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"Concept" in Russian and American Linguistics, or about the Ideological Factors of Terminological Synonymy Formation

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Abstract: The article explores the formation of *ponyatie* (back translation: *concept* or *notion*) and *kontsept* (back translation: *concept*) terminological synonymy in the Russian and Soviet linguistics, considering also the interference of ideological factors. During the Soviet times the interpretation of *ponyatie* as a term was debatable. On the one hand, dialectic materialism dictated objectivity, abstract nature, and a lack of of component that were sensory, image-derived or which involved assessment. On the other hand, the Soviet scholars made attempts to re-interpret the accepted assumptions, though the new conception of *ponyatie* could not gain traction within Marxism-Leninism, which discarded the subjective distinctions of reality in categorization. Post-Soviet linguists then got rid of any aspects that were attributed to the innovative opinions on the essence of *ponyatie*. In order to label the more controversial aspects (subjectivity, sensory, image-derived, axiological components and so on),they have adopted the borrowed term *kontsept*. Scholars started to discuss the relevance or redundancy of *kontsept*, along with differentiation between the lexemes *kontsept* and *ponyatie*. At the same time, the linguistic schools of the English-speaking countries (most notably in the USA) debated the various aspects of concept rather than a difference in terms. The author attributes these distinctions to the Western Humanities lacking the ideological restrictions imposed on the sense of *ponyatie* in the USSR.

Keywords: concept theory, ideology and language, terminological synonymy, Russian linguistics, Soviet linguistics, USA cognitive linguistics.

1. Introduction. Object and Objective.

Based on the distinctions in use of the *ponyatie* (back translation: concept or notion) and *kontsept* (back translation: *concept*) lexemes in Russian, along with *concept* lexeme use in English, the study demonstrates the ideological factors effect on the term formation and functioning, namely on the terminological synonymy as a phenomenon. Due to the action of those factors, a terminological concept may develop in various ethnic and cultural communities in a different manner.

The Russian lexemes of *kontsept* and *ponyatie* are equivalent in their terminological sense to the English lexeme of *concept* (Hvorostin 2007: 30; Kocherhin 2016: 729). They are both used to denote the mental, conceptual units, i.e. conceptual system components representing human experience and knowledge. Moreover, V.Z. Demyankov (2007) points out that *ponyatie* derives from the verb *ponyat'* (to understand) whose etymology is traced to the ancient Slavic word *jęti* (to have, to take (vzyat')) (Fasmer 1987, v II: 326; v. IV: 569). At the same time, *kontsept's* roots go back to the Latin *to take, to capture* (*concipio*). In this regard, the phonological similarity of both terms originates from the parallel development of their etymology.

Before 1990s, the Russian theoretical linguistics restricted itself to the use of *ponyatie* while *kontsept* occurred in the rare studies of individual scholars (Askoldov 1997, Pavilyonis 1983). There was no entry on *kontsept* found in O. Akhmanova's Dictionary of linguistic terms (1966) and the Linguistic encyclopedic dictionary edited by V.N. Jartseva (1990), although Dictionary of Linguistic Terms includes an item on *Ponyatijnyj* (back translation: *conceptual*) (Ahmanova 1966: 328), and the Linguistic encyclopedic dictionary containes one on *Ponyatie* (Jartseva 1990: 383-385).

The 1990s have been marked by a different tendency. We observe an absence of *Ponyatie* item in Ye.S. Kubryakova's edited Dictionary of Cognitive Terms (1997), in T. Matveeva's Comprehensive Dictionary of Linguistic Terms (2010). The trend is observed also in the Ukrainian linguistic school: *poniattia* (back translation: *concept* or *notion*) is absent in The Ukrainian-English Dictionary of Linguistic Terminology (Kolomiets et al. 2013) and A. Martynyuk's Dictionary of Principal Conceptual and Discourse Study Linguistic Terms (2011).

The term of *ponyatie* was thus gradually replaced by *kontsept* at the turn of 21st century with a simultaneous grasp of similarities and disparities existing between them (Krapivkina 2017; Mishlanova 2004; Maslova 2004; Subbotin 2012; Shahovskij 2008, and many others). Even at present, there are studies which accompany the term of *kontsept* by a long explanation of its meaning and distinctions from *ponyatie* (Nagovitsyna 2021). Some scholars consider these terms to be full doublets, though rarely attempt to make this point consistently (Khudyakov 2001). It is worthy of note that most scholars, who do not stand by *the kontsept* term, are avoiding it without making any comment on the subject.

The phenomenon of terminological synonymy is nothing out of the ordinary. It was treated as irreversible by the end of previous century (Sager 1990). Since then, this phenomenon turned into the object of specialized study (Freixa 2006; Reinton 1978; Onysko 2011; Dupuch et al. 2012). The issue of synonymy between *ponyatie* and *kontsept* gets even more contentious, considering the English language backdrop with its single equivalent for both, i.e. concept. Differentiation between the two or a confirmed redundancy of either would enable the specification of terminological compendium of the

Russian linguistic studies. It would also prove useful for the translatology. Besides, the findings demonstrate the extent to which the interpretations of seemingly similar terms may vary in different cultures and ideologies (Xiangqing Wei 2018).

2.Hypothesis and Methods of Proof.

According to the author's own hypothesis, dropping the *ponyatie* term was not essential, or based on its conceptual deficiency; rather, it was a symbolic, though rarely conscious, act of renounced ideological associations. *The ponyatie* played a role of an allusive name in the ideologically-marked texts, substantiating the theory of dialectic materialism, associated with the Soviet propaganda.

In order to prove this hypothesis, it is necessary:

1.　　To detect the differentiating aspects of *kontsept* vs. *ponyatie* using the content and contextual analysis.

2.　　To analyze the Soviet and post-Soviet Humanities-related studies, where the term of *ponyatie* becomes a focus of specialized study, and to explore whether the differentiating aspects of *kontsept* belong to the *ponyatie's* intentional. By means of discourse analysis, one may confirm or refute the similarity of referential and significative meanings of *ponyatie* and *kontsept* in the Soviet and Russian academic sources. Their similarity would signal that the terms' differentiation is not due to their conceptual distinctions, but due to a subjective acceptance/rejection of either. The sources in question were texts on *ponyatie* written during the Soviet times, as well as those underpinning the relevant ideology: i.e. the pillars of Marxist-Leninist ideology, supporting the Soviet *ponyatie*-based theory, the works by K. Marx, F. Engels, and V. Lenin. We analyzed the encyclopediae, manuals, papers and monographs on linguistics, philosophy and logics which delve into the general *ponyatie* theory and its special niche in linguistics. Those findings were partially presented in the author's monograph Lingual Effect on the Value Systems: Scope of Probability (Chernenko 2019: 38-42).

3.　　To compare interpretation of the *ponyatie* term in the Soviet and Russian linguistics with it's rethinking in the US congnitive linguistics and highlight in such a way the specifity of their development depending on cultural and ideological context.

4.　　To draw a parallel between a gradual appropriation of *kontsept* and ousting of *ponyatie*, on one hand, and destruction of the Soviet ideological tenets, on the other hand. The temporal match of both processes and their beginnings may be an indirect confirmation of their association.

3.Results.

3.1.Differentiating Aspects of *Kontsept* and *Ponyatie* in the Russian Linguistic School of 1990-2000s.

The common differentiating aspects of *kontsept* and *ponyatie* referred to by most Russian linguistic studies of 1990-2000s are the following:

• The *ponyatie* reflects only essential aspects of an object, while kontsept reflects both essential and minor aspects (Demyankov 2007; Zalevskaya 2001; 2005; Maslova 2004; Teliya 1996; Chernejko 1995, Yusupova 2021 et al.).

• *The kontsept* encompasses the sensory image of the reflected object, with various ideas and associations related to it. *The ponyatie*, by contrast, encompasses mental abstractions (Zalevskaya 2001; Zusman 2003; Karasik, Slyshkin 2001; Kolesov 1995; Popova, Sternin 2007, Krapivkina 2017 et al.).

• *The kontsept* is subjective and culturally-conditioned, while the ponyatie reflects the reality objectively, and it is universal (Arutyunova 1993; Vorkachyov 2004; Kasyan 2010; Stepanov 2004: 43, Krapivkina 2017 et al.).

• Unlike *the ponyatie*, *the kontsept* includes an evaluative component (Karasik 1996: 4-6; Moskvin, Alefirenko 2000: 140; Vorkachyov 2004: 41; Karasik, Slyshkin 2001; Krasnyh 2003: 5, 9 et al.).

3.2.*The Ponyatie* Term in the Soviet Linguistic Studies.

It was found that the Soviet academic studies on *the ponyatie* in fact emphasized the essential properties of an object. For instance, the Logical Reference Dictionary by the Soviet Academy of Sciences says that *ponyatie* is "a cumulative complex of ideas, or thoughts, on the aspects of the studied object whose nucleus is made by the ideas on the most general and, at the same time, essential aspects of this object" (Kondakov 1975: 457). S. Krymskij writes that ponyatie is "<…> a commonplace name whose sense is made by the idea of the object's essential aspects" (1980: 85).

The implication that a *ponyatie*, unlike *a kontsept*, does not encompass the products of emotive-sensory perception (images, imaginings, associations) is made clear by the Soviet texts: *ponyatie* "is not a direct sensory association" (Kopnin 1969: 239); *ponyatie* "is relegated to the abstract and generalized idea", according to G.I. Sadovskij (Sadovskij 1982: 30).

The abstract nature, remoteness of the *ponyatie* from the world's concrete sensory realities were declared by V. Lenin: "The nature is both concrete and abstract, it is a phenomenon and an essence, it is a moment and relations. The human concepts (*ponyatie* in original text – H.Ch.) are subjective in their abstract nature" (Lenin 1969: 190).

While analyzing the dichotomies of "objective, universal/ subjective, national" and "axiologically marked/ axiologically neutral", we have noted an interesting phenomenon. Within the range of accessible Soviet reference sources that we have reviewed, and the classical works of the Marxism-Leninism

on the *ponyatie*, there are no explicit claims to the concept's universality or absence of axiological marking. The lack of evaluative component and universal nature of *ponyatie* seem to have been treated as an apriori truism, which does not require any verbalization.

The conclusion, drawn from the fact that the theory of dialectic materialism confers the universal, subjective modality-devoid properties on the *ponyatie*, may be extrapolated from the figures of contrast and negation. For instance, the linguists claim that *ponyatie* is a component of lexical meaning which is shared by all native speakers: "… social meaning of a word" (Serebrennikov 1983: 46). The *ponyatie* is contrasted with lexical meaning: "When we relegate the lexical meaning to a concept (*ponyatie* in original text – H.Ch.), we are automatically identifying the language and cognition, and negating the national and historical specifics of any natural language" (Olshanskij 1983: 52). That is, lexical meanings and language's systemic organization may have national specifics, whereas *ponyatie* may not. The above-mentioned contrast proves that the latter is of a universal value.

Ponyatie interpreted as a cognitive phenomenon was viewed as a derivative of reality. The encyclopedic references referred to it as being an objective form of replicated reality – "a thought reflecting a generalized form of objects and existing phenomena, as well as the relations existing between them" (Gorskij 1989: 494); "… the essence of dialectics, the criterion of truth, a unity of concept and reality" (Lenin 1969: 210). Any reference to the subjective opinion was lambasted: "The logic of the Marxist-Leninist class approach vehemently opposes subjectivism <…> in favor of the objective scientific truth" (Sadovskij 1982: 164).

It seems that in the light of the above-mentioned interpretation of *ponyatie* the dichotomy of *kontsept* / *ponyatie* is quite evidence-based. *Ponyatie* doesn't encompasses the feateres relevant to *kontsept*. However, next to the fragments we have quoted earlier, one also finds references contradicting the dialectic materialism tenets. This alternative interpretation may be observed in the works written by the Marxism-Leninism founding fathers.

To support our claim, we would like to quote a long fragment from an encyclopedia entry on the *ponyatie* written by N. Kondakov, citing F. Engels and opposing the idea that *ponyatie* is made of essential characteristics only:

The concept (*ponyatie* in original text – H.Ch.) is a comprehensive complex of ideas, i.e. thoughts, which implies distinctive aspects of the studied object, its nucleus being made by the judgment on the most general and, at the same time, essential aspects of this object. The concept (*ponyatie* in original text – H.Ch.) is thus not to be limited <…> to a definition, i.e. a short list of object's essential aspects <…>. The definition, according to F. Engels, "turns out inefficient…" <…> What is to define, for instance, the "production forces"? It is to say outright: "Production forces are the means of production and people owning the

production and scientific expertise, working skills". However, this definition is too short. The concept (*ponyatie* in original text – H.Ch.) of production forces includes numerous facts of this object. The definition does not provide information on the fact, for instance, that the key production force is the producers, the workers who are constantly improving their labor means <…> And if the students are not in possession of such knowledge, how can they form a concept (*ponyatie* in original text – H.Ch.) of this essential object of historical materialism? <…> One may claim that our interpretation of the concept (*ponyatie* in original text – H.Ch.) makes this form of cognition equivalent to any knowledge on the studied object. However, first and foremost, we are restricting the complex of aspects to the most essential ones, excluding various secondary aspects, while putting the reflection of essential aspects at the core (Kondakov 1975: 456).

The presented structure of the concept resembles descriptions of the *kontsept's* structure: the author outlines a nuclear area, consisting of essential aspects, and a peripheral one, including all other distinctive aspects. This is why, the question whether the *ponyatie* may include the non-essential aspects, and thus become equal to *kontsept*, is answered positively by some scholars. We shall note that the modern Russian Dictionary of Philosophical Terms (2010) defines the *ponyatie* without any reference to the essential aspects as "a thought, selecting objects from one domain, and generalizing them by mentioning their common and distinctive aspects" (Kuznetsova 2010: 430).

While objecting to the sensory imaging nature of *ponyatie*, P. Kopnin expounds on the relation between the *ponyatie* and imagery conception: "The living being has a confirmed association among the concept (*ponyatie* – H.Ch.), imagery conception and perception. Cognition is often attended by the sensory images" (Kopnin 1969: 239). We are mostly interested here in the reference to "the living being". By declaring the independence of *ponyatie* from sensory influences, the author seems to understand that in reality "the living being" should not have the declared segregation of the abstract from the sensory. A similar claim may be gleaned from some of V. Lenin's tenets, also cited by encyclopedia: "The concept's (*ponyatie* – H.Ch.) correlation with 'synthesis', a sum, an amalgamation of empirics, feelings, senses, is shared by the philosophers of all schools" (quoted by Kondakov 1975: 456). N. Kondakov writes that "via concept the human brain makes a dialectic synthesis of the distinct and essential aspects of an object or phenomenon reflected in a thought into a cumulative image" (ibid, 457). The cumulative image is a summarized definition of gestalt, which, according to the post-Soviet scholars, is one of the existing patterns of *kontsept* (Popova, Sternin 2007).

P. Kopnin's study, refuting the equivalence of *ponyatie*, conception, sensory perceptions and associations, despite a claim to their inextricable connection, was published in 1969 (Kopnin 1969). The item by N. Kondakov was published in

the Logical Reference Dictionary by the Soviet Academy of Sciences in 1975 (Kondakov 1975).

Then, in the late 1980s, B. Serebrennikov (1988) and O. Snitko (1990) explored the individual and national variants of *ponyatie* while de facto referring to their sensory image-derived nature. They analyzed internal form (semantic motivation) of words, associative complex, created by certain lexemes. Both authors use the term of *ponyatie*, mentioning *kontsept* only in passing (Serebrennikov 1988, 89); (Snitko 1990: 22).

B. Serebrennikov, in his book "The role of human factor in the language: Language picture of the world" of 1988, includes fragments where the *ponyatie* and image are interchangeable: "The 'collation' of concepts (*ponyatie* – H.Ch.) (images) may reflect the deeper intended intention of the world picture" (Serebrennikov 1988: 85). In the same book we find the following fragment: "For people, the common concepts are created at the stage of sensory perception of reality" (ibid, 211).

The fact that *ponyatie* is a product of world perception by various subjects – nations and individuals – is inevitably bringing us to the idea of its subjective modality. The latter also includes axiological components. If a certain object of reality gets to be noticed and categorized, it means that this object has a certain value for a human being, satisfies some of his/her needs. We don't pay attention to the unnecessary objects and don't include them into our conceptual system:

> "The human brain focuses attention on those objects and their aspects which are practically useful and necessary" (Kopnin 1969: 251). Ye. Ilienkov assumes a direct relation between *ponyatie* and values: "Any concept (*ponyatie* – H.Ch.) is interpreted as a projection of subjective wishes, aspirations and urges on the 'chaos' of sensory-derived phenomena" (Iljenkov 1960).

Thus, while exploring *ponyatie*, the Soviet scholars were opting for one of two approaches. The first is dogmatic, postulating that *ponyatie* is a phenomenon reflecting essential aspects of objective reality at the logical and abstract level of reasoning. *Ponyatie* has a universal nature, devoid of any subjective reflection: sensory images and axiological components. Another approach is revisionist, imbuing *ponyatie* with the same aspects that are associated with *kontsept* in modern Russian linguistics. It is worthy of note that contradictions involved in both interpretations may often be found in the works by one and the same author.

One cannot claim that the Soviet scholars abstained from any intellectual pursuits due to censorship, or that their ideas on the concept remained intact during the entire 20th century. However, those pursuits were restricted by the ruling ideological canon. The scholars had to support the interpretation of *ponyatie* as being an abstract, objective replica of reality devoid of any

subjective reflections and modalities. This canon had a theoretical purpose: it preserved the assumed veracity of the Marxist-Leninist classic statements.

3.4. *The Concept* Term in the US Cognitive Linguistic Studies

While the Soviet scholars were toeing the line between dogmas and intellectual pursuits, the US linguists formulated the new theory of concept. We observe the gradual demolishing of classical concept's status of an objective abstraction in E. Rosch's theory of prototypes (Rosch 1978), G. Lakoff's theory of a conceptual metaphor (Lakoff 1987), C. Peacocke's philosophical treatises (Peacocke 1992; 2005), R. Langacker's theory of cognitive grammar (Langacker 2013: 351), and later in the studies specifying or casting doubt over that theory (Armstrong, Gleitman 2020; Fodor, 1998, Watson 2019). The scholarly Humanitarian findings were corroborated by the experiments of G. Edelman, the Nobel Prize winner (Edelman 1992), and presented as a theory of dynamic mental complexes.

The discussions and reflections on the concept's nature are ongoing in the US (Colin McGinn 2017: 328; Margolis, Laurence 2015; Hill 2021) and other countries (Almeida, Gleitman 2017; Löhr 2021). Until now, they have been anchored to the 1980 G. Lakoff's theses and antitheses, differentiating between the new and accepted interpretations of concept. The accepted tradition is traced back to Aristotle's study of categories:

From the time of Aristotle to the later work of Wittgenstein, categories were thought be well understood and unproblematic. They were assumed to be abstract containers, with things either inside or outside the category (Lakoff 1987: 6).

G. Lakoff suggested that E. Rosch's theory of prototypes is an alternative to the traditional interpretation of concept, where conceptual categories are viewed as a combination of stable essential aspects abstracted from the sensory image:

Prototype theory, as it is evolving, is changing our idea of the most fundamental of human capacities – the capacity to categorize – and with it, our idea of what the human mind and human reason are like. Reason, in the West, has long been assumed to be disembodied and abstract-distinct on the one hand from perception and the body and culture, and on the other hand from the mechanisms of imagination (Lakoff 1987: 7).

At the turn of 20th century, the studies of US cognitive linguists feature the following transformations of the concept's interpretation.

1.   It is declared that the concept is capable of encompassing both essential and any other distinctive aspects of an object. Even more, there are scholars who are hesitant as to the stable complex of aspects corresponding to the objective reality:

"If concepts are stable, how can people use them so flexibly? Here we explore a possible answer: maybe this stability is an illusion. Perhaps all concepts, categories, and word meanings (CC&Ms) are constructed ad hoc, each time we use them" (Daniel Casasanto and Gary Lupyan 2015); "There are many structural properties of Conceptual Semantics that make little sense as properties of Reality, but a great deal of sense as properties of mind" (Jackendoff 1989: 77).

2.   It is accepted that the concept is subjective, and prone to the individual and national variation:

"…one and the same concept may be differently represented, and have different computational or associative procedures, operating on its mental representations, in different individual thinkers" (Peacocke 2005: 168); "… even if two people have a CAT-concept with the same general type of structure (e.g., prototype structure), the concepts might still be rather different" (Margolis, Laurence 2011).

N. Shea considers a concept's correspondence to a certain group of subjective assumptions (Shea 2020). Furthermore, the recent studies by cognitive linguists attest to the existence of concepts of non-human consciousness, i.e. animals and androids (Shevlin 2021).

3.   It is confirmed that the concept has an imaginative and sensory nature: "Dynamicity bears on the fundamental issue of whether conceptual structure is basically propositional in nature or whether it has an imagistic character. <...> Cognitive linguists incline more to imagistic accounts" (Langacker 2013, 32); "By coupling the outputs of multiple maps that are reentrantly connected to the sensorimotor behavior of the animal" (Edelman 1992: 32); "Thought is also imaginative in a less obvious way: every time we categorize something in a way that does not mirror nature, we are using general human imaginative capacities" (Lakoff 1987: XIV); "Overall, results support multiple representation views indicating that sensorimotor, inner, linguistic, and social experience have different weights in characterizing different kinds of abstract concepts" (Villani et al. 2019).

Thus, S. Villani et al. are affirming the presence of sensorimotor component in the concept's structure.

4.   It is granted that the concept has modal, axiological dimensions: "They are <..> at the same time, value and perception" (Malrieu 1999: 58); "The existence of directly meaningful concepts-basic-level concepts and image schemas-provides certain fixed points in the objective evaluation of situations" (Lakoff 1987: 32).

It is worthy of note that these discussions did not bury the classical idea of concept. For instance, the Glossary of terms compiled by Bruni de Besse et al. in the Terminology journal suggests that the concept should be interpreted as a complex of essential aspects only:

Concepts are formed on chosen and limited characteristics only. In general denotation "blue" covers a fairly wide range of hues, the limits of which are set by convention but which are flexible enough to allow interpretation. As a concept, "blue" is more restricted, and its limits are set by the domain in which it is defined. Ex.: The concept of "blue" in a colour chart is limited by the contiguous colours that appear in it; in optics it is limited by the other colours in the spectral band (Besse et al., 124-125).

3.5. *The Concept* **Term Penetrating the Soviet and Russian Linguistic Studies.**

The aspects of concept, used by the US linguists to contrast the new and traditional cognitive theories of it, were similar to those aspects outlined by the adepts of non-dogmatic interpretation of the term *ponyatie* in the Russian Humanities field. Before the early 1990s, the theories of *ponyatie* in the USSR and concept in the US took similar steps. The only difference was in the fact that in the US the old and new theories were presenting clearly-crystallized views of concept, while in the USSR the new interpretations of *ponyatie* were inextricably linked with the older ones in the papers by the same authors. The contradiction resolved itself as soon as the Soviet scholars appropriated the new term – *kontsept*.

The *kontsept* lexeme penetrated the Russian linguistic studies via the academic sources translated from English, and mostly written by the above-mentioned US cognitive linguists. For instance, in 1998 the paper by C. Fillmor "Frames and the semantics of understanding" (Fillmor 1988: 53, 59, 66, 75) was published in Volume 23 of "New in Foreign Linguistics" collection of articles (Shperber, Wilson 1988). V. Baranov, while rendering C. Fillmor, uses *kontsept* to denote the mental complex (Ibid, 53):

"concept (*kontsept* – H.Ch.) of 'field'" (Ibid: 59); "Pre-theoretical understanding of the 'color' undoubtedly includes the black and white colors; however, such "uncolored" perceptions are excluded from scientific reflections on this concept (*kontsept* – H.Ch.)" (Ibid, 75).

The *ponyatie* is applied by V. Baranov as an equivalent to the *notion* term: "the notion (*ponyatie* – H.Ch.) of truth" (Ibid: 53); "the notion (*ponyatie* – H.Ch.) of presupposition" (Ibid: 53); "the notion (*ponyatie* – H.Ch.) of frame" (Ibid: 57).

According to M. Teresa Cabré Castellví, contrasting interpretations of one and the same issue by different cultures promotes the translation's role of either informing the cultures about this divergent interpretation or transplanting a

piece of another reality into a target academic culture (Cabré Castellví 2012: 195). Does it mean that translations brought the new understanding of *kontsept* into the Soviet, particularly the Russian terminological culture? Yes and no. Yes, because in linguistic terms, it was a new product of cognitive reality. No, because it was already present in the Soviet philosophical and linguophilosophical studies, though unpopular and undeveloped as yet.

In 1991, *the kontsept* made the title: "*Logicheskij analiz yazyka. Kulturnye kontsepty*" [Logical analysis of language: Cultural concepts] (Arutyunova 1991). After that, we observe its swift penetration into the linguistic field of the post-Soviet countries, Russian among others.

As it was mentioned at the beginning of our paper, *the kontsept* started to be used as a label for reality characterization outcomes with a subjective coloring. They are culture-specific, marked by evaluative modality and sensory image-derived components.

4. Conclusion

It is high time to answer the question: how well-grounded is the use of kontsept along with ponyatie, and whether it is possible for one to oust the other? We consider that the referential and significative meanings of kontsept are overlapping entirely with ponyatie, interpreted in the entirety of its senses, taking into account few known works of those philosophers and linguists who proposed a different view on categorization. The above-mentioned studies by B. Serebrennikov (1998) and O. Snitko (1990) prove that ponyatie had its chance to expand the intentional in the times of the USSR nearing its collapse and the dialectic materialism's stature being disputed.

However, one should note that the broad understanding of ponyatie did not gain any special currency outside the narrow scholarly circle. It contradicted the ideological foundations of dialectic materialism, whose cornerstone was the theory of concept (ponyatie), based on the idea of objective categorization of the world and disregard for any subjective variation of opinions. For the broad circle of the Humanitarian scholars of the former USSR, ponyatie retains its aspects of abstract replica of objective reality with no alternatives or possible variations. Instead of developing and deepening the meaning of ponyatie, the scholars chose at first sight an easier tactic. They have dropped any contentious element of its meaning and introduced kontsept in order to label the subject-colored results of world categorization, i.e. the sense perception-derived, axiological and culture-specific aspects.

The terminological system may develop along two main pathways: by creating a new terminological notion and putting the new lexeme into circulation, or by a major transformation of an old lexeme, up to a complete re-interpretation of its meaning (Nersessian 2005). Our findings show that in the late 20th century, with an urgent need for a revision of ponyatie's terminological

sense, the Russian linguistic school has chosen the first pathway. The linguistic schools of the English-speaking countries were, by contrast, disputing the extant term and enriching it with a new accrued sense. This is why we consider the claim that "the terms are developing in different cultures and language communities following divergent ways, depending on the professional, technical, scientific, social, economic, linguistic, cultural and other factors" (Zubkov et al. 2017) to be quite fair. However, one should also add the cognitive and ideological ones to this list.

The above-mentioned changes of the Soviet linguistic terminology coincide with the rebuttal of Marxist-Leninist ideology and the USSR's disintegration and thus provide an indirect proof of the ideological influence on this process. We consider that the reason may be traced to the close ties which connect the ponyatie term with the dialectic materialism theory. If it weren't for that, the studies distinguishing ponyatie and kontsept would exclusively delve on the disputed interpretations of ponyatie as it happened to concept term in US science.

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КОНЦЕПТ В РОСІЙСЬКІЙ ТА АМЕРИКАНСЬКІЙ ЛІНГВІСТИЦІ: АБО ПРО ІДЕОЛОГІЧНІ ФАКТОРИ ФОРМУВАННЯ ТЕРМІНОЛОГІЧНОЇ СИНОНІМІЇ

У статті розглядається формування термінологічної синоніми між лексемами *поняття* та *концепт* в радянському та російському мовознавстві, а також вплив на цей процес ідеологічних чинників.

У радянські часи тлумачення терміна *поняття* було дискусійним. Діалектичний матеріалізм зобов'язував розглядати його як об'єктивну, абстрактну сутність, позбавлену чуттєвого, образного та оцінного компонентів. З іншого боку, радянські вчені робили спроби переосмислити усталені положення, проте нові погляди на теорію поняття не могли закріпитися в ідеології марксизму-ленінізму, яка заперечує суб'єктивні особливості категоризації дійсності. Пострадянські лінгвісти позбулися всіх дискусійних, новаторських аспектів в інтерпретації поняття. Для позначення суперечливих характеристик (суб'єктивність, наявність сенсорного, образного, ціннісного компонентів тощо) стали використовувати запозичений термін *концепт*. Вчені почали обговорювати потрібність чи надмірність цього терміна, а також критерії розмежування лексем *концепт* та *поняття*. У той самий час лінгвістичні школи англомовних країн (насамперед США) продовжували дискутувати про різні аспекти теорії поняття (*concept*), а не про різницю в термінах. Ці відмінності автор пояснює тим, що у західній гуманітарній школі були відсутні ідеологічні обмеження, що накладалися на зміст терміна *поняття* в СРСР.

Keywords: теорія поняття, ідеологія та мова, термінологічна синонімія, російське мовознавство, радянське мовознавство, когнітивна лінгвістика США.

"КОНЦЕПТ" В РУССКОЙ И АМЕРИКАНСКОЙ ЛИНГВИСТИКЕ, ИЛИ ОБ ИДЕОЛОГИЧЕСКИХ ФАКТОРАХ ФОРМИРОВАНИЯ ТЕРМИНОЛОГИЧЕСКОЙ СИНОНИМИИ

В статье рассматривается формирование терминологической синонимии между лексемами *понятие* и *концепт* в советском и русском языкознании, а также влияние на этот процесс идеологических факторов.

В советское время толкование термина *понятие* было дискуссионным. Диалектический материализм предписывал рассматривать его как объективную, абстрактную сущность, лишенную чувственного, образного и оценочного компонентов. С другой стороны, советские ученые предпринимали попытки переосмыслить установленные положения, однако новые взгляды на теорию понятия не могли закрепиться в идеологии марксизма-ленинизма, отрицающей субъективные особенности категоризации действительности. Постсоветские лингвисты избавились от всех дискусионных, новаторских аспектов в интерпретации понятия. Для обозначения спорных характеристик (субъективность, наличие сенсорного, образного, ценностного компонентов и т. д.) стали использовать заимствованный термин *концепт*. Ученые начали обсуждать нужность или избыточность этого термина, а также критерии разграничения лексем *концепт* и *понятие*. В то же время лингвистические школы англоязычных стран (прежде всего США) продолжали дискутировать о различных аспектах теории понятия (concept), а не о разнице в терминах. Эти различия автор объясняет тем, что в западной гуманитарной школе отсутствовали идеологические ограничения, накладываемые на смысл термина *понятие* в СССР.

Ключевые слова: теория понятия, идеология и язык, терминологическая синонимия, русское языкознание, советское языкознание, когнитивная лингвистика США

On the Lexicographic Treatment of Verbs in English-Serbian Terminological Dictionaries

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Abstract: The paper investigates the place of verbs within the terminological system of bilingual English-Serbian dictionaries, focusing on those authored by field specialists. The method is a corpus-based contrastive analysis of an English-Serbian waste management dictionary with about 1900 terms, which builds on the research results so far, as well as the preliminary quantitative analysis of three English-Serbian dictionaries, all authored by field professionals, according to which nouns dominate, while those for verbs make a much smaller count. Since the corpus findings in this research also indicate an uneven coverage of word classes in favor of nouns, the paper discusses the need to provide more room for verbs in bilingual English-Serbian dictionaries. In that respect, the paper discusses entries labelled as nouns and adjectives in the corpus, but derived from verbs and argues that specialized dictionaries should be organized in such a way to include entries for the verbs from which these nouns and adjectives were derived.

Keywords: terminology, specialized lexicography, verbs, English, Serbian, waste management

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

This research explores the lexicographic treatment of verbs in English-Serbian terminological dictionaries authored by field specialists, which is the predominant practice in this environment. Complying with the generally accepted linguistic approach to terminology, this research deals with the position of the verb in the terminological system and its treatment in English-Serbian dictionaries. Due to the concept-based focus of terminology analyses, the research so far generally indicates that nouns are predominant units of the terminological system (Cabré 1999, Gortan-Premk 2004; Milić 2015; L'Homme 2020, 16). The same disbalance is found in terminological dictionaries since they are based on corpus analysis of a particular specialized field. However, looking at the matter from the aspect of the user-focused theory of functions (Fuertes-

Olivera and Tarp 2014), according to which a dictionary should be profiled according to lexicographically-relevant user needs and user situations (cognition, production, reception, translation, operation, interpretation, etc.), underrepresentation of non-nominal entries is likely to give rise to unsatisfactory production and learning outcomes within the context of Language for Specific Purposes (further LSP), predominantly English for Specific Purposes (further ESP). Therefore, knowledge acquired during the teaching process within ESP is both productive and receptive. When it comes to vocabulary, as Vela (2014, 293-294) points out, in addition to receptive, learners should also acquire productive knowledge, which in ESP implies a creative use of professional terminology.

With this in mind, this paper aims to prove that verbs as a grammatical class should be given more room in bilingual dictionaries (provided a relevant confirmation is found in the corpus) because of the significance of verbs when it comes to the productive use of professional terminology. This bears special emphasis when dealing with different types of languages. In particular, the presentation of entries for verbs in specialized terminological dictionaries in English and Serbian may vary, because we are dealing with languages that imply certain typological differences reflected in the predominant analytic or synthetic expression of lexical and grammatical concepts. Bringing to mind the incessant linguistic dominance of English, especially in terminology, this issue gains in importance if the dictionary is looked upon as a potential ESP teaching resource in the function of achieving good productive outcomes of the English language. To corroborate the need for giving more room to verbs in English-Serbian terminological dictionaries, a preliminary analysis is performed on the verbal lexical inventory of three dictionaries, all authored by field specialists, which is followed by a corpus-based analysis of the lexical inventory of an online English-Serbian dictionary of waste management terms, further referred to as ESDWM. The exposition is organized into four sections. Following the Introduction, the further exposition deals with the theoretical background of research in Section 2. The third section introduces the method of research followed by an analysis of the corpus. Finally, the fourth section summarizes the substantial findings of this research.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This research essentially belongs to specialized lexicography, but it also draws on the findings of lexicographic theory, as well as contact linguistics, since it is based on the proven hypothesis that Serbian terms, i.e., lexical units in specialized terminological dictionaries are predominantly created by adaptation of their English counterparts at the level of form and content (Milić 2015).

The contact linguistics aspect of a bilingual terminological dictionary is twofold. Firstly, it draws on the current linguistic approach to terminology

according to which terms are understood as lexical units with specialized meanings (L'Homme, 2005; Milić 2015). Secondly, it is conceived within the framework of the global linguistic dominance of English (cf. Filipović, 1986; Bugarski, 1996; Furiassi, Pulcini, & González, 2012; Prćić, 2018), as already mentioned above. Accordingly, a terminological dictionary is looked upon not only as a means of facilitating understanding of English texts but also as one providing relevant information concerning correctly adapted English-based units in Serbian. With this in mind, it is expected that terminological dictionaries be in function of honing the English-Serbian contact linguistic skills in the field of a particular register (cf. Milić, Glušac and Kardoš 2018).   In this light, a terminological dictionary is not only a reference source that represents English and Serbian terms of a particular register but it is also a supplementary teaching tool for developing English-Serbian contact linguistic competence, which is "a type of linguistic knowledge related to the use of elements, i.e., words and names, from English as the nativized foreign language in a non-English language that regularly comes into contact with it" (Prćić, 2014, 147 – 150). A recent research into dictionary use in teaching ESP at tertiary level in this environment conducted on the sample of 726 students in 2018 has shown that "it is necessary to: intensify effort in compiling quality terminological products; foster dictionary culture; provide timely information on new quality dictionaries; organize systematic training in dictionary use through the process of education; and integrate dictionaries in task-based class activities" (Milić, Sadri, Glušac 2019, 57). According to Glušac and Milić (2021), such a goal could be realized by a more frequent and more skillful use of dictionaries in institutionalized and autonomous ESP learning alike, even though the findings testify to the fact that terminological dictionaries are the least frequently used ones in academic ESP learning (Glušac and Milić 2021). This might be interpreted in two ways. Users are not adequately informed of the existing dictionaries, or the dictionaries are not trustworthy sources of information. Whatever the reason, the fact is that terminological dictionaries should be paid more attention to both from the point of lexicographical theory and the functional profile of the dictionary. Overall, the area of dictionary use in general bears special importance in the era of the digital revolution and millennials as dictionary users that is still in urgent need of more research (Knežević et al. 2021).

