiederum dazu, weiter zu recherchieren.

Der Erzähler erfährt, dass sich bereits sein Großvater nach der Geschichte des Hauses erkundigt hatte, aber auf eine Mauer des Schweigens stieß. Bonja vermutet, dass er etwas erfahren hat, das Geheimnis aber mit ins Grab genommen hat. Wäre er noch am Leben, würde er die Fragen seines Enkels bestimmt beantworten können (Marojević 2011: 210). Zudem erfährt der Erzähler, dass sein Großvater oft mit Velizar Čogurić in der Kneipe *Senka* zusammensaß und dass sie Freunde waren (Marojević 2011: 166), sodass er bestimmt die ganze Wahrheit über die Familie Moser von ihm erfahren hat, sie aber verbarg. Auch diejenigen, die die Wahrheit kennen, schweigen, weil es gefährlich ist, darüber zu reden.

Aus dem angeführten Grund schweigen auch die Töchter. Die Mutter des Erzählers Anka möchte auf die Frage nach dem Kamin, den nur reiche Leute besaßen, nicht antworten, und begründet das damit, dass sie gerade das Fach Deutsch haben und nicht die Fächer Geschichte oder Hauswirtschaft (Marojević 2011: 28). Selbst nach dem Suizid ihrer Schwester Bonja will die Mutter nicht reden, sondern lächelt ihren Sohn bloß an, als hätte sie alles vergessen oder gibt vor, alles vergessen zu haben (Marojević 2011: 214). Im privaten Bereich ermöglicht das Schweigen die Bewältigung traumatischer Ereignisse in allen Lebensbereichen.

Tante Bonja will nichts über die Vorbesitzer des Hauses erzählen, sondern rät ihrem Neffen, die Vergangenheit ruhen zu lassen. Sie ist aber selbst nicht dazu fähig und trägt wegen all der Verstorbenen in der Familie immer schwarze oder dunkelblaue Kleidung (Marojević 2011: 73). Anstatt auf die Fragen über die Deutschen einzugehen, wechselt sie das Thema und erzählt ihrem Neffen von der Umsiedlung, über die er selbst kein Wort verlieren darf, weil jeder davon weiß, aber niemand darüber redet (Marojević 2011: 46). Die Ermittlungen des Neffen auf dem Platz in Kutzura (serb. Kucura) ängstigen die Tante, da man in der Gegend davon erfahren könnte (Marojević 2011: 167). Dafür ist es jedoch zu spät, denn die Polizei hält die Mutter des Erzählers an und bringt sie wegen der

offensichtlich gefährlichen Fragen ihres Sohnes über die Deutschen zur Polizeistation (Marojević 2011: 190–191). Auf diese Weise werden die Menschen eingeschüchtert und daran gehindert, sich über die Ereignisse unmittelbar nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg weiter zu erkundigen. Die Mauer des Schweigens bekommt dennoch langsam Risse. Am Ende erfährt der Erzähler mehr über die Verbrechen gegen die Deutschen von den Opfern selbst. Von der Situation im Arbeitslager, der harten körperlichen Arbeit, dem Hunger sowie den Vergewaltigungen und dem Tod der Frauen infolge der sexuellen Angriffe erfährt der Erzähler aus einem Brief von Gerhard Moser. Auf die gleiche Weise erfährt er auch von den Morden an angesehenen Deutschen, ohne dass ein ersichtliches Motiv bestand, denn zu dieser Zeit wurden überall Intellektuelle getötet, nicht nur Deutsche (Marojević 2011: 117–122). Sonja berichtet dem Erzähler von der Liquidation der Deutschen auf der Straße und im Hof vor dem Haus, ohne dass es zuvor ein Gerichtsverfahren gab (Marojević 2011: 93). Sie erzählt ihm davon, um auch ihm die Schuld dafür zuzuweisen. Vor ihrer Schwester Hertha verbirgt Sonja aber die ganze Wahrheit und erzählt ihr nur so viel, wie viel sie wissen sollte, weil sie sie beschützen möchte (Marojević 2011: 203). Schweigen ist eine Verdrängungsstrategie, die ebenfalls von den Opfern angewendet wird, nicht nur aus Angst, sondern auch um die geliebten Menschen zu beschützen, denn die Wahrheit ist letztendlich zu schmerzhaft und zu destruktiv.

2.5. Verdrängungsstrategie Umfälschen im Roman *Mutters Hand*

Das Umfälschen der Wahrheit in das, was dem Einzelnen gerade passt, führt dazu, dass die kompromittierten Familienmitglieder zu moralischen und reingewaschenen Personen werden (Assmann 2011: 180–181). Diese Strategie der Verdrängung dient dazu, um den Einzelnen und seine Familie zu schützen. Im Roman ist sie hauptsächlich bei Sonja vorhanden, wenn sie die Wahrheit über ihren Vater verbergen möchte.

Wenn Sonja das erste Mal über ihren Vater redet, spricht sie langsamer, als würde sie zögern oder etwas erfinden. Sie erzählt dem Erzähler, dass der Nachname ihres Vaters Majstorović war, ihre Mutter diesen Nachnamen aber nicht annahm. Während des Krieges bekam er eine Stelle als Hausmeister im Volksbund im Hauptquartier in Weißkirchen. Er feuerte keine einzige Kugel ab, wurde aber verwundet, als ein Illegaler auf ihn schoss, während er eine Kneipe verließ. Um nicht gegen seinen Willen mobilisiert zu werden, nahm er die Arbeit beim Volksbund an. Von der Division Prinz Eugen war ihm nur noch eine Uniform mit einem Odal-Rune-Zeichen geblieben, im Gegensatz zu den anderen, die ein Hakenkreuz trugen. Im Volksbund kehrte er zu seinen alten Aktivitäten (Reparaturen) zurück. Auf die Frage, wie ihr Vater Deutscher sein konnte, wenn

er doch mit Nachnamen Majstorović hieß, erklärt Sonja, dass sein tatsächlicher Nachname Meister war. Sie verstummt und fügt dann hinzu, dass ihr Großvater in den dreißiger Jahren den serbischen Nachnamen annahm, um sich besser zu integrieren (Marojević 2011: 90–91). Sonjas Pausen deuten darauf hin, dass sie die Wahrheit umgehen möchte, indem sie sich der Verdrängungsstrategie des Schweigens bedient.

Aus einem Brief von Gerhard Moser erfährt der Erzähler, dass Sonjas Vater im Kulturbund war, weil er in der Division Prinz Eugen wie ein Hausmeister behandelt wurde, und dass er auch als Hausmeister im Kulturbund arbeitete, der in Batschka nur eine gewöhnliche deutsche Kulturgruppe war, die zum ungarischen Volksbund gehörte (Marojević 2011: 120). Obwohl Sonja auch weiterhin darauf besteht, dass ihr Vater im Volksbund war, gibt sie zu, dass der wahre Nachname ihres Vaters Moser lautet und dass er den Nachnamen Majstorović in Anlehnung an seinen Beruf vor dem Kriegsende annahm, um sich zu schützen (Marojević 2011: 201).

Als der Erzähler das Foto in der Speisekammer des Hauses findet und den Nachnamen Moser im Telefonbuch für Kutzura entdeckt und schließlich Sonja damit konfrontiert, schweigt sie zunächst, als würde sie überlegen, was sie darauf antworten sollte, oder als hätte sie seine Frage vergessen. Daraufhin belügt sie ihn erneut, dass der Mann aus Kutzura eigentlich Majstorovićs Cousin bzw. der Sohn seiner Tante ist und dass er in dem Haus lebte, in dem er jetzt lebt, sowie dass ihr Vater ihm die Waffe geschenkt hat (Marojević 2011: 12). Sonja verwickelt sich in Lügen, ist aber der Meinung, dass sie das Recht dazu hat, weil der Erzähler in dem Haus lebt, das einst ihnen gehörte, bis man es ihnen wegnahm, weswegen sie ihm nicht die Wahrheit schuldet (Marojević 2011: 202). Hier wird die Verdrängungsstrategie Umfälschen mit der Strategie Aufrechnen verbunden.