Building on the increasing need for achieving a good command of English, especially the register of a particular field, this research aims to argue that bilingual terminological dictionaries should be organized in such a way as to include entries for the verbs used as base forms of entries derived from them. Notwithstanding the fact that terms can be nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs, Cabré (1999, 36) finds that nouns represent two-thirds of all terms. However, Gortan-Premk (2004, 121) claims that it is not only nouns that predominate but also verbs even though to a lesser. Along the same lines,

L'Homme (2020, 16) says "Even in cases where activity concepts (linguistically expressed by nouns or verbs) or property concepts (prototypically expressed by adjectives) need to be taken into account, nouns are still preferred." Overall, on the one hand, there is a conceptual framework according to which verbs are the second predominant class of terms that lags significantly behind that of nouns, whereas on the other, there is a lexicographic product in which it is difficult to draw a clearcut division between terms and general lexical units. The former favors nouns and the latter are tailored by the current user needs that define the functional profile of a terminological dictionary. Assuming the dictionary is to fulfill the productive function, the inclusion of borderline terminological entries becomes justified. Even though this paper does not deal with morphosyntactic classes other than verbs, it is worth mentioning that recent user-oriented research has even highlighted the need for giving more room to the so-far neglected grammatical class of prepositions in terminological dictionaries (Nielsen & Fuertes-Olivera, 2009).

Focusing on the position of the verb in the terminological dictionary, an argument for giving increased consideration to verbs is the fact that there are terms that designate processes taking the linguistic form of nominalized verbs, i.e., gerunds that figure as derivational forms of non-included infinitives. The same is true of past and present participles used as adjectives. Another argument in favor of a more accurate representation of verbal entries in specialized lexicography is the fact that "they can simply be used during the analysis of noun terms to support semantic distinctions or build conceptual classes" (L'Homme, 2002). Thus, even though verbs "could not be fully captured in a conceptual structure (L'Homme, 2020, 28), they do belong to LSP and should be given more accurate treatment in terminological dictionaries (cf. Williams & Millon, 2010; López Ferrero, 2011), especially the ones aimed for, among others, the productive function.

2.1. General Lexical Entries for Verbs

Verbs represent a part of speech that carries the predication and has a primary role in the structuring of the communicational content of the message. Therefore, verbs are particularly significant for the productive function of ESP dictionaries, not just comprehension of professional terminology. It has already been mentioned (Cabré, 1999) that nouns typically dominate in specialized terminological dictionaries because they represent concepts, while verbs denote processes and states around which the noun phrases (and possibly adverbials) cluster with the verb's argument structure. Even though the nominal elements are probably the most frequent units in communication, one could assume that the verb's entries in an ESP terminological dictionary should include additional linguistic information, both morphological and syntactic (cf. L'Homme, 2020).

Thus, entries for verbs in dictionaries may help to reach productive communication competence, particularly if one bears in mind the complexity of this learning process which (among other things) implies the acquisition of the appropriate patterns (Vela 2014, 294) or morphosyntactic structures related to the professional terms presented in the dictionary. To enable a productive use of English lexical verb entries, terminological dictionaries should specify morphological information as well as the syntactic components a given verb requires. As far as the morphological segment is concerned, both general and specialized dictionaries list irregular forms (past tense, past participle); syntactic components primarily relate to complementation and collocations.

However, even though terms are lexemes with grammatical characteristics of the general lexical units, research work on the treatment of grammatical information in specialized terminological dictionaries is rather scant (cf. Bergenholtz & Kaufmann, 1997; Nielsen & Fuertes-Olivera, 2009).

In light of the above, the following analysis of ESDWM waste management lexical entries in English and Serbian will prove that -*ing* (present participle and gerund) and past participle lexical entries in a terminological dictionary should be preceded by and cross-referenced to infinitive forms of their verb bases, which is justified by user needs for a more productive use of professional terminology.

2.2 Terminological Lexical Entries for Verbs

Given that the authors of terminological dictionaries in the Serbian-speaking environment are predominantly field specialists, lexicographical description is rather deficient. This concerns not only the morphosyntactic status of lexical entries but also the adaptation of terms from the source language (predominantly English) in Serbian at the level of form and content, as well as the dictionary macrostructure and microstructure. Concerning the latter, there are no morphosyntactic criteria for entries whereas microstructure typically includes only lexical entries, i.e., English terms, and translation equivalents. Focusing on the fact that the subject of this research is the verb, it can generally be said that this morphosyntactic class is either underrepresented or overrepresented. To illustrate, the number of verbs in terminological dictionaries compiled by field specialists amounts to 2 (0.81%) of 476 terms (Milićević 1996), 1,320 (12%) of 11,000 (Stojković 2011) and 1063 (21.38%) of 4970 (Cvejić 2008). What makes the problem even more complex is the fact that English nouns and verbs sharing the same form are predominantly represented as single entries, so that the only disambiguation elements are translation equivalents.

3. RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

Building on the hypothesis that verbs are underrepresented or inadequately described in English-Serbian terminological dictionaries compiled by field

specialists, which has been put forward in Sub-section 2.2, the following research step is focused on a contrastive corpus-based analysis of waste management terms in English and Serbian included in the ESDWM, which is, to our opinion, a typical bilingual terminological dictionary in this environment, in terms of being predominantly authored by field specialists with very little engagement of linguists let alone lexicographers. In terms of typology (cf. Zgusta, 1971), the ESDWM belongs to the class of specialized bilingual dictionaries, since the entries are waste management terms in English and Serbian; according to the methodology of lexical processing it is descriptive, as it provides phonological and some grammatical information of entries, as well as full-sentence definitions for key terms; finally, it is small-sized with approximately 1900 entries, and both digital and printed according to its medium. Referencing the Introductory section, it is compiled from the corpus of current EU legal documents in the field of waste management (Basel conventions, EC, and EEC directives and decisions). It also says that the dictionary aims to fulfill receptive and productive functions of users (even though a dictionary is just an auxiliary means to this end) getting in direct contact with this specialized register, such as field experts, companies, public enterprises, and administration). Besides, it is also aimed at being used as a supplementary teaching resource for university students of environmental protection. Complying with this statement, the ESDWM is expected to be profiled for productive functions which imply the inclusion of lexical entries that enhance achieving good command of ESP.

In order to support the hypothesis that verbs are not duly represented in English-Serbian dictionaries, the following Table 1 will focus on the quantitative distribution of included parts of speech of ESDWM entries. The ESDWM marks five parts of speech – nouns (n), verbs (v), adjectives (adj), adverbs, (adv) and conjunctions (conj). As expected, nouns dominate; numbers are presented in Table 1[1].

Table 1: Parts of speech in the ESDWM

No	Part of speech	Number	Percent
1	Nouns	1614	86%
2	Adjectives	162	8.6%
3	Verbs	85	4.5%
4	Adverbs	16	0.9%
	TOTAL	1877	100%

The distribution of grammatical classes is in accordance with the previous findings in other registers which give preference to nouns in the number of two-

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[1] Numbers for conjunctions are not included in the Table 1 because they are not relevant for this research.

thirds of all terms (Cabré, 1999, 112) or even over 90 % (Milić, 2015: 4). In percentage terms, nouns of the ESDWM account for about 86 %, adjectives 8.6%, verbs 4.5 %, and adverbs 0.9 %. The following section sheds light on the morpho-syntactic characteristics of verbs, which is followed by a critical review of the description thoroughness of this category in the ESDWM. Given that the percentage of verbs is even lower than that of adjectives, what follows is how a more appropriate balance could be reached by including base forms of nominal and adjectival derivatives and particle verbs. Accordingly, the ESDWM lexical inventory will be analyzed in terms of the following parameters: a) verb-related grammatical information, b) nominalized verbs focusing on *-ing,* c) adjectives focusing on -ed and *-ing* forms, and d) nominal and adjectival derivatives of particle verbs.

This research has certain limitations, first of all, the size of the corpus. Consequently, assumptions presented in this paper should be further investigated with a larger of number terminological and general dictionaries included.

3.1. Verbs in the ESDWM

Table 1 clearly asserts the prevalence of nouns (over 86%), while verbs make up only 4.5% of the entries in the ESDWM. Even though entries for nouns typically dominate in terminological dictionaries, these numbers allow us to pose the question of whether more verb entries should be introduced. One of the reasons for posing such a question is the fact that the entries for some nouns and adjectives in the ESDWM represent lexemes derived from verbs, but the verbs from which they were derived are not included in the same or separate entry. Entries for such nouns and adjectives will be discussed in the following sections.

As for the entries for verbs, verbs in the ESDWM are simply marked as *v*, without any information about their transitivity, irregular forms, or contextual use and examples. Serbian translation equivalents include either a single equivalent or several verbs listed without the context in which they are used, even when the meanings are quite different, which may cause misunderstanding in the comprehension of professional texts. Moreover, the ESDWM includes the entries belonging to the general register*,* as well as those belonging to the given ESP. For example, the entry *accomplish,* which also belongs to the general register, is paired with the single Serbian equivalent - *postići,* again the verb not typical for ESP alone*.* The Serbian equivalents for the entry *acquire* include four lexemes: *dostignuti, pribaviti, kupiti, preuzeti*, without any additional information about the context where these equivalents occur. In the analyzed dictionary, ESDWM collocations were not listed but could be added as separate entries, based on the corpus research.

Finally, as has already been mentioned, verbs are significant because they play a central role when it comes to forming clausal syntactic structures and may

require specific types of nouns as arguments. Thus, entries for verbs in terminological (and other) dictionaries may provide the Serbian user with the information about the accompanying nouns, their animacy, and theta-roles. For instance, the verb *ban* (missing in the ESDWM, there is only a noun *ban* with the Serbian equivalent *službena zabrana*) in the active sentence in the subject position requires the animate human agent (a specific person or authorities) or an inanimate entity (e. g. a regulation which bans certain behavior); in the position of the direct object, it requires a theme (affected entity) inanimate or animate.

So, the ESDWM focuses on nouns as major terminological entries with a small number of entries for verbs. Besides, some entries for the included verbs lack clearly defined semantic and grammatical features for both the English and Serbian sides of the lexical entry. Overall, this is an argument for the conclusion that the Dictionary is essentially aimed for translators and not for academic users.

3.2. Nouns in the ESDWM

Nouns make up the most numerous part of speech in the ESDWM. However, the entries labelled *n* also include some forms in *-ing*, which could be treated as gerunds but are obviously derived from verbs. Entries for nouns are shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Nouns in the ESDWM

No	Type of nouns	Number	Percent
1	Ending in *-ing*	74	4.6%
2	Other	1540	95.4%
	TOTAL	1614	100%

This research would focus on the nouns ending in *-ing* because they are morphologically related to verbs. It can be argued that the nouns in *-ing* implicitly point to verbs from which they were formed and that the entries for these verbs should be added to provide a basis for the more comprehensive use of professional terminology, that is to structure the predication and an entire clause around the relevant professional term, not just to name a certain concept. The next passages analyze the entries in *-ing* and relate them to verbs from which they originate.

Generally speaking, the ESDWM does not list the verbs from which the nouns in *-ing* are derived: it does not add them along with these nouns in the same entry nor open a separate entry for them. For instance, the ESDWM specifies the noun entry *autoclave* (n) and another noun entry *autoclaving* (n), defining the latter as *processing in an autoclave[2]*; the entry for verb *autoclave* (v) is not included even though the definition for the listed *-ing* implies a process. There

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[2] In Serbian ''obrađivanje u autoklavu'' (Mihajlov et al., 2004:14).

is a communicational need for the entry denoting a process, which is the primary domain of verbs, and the gerund could be specified as derived from the verb. Next, the entry *bale* (n) is followed by *baler* (n) and *baling* (n), but the verb is again missing; *blinding* is classified as a noun, and though it may also be an adjectival or modifier, the verb is missing again. Similarly, *burning* (n) is listed along with *burner* (n), but not the verb; *cleaning* (n) and *clean* (adj) without the verb, *coating* (n) but not *coat* (v). In the case of *compost* (n), the ESDWM lists *composter* (n) and *composting* (n) but not the verb from which the noun *composter* is derived. The electronic search of the documents consulted to compile ESDWM points to the quite frequent use of gerunds in this field, which may explain the numerous nominal entries in *-ing* in ESDWM. However, this relevant issue needs to be investigated further with a larger corpus.

Almost all of these deverbal nouns in *-ing* are closely (morphologically and semantically) related to the verbs from which they are derived; they primarily denote a process (which is the domain of verbs) and not the basic nominal concept itself - for instance, *verification*, along with *verifying*, *minimization* with *minimizing* etc. Consequently, it seems that the entries for verbs should be indicated to enable a more productive use of professional registers in a given field.

Finally, only a few of these nouns in *-ing* (about 5% of the nouns in *-ing* in the corpus) may also denote specific concepts, not processes related to verbs. Thus, for example, *coating* (n) does not imply just the process of adding a new layer, but the new layer itself; similarly denotes a nominal concept, a resulting product (residue), and *warning* an act of caution.

As for the Serbian translations of these nouns in *-ing* in the ESDWM, they are frequently Serbian deverbal nouns in *-nje* (*gorenje*, *čišćenje*, *kompostiranje*, *kondicioniranje*, *otprašivanje*, *predviđanje*, *odobravanje*, *rukovanje*, *unajmljivanje*, *označavanje* etc.) or nouns denoting specific concepts (*coating – premaz*, *packaging – ambalaža/pakovanje*, *tailing - jalovina*). In some cases anglicisms were used (*leasing – lizing*, *monitoring – monitoring/praćenje efekata*, *oxidizing – oksidacija*, *sintering - sinterovanje*). Therefore, the nouns in *-ing* in the ESDWM overwhelmingly point to the conclusion that the missing verb related to these nouns should be explicitly listed among the entries.

3.3. Adjectives in the ESDWM

The next segment of the ESDWM relevant to this research relates to the entries of adjectives. Namely, the entries in the ESDWM labelled *adj* also include some forms in *-ed/en* and *-ing*, that is participial adjectives derived from verbs. Table 3 contains the numbers.

Table 3: Adjectives in the ESDWM

No	Type of adjectives	Number	Percent
1	Ending in *ed*	38	23.5%
2	Ending in *ing*	4	2.5%

3	Other	120	74%
	TOTAL	162	100%

First, it should be noted that the entries labelled as adjectives and ending in *-ed*/*-ing* mostly belong to the functional class of modifiers (or adjectivals) not to the adjectives as a part of speech. Namely, these entries occurred in the adjectival positions in the ESP texts which the authors of the ESDWM analyzed and marked *adj* accordingly. However, most of these entries are not established adjectives and their status will be discussed in the following passages.

The first, smaller group labelled as adjectives relates to those ending in *-ing*; this group includes the following entry with its offered translations: *containing* (adj) - *koji sadrži*; in addition, the entries in *-ing corresponding adj* – *odgovarajući, prikladan; existing* (adj) – *postojeći* and *pending* (adj) – *u očekivanju, tekući (spor)* are labelled as adjectives in some dictionaries (for instance, Hornby 2013). The first English entry (*containing*) is not a petrified/established adjective, but a present participle used in the attributive position, that is it functions as a premodifier. That this and similar entries do not belong to the part of speech as typical adjectives (and consequently do not have typical adjectival properties) can be proved by a series of morpho-syntactic tests applied in relevant studies (Palmer, 1989, McIntyre 2013). Discussing the features of adjectival participles, McIntyre (2013: 21) lists ''the standard tests for the adjectival status of participles'': a) degree modifiers (like *very*), b) adjectival *un-* prefixation, c) selection by AP-selecting verbs (like *seem*, *become*), d) coordination with other adjectives, e) incompatibility with double objects. Thus, the above-mentioned premodifier *contain* is not premodified with intensifiers like typical adjectives (and adverbs), e.g. **very corresponding/rather pending*). Moreover, this entry labelled as an adjective does not pass other tests like filling the position of the subject complement after the copulative verbs like *seem/become* (**It seems existing*) or coordination with an adjective (**containing and comprehensive*).

The adjectives in *-ed* make the second, larger group with 38 entries; for example, these entries include *co-disposed, adj – zajedno odlagani (odloženi), combined,* (adj) *– kombinovani, comingled,* (adj) *– kombinovan, mešan, mešovit, dedicated* (adj) *– namenski, deferred, (*adj) *– odložen, designed,* (adj) *– projektovan, dizajniran, destined,* (adj) *– upućen negde, namenjen nekom mestu, developed,* (adj) *- razvijen* etc. It should be underlined that such entries are usually not accompanied by separate entries for corresponding verbs (like *exclude,* v and *excluded,* adj), even though they are sometimes accompanied by the corresponding noun, like in *design,* (n), and *designed* (adj). Therefore, most of these adjectival entries stand alone, without the corresponding verb or a noun. In addition, in some cases, the verb and an adjective derived from this verb (by the addition of typical adjectival suffixes) are listed (e.g. *foresee*, v and

foreseeable, adj). [3] The above findings indicate that Dictionary is not only based on a poor corpus but is also lacking in up-to-date lexicographic description.

Like the entries labelled *adj* from the first group (those ending in *-ing*), the entries from the second group also do not pass the tests which distinguish true adjectives from past participles. Namely, they cannot be premodified (*very packaged), cannot be coordinated with typical adjectives (*managed and tidy, **repealed and difficult*), do not occur in the complement position, e. g. **It seems returned*, **It became undertaken*.

As for the Serbian translations, the ESDWM lists Serbian participles which are used to form passive voice or relative clauses. These translational equivalents additionally point to the verbal nature of these entries implying a dynamic process. For instance, the following equivalents include the Serbian passive participle, which distinguishes gender and number (cf. Piper et al. 2005): the equivalent of *combined* (adj) is *kombinovani,* of *comingled* (adj) it is *kombinovan, mešan*, of *deferred* (adj) *odložen,* of *equipped* (adj) *opremljen*. The equivalent is developed into a relative clause in *refunded* (adj) - *za koji je izvršena nadoknada troškova (for which a refund was paid back)*. The last example (*refunded*) indicates that the lexicographic competence of the editors of specialized dictionaries should be paid particular attention to.

Taking into account the abovementioned features of the adjectival entries, it could be concluded that the entries labelled as adjectives in the ESDWM belong to the functional class of adjectivals or premodifiers in a noun phrase, but not to adjectives as a traditional part of speech.[4] Moreover, these entries are actually participial premodifiers derived from verbs and thus imply qualities or states resulting from processes denoted by these verbs; therefore, they should be added either as separate entries and cross-referenced to the alphabetically listed derivational form or using another method by the selected lexicographic model.

3.4. Particle verbs and their entries in the ESDWM

The last small group of entries (only ten of them in the ESDWM) relevant to this research includes those related to English multi-word verbs or particle verbs (traditionally phrasal and prepositional verbs). The ESDWM introduces them as entries for verbs, but also as entries for adjectives and nouns.

Multi-word verbs in English represent phrasal lexemes consisting of a lexical verb and one or two particles which function as the modifier(s) of that verb (Prćić, 2008, 162, 164); traditionally (for instance, Palmer, 1989) three possible

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[3] The above findings indicate that Dictionary is not based on a poor corpus and is lacking in up-to-date lexicographic description.

[4] As one of the reviewers indicated, in this case traditional dictionaries do not always provide an adequate grammatical framework because non-adjectival parts of speech through time may develop adjectival properties and function as adjectives.

combinations are distinguished: phrasal verbs (lexical verb followed by an adverbial particle), prepositional verbs (lexical verb followed by a prepositional particle) and phrasal-prepositional verbs (lexical verb followed by an adverbial and a prepositional particle). Being frequent in contemporary English (particularly in less formal register), these verbs represent a significant component of a bilingual dictionary and their appropriate use is a part of successful communicative skills (including ESP). For instance, the position of the particle is one of the syntactic features of these verbs which might be of interest to L2 dictionary-user: in transitive phrasal lexemes, the adverbial particles can precede or follow the direct object (with some exceptions). This feature is relevant for language use, and dictionaries may provide the entries for phrasal verbs with the labels *separable* or *inseparable:* separable for the phrasal verbs which allow different positions of the particle on the one hand and prepositional verbs which do not on the other. Some dictionaries of phrasal verbs (for example *Collins COBUILD Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs,* abbreviated as *CCDPV*) add a column with grammatical information for the possible position of the adverbial particle: if the particle can be placed immediately after the verb, the structure is V+ADV+N, if it can be placed after the direct object the structure is V+N+ADV.

In addition to discussing the entries for multi-word verbs themselves, it is also relevant to this research to discuss the nouns and adjectives derived from multi-word verbs. Namely, multi-word verbs, like one-word verbs, serve as the base for the derivation of nouns and adjectives. Thus, in the typical process of affixation, deverbal nouns are created by the addition of the suffix *-ing* (for example, *grow up*, v – *growing up*, n). The ESDWM lists only three entries for multi-word verbs and they are the following two-word combinations consisting of a verb and an adverbial particle: *carry out*, (v) (and this is the only instance where the ESDWM also lists the original one-word verb – *carry*, (v), along with the adjective *carried out*), *switch off* (v) and *switch on* (v).

Like in the above-mentioned instances of nouns and adjectives ending in *-ing /-ed* (sections 3.2. and 3.3.), the ESDWM uses the labels *adj* and *n* for adjectives and nouns derived from phrasal verbs. In addition to the abovementioned *carried out*, there are two more entries labelled as adjectives - *disposed of*, (adj) (along with *disposed*, *adj*) and *crossed-out* (adj*)*. The entries labelled as nouns are the following: *drop-off* (n*)*; *fallout* (n*)*; *runoff (*n); *shut-down*, *(n)* and *start-up (n)*. The entries labelled as nouns and adjectives are the results of the typical process of derivation of nouns from particle verbs; these nouns and adjectives are written as one word or with a hyphen, with the stress shifted to the initial syllable. However, a terminological dictionary would enable achieving a more productive competence in the teaching process if such nouns and adjectives are given the status of separate entries cross-referenced to the entry of a particle verb from which they were formed.

As for the entries labelled as adjectives with the verb *carry* (*carried out, crossed-out*), they are participles formed from the corresponding phrasal verbs without the proper adjective features and serve as premodifiers to condense the expressions used in professional ESP terminology. The entry with the verb *dispose - disposed of* (adj) is derived from a prepositional verb or a verb with the specified preposition (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002, 273) because the verb requires a specific preposition to introduce its prepositional complement. Therefore, *disposed of* does not make a proper lexical unit as an adjective and it should be listed as a verb entry with a note about the selected preposition.

The Serbian equivalents offered in the ESDWM in these adjectivals also include passive participle: *carried out* (adj) – *izvršen, obavljen, sproveden*; *crossed-out* (adj) – *precrtan*; *disposed of* (adj) –*odbačen, rešen.* The nouns are paired with the following equivalents: *drop-off* (n) – *dostava, a method of collecting recyclable materials so that individuals bring them to a specific collection point[5]*; *fallout* (n) – *atmosferski talog*; *runoff* (n) – *ocedne vode*; *shutdown* (n) - *zatvaranje*; and *start-up* (n) *započinjanje i puštanje u pogon*. Serbian equivalents of these nouns consist of nouns, phrases, or rather long descriptions which clarify the specific terminological meaning of the English noun; still, the inclusion of the phrasal verbs underlying English-derived nouns would contribute to a more successful communication in the given professional register.

The fact that the ESDWM typically lacks entries for those particle verbs from which nouns and adjectives are derived opens the question about the place of the entries for these verbs. Having in mind the significance of particle verbs in the teaching process during which the students should acquire communicative competence within the field of waste management and ESP in general, it seems that the user-oriented terminological dictionaries with entries for these verbs would enhance the productive knowledge of students.

4. CONCLUSION

This paper was an attempt to shed some light on the quantitative share of verbs in English-Serbian terminological dictionaries compiled by field specialists from the communicative perspective in today's angloglobalized world. Research builds on the quantitative verb-focused analysis of three English-Serbian dictionaries, all authored by field specialists, which is followed by a corpus-based analysis performed on about 1900 lexical entries included in a bilingual English-Serbian dictionary of waste management terms. The findings can be summarized in three major issues. Firstly, verbs represent the third-largest class of terms falling significantly below the second-placed adjectives, which is not by previous

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[5] In Serbian ''metod sakupljanja reciklabilnih materijala tako što ih pojedinci donose na određeno zbirno mesto'' (Mihajlov et al., 2004, 33).

research results according to which verbs are the second-largest class of terms. However, a deeper insight into the morphosyntactic characteristics of included entries reveals that a great number of nominal and adjectival entries are derivatives of non-included infinitive verb bases, most of which are not true adjectives since they cannot be premodified. This provides arguments for a suggestion that a terminological dictionary should include infinitive verb bases whenever there is a gerund and past/present participle term, which could be given the status of extra entries that could be cross-referenced to its derivatives. Secondly, such a proposal is justified on the ground of a functionally-profiled terminological dictionary, since it is increasingly aimed for enhanced communicative skills in professional circles. Namely, terminological dictionaries make significant additional teaching tools and, if properly designed, may help to achieve productive language knowledge in ESP; as already mentioned, the entries for verbs are significant in that respect because verbs make the predicate and build specific argument structures. Therefore, wherever possible, entries for verbs should make a larger percentage in the total number of entries than in the dictionaries discussed in this paper. Lastly and even most importantly, specialized terminological lexicography must rely on the mutual work of field specialists, linguists, and IT experts.

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O LEKSIKOGRAFSKOM TRETMANU GLAGOLA U ENGLESKO-SRPSKIM TERMINOLOŠKIM RJEČNICIMA

Rad istražuje mjesto glagola unutar terminološkog sistema dvojezičnih englesko-srpskih rječnika, usredsređujući se na one rječnike koje su napisali stručnjaci iz određenih oblasti. Metoda je korpusno zasnovana kontrastna analiza englesko-srpskog rječnika za upravljanje otpadom koji sadrži otprilike 1900 termina. Analiza se oslanja na dosadašnje istraživačke rezultate, kao i na preliminarnu kvantitativnu analizu tri englesko-srpska rječnika, koje su napisali stručnjaci iz određenih oblasti, a prema kojima prevladavaju imenice, dok je glagola znatno manji broj. Budući da i nalazi unutar korpusa u ovom istraživanju ukazuju na neujednačenu pokrivenost vrsta riječi u korist imenica, rad raspravlja o potrebi davanja glagolima više prostora u dvojezičnim englesko-srpskim rječnicima. U tom smislu, rad raspravlja o unosima koji su označeni kao imenice i pridjevi u korpusu, ali koji su izvedeni od glagola, te tvrdi da bi specijalizovani rječnici trebalo da budu organizovani tako da uključuju unose za glagole iz kojih su ti imenice i pridjevi izvedeni.

Ključne riječi: erminologija, specijalizirana leksikografija, glagoli, engleski, srpski, upravljanje otpadom

An Analysis of the Associative Networks of Recent Nominal Anglicisms of Serbian and English Language Majors[1]

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Abstract: The aim of this paper is to compare the associative networks of Serbian and English majors to determine possible links between the advanced study of EFL in an academic setting and the conceptualization of select monosemic recent nominal Anglicisms in Serbian. The study included an online questionnaire consisting of 80 stimuli, being 40 pairs of recent nominal Anglicisms and their Serbian equivalents, which were distributed to 100 respondents. The questionnaire required free and discrete associations. The results indicated a strong tendency of English language majors towards synonyms as responses to the Anglicisms, confirming existing claims that EFL proficiency leads to their more frequent occurrence. The English majors also showed a prevalence of hyponyms as lexemes with a more specific meaning as responses to the Anglicisms, as opposed to the Serbian majors, who opted for hypernyms. A diverse range of encyclopedic responses and hapax legomena were noted for the English majors, while an increased occurrence of no responses was noted for the Serbian majors. These findings support the existing claim that fewer responses are usually provided for L2 cues when compared to L1 cues. They further tie in with the conclusion that EFL proficiency is a key component in Word Association Tasks (WATs). Our analysis of prototypes and Idealized Cognitive Models (ICMs) as stable and abstract representations of our non-linguistic knowledge, identified among the associative responses, also proved that the types of responses of the English majors differ from those of the Serbian majors, in that the former opted for more specific and precise meanings in their descriptions of the select Anglicisms.

Keywords: L1 Serbian, L2 English, associative responses, recent Anglicisms, nouns

1. Introduction

In the 1960s, a shift later labelled syntagmatic-paradigmatic was noted in the vocabulary development of L1 English speakers. It was assumed that it would also be mirrored in the domain of foreign language (FL) vocabulary acquisition and that learners of a FL would produce just as many paradigmatic responses as native speakers (Singleton 1999; for an opposing view, see Fitzpatrick and Izura 2011). Nevertheless, certain studies outlined different expectations: that native speakers will produce more paradigmatic, and non-native more syntagmatic word associations (Coulthard et al. 2000; Meara 2009), or that insufficient evidence of such a shift exists in FL studies (cf. Fitzpatrick and Thwaites 2020). Some studies found a positive link between levels of proficiency and paradigmatic responses (Politzer 1978; Soderman 1993), while others (Wolter 2002) found no such correlation. Conclusive empirical evidence is still lacking in the field. With the resurgence of interest in word association tasks (WATs) at the beginning of the 21st century, the most agreed-upon issue is the lack of studies on WATs involving a variety of different L1 speakers. To our knowledge, work on WATs in the Serbian linguistic environment is infrequent (publications in the associative dictionary compiled by Piper, Dragićević, and Stefanović 2005; and, inter alia, in Dragićević 2010; Janić 2017; Janković and Jakić Šimšić 2021). Therefore, this study is an attempt to analyze the effects of EFL study at the tertiary level on the conceptualization of English loanwords, which has to date not been analyzed on corpora consisting of Anglicisms in the Serbian language.

The subject matter of our study is the analysis and comparison of associative responses to a set of recent nominal Anglicisms provided by students majoring in Serbian (SLM) and students majoring in English (ELM), all native speakers of Serbian. The aim of the paper is to use their associative networks to determine whether, and to which extent, advanced study of EFL in an academic setting impacts the conceptualization of select recent nominal Anglicisms in Serbian.

The initial hypotheses are:

1) SLMs use synonyms more often as responses to recent Anglicisms than ELMs do.

2) ELMs use hypernyms and hyponyms more often as responses to Anglicisms than SLMs do.

3) Encyclopedic responses are more frequent among ELMs for Anglicisms, and more frequent for Serbian equivalents among SLMs.

4) The continued study of EFL leads to differences in conceptualization, as identified in the associative method of analysis, and thus the understanding of recent Anglicisms in Serbian.

The paper is structured as follows: section two provides a theoretical background of the study; section three presents an overview of the methodology; the analysis of various types of associative responses and the

ensuing discussion are given in section four; section five outlines the conclusions of the study.

2. Theoretical background

Due to the status that English holds as the most important lingua franca (Crystal 2003), especially with the decade-long trend of increased EU membership, Anglicisms have been studied in all major languages of the world. A more recent review of their impact on recipient languages can be found in Görlach (2001), Anderman and Rogers (2005), Rosenhouse and Kowner (2008), inter alia.

A result of the contact between English and numerous other European languages is the increased spotlight on translation, and therefore on borrowing. Translation, in effect, is a vehicle for conveying Anglicisms (Gottlieb 2005, 176). "Borrowing" a word without it undergoing any adaptation in terms of the morpho-phonemic features of the recipient language has even been referred to as the "simplest of all translation methods" (Vinay and Darbelnet 2000, 85). İşi and İşisağ (2022), for example, drew a clear link between the status of English as a lingua franca and the development of the translation and interpreting (T&I) industry. When it comes to translation, sometimes retaining Anglicisms has to do with precision (connotative, denotative), the lack of a corresponding term, or can even be a question of style. To quote İşi and İşisağ (2022, 123):

> [T]ranslation now also involves translating and/or editing hybrid texts written collectively or individually by ELF users, translating and adapting for an international ELF readership, and translating into English as a second language, thereby challenging traditional notions and norms of translation.

By some estimates (House 2013), more non-native speakers of English are producing spoken and written material in this source language than native speakers are (according to Gottlieb (2005, 162), the population of native English language speakers has decreased by 21.6% from 1975 to 1999, and according to İşi and İşisağ (2022), native speakers number 372 million while non-native speakers number as many as one billion).

The ways in which Anglicisms are now being used are manifold. We have been witnessing a proliferation in Anglicisms in recipient languages in areas other than those most affected by the media, such and politics, business, and even education (Rosenhouse and Kowner 2008). For example, educational institutions at all levels assist in the dissemination of the English language, and therefore of Anglicisms. This extends into the sphere of academia as well, where publishers favor scientific publications in English. In academic discourse, precision and proliferation of findings sometimes impose the use of Anglicisms in the translation process.

Furthermore, an Anglicism may, for example, convey a subset of the senses expressed by the same word in English and/or it may convey meanings typically expressed by a synonymous English word. In a sense, these Anglicisms may be taken as "additions" or "replacements" in a particular L1 semantic field, and end up competing with the existing equivalents (Laviosa 2006, 270).

It is therefore not uncommon that, in everyday communication, the individual speaker of a non-English language still often prefers using words that sound 'native' rather than foreign (Gottlieb 2005, 171). House (2003) concluded that English as a foreign language is not the language of choice for the emotional identification of foreign language speakers, who choose their L1s over English in such instances. ELF and the speakers' L1 are therefore considered to be in some form of complementary distribution (House 2013; 2014). Some Anglicisms are translations, and considering the fact that every language has linguists who can be classified as 'purists', there are issues regarding whether or not translation plays a role in 'corrupting language'.

Since Anglicisms are lexemes which entered the Serbian (or any other) language either from English, as the lingua franca, or through it (on Anglicisms in general see Blažević and Vaić 2012; Drljača-Margić 2011; Janić and Stamenković 2022; Prćić 2019), it is by no means surprising that they have become a part of everyday life in a variety of scientific and non-scientific fields. Different theoretical approaches have been adopted in their study, including de-contextualized ones (Filipović-Kovačević 2011; Panić-Kavgić 2006), such as the one in this study, and contextualized ones (for example, Stamenković and Tasić 2020).

It is not uncommon for studies to discuss the impact of the respondents' L1 on WATs involving FL words, and some have even claimed that the L1 shapes the FL mental lexicon (cf. He and Deng 2015; Khazaeenezhad and Alibabaee 2013). For example, by comparing the mental lexicons of the respondents' L1 and that of English as a FL, based on their associative responses, Jiang (2019) presented how the words the respondents' used in response to the stimuli are associated with the other words in their mental lexicon. Further open questions refer to the role that FL proficiency plays in associative responses. Depending on FL proficiency, there may be an 'intermediary' step in the process of providing associative responses, one involving translation. Specifically, lower-level proficiency respondents first translate the stimulus into their L1, and only then proceed to provide an associative response (Fitzpatrick and Izura 2011; Kroll and Stewart 1994). Accordingly, differences are expected between less and more proficient bilinguals in terms of associative responses in a FL.

Since no consistent behavioral patterns have been determined (Fitzpatrick and Thwaites 2020, 9), further study is required. Initially, associative responses were meant to be used to evaluate levels of FL proficiency, but the focus is now on FL proficiency as an 'informing factor' (Fitzpatrick and Izura 2011, 375). In 2017, Zhang and Koda attempted to provide a more in-depth analysis of existing WAT research by incorporating FL proficiency in their findings and determining its role in a more systematic fashion; they concluded that there was insufficient data on how different levels of proficiency could impact WAT responses. Fitzpatrick (2009) stated that an increase in FL proficiency was reflected in a similar number of response types as in the L1 profile. However, later, a very specific paradox was determined, whereby higher levels of FL proficiency were just as likely to result in an increased number of lexemes as associative responses, as in decreased/more precise responses to WATs (Fitzpatrick and Thwaites 2020). Greidanus and Nienhus (2001) reported different types of WAT behavior based on the number of years spent studying a FL at university level, and that respondents with more years of study performed more successfully on WATs. A point was even made that proficiency might not be the best term to rely on, and that instead fluency should be the term of choice, as it ties in with all the aspects of knowledge of a word, not just depth.

This led us to consider the possibility of including prototype structures and ICMs (cf. Evans 2009) in this study, to compare the associative networks of our respondents. Depth of knowledge of a cue can be measured by the number of links it establishes with other words in the L1 or FL mental lexicon (cf. Fitzpatrick and Thwaites 2020). Zareva (2007) stated that the differences between L1 and FL mental lexicons are quantitative rather than qualitative in nature. The FL mental lexicon, as concluded by Jiang (2019, 10), is made up of words on a gradient scale, ranging from less to better known ones. It is therefore possible to test this hypothesis by organizing responses into prototypes, and comparing the L1 and FL lexicon in terms of the selected stimuli. The responses given indicate concepts, and could be the focus rather than the individual words. The same applies to the analysis of potential ICMs.

3. Methodology

The study included 100 respondents, 47 students of the Department of Serbian Language and Literature, and 53 students of the Department of English, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Serbia (males, N=13, females, N=87; average age 22.99 years). They included both undergraduate and postgraduate students in the 2021/22 academic year. All the respondents were native speakers of Serbian, of whom 16 claimed they knew English at the C2 level, 19

at the C1, 31 at the B2, 10 at the B1, 3 at the A2, and 2 at the A1 level. Thus, they provided individual approximations of their respective levels of English language proficiency. Prior to enrolling in university, the respondents had all studied English for a period of twelve years: during the elementary school education (eight years in total) and their high school education (4 years in total).