Im Roman ist das Umfälschen im Privatleben der Mutter des Erzählers präsent, die dadudrch ihre individuellen Erinnerungen unterdrückt: Anka erzählt ihrem Sohn nicht, dass sein Vater Mijat kein Kolonist war und dass er sich von ihr scheiden ließ, weil er nicht in einem deutschen Haus leben wollte. Sie besteht beharrlich darauf, dass sie es war, die sich von Mijat scheiden ließ, weil er ihren Sohn geschlagen hatte (Marojević 2011: 122). Der Sohn erfährt aber die Wahrheit: dass der Vater kein Verständnis für die Menschen aufbrachte, die sich bereit erklärten, in den deutschen Häusern zu leben, und dass er nicht in das Haus der vertriebenen Deutschen einzog, sondern mit seiner Tante in Alt-Werbass wohnte, die dort seit den 1930er Jahren lebte (Marojević 2011: 108). Aus dem genannten Grund beschließt der Erzähler am Ende aufrecht zu gehen, wie sein Vater, der wollte, dass sein Sohn in Perast und nicht in einem enteigneten Haus lebt (Marojević 2011: 218). Damit entscheidet er sich für die Offenheit, das Gewissen, die Ehrlichkeit und Würde bzw. für das Erbe seines Vaters und nicht für das zerstörerische Erbe der Verdrängung, Unterdrückung und des Schweigens seiner Mutter.

3. FOLGEN DER VERDRÄNGUNG

Zwei Hauptthemen bestimmen die Handlung des Romans: erstens die Ermittlungen des Erzählers bezüglich der Geschichte des Familienhauses, in dem er während seines Aufenthalts in Neu-Werbass lebt, und der damit in Verbindung stehenden deutschen Familie, zweitens die Lungenkrankheit. Ein weiteres, zusätzliches Thema ist der Verlust der Unschuld, was wortwörtlich aber auch im übertragenen Sinne verstanden werden kann. Bis zum Ende des Romans bzw. bis zum Neujahr verliert der sechzehnjährige Erzähler einerseits tatsächlich seine Jungfräulichkeit mit Hertha Schleser, andererseits erfährt er während seiner Ermittlungen die Wahrheit über seine Eltern, über das Haus seiner Tante, über seine Familie und über die Gesellschaft, in der er lebt, und reift dadurch als Person. Die Folgen der Verdrängung betreffen dabei sowohl die gesamte Familie als auch den Einzelnen.

3.1. Haus und Familie

Durch die Rekonstruktion der Ereignisse findet der Erzähler heraus, wem das Haus einst gehörte und dass seine Familie es bekam, weil es seinem Großvater Šćepan gefiel. Später war sein Großvater nicht froh darüber, dass er ein Haus wählte, dass einem anderen gehörte bzw. das durch die Arbeit eines anderen gebaut wurde. Obwohl er niemanden dafür verurteilen konnte, weil er selbst in einem solchen enteigneten Haus lebte, teilte er in dieser Hinsicht die gleiche Meinung mit seinem Schwiegersohn Mijat. Er war auch der einzige in der Familie, der sich nicht über die Scheidung seiner Tochter freute (Marojević 2011: 108), während Mijat mit seinen Ansichten den anderen Familienmitgliedern ein Dorn im Auge war.

In erster Linie verkörpert das Haus einen Wohnort. Das Haus besitzt zudem auch eine starke kulturelle und symbolische Bedeutung: es ist ein Treffpunkt im Prozess der Initiation, es kann aber auch den Abstieg in die dunklen Sphären kurz vor der Geburt repräsentieren (Kamings 2004: 246). Im Roman befinden sich am Neujahr die verbleibenden Mitglieder beider Familien in dem deutschen Haus. In dem Moment, in dem der Erzähler seine Jungfräulichkeit verliert, sind alle im Haus anwesend und nehmen an seinem Prozess des Erwachsenwerdens teil.