A specifically designed questionnaire was completed online, anonymously, from March to April 2022. The respondents provided informed consent for participation in the study. The stimuli chosen were recent nominal Anglicisms in Serbian and their nominal Serbian equivalents. The recent Anglicisms were extracted from the *Srpski rečnik novijih anglicizama* (2021). The inclusion criteria were that the Anglicisms were monosemic, and that they had an equivalent in the Serbian language.

The native-speaker norms against which respondents with higher levels of EFL proficiency (enrolment status in a higher degree program (cf. Fitzpatrick, et al. 2015; Lam and Sheng 2020), or the ELMs) were measured, were the responses provided by the SLMs. In other words, 'nativelikeness' was determined by the associative responses provided by the SLMs, whose EFL vocabulary was less affected by continued and in-depth study of the English language, as was that of the ELMs.

The frequency of types of responses of both subgroups of respondents were noted and classified for qualitative analysis. The responses given to the Serbian equivalents were not analyzed qualitatively, and instead were used to calculate the general frequencies of occurrence of all types of responses, and as a means of comparison to determine any possible differences between the SLMs and ELMs. The study does, however, provide data on the size and the depth of the lexicons of the respondents, both by presenting the number of classified responses in the form of percentages, and by organizing them into conceptualized wholes. Similarities were analyzed between the groups, as were differences and potential interactions between the responses (cf. Fitzpatrick and Izura 2011). Types of responses were taken into consideration, as well as what they revealed about the stimuli.

What follows is a list of the stimuli provided in the dictionary order of the Cyrillic alphabet, as they were presented to the respondents. The indexes running from 1 to 40 have been added here for clarity to mark the pairs of Anglicisms and their Serbian equivalents: *apstrakt$_1$, bajer$_2$, bartender$_3$, bekpek$_4$, benefit$_5$, bedž$_6$, blend$_7$, bos$_8$, brauzer$_9$, buzer$_{10}$, buking$_{11}$, vorkšop$_{12}$, gazda$_8$, gik$_{17}$, gift$_{18}$, glazura$_{37}$, gotovina$_{19}$, gubitnik$_{21}$, datoteka$_{34}$, destinacija$_{13}$, drajer$_{14}$, dresing$_{15}$, držač$_{38}$, esej$_{16}$, žurka$_{24}$, zajednica$_{20}$, zanesenjak$_{17}$, zvuk$_{29}$, značka$_6$, kancelarija$_{23}$, keš$_{19}$, kokice$_{25}$, komjuniti$_{20}$, korist$_5$, kupac$_2$, luzer$_{21}$, mešavina$_7$, moda$_{36}$, mušterija$_{40}$, nalepnica$_{32}$, nerd$_{22}$, odredište$_{13}$, ofis$_{23}$, parti$_{24}$, pijanica$_{10}$, pozornica$_{31}$, poklon$_{18}$, popkorn$_{25}$, portparol$_{30}$, preliv$_{15}$, premija$_{39}$, preprodavac$_{28}$, pretraživač$_9$, printer$_{26}$, prodavnica$_{33}$, radionica$_{12}$, ranac$_4$, rafting$_{27}$, rezervacija$_{11}$,*

riseler₂₈, sažetak₁, sastav₁₆, saund₂₉, splavarenje₂₇, spouksmen₃₀, stejdž₃₁, stiker₃₂, stor₃₃, sušilica₁₄, tuča₃₅, fajl₃₄, fajt₃₅, fešn₃₆, frosting₃₇, holder₃₈, džekpot₃₉, šanker₃, šoper₄₀, štampač₂₆, štreber₂₂.

4. The results and discussion

Figure 1 provides a quantitative general overview of the various types of associative responses to the Anglicisms and their Serbian equivalents among the subgroups of SLMs and ELMs. The analysis of WAT responses included synonyms, hypernyms, hyponyms, antonyms, derivatives (paradigmatic responses), encyclopedic responses, syntagmatic responses, and hapax legomena.
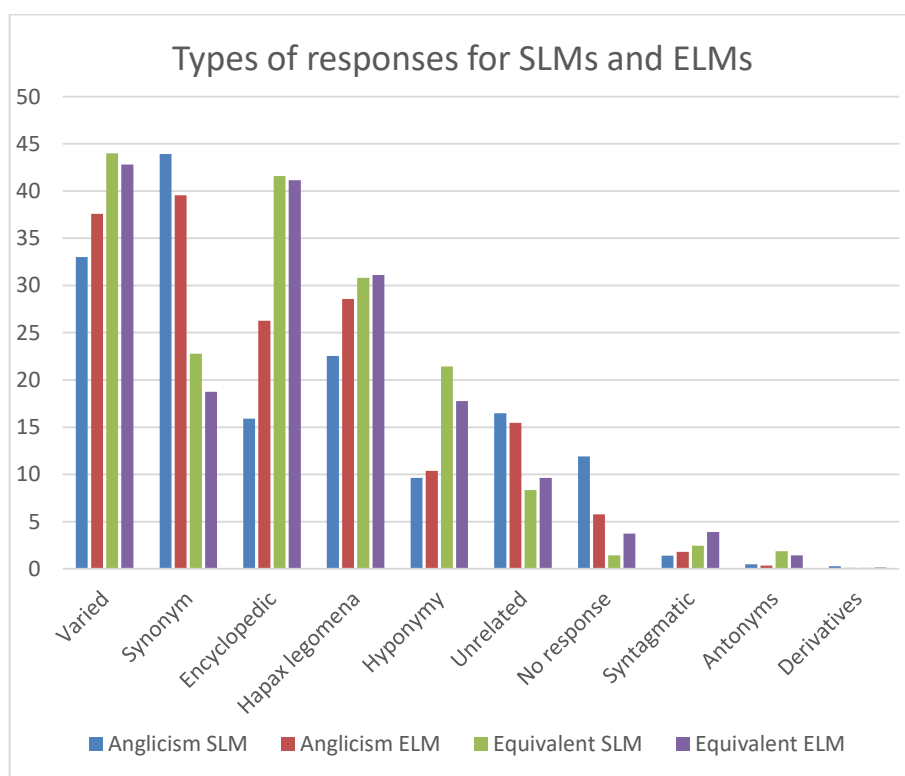
Figure 1. A bar graph of the types of responses for SLMs and ELMs

Due to the fact that not all types of responses were considered equally relevant for the qualitative analysis of EFL impact on the associative responses of our respondents, they were excluded. The sum of the average values of derivatives, syntagmatic responses, and antonyms made up only 3.6% of the responses obtained. Furthermore, the category of 'no response' was also excluded from our analysis due to a lack of significance of the results (the sum

of their average values made up 12.5% of all the responses). Since hapax legomena included related and non-related responses, as well as individual cases of no responses, it was difficult to determine which of these mutually competing subgroups played a key role in obtaining the final values, and they were also excluded from the analysis. All the lists of responses, for all types, are available on demand from the authors.

4.1. Synonyms as responses

Responses to the Anglicisms which were synonyms ranged from 1.88% (*rafting*) to 71.69% (*bekpek*, *gift*), and to Serbian equivalents ranged from 1.88% (*zvuk*) to 49.05% (*datoteka*). Having compared the percentages of the hapax legomena among the synonymous lexemes and phrases provided by the ELMs and SLMs to the Anglicisms and their Serbian equivalents, we arrived at the following conclusions:

1) The percentages of hapax legomena among the synonymous responses to the Serbian equivalents were quite similar among the ELMs (69% of the synonyms) and SLMs (66% of the synonyms), which was expected, considering that both groups are native speakers of Serbian;

2) A clear tendency emerged where the ELMs provided more hapax legomena synonyms as responses to the Anglicisms (41% of the synonyms) than the SLMs (27% of the synonyms). Calculated as a ratio, this amounted to 60%:40%. This confirms the fact that higher self-reported EFL proficiency includes the use of a greater number of synonymous lexemes and phrases (Fitzpatrick and Thwaites 2020).

In a semantic sense, for the following Anglicisms the responses were (relatively) similar in terms of the choice of synonymous lexemes or phrases among the SLMs and ELMs. The comparable percentages are cited in parentheses (cf. Table 1).

Stimulus	Reactions	SLM %	ELM %
apstrakt	*sažetak*	12.78%	5.67%
	rezime	6.39%	1.89%
bajer	*kupac*	8.52%	20.79%
	mušterija	0%	1.89%
bartender	*šanker*	23.43%	26.46%
	barmen	10.65%	3.78%
bekpek	*ranac*	63.9%	71.82%
bedž	*značka*	40.47%	15.12%
	značka na majici	2.13%	0%
	stvar koja se iglom kači na odeću	2.13%	0%
	znak prikačen iglom	0%	1.89%
blend	*mešavina*	17.04%	17.01%
	miks	4.26%	7.56%
	mešanje	2.13%	3.78%

bos	*šef*	23.43%	28.35%
	gazda	6.39%	1.89%
brauzer	*pretraživač*	42.6%	34.02%
	pregledač	2.13%	0%
buking	*rezervacija*	25.56%	13.23%
	zakazivanje	8.52%	9.45%
	rezervisanje	2.13%	5.67%
	zakup	0%	1.89%
	hotelska rezervacija	0%	1.89%
vorkšop	*radionica*	34.08%	49.14%
gift	*poklon*	85.2%	68.04%
	prezent	2.13%	0%
holder	*držač*	53.25%	54.81%,
	držač za nešto	2.13%	0%
drajer	*sušilica*	17.04%	7.56%
	sušač	4.26%	3.78%
	mašina za sušenje veša	0%	1.89%
	sušilica za veš	0%	1.89%
dresing	*preliv*	14.91%	11.34%
	preliv za salatu	2.13%	5.67%
	dodatak salati	0%	1.89%
	preliv u salati	0%	1.89%
džekpot	*premija*	27.69%	13.23%
	glavni dobitak	0%	1.89%
	pun pogodak	0%	1.89%
keš	*gotovina*	12.78%	5.67%
komjuniti	*zajednica*	61.77%	45.36%
	zajednica na društvenim mrežama	2.13%	0%
	savez	2.13%	0%
	društvena zajednica	0%	1.89%
luzer	*gubitnik*	66.03%	47.25%
	osoba koja je u nečemu loše prošla	2.13%	0%
nerd	*štreber*	51.12%	62.37%
	intelektualac	2.13%	0%
	učenjak	2.13%	0%
	gik	0%	1.89%
popkorn	*kokice*	66.03%	51.03%
	pucke	0%	1.89%
printer	*štampač*	72.42%	69.93%
rafting	*splavarenje*	8.52%	1.89%
riseler	*preprodavac*	25.56%	52.92%
	jadni preprodavac	2.13%	0%
	šaner	2.13%	0%
saund	*zvuk*	66.03%	64.26%

stor	*prodavnica*	29.82%	28.35%
	radnja	19.17%	9.45%
	šop	6.39%	0%
	prodaja	0%	1.89%
šoper	*kupac*	46.86%	43.47%
	potrošač	0%	1.89%
fajl	*datoteka*	25.56%	24.57%
fajt	*tuča*	38.34%	45.36%
	borba	29.82%	15.12%
	tepanje	0%	1.89%

Table 1. The choice of synonymous lexemes/phrases among the SLMs and ELMs

A comparison of these synonyms, and their percentages, was made to determine which of them were prototypical. For each of the Anglicisms, a general, or shared, part of the associative meaning was provided, followed by specific aspects of the meanings provided by the SLMs and/or ELMs.

Similar synonyms / synonymous phrases were given as responses to the stimulus *benefit* (the percentage of frequency of the responses for SLMs and ELMs is given after each response): *korist* 29.82%:22.68%, *dobit* 17.04%:9.45%, *dobrobit* 10.65%:5.67%, *povlastica* 10.65%:11.34%, *privilegija* 4.26%:0%, *beneficija* 2.13%:0%, *dobitak* 0%:1.89%, *korist od nekog posla* 0%:1.89%. Accordingly, among the SLMs and ELMs the prototypical meaning was *korist* – a favorable effect, material value, something that is gainful, interest (see *Rečnik srpskoga jezika* (*RSJ* 2007: 571) for the definition in Serbian), with the addition that (to a greater extent among the SLMs) the meaning developed in the direction of *gain*, i.e., material gain, winnings (see *RSJ* 2007: 290), and therefore happiness, well-being, yield (see *RSJ* 2007: 292) and *privilege*, a special right awarded to someone (see *RSJ* 2007: 1035), and for both groups in the direction of a *perk*, as the right, or opportunity that someone uses to their own advantage (see *RSJ* 2007: 941).

Different synonyms / synonymous phrases were provided for the stimulus *gik*: *štreber* 36.21%:51.03%, *ljubitelj fantastike ili vrlo specifičnih polja* 0%:1.89%, *nerd* 0%:1.89%, *osoba koja je drugačija od ostalih* 0%:1.89%, *osoba koja voli igrice/računare* 0%:1.89%, *osoba koja puno uči* 0%:1.89%. The synonym identified as the prototypical one was *štreber*, and to a greater extent by the ELMs. We believe that the lexicographic definition of the lexeme *štreber* as a person who deliberately attempts to ingratiate themselves in order to achieve success (in school, at work, etc.), an upstart, a career opportunist (see *RSJ* 2007: 1556) is not in accordance with the current perception of the meaning of this lexeme, and thus the synonymous lexeme *gik*. Furthermore, the remaining associative meanings which were cited by the respondents were peripheral and referred to individuals who differ from others in terms of their narrow scope of

interest, and did not refer to *career opportunist* and *upstart*, as cited in the aforementioned dictionary definition.

Responses to the stimulus *destinacija* included: *odredište* 21.3%:13.23%, *lokacija* 6.39%:0%, *mesto* 4.26%:3.78%, *mesto dokle se putuje* 2.13%:0%, *cilj* 2.13%:1.89%, *mesto gde se završava putovanje* 0%:1.89%, *mesto gde se putuje* 0%:1.89%, *mesto na koje želim da stignem* 0%:1.89%, *cilj putovanja* 0%:1.89%. The prototypical synonym was determined to be *odredište* or a place where one is headed or is sending something to (see *RSJ* 2007: 862) for both subgroups, while on the periphery (for the SLMs) we found the synonym *lokacija* as in position, a place where some moveable or transferable object is located (see *RSJ* 2007: 652) and the synonym *mesto* (for the SLMs and ELMs) as in space, place, and the like (see *RSJ* 2007: 701). The Anglicism *destinacija* was to the least extent interpreted as the end goal (of a journey) by the SLMs and ELMs, even though the dictionary defines it as a goal, a place, a point, a limit one wants to reach (see *RSJ* 2007: 1490).

The responses provided for the stimulus *esej* included: *sastav* 12.78%:30.24%, *pismeni sastav* 2.13%:0%, *dugački sastav* 0%:1.89%, *duži sastav* 0%:1.89%. It was clear that the prototypical meaning was found in the synonym *sastav* (which was more prominent among the ELMs) as a piece of writing, usually for school, or a general piece of text (see *RSJ* 2007: 1194), with the addition that its peripheral meaning among the ELMs was a text with a greater number of words.

The synonyms provided as responses to the stimulus *ofis* included: *kancelarija* 83.07%:60.48%, *radna prostorija* 2.13%:0%, *ured* 2.13%:0%, *kancelarija prepuna raznih papira* 0%:1.89%, *radni prostor* 0%:1.89%, *soba u stanu koja služi kao kancelarija* 0%:1.89%. The synonym *kancelarija* as official premises for administrative and similar work (see *RSJ* 2007: 521) was prototypical, and was more prominent among the SLMs, whereby on the periphery we found the meanings of workspace, a room, or a similar office space containing a considerable amount of paperwork.

Synonyms as responses to the lexeme *parti* included: *žurka* 61.77%:51.03%, *zabava* 10.65%:7.56%, *žur* 2.13%:0%, *žurka u klubu* 0%:3.78%, *veselje* 0%:1.89%. The synonym *žurka* (and *žur*) as a catered event and party in a private residence, a gathering in the evening or at night, usually for young people (see *RSJ* 2007: 376) stood out as prototypical, but mostly among the SLMs. Further from the prototypical center we found the lexeme *zabava* as an official event, a public event, a dance, a ball (see *RSJ* 2007: 378), while on the periphery we found *žurka u klubu* and *veselje* as a collective party accompanied by song, dance, joyful voices (see *RSJ* 2007: 141).

The responses to *stejdž* that were synonyms included: *bina* 40.47%:18.9%, *scena* 29.82%:22.68%, *pozornica* 17.04%:15.12%. The prototypical synonym was *bina* as in stage, mostly among the SLMs, with the addition that we do not agree

that *bina* is a lexeme which is necessarily vernacular. Closest to the periphery we found the lexeme *scena* as in stage, theatrical activities, the theater (see *RSJ* 2007: 1296) and *pozornica* as a space where a play is performed (see *RSJ* 2007: 958), to a somewhat greater extent among the SLMs. The fact that the lexeme *pozorište* was not the first choice of synonym for the respondents is not surprising considering that it also has the meaning of a theater building, or theatrical art in general (see *RSJ* 2007: 958).

The dominant synonym given as a response to the Anglicism *stiker* was *nalepnica* 70.29%:41.58%, which was more frequent among the SLMs. On the periphery we found the meaning *sličica* 2.13%:0% as in a small self-adhesive picture of animated characters, or athletes, etc. that children collect, or albums (*RSJ* 2007: 1240), and the phrase *dečije nalepnice za dnevnike i sveske* 0%:1.89%.

Even though it was clear that the prototypical synonym for the Anglicism *fešn* in Serbian was *moda* 74.55%:58.59%, which was more pronounced among the SLMs, on the periphery we also found the meanings of *visoka moda* 2.13%:0% and *nova moda* 0%:1.89%, which indicated that the meaning of the Anglicism *fešn* in future might additionally be specified in relation to the lexeme *moda*.

A prototypical synonym for the stimulus *frosting* was the lexeme *glazura* 10.65%:17.01%, which was more prominent among the ELMs, while the synonyms / synonymous expressions on the periphery included *preliv* 2.13%:5.67% or something we pour over food (*RSJ* 2007: 1015), and *preliv za torte i kolače* 0%:1.89%.

In sum, the aforementioned proves hypothesis one.

4.2. Hypernyms and hyponyms as responses

For hypernyms or hyponyms, the percentages were relatively similar for the SLMs (9.63%) and ELMs (10.37%) for the Anglicisms, while a difference was evident for the Serbian equivalents (SLMs, 21.44%; ELMs, 17.78%).

For the SLMs the range of hypernyms/hyponyms was from 0% (*apstrakt*, *bajer*, *bekpek*, *bos*, *buzer*, *buking*, *vorkšop*, *gik*, *gift*, *luzer*, *nerd*, *popkorn*, *printer*, *riseler*, *saund*, *stejdž*, *fešn*, *šoper*) to 59.57% (*esej*) for the Anglicisms, and from 0% (*poklon*) to 76.6% (*zajednica*) for the Serbian equivalents, while the ELM responses to the Anglicisms ranged from 0% (*apstrakt*, *bajer*, *bekpek*, *bos*, *buzer*, *buking*, *vorkšop*, *gift*, *nerd*, *ofis*, *popkorn*, *printer*, *saund*, *holder*) to 69.81% (*keš*), and from 0% (*gubitnik*, *kupac*, *pijanica*, *rezervacija*, *splavarenje*) to 75.47% (*zvuk*) for the Serbian equivalents.

When we compared the ratio between the hypernyms/hyponyms as responses to the Anglicisms for the ELMs and SLMs, they were somewhat more frequent among the former (52%:48%), which we can explain by a higher level of EFL proficiency. On the other hand, the difference between the SLMs and ELMs was only slightly more in favor of the SLMs when it came to the Serbian equivalents. Even though our respondents' L1 is Serbian, the ratio of

percentages between the SLMs and ELMs was 54.5%:45.5%, which can be explained by the impact of their more advanced study of Serbian in an academic setting.

A comparison of hypernyms and hyponyms among the SLMs and ELMs as responses to Anglicisms led to their classification into three categories: identical, similar (a partial overlap), and different.

Identical responses were recorded for the SLMs and ELMs for the following three Anglicisms: *destinacija* (*putovanje* and *put*), *drajer* (*mašina*), *rafting* (*sport*).

The partial overlap in the hypernyms/hyponyms as responses to the Anglicisms is presented according to the stimuli, whereby responses provided by the SLMs are to be found in the second column, and responses from the ELMs in the third or final column (see Table 2).

Stimulus	SLMs	ELMs
bartender	*konobar*	*konobar, kelner*
bedž	*broš, amblem, znak, oznaka*	*znak, oznaka, odlikovanje, smajli*
benefit	*ekonomska korist, profit*	*profit*
brauzer	*Google, program, Google Chrome, Opera, aplikacija, program za rad na računaru*	*Google, Chrome, Chrome pretraživač, Google Chrome, Mozilla, Safari*
dresing	*sos*	*sos, preliv za jelo*
džekpot	*dobitak, izuzetan dobitak*	*dobitak, nagrada, pogodak, pobeda*
esej	*rad, ogled, seminarski, tema, tekst, kratak prozni tekst naučnog sadržaja, kritika, naučni rad, pisani rad, pismeni zadatak, predispitna aktivnost, referat, seminarski rad, stranica, tekst*	*tekst, domaći, ispit, pisana forma koja se sastoji iz 3 ili više paragrafa, rad, rad na temu, referat, reči, tekst o nečemu, tema*
fajl	*dokument, folder, fascikla, podatak*	*dokument, folder, dokument sa materijalom za ispit, podatak, fascikla*
fajt	*svađa, boks, dvoboj*	*nasilje, bitka, boks, svađa*
frosting	*šlag, toping*	*šlag, za tortu toping, hrana*
keš	*novac, pare, dolari, novčanice, papirni novac*	*novac, pare, novčanice*
komjuniti	*veb-dizajner, internet, udruženje*	*društvo, ljudi, Egzit festival, Amerika, visoko društvo, grad, zgrada, narod, opština, selo*
parti	*dečji rođendan, izlazak, okupljanje, proslava*	*rođendan, provod*
spouksmen	*govornik, glasnogovornik, zastupnik, predstavnik*	*govornik, zastupnik, osoba, predstavnik*

stiker	emodži, slika	bedž, emotikon
stor	dragstor	dućan, magacin, ostava, skladište

Table 2. The partial overlap in the hypernyms/hyponyms among SLM and ELM responses presented according to the stimuli

Different hypernyms/hyponyms were provided by the SLMs and ELMs only for the Anglicism *blend*, which was interpreted both as a noun and as a verb, in accordance with the source language (*a/the blend* and *to blend*), which can be seen from the responses provided (*seći, smesa, umutiti : smuti, šejk, milkšejk, morfološki proces za stvaranje reči, sjedinjavanje namirnica u blenderu*).

The sum of percentages of all the hypernyms among the SLMs was 269.94%, and among the ELMs was 234.36%, which indicated that the former were more prone to responses of a general type. The most pronounced difference between the ELMs and SLMs was reflected in the expressed preference of the former for hyponyms (156.87%), while this preference was far lower among the SLMs (95.85%). Finally, responses of the same level of generality were more prevalent among the ELMs (24.57%) than SLMs (17.04%). Therefore, not only were the SLMs more prone to responses with a general meaning, but the ELMs were also prone to responses with a more specific meaning.

In sum, the aforementioned partly proves hypothesis two.

4.3. Encyclopedic responses

Encyclopedic responses were noted more frequently among the ELMs, especially for the Anglicisms (26.3% for the ELMs, 16% for the SLMs). Among the responses given to the Serbian equivalents, the difference between the two groups of respondents was negligible (41.59% for the SLMs, and 41.15% for the ELMs).

For the SLMs the range of responses to the Anglicisms was from 2.13% (*benefit*, *bos*, *brauzer*, *gik*) to 68.08% (*rafting*), i.e., from 0% (*zajednica*) to 82.98% (*kokice*) to the Serbian equivalents. For the ELMs the range of responses to the Anglicisms was from 5.66% (*komjuniti*) to 66.3% (*rafting*), i.e., from 0% (*korist*) to 84.9% (*rezervacija*) to the Serbian equivalents.

In sum, the number of encyclopedic responses given to the Anglicisms was greater among the ELMs compared to the SLMs (1037.95%:562.7%). A similar, but somewhat lower tendency was also noted for the Serbian equivalents, again in favor of the ELMs compared to the SLMs (1713.63%:1461.33%). The extensive difference noted in the data for the Anglicisms can be explained by the scope of the culturological approach to the study of English. The culturological elements contained in EFL courses led to more diverse encyclopedic responses among the ELMs. The smaller differences noted for the Serbian equivalents can be explained by native speaker idiosyncrasies.

The greatest number of different responses per Anglicism for the SLMs was noted for *bedž* (14)[2], *rafting* (14) and *destinacija* (10). For the ELMs it was for *stiker* (19), *bedž* (15), *buking* (11), *rafting* (11), *bekpek* (10), *nerd* (10), *spouksmen* (10), *fajt* (10), and *šoper* (10). A greater distribution of encyclopedic responses to stimuli which are recent Anglicisms was noted, which supports the conclusion that the level of proficiency does affect the level of acceptance of recent Anglicisms, as well as their interpretation and comprehension.

The distribution of encyclopedic responses enabled us to present the given responses in a structured manner in the form of idealized cognitive models (ICMs). This shed light on the way our subgroups interpret the Anglicisms as stimuli and how they incorporate them into their existing networks of lexical units. The same ICMs were noted for 25% of the Anglicisms, similar for 32.5%, related for 12.5%, and different ones for 30%.

The same ICMs were noted for the stimuli *apstrakt* (*various types of written work*), *benefit* (*money*), *blend* (*mixing*), *drajer* (*drying*), *dresing* (*salad*), *popkorn* (*watching movies*, *snacks*), *printer* (*printing*), *fajl* (*computers*), *frosting* (*cakes*), and *holder* (*objects that have holders*).

Similar ICMs were noted for the stimuli *bajer* (SLMs: *shopping in general*, ELMs: *shopping in pharmacies*), *buzer* (SLMs: *energy drinks*, ELMs: *various types of drinks*), *buking* (SLMs: *holiday arrangements*, ELMs: *travel arrangements*), *destinacija* (SLMs: *holiday travel*, ELMs: *destination vacation* and *vacation as escape*), *esej* (SLMs: *a literary course at an advanced level*, ELMs: *education at the tertiary level*), *gik* (SLMs: *glasses*, ELMs: *negative reactions to people who wear glasses*), *parti* (SLMs: *what is needed for a party*, ELMs: *places where a party can be held* and *what is needed to have a party*), *rafting* (SLMs: *white-water activities*, ELMs: *sailing in a kayak*), *saund* (SLMs: *music*, ELMs: *music and environmental sounds*), *stiker* (SLMs: *children exchanging stickers*, ELMs: *places where to put stickers*, *virtual stickers*, and *children exchanging stickers*), *fajt* (SLMs: *exchanging punches*, ELMs: *physical altercations in public*), *džekpot* (SLMs: *games of chance*, ELMs: *gambling*).

Related ICMs were noted for the stimuli *bartender* (SLMs: *a place to serve liquor*, ELMs: *serving alcoholic beverages*), *riseler* (SLMs: *reselling*, ELMs: *selling second-hand goods*), *stejdž* (SLMs: *music*, ELMs: *performing*), *fešn* (SLMs: *being in style and in vogue*, ELMs: *fashionable clothing*), *šoper* (SLMs: *grocery bags*, ELMs: *places where people can shop*).

Different ICMs were noted for the stimuli *bekpek* (SLMs: *packing*, ELMs: *mountain climbing*, *hitchhiking*, and *various uses for backpacks*), *bedž* (SLMs: *clothes on which to wear a badge* and *a description of a typical badge*, ELMs: *accolades*, *prints on badges*, and *where a badge can be worn*), *bos* (SLMs: *games*,

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[2] The parentheses include the absolute values of the repeated responses, without taking into consideration the differences between groups in terms of their respective sizes.

ELMs: *high-ranked jobs*), *brauzer* (SLMs: a non-definable ICM, ELMs: *computers*), *vorkšop* (SLMs: *places where work is sought*, ELMs: *group work in an academic setting*), *keš* (SLMs: *places where one can keep money and access it*, ELMs: *financial transactions*), *komjuniti* (SLMs: *communication*, ELMs: *being surrounded by friends*), *luzer* (SLMs: *Đorđe Balašević*, ELMs: *competition*), *nerd* (SLMs: *shyness*, ELMs: *a book smart person*), *ofis* (SLMs: *a job*, ELMs: *office space*), *spouksmen* (SLMs: *anxiety conveyed verbally*, ELMs: *politics and the media*), *stor* (SLMs: a non-definable ICM, ELMs: *online shopping apps*).

In sum, the aforementioned partly proves hypothesis three. Based on the data outlined in sections 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3 we can conclude that our overall analysis confirms hypothesis four.

5. Conclusion

The associative responses of the SLMs and ELMs (L1 Serbian speakers) to recent nominal Anglicisms and their Serbian equivalents were analyzed and compared, with the aim of determining whether the identified associative networks of the subgroups were impacted by advanced levels of study of English at university, and with the aim of understanding the conceptualization of the select monosemic Anglicisms in Serbian. All the hypotheses outlined at the onset of the study were later confirmed either in full (hypotheses 1 and 4) or partly (hypotheses 2 and 3).

Synonyms which take the form of hapax legomena, provided by the ELMs and SLMs as responses to the Serbian equivalents, are largely similar in number for both subgroups, considering their shared L1. There is a clear tendency for the ELMs to provide more synonyms in the form of hapax legomena as responses to the Anglicisms. This confirms the fact that higher levels of EFL proficiency mean using more synonymous lexemes and phrases as responses. Our analysis of the synonyms within the framework of prototype theory for both subgroups confirmed the conclusions of Fitzpatrick and Thwaites (2020) regarding how L2 lexemes need not be distinct from L1 concepts, as evidenced in the structure of the prototypes (identical, similar, and relatively similar responses), indicating a link between them.

The sum of percentages of all the hypernyms indicates that, in semantic terms, the SLMs are more prone to reactions of a more general type rather than a specific one. The ELMs indicate a more pronounced tendency towards hyponyms. Responses of the same level of generality are more prevalent among the ELMs than the SLMs.

Encyclopedic responses to the Anglicisms, which are quite diverse, emerged more frequently among the ELMs. This confirms the conclusion that levels of proficiency impact the extent to which Anglicisms are adopted, as well as how they are interpreted and understood.

The frequency of hapax legomena and varied responses (Figure 1) confirms the conclusion of Fitzpatrick and Izura (2011) about a smaller number of responses often being provided to stimuli from the respondents' L2. That the level of EFL proficiency has an impact on associative responses was confirmed in various studies (Fitzpatrick and Thwaites 2020; Jiang 2019, inter alia). The differences noted in the types of responses as well as their frequency, obtained within this study, confirm the claim. When the responses are organized and analyzed as part of prototypical structures and as part of ICMs, in addition to clear overlaps, tendencies were noted for the ELMs to opt for more specific meanings of the given stimuli. This provides additional support for the conclusion of Fitzpatrick and Thwaites (2020) on how an increase in L2 proficiency leads to an increase in the number of different and associated meanings and connotations of words from the L2 lexicon, in this case, Anglicisms.

The limitations of the study primarily refer to the self-reported approximate level of knowledge of the English language provided by the respondents. Further studies could improve the quality of the existing findings by testing the respondents' level of English language knowledge by means of standardized testing, to ensure precise results. Potentially, only respondents with similar levels of English language proficiency might be grouped, and their responses analyzed individually to check for possible different effects of L2 proficiency. Additionally, respondents could also be recruited from other study centers throughout Serbia, to both broaden the scope of the sample of respondents, and possibly analyze other factors that may impact their performance on a test of associative responses.

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АНАЛИЗ АССОЦИАТИВНЫХ СЕТЕЙ БОЛЕЕ СОВРЕМЕННЫХ ЗАИМСТВОВАННЫХ ИЗ АНГЛИЙСКОГО ЯЗЫКА СУЩЕСТВИТЕЛЬНЫХ СРЕДИ СТУДЕНТОВ СЕРБИСТИКИ И АНГЛИСТИКИ

Предметом данной работы является сравнение речевых ассоциаций студентов, изучающих сербский и английский языки и литературу, с целью определения возможных связей между уровнем владения английским языком как иностранным в университетской среде и концептуализацией избранных недавних заимствований существительных из английского языка. Данное исследование основано на онлайн опроснике из 80 стимулов, то есть 40 пар недавних заимствований существительных из английского языка и их устоявшихся аналогов, который заполнили 100 испытуемых, указав свободные и дискретные ассоциации. Результаты свидетельствуют о сильно выраженной склонности студентов английского языка к реакциям в форме синонимов, что подтверждает существующие утверждения о том, что более высокий уровень владения английским языком приводит к более частому выражению синонимической реакции. Кроме того, студенты англистики стремились к гипонимическим реакциям, как лексемам с более конкретным значением, на более новые англицизмы, тогда как студенты сербистики стремились к гиперонимам. Увеличенное разнообразие реакций энциклопедического типа наблюдалось у студентов англистики, что свидетельствует об общем влиянии уровня владения английским языком на характер речевых ассоциаций и их интерпретацию. Такая же тенденция наблюдается и в группе гапаксных реакций, при этом большее количество отсутствующих реакций зафиксировано у студентов сербистики. Вышеприведенные данные подтверждают мнение о том, что меньшее количество речевых ассоциаций обычно наблюдается для стимулов, происходящих из соответствующего родного языка, из чего следует вывод о том, что более высокий уровень владения английским языком можно считать неизбежной частью интерпретации полученных речевых ассоциаций. Наш анализ прототипов и

идеализированных когнитивных моделей, выявленных среди речевых ассоциаций, внес конкретный вклад в вывод о том, что характер речевых ассоциаций студентов англистики отличается от того, который был получен от студентов сербистики, причем студенты английского чаще выбирают конкретные и точные значения избранных заимствований из английского языка.

Ключевые слова: сербский как родной, английский как иностранный, речевые ассоциации, более современные заимствования из английского языка, существительные.

TERM IN NON-SPECIALISED CONTEXT. CASE OF DETERMINOLOGISATION OF PSYCHIATRIC TERMINOLOGY

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Abstract: The concept of "term" as a strictly monosemic, isolated unit incompatible with synonymy and polysemy is not based on reality. Term variation can be of diatopic, diachronic, or diastratic nature. In addition, there is a close relationship between specialised vocabulary and general vocabulary, as term can migrate from specialised language towards general language (and vice versa). The phenomenon is called determinologisation (other authors call it despecialisation, vulgarisation, dedomanialisation, banalisation, or lexical trivialisation). The article deals with determinologisation of psychiatric terminology. The number of terms penetrating non-specialised language is growing, but determinologisation remains a phenomenon that only concerns certain categories of terms and, in particular, certain topics (such as environment, medicine, information technology, and space industry). The objective of the paper is to analyse the specificities of use of psychiatric terms in non-specialised texts, particularly in journalistic texts, by investigating the question of degree of specialisation of term for its use in determinologised context. To identify the basic psychiatric terms submitted for analysis, authors used the 5th chapter of the *International Classification of Diseases*, containing mental and behavioural disorders. The phenomenon of determinologisation has been analysed in *LeMonde.fr*, online version of the French daily newspaper, using *Sketch Engine* software tool. The authors identified a number of terms commonly used in non-specialised context (newspaper articles of various sections – news, culture, economics, sports). Usually (with certain exceptions), these were one-word terms, all of them being nouns and adjectives.

Keywords: French language, lexicology, term, terminology, terminologisation, determinologisation, specialised language, lexicology, vocabulary, psychiatry, mental disorders

1. Introduction

Since the formulation of general theory of terminology, the foundations of which were laid by Wüster in the 1930s, term has long been considered as a lexical unit specific to the specialised language,[1] opposed to word in the same

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[1] (Kocourek 77) : "… le terme est une unité lexicale définie dans le texte de spécialité." Translation by authors.

way as specialised language was opposed to general language. Moreover, in the Wüsterian approach, term was perceived as an isolated unit, independent of the context, strictly monosemic, and therefore, not admitting synonymy and polysemy.

Since those times, terminology has undergone considerable development gradually upsetting the long-held postulates of the general theory of terminology. Modern terminological research shows that specialised language is a natural language that functions according to the same principles as general language. These changes in approach manifest themselves above all in socioterminology, which is developing, in particular, in France and in other French-speaking countries, including Canada, in textual ("textual terminology" advocated by Slodzian, 2000), communicational (developed by Cabré, 1998), pragmatic (pragmaterminology developed by de Vecchi, 2016), and variationist approaches.

Contemporary terminologists point to different variations of terms. A variation of term can be of diatopic, diachronic, and diastratic nature, giving rise to a number of terminological synonyms in different fields. Diatopic variation is manifested by terminological synonymy existing in different countries that use the same language. The terminology of law using different terms to refer to the same concept is a typical case. Let us compare the following legal terms used in France and in Quebec: *réviseur aux comptes – vérificateur des comptes*, *société anonyme – compagnie*, *gérant – administrateur*, *entreprise individuelle – travailleur autonome*, etc.