Das Haus wird nicht ganz genutzt, denn es gibt auch leere und verschlossene Räume (Marojević 2011: 18). Im symbolischen und philosophischen Sinne steht die Leere unter anderem für die Vertuschung, Verleugnung bzw. für eine Realität oder einen Aktionsraum, in dem eine Leere besteht (Ševalije, Gerbran 2009: 742). Gerade die leeren Räume im Haus verweisen auf die Verleugnung

der Realität, auf bestimmte Bereiche, die trotz ihrer Unzugänglichkeit immer noch aktuell und bedeutend sind.

Die Speisekammer ist immer verschlossen. Diesen Raum, sowie den Dachboden und den Keller, kann der Erzähler nicht betreten (Marojević 2011: 18). Erst am Ende der Handlung findet er heraus, dass sich in der Speisekammer eine Waffe befindet, die im Keller gefunden wurde (Marojević 2011: 152), und dass man dort die Spuren von zwei Familien findet, die zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten in dem Haus gelebt haben: die deutsche Familie und die Familie des Erzählers. Beide bauten Türme aus Dingen, die sie nicht mehr brauchten (Marojević 2011: 153). Darunter befindet sich auch ein Foto des ehemaligen Hausbesitzers in Uniform (Marojević 2011: 156), das mit verschiedenen Geschichten verbunden wird. Die Speisekammer ist voller verborgener Erinnerungen, die immer noch lebendig sind und die die beiden Familien miteinander verbinden.

In der Psychoanalyse steht das Haus für die verschiedenen Ebenen des Geistes, für die Verbindung des Körpers mit den geistigen Prozessen und dem Leben an sich. Der Raum der Essenszubereitung ist der Ort oder Moment der Bewusstseinsveränderung (Kamings 2004: 246). Als Tante Bonja ihrem Neffen zum ersten Mal erzählt, dass einst Deutsche in dem Haus gelebt haben, befinden sich die beiden gerade in der Küche (Marojević 2011: 42). In diesem Moment beginnt beim Erzähler eine entscheidende Bewusstseinsveränderung, die ihn im Laufe der Handlung tief prägen wird.

Der Keller ist mit den Instinkten und dem Unbewussten verbunden. Die Treppen verbinden verschiedene Ebenen des Geistes miteinander und ihre Bedeutung hängt davon ab, ob man die Treppen hinauf- oder hinabsteigt (Kamings 2004: 246). Einst hatte der Großvater die Waffe im Keller gefunden. Er säuberte und zerlegte sie. Danach tat sein Sohn Boško dasselbe, der die Waffe jedem Gemälde vorzog. Er liebte sie sogar mehr als die Vorbesitzer (Marojević 2011: 158). Als ein Mittel der Zerstörung, Verletzung und Tötung wird die Waffe zu einem Erbe, das unabhängig von der ethnischen Zugehörigkeit von einer Familie an die andere weitergegeben wird und eine weitaus größere Bedeutung als die Kunst erlangt bzw. als die Ergebnisse einer kreativen Tat.

Die Waffe wird aus dem Keller in die Speisekammer gebracht (Marojević 2011: 152) d. h. von der unbewussten (mörderischer Instinkt) in die bewusste Ebene übertragen. Daher verwundert es auch nicht, dass es dem Erzähler vorkommt, als würde es im Haus nach Blut riechen und als würde der Geruch aus dem Keller und aus dem Hof kommen. Tante Bonja antwortet darauf, dass der Vorbesitzer der Waffe ein Deutscher war, der eine Uniform trug, der getötet hat und deshalb auch selbst getötet wurde (Marojević 2011: 192). Bonja erschießt sich mit derselben Waffe im Keller des Hauses. Ihre Verwandten finden im Keller – wo es wie nach einem Hundeatem aus der Hölle riecht, weil der Gestank fast immer zuerst auf den verweist, von dem er kommt – die Werkstatt eines

Deutschen, der dort gelebt hat, und dessen Geräte und Gegenstände nicht mehr brauchbar sind (Marojević 2011: 214–215). Zwei junge Männer kommen aus dem Keller mit einer neuen Erkenntnis über die Vergangenheit der Familie. Das Unterdrückte und Unterbewusste kommt erst in der dritten bzw. jüngsten Generation ans Licht.