Diachronic variation reflects the changes in terms during evolution of terminologies pursuant mainly to developments in human knowledge. Medical terminology is a typical example, medicine being one of the oldest disciplines in which the progress is very obvious. Let us quote, for instance, the terms *jaunisse – ictère*, *rhume des foins – rhinite allergique*, *peste blanche – tuberculose*, etc. (Honová 34-35). Diachronic variation has been addressed by Kacprzak (49) who mentions, in this context, the existence of a whole series of terms used for certain diseases, as *paludisme* (*malaria*, *fièvre paludéenne*, *fièvre paludique*, *fièvre palustre*, *fièvre à quinquina*, *fièvre maremmatique*, *fièvre des marais*). Examples also include scientific nomenclatures introduced in 18th century, such as Carl Linnaeus' binomial nomenclature of cellular organisms, or chemical nomenclature replacing the alchemical names of compounds (*cristaux de Vénus – nitrate de cuivre*, *fleurs de Jupiter – oxyde d'étain*, *sel d'yeux d'écrevisse – acétate de calcium*, *pierre infernale – nitrate d'argent*). Some of them have survived to this day, and some are even used more often than their newer equivalents (*eau-forte – acide nitrique*, *rouille – oxyde ferrique*, *vitriol – acide sulfurique*) (Walter 82-85).

Diastratic variation in terminology is related to the context and the communicational situation in which the term is used. Examples include

terminological synonyms used by a doctor when speaking to a patient on the one hand, and when speaking to a colleague on the other (*plaquette – thrombocyte*, etc.), as well as the synonymy existing between the official name and the commercial name of a term (*acide acetylsalicylique – aspirine*), or the synonyms used in different companies for a single concept (*ordinateur individuel – ordinateur personnel*) to distinguish, in particular, the company from its competitors (Bédard, 15-17). Let us also mention the variation associated with internationalisation of terminologies resulting in the existence of synonymy between a term formed from resources proper to the language and internationalism (*lissage – lifting, jeune pousse – start-up*, *logiciel – software*, etc.).

Moreover, term behaves differently depending on the context in which it is used. It is obvious that term is, in principle, intended to be used in specialised communication. Nevertheless, nowadays it often leaves its strictly specialised framework and penetrates the day-to-day, non-specialised communication. As a result, contemporary terminologists realise that the boundary between words and terms is not strictly defined, being, on the contrary, quite blurred, in the same way as the boundary between specialised language and general language. This fact results in migration of terms from a specialised domain to a non-specialised domain as well as in the circulation of terms between different domains of specialty. [2] According to Meyer and Mackintosh (213), the phenomenon of migration of terms towards general language is accentuated in the environment of "knowledge society" in which we live:

[…] as specialised knowledge infiltrates our day-to-day lives, an increasing number of lexical units will quit their fixed terminological character and undergo semantic and pragmatic changes in the process of determinologisation.[3]

2. Terminologisation and determinologisation

The process of determinologisation (and the opposite process of terminologisation), showing close relationship between specialised vocabulary and general vocabulary, has been mentioned in the theory of Czech terminology since the 1980s (Poštolková et al., 1983; Poštolková, 1984), while French terminologists pay less attention to this issue. Czech terminologists define terminologisation as a process during which a common language word acquires

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[2] The permeability existing between specialised languages and general language has already been shown by Rondeau (25).

[3] "[…] au fur et à mesure que les connaissances spécialisées infiltrent notre quotidien, un nombre croissant d'unités lexicales se détacheront de leur caractère terminologique fixe, subissant des changements sémantiques et pragmatiques au cours du processus de déterminologisation." Translation by authors.

a specialised meaning, considering it a highly efficient mode of term formation, when a word existing in general vocabulary is used to name a new specialised concept. During such process, the meaning of the word does not change completely, but specialises its meaning because only certain semantic features are retained. The same term is also used by Cabré (1994, 593) for words that "pass to various domains with precise signifieds"[4], or Sager (54) for "the assigning of a limited meaning to a word of general language", while Depecker (7) prefers the term "specialisation" of a linguistic unit, defined as the special meaning that a linguistic unit accepts without any formal mark, derived from a "continuum between general language and specialised language".

As far as determinologisation is concerned, it is considered by Czech terminologists as weakening or loss of part of the specialised meaning of a term. According to Poštolková (106), during the process of determinologisation, a term becomes non-term either in its primary (original) meaning, or in its derived meaning. Furthermore, the author emphasises that determinologisation is the result of frequent and less precise use of terms in general (non-specialised) language. Besides Czech terminologists, determinologisation is mentioned, in particular, by Meyer and Mackintosh (2000) as "stretching of terminological meaning",[5] as well as by Madinier (2008) and Picton (2018).

Nevertheless, most French linguists prefer other terms such as despecialisation (Condamines and Picton, 2014; Gouadec, 1990), vulgarisation (Gouadec, 1990), dedomanialisation (Rastier and Valette, 2009), banalisation (Jacobi, 1986), and lexical trivialisation (Galisson, 1978). The latter defines banalised language as a "second language, grafted on a 'technical' language, to ensure wider dissemination of information relating to the field of experience covered by the technical language in question".[6]

Whatever name we use for the processes defined above, the growing penetration of terms into contemporary non-specialised communication is evident.

According to Roberts and Josselin-Leray (327), the fact that terms are penetrating general language more than ever before is attested by a growing volume of terms in general dictionaries. Even if terms are treated, in principle, by terminographic works, the presence of terms in current lexicographic works is constantly increasing. Among the reasons of this trend, the authors rightly underline the difficulty of establishing precise delimitation between words of general language and terms, due to migration of lexical units between general

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[4] "passent à divers domaines avec des signifiés précis". Translation by authors.
[5] "Étirement du sens terminologique". Translation by authors.
[6] "Langage second, greffé sur un langage « technique », pour assurer une diffusion plus large aux informations relevant du domaine d'expérience couvert par le langage technique en question." Translation by authors.

language and specialised languages, as well as the importance of terms in contemporary life and with respect to user expectations.

However, even if the number of terms that enter non-specialised language is growing, determinologisation remains a phenomenon that only concerns certain categories of terms. Some authors (e.g. Honová 110) concluded that certain terms in certain domains become determinologised more easily than others. In this regard, it is necessary to take into consideration the fact that terms vary depending on their specialisation. Therefore, we distinguish three categories of terms[7], namely:

- terms with low degree of specialisation;
- terms with medium degree of specialisation;
- terms with high degree of specialisation (ultra-specialised terms).
- The first category includes terms that are closest to general language, being known even to non-specialists. On the other hand, the terms which present high specialisation are characterised, in principle, by the following attributes:
- based on scholarly forms (Greco-Latin);
- semantic opacity;
- archaic character;
- formation by long syntagmas;
- formation by initialisation.

Nevertheless, there are other criteria of pragmatic nature. Determinologisation manifests itself, in particular, through the media, which are often broadcasters of new terms in non-specialised communication. It also depends on the level of media coverage of a specific subject. Obviously, the phenomenon of determinologisation is specific to terms in the most publicised fields. The recent COVID-19 pandemic has allowed the spread of epidemiological terminology into the language of the general public, and the current war in Ukraine has disseminated military terminology. Condamines and Picton (2014, 168) give other examples of such fields:

[...] the fact that a term spreads in general language is often due to increased interest of the public/interlocutor for the subject to which this term is linked: medicine, information technology, nuclear energy, space industry.[8]

3. Research objectives and methodology

The objective of the paper is to analyse the specificities of use of psychiatric terms in non-specialised and, particularly, journalistic texts, by investigating the

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[7] We base the classification particularly on Rondeau (25).

[8] "[...] le fait qu'un terme se diffuse dans la langue générale est souvent lié à un intérêt accru du public/interlocuteur pour la thématique à laquelle est lié ce terme : la médecine, l'informatique, le nucléaire, le spatial." Translation by authors.

question of the role of degree of specialisation of a term for its use in the determinologised context. Some previous works (e.g. Honová) examined terms occurring in French press related to the field of bioethics, an interdisciplinary field at the crossroads of biology, medicine, genetics, ethics, and law, and a topical, widely publicised issue, interesting even to non-specialists.

To identify the basic psychiatric terms submitted for analysis, we searched the globally used *International Classification of Diseases* (hereinafter *ICD*), published and maintained by the World Health Organization. Diagnoses are divided into 22 chapters marked with alphanumeric codes for specification of a disease (and other circumstances, such as external causes of injury or disease). The classification is regularly updated and, at present, the 11th revision is available. However, we used the French version of *Chapter 5* of the 10th revision of *ICD* from 2019: *Mental and behavioural disorders* (*Troubles mentaux et du comportement*), including diagnoses marked as F00-F99 (World Health Organization).

The phenomenon of determinologisation was analysed in *LeMonde.fr*, online version of the French daily newspaper and one of the first French newspapers appearing on the web. To search the terms, we used *Sketch Engine*, corpus manager and text analysis software produced by Lexical Computing Ltd., initially released in 2003. Only the most typical and obvious occurrences were retained as examples in this article.

4. Typology of terms from the point of view of their use

On the basis of a research carried out in *LeMonde.fr*, we identified four categories of the analysed psychiatric terms, namely (a) terms used in *LeMonde.fr* exclusively in their primary, terminological meaning, (b) terms used both in their terminological, and determinologised meaning, (c) terms always or almost used in their determinologised meaning (these terms were not found in the corpus, but it is conceivable that they could be found in the terminology of another specialisation), and, finally, (d) terms not found in *LeMonde.fr* (*hypersomnie, hyperanxiété, agraphie, dyslalie, acalculie, trichotillomanie*, etc.).

Terms used exclusively in their primary meaning (category (a)) include, above all, those with a high degree of specialisation, such as those formed from scholarly forms (*agoraphobie, insomnie, somnambulisme, énurésie, encoprésie, pédophilie, pyromanie*, etc.), or terminological syntagmas (*retard mental, trouble anxieux,* etc.). Regarding terminological syntagmas, we can see that, in general, they rarely undergo the process of determinologisation, especially if they are long enough. Indeed, the longer the syntagma, the more specialised and less known is the term (*trouble obsessionnel compulsif, trouble affectif bipolaire*).

Terms of category (b) were quite abundant in the corpus, i.e. the terms found both in the primary, specialised meaning, and in the determinologised

meaning. The determinologised meaning was found in various newspaper sections (national and international politics, economics, culture, society, and sports). From the point of view of parts of speech, they are nouns, and, in some cases, adjectives. We also identified several derived verbs.

In the category of organic mental disorders, let us mention the term *démence* in the determinologised meaning, e.g. *démence électorale* or *démence juive*. In political comments, we also found a relatively expressive determinologised use of this term, such as *la démence sans retour qui s'est emparée de Bachar Al-Assad* (2012/08/14). The terms *amnésie* (classified as a neurotic disorder) and *amnésique* (used mainly as an adjective, sometimes appearing also as a noun) are evidently well known even to non-experts, as evidenced by their frequent use in the determinologised meaning (e.g. *société amnésique*, *la France est amnésique*, *la famille Le Pen est amnésique*, *petit rappel aux amnésiques*). The adjective *hallucinatoire* (forming part of the term *état hallucinatoire organique* in the *ICD*) was attested in the corpus in *Quant à la célèbre "Marche funèbre", étonnamment sage pour le coup, elle se réserve pour un finale hallucinatoire* (2010/09/20), … *entre complotisme enkysté et tendances hallucinatoires* (2019/12/27), *J'ai longuement marché dans le désert avec une soif hallucinatoire* (2021/01/05). Even more frequently, we encountered the noun *hallucination* (*une hallucination collective*, *une nouvelle hallucination urbaine*, *hallucinations millénaristes*, etc.).

Among the terms falling under mental and behavioural disorders associated with psychoactive substances, we noted a significant occurrence of the term *intoxication* in the determinologised meaning, e.g. *intoxication idéologique*, *intoxication de l'opinion publique*, *l'intoxication marketing* and, in international politics comments, the expressive *une intoxication à Nétanyahou s'est développée au fil du temps* (2019/02/15). In the determinologised meaning, the term *intoxication* also occurs in an abbreviated form *intox* (*intox médiatiques*, *intox politicienne*, *intox de l'extrême droite*, *le théâtre des intox de Marine Le Pen*, etc.). In addition to the mentioned noun, we also noted the occurrence of derived determinologised verbs, *intoxiquer* (*il est fascinant de voir comment on intoxique facilement une population crédule*, 2011/04/16) and *désintoxiquer* (*se désintoxiquer de la technique*, *désintoxiquer l'économie*, *"désintoxiquer" la France des ressources fossiles*).

Among schizotypal and schizophrenic disorders, we mainly encountered the determinologisation of the term *schizophrénie* itself, typically with reference to a political situation, such as *schizophrénie des hommes politiques*. The occurrence of this term was also noted in connection with the verb *s'emparer*, e.g. *Quelle schizophrénie s'est emparée des Français*, or *un symbole de schizophrénie qui s'est emparée des Britanniques* (2019/12/25). *Paranoïa* is another term of this category, used often in combination with other medical terms such as *paranoïa aïgue contre la police*, or *Le cas du "G15" est*

symptomatique de la paranoïa des dirigeants (2013/05/10), as well as *paranoïa collective*, *paranoïa anticommuniste*, *paranoïa du régime*, etc. A similar situation was observed with the term *psychose*, which occurred in collocations *psychose parmi la population*, *psychose maladive du nucléaire*, *début de psychose*, etc.

In the class of mood (affective) disorders, we noted frequent occurrence of the term *manie*, which appears in various journalistic topics, e.g. *manie obsessionnelle ou stratégie de globalisation littéraire, manie d'Obelix, manie du transport aérien*, in the field of sports also as *manie nationale de la repentance contamine même FIFA* (2010/06/29), or *Cette longue natte blonde qu'elle lissait entre les points, qu'elle triturait au même titre que son chapelet, parmi tant de petites manies qui irritaient aussi bien son adversaire que le public* (2016/04/06). [9] This class also includes the adjective *dépressif*, occurring in determinologised meaning quite commonly in journalistic texts of various genres and topics (politics, culture, art) in collocations *France dépassée, dépressive, dépravée, paysage hexagonale, dépressif, climat dépressif palestinien, architecture dépressive*, etc.

In neurotic, stress-related and somatoform disorders, we noted significant occurrence of the term *amnésie* used in determinologised meaning. Several times, we encountered *amnésie nationale*, and *amnésie coloniale, amnésie collective, amnésie du présent, amnésie mise en place par l'État*, as well as *une belle amnésie sur les valeurs.* On the contrary, the occurrence of the term *anxiété* was recorded, in the vast majority of cases, in its original, terminological meaning, with the exception of *anxiété collective* and *anxiété sanitaire et économique*. The same applies to the term *hypochondrie* and the derived adjective *hypocondriaque* (used also as a noun), which are exceptionally used in determinogised meaning, e.g. *L'Europe des hypocondriaques écologistes se réveillera-t-elle bientôt?* (2019/08/19). In contrast to the previous two terms, we recorded relatively frequent occurrence of the term *phobie* in determinologised meaning, such as *phobie de la démocratie du monde arabe, phobie des bolcheviks, phobie "administrative", phobie de l'inflation, phobie française, phobie de l'étranger,* and also *catho phobie*. [10] This class of diagnoses also

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[9] In determinologised meaning, the term *manie* often becomes a mere synonym of words *obsession, passion, goût, habitude bizarre*, and becomes part of a number of neologisms (*anglomanie, mégalomanie, nymphomanie*, and the derived *anglomane, mégalomane, nymphomane*, etc.), all of them being attested in the corpus. However, the *ICD* terminology contains only *dipsomanie, toxicomanie, hypomanie, pyromanie, kleptomanie, trichotillomanie*, which we did not find in our corpus).

[10] The term *phobie* functions as a synonym of *horreur, peur, haine* in determinologised meaning and becomes part of a number of neologisms typical for the journalistic style, e.g. *russophobie, germanophobie, europhobie, islamophobie*, etc. (as well as the derived words *russophobe, germanophobe, europhobe, islamophobe*, etc.), which were found in the corpus. *ICD* terminology includes only *agoraphobie, anthropophobie, acrophobie,*

includes the adjective *panique* (occurring also as a noun), both in its primary, and determinologised meaning, as *fuite panique des capitaux*, *panique bancaire*, or *fausse panique collective*. This term is equally the basis for the derived verb *paniquer*, commonly found in the corpus (*En ce 26 avril 1986, les opérateurs paniqués de la salle de contrôle de Tchernobyl feuillettent le manuel des opérations pour atteindre la section concernant la procédure à suivre en cas de fusion du réacteur*, 2019/12/31). Sometimes, it is not easy to distinguish between use of the term in its terminological and determinologised meaning. However, in the case of adjectives such as *panique*, *anxieux* and *dépressif*, when referring to inanimate entities, which, by their nature, cannot show any mental disorder or its symptoms, their determinologised meaning is quite obvious. It is interesting that determinologised terms often appear in collocations involving a collective, a nation, an ethnic or a religious group, with the adjective *collectif* (*panique collective*, *paranoïa collective*) and other adjectives as in previously mentioned collocations *amnésie nationale*, *phobie française*, *démence juive*, etc.

As far as behavioural syndromes are concerned, we noted significant occurrence of the term *boulimie* in determinologised meaning, used as a synonym of the evaluative adjective *excessif*, e.g. *boulimie énergétique*, *boulimie de savoir*, *boulimie d'acquisitions des étrangers*, *boulimie de produits high-tech*, *boulimie d'avions*, *boulimie de sécurité*, *boulimie de justice*, *boulimie de piété*, *boulimie d'action*, *boulimie cinéphilique*. We recorded infrequent occurrence of the term *anorexie* (*anorexie patriotique*, *anorexie des valeurs*). The situation is similar for the term *cauchemar*, e.g. *cauchemar obscurantiste*, *cauchemar sécuritaire*, found in international politics comments, such as *en finir avec le cauchemar Maduro*, or *Leur plus grand cauchemar est qu'Israël se retrouve environné de régimes fondamentalistes hostiles à son existence* (2009/10/19).

In case of adult personality disorders, we noted the determinologised meaning of the terms *kleptomane* (*régime prédateur et kleptomane*), *fétichisme* (*fétichisme de l'équilibre budgétaire*, *fétichisme de l'argent*, *fétichisme de la "masse critique" et de "l'excellence"*), and *exhibitionnisme* (*exhibitionnisme idéologique*).

Within disorders of psychological development, the corpus contained frequent occurrence of the term *autisme* in the determinologised meaning, often with reference to the political context, e.g. *autisme gouvernemental*, *autisme des dirigeants politiques*, *autisme que l'on voit le plus souvent chez les hommes politiques ayant de très hautes responsabilités* (2020/01/01). The term *mutisme* was found in *mutisme tricolore*, *mutisme allemande*, *mutisme de l'institution catholique*, etc. The determinologised meaning of *onanisme* was

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claustrophobie, *nosophobie*, and *dysmorphophobie*, which, however, were not attested in the corpus in determinologised meaning).

significantly less frequent and found exclusively in political context (*onanismes électoraux*, *onanisme intellectuel*).

It should be noted that the terminology contained in *ICD* represents only a section of psychiatric terminology. It does not comprise a number of terms designating symptoms (*apathie*, *paralysie*, *agressivité*, *frustration*, *confusion*, *sentiment d'aliénation*, *baisse de la libido*, *agitation*, *nervosité*, *rêves anormaux*), therapeutic and diagnostic procedures (*hypnose*, *électrochoc*, *thérapie de choc*, *travail / thérapie de groupe*, *art-thérapie*), drug indication groups (*antidépresseurs*, *sédatifs*, *hypnotiques*, *anxiolytiques*, *stimulants*), anatomical terms (especially terms related to the central nervous system, e.g. *cerveau*, *moelle épinière*, *nerf*, etc.), and older synonyms of the currently used terms, reflecting diastratic variation of terms. For instance, the older division of mental retardation (classified today as F70-F79), into *débilité*, *idiotie*, *imbécillité*, which ceased to be used at the end of the 20th century, or the term *hystérie*, which is nowadays considered inappropriate and pejorative (among other things, due to the Greek etymology referring to the womb). In the modern classification of diseases, this disorder is fragmented into diagnoses dissociative (or conversion) disorders (F44) or histrionic personality disorder (F60.4). However, the older versions of *ICD* (e.g. ICD-7 from 1955) still included these terms (and others, e.g. *melancholie*). A number of these psychiatric terms would serve as other common examples of determinologisation (e.g. *thérapie de choc*, *nerf*, *idiotie* and *hystérie*). Among the above-mentioned terms, the occurrence of the term *thérapie de choc* in determinologised meaning was found, for example, in collocations *Les Républicains promettent une thérapie de choc consistant à réduire de 80 à 100 milliards d'euros la dépense publique* (2021/02/06), *Les Ukrainiens subissent la thérapie du choc* (2016/11/18), *La thérapie de choc de Mme Thatcher assainit l'économie* (2013/04/08).[11]

5. Conclusion

This article examines terms in a non-specialised context, namely the terms used in psychiatry to designate diagnoses according to *ICD*, the 5th chapter of which represents a sufficiently extensive, closed and diverse source of

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[11] The same applies to the term *paralysie*, forming part of the term *paralysie générale*, organic mental disorder connected with late-stage syphilis (and thus classified in Chapter I of *ICD* among infectious diseases), often occurring in its determinologised meaning in political and economic contexts, traffic, etc., as *paralysie de l'ensemble de l'économie française*, *facteur de paralysie de de crise de confiance dans le personnel politique*, *paralysie politique (totale)*, *paralysie de l'administration*, *paralysie algérienne*, *paralysies du gouvernement fédéral américain*, *paralysie économique du pays*, *paralysie européenne*, *paralysie partielle du trafic*, *paralysie temporaire du système*, *paralysie des discussions à vingt-sept*, etc.

psychiatric terms. For other psychiatric terms (such as symptoms, side effects, therapeutic methods), it would be possible to use other sources, e.g. package leaflets of psychopharmaceuticals, specialised articles, textbooks of psychiatry, diagnostic manuals (as *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* published by the American Psychiatric Association), etc. It should also be noted that the examples from *ICD* mentioned in this article are not an exhaustive overview of determinologised psychiatric terms, because it can be assumed that in other corpora, one could find other terms used in determinologised meaning.

In psychiatric terminology, both processes involving evolution of terms can be observed, i.e. terminologisation, and determinologisation. These processes reflect the permeability between general and specialised language, as well as between specialised languages of different disciplines. Terms appearing in newspaper sections covering different topics (politics, economics, culture, society, sports) were almost always nouns and adjectives (except for the derived verbs *intoxiquer*, *désintoxiquer*, and *paniquer*, which are not, however, contained in *ICD*).

We did not find multi-word psychiatric terms in determinologised meaning, even though their use is conceivable (such as *trouble délirant*). Among the terms beyond *ICD*, *thérapie de choc* is relatively frequented. In some cases, a multi-word term used in this way appears to be a psychiatric term, but it does not indicate any specific diagnosis (e.g. *psychose / hystérie collective / de masse* belong more to psychology or sociology).

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LE TERME EN CONTEXTE NON SPÉCIALISÉ. LE CAS DE DÉTERMINOLOGISATION DE LA TERMINOLOGIE PSYCHIATRIQUE

La conception du « terme » comme unité strictement monosémique et isolée, incompatible avec la synonymie et la polysémie, se heurte souvent à la réalité. La variation des termes peut être de nature diatopique, diachronique ou diastratique. De plus, il existe une relation étroite entre le lexique spécialisé et le lexique commun et le terme peut migrer de la langue spécialisée vers la langue générale (et inversement). Le phénomène est appelé déterminologisation (d'autres auteurs l'appellent déspécialisation, vulgarisation, dédomanialisation, banalisation ou banalisation lexicale). L'article traite de la déterminologisation de la terminologie psychiatrique. Le nombre de termes pénétrant dans le langage commun augmente, mais la déterminologisation reste un phénomène qui ne concerne que certaines catégories de termes et, en particulier, certains domaines de spécialité (comme l'environnement, la médecine, l'informatique, l'industrie spatiale). L'objectif de l'article est d'analyser les spécificités d'usage des termes psychiatriques dans les textes non spécialisés, notamment dans les textes journalistiques, en se posant la question du degré de spécialisation du terme pour son usage en contexte déterminologisé. Pour identifier les termes psychiatriques de base soumis à l'analyse, les auteurs ont utilisé le 5e chapitre de la *Classification internationale des maladies*, contenant les troubles mentaux et comportementaux. Le phénomène de déterminologisation a été analysé dans *LeMonde.fr*, version en ligne du quotidien français, à l'aide de l'outil *Sketch Engine*. Les auteurs ont identifié un certain nombre de termes couramment utilisés dans un contexte non spécialisé (articles de journaux de différentes sections – actualité, culture, économie, sport). En général (à quelques exceptions près), il s'agissait de termes composés d'un seul mot, tous relevant de la catégorie des noms et des adjectifs.

Mots-clés : langue française, lexicologie, terme, terminologie, terminologisation, déterminologisation, langue de spécialité, lexicologie, vocabulaire, psychiatrie, troubles mentaux

Il contatto linguistico slavo-romanzo attraverso il lessico culinario istriano

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Sintesi: Nel presente contributo si andrà ad illustrare il contatto linguistico slavo-romanzo sulla scorta di una selezione di espressioni istriane tratte dall'ambito culinario, che risultano essere di uso comune tra i parlanti di dialetto istrosloveno. Oltre alla varietà savrina del dialetto istriano, questi ultimi parlano anche il sottodialetto risanese, entrambi idiomi rilevabili unicamente nell'entroterra delle città costiere slovene. Il dialetto istrosloveno è ormai da secoli in contatto con l'istroveneto, che fino a non molto tempo fa rappresentava la lingua istriana principe in cui tutti, in Istria, solevano comunicare. Appartenente al gruppo dei dialetti veneti, il dialetto istroveneto fu introdotto in Istria ad opera della Serenissima a partire dal X secolo. Lo specifico status sociolinguistico che lo caratterizzava favorì nel tempo un intenso contatto tra gli idiomi di matrice slava e quelli di matrice romanza, che si tradusse nell'incessante acquisizione di prestiti romanzi da parte della popolazione rurale di origini slave per influsso della lingua istroveneta parlata nei centri urbani. Tale commistione si manifesta tuttora in diversi ambiti, a livello di prestiti lessicali, calchi, ordine dei costituenti della frase e sintassi. In questo articolo si procederà pertanto a una disamina etimologica dei prestiti lessicali romanzi rilevati nelle località di Sant'Antonio, Carcase, Boste, Antignano, Bertocchi, Saredo e Pomiano[1] durante una serie di ricerche dialettologiche sul campo, nel cui ambito sono stati attestati non solo singoli elementi lessicali, ma anche racconti in dialetto che gettano luce su alcune curiosità legate alla storia della cucina istriana e alle abitudini alimentari degli istriani. Nello specifico, i dialettofoni sono stati chiamati a rendere conto del lessico culinario sulla scorta di un questionario composto da 40 concetti afferenti al campo semantico "cibo e bevande", dopodiché, anche avvalendosi di opportuna letteratura scientifica di riferimento in ambito dialettologico ed etimologico, si è passati alla fase di estrapolazione dei romanismi e relativa giustificazione etimologica.

Parole chiave: dialetti, istrosloveno, istroveneto, romanismi, interferenza, Istria slovena, etimologia

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[1] Sveti Anton, Krkavče, Boršt, Tinjan, Bertoki, Šared e Pomjan.

1. Introduzione

Elemento caratterizzante dell'Istria è l'amalgama di nazionalità, culture, usi e costumi, nonché di lingue, dialetti e delle colorite espressioni che vi appartengono, che intrecciate come sono l'una all'altra danno una parvenza di coesione e indissolubilità pur avendo magari origini diverse. A partire da una corretta interpretazione del materiale linguistico disponibile è però possibile risalire al frangente storico in cui gli istriani mutuarono una data parola dalle lingue dei vari governanti succedutisi nelle loro terre piuttosto che dai dialetti vicini. Alcuni di quei forestierismi e certe espressioni "autoctone" sono poi gradualmente caduti in disuso, fenomeno che si suppone sia dovuto in ampia misura al venir meno di determinati oggetti, usanze e abitudini di vita, altre parole hanno invece acquisito nel corso del tempo una nuova veste e altre ancora, infine, negli ultimi secoli si sono viste slittare sempre più verso la lingua standard (slovena, croata e/o italiana) dal punto di vista fonetico.

La più autentica testimonianza circa il significato e il ruolo che ebbero tanto i popoli avvicendatisi in Istria quanto i relativi idiomi è data proprio dai dialetti istriani, ben sei nell'intera penisola: si rilevano infatti l'istrioto o dialetto istroromanzo, che ormai sopravvive in appena sei località dell'Istria croata, il dialetto istrorumeno, portato appunto da popolazioni rumene nel XVII secolo, il dialetto montenegrino parlato nel paesino croato di Peroi[2], anch'esso introdotto – in questo caso dai montenegrini – nel XVII secolo, e infine il ciacavo, l'istrosloveno e l'istroveneto.

Sul piano linguistico l'Istria slovena vede dunque un connubio di tradizione slava e romanza, che tuttora trova corrispondenza nella caratteristica dicotomia tra realtà urbane e rurali. Nella regione istriana la tradizione linguistica di matrice slava prese piede quanto meno a partire dal VII secolo d.C., quando gruppi di Slavi iniziarono a insediarsi nell'entroterra dei centri costieri della penisola, mentre di molto antecedente è la tradizione romanza, che rimanda alla romanizzazione dell'Istria. Nell'arco di un secolo da quando si era stabilita in quelle terre, la popolazione locale di origini slave plasmò il dialetto istrosloveno, che alla luce di una serie di peculiarità nella produzione dei suoni si suddivide in due varianti, risanese e savrina, le cui rispettive zone d'uso sono divise dalla linea immaginaria che congiunge gli abitati di Bertocchi, Maresego[3] e Sessetto[4].

Nelle interazioni con la gente di città, dapprima di lingua istroromanza e in seguito istroveneta, furono immancabilmente gli istriani di origini slovene ad adattarsi, essendo nella maggior parte dei casi bilingui a differenza degli abitanti di Capodistria, Isola e Pirano, che parlavano per lo più un unico idioma in virtù

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[2] Peroj.
[3] Marezige.
[4] Zazid.

del maggior prestigio sociolinguistico accordato fino alla fine della Seconda guerra mondiale all'istroveneto. Simili dinamiche si riflettono oltretutto in due fenomeni speculari, ossia i molti prestiti romanzi rinvenibili nel dialetto istrosloveno a fronte dell'esiguo numero di slovenismi presenti nelle parlate romanze del litorale.

Nel secondo dopoguerra le città dell'Istria slovena vissero un vero e proprio ricambio demografico che portò allo stravolgimento della fisionomia architettonica, culturale e linguistica di quello che un tempo costituiva un tessuto sociale di matrice prettamente romanza e le fece rinascere all'insegna di valori nuovi e di uno stile di vita quanto mai diverso. Le case italiane rimaste disabitate accolsero immigrati provenienti da altri contesti culturali, che inondarono le vie delle città con le loro lingue e parlate dialettali andando a sovrastare la lingua madre dei pochi cittadini autoctoni ormai rimasti. Ancora oggi tanto il dialetto istrosloveno dell'entroterra quanto l'istroveneto della costa tengono testa con caparbietà ai nuovi scenari, quasi a voler perpetuare l'ormai millenaria rivalità tra la popolazione urbana di origine romanza e quella rurale invece di origine slovena.

2. Cenni sulla storia della gastronomia istriana

La cucina istriana è frutto della varietà paesaggistica della regione, del suo clima e delle usanze culinarie portate nella penisola istriana dai molti popoli che in passato vi si avvicendarono: ecco come hanno fatto a nascere piatti unici nel loro genere, difficilmente rinvenibili in altre parti del mondo. Pur avendo le proprie origini nell'ambiente naturale in cui è immersa (si pensi, ad esempio, all'uso di piante spontanee, erbe aromatiche, verdura di stagione, frutti di mare ecc.), la cucina istriana riunisce in sé anche piatti e ingredienti che in queste terre si fecero strada al tempo del feudalesimo francese e tedesco, peraltro affiancati da pietanze di tradizione mediterranea e da altre ancora introdotte dagli Slavi a partire dal VII secolo. Anche la gastronomia veneziana ebbe un notevole peso sulle preparazioni locali, essendo estremamente fantasiosa e variegata in virtù delle materie prime provenienti da ogni angolo del mondo, su cui svettavano verdure fresche, selvaggina, carni varie, olio d'oliva, vino, svariati tipi di pesce, scampi e quant'altro ancora. In passato anche le tradizioni gastronomiche della penisola istriana erano disgiunte: da un lato vi era la cucina di mare, dall'altro quella di campagna, laddove la prima si basava ampiamente su pesce, molluschi e frutti di mare e la seconda su carne, verdure e in generale piatti più sostanziosi. Oggi questa contrapposizione è venuta meno, tant'è che è possibile parlare di un'unica cucina regionale istriana: se infatti un tempo tra gli ingredienti dei piatti della tradizione figuravano immancabilmente olio d'oliva, farina di grano, verdura ed erbe spontanee, in un secondo momento vi si sono accostati anche farina di mais, fagioli, pomodori e patate (Pucer 2019, 12-13).

I prodotti agricoli e altri beni tipici delle campagne venivano venduti in città anche da ragazze o donne di famiglia che non si occupavano dei mestieri savrini propriamente detti: erano le cosiddette *vendurigole* 'rivendugliole', che si recavano al *plec* 'mercato' di Capodistria, Isola e Pirano a vendere *jejca* 'uova' e verdura, tra cui *špinaca* 'spinaci', *bledeš* 'bietole', *redić* 'radicchio', *kavoli* 'cavolfiori', *kapus* 'cavoli cappuccio', *reće* 'valeriana', *salatina* 'insalatina', *bešiljak* 'basilico' e altro ancora. Nelle cittadine del litorale le donne dell'entroterra vendevano anche frutta di ogni sorta, tra cui *fruške* 'pere', *romaline* 'albicocche', *pomikake* 'cachi' e *fragole* 'fragole'. Una signora di Bertocchi ricorda tra l'altro che a Capodistria sua nonna non vendeva solo uova, frutta e verdura, ma anche conigli, galline, grappa e vino.

In città la gente di campagna si procurava pesce e molluschi di vario tipo, perciò una volta a casa alcuni cucinavano anche orate, branzini, cefali, nonché brodetto, seppie e sarde *na šavor* 'in savor', tutti piatti che andavano ad arricchire una cucina tradizionale fatta di verdure crude o cotte, cibi sostanziosi come *fuži* 'fusi', gnocchi, polenta, pane e *fritaje* 'frittate' varie con piante di stagione, tra cui *peski* 'germogli di aglio', asparagi selvatici e radicchietto (Pucer 2019, 12, 165, 19).

Nel passare in rassegna i ricordi dei pasti dei tempi che furono, gli istriani accennano spesso alla *mineštra*, un piatto tuttora preparato di frequente, e in particolare parlano di *paštofažoj* e *bobiči* – rispettivamente un minestrone con patate, fagioli e pastina e un altro a base di mais novello, patate e fagioli, con l'aggiunta di un osso di prosciutto – oltre a minestre di verdure e *jota*, quest'ultima preparata con crauti, fagioli, patate e carne di maiale affumicata. Di domenica al posto della minestra c'era la *župa* 'brodo', quasi sempre di cappone o gallina, raramente di manzo, e di secondo si mangiava il lesso avanzato dal brodo, accompagnato da verdure di stagione (Pucer ibid.).

Nelle campagne di Isola i più anziani tra gli abitanti di Baré, Saredo, Settore, Malio, Nosedo e Corte d'Isola[5] mantengono tuttora vive alcune usanze, come ad esempio i canti di Carnevale, la *veja* 'veglia funebre' e la "buona mano" di Capodanno, tradizione secondo cui la mattina del primo giorno dell'anno si donano ai bambini noci, mandorle, fichi secchi, arance ecc.[6] In queste località, tra l'altro, si preparano ancora alcuni piatti tipici istriani a base di asparagi

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[5] Baredi, Šared, Malija, Nožed e Korte.

[6] In dialetto istrosloveno l'espressione "buona mano" rimanda (ancora oggi) a fortuna, prosperità e accezioni affini, riflettendo in tal senso il significato della formula di saluto pronunciata il primo giorno dell'anno. Si tratta di un calco dall'istroveneto *(par) la bonaman*, a sua volta derivante dall'espressione dialettale in uso nel Nord Italia *(la) bonaman*, nata per derivazione paretimologica dalla parola che designava la mano così come rinvenuta nel romanzo *bonŭ mānĕ* 'buongiorno', parte della formula di saluto pronunciata nei giri porta a porta per gli auguri di Capodanno (Furlan 2019).

selvatici e finocchio, e spesso si servono anche *bobići* 'minestra di mais novello', *čežama* 'pesce marinato',[7] *bakala na belo* 'baccalà in bianco' e un primo detto *nakelda* che consiste in 'gnocchi affusolati con pancetta o prosciutto e santoreggia fresca'. La gente del posto insaporisce tutte queste pietanze con gli aromi della zona, preferendo inoltre al soffritto di farina il lardo battuto e *uje* o *ulje* 'olio d'oliva', anche indicato come *zatecat* 'battuto'. Tra i dolci la fanno da padrone il *koncan* 'pane dolce', le *fritle* 'fritole, frittelline tonde'e i classici *hroštoli* istriani 'sottili e friabili sfoglie tagliate a rettangoli e poi fritte, servite con una spruzzata di zucchero a velo (in Italia variamente noti come chiacchiere, bugie, frappe, lattughe ecc.)' (Morato 1998, 6, 7).