Das Dach und der Dachboden werden mit dem Kopf, dem Ratio und mit dem Intellekt bzw. dem bewussten Ausdruck der Selbstkontrolle verbunden (Kamings 2004: 246). Die erste Generation der Kolonisten und die gegenwärtige Besitzerin Bonja haben nicht die Schule besucht und können weder lesen noch schreiben (Marojević 2011: 41). Die Mutter des Erzählers ist gebildet, ebenso wie der Cousin, der wegen seiner Herkunft (Nikšić, Montenegro) von allen Nikschitschaner genannt wird und den Erzähler wegen seiner Lungenerkrankungen behandelt. Somit treffen hier der Analphabetismus und die höhere Bildung aufeinander (Marojević 2011: 205). Der Dachboden des Hauses ist unzugänglich und über den Grund dafür wird auch nicht gesprochen. Das verweist auf die Unfähigkeit der ganzen Familie, Kontrolle über sich selbst zu erlangen bzw. aus dem unbewussten in den bewussten Bereich zu gelangen und somit die dunkle Vergangenheit zu überwinden.

Ein bedeutender Ort in dem deutschen Haus ist der Kamin. Als eine Feuerstelle, um die herum man sich versammelt, symbolisiert der Kamin das Zusammenleben, die Heimat, die Beziehung zwischen Mann und Frau und die Liebe. Als Solarzentrum bringt der Kamin mit seinem wärmespendenden Licht Menschen einander näher und dort wird ebenfalls das Essen zubereitet. Somit stellt der Kamin das Zentrum des Lebens dar, das gegeben, unterstützt und ausgedehnt wird. Die Feuerstelle wird in allen Gesellschaften respektiert. Sie wird sogar zu einer Art heiligem Ort gemacht, wo nach dem Schutz Gottes gesucht und sein Kult gefeiert wird und wo heilige Bilder oder Statuen aufbewahrt werden (Ševalije, Gerbran 2009: 628). In dem deutschen Haus steht auf dem Kamin die Inschrift „Bitte keine Abfälle in den Kamin werfen!“. Der Zweck der Inschrift besteht darin, die Wärme und Sauberkeit des Herdes und der damit verbundenen Gemeinschaft zu bewahren. Tante Bonja, die kein Deutsch spricht, wirft aber ständig Zigarettenkippen in den Kamin, was wahrscheinlich der Grund dafür ist, warum er schlecht heizt (Marojević 2011: 41). Die Asche und der Rest des im Feuer Verbrannten symbolisieren den Tod und die Bestrafung (Ševalije, Gerbran 2009: 692). Das gilt sowohl für die ersten Eigentümer des Hauses als auch für die Kolonisten. So wird sich gerade Tante Bonja, die Zigaretten raucht und die Zigarettenkippen in den Kamin wirft, schließlich das Leben nehmen.

Der Tod der Tante wird nicht nur durch die Zigarettenkippen angedeutet, sondern auch durch ihre Bemerkung, dass die Fragen des Neffen ihr das Wasser unschmackhaft gemacht haben (Marojević 2011: 106). Da das Wasser primär das Leben, die Reinigung und Erneuerung symbolisiert (Ševalije, Gerbran 2009:

1048), hat die Rückkehr in die Vergangenheit zur Folge, dass Tante Bonja das Leben anekelt, während für ihren Neffen das Fragenstellen der einzige Weg zur Genesung ist.

3.2. Lungenkrankheit

Die Schlüsselelemente im Roman *Mutters Hand* sind, wie im ersten Teil der *Ethnofiktion,* in *Žega*, die historische Vergangenheit und die (Lungen-) Krankheit. Hier erscheint die historische Vergangenheit als eine Krankheit und die Krankheit als eine Metapher für „nationale Stürze und das Nicht-Verstehen des historischen Augenblicks“ (Martinov 2012). Die Lungenerkrankung, an der der Erzähler leidet, steht im direkten Zusammenhang mit der Geschichte des Hauses, in dem seine Tante lebt. Sein (kranker) Zustand verschlechtert oder bessert sich in Abhängigkeit von seinen Versuchen, die Wahrheit über die früheren Hausbesitzer herauszufinden (Tošić 2012). Seine Liebe fürs Tauchen und für das Wasser entspricht seinem Bedürfnis, sich von der Vergangenheit zu reinigen und sich für einen Neuanfang zu erneuern.

Wegen der Krankheit, die während seines Aufenthalts in Werbass erneut ausbricht, hat der Erzähler Visionen, die ihn in die Vergangenheit zurückführen und ihm das offenbaren, was dem physischen Auge nicht zugänglich ist. Der Arzt (Nikschitschaner) spricht in dem Zusammenhang von außergewöhnlichen „mentalen Kräften“, die sich bei kranken Nebenhöhlen entwickeln (Marojević 2011: 55). Im Laufe der Handlung hat der Erzähler mehrere Visionen und nachdem er am Ende alles enthüllt, erfolgt auch seine körperliche und geistige Genesung, wobei ebenfalls seine Halluzinationen verschwinden.

Während seiner Recherchen erfährt der Erzähler von den Rachefeldzügen gegen die deutsche Gemeinschaft nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg sowie von den Lagern, die von 1944 bis 1948 existierten und in denen deutsche Bewohner, hauptsächlich Zivilisten, interniert waren. Diese Deutschen waren primär unschuldige Menschen (ältere Menschen, Frauen und Kinder), da die wahren Schuldigen rechtzeitig geflohen waren. Der Erzähler erfährt, dass die neue Regierung die gut betuchten, leeren deutschen Häuser und Grundstücke den zugewanderten Bewohnern aus Bosnien und Herzegowina und Montenegro gab, hauptsächlich den Familien, deren männliche Mitglieder an vorderster Front kämpften und die treue Anhänger der neuen Regierung waren. Die neuen Bewohner stammten größtenteils aus gebirgigen Gegenden und sie waren an die Lebens- und Arbeitsbedingungen in der Ebene nicht gewöhnt. Diejenigen, die nicht in ihre Heimat zurückkehrten, hatten Schwierigkeiten, sich in die neue Umgebung zu integrieren (Tošić 2012). Der Erzähler erfährt auch etwas Neues über seine Eltern, über ihre Beziehung zueinander und über ihre Konflikte und

Trennung. Er lernt seinen verachteten Vater mit neuen Augen zu betrachten, der ihn zwar geschlagen hat, der aber nicht schweigen wollte.

Als der Erzähler Sonja das erste Mal vorschlägt, ihn in dem Haus zu besuchen, in dem er zurzeit lebt, befällt ihn eine starke Kälte in der Brust, die solange dort bleibt, solange sie ihm von ihrer Familie erzählt (Marojević 2011: 89–91). Wenn der Körper in Analogie zum Haus betrachtet wird, steht die Kälte bzw. die Abwesenheit von Wärme in seinem Herzen im direkten Zusammenhang mit dem Kamin des Familienhauses, der die Hausbewohner schlecht wärmt.

Wegen der Atembeschwerden, die der Erzähler aufgrund des Rauchs von Bonjas Zigaretten bekommt, während sie über die Zuwanderung spricht und es vermeidet, seine Fragen zu den Deutschen zu beantworten, muss er die Nacht am offenen Fenster verbringen (Marojević 2011: 51). Als er erkrankt, erfährt er vom Arzt (Nikschitschaner), dass die Ateminsuffizienz eine psychosomatische Krankheit ist, die viele Menschen aus seiner Heimat das Leben kostete, so auch viele aus seiner Familie, da die Schwermut sie so stark bedrückte, dass sie daran quasi erstickten. Wie den Erzähler, so belastete auch seinen Vater Mijat und seinen Großvater Šćepan das Geheimnis des Hauses und man erfährt im Laufe der Geschichte, dass beide an einem Lungenleiden gestorben sind (Marojević 2011: 56).