3. Metodo d'indagine

Il lessico dialettale e i racconti, anch'essi in dialetto, oggetto del presente contributo sono stati registrati nel corso delle ricerche dialettologiche sul campo condotte a Sant'Antonio, Carcase, Boste, Antignano, Bertocchi, Saredo e Pomiano, tutte località in cui si parla il dialetto istrosloveno, un idioma appartenente alla famiglia delle lingue slave. L'indagine, che oltre ai racconti ha portato ad attestare anche singoli elementi lessicali e fraseologici sulla scorta del questionario predisposto, ha visto il coinvolgimento di trenta (circa 4 in ogni località presa in esame) parlanti attivi del dialetto, che coltivano questa loro madrelingua su base quotidiana, nella cerchia familiare e negli scambi tra amici.

Determinante anche ai fini della presente ricerca è stata la traccia fornita dal questionario bilingue (sloveno/italiano) costituito da 1.525 domande variamente suddivise in 15 campi semantici e relativi sottocampi: fenomeni atmosferici; configurazione del terreno; tradizioni e istituzioni (domande generali, religione, vita sociale, mezzi di trasporto, mestieri, tipi di negozi); corpo e malattie (domande generali, cure); aggettivi numerali e descrittivi; scorrere del tempo e calendario; vita, matrimonio e famiglia; casa e podere; vestiario e accessori (indumenti maschili, indumenti femminili, indumenti intimi femminili, calzature, accessori vari, tipi di tessuto); cibi e bevande; sentimenti ed emozioni; olivicoltura e torchiatura; pollame; verdura, frutti, alberi da frutto e altre piante; animali ed insetti.

Le espressioni dialettali di ciascuna località sono state raccolte singolarmente sulla scorta del questionario con riferimento alla parte incentrata sul campo semantico "cibo e bevande", che contiene 40 concetti.

Nella successiva fase di ricerca le espressioni dialettali raccolte sono state interamente trascritte secondo l'alfabeto fonetico sloveno e i (ventidue) romanismi così rilevati sono stati analizzati dal punto di vista etimologico. In apertura di ogni nota etimologica si è dato risalto alla tipologia dialettale

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[7] La marinatura per il pesce si preparava con aglio, pane sbriciolato e prezzemolo, cui si aggiungevano anche zucchero e un po' di aceto.

predominante ponendola a confronto con espressioni affini in uso tra i parlanti delle diverse località istriane, il tutto muovendo dal corpus dialettale pubblicato nelle monografie *Slovensko istrsko izrazje v zaledju Kopra* (it. "Espressioni istroslovene nell'entroterra capodistriano", Todorović 2015) e *Narečje, življenje in hišna imena v treh istrskih krajih* (it. "Il dialetto, la vita e i nomi di famiglia in tre località istriane", Todorović 2021). Gli equivalenti dialettali variamente attestati in relazione a una data voce sono stati altresì comparati con quelli usati nelle vicine località di Bogliuno e Roveria dai parlanti del dialetto croato ciacavo.

Nel prosieguo, le espressioni romanze in evidenza sono state ricondotte al corrispondente sostrato, per lo più istroveneto, stabilendone in tal modo l'etimo prossimo ovvero la fonte originaria a partire dalla quale sono state acquisite nelle parlate istroslovene – per tutta questa fase di analisi si è fatto riferimento a dizionari dialettali ed etimologici più rilevanti in ambito dialettologico ed etimologico (cfr. VG, Manzini e Rocchi, Boerio, l'ETIM – CD-ROM; DELI – CD-ROM REW).

La diffusione o comunque l'uso di una data parola sono stati confermati in relazione alle parlate istrovenete di Capodistria, Isola e Pirano, per quanto riguarda la varietà comune di istroveneto, il veneziano e l'italiano standard. Infine, al termine di ogni scheda etimologica si è fornita la più recente base del prestito, che nella grande maggioranza dei casi è latina.

4. Analisi etimologica di espressioni culinarie scelte

Ormai si contano sulle dita di una mano gli istriani che a tavola mantengono le abitudini passate, essendo queste legate alla dura vita di quei tempi e alla necessità di doversi adattare alle condizioni in cui ci si ritrovava a vivere. Le pietanze che consumano oggigiorno sono senz'altro più ricche e molto più varie, ma i nomi dei pasti sono sempre quelli di una volta. Non è poi così raro che qualche istriano mandi giù a stomaco vuoto un *bićerin* 'bicchierino di grappa' o si conceda un *krištin* 'bicchierino di grappa accompagnato da una fetta di pane ai fichi'. A colazione, nel dialetto locale *kalcjon* o anche *bevarin*, i più anziani prendono di frequente una scodella di caffellatte con del pane raffermo. Per indicare il pasto di mezzogiorno gli autoctoni usano la parola indigena *kosilo* 'pranzo', mentre *južna* (altresì di origine slava) indica la merenda pomeridiana che si fa nei mesi estivi ed è dunque strettamente legata al lavoro nei campi: donne e bambini si premuravano di portarla agli uomini impegnati in campagna. Il pasto serale è invece variamente denominato con espressioni istroslovene *vičerja*, *večerja*, *večera* e sim. 'cena'.

Sull'onda del modo di vivere odierno gli istriani stanno lentamente abbandonando le antiche abitudini che scandivano le proverbiali asperità della vita di un tempo, e anche le vecchie espressioni dialettali vengono man mano sostituite da altre di nuova formazione, funzionali a descrivere la vita di oggi. I piatti tipici istriani si trovano ormai solo in poche, selezionate *ošterije* 'trattorie',

intenzionate a portare avanti la tradizione culinaria di questa regione – importante tassello del patrimonio culturale immateriale – prima che cada nell'oblio. Essa sopravvive anche nelle case di alcune *none* e *bižnone* 'nonne e bisnonne' che *ćuhajo tako kur anbot* 'continuano a cucinare come una volta'.

Tipo di colazione – *krštin*

L'espressione dialettale *krštin* 'bicchierino di grappa accompagnato da una fetta di pane ai fichi' è stata attestata a Carcase – *kəršˈtin* (Todorović 2015, 122).

L'espressione è un prestito dall'istroveneto *crostin* di significato diverso – 'pezzetto di pane secco, cantuccino' (VG 271); veneziano *crostìn* 'l'estremità del pane che tiene della crosta' (Boerio 210), italiano lett. *crostino* 'fettina o dadino di mollica di pane dorato in burro o olio' (DELI – CD-ROM). L'etimo della parola va cercato nel lat. *crŭsta* 'crosta, scorza' di origine indoeuropea (l'ETIM – CD-ROM; DELI – CD-ROM).

Caffelatte[8] – *bevarin*

Il lessema *bevarin* 'caffelatte' è stato registrato a Boste – *bevaˈrin* (Todorović 2015, 122). La voce deriva dall'istroveneto *beverin* 'merenda – acquavite e un pezzo di pane' (VG 88); veneziano *bevarìn* 'far un po' di colazione o merenda o bevuzzo o bevandina' (Boerio 77). La parola è un derivato del verbo arcaico e dialettale *bévere*, dal lat. *bĭbĕre* 'bere' (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

Colazione – *kalcjon*

La voce *kalcjon* è presente in alcune località istriane slovene, ad es. a Boste e Carcase *kalcˈjon* (Todorović 2015, 122) – sloveno lett. *zajtrk.*

Essa può essere collegata al lessema veneziano *colaziòn* 'colazione' (Boerio 178) e alla voce italiana lett. *colazione* che deriva dal lat. *colatiōne(m)* (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

Zanichelli (DELI – CD-ROM) fa derivare la parola da lat. *collatiōne(m)*, propr. di 'il portare insieme', da *collātu(m)*, participio passato di *confĕrre* 'portare insieme' (composto di *cŭm* 'con' e *fĕrre* 'portare'). Da notare il lat. *Collationes patrum*, titolo di un'opera di Cassiano (ca. 360-ca. 435). Lo sviluppo semantico da titolo dell'opera a 'pasto leggero' si è avuto nell'ambiente monastico, dall'usanza di prendere del cibo nelle riunioni di compieta, durante le quali veniva letto un brano delle Collationes patrum (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

Merenda – *marenda*

L'espressione istroslovena *marenda* è largamente diffusa nell'Istria nordoccidentale, ad es. a Boste e Antignano *maˈrenda*, a Carcase *maˈrendå* (Todorović 2015, 122), a Bertocchi, Pomiano e Saredo *maˈrenda* (Todorović 2021, 174) – sloveno lett. *malica.* Esso figura anche nelle parlate ciacave, ad es. a Bogliuno *marienda* (RBG 127), a Roveria *marênda* (RRG 154).

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[8] Caffè di cicoria, talvolta accompagnato da un pezzo di polenta.

La voce presa in esame è un prestito dall'istroveneto *marenda* 'il primo pasto della mattina; pasto leggero del mezzogiorno' (VG 592), v. a Capodistria, Isola e Pirano *maˈrenda* (ALIvIS 3 294); veneziano *marenda* "il mangiare che si fa tra il desinare e la cena; ma noi per lo più intendiamo il mangiare della mattina" (Boerio 398), italiano lett. *merenda*.

La parola proviene dal lat. *merenda(m)* 'pasto leggero pomeridiano', femm. del gerundivo di *merēre* 'meritare, ricevere come compenso' nel senso di 'cosa che ci si deve meritare, guadagnare' (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

Ghiotto – *golož(o)*

Il lessema *golož(o)* è largamente diffuso nell'Istria slovena, ad es. a Bertocchi *γọˈlоžọ*, a Pomiano *γọˈloš*, a Saredo *γọˈlọžo* (Todorović 2021, 170) – sloveno lett. *sladkosned*. La parola presa in esame è usata anche nel dialetto ciacavo, ad es. a Bogliuno *goluoš* (RBG 61)**,** Roveria *golôž* (RRG 84).

Il lemma va collegato all'istroveneto *goloʃo* (VG 445); v. capodistriano e isolano *yoˈlоżо* 'ghiotto di dolci' (ALIvIS 3 239); veneziano *golòso* 'irritamenti della gola per cose ghiotte che stuzzicano l'appetito' (Boerio 311); italiano lett. *goloso* 'chi ha il vizio della gola' (DELI – CD-ROM). L'origine della parola si trova nel lat. *gŭlōsus* che deriva da *gŭla(m)* 'gola' (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

Lievito – *feca*

Per il lemma preso in esame documentiamo la parola dialettale *feca*, ad es. a Boste *ˈfece*, a Carcase *ˈfęcå* (Todorović 2015, 120), a Bertocchi *ˈfieca*, a Pomiano e Saredo *ˈfęca* (Todorović 2021, 170) – sloveno lett. *kvas.* Il lessema preso in esame è adoperato altresì negli idiomi dell'Istria centrale, ad es. a Roveria *fèca* (RRG 76).

La parola è un prestito dall'istroveneto *feza* 'lievito di birra' (VG 370); v. a Capodistria e Isola *ˈfeśa*, a Pirano *ˈfęśa* e *fˈjęśa* (ALIvIS 3 243); veneziano *fezza* 'feccia' (Boerio 267); italiano lett. *feccia* 'deposito melmoso' (DELI – CD-ROM). L'origine della parola si trova nel lat. volg. **faecĕa(m)*, der. di *faex*, *faecis* 'deposito, fondo, feccia', voce che si attribuisce al sostrato prelatino, come la maggior parte dei termini relativi al vino (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

Pane dolce – *kuncan kreh*

Il nesso *kunˈcan kreχ* 'sladek kruh' è composto dal romanismo ibrido *koncan* (composto dalla radice latina *konc-* e dal suffisso aggettivale (istro)sloveno *-an*) e dalla parola istroslovena *kreh* 'pane' – sloveno lett. *sladek kruh.* L'espressione è documentata in tutte le parlate istroslovene prese in esame, ad es. a Boste *kọnˈcan kˈreχ* (Todorović 2015, 120), a Pomiano *konˈcan kreh* (Todorović 2021, 173).

L'espressione messa in rilievo si ricollega alla locuzione triestina *pan conzà* 'pane dolce' (VG 727) – l'espressione non figura nelle parlate istrovenete. V. il verbo istroveneto *consar* 'condire' (VG 242). L'etimo della parola si trova nel lat. volg. *comptiāre 'adornare', der. di *comptus* 'adornato, elegante', part. pass. di *comĕre* 'ornare, ordinare' (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

Crostolo – hˈroštola

Il lessema dialettale *hroštola* è di vasto uso nel dialetto istrosloveno, ad es. a Carcase ed Antignano *hˈroštọla* (Todorović 2015 122), a Saredo *hˈroštolȧ* (Todorović 2021, 173). Questo lemma è ampiamente diffuso anche nei vernacoli ciacavi, ad es. a Roveria *krȍštula* (RRG 36).

La voce deriva dall'istroveneto *cròstolo* 'pasta tirata fine e in tocchi, fritta e venduta con sopra un poco di zucchero' (VG 271); tale espressione concorda con il muggesano *kˈrọštolo* (ALIvIS 3 287). La parola dialettale esposta deriva dal lessema italiano antico *crùstula* 'focaccia' (Manzini e Rocchi 60) dal lat. *crŭstŭlum* 'biscoti dolci' (REW 2347), dim. di *crŭsta* 'crosta, scorza' (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).[9]

Frittellina tonda – *fritola*[10]

La voce *fritola* è presente in diverse località istriane slovene, ad es. a Boste *fˈritọla*, a Carcase *fˈritla* (ALIvIS 3 285), a Saredo *fˈritla* (Todorović 2021, 173) – sloveno lett. *miška.*

Essa è documentata anche nelle parlate dell'Istria centrale, ad es. a Bogliuno (RBG 57) e Roveria *frȉtula* (RRG 79).

Il lessema può essere collegato al lemma istroveneto *fritola* (VG 406), v. altresì le varianti capodistriana, isolana e piranese *fˈritola* (ALIvIS 3 287); veneziano *fˈritola* (Boerio 288), italiano lett. *frittella* 'dolce fatto con ingredienti vari, avvolti in una pastella piuttosto liquida e fritti in padella' (DELI – CD-ROM). La parola deriva dal latino tardo *frictulae* (pl.) (DELI – CD-ROM) dal participio *frictus* del verbo lat. *frīgĕre* 'abbrustolire, arrostire; friggere' che si confronta col gr. *phrýgō* 'abbrustolire, friggere' e col sanscr. *bhr̥jyati* 'abbrustolire', entrambi di origine onomatopeica, e si riferisce alla cottura a secco, traendo la motivazione dal crepitio leggero della carne sotto l'effetto della fiamma (l'ETIM – CD-ROM; REW 3509).[11]

Caffè – *kafe*

Il lessema *kafe* figura in tutte le parlate istroslovene prese in esame, ad es. a Boste e Carcase *kaˈfe*, ad Antignano *kǝˈfe* (Todorović 2015, 121), a Bertocchi*,* Pomiano e Saredo *kaˈfe* (Todorović 2021, 170) – sloveno lett. *kava.* Esso figura

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[9] Cfr. Todorović 2018, 51,

[10] In Istria le frittelle, più comunemente *fritole* nella parlata locale, sono un classico dolcetto natalizio. Stando agli scritti lasciati dal già citato storico ed esperto di cucina tradizionale istriana Alberto Pucer (2019), le origini delle *fritole* sono antichissime: risalirebbero addirittura ai tempi di Marco Polo (XIII-XIV sec.), quando dall'Oriente la frittura iniziò a diffondersi come metodo di cottura anche nella nostra regione. Le *fritole*, infatti, come suggerisce del resto il nome, sono palline di impasto dolce che vengono poi fritte.

[11] Cfr. Todorović 2017, 51.

anche nelle parlate ciacave, ad es. a Bogliuno (RBG 82) e Roveria (RRG 105) e *kafè*.

Il lemma corrisponde all'istroveneto *cafè* 'caffè' (VG 140), v. capodistriano, isolano e piranese *kəˈfe* (ALIvIS 3 246); veneziano *cafè* (Boerio 114), italiano lett. *caffè* (DELI – CD-ROM). La voce deriva dal turco *kahve*, dall'arabo *qahwa*, in origine 'vino; bevanda' (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

Residui del caffè – *fondače*

Il lessema *fondače* (pl.) è conosciuto in tutte le località istroslovene, ad es. a Bertocchi *fọnˈdaće*, a Pomiano e Saredo *fonˈdaće* (Todorović 2021, 170) – sloveno lett. *kavna usedlina.*

Questo vocabolo dialettale è diffuso anche nell'Istria centrale, ad es. a Bogliuno *fundàći* (RBG 57-58), a Roveria *fundàće* (RRG 80).

La parola risulta un prestito dalle varianti istrovenete *fundaci* 'fondata del caffè' (VG 390), v. a Capodistria, Isola e Pirano *fonˈdaći* (ALIvIS 3 247); veneziano *fondachio* 'feccia del fondo' (Boerio 278), italiano lett. *fondaccio* DELI – CD-ROM). L'ultima fonte della parola è lat. *fŭndus* 'fondo' (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

Strutto – *dištruto*

Il lessema dialettale *dištruto* è di vasto uso nel dialetto istrosloveno, ad es. a Boste e Carcase *dištˈrutọ* (Todorović 2015, 121), a Bertocchi *štˈrutọ*, a Pomiano e Saredo *dištˈrutọ* (Todorović 2021, 172) – sloveno lett. *svinjska mast*. La parola non è documentata negli idiomi dell'Istria centrale.

La parola corrisponde all'istroveneto *distruto* e *struto* 'strutto' (VG 321, 1112), v. a Capodistria *śtˈruto*, a Isola *deśtˈruto*, a Pirano *deśtˈruto*, *śtˈruto*; veneziano *destruto* 'strutto, grasso di maiale' (Boerio 235), italiano lett. *strutto* 'grasso animale fuso'. L'etimo della parola va cercato nel verbo *distruggere* con sottrazione del pref. *di-* e specializzazione del sign. in 'fondere, liquefare' (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

Coscia di pollo – *košet ut pulaštra* e *noga ut pulaštra*

Per l'espressione presa in considerazione documentiamo l'uso di due tipi dialettali – *košet* e *noga ut pulaštra*, ad es. a Carcase *ˈnọya ọt pọˈlåštrå* (Todorović 2015, 121), a Bertocchi *koˈšet*, a Pomiano *ˈnoya ut puˈlaštra*, a Saredo *kọˈšet* (Todorović 2021, 172) – sloveno lett. *piščančje bedro.* Il vocabolo *košet* è diffuso anche nell'Istria croata, ad es. a Bogliuno *kušèt* (RBG 112), a Roveria *košèt* (RRG 126).

La provenienza di questo lessema va cercata nell'istroveneto *cosseto* 'coscetto' (VG 257) – capodistriano, isolano e piranese *koˈśẹto (de ˈpolo)* (ALIvIS 3 273); veneziano *cossèta* (Boerio 203), italiano lett. coscetta. Si tratta del diminutivo della parola istroveneta *cossa* 'coscia' (VG 257). L'etimo della parola si trova nel latino lat. *cŏxa(m)* 'anca, coscia' (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

Il nesso *noga ut pulaštra* è composto dalla parola di origine slava *noga* 'gamba', dalla proposizione *od* 'di' e dal romanismo *pulaštro* 'pollastro' che

risulta un prestito dall'istoveneto *polastro* (VG 809). La sua ultima fonte è il lat. *pŭllu(m)* 'animale giovane; pulcino; germoglio' (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

Minestra – *maneštra*

Il termine dialettale *maneštra* è largamente documentato nell'area dialettale istroslovena*,* ad es. a Boste *maˈneštra*, e Carcase *maˈneštrå*, ad Antignano *məˈneštra (*Todorović 2015, 122), a Bertocchi *maˈnieštra,* a Pomiano e Saredo *maˈneštra* (Todorović 2021, 172) – sloveno lett. *mineštra.* Questa parola è usata anche dai parlanti ciacavi, ad es. a Bogliuno (RBG 126) e Roveria (RBG 154) *manèštra*.

La sua prima fonte è l'istroveneto *manestra* (VG 583), v. a Capodistria, Isola e Pirano *maˈneśtra* (ALIvIS 3 275); veneziano *manestra* (Boerio 393), italiano lett. *minestra* (DELI – CD-ROM). La parola deriva dell'antico italiano *minestrare* 'servire a tavola, scodellare', lat. *mĭnĭstrāre* 'servire' da *minister* 'servitore' (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

Polenta – *palenta*

L'espressione istroslovena *palenta* è largamente diffusa nell'Istria nordoccidentale, ad es. a Boste ed Antignano *paˈlẹnta*, a Carcase *paˈlẹntå* (Todorović 2015, 110), a Bertocchi *paˈĺenta,* a Pomiano e Saredo *paˈlenta* (Todorović 2021, 156) – sloveno lett. *polenta.* Questo vocabolo è documentato altresì nel dialetto istriano ciacavo, ad es. a Bogliuno *palienta* (RBG 171), a Roveria *palênta* (RRG 190).

La voce presa in esame è un prestito dall'istroveneto *palenta*, *polenta* (VG 724, 809), v. capodistriano, isolano e piranese *paˈlẹnta* (ALIvIS 2 606); veneziano *polenta* (Boerio 517), italiano lett. *polenta*. L'etimo della parola va cercato nella voce latina *polenta(m)* 'farina d'orzo abbrustolito; polenta d'orzo', der. di *pollen -ĭnis* 'fior di farina' (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

Fetta – *feta*

Il lessema *feta* è documentato in tutte le parlate istroslovene prese in esame, ad es. a Boste, Carcase e Antignano *ˈfẹta* (Todorović 2015, 121), a Pomiano e Saredo *ˈfẹta* (Todorović 2021, 170) – sloveno lett. *rezina.* Questo lemma appartiene anche alle parlate ciacave, ad es. a Bogliuno (RBG 52) e Roveria *fèta* (RBG 77).

La voce messa in rilievo si ricollega all'espressione istroveneta *feta* 'fetta' (VG 370), v. a Capodistria, Isola e Pirano *ˈfẹta* (ALIvIS 3 248), veneziano *feta* (Boerio 267), italiano lett. *fetta*. Probabilmente si tratta dell'aferesi del lat. volg. **offĭtta(m)*, diminutivo di *ŏffa* 'boccone' (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

Omelette – (*o)mleda*[12]

La voce dialettale (*o)mleda* è presente in vari idiomi dell'Istria slovena, ad es. a Pomiano *umˈleda*, a Saredo *mˈlẹta* (ALIvIS 3 288) – sloveno lett. *palačinka.*

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[12] Specie di *crêpes* servite con vari ripieni.

Il termine va collegato con l'istroveneto *omlet* 'frittata dolce, frittata avvolta' (VG 700), v. a Capodistria, Isola e Pirano *amˈlet* (ALIvIS 3 288).Tale espressione concorda con l'italiano *omelette* 'frittata arrotolata' (DELI – CD-ROM) che è un prestito dal francese *omelette* 'frittata ripiegata su se stessa', alterazione dell'antico francese *lemelle* 'lamella', diminutivo di *lame* 'lama' per via della forma appiattita, attraverso le forme intermedie **alemelle* → **alemett*e → *amelette* (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

Baccalà – *bakala*

La parola *bakala* è largamente diffusa nell'Istria slovena, ad es. a Bertocchi, Pomiano e Saredo *bakaˈla* (Todorović 2021, 172) – sloveno lett. *polenovka*. Il lemma messo in rassegna viene adoperato anche dai parlanti del dialetto ciacavo, ad es. a Bogliuno *bakalãr* (RGB 6), a Roveria *bakalâj* (RRG 26).

Questa voce deriva dall'istroveneto *bacalà* (VG 52), v. capodistriano e isolano *bakaˈla* (ALIvIS 3 252); veneziano *bacalà* 'pesce che s secca al vento' (Boerio 53).

Si tratta di un prestito dal catalano *bacallá*, dallo spagnolo *bacalao* (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

Pesce marinato – *riba na šavor*[13]

Per l'espressione presa in considerazione documentiamo l'uso dell'espressione *riba na šavor*, ad es. a Saredo *riba na šaˈvor* (Todorović 2015, 121) – sloveno lett. *marinirana riba.*

Il sintagma ibrido preso in esame è composto dalla parola indigena (slovena) *riba* 'pesce', dalla preposizione slovena *na* 'in' e dalla parola *šavor* che va collegata all'istroveneto (*pesse*, *sardele*, *sarde*) 'pesce, sardelle, sarde' *in savor* 'salsa agrodolce' (VG 938) – capodistriano, isolano e piranese *ˈpęše in šaˈvǫr* (ALIvIS 3 253); veneziano *pesse in saòr* 'salsa fatta con aceto e altri ingredienti sul pesce cotto arrosto o fritto' (Boerio 600). Le parole *pesce/pesse* derivano dal lat. *pĭsce(m)* 'pesce', l'etimo della parola dialettale *sa(v)or* va cercato nel lat. *sapōre(m)*, der. di *sapĕre* 'sapere, aver sapore' (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

Stracciatella – *pašta butada*

L'espressione dialettale messa in rassegna figura in diverse parlate istroslovene, ad es. ad Antignano *ˈpašta buˈtada* (Todorović 2015, 122), a Bertocchi *ˈpašta buˈtada*, a Saredo *pašta buˈtada* (Todorović 2021, 172) – sloveno lett. *juha z vlivanci*. Il nesso va collegato all'istroveneto *ˈpašta buˈtada*, documentato a Capodistria, Isola e Pirano (ALIvIS 3 276).

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[13] Anche nelle campagne dell'Istria slovena il pesce compariva spesso e volentieri in tavola. Una delle ricette istriane più amate a base di pesce sono le *sardele na šavor* 'sarde in savor', un piatto dell'antica tradizione marinara che pescatori e naviganti veneziani preparavano già nel lontano XIV secolo. Parte del suo successo è probabilmente dovuta al fatto che, così preparate, le sarde si conservano a lungo.

L'etimo della parola *pasta* si trova nel lat. tardo *pasta(m)* 'farinata', dal gr. *pastá* (neutro pl.) 'farinata d'orzo' (l'ETIM – CD-ROM); il participio/aggettivo *butada* deriva dal verbo veneziano *butàr* (Boerio 110) che proviene dall'antico francese *buter*, *boter* (fr. *bouter*), dal franc. *bōtan 'colpire' (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

Grappa – *trapa*

Il lessema dialettale *trapa* figura in tutti i punti d'inchiesta presi in considerazione, ad es. a Boste e Antignano *tˈrapa* (Todorović 2015, 123), a Bertocchi *tˈrapa* (Todorović 2021, 174) – sloveno lett. *žganje.*

Il romanismo evidenziato è stato accolto dall'istroveneto *trapa* (VG 1170), v. capodistriano, isolano e piranese *tˈrapa* (ALIvIS 3 295); v. italiano lett. *grappa*. Manzini e Rocchi (253) fanno derivare la parola dal tedesco *Treber* 'vinacce', prob. incrociatosi con *grappa* che proviene dal germ. *krappa 'uncino', da qui anche il fr. *grappe* 'grappolo' (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

Pepe – *pever*

L'espressione istroslovena *pever* è largamente diffusa nell'Istria slovena, ad es. a Bertocchi ˈpievar, a Pomiano ˈpever, a Saredo ˈpevər (Todorović 2021, 171) – sloveno lett. *poper*.

Il lemma va collegato all'istroveneto *pevar*, *pèvere* 'pepe' (VG 774), v. capodistriano, isolano e piranese ˈpevere (ALIvIS 3 261); veneziano *pèvare* (Boerio 500), italiano lett. *pepe* (DELI – CD-ROM).

L'origine della parola si trova nel lat. *pĭper*, dal gr. *péperi -ios*, di provenienza orientale (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

5. Conclusioni

Nel corso dei secoli il territorio dell'Istria slovena appartenne dapprima agli Istri, in seguito ai Romani, per poi passare sotto la dominazione di Ostrogoti, Bizantini e Franchi. L'aspetto delle tre città costiere è stato fortemente influenzato dall'appartenenza alla Repubblica di Venezia, dal XIII secolo al 1797, cui subentrarono fino al 1918 gli Asburgo. Nel periodo tra le due guerre mondiali Capodistria, Isola e Pirano furono parte del Regno d'Italia, per poi passare alla Slovenia al termine del secondo conflitto (Repolusk 1998: 273-274).

Il plurisecolare contatto tra le tradizioni linguistiche romanza e slava presenti in Istria ha generato numerosi fenomeni di interferenza, che nel complesso costituiscono una forma di arricchimento per le lingue e parlate dialettali di questa regione. A tal proposito è particolarmente significativo l'ambito culinario, che restituisce l'influenza di molteplici popoli ma soprattutto della Repubblica di Venezia, nonché degli incessanti contatti tra la popolazione rurale dell'entroterra istriano e gli istrovenetofoni dei centri urbani costieri.

Nel presente contributo si illustrano pertanto i prestiti afferenti all'ambito culinario usati su base quotidiana dai parlanti del dialetto istrosloveno, che coltivano questa loro madrelingua nell'entroterra delle città di Capodistria, Isola e Pirano. Gli abitanti delle zone più interne dell'Istria sono stati da sempre in

stretto contatto con gli istriani di origini romanze, popolazione autoctona delle località litoranee e dell'immediato retroterra. Va detto a tal riguardo che la lingua dialettale della gente di città non è un idioma istriano autoctono, essendo stata introdotta in questa regione dalla Repubblica di Venezia al tempo della sua egemonia politica e culturale. Si tratta infatti di una lingua che ricade nel novero dei dialetti veneti, per la precisione del veneto coloniale. Fino alla fine della Seconda guerra mondiale l'istroveneto rappresentò la lingua d'elezione per gli scambi quotidiani: se infatti la popolazione (rurale) di origini slave era per lo più bilingue, o vantava quantomeno un bilinguismo ricettivo, gli abitanti dei centri urbani tendevano a non adeguarsi all'idioma degli interlocutori di campagna limitandosi a parlare nient'altro che il loro dialetto, fatta eccezione per qualche raro intellettuale che si esprimeva nell'italiano letterario del tempo.

La presente ricerca muove dalle espressioni dialettali attestate in sette località istriane. Per quanto concerne la fase di indagine dialettologica sul campo si è fatto riferimento a un questionario contenente (tra le altre) anche una serie di voci inerenti al campo semantico "cibo e bevande". Di tutti gli equivalenti dialettali così attestati (in relazione alle 40 voci del questionario) si sono messi in evidenza i prestiti romanzi, che nel prosieguo dell'indagine sono stati esaminati dal punto di vista etimologico. La prima parte dell'analisi ha mostrato che il 55 % delle parole (22 lessemi) prese in esame è di origine romanza, mentre si attestano a poco meno della metà le espressioni di origine locale ovvero slava/slovena riferite dai parlanti del dialetto istrosloveno, ad es. *krəh* 'pane', *ˈmeča* 'mollica', *ˈmərvica* 'briciola', *ˈmaslo* 'burro', *su* 'sale', *ˈràbra* 'costola', *kuˈbasa* 'salsiccia', *ucˈvirke* 'cicciolo', *ˈkoža ut pˈrasca* 'cotica di maiale', *ˈjota* 'iota', *ˈžupa* 'brodo', *ˈjejce* 'uovo' ecc. In alcuni casi gli istriani usano le parole sopraelencate in parallelo ai romanismi, ma dipende dalla località, ad es. a Bertocchi *trapa*, a Pomiano e Saredo *žganje* 'grappa'. Procedendo nelle indagini, si è passati all'analisi dei soli prestiti romanzi, di cui si è infine appurata l'origine istroveneta in tutte le parole messe in evidenza ad eccezione di – *kuncan kreh* che si ricollega alla locuzione triestina *pan conzà* 'pane dolce', e *kalcjon* che deriva dal veneziano *colaziòn* 'colazione' (Boerio 178).

Oltre ai prestiti formati da un'unica parola, come ad es. *marenda* 'merenda', *golož(o)* 'goloso', *fritola* 'frittella', *maneštra* 'minestra', *bakala* 'baccalà' e sim., nel corso delle indagini si sono attestati altresì il sintagma nominale romanzo *pašta butada* 'stracciatella' e alcuni sintagmi ibridi formati da un connubio di elementi slavi e romanzi, ad es. *košet ut pulaštra* o *noga ut pulaštra* 'coscia di pollo', *kunˈcån kręh* 'pane dolce' e *riba na šavor* 'pesce marinato; *in savor*'.

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LAVIC-ROMANCE LINGUISTIC CONTACT ON THE EXAMPLE OF SELECTED TERMS IN THE FIELD OF CULINARY

The article presents the Slavic-Romanesque linguistic contact on the example of selected Istrian terms in the field of culinary used by speakers of the Slovene-Istrian dialect.

The centuries-long contact of the Romance and Slavic language traditions in Istria has resulted in numerous interferences that enrich Istrian dialect speeches and languages, among which the culinary field, influenced by many nations, especially the presence of the Venetian Republic and the constant contacts of country people from Istrian villages with the city's Istrian-Venetian speaking population.

For centuries, the Istrian peninsula has been intertwined with different cultures, traditions, customs, dialects and languages. The typical Istrian cuisine has been (co)-shaped by different nations and ways of living. The coastal and rural ways of life stand out the most but over the centuries they have merged more and more. The culinary heritage of this part of the Mediterranean is preserved in typical *ošterije* (inns), homes of locals and in numerous authentic dialects that enrich the Istrian towns and villages.

Until the arrival of the Slavs, who settled in the Istrian peninsula around the 7th century, Istria was in all probability monolingual. The population living by the sea spoke only the Istrian Romance, which was brought here by the Romans in the 1st or 2nd century BC, when they defeated the Histri, the first Istrian inhabitants to settle in forts. The Slavs, who had already ravaged the region before, inhabited the deserted hinterland of Istrian towns in several waves.

In the 10th century, Istrian towns were engaged in agriculture, olive growing, viticulture, fishing, salt-making and various crafts, and they were also very successful in maritime trade. The contacts of the Istrian towns with the Venetian Republic were initially economic and friendly, but it soon subjugated them with an "oath of allegiance", namely Koper in 1279, Izola in 1281 and Piran in 1283. In the 15th century, the Venetian Republic gained power over the western and southern part of Istria - the Habsburgs ruled the Pazin County, and Trieste and its surroundings belonged to them from 1382 onwards. Until the arrival of the Venetians, there were only two languages in northwestern Istria: Istrian-Roman (in places by the sea and in their immediate vicinity) and Slavic, which later formed into the Istrian-Slovenian dialect. In addition to culture and administration, the Serenissima (Venetian Republic) introduced its own language into Istria -Venetian, which over time in Istria formed into a special dialect, which belongs to the Venetian Italian dialects and retains its basic characteristics influenced by local pre-Venetian Romance dialects and - slightly - the Slovenian Istrian dialect. The Venetian trade measures in Istria were strictly outlined - they established a complete monopoly or the right of obligatory route for all ships and goods coming from Istria and Dalmatia; that is why the Venetians strengthened land trade with the Slovenian hinterland under the auspices of the Habsburg lands. Historians describe the rural Istria of that time.

In Istria, two different cultural, social and economic circles were formed – in the cities, based on the monopolistic influence of Venice and its policy, the Italian language prevailed, and in the patriarchal peasant environment, the Slavic population - closed and isolated - preserved its language and traditions.

Venetian culture and language were preserved in the cities, regardless of the origin of the inhabitants. Historians and ethnologists explain that Istria with the Kvarner islands ethnologically shows all the characteristic features of at least five hundred years of Venetian influence – its characteristics are best preserved in the ethnological inventory of Istrian Italians, who are either descendant of the pre- Venetian (Istrian-Romance) linguistic communities inhabited during the Venetian domination as Italians with the Venetian dialect. Namely, Venetization also covered the Slavic population that settled in the cities and in their immediate vicinity. Even the newcomers from the countryside, who worked in the cities as soldiers, artisans and merchants, assimilated with the Romance population. In the countryside, the Croatian and Slovenian Istrian languages were almost completely dominant. At the turn of the 17th to 18th century, three language communities were formed on the Istrian peninsula: Italian, Slovene and Croatian.

In addition to the aforementioned Istrian-Slovenian and Istrian-Venetian dialect, which is still preserved by rare autochthonous Romance natives and immigrants from other Croatian Istrian coastal towns, today's inhabitants of Slovenian Istria also speak literary or standard Slovenian and Italian and several languages - e.g., Bosnian, Serbian, Croatian, Macedonian, Albanian, etc. - or their dialect variants, which have been brought here by many immigrants since the middle of the last century. New languages and cultures are constantly influencing colloquial Slovenian and Italian, but so far, they have not changed the dialect of this part of Istria, where at least since the 7th century only the dialect of Romance origin in towns and the dialect of Slavic origin in the countryside on the other side have kept the authenticity.

In the past, Istrian coastal towns received large incomes from fishing, seafaring, a variety of crafts and the trade in oil, wine and especially salt. The people of Piran, for example, owned salt pans near Lucija, Sečovlje and Strunjan. Since the salt pans were quite far away, before the start of the salt season, they settled with the whole family in the houses in the salt pans, where there were living on the first floor and the salt warehouse was on the ground floor. In the past, from the home-grown crops, coastal towns sold wine, oil, fish and salt, and imported grain, iron, cattle and hides from Carniola and western Croatia, while mediating in the sale of southern fruit, spices, woollen fabrics, cotton and glass from Italy.

The Istrian urban population always had slightly different eating habits as they lived by the sea and with the sea. In the cities, the villagers got various fish and molluscs, so some also prepared sea bream, sea bass, mullet, *brodet* (fish soup), cuttlefish, sardines *na šavor* which complemented the usual food – cooked and raw vegetables, strong dishes such as *fuži* (type of pasta), gnocchi, polenta and bread, *fritaja* (omelette) with seasonal plants such as *peski* (garlic flowers), asparagus and chicory. In the past, coastal and rural cuisine were separated. The first one was mainly based on fish, molluscs and seafood, and the other on gruel, meat and vegetables. Today, these separations are gone and we can talk about Istrian cuisine. The old typical Istrian cuisine was based on olive oil, wheat flour, vegetables, wild plants, etc., and later they were joined by corn flour, beans, tomatoes and potatoes. Istrian cuisine has been influenced by the varied landscape and the existing climate, as well as the kitchen habits brought here by a great variety of people who lived on the Istrian peninsula in the past; therefore, special dishes have formed here over time that would be difficult to find elsewhere in the world. Istrian cuisine, which has its basis in nature (wild plants, aromatic spices, seasonal vegetables,

seafood, etc.), also combines dishes and ingredients that settled here during the French and German feudalism, and was also shaped by Romance dishes and those brought here by the Slavs from the 7th century onwards. The Venetian gastronomy, which was distinctly imaginative and varied, had an exceptional influence on food preparation, as it used food from all over the world. It is characterised by fresh vegetables, venison and other meat, olive oil and wine, fish, shrimp etc.

The life of the locals living by the sea is completely different today, new cultures, dishes and tastes have settled in the cities with new inhabitants, but they are still very proud of the former way of eating, at least during Sunday lunches and celebrations.

The dialectal words and narratives that are the subject of this article were recorded during dialectological fieldwork in the villages of Sveti Anton, Krkavče, Boršt, Tinjan, Bertoki, Šared, Pomjan, where the locals speak Istrian-Slovenian dialect, belonging to the Slavic language family. The study, in which we also took down individual terms derived from pre-prepared questions, included active dialect speakers who care for their mother tongue daily in the family circle and among friends. In the section relating to the food and drink field, the questionnaire covered 40 concepts.

In the further stage of the study, all dialect terms were written in Slovene phonetic transcription, and the romanisms were also etymologically analysed. At the beginning of each etymological display, we highlight the predominant dialect, which is compared with related terms used by speakers in six Istrian villages, starting from the dialect corpus published in the monographs *Slovensko istrsko izrazje v zaledju Kopra* (Todorović 2015) and *Narečje, življenje in hišna imena v treh istrskih krajih* Todorović 2021. The written dialects for the term in question are compared with those by speakers of the nearby Croatian Chakavian dialect in Boljun and Roverija.

The exposed Romance expressions below are associated with the corresponding lexemes, which are mostly Istrian-Venetian, and thus determine the nearby etymology of the word, i.e., the first source from which the word was accepted into Slovene Istrian speeches. In our analysis, we relied on relevant dialectological and etymological literature.

The prevalence or use of the word is confirmed for Istrian-Venetian Speeches in Koper, Izola and Piran, for general Istrian-Venetian, Venetian and literary Italian. At the end of each etymological article, the last, most often Latin, starting point of the acquired term is given.

The first part of the analysis showed that 55 % of the words analysed are of Romance or Istrian origin, slightly less than half of the terms we heard from the speakers of the Slovenian-Istrian dialect are of domestic or Slavic/Slovenian origin, for example *krəh* 'bread', *ˈmeča* 'soft centre of bread', *ˈmərvica* 'crumb', *ˈmaslo* 'butter', *su* 'salt', *ˈràbra* 'rib', *kuˈbasa* 'sausage', *ucˈvirke* 'cracknel', *ˈkoža ut pˈrasca* 'pigskin', *ˈjota* 'Istrian stew', *ˈžupa* 'broth', *ˈjejce* 'egg' etc.

Some of the mentioned words are used by Istrians beside the romanisms, depending on the village, for example *trapa* in Bertoki, *žganje* in Pomjan and Šared. In the further stage of the study, we analysed only romance loanwords for which we identified mostly Istrian-Ventian speech, except in two cases – *kuncan kreh*, which originates from Triestine dialect – *pan conzà* 'pane dolce' and *kalcjon*, which comes from Venetian lexeme *colaziòn* 'breakfast' (Boerio 178).

In addition to one-word loanwords, which we wrote at the time of the survey, such as *marenda* 'snack', *golož(o*) 'sweet-toothed', *fritola* 'fried bread dough', *maneštra* 'minestra', *bakala* 'cod spread' etc., we also wrote the Romance phrase *pašta butada* 'broth with egg noodles' and some hybrid phrases consisting of Slavic and Romance elements, for example *košet ut pulaštra* o *noga ut pulaštra* 'chicken leg', *kunˈcån krẹh* 'sweet bread' e *riba na šavor* 'fried fish, marinated in oil and onions'.

Has Online Learning Changed the Way we Study? Student Evaluation of Teachers' Pedagogical Skills During the First Covid-19 Period and Potential Change in Their Learning Habits

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Abstract: At the beginning of 2020, few people could imagine that the new coronavirus, COVID-19, would impact that many aspects of our lives and change the content, structure, and teaching methods we knew before. Many language teachers (LT) worldwide who had been effectively implementing face-to-face instruction had to make an abrupt transition to online education, something they were not trained for or had experience with. The present study aims to discover whether LT successfully delivered online instruction and whether online teaching during the first online period impacted students' learning habits. Using a specifically designed questionnaire, students who study at several public universities from Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H), the Republic of North Macedonia (RNM), and Türkiye (TUR) were asked to evaluate their teachers' professional adaptation and success during the first "emergency online teaching semester", and to reflect on their learning habits during this period and the changes they personally experienced. The results of the study revealed that students in the three countries approached and evaluated their teachers' pedagogical skills as appropriate for online teaching in the first COVID-19 period in remarkably similar ways. However, the impact on students' learning habits is, to a certain extent, different in these countries. The findings of the study might provide relevant input to rethink the teaching profession in terms of competencies, means of instruction, and strategies for coping with processes that affect teaching. Education will not be the same in a post-pandemic world, we must use the knowledge we have gained, and the suggestions made by our students to enhance our educational systems.

Keywords: online teaching, teachers' digital skills, COVID-19, student evaluations, learning habits

1. Introduction

In March 2020, no one knew that the COVID-19 outbreak would affect almost all aspects of our lives, and that it would have such a significant impact on education. Many language teachers (LT) around the world who had been effectively implementing face-to-face instruction had to make an abrupt transition to online education, something they were not educated about or had experience with.

It is believed that 1.6 billion students were affected by partial or complete school closures, and their teachers were faced with great challenges in their careers (Gouëdard et al., 2020). Some of the technology standards for LT (Healey et al., 2011) and the Technological Pedagogical Content Knowledge (Mishra & Koehler, 2006) had already been established, but LT varied in their competencies of technology adoption. Their awareness, confidence, learning, creative application and adaptation to new contexts differed (Knezek & Christansen, 2008). However, because of COVID-19, LT had to change their teaching methods, materials, and classroom interactions within weeks.

During COVID-19, teaching online and engaging in sudden remote teaching presented distinctive obstacles to everyone involved in the process, from learners to teachers, parents and educational institutions. Despite engaging in techniques that would generally assist online language learning, language instructors' perceptions of remote teaching during COVID-19 were, to a certain extent, different in our three countries[1]. Teachers were forced to instantly modify the curriculum, provide opportunities for engagement, and provide learning experiences in an online context and, at the same time, take into consideration learning outcomes that are important for their students. In the coming months and years, teachers will almost certainly be required to deliver remote instruction as the need for hybrid, blended and online courses is more on demand. Therefore, teachers will require tools and assistance to do so in ways that actually ensure better student results.

In order to make this transition smooth, it is necessary to study the effects of the COVID-19 period on education as it can provide helpful insight for future modifications of education. The essential question is whether language teachers were successful in adapting to the online teaching environment. Answering this question is crucial since the new developments in the organisation of education triggered the need to rethink the teaching profession in terms of competencies, means of instruction, and strategies for coping with processes that affect teaching.

The second question is: "How has this period affected students' study habits?" All students regardless of their previous preferences and field of study,

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[1] Policy documents introducing and justifying the emergency online learning in the three countries were discussed in detail in Miloshevska et al. (2020).

had to switch to online learning. They also had to adapt their study habits to a lesser or greater extent. Their feedback on experienced changes in learning habits can be valuable for all parties that participate in creating education policies.

Aiming to contribute to this strand of research and following studies (Rafiee & Abbasian-Naghneh, 2021) showing that LT, students and infrastructure are all essential for the successful use of online tools, the present study strives to answer the following research questions:

(1) How do university students evaluate the pedagogical skills of their teachers during the first COVID-19 period?

(2) What positive and negative changes did students report/notice in their study habits during the first COVID-19 period?

2. Literature review of students' evaluation of teaching

Students' evaluation of teachers (SET) is a standard practice in almost all Higher Education Institutions. In many contexts, students' evaluations of teachers are required by the laws that regulate higher education institutes. In some contexts, they are one of the essential criteria that reviewers consider when promoting faculty staff to higher academic titles. Furthermore, in some countries, it is the only measure of teachers' performance as peer evaluation or self-assessment are not considered[2]. SET has been analysed for decades - since 1920 (Addison & Stowell, 2012), and earlier studies emphasised the strong relationship between SET and teaching effectiveness (Cohen, 1981). Recent studies on the role of SET address local situations in various educational and cultural contexts and confirm that "SET as a feedback for teacher's use and a measure of students satisfaction is not problematic" (Sánches et al. 2021: 9, see also Spooren et al., 2013; Uttl et al., 2017). Some studies indicate statistically significant correlations between SET and teaching effectiveness (Sánches et al. 2021) but not as strong as it was claimed before (Uttl et al. 2017). Barnes and Lock (2013), in their study on student perceptions of effective foreign language teachers, point out that SET usually consists of anonymous evaluations referring to a specific course and an instructor. They further claim that "investigations that provide aggregated data into student perceptions of effective teachers" are required to provide pre-service teachers with "student perceptions in different contexts" (2013: 20). Greimel-Fuhrmann and Geyer (2003) focus on the reliability of SET as it is assumed that the results might be biased due to students' interest in the subject, grades, etc. However, they further claim that "the students' liking for their teachers might not be a mere bias of students' global ratings but might even be a result of good teaching and therefore should have an influence on students' global ratings" (Greimel-Fuhrmann & Geyer, 2003:

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[2] Cf. Greenwood and Ramagli (1980)

231). Suárez et al. (2022), in their study on students' perceptions of SET and their relationship to SET scores at the Technological Indoamerica University in Ecuador, also confirmed the importance of SET and students' belief that it could improve teaching practices. Moreover, Antoci et al. (2021: 327) point out that "constructive feedback from student evaluations seems to be helpful in improving teachers' performance" as both students and teachers should strive towards the same goal, i.e. high-quality teaching environment.

At the end, it is worth mentioning that the analysis of SET data falls into a broad trend of quality measurement in many public and private service providers, e.g. health services (Williams, 1994), telecommunications, and banking, among others. Depending on the sector, client, customer, user satisfaction is considered an indicator of quality. In all situations, non-professional recipients/users of the services evaluate the professionalism of the providers.

3. Literature review of teaching in the post-Covid era

There is a lot that we still do not know about COVID-19 and how it will affect education in the long run. What is known is that the experience we gained during this stressful period should serve as a guideline for course designers, universities and other relevant bodies in charge of national education policies. Walwyn (2020) believes that rethinking teaching practices, developing techniques that enhance learning without the need for lectures, deepening professional practice, and changing how we train teachers are all necessary. Berry (2020: 17) claims that in post COVID era, the goals should be the following:

- Every student now has access to the internet.
- Personalised education has become the standard.
- Universities and school districts pool their resources, people, and programs to improve students' college and career readiness, as well as their long-term prospects.
- At a large scale, authentic performance evaluations are being utilised to redefine accountability and change the way students and schools are measured.
- Through affinity networks and partnerships with university faculty and students, pre K-12 teachers direct their own professional learning.
- Educators and other helping professionals collaborate to solve the difficulties they encounter and to find new solutions.

These suggestions are in line with the arguments presented by Suryana et al. (2021: 68), who claim that teachers should focus on "learning media that are effective for use in distance online learning during the New Normal Post-Covid-19 era". They further argue that policymakers should coordinate all parties

involved in the teaching and learning process to modify learning activities in this Post-Covid-19 era.

4. Online learning before the pandemic in Bosnia & Herzegovina, North Macedonia, Türkiye [3]

The study does not intend to discuss the differences between e-education and distance education, but it is important to point out that very often, the terms e-education, distance education and online education are used as synonyms. However, e-learning is not necessarily used in the context of distance learning, as the tutor and students can be in the same classroom. In distance education, the tutor and students are spatially distant and use information and communication technology or some other ways of exchanging information in the educational process.

Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of North Macedonia are former Yugoslav republics and therefore share the same history of distance education in Yugoslavia. The first steps of distance education in Yugoslavia appeared between the two world wars and were focused on acquiring general, verified education and vocational training (Pongranc, 1972). After the Second World War, the Communist Party initiated an urgent, massive education of citizens aiming to educate engineers, teachers, doctors and other professionals whose job was to rebuild the destroyed country. Various centres for distance education were established in all parts of the country and continued their activities after this emergency education period (Ogrizović, 1988).

Prior to the outbreak of the pandemic, online learning was not widely present at universities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, although laws on higher education recognise this type of teaching. The Faculty of Information Technology, Džemal Bijedić University in Mostar, is the institution that first introduced a distance online learning system in Bosnia and Herzegovina almost twenty years ago. This institution implements its academic programs using both in-class teaching and the distance online learning system. The distance online learning system developed at this faculty can be applied to other faculties and educational institutions. It is important to highlight that from the very beginning, their system has also included video conferences to create proper synchronous lectures and seminars (Memić Fišić & Delibegović Džanić, 2020). At the University of Tuzla, before the outbreak of the pandemic, only one study program was organised as a distance learning program with synchronous teaching tools, while in other programs, this system was used as complementary to in-class teaching for individual courses or guest lectures. At the University of Bihać, a distance online learning system was also utilised as complementary in some courses.

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[3] Cf. Miloshevska et al. (2020)

In North Macedonia, prior to the Covid-19 pandemic, online learning was not part of the country's programs offered in higher education institutions. The Law on higher education did not recognise online education as a valid model. However, the Ministry of Education and Science acknowledges the importance of using ICT tools at all levels of education and this recognition is reflected in a number of governmental attempts to modernise and digitalise education. One of the latest documents in that regard is the strategy for education 2018-2025 and the action plan[4]. Before the pandemic, a widely used distance learning tool in North Macedonia was Moodle, an open-source software that operates on different platforms and supports distance learning. Almost all higher education institutions in North Macedonia, both state and private, have been using Moodle for more than fifteen years. However, Moodle has been used to support in-class courses, not as separate distance learning courses.

Distance education before the pandemic had a long history in Türkiye. The idea was first introduced in 1927 when solutions were sought for the low literacy rate among the country's population (Alkan, 1987: 91). However, the first application started in the 1950s, when the Ministry of National Education (MONE) established the Centre for Educative Films, where educational films were produced and distributed around the county (Geray, 2007). The first example of distance education at the university level was a correspondence course initiated by the Institute of Banking and Commerce and the Faculty of Law at Ankara University. The course was organized for bank personnel (Karayalçın, 1959). The theoretical education was provided with the lecture notes in form of letters sent to the personnel. Additional practices were carried out later in coordination with the advisors from Ankara University. This system continued to grow, and in 1970 MONE first started the open High School educational programs, and in 1975, the higher education programs by correspondence.

The efforts to widen distance education in Türkiye intensified after 1980 when a new constitution was introduced, and a new authority - the Higher Education Council (HEC) – responsible for regulating all higher education in Türkiye was founded (Hatipoğlu, 2017; Hatipoğlu & Erçetin, 2016). At that time (in 1981), there were 27 universities in Türkiye, and they were able to accommodate only 5.9% of the university applicants (Şimşek, 1999). To educate a bigger number of students for a lower cost, a law was passed, allowing universities to open distance education programs. The first institution to take the initiative was Anadolu University (AU), where the distance learning Management and Economics programs were opened in 1982[5]. These programs

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[4] http://mrk.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Strategija-za-obrazovanie-MAK-WEB.pdf.

[5] https://www.anadolu.edu.tr/en/aboutanadolu/institutional/anadolu-at-a-glance).

have become really successful, and now, AU has three faculties with over 2 million students where all of the education is done online[6].

To share the load of AU, in 2009, Atatürk University and Istanbul University also established distance education centers. Atatürk University launched its Distance Education Application and Research Centre[7] with a single program which was later extended. Istanbul University started with distance education and continued with fully-fledged open education programs in the Open and Distance Education Faculty (AUZEF)[8].

Another institution that provides web-based distance education to students around the country via its Distance Education Centre is Middle East Technical University (METU). At the university, various courses were already taught online before the pandemic. For all other courses that were not taught online, in the last 15 years, lecturers have been using METU CLASS, an LMS system developed by METU. Lecturers were required to upload course outlines and all other course materials on the platform so that all students taking the course had access to them.

5. Method

This section is divided in three subsections. It discusses in detail the process of data collection and data analysis. It also provides a thorough analysis of participants in this study.

5.1. Participants

A total of 341 (130 M, 206 F, 5 not given) university students from public universities in the three countries participated in this study, B&H (n = 109), RNM (n = 86) and TUR (n = 146). The sample has characteristics of convenience sampling. The age range of the informants was 18-41 (M = 21.33; SD = 2.44; Mdn = 21). In relation to chronological age, a statistically significant difference was found in relation to the country the students come from (M$_{B\&H}$ = 21.30, M$_{RNM}$ = 20.44, M$_{TR}$ = 21.88; F = 9.91; p < .001; ω2 = .05), and the magnitude of the difference (effect size) is small. The difference arose because students from TUR were, on average, slightly older than students from B&H and RNM.

Participants from TUR and B&H were pre-service language teachers, while the participants from RNM were future information technology and computer science engineers learning English for specific purposes. Our study's higher number of female participants reflected the gender distribution at the Faculties of Education in TUR and B&H (Can Daşkın & Hatipoğlu, 2019).

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[6] https://www.anadolu.edu.tr/en/openeducation/openeducationsystem/about

[7] https://atauzem.atauni.edu.tr/s/atauzem-hakkinda

[8] https://auzef.istanbul.edu.tr/tr/content/fakultemiz/hakkinda

5.2. Data Collection

After this project obtained Ethics Approval, the data were collected in B&H, RNM and TUR using an online questionnaire in English specifically developed for this study. In B&H, the data were collected from three public Universities, in RNM from two and in TUR from six universities located in different parts of the country.

The questionnaire comprised of "Part A: Background" and "Part B: Evaluation". Part A included checkbox questions eliciting information about the participants in the study (e.g., age, gender, university year), while Part B consisted of both Likert scale and open-ended questions. The four Likert scale questions (19 items) in Part B aimed to uncover students' assessment of their instructors' computer literacy, teaching, roles and interaction skills during the emergency COVID-19 period. For this evaluation, students were asked to use the specific definitions of teachers' roles and the criteria for evaluation (see the lists in Q3 and Q4). On the other hand, the open-ended questions were designed to elicit students' evaluation of potential changes in their study habits due to the shift in the mode of education (i.e., from face-to-face to online). Students' questionnaire submissions were anonymous to secure a safe environment for the respondents. The importance of anonymity was highlighted in some previous studies where students explicitly indicated that in questionnaires that were not anonymous, they did not provide honest answers due to fear of being identified (García, 2014; Suárez et al., 2022).

5.3. Data Analysis

Responses to the questionnaires were analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively, utilising suitable techniques to classify and compare the different data sets. Various descriptors (e.g., frequencies, percentages, rank orders, chi-squared test, Cramer's V Correlation Coefficient) were utilised to analyse the quantitative data so that the relationships between the different examined variables could be identified. The qualitative data gathered via open-ended questions were analysed thematically, considering country and context-specific variables.

6. Results and discussion

In this section, we will discuss the responses to five questions in our questionnaire that assess teachers' pedagogical skills during the first COVID-19 period relevant to their computer literacy, online teaching skills, expected teachers' roles and also positive and negative changes in students' study habits.

Q1. How do you evaluate your teachers' computer literacy?

Q1-related results show that, despite some numerical differences, students in the examined countries evaluated their teachers' computer literacy similarly.

Only a marginal number of students reported that the teachers' IT literacy was "at the beginner level", the frequency of "intermediate level" evaluations

among the three groups of students ranged between 39% and 87%, while the mean percentage was M=53.67%, in addition on average, more than a third of the students perceived the teacher's competence as advanced (for the entire sample M=36, 66). At the level of the entire sample, a statistically significant ($\chi2$ (4, n = 341) = 16.314, p = .002, V = .155) preference for positive teacher evaluation was detected (Figure 1). This is an interesting finding because regardless of LT's background and/or previous knowledge, they were evaluated as competent users of the new technology required for the successful delivery of online classes by their students[9]. Teachers were forced to quickly assess, adapt and integrate different digital platforms into their teaching[10]. This process required simultaneous modification of English language teaching materials designed primarily for in-class use.

Figure 1: How do you evaluate your teachers' computer literacy?
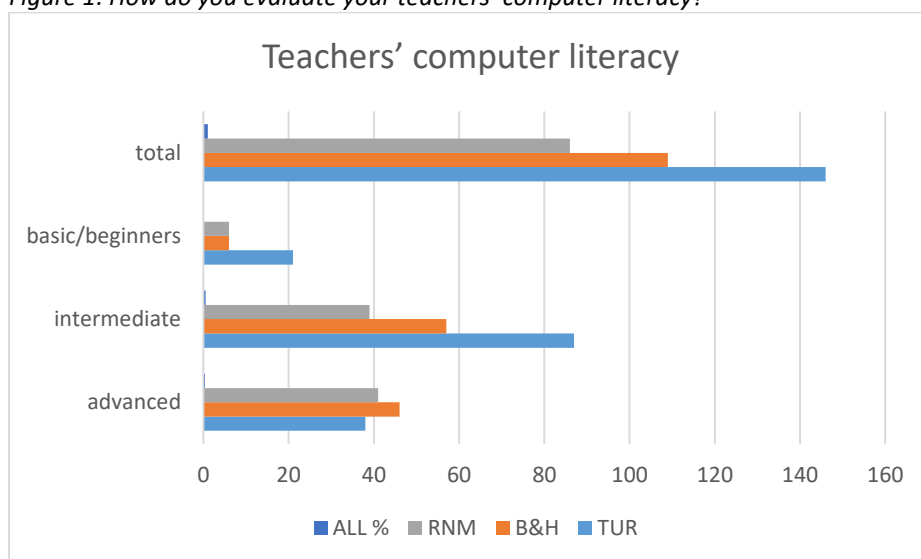
Q2. *How do you rate your teachers' online teaching skills?*

At the level of the whole sample, on average, the students positively evaluated their teachers' online teaching abilities. About two-thirds of the students rated the teachers' competence as "good" or "very good" (M=65.73%),

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[9] This is in line with the study in B&H by Delibegović Džanić and Hasanspahić (2020) conducted before the outbreak of the coronavirus COVID-19 pandemic in which they claim that teachers who participated in their survey were highly motivated to use CALL in their classes and that "CALL could serve to all teachers as an extension of the traditional in-class work and the long-sought after opportunity to apply the acquired knowledge in a fun and authentic way".

[10] Cf. Li (2021), Priyadarshini & Bhaumik (2020).

while on average every tenth evaluation belongs to the "excellent" category (Figure 2). Predominantly positive evaluations are in line with the previously registered students' perception of teacher literacy. Observed on the dimension of the entire sample, a statistically significant (χ^2 (8, n = 341) = 29.6, p < .001, V = .203) preference was detected as a positive evaluation of teachers' online teaching abilities. When testing, the difference in the distribution of answers was reduced in such a way that the answers "poor" and "very poor" were aggregated in order to reduce the probability of the type I error (McBurney & White, 2013; Murphy et al.,2014). It could be argued that LT were successful in online teaching because they had good computer literacy skills and applied them while teaching online. This was a very demanding task as teachers had to adapt courses designed for face-to-face teaching or blended courses to completely online ones (Owusu-Fordjour et al., 2020).

Figure 2: How do you rate your teachers' online teaching skills?
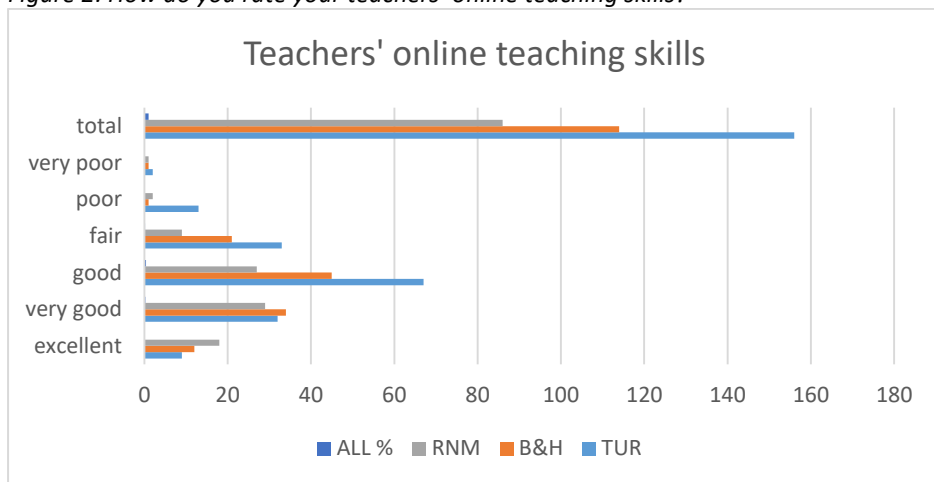
Question 3: *How would you rate your teachers' roles when you compare face-to-face teaching with online teaching?*

Question 3 asked participants to rate the roles LT played during the first online period and indicate the extent to which these roles differed from in-class teaching. Students were given ten categories and asked to rate the roles on a scale of 1 (completely different), 2 (somewhat different), 3 (somewhat the same) and 4 (exactly the same).

The list below shows that students, who have been provided with the specific definitions of ten teacher roles, predominantly believed that the teachers' roles in online teaching were either somewhat the same or exactly the same as the ones in face-to-face teaching:

(a) A role model in the use of digital tools for learning=65.61%
(b) Advisor = 77.71%
(c) Assessor = 78.60%
(d) Facilitator = 74.5%
(e) Feedback provider = 74.4%
(f) Manager of class = 65.7%
(g) Material provider = 76.3%
(h) Motivator = 54.7%
(i) Organiser of learning = 70.1%
(j) Supporter = 70.7%

These results might lead to the conclusion that teachers successfully played the roles they typically perform in class in the new teaching environment despite the abrupt shift and lack of preparation (See Appendix A for a detailed presentation of results at the country level). The findings support a study conducted by UNICEF (2021) in RNM, which showed that 68% of the students rated positively the support they received from their teachers during the online period. The results of the study are in line with recent research on teachers' innovations in teaching (Hammond, 2022). She states that teachers around the world spearheaded efforts to link children and their families to schools online (and in other ways) during the crisis by providing access, sharing ideas with other teachers and parents, and forming partnerships. During the crisis, many teachers showed ingenuity by leading content development, facilitating capacity building as peer leaders, mentoring, and rapidly adopting and bringing about change in their classrooms.

Question 4: How would you evaluate your teachers' work during this online teaching period?

Question 4 was Likert scales with seven statements asking students to assess their teachers' performance from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree). The list below shows that all criteria were evaluated with "Agree" or "Strongly agree" by at least 56% of the students.

The instructors (are)
(1) competent in online teaching (Agree & Strongly Agree= 56.3%)
(2) easy to reach (A&SA = 61.3%)
(3) effective in dealing with potential content difficulties (A&SA = 61.6%)
(4) encourage student participation during online classes (A&SA = 56.0%)
(5) regularly hold synchronous classes (A&SA = 60.7%)
(6) regularly send the necessary materials (A&SA = 82.4%)
(7) use effectively digital tools to support learning (A&SA = 65.4%)

The high positive evaluation of item (6) demonstrates that LT tried to compensate for the lack of face-to-face contact by regularly sending students

study materials. Also, 61.6% and 65.4% of the students stated that their teachers were effective in dealing with potential content difficulties and used the available digital tools to support students' learning (See Appendix B for a detailed presentation of results at the country level). These results parallel the findings of two reports published by the Council of Higher Education (YÖK, 2020, 2021) in TUR and by Rahić et al. (2021) in B&H[11]. The reported students' reactions to the ad hoc online teaching and testing during the first COVID-19 period in these documents were also mainly positive. Students pointed out that their teachers rapidly accommodated/integrated into the new distance education system, and it was easier to reach them and the course materials. Jin et al. (2021:10) point out that "in a successful online learning system, the teachers' teaching evaluation and real-time response to interaction with students are indispensable elements for the success of online learning".

The results of our study are in line with a study conducted by Li et al. (2021) on online teaching practices carried out in universities during the Covid-19 epidemic in China. They pointed out that teachers' efforts were recognised and appreciated by their students as "the more sessions such as pre-class preparation, in-class discussion and quizzes, and after-class test in the teaching design, the better teaching effect can be expected" Li et al. (2021: 572).

Students' evaluations related to the remaining four criteria in our questionnaire varied between 56% and 61.3%. The lower positive evaluations for items (1), (2), (4) and (5) show that holding regular synchronous classes, being easy to reach and encouraging students to participate during online teaching were more challenging topics for the LT in the examined countries. 56.0% of the students claimed that their teachers encouraged participation during online classes, which is a significant number in these circumstances, as it is known that securing students' participation could be challenging in traditional in-class setting (Rocca 2010). Preparation of online classes is very demanding in all circumstances, let alone in this emergency teaching period that influenced almost all aspects of our lives. Li and Zhu (2021: 567) also highlight that "the online teaching method under the epidemic is not a simple "Internet +" teaching method, but represents the Internet-based support services and innovative elements, which reshape the traditional content, structure, processes and method of teaching and learning, and transforms the existing modes of educational organisation, services and teaching".

Question 5: Has online teaching changed the way you study?"

As various practices were established at universities during the pandemic due to different university policies or technical limitations, students had both synchronous and asynchronous lectures for different subjects within their study programs. This was a new and challenging experience for all students, but at the

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[11] Cf. Donitsa-Schmidt, S., & Ramot, R. (2020).

same time, a chance to evaluate their own preferences when it comes to these two models of teaching and also to critically self-evaluate both positive and negative changes in studying habits.

It is believed that everyone involved in education has learned a lot during the last two years. We all remember those days when we could not get our internet connection to work so we could enrol in online classes. The epidemic has served as a wake-up call for institutions in terms of how to give high-quality online education. While most universities hope to return to pre-pandemic conditions by autumn 2022, many are also considering the positive lessons that might be learned from the online teaching period. The most significant change is likely to be in the amount of online instruction offered. Most universities want to employ a "hybrid model" which combines the flexibility of online lectures with more participatory in-person activities, including seminars, workshops, laboratories.

Table 1: Negative changes in study habits

NEGATIVE CHANGES IN STUDY HABITS

		TUR		B&H		RNM	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
N1	Do not study anymore	3	3.8	0	0	1	4.2
N2	Do not study regularly anymore	26	32.9	5	11.9	1	4.2
N3	Study more but cannot finish	20	25.3	10	23.8	8	33.3
N4	Changed study habits	6	7.6	6	14.3	6	25
N5	Medium change	13	16.5	5	11.9	1	4.2
N6	Lack of motivation	9	11.4	15	37.5	4	16.7
N7	Affected health	2	2.5	1	2.4	3	12.5
	ALL	79	100	42	100	24	100

Universities are still considering the ratio between online and face to face classes, as the public misperception that online teaching cannot be of the same quality as the in-class one has yet to be changed. Every teacher who was forced to replace their classroom with a virtual environment will confirm that preparing and producing online teaching materials takes substantially longer than in-class lectures and is more demanding.

We strongly believe that in order to create successful online courses in the post pandemic era, course developers should take into consideration students' experiences and their voices. In the questionnaire, we asked the students to share their both positive and negative experiences related to the online teaching period and whether online teaching changed the way they learn in both positive and negative respect.

Considering the negative changes in study habits, we can see that they differ in the three countries (see Table 1). In RNM, 33.3% of students stated that they studied more during the emergency COVID-19 period, but they still struggled to complete their assignments because of the extra homework given by their instructors and/or difficulties in following online lectures and tutorials (Example 3). The fact that professors were difficult to reach during that period presented another difficulty for the students. The most mentioned negative effect of the online period for the students in TUR was the change in their study habits/patterns. The university acceptance exam system in TUR is highly competitive, especially for public universities (see Hatipoğlu, 2013). To get into the English Language Teaching Departments, students go through a battery of difficult screening exams which require planned and systematic study habits. However, one-third of the TUR students (32.9%), as the one in Example 1, stated that they did not study regularly anymore, left "everything to the last minute" and did not have the energy and motivation to do any or much work (Example 2).

Example 1: TUR Student 6
I used to study more regularly and organised. Now I just try to catch up and study messily for the next course.

Example 2: TUR Student 8
I have become so unmotivated that I leave everything to the last minute and don't have the general energy to do any work.

Example 3: RNM Student 7
I have to put a lot more effort and attention since I find it very difficult to follow the lectures/tutorials. Much harder approach

An additional one fourth (25.3%) of the TUR students, similarly to the students in RNM, complained that they could not finish the assigned work even if they studied hard (Example 4). They stated that their workload was much higher with the new mode of teaching, and they were deprived of the system that they knew well and worked well for them (i.e., being able to work closely with their lecturers) (Example 5).

Example 4: TUR Student 20
I was studying regularly, but now, it is hard for me to focus on my homework not only because it is online, but also I have more course load than before. It is hard for me to catch up with all of the courses.

Example 5: RNM Student 24
has changed a lot because if we were in class the lessons would be more understandable.

Among the students from B&H, the most frequently cited negative change was 'the lack of motivation' (37.5%), but as can be seen in Table 1, some of the negative changes in the study habits of students are intertwined and, in some sense, interdependent (Example 6).

Example 6: B&H Student 67

I lost motivation because I was not able to participate via video due to not having free space all the time as I live with my family or having no internet connection or any other difficulties

The lack of motivation for B&H students, for instance, also influenced their study habits in the sense that they stopped studying regularly (11.9%). What is more, the heavy workload, about which the students in the other two countries were also complaining, led to the disappointing feeling of "Study more but cannot finish" for about one-fourth (23.8%) of the students in the B&H group[12] and about a third (33%) among RNM students.

Apart from the negative changes in the students' study behavior, we would like to draw attention to certain positive aspects of online teaching and learning that might serve as guidelines to higher education institutions, course developers, and individual teachers. The results of our questionnaire are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Positive changes in study habits

	POSITIVE CHANGES IN STUDY HABITS	TUR		B&H		RNM	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
N1	Autonomous learner	40	63.5	30	44.8	3	16.7
N2	New Learning styles	5	7.9	0	0	3	16.7
N3	Better use of technology and online resources	9	14.3	11	16.4	2	11.1
N4	High-quality learning	8	12.7	7	10.4	9	50
N5	I have become more hardworking	1	1.6	19	28.4	1	5.6
	ALL	63	100	67	100	18	100

Comparing the results in the three countries shows that 63.5% of TUR students think online teaching made them more autonomous learners (Example 7). This was the most frequently mentioned positive change in the B&H group as well (44.8%).

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[12] Cf. Marchand, G.C.; Gutierrez, A.P. (2012).

Example 7: TUR Student 55
I wasn't good at studying on my own before but online learning helped me develop as an autonomous learner.

This means that the new learning and teaching setting 'forced' students in TUR and B&H to become more self-dependent, as they had to prepare their own course notes, use web tools and their computers more effectively, and research individually the topics of their interest (Example 8). It seems that all this led to the development of more efficient study patterns.

Example 8: B&H Student 20
I spend more time using the computer and internet in order to define some things more, everything that we received is in writing form that I read on my computer.