Als der Erzähler schließlich von Sonja die ganze Wahrheit erfährt, schläft er ohne Kopfschutz mitten im Winter auf einer Bank ein und landet daraufhin im Krankenhaus, weil man ihn nicht aufwecken konnte. Wie durch ein Wunder bildet sich kein Abszess in seiner Lunge (Marojević 2011: 207). Bonja glaubt aber, dass ihr Neffe im Koma liegt und sterben wird. Daraufhin bringt sie sich im verschlossenen Keller des deutschen Hauses mit der deutschen Pistole um und hinterlässt die Abschiedsnachricht: „Ich kann nicht mehr. Macht ihr jetzt weiter“ (Marojević 2011: 208). Bei ihrer Beerdigung kommt dem Erzähler eine schleimige, blutgefäßähnliche rosa Flüssigkeit aus seiner Nase, nachdem er aus dem Keller rausgegangen ist. Während er weint, verschwinden seine Kopfschmerzen, der Druck in seiner Brust und seinen Nebenhöhlen sowie die Visionen, die er im Wasser hatte. Es wird beschlossen, dass er am nächsten Tag nach Perast zurückkehren wird (Marojević 2011: 217), d. h. in die Stadt, die die Wahl seines Vaters war, weil er nicht wollte, dass sein Sohn in dem enteigneten Haus lebt. Zum ersten Mal wünscht sich der Erzähler seinem verstorbenen Vater Mijat ähnlicher zu sein (Marojević 2011: 218). Das Ganze führt schließlich zu seiner vollständigen geistigen und körperlichen Heilung.

4. FAZIT

Hinsichtlich der Donauschwaben in Werbass, ihrer Teilnahme am Krieg sowie ihrer Vertreibung nach dem Krieg sind im Roman verschiedene Strategien

der Verdrängung der Vergangenheit erkennbar und sie werden von beiden Seiten angewendet. Über die Ereignisse im Zusammenhang mit den Donauschwaben in Werbass nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, die Lager, den Missbrauch und die Enteignung wird weder gesprochen noch geschrieben (Verdrängungsstrategie Schweigen). Die einstige Präsenz der deutschen Bevölkerung in Werbass wird durch die Änderung der Straßennamen und der persönlichen Namen ausgelöscht (Verdrängungsstrategie Ausblenden). Die Deutschen verleugnen selbst ihre Vergangenheit, um sich vor Verfolgungen zu schützen und Unannehmlichkeiten zu vermeiden (Verdrängungsstrategie Umfälschen). Falls man die Verbrechen gegen die einheimischen deutschen Bewohner doch thematisiert, dann werden sie dadurch gerechtfertigt, dass die Deutschen als Nazis selbst Verbrechen begangen haben, weswegen sie es verdient haben, vertrieben, liquidiert und verletzt zu werden (Verdrängungsstrategie Aufrechnen). In Bezug auf die Enteignung des Eigentums bestehen die Kolonisten darauf, dass sie die Häuser nicht persönlich weggenommen haben, sondern dass andere dafür verantwortlich sind (Verdrängungsstrategie Externalisieren).

Die genannten Verdrängungsstrategien funktionieren jedoch nicht auf eine lange Zeit, denn als Orte der Erinnerung hinterlassen die Häuser Spuren der Vergangenheit und der Anwesenheit der Vorbesitzer. So wird die Waffe aus dem geschlossenen Keller in die Speisekammer gebracht. Schließlich fungiert sie als ein Mittel der Bedrohung und sie wird für den Selbstmord benutzt. Beim Erzähler bricht die Krankheit in einem ungesunden Klima aus bzw. in einer Umgebung, in der das dunkle Unterbewusste und Unterdrückte die Macht über den Menschen ergreift. Die Krankheit verschwindet erst dann, wenn der Erzähler die ganze Wahrheit über die Vergangenheit, seine Familie und die Gemeinde erfährt, dessen Mittelpunkt im Roman das deutsche Haus bildet, in dem seine Tante lebt. Die Wahrheit ermöglicht ihm schließlich eine Art Versöhnung mit seinem verstorbenen Vater und sie ist der ausschlaggebende Punkt, der seine vollkommene körperliche und geistige Genesung ermöglicht.