The number of students who responded to this open-ended question in RNM is slightly lower (16.7% of all participating students), and within this group, the highest number of students 50% claimed that the positive change they noticed in their studying behaviour is high-quality learning. This high-quality learning excluded potential distractors of various kinds (e.g., their physical environment where the learning process is taking place, but also colleagues who might potentially interrupt the process). Not having to commute every day and lose precious time in public transport certainly contributed to positive changes in the students' study behaviour (Examples 9 and 10).

Example 9 RNM student 16
I have more free time since I can organize my time more freely. I also don't have to commute every day to school and I save time on that too. When recorded lecturers were available I can rewind the classes and learn at my own pace, which can be whatever pace I choose and I am really happy about that.

Example 10 B&H student 60
More time at the home to relax and easier to study.

The results of our study are in accordance with the findings reported by Maican and Cocoradă (2021), in their research on online foreign language learning in higher education during the COVID-19 pandemic. Maican and Cocoradă (2021) found that the online approach made language instruction and learning more flexible and individualised. In some instances, it also led to higher attendance and engagement, especially if authentic materials were used. The researcher also claimed that the active and pleasurable learning of foreign languages through blended systems that may be adaptively used in potentially

difficult situations in the future to encourage language competency is the foundation of long-term online foreign language learning. Therefore, they suggest that teachers should enhance cross-cutting competencies, such as students' ability to reflect on their own learning process, inspire positive activating emotions, and improve their wellbeing and resilience to discomfort in learning contexts, in order to promote sustainable learning.

7.   Conclusions

The study results show important similarities in how LT in B&H, RNM and TUR are perceived and evaluated by their students and significant positive and negative changes in students' study habits because of the shift from face-to-face to online learning.

Students' assessments of LT's computer literacy and online teaching abilities were mostly positive in the studied countries. This is a significant 'positive result' for the teachers in B&H, RNM and TUR, keeping in mind that they were 'forced' to assess, adapt and integrate different digital platforms in their teaching almost overnight. The results also indicate that they successfully modified and, in some instances, completely changed the English language teaching materials designed primarily for in-class use and their teaching methods.

Students' evaluations revealed that they thought that the teachers' roles basically remained the same as in face-to-face teaching, which certainly was not an easy task to accomplish. Retaining the same roles in the new teaching environment despite the abrupt shift and lack of preparation certainly shows B&H, RNM and TUR teachers' ingenuity by leading content development, facilitating capacity building as peer leaders, mentoring, and rapidly adopting and bringing about change in their classrooms. LT tried to promote their students' learning despite the hardships of the COVID-19 crisis by being accessible and regularly preparing high-quality materials that they shared with their students.

By contrast, holding regular synchronous classes, managing content difficulties, or encouraging student participation during online teaching were topics that LT were slightly less successful in in the examined countries. One has to be aware of the fact that during the 'emergency online teaching period', teachers had to work from home, using the private resources that they had at their disposal, while at the same time trying hard to keep the same standard of teaching they had in their classrooms prior to the pandemic[13].

The online teaching period has undoubtedly changed our students' study habits both positively and negatively. It is important to point out that during this emergency online teaching period, all aspects of private and public lives were

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[13] Cf. Miloshevska et al. (2020), Zhang et al. (2020)

seriously disturbed, which contributed to the difficulties that students experienced. For the bulk of them, this was their first experience with online learning. This new environment reduced their motivation because they felt that they did not have the safety net of the system they had grown up with and within which they were successful. It looks as if some students were caught in a vicious circle. Their regular study patterns changed, and they started to lag behind the demanding schedule, which, in turn, led to a lack of motivation and energy to complete their daily tasks. This build-up of work overtime brought the feeling that they were working more but were achieving less. The problems listed by the students here can be prevented if instructors "avoid unclear or incomplete expectations, projects, grading, policies, activity schedule, and so on. The instructor must build in sufficient support, directions, and guidelines for the online learner" (Dunlap, 2005: 19).

There are also many positive aspects of online teaching and learning that might serve as guidelines to higher education institutions, course developers, but also individual teachers. The students became more independent, learned to work on their research individually and developed new learning strategies. Working closely with students who say they developed in that respect and using their experience may help both the following cohorts of students and instructors build useful and safe online teaching environments.

Both teachers and students aim for a successful learning experience in a variety of situations, and teachers should also promote and support students' adaptive behaviour. The ability to adapt to different conditions will be an asset in their future careers. We strongly believe that education in the post pandemic world will not be the same as prior to the outbreak of COVID-19 and the lessons we learned and feedback we received from our students must be utilized to improve the education system.

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APPENDIX A

The comparison of teachers' roles during the first online period and traditional in-class teaching.

B&H
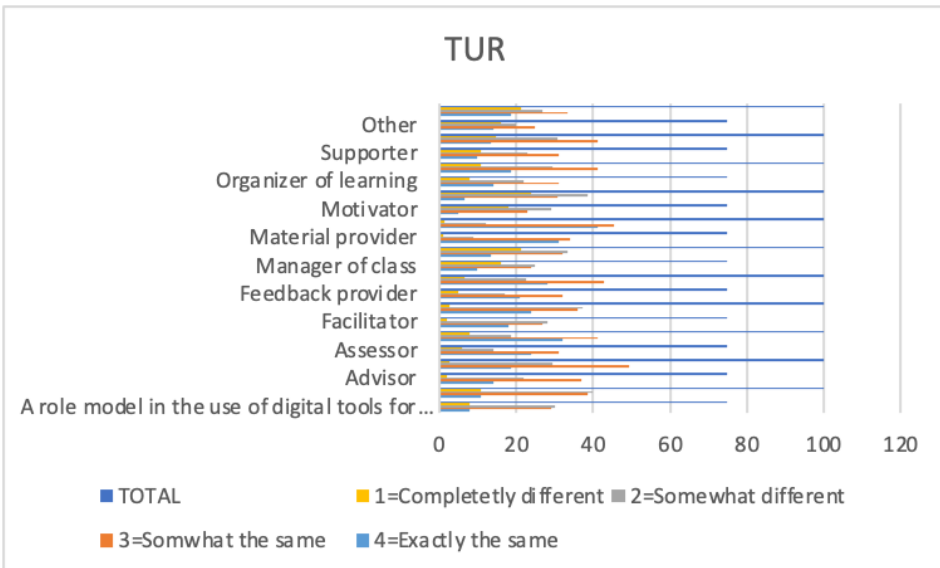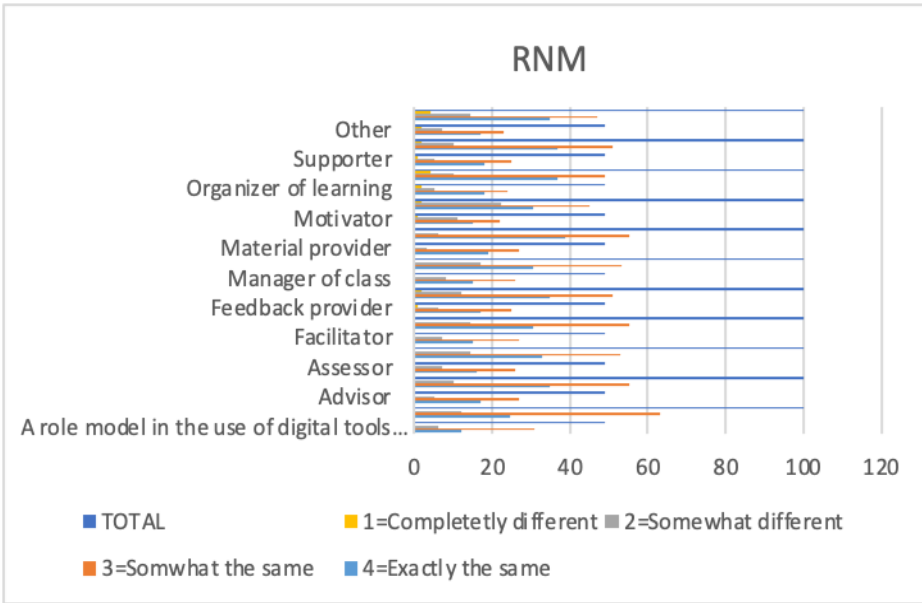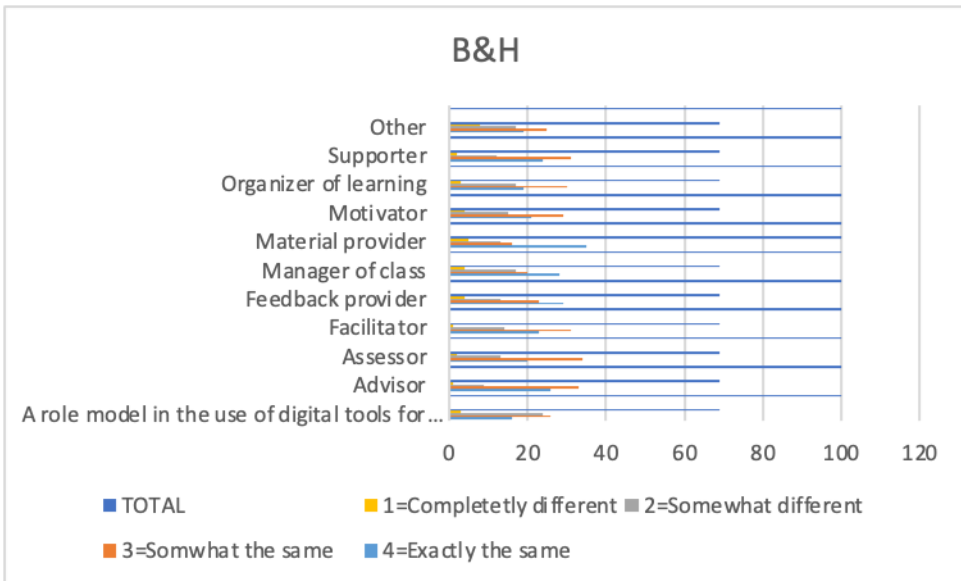
APPENDIX B
Student evaluation of teachers' work during the online teaching period

RNM

TUR

B&H
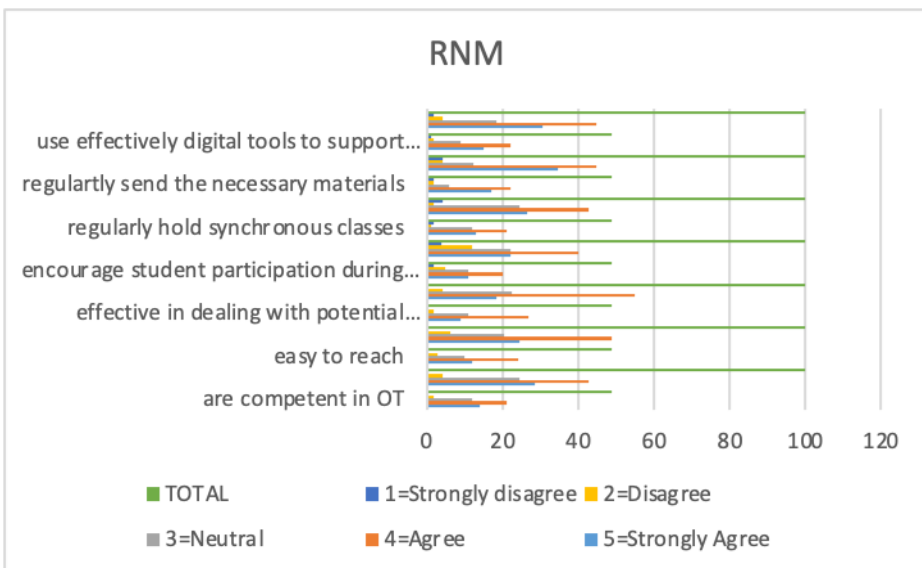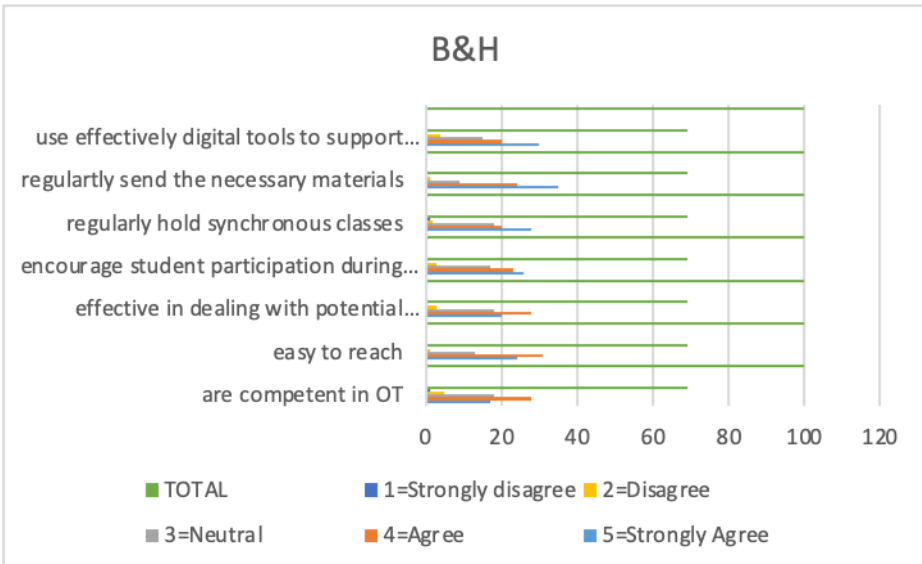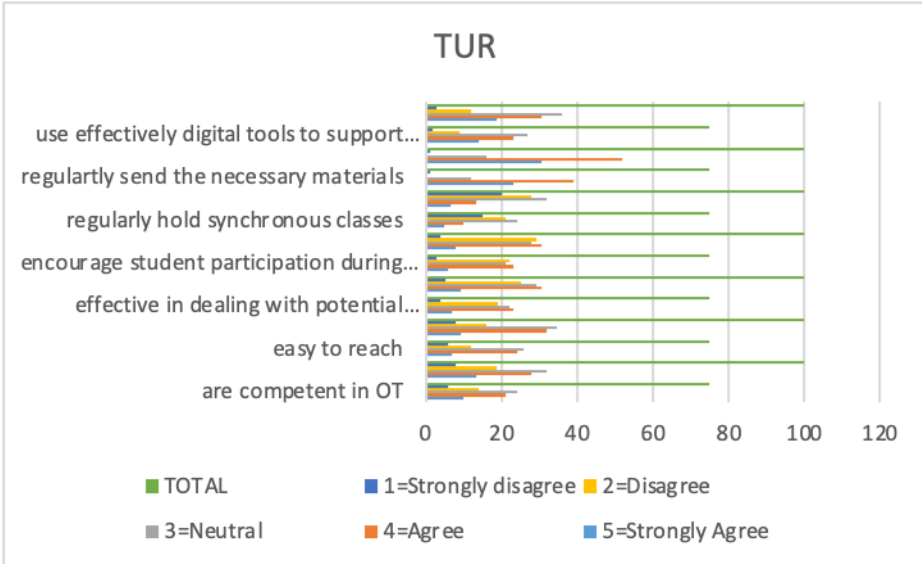
DA LI JE ONLINE UČENJE PROMIJENILO NAČIN UČENJA? STUDENTSKA EVALUACIJA PEDAGOŠKIH VJEŠTINA NASTAVNIKA TIJEKOM PRVOG KOVID-19 RAZDOBLJA I POTENCIJALNE PROMJENE NJIHOVIH NAVIKA UČENJA

Početkom 2020. godine teško je bilo zamisliti da će novi soj koronavirusa utjecati na mnoge aspekte naših života i promijeniti sadržaj, strukturu i metode podučavanja koje smo ranije poznavali. Mnogi nastavnici jezika diljem svijeta morali su napraviti nagli prijelaz na online podučavanje, nešto za što nisu bili obučeni niti su imali iskustva.

Ovo istraživanje ima za cilj pokazati da li su nastavnici uspješno izvodili online nastavu i da li je online podučavanje tijekom prvog adhoc online razdoblja utjecalo na navike učenja studenata. Pomoću posebno dizajniranog upitnika studenti sa nekoliko javnih univerziteta iz Bosne i Hercegovine, Republike Sjeverne Makedonije i Republike Turske su trebali procijeniti profesionalnu prilagođenost i uspjeh svojih nastavnika tijekom prvog semestra online nastave, te razmotriti vlastite navike učenja tijekom ovog razdoblja i promjenama koje su osobno doživjeli.

Rezultati studije otkrili su da su studenti u tri zemlje procijenili pedagoške vještine svojih nastavnika kao prikladne za online poučavanje u prvom razdoblju KOVID-19 na nevjerojatno sličan način. Međutim, utjecaj na navike učenja učenika u tim je zemljama u određenoj mjeri različit. Nalazi studije mogli bi pružiti relevantne informacije za ponovno promišljanje nastavničke profesije u smislu kompetencija, načina poučavanja i strategija za suočavanje s procesima koji utječu na poučavanje. Obrazovanje neće biti isto u svijetu nakon pandemije, moramo koristiti znanje koje smo stekli i prijedloge naših studenata kako bismo unaprijedili naše obrazovne sisteme.

Ključne riječi: online nastava, digitalne vještine nastavnika, KOVID-19, evaluacije studenata, navike učenja

KOOPERATIVNO UČENJE U NASTAVI JEZIKA I KNJIŽEVNOSTI

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Apstrakt: Iako se kooperativno učenje (KU) može primeniti na bilo kom nivou obrazovanja i nastavnom predmetu, vrlo je pogodno za nastavu jezika i književnosti. Osnovni cilj rada stoga je utvrditi kako nastavnici (ne)maternjeg jezika percipiraju KU (u smislu osnovne svrhe, prednosti, mana, mogućnosti primene), a sekundarni ispitati u kojoj meri, i kada nastavnici najčešće koriste navedeni pristup. U istraživanju je učestvovalo 82 nastavnika osnovnih i srednjih škola u različitim gradovima Srbije (ž=95,1%, m=4,9%), starosti od 26 do 57 godina (M=42,32, StD=6,50), sa radnim stažom u školi od 2 do 32 godine (M=15,78, StD=7,99). Najveći procenat činili su nastavnici srpskog (48,8%), engleskog (29,3%), nemačkog (9,8%), i francuskog jezika (7,3%). Podaci prikupljeni onlajn upitnikom analizirani su kvantitativno (npr. ajtemi skala procene) i kvalitativno (npr. odgovori otvorenog tipa putem analize sadržaja). Rezultati pokazuju da nastavnici prepoznaju značaj KU-a, i da veliki broj ima razvijenu svest o njegovim prednostima. Ipak, još uvek je prisutno uverenje da su tradicionalni oblici nastave i nastavnik kao jedini relevantni izvor znanja ključni kada je reč o nastavnim jedinicama koje su za učenike kompleksne. Sudeći prema celokupnim rezultatima, nastavnicima je neophodno pružiti podršku i obučiti ih za ovakav vid rada, a činjenica da veliki broj nastavnika želi da pohađa seminar o KU-u je ohrabrujuća.

Ključne reči: kooperativno učenje, nastava maternjeg jezika, nastava stranog jezika, nastavnici osnovnih i srednjih škola.

Uvodne napomene

Savremena nastava 21. veka umnogome je drugačija od nastave koja se nekada smatrala delotvornom. Akcenat se sve više pomera sa znanja na kompetencije, sa nastavnika na učenike, sa teorijskih znanja na primenu, sa ishodima učenja kao okosnicom svakog časa. Ovakvo viđenje nastavog procesa, sa akcentom na očekivane ishode učenja, iziskuje promenu uloga i nastavnika i učenika. Nastavnik ulaže mnogo više napora i rada pre izvođenja nastave, ali konstantno radi „iz senke" na samom času. Sa druge strane, od učenika, koji su nekada bili pasivni učesnici u nastavnom procesu, sada se takođe očekuje mnogo aktivnija uloga, te nije iznenađujuće što centralno mesto u savremenim nastavnim pristupima i metodama sve više zauzimaju učenička odgovornost za učenje i učenička samostalnost (Grubor 2020; Slavin 2014), kao i akcenat na samog

učenika (v. Jacobs and Renandya 2019). Mnogi autori stoga smatraju da je međuučenička saradnja osnovni preduslov za uspešnu nastavu i usvajanje gradiva (Lotan 2008; Trbojević 2013). Ovaj trend pomeranja fokusa nije primetan samo u nauci već i u praksi, te se u školskom sistemu Srbije sve više insistira na razvijanju međupredmetnih kompetencija kod učenika (v. Opšte standarde postignuća RS 2013), radi formiranja mislećih i funkcionalnih građana jednog društva.

Predmet našeg istraživanja je nastavni pristup koji, između ostalog, posmatra učenika kao „proaktivnog činioca" u nastavnom procesu (Grubor 2020, 81). Osnovni smisao kooperativnog učenja jeste međusobna saradnja članova grupe kako bi se realizovali zajednički ciljevi, imajući u vidu maksimalni učinak svakog pojedinačnog člana grupe (Johnson and Johnson 2014, 481). Interakcija sa drugim članovima grupe doprinosi razvoju i intra- i interpersonalnih veština, čime članovi grupe uče više o sebi i drugima (Grubor 2020, 90). U svojoj metaanalizi, Rozet, Džonson i Džonson su utvrdili da kooperacija dovodi do boljeg postignuća i boljih odnosa među vršnjacima (Roseth, Johnson, and Johnson 2008)[1]. Kada govorimo o nastavnoj praksi, možemo zaključiti da KU direktno podstiče razvoj različitih međupredmetnih kompetencija iz Opštih standarda postignuća (2013) (npr. kompetencije za celoživotno učenje, komunikaciju, rešavanje problema, saradnju, odgovorno učešće u demokratskom društvu), ali da je i u opštem smislu pogodan za razvoj i ostalih ključnih komepetencija. Povrh toga, s obzirom na to da naše istraživanje uključuje nastavnike jezika i književnosti, KU podržava i strukturalističku i funkcionalnu i interaktivnu teoriju jezika, odnosno pogoduje proučavanju i usvajanju jezika kao strukturalnog, funkcionalnog i interaktivnog sistema. Budući da se učenici moraju obučiti da usavršavaju postojeće i razvijaju nove veštine i strategije učenja (Brown 2001; Grubor and Hinić 2010; Larsen-Freeman 2001), kao i da preuzimaju aktivnu ulogu u procesu učenja, naš osnovni istraživački zadatak je da ispitamo kako nastavnici, u našem konkretnom slučaju jezika i književnosti, poimaju ovaj interaktivan pristup (u smislu njegove osnovne svrhe, prednosti, mana, konkretnih mogućnosti primene i sl).

Ukratko, u pogledu strukture rada, teorijsko polazište rada će biti kratko predstavljeno, koncept kooperacije definisan, prednosti i mane kooperativnog učenja navedene; u istraživačkom delu ćemo opisati metodologiju istraživanja, sažeto predstaviti rezultate, a potom ih sumirati i navesti neke od implikacija, kao i ograničenja; u poslednjem poglavlju ćemo dati moguće predloge za naredna istraživanja iz navedene oblasti.

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[1] Autori su uključili 148 studija, sa ukupnim uzorkom od preko 17.000 adolescenata iz 11 zemalja.

2. Kooperativno učenje: teorijsko određenje

Kooperativno učenje je nastavni pristup koji je efikasan na različitim nivoima obrazovanja (Johnson, Johnson, and Smith 2007, 16), te ga ne treba vezivati za nastavu nijednog konkretnog nastavnog predmeta. Zbog mogućnosti „široke primene", istraživanja koja su se bavila ispitivanjem ovog koncepta, njegovih tehnika i sl, obuhvataju najrazličitiji dijapazon oblasti i disciplina.

Sama ideja o kooperaciji nalazi se u osnovi mnogih teorija. Konstruktivistička teorija, na primer, neguje koncept kooperacije jer se uloga socijalne interakcije tokom učenja naglašava i u kognitivnom konstruktivizmu, kod Pijažea, i socijalnom, kod Vigotskog (Gilles 2014, 795). Rad u kooperaciji sa uspešnijim vršnjacima i instruktorima (roditeljima i/ili nastavnicima) dovodi do kognitivnog i intelektualnog razvoj u vidu „zdravih saznajnih konflikata" (Johnson and Johnson 2014, 69), te učenici kognitivno „uvežbavaju" i restrukturišu informacije kako bi ih zadržali u memoriji i inkorporirali u postojeće kognitivne strukture (Phillips 1995, 5–6). Grubo rečeno, osnovni principi konstruktivističke teorije su: (1) smisleni kontekst, kao osnovni preduslov da učenici žele i mogu nešto da nauče (motivisanost i mogućnosti/sposobnosti); (2) strukturisana organizacija nastavnog sadržaja radi boljeg razumevanja („spiralna organizacija"); (3) organizovanje nastavnih sadržaja na takav način da olakšava ekstrapolaciju i rekonstrukciju saznajnih struktura. Generalno, konstruktivisti u prvi plan stavljaju autonomiju, ali i kooperaciju učenika (v. Wolff 2007).

U svojim seminalnim radovima, psiholog Dž. Bruner bavio se ovim konceptom u kontekstu učenja matematike, prirodnih nauka, ali i usvajanja jezika u drugoj polovini prošlog veka (Bruner 1960, 1966, 1973, 1983, 1990). U okviru svoje teorije obrazovanja u kojoj učenje putem otkrića i učenje aktivnim učešćem igraju važnu ulogu, Bruner ističe da je učenje aktivan proces u kome učenici konstruišu nove ideje ili koncepte na osnovu svog postojećeg znanja (Takaya 2013, 9). Učenici su aktivni činioci, koji odabiraju i transformišu informacije, konstruišu hipoteze i donose odluke na osnovu postojećih informacija. Nastavnici sa druge strane imaju zadatak da motivišu učenike da samostalno uočavaju zakonitosti u određenim nastavnim sadržajima, ali i da im prilagode gradivo kako bi učenicima ono bilo što razumljivije. Osnovna ideja je da nastavni sadržaji budu organizovani tako da učenici postepeno nadograđuju svoja postojeća znanja i povezuju različite sadržaje.

Kooperativno učenje se, međutim, primarno i najdirektnije zasniva na *teoriji socijalne međuzavisnosti*. Džonson, Džonson i Smit (Johnson, Johnson, and Smith 1998, 28–29) opisuju koncept kooperacije kroz prizmu ove teorije, navodeći da Kurt Levin smatra da srž grupe leži u međuzavisnosti njenih članova, koji su vođeni zajedničkim ciljem. Grupe su „dinamičke rupe", u kojima promena stanja bilo kog člana grupe ili podgrupe menja stanje ostalih članova ili

podgrupa.[2] Morton Dojč, Levinov učenik, prvi je formulisao teoriju socijalne međuzavisnosti još četrdesetih godina prošlog veka, i izvršio podelu međuzavisnosti na pozitivnu (kooperaciju), negativnu (kompeticiju) i nepostojeću (individualističke napore), što je ključno za nastavni pristup kooperativnog učenja. Prema datim deskriptorima, kooperacija između članova grupe je okarakterisana kao poželjna (pozitivna), te je ključna za uspešne ishode (Grubor 2014, 290). Istraživanja zapravo pokazuju da na ravni individualistička nastojanja – kompeticija – kooperacija, kooperacija pozitivno deluje na odnos među vršnjacima sa jedne strane, i pozitivno utiče na postignuće sa druge (npr. Pritchard and Woollard 2010).

Kooperativno učenje je deo jednog opštijeg nastavnog pristupa, tj. kolaborativnog učenja (Richards and Rodgers 2015, 244), i predstavlja nastavni pristup koji u velikoj meri koristi interaktivne (kooperativne) aktivnosti, odnosno rad u parovima i (manjim) grupama. Međutim, veoma je važno naglasiti da se KU ne može prosto izjednačiti sa grupnim radom, stoga sama činjenica da učenici rade u grupama nije nužno garancija da se u nastavi i koristi ovaj pristup. U literaturi za nastavu stranog i/ili drugog jezika (L2), na primer, KU se smatra komunikativnim pristupom jer se pomoću njega promoviše komunikativna interakcija (Richards and Rodgers 2015, 245). Bliže određenje uloge grupnog rada daju Olsen i Kejgen (Olsen and Kagan 1992, 8), koji u svojoj definiciji KU-a ističu odgovornost svakog člana i međusobnu saradnju između članova grupe:

Kooperativno učenje je učenje u grupama koje je organizovano na takav način da učenici u grupama razmenjuju i dele informacije, a svaki pojedinačni član grupe smatra se odgovornim za svoje učenje i motivisan je da podspeši proces učenja i drugih članova grupe.

Takođe se naglašava i koncept saradnje, ali i sticanje životnih veština (Grubor 2020, 90), imajući u vidu da škole imaju i vaspitnu funkciju, pored obrazovne. Stoga se KU definiše i kao nastavni pristup u kome (Grubor 2014, 290):

[M]anje, uglavnom heterogene grupe, kroz raznolike nastavne aktivnosti i saradnju sa svojim vršnjacima i nastavnikom, upoznaju i usvajaju sadržaje određenih nastavnih predmeta, ali se uče i životnim veštinama (timskim, organizacionim, sociopolitičkim), i time upoznaju svet oko sebe, ali i istovremeno stiču osećaj odgovornosti, autonomije i samosvesti.

2.1. Ključni elementi kooperativne nastave

Kao što je u prethodnom odeljku napomenuto, grupni rad nije jedina niti dovoljna odrednica ovog nastavnog pristupa. Sama priroda i organizacija grupnog rada u kooperativnoj učionici ključni su za uspešnu primenu pristupa. Pošto osnovni ciljevi KU-a uključuju negovanje kooperacije, razvijanje kritičkog

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[2] Termin „dinamičke rupe" uveo je Kurt Kofka, jedan od začetnika geštalt psihologije.

mišljenja i komunikativne kompetencije (Richards and Rodgers 2015, 245), ključni elementi kooperativne učionice prema Olsenu i Kejganu (1992) su:

1) pozitivna međuzavisnost,
2) formiranje grupe,
3) odgovornost svakog člana grupe,
4) socijalne veštine, i
5) strukturisanje i strukture.

Iako se u kasnijim radovima navedeni elementi grupišu u kategorije pozitivne međuzavisnosti, odgovornosti svakog člana grupe i obezbeđivanja jednakog učinka svakog člana grupe (npr. Nam and Zellner 2011), u ovom radu ćemo se fokusirati na prvobitnu klasifikaciju zbog prisustva određenih kategorija koje su važne za praktičnu primenu ovog pristupa u nastavi (npr. strukture).

Prema Ričardsu i Rodžersu (2015, 249–250), članovi grupe moraju shvatiti da ono što pomaže jednom članu, pomaže svim članovima grupe, i obrnuto (npr. kod pisanja grupnog eseja, izrade grupnih prezentacija) (v. pozitivnu međuzavisnost). Formiranje grupa uključuje nekoliko faktora, od kojih su najznačajniji određivanje veličine grupe i podela učenika u grupe. Prema principima kooperativnog učenja, grupe su uglavnom male i uključuju ili dva (par) ili tri–četiri učenika (manju grupu). Odluka nastavnika će prirodno zavisiti od vrste zadatka, uzrasta učenika, vremenskog ograničenja za konkretnu aktivnost, učeničkih stilova učenja i/ili interesovanja, ukupnog broja učenika u odeljenju i sl. Kada govorimo o podeli učenika u grupe, možemo govoriti o tome ko vrši podelu (nastavnik, učenici), kako (ciljano ili nasumično), kao i o ulogama unutar grupa (npr. ravnopravne, svi učenici imaju isti/sličan zadatak, ili različite, unapred dodeljene/odabrane: npr. sudija, zapisničar-ka, novinar-ka, intervjuisani-a). Nasuprot prostom grupnom radu, u kooperativnoj nastavi se od svakog člana grupe očekuje i individualni i grupni učinak (v. odgovornost svakog člana grupe), odnosno svako je odgovoran za uspeh svoje grupe i kao individua i kao član grupe (npr. nastavnik daje svakom učeniku ocenu na osnovu njegovog/njenog udela u timskom projektu/radu). Socijalne veštine, kao što su komunikativne veštine i veštine rešavanja konflikata (Smith 1996, 75), određuju način na koji učenici sarađuju sa drugim članovima grupe, te je uobičajeno da se učenici obuče za ovakav rad jer se u učionici nalaze uspešniji i manje uspešni učenici, vođe i sledbenici, ektroverti i introverti, i sl. Uloga nastavnika stoga je da prati dinamiku rada svake grupe, tj. ravnomernu zastupljenost učešća njenih pojedinačnih članova, poštovanje različitosti, različitih mišljenja i sl, ali i da neguje razvoj timskih veština kod učenika. Najzad, strukturisanje se odnosi na načine organizovanja učeničke interakcije, a same strukture predstavljaju različite nastavne tehnike, odnosno vrstu aktivnosti koje se pritom koriste (npr. trostepeni intervju, razigravanje, okrugli sto).

U nastavi jezika i književnosti, konkretno, najčešće korišćene tehnike su rad na istom štivu, sa istim zadatkom (npr. na osnovu slike koju im nastavnik daje, članovi grupe zajedno osmišljavaju/pišu pesmu od četiri strofe i četiri stiha, korišćenjem aorista u nastavi srpkog jezika, ili sadašnjeg/prošlog vremena u nastavi stranih jezika), ili sa različitim zadacima (npr. učenici se u paru upoznaju sa biografijom autora kroz aktivnost „informacione praznine"). Učenici mogu raditi i na različitom štivu (npr. učenici čitaju različite priče ili različite delove iste priče koje posle razmenjuju sa članovima svoje grupe kroz aktivnost „slagalica", ili čitaju različita pravila iste jezičke pojave kod obrade, odnosno kod obnavljanja svaki učenik priprema različitu npr. glasovnu promenu u srpskom jeziku ili različite upotrebe npr. konjuktiva u nastavi stranog jezika). Najzad, kooperativni projekti se takođe često koriste (npr. grupne prezentacije).

2.2. Prednosti i mane kooperativnog učenja

Budući da je česta zamerka prosvetnih savetnika koji posećuju časove nastavnika da akcenat nastave primarno leži na nastavniku a ne učenicima, na znanjima a ne kompetencijama, na ovom mestu ćemo ukratko uporediti KU sa tzv. „tradicionalnom nastavom", a potom sumirati osnovne prednosti i mane kooperativnog učenja.

Tradicionalna nastava usmerena je na nastavnika, a njena osnovna karakteristika je podsticanje kompetitivnosti. Nasuprot tome, kooperativna nastava podržava kooperaciju i samim tim postignuće svih učenika (ili realnije, najvećeg broja učenika), pomaže nastavniku da izgradi pozitivne odnose između učenika, pruža učenicima iskustva neophodna za zdrav društveni, psihološki i kognitivni razvoj (Johnson and Johnson 1994, 2), dovodi do razvoja metadisciplinarnih kompetencija, kao što su formiranje hipoteza, donošenje odluka, kategorisanje (Cohen 1994), utiče na bolje postignuće i bolje odnose među vršnjacima (npr. Baer 2003; Cohen and Lotan 1995; Foley and O'Donnell 2002; Hertz-Lazarowitz and Miller 1992; Johnson and Johnson 1989; Pritchard and Woollard 2010; Slavin 1995; Watson 1991), putem socijalno-afektivnog učenja doprinosi razvoju socijalnih veština, kao što su timski rad (Slavin 1995), poštovanje drugih (Marr 1997), rešavanje problema (Cheng and Warren 2000), doprinosi razvijanju kritičkog mišljenja (Brandon and Hollingshead 1999), pojačava samopouzdanje učenika u sopstvene sposobnosti (Huber 2004), priprema učenike za buduću ulogu građana društva u svetu odraslih (Cohen 1994), uči učenike životnim veštinama (Grubor 2014, 2020), usmerena je na učenike i učenje, pruža učenicima mehanizme holističkog učenja, i najzad, uči ih da uče.

Prednosti kooperativnog učenja su višestruke. Pored gorenavedenih, navešćemo i neke praktične konsekvence. Sama priroda rada (rad u parovima i/ili grupama) doprinosi povećanoj aktivnosti, odnosno većem učešću učenika na času. Problem u tradicionalnoj nastavi je što pretežno korišćenje frontalnog

oblika rada često ima za posledicu pasivnost najvećeg broja učenika, sa izuzetkom „aktivnih" učenika sa kojima nastavnik vrlo često jedino komunicira. U tradicionalnoj nastavi ima mnogo „podučavanja" a malo učenja, i favorizuje se samo nekoliko učenika koji se ističu svojim znanjem i/ili radom, dok najveći broj učenika ostaje neaktivan u nastavnom procesu (Brown and Lee 2015; Harmer 2015). Ako uzmemo u obzir činjenicu da odeljenja u školama Srbije često broje oko trideset učenika, i da je realnost da nastavnici rade sa „mešovitim odeljenjima", odnosno sa učenicima najrazličitijih sposobnosti i znanja, nastavnici su prinuđeni da se okrenu drugačijim nastavnim pristupima. Dobro osmišljen grupni rad, sa druge strane, naglašava pojedinačnu učeničku odgovornost i autonomiju, te je pogotovo koristan u pomenutim odeljenjima, s obzirom na to da grupisanje učenika može biti raznovrsno. Na primer, gradiranje zadataka može biti usklađeno sa učeničkim sposobnostima ili interesovanjima, tako da učenici istih sposobnosti dobiju zadatak u skladu sa svojim kapacitetima ili afinitetima, ili grupa može biti heterogena, te uspešniji učenici mogu pomoći manje uspešnim davanjem dodatnog inputa i pružanjem dodatne pomoći u razumevanju sadržaja i/ili zadataka.