Betrachtet man das Werk in einem breiteren literarischen und kulturellen Kontext, dann verweist die in Marojevićs Roman *Mutters Hand* dargestellte Problematik der Verdrängung von (Nach-)Kriegstraumata und ihrer Folgen auf die dringende Notwendigkeit, sich mit der Vergangenheit auseinanderzusetzen. In diesem Zusammenhang erkennt man ebenfalls die zentrale Bedeutung der Literatur als Medium des kulturellen Gedächtnisses im Prozess der Bewusstseinserweiterung und der Überwindung unterdrückter Emotionen. Da offizielle politische und inoffizielle kollektive und individuelle Stimmen zu diesem Thema nur selten Stellung beziehen, ist und bleibt es die Aufgabe der Intellektuellen (Schriftsteller, Journalisten, Wissenschaftler), durch (gesprochene) Worte und (geschriebene) Texte den Prozess der Heilung zu beginnen und fortzusetzen.

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STRATEGIES OF MEMORY SUPPRESSION IN IGOR MAROJEVIĆ'S NOVEL *MAJČINA RUKA*

Summary

Analysing the mechanisms of memory in her epochal work *The Long Shadow of the Past (Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit,* 2006), the researcher Aleida Assmann (1947) has worked out five strategies of suppression used for overcoming traumatic experience: relativizating, externalizing, hiding things, keeping quiet and falsifying. These strategies can be noticed in the novel by Igor Marojević *Majčina ruka* (*A Mother´s Hand*, 2011) which is centred on a house which once belonged to Danube Swabians. In effort to reconstruct the hidden truth about former house owners, the protagonist, a sixteen years old young man, initiates numerous events that show to which extent the past has remained alive and painful in the memory of two families. The history of the house and the lung disease of the boy become inseparably connected, as they symbolize the consequences of the suppression. The aim of this paper has been to identify and analyze various forms of suppression of the traumatic past in the novel in order to confirm the existence of a universal pattern of perpetrator and victim behaviour in after war period, as well as to discuss the consequences of suppression which damage both body and soul health of the family.

Keywords: Danube Swabians, post-war literature, strategies of suppression, Werbaß.

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BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTES

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This rich volume reflects the widely acknowledged multilingual and multicultural nature of Vojvodina, in the wider context of Serbia and the neighbouring countries. It explores the linguistic, literary and cultural links among the nations and national minorities inhabiting the region, while also taking into account the influence of the major European languages. As such, it should be of considerable interest to advanced students and researchers in the fields covered, but also to anyone, in Serbia or elsewhere, who wishes to know more about the multifaceted nature of the region studied and the intricate network of relationships obtaining among its linguistic and cultural components.

From the endorsement by Professor Ranko Bugarski

This volume, in addition to the highly scientific standard, certifies the value and the theoretical and practical usefulness of the research carried out by a large and valuable group of researchers along with a professional editorial team that for nine years now have managed to publish the results of their thorough research on synchronic and diachronic linguistic, literary and cultural aspects and interferences from the perspective of the Serbian language. We also emphasize the highly cultivated style, the highly scientific quality of all the papers, their originality, their extensive documentation support and modern analysis methodology.

From the endorsement by Professor Octavia Nedelcu

This valuable volume reflects extremely well the editorial idea of a grand finale to some highly fruitful research, in which culture demonstrates itself as multiculturalism, time is defined through synchronic and diachronic research, and space is determined through the idea of contact, interaction and interrelations, bringing Vojvodina, and therefore Serbia, into linguistic and cultural focus. The researchers in this volume exhibit and maintain high academic standards in the dominant fields of modern linguistic and literary investigation, making a significant contribution with their originality of elaboration and perceptiveness of the phenomena they explore, and demonstrating a thorough theoretical and methodological approach.

From the endorsement by Professor Slavica Perović

As a matter of fact, this strikingly variegated and colorful book is far denser and more consistent than one would expect at first sight: its thread reads as a hologram, from top (cognition, language faculty) to bottom (space and time), with language use and usage (among which, language teaching) at mid-level. It introduces itself as an anthology from a decennial project, but its true nature and value reflect what anyone should expect from a reference book in our complex field of research: a *companion reader* to the most up-to-date and innovative form of general and applied linguistics.

From the endorsement by Professor Jean-Léo Léonard