U praktičnom smislu, ako pogledamo uloge učenika i nastavnika, primećujemo da su one prema ovom pristupu usmerene ka učinkovitosti obe strane uključene u nastavno-obrazovni proces. Uloge i jedne i druge strane veoma su zahtevne, za razliku od tradicionalne nastave. Osnovna uloga učenika je da je kooperativni član grupe, timski igrač, „reditelj sopstvenog učenja", naučen da planira, nadgleda i procenjuje sopstveno učenje, fleksibilan (Richards and Rogers 2015, 252). Nastavnik takođe preuzima višefunkcionalnu ulogu: mora da stvori visoko strukturiranu i dobro organizovanu sredinu koja je pogodna za učenje, postavi ciljeve, planira i strukturiše zadatke, osmisli fizički raspored u učionici, dodeli učenicima uloge, podeli ih u grupe, bira nastavne materijale (Johnson and Johnson 1994, 2014), posrednik je u učenju (npr. kreće se po učionici i pomaže učenicima i/ili grupama po potrebi, sa ciljem da učenici što više napreduju i/ili što uspešnije reše zadatak), manje govori od učenika, postavlja opšta pitanja kako bi podstakao učenike na razmišljanje, priprema učenike za zadatke i pomaže im da ih što uspešnije reše (Ghufron and Ermawati 2018; Harel 1992).

Pored toga, za razliku od većine nastavnih pristupa i metoda, kooperativno učenje je dosta istraživano, i to u najrazličitijim nastavnim predmetima. Kao što je već navedeno, istraživanja su pokazala da se primenom kooperativnog pristupa učenici pripremaju za ulogu budućih aktivnih građana i da se uče životnim veštinama, pored toga što usvajaju nastavne sadržaje (v. npr. Grubor 2014, 2020). Sa druge strane, kao što neka istraživanja sugerišu, negativna strana kooperativnog učenja je činjenica da ovaj nastavni pristup u izvesnom smislu najmanje pogoduje uspešnijim učenicima s obzirom na to da se pokazalo da manje uspešni učenici imaju koristi i u homogenim i u heterogenim grupama,

dok uspešniji imaju najviše koristi u homogenim grupama (Baer 2003). Naravno, iako uspešnijim učenicima u heterogenim grupama nedostaju mentalni izazovi, pomoć koju pružaju manje uspešnim može im pomoći u razvijanju sa jedne strane vanpredmetnih veština (npr. socijalnih), a sa druge, na ovaj način ovi učenici dodatno kognitivno uvežbavaju zadate sadržaje (v. npr. *podučavanje* u Trbojević 2013). Iz svega navedenog, razumno je zaključiti da nastavnici treba da naprave optimalan balans u odabiru članova grupa i dodeljivanju uloga, kako bi svi učenici imali optimalne koristi od primene ovog nastavnog pristupa u učionici.

3. Metodologija istraživanja

Osnovni cilj ovog eksplorativnog istraživanja je ispitati kako nastavnici jezika percipiraju KU (u smislu osnovne svrhe, prednosti, mana, mogućnosti primene i sl). Osnovna pretpostavka je da će nastavnici izjednačavati KU sa prostim grupnim radom, i posmatrati ovaj pristup kao produktivan, ali i ne tako poželjan način rada (npr. zbog celokupnog postupka organizacije, kreativne buke i sl). Sekundarni cilj je da se utvrdi u kojoj meri i kada nastavnici najčešće koriste navedeni pristup. Pretpostavka je da se ovaj nastavni pristup najviše primenjuje na časovima obnavljanja i utvrđivanja, kao posledica uvreženog uverenja da časovi obrade „moraju" biti održani u vidu frontalnog oblika rada, sa nastavnikom u centralnoj poziciji kao glavnim i „pouzdanim izvorom znanja".

3.1. Uzorak

Uzorak iz našeg istraživanja čine nastavnici jezika (maternjeg, stranog), osnovnih i srednjih škola u različitim gradovima Srbije (Kragujevcu, Beogradu, Novom Sadu, Novom Pazaru, Zrenjaninu, Čačku, Kruševcu). Upitnik je poslat na individualne mejl adrese nastavnika širom Srbije, sa instrukcijom da se dalje prosledi pripadnicima ciljne grupe. Dakle, primenili smo *lančano uzorkovanje* radi uključivanja što većeg broja ispitanika iz navedene populacije. Prikupljeno je 90 upitnika, ali je konačan uzorak činilo 82 nastavnika sa celokupno popunjenim upitnikom, nejednake distribucije po polnom kriterijumu (ž=95,1%, m=4,9%), starosti od 26 do 57 godina (M=42,32, StD=6,50), sa radnim stažom u školi od 2 do 32 godine (M=15,78, StD=7,99). Najzad, u pogledu nastavnog predmeta, najveći procenat ispitanika su činili nastavnici srpskog jezika (48,8%), engleskog (29,3%), nemačkog (9,8%), i francuskog (7,3%), dok su ostali jezici bili manje zastupljeni (italijanski, ruski, španski), te su u obradi podataka tretirani kao „ostali". Broj zaposlenih u osnovnim i srednjim školama bio je dosta ujednačen (osnovne škole 43,9%, srednje škole 56,1%, sa ravnomernom zastupljenošću nastavnika gimnazije sa 52,2%, i stručnih srednjih škola sa 47,8%).

3.2. Instrumenti i način obrade podataka

Istraživanje je zbog epidemiološke situacije sprovedeno putem onlajn aplikacije *Google forms* u toku 2020. U svrhu prikupljana podataka, koristili smo

onlajn upitnik koji je uključivao opšti deo sa osnovnim sociodemografskim podacima (pol, starost, godine radnog staža, mesto zaposlenja, tip škole: osnovna, srednja – gimnazija, stručna), kao i deo kojim se ispitivalo kako nastavnici doživljavaju KU. Ovaj deo su činila pitanja višestrukog izbora (skala procene Likertovog tipa, npr. *Koliko često koristite kooperativno učenje u nastavi? 1 nikada, 2 retko, 3 ponekad, 4 često, 5 veoma često, 6 uvek*), i pitanja otvorenog tipa (npr. *Kako biste definisali kooperativno učenje svojim rečima (bez obzira da li ste upoznati sa ovim pristupom ili ne)?*).

Prikupljeni podaci analizirani su kvalitativno i kvantitativno u zavisnosti od prirode ajtema. Drugim rečima, ajtemi koji su uključivali skale procene analizirani su u statističkom programu *IBM SPSS Statistics 21*, i izračunavana je deskriptivna statistika (srednje vrednosti, standardna devijacija, procenti). Kada je reč o kvalitativnoj analizi, ona je podrazumevala više koraka: analizom sadržaja sva pitanja otvorenog tipa su prvo kodirana radi formiranja kategorija (npr. prilikom navođenja prednosti ispitivanog pristupa, odgovori istog tipa su grupisani i kategorisani, kao što je akcenat na timskom radu i/ili razvijanju socijalnih veština), a najčešće formulacije naknadno beležene. Nakon kodiranja, pripadnost određenoj izdvojenoj kategoriji izražavana je brojčano, radi kvantifikacije najčešćih odgovora, odnosno kategorija.

4. Rezultati

Kada je reč o frekventnosti upotrebe koooperativnog pristupa u nastavi, najveći broj ispitanika (78,3%) ga koristi, od toga 46,3% ponekad, a 22% često, što se u izvesnoj meri poklapa sa odgovorima na pitanje da li su upoznati sa ovim nastavnim pristupom (75,6% „da", 24,4% „ne"). Ispitanici koji su odgovorili da nikada ne koriste ovaj pristup navode kao najčešći razlog činjenicu da nisu upoznati sa ovim nastavnim pristupom, a manji broj navodi da su odeljenja prevelika ili da „nemaju s kim da rade". Na pitanje u kojim situacijama bi KU po njihovom mišljenju bilo opravdano ili korisno za učenike, ispitanici koji ne koriste ovaj pristup nemaju jasne odgovore (najveći broj odgovora jeste „ne znam"). Ostali ispitanici, koji su izjavili da *retko-uvek* koriste KU, najčešće navode da ga koriste na časovima obrade književnih dela (29,6%) i utvrđivanja gramatičkih jedinica (25,9%). Daljim uvidom u odgovore ispitanika, utvrđeno je da se prva vrednost odnosi na nastavnike srpskog jezika, dok je druga prisutna u najvećoj meri kod nastavnika engleskog jezika, a u manjoj meri i kod nastavnika srpskog jezika.

Kada je u pitanju definisanje koncepta KU-a, bez obzira na to da li su upoznati sa njim ili ne, nastavnici najčešće opisuju ovaj pristup kao „timski rad" ili „saradničko učenje" (92,7%). Od ovog procenta, više od polovine odgovora (51,2%) uključuje određene ključne elemente KU-a: zajedništvo u smislu timskog rada (v. socijalne veštine, odnosno razvijanja timskih/kooperativnih veština), kao i okrenutost ka zajedničkom rešavanju problemskih zadataka (v. pozitivna

međuzavisnost članova grupe), sa manjim brojem ispitanika koji konkretno ukazuju na odgovornost svakog pojedinačnog člana tima. Jedna ispitanica, profesorka srpskog jezika u stručnoj školi, konkretno definiše KU kao „grupni oblik rada u kojem je akcenat na ulozi učenika na času gde svaki član grupe ima zadatak u skladu sa sopstvenim senzibilitetom, a sa ciljem sveobuhvatnije i potpunije realizacije cilja časa".

Kao prednosti ovog nastavnog pristupa, najveći broj ispitanika ističe (1) aktivno uključivanje učenika u nastavni proces i proces učenja, motivisanje i vršnjačku edukaciju (51,2%), (2) razvijanje socijalnih veština (timskih, organizacionih, komunikativnih), tolerancije i demokratije (36,6%), i (3) podsticanje razvoja različitih učeničkih sposobnosti (kreativnost, funkcionalna i dugotrajnija znanja) (26,8%). Određen broj nastavnika takođe navodi i (4) osamostaljivanje učenika i razvijanje lične odgovornosti u procesu učenja (14,6%), (5), pozitivan efekat na celokupni nastavni proces učenja (afektivna dimenzija) (14,6%), (6) pogodovanje učenicima različitih sposobnosti (9,8%), i (7) adaptibilnost pristupa (npr. praktičnost u smislu uključivanja što većeg broja učenika u rad, mogućnost korišćenja pristupa i pri obradi i pri utvrđivanju gradiva) (7,3%). Na ovom mestu je neophodno napomenuti da su se pri kodiranju uzimale u obzir kategorije u okviru analize sadržaja, te da se određen broj nastavnika ponavljao u rezultatima, tj. neki ispitanicu su navodili više prednosti koje su brojane po kategorijama, ne po ispitaniku.

Kada govorimo o nedostacima navedenog pristupa, neznatni broj nastavnika je navodio različite aspekte (odnosno kategorije), za razliku od prednosti. Naime, 15,6% ispitanika smatra da KU nema mane, a 18,8% ispitanika navodi da ne zna. Nakon uvida u bazu, utvrđeno je da najveći broj ispitanika iz druge kategorije jesu ispitanici koji su izjavili da nisu upoznati sa KU. Što se tiče konkretnih odgovora, najveći broj nastavnika navodio je (1) nejednako učešće svih članova grupe (npr. uspešniji učenici preuzimaju realizaciju aktivnosti na sebe) (28,1%), (2) buku, lošu organizaciju i realizaciju (20%), (3) nemogućnost posvećivanja pojedincu i fokusiranost na grupu (9,4%). U manjem procentu, nastavnici su navodili neuključenost učenika u rad (npr. nemotivisanost, loše međuljudske odnose), nenapredovanje naprednijih učenika (7,1%), a neznatni broj (po jedan-dva nastavnika) probleme uključivanja učenika sa poteškoćama (v. inkluzivno obrazovanje) i nepostojanje „relevantnog izvora znanja" (tj. fokus na nastavnika kao „prenosioca znanja"), neizvodljivost na svim časovima i nemogućnost česte primene pristupa (bez elaboracije), poteškoće oko ocenjivanja, iziskivanje velike odgovornosti (ne precizirajući čije), iziskivanje napornog rada i vremena i od učenika i nastavnika.

Na pitanje koliko često koriste grupni rad, situacija je donekle slična odgovorima na pitanje koliko često koriste KU u nastavi (ponekad – 41,5% naspram 46,3%, često – 34,1% naspram 22%). Najveći broj odgovora se odnosio na: (1) obnavljanje, vežbanje, utvrđivanje (41,5%), (2) na obradu gradiva

generalno (navodeći i književnost i gramatiku, ili bez konkretnog specifikovanja i navođenjem opšteg termina „gradivo") (19,5%), i (3) obradu književnih dela konkretno (17,1%). Vrlo je zanimljivo da se najveći broj odgovora na pitanje kada ne koriste grupni rad odnosio na: (1) obradu gradiva (58,5%), sa isticanjem gramatičkih jedinica i/ili jedinica koje su „kompleksne", „teške učenicima". U manjem broju nastavnici navode i (2) individualizaciju (npr. fokus na individualnim sposobnostima) (7,31%), i (3) nedostatak učeničke motivacije ili nejednak angažman članova grupe (7,31%).

U pogledu određivanja članova grupe, najveći broj nastavnika navodi (1) formiranje heterogenih grupa (ciljano uključivanje učenika različitih nivoa znanja i sposobnosti) (48,8%) i (2) metodu slučajnog izbora (npr. dodeljivanjem brojeva, formiranje grupa na osnovu rasporeda sedenja, par-nepar i sl) (36,6%). Nastavnici takođe navode podelu (3) u homogene grupe (ciljano, prema učeničkim afinitetima, sposobnostima i/ili međuljudskim odnosima) (16,7%), i (4) prema ličnom izboru učenika (11,9%). I na ovom mestu napominjemo da su pri analizi podataka brojane izdvojene kategorije prisutne u odgovorima, a ne broj samih ispitanika jer su neki nastavnici navodili više različitih kategorija.

Na pitanje da li smatraju da bi im seminar o KU koristio u nastavi, velika većina nastavnika ima pozitivan odgovor („da" 85,4%, „ne" 12,2%, „ne znam" 2,4%). Prilikom elaboracije odgovora u vezi sa svrsishodnošću eventualnog seminara, nastavnicu su najčešće navodili praktičnu (aplikativnu) dimenziju (29,3%), odnosno (1) dobijanje praktičnih saveta i rešenja (npr. načine optimalne podele učenika u grupe, vrednovanje rada članova grupe i jasne kriterijume ocenjivanja, kao i konkretne tehnike/strukture). Pored toga, navodili su i želju za profesionalnim usavršavanjem, i to (2a) upoznavanje sa ovim nastavnim pristupom (24,4%), i (2b) generalno unapređenje nastave i sopstveni profesionalni razvoj (29,3%).

Najzad, poslednje pitanje u upitniku imalo je cilj da se percepcija nastavnika u pogledu prednosti i mana KU svede na osnovni smisao ovog nastavnog pristupa. U tom pogledu, najveći broj ispitanika smatra da je to (1) učenje sa drugima i od drugih (37%), da doprinosi razvoju (2) različitih kompetencija (socijalnih, timskih, komunikativnih veština) (33,3%), (3) lične odgovornosti kod učenika (za proces učenja kod sebe i drugih, aktivno uključivanje u proces učenja) (25,9%) i kritičkog mišljenja i samostalnosti u zaključivanju (18,5%).

5. Diskusija

U ovom poglavlju kratko ćemo sumirati implikacije rezultata, vodeći se prevashodno postavljenim ciljevima. Osnovni cilj rada bio je da se ispita kako nastavnici jezika poimaju KU, a osnovna pretpostavka da će nastavnici izjednačavati KU sa prostim grupnim radom, i posmatrati ovaj pristup kao konstruktivan, ali isto tako ne i uvek poželjan način rada.

Sudeći prema rezultatima, prvi deo hipoteze ostaje i dalje nepoznanica jer sadašnje istraživanje nije ni potvrdilo ni opovrglo ovu pretpostavku. Ipak, sudeći prema odgovorima jednog broja ispitanika, evidentno je da određeni nastavnici ili jesu upoznati sa ovim pristupom, ili intuitivno, logički zaključuju koji su njegovi osnovni principi. Što se tiče definisanja samog konstrukta, najveći broj ispitanika posmatra KU kroz prizmu timskog rada i prepoznaje opšte ključne komponente ovog pristupa (npr. zajedništvo i okrenutost ka zajedničkom rešavanju problemskih zadataka), sa manjim brojem ispitanika koji konkretno ukazuju na učeničku samostalnost i odgovornost svakog pojedinačnog člana grupe, iako je broj odgovora u pogledu učeničke odgovornosti bio veći kada je od nastavnika traženo da navedu osnovnu svrhu KU-a. Ovaj rezultat je u skladu sa prednostima koje su ispitanici navodili, odnosno angažovanje i motivisanje učenika za rad, i razvijanje prvenstveno socijalnih veština, sa manjim procentom odgovora koji su ukazivali na osamostaljivanje učenika i razvijanje lične odgovornosti u procesu učenja. Međutim, na osnovu naknadnog uvida u odgovore ispitanika, može se primetiti da jedan deo nastavnika posmatra KU isključivo kroz projektne aktivnosti (npr. grupne projekte i prezentacije). Iako se na osnovu odgovora ne može sa sigurnošću tvrditi da ispitanici ne podrazumevaju rad na projektima u okviru postulata KU, stiče se utisak da je tako jer navode nedostatak vremena, „pretrpanost časova", preopterećenost učenika i sl, kao razlog nekorišćenja ovog pristupa ili kao njegovu manu, budući da projekti iziskuju dosta vremena. Drugi deo hipoteze jeste u velikoj meri potvrđen jer skoro polovina ispitanika iz našeg uzorka navodi da ponekad koristi KU, i to najčešće na časovima obrade književnih dela u nastavi Srpskog jezika i književnosti, i utvrđivanja gramatičkih jedinica, prevashodno u nastavi Engleskog jezika.

U pogledu sekundarnog cilja, koji je bio da se utvrdi u kojoj meri i kada nastavnici najčešće koriste navedeni pristup, naša pretpostavka je bila da se KU najviše koristi na časovima obnavljanja i utvrđivanja, što su rezultati i potvrdili. Pored toga što je najveći broj ispitanika kao prednost navodio aktivno uključivanje učenika u nastavni proces (oko polovine odgovora) i razvijanje različitih veština (oko trećine odgovora), ispitanici su navodili da KU ne koriste pre svega kod obrade gradiva, sa izuzetkom nastavnika srpskog jezika koji su navodili da koriste ovaj pristup u obradi književnih dela (oko petina ispitanika), naglašavajući posebno gramatičke i/ili složene nastavne jedinice koje su učenicima „teške". Pri elaboraciji odgovora, određen broj ispitanika eksplicitno navodi kao razlog da je „bolje" ili da su „sigurniji" da će učenici bolje usvojiti gradivo kada im oni „ispredaju". Iako se na osnovu rezultata čini da su nastavnici u većoj meri upoznati ili da jednostavno samostalno prepoznaju prednosti interaktivne nastave, ipak se u ovakvim elaboracijama promalja mišljenje da je nastavnik glavni i jedini „pouzdan izvor znanja", i da akcenat na učenike još uvek ne zauzima centralno mesto u nastavi jezika i književnosti, kao što to odgovori na neka opšta pitanja sugerišu.

Kao što je već navedeno, veliki broj istraživanja pokazao je pozitivan učinak KU-a na postignuće učenika, na razvijanje boljih odnosa među vršnjacima. Istraživanja su takođe pokazala da učenici pozitivnije percipiraju nastavno okruženje i njegove individualne komponente (Grubor 2014). Međutim, pošto stavovi učenika i nastavnika utiču na uspešnu primenu ovog pristupa (Almulla 2017), a neka skorija istraživanja sprovedena u Srbiji pokazuju da je upotreba KU-a slabo zastupljena na ranijim nivoima obrazovanja (Kovačević, Blagdanić, i Stojanović 2021), kao imperativ se ističe neophodnost da se nastavnici obuče za ovakav vid rada (Almulla 2017; Baines, Blatchford, and Kutnick 2008; Guri-Rosenblit 2002; Lotan 2008). S tim u vezi, čini se da je veliki broj nastavnika iz naše studije uveren da je tradicionalni pristup neophodan za „ozbiljnije" sadržaje.

S druge strane, činjenica da velika većina nastavnika smatra da bi im seminar o kooperativnom učenju koristio u nastavi je ohrabrujuća jer govori o njihovoj spremnosti da se profesionalno usavršavaju, utoliko pre što su nastavnici mahom u svojim odgovorima govorili o KU-u kao „novoj metodi", uprkos činjenici da su postulati KU-a, pod tim konkretnim nazivom, dokumentovani u stručnoj literaturi još više od pre tri decenije. Sudeći prema odgovorima, nastavnici žele praktične ideje, konkretne savete primene pristupa, u smislu optimalnih podela u grupe, kriterijuma ocenjivanja, strukture (tj. primere konkretnih aktivnosti). Takođe su ohrabrujući navodi ispitanika da žele da napreduju i unapređuju svoj rad.

Na kraju, neophodno je navesti ograničenja sadašnjeg istraživanja. Na prvom mestu, broj ispitanika je mali, uzorak prigodan, distribucija po polu neujednačena. Iznenađujuća je činjenica da se samo 90 ispitanika odazvalo učešću u istraživanju. Iako je realno pretpostaviti da su nastavnici bili previše zauzeti administrativnim delom posla i opterećeni zbog onlajn nastave, moguće je da određen broj nastavnika kojima je upućen mejl jednostavno nije bio spreman da odgovara na pitanja jer nije upoznat sa ovim nastavnim pristupom, smatrajući da ne može da doprinese rezultatima. Drugi nedostatak se odnosi na prirodu kvalitativnog istraživanja, koja ne podrazumeva standardizovane instrumente i analitičke procedure (Dörnyei 2011, 38), uprkos činjenici da pri sprovođenju analize sadržaja postoji kodiranje koje mora biti sprovedeno prema unapred određenim strogim kriterijumima.

6. Zaključne napomene

Iako su studije pokazale neke od problema koje su naveli nastavnici u našoj i sličnim studijama (npr. Kovačević, Blagdanić, i Stojanović 2021), ali i učenici u nekim drugim (npr. Healy, Doran, and McCutcheon 2018), utvrđeno je da KU pruža povoljnu osnovu za zdrav društveni, psihološki i kognitivni razvoj (Johnson and Johnson 1994) i da pored nastavnih sadržaja uči učenike

efikasnim načinima savladavanja nastavnih sadržaja, i životnim veštinama (Grubor 2014, 2020).

Sa aspekta nastave jezika i književnosti, kooperativna nastava predstavlja komunikativan pristup koji omogućava napredovanje učenika različitih znanja i sposobnosti, u kako predmetnim tako i međupredmetnim kompetencijama. Istraživanja pokazuju da učenici postižu bolje rezultate, razvijaju najrazličitije (predmetne i životne) veštine, atmosfera na času je pozitivnija, pozitivnije procenjuju ovakav vid nastave itd. Ukoliko se pravilno primene postulati KU-a, učenici postaju aktivni i proaktivni činioci u nastavnom procesu, čime se između ostalog akcenat pomera na učeničke ishode učenja. Nastavnici su takođe aktivni činioci koji su, kao i učenici, uključeni u celoživotno učenje, i deo su jedne delatne zajednice, čiji je cilj napredak (obrazovni i lični), i jednaka odgovornost svih članova tima.

Iako rezultati ove studije ne mogu biti opšte prihvaćeni niti generalizovani zbog veličine uzorka i prirode kvalitativne metode, na osnovu rezultata ovog istraživanja, kao i neformalnog razgovora sa nastavnicima, stiče se utisak da se KU primenjuje sporadično u nastavi jezika i književnosti u školama Srbije, i da je očigledno potrebno vreme da se promena fokusa na samog učenika kao aktivnog činioca nastavnog procesa najzad dogodi. Ovakva situacija nije samo karakteristična za Srbiju, kao zemlju u razvoju, već i za razvijene zemlje, kao što su Velika Britanija i Sjedinjene Američke Države, gde se naglašava neophodnost obuke nastavnika, ali pre svega podizanje svesti o faktorima kojima se podstiče ili inhibira učenje (v. Baines, Blatchford, and Kutnick 2008; Lotan 2008). KU poboljšava i društveno funkcionisanje individue i njeno mentalno zdravlje, razvija samopouzdanje, društvene veštine, utiče na kontinuiranu motivaciju, stavove prema učenju (Johnson and Johnson 2014, 94). Kada učenici imaju deo lične odgovornosti prema učenju i ishodima učenja, vrlo je izvesno da će osećati veću samostalnost i autonomiju i konačno biti samouvereniji (Grubor 2020, 90).

Rezultati ovog istraživanja sugerišu da nastavnici iz sadašnjeg uzorka prepoznaju značaj KU-a, i najveći deo ima razvijenu svest o njegovim prednostima. Međutim, još uvek su prisutni stereotipi u pogledu tradicionalnih oblika nastave i vezanost za njih, i uverenje da je nastavnik jedini „pravi izvor znanja“. Sa druge strane, činjenica da je četvrtina ispitanika eksplicitno izjavila da nije upoznata sa ovim pristupom, zatim odgovori nekih ispitanika kojima se stiče utisak da oni KU izjednačavaju isključivo sa grupnim projektima i prezentacijama (koji ne moraju nužno biti organizovani u skladu sa postulatima KU-a), i deklarativna spremnost nastavnika da žele da pohađaju seminar o KU, govori o tome da je neophodno pružiti nastavnicima mehanizme da se bliže upoznaju sa ovim nastavnim pristupom, istraživački dokumentovanim prednostima, ali i praktičnim primenama. Takođe je važno pružiti nastavnicima podršku, s obzirom na to da uverenja ne moraju nužno pratiti ponašanja prema psihološkim teorijama o stavovima (v. npr. Grubor 2015).

Najzad, imajući u vidu ograničenja ovog istraživanja, naredni korak je ispitati ne samo opštu percepciju nastavnika, već kvantitativno ispitati sa jedne strane poznavanje konkretnih elemenata KU-a, radi dobijanja detaljnijeg uvida u to koliko su nastavnici zaista upoznati sa ovim nastavnim pristupom, ali i njihova uverenja i stavove prema njegovoj upotrebi u nastavi, uključujući spremnost nastavnika da se upuste u konkretno ponašanje. Važno je napomenuti i to da će stavovi učenika u školskom sistemu Srbije prema KU-u moći da budu ispitani tek kada se „registruje" upotreba ovog pristupa u nastavi jezika i književnosti, što je još jedan korak napred za pedagoške nauke i poddisciplinu primenjene lingvistike, usvajanja stranog, i razvojne lingvistike, usvajanja maternjeg jezika.

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COOPERATIVE LEARNING IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE EDUCATION

Contemporary teaching methods and approaches are increasingly being directed towards learners (instead of teachers), learner competences (instead of abilities), learner autonomy and responsibility for learning (instead of viewing them as "empty recepticles", i.e. passive participants in the learning process). Thus, learners and learner outcomes have been growingly placed at the forefront of modern-day teaching, which is visible both in scholarly papers within the educational studies, as well as tendencies in teaching practices and practical suggestions proposed by national education systems.

The subject matter of our study is a teaching approach that views the learner as an active and a proactive participant, and their constructive interaction with the other learners as the crucial milestone for maximum performance, along with the development of intra- and interpersonal skills of each learner. Although the concept of cooperation may find its roots in a wide range of learning theories, it primarily derives from and draws on the *social interdependance theory*, as advocated by numerous researchers in the field. According to this theory, social interdependence is divided into positive interdependence (cooperation), negative (competition) and non-existent (individualistic efforts); hence, the accomplishment of each learner's goals is affected by the actions of other participants in the learning process. In sum, the critical components of cooperative learning include: (1) positive interdependence, (2) individual accountability, (3) group processing, (4) social skills, and (5) structuring and structures.

In light of the subject matter of the current study, which involves language teachers (L1, L2, L3), and positive interdependence in particular, group members need to understand that what helps one member helps all other group members at the same time, and the other way round (e.g. in group essay writing, group presentations etc). Concerning group processing and group formation in specific, teachers need to bear in mind several factors, the most important ones being determining group size and assigning students to particular groups. According to the central premises of cooperative learning, groups are mostly small and include two (a pair) or three–four students (a small group). Teacher's decision will naturally depend on the type of task, learners' age, timing, learner learning styles and/or interests/affinities, the number of students in class, and so on. Therefore, the important issues to be addressed would be who is the one who assigns the students to groups (teacher, learners), in what way (randomly or deliberately), learners' roles within groups (e.g. equal roles, i.e. all students have the same/similar task, or different, pre-determined roles: there is a judge, an interviewer and interviewee etc). With regard to individual accountability, each group member is expected to contribute to their group both as an individual and

a member of the group (e.g. teacher gives each student a mark based on their individual and group share in groupwork or teamwork project). Social skills, such as communicative skills and conflict-resolution skills, determine the way in which students cooperate with other group members, which makes it a requirement to train students for such a teaching format since there are different types of learners (high- and low-achievers, leaders and followers, extraverted and introverted students, and so on). Therefore, teacher's role is to monitor each group's dynamics, or more specifically, whether there is equal participation of its members, respect for diversity and/or different opinions, but also to foster the development of student teamwork skills. Structuring refers to the ways in which a teacher organises learner interaction, and structures represent various teaching techniques, activity types employed in the classroom (e.g. Three-Step Interview, Round Robin, Roundtable etc). Finally, unlike other teaching methods and approaches used in language classrooms, cooperative learning, as part of a broader approach (i.e. collaborative learning), supports the structural, functional and interactional view of language. What is more, it also enables the development of key competences, which are frequently addressed as vital by national and international educational bodies and documents, such as competences for life-long learning, communication and social competences, problem-solving and decision-making competencies, citizenship competences, but also cherishes the development of other key competences.

As regards research into the benefits and/or drawbacks of cooperative learning in class, a plethora of research indicates that cooperative learning has multifaceted benefits. In contrast to so-called traditional teaching, which is fundamentally directed at teachers, so classes are teacher-centred, fostering competition in the first place, cooperative learning cherishes the cooperation and achievement of all students (or more realistically, the majority of them). It also facilitates the development of interpersonal relationships and is thus crucial for a positive rapport in the classroom, it provides students with experiences necessary for a healthy social, psychological and cognitive development, as supported by a large body of research. Numerous studies report that it leads to the development of interdisciplinary competencies, such as decision-making, forming hypotheses, categorisation, social skills (such as teamwork skills) via socio-affective learning, subject-related but also a wide array of other skills (social, socio-political, life skills), as well as critical thinking. It exerts positive effects on learner achievement, better relationships among students (class rapport), class evaluation, respect for one another, problem-solving, self-confidence in learner's abilities, it prepares students for the role of future citizens in the world of adults, it focuses on learners and learning, it offers students mechanisms for holistic learning, and above all, it teaches them how to learn. Research suggests, though, that the main disadvantage of cooperative learning is that it might suit high-achievers least since there are studies that show that low-achievers benefit both in homogenous and

heterogeneous groups, whereas high-achievers experience advantages only in homogeneous, at least relative to the knowledge they might gain. However, although high-achievers feel a lack of mental challenges, the support they provide to average students or low-achievers may facilitate the acquisition of the key competences (e.g. cooperative), on the one hand, and they also cognitively rehearse the given contents by helping the struggling students, on the other (cf. the concept of tutoring). Briefly put, teachers should aim to provide the optimum balance in choosing group members and assigning student roles to the best benefit of all students in the classroom. To conclude, although cooperative learning may be implemented at any educational level and with any school subject, it is highly suitable for the subject matter of our study, namely language and literature classes. Therefore, the main goal of this explorative research is to determine how language teachers perceive cooperative learning in terms of its main characteristics, advantages and disadvantages, its implementation potentials etc. The main assumption is that the teachers from the sample will equate cooperative learning with mere group work and regard it as a productive but yet not so desirable teaching approach (e.g. due to the organisation of activities, leading to creative noise). The subsidiary goal is to determine to what extent and when the participants most frequently employ the said teaching approach. The main hypothesis is that they employ it most in practice and revision lessons, as a result of preconceptions that introductory lessons must be delivered via the whole-class interaction type, with the teacher as the most reliable source of knowledge (the knower). In this study, we employed the *snowball sampling* method, thereby initially recruiting ninety primary and secondary school language teachers (L1, L2, L3) working in different cities in Serbia. However, the final sample included eighty-two fully completed questionnaires. The sample were unevenly distributed according to the sex criterion (f=95.1%, m=4.9%), aged twenty-six to fifty-seven (M=42.32, StD=6.50), with years of work experience ranging from two to thirty-two (M=15.78, StD=7.99). Distribution according to the level of school education was quite balanced, including 43.9% of primary and 56.1% of secondary school language teachers, with quite equal distribution according to the secondary school broad types (52.2% of grammar school teachers and 47.8% of vocational school teachers). Concerning the language they taught, the highest percentage of the sample comprised Serbian (48.8%), English (29.3%), German (9.8%) and French language teachers (7.3%). Due to the COVID 2020 pandemic, the research was conducted online, and data were gathered via *Google forms app*. The employed online questionnaire included general sociodemographic data (age, sex, years of work experience, school type etc), as well as a part dealing with how the teachers perceive cooperative learning. This part included self-reports in the form of a six-point Likert-type scale (e.g. *How often do you use cooperative learning in your classes? 1 never, 2 rarely, 3 sometimes, 4 often, 5 very often, 6 always*), and open-cloze questions, given in the form of narratives (e.g. *How would you define*

cooperative learning, regardless of the fact whether you are familiar with this teaching approach or not). According to the nature of an item, the results were analysed quantitatively (e.g. self-reports were analysed in the statistical programme *IBM SPSS Statistics 21* by calculating descriptive statistics: means, standard deviation, percentage) and qualitatively (e.g. open cloze questions via a multi-layered content analysis: first, the answers were coded to form the categories, then the concrete formulations were extracted, and finally numerical values were assigned within the extracted categories to obtain the most frequently reported answers/reasons).

The results show that the greatest number of the participants use cooperative learning (78.3%), whereby 46.3% use it sometimes, and 22% often, which to a certain extent tallies with the responses dealing with the fact whether they are acquainted with this teaching approach (75.6% stated that they were, 24.4% that they were not). The most frequently reported reason for never using this teaching approach was that they were not familiar with it, and a small number stated that classes number too many students or that they have "no one to work with". Concerning the definition of this approach, regardless of the fact whether they are familiar with the postulates of cooperative learning or not, the teachers most commonly define it as "teamwork" or "mutual learning" (92.7%). Out of the stated percent, more than half of the participants (51.2%) included the key elements of cooperative learning in their descriptions: a sense of community in terms of teamwork (cf. social skills, i.e. the development of teamwork/cooperative skills), as well as mutual efforts in solving the given problems (cf. positive interdependence of group members), with a small number of the participants pointing to the individual accountability of each team member in specific. Regarding its advantages and disadvantages, the participants recognised the importance of cooperative learning, and a substantial number of them had developed awareness of its advantages. As its main benefits, the participants primarily stated: (1) learner engagement in lessons and the learning process, motivation and peer learning (51.2%), (2) social skills development (team, organisational, communicative) (36.6%), and (3) facilitation of a range of learner abilities (creativity, functional and long-lasting knowledge) (26.8%). As its drawbacks, they reported (1) unequal learner engagement (e.g. high-achievers take on themselves the realisation of the group work) (28.1%), (2) noise, poor organisation and realisation of a cooperative activity (20%), and (3) inability to focus on an individual learner due to group-centeredness (9.4%). Furthermore, 15.6% reported that cooperative learning had no drawbacks, while 18.8% stated they did not know anything about its disadvantages. Regarding the frequency of use in specific lesson types, cooperative learning was reported to be most frequently employed in introductory literature classes (29.6%) by Serbian language teachers, and revision grammar classes (25.9%) predominantly by English teachers. With respect to group formation, the highest number of the

participants put forward (1) deliberate formation of heterogeneous groups (inclusion of learners with varying degrees of knowledge and/or abilities) (48.8%), (2) random group formation (e.g. by assigning students numbers, as they are sitting etc) (36.6%), (3) deliberate formation of homogeneous groups (according to learners' affinities, abilities and/or interpersonal relationships) (16.7%), and (4) by learners' choice (11.9%). Finally, regarding a potential workshop on implementing cooperative learning in class, the majority of the participants (85.4%) stated that they would find it useful, as compared to 12.2% defining it as "not useful" and 2.4% saying "I don't know". Upon elaboration, they reported its purposefulness in terms of a prospective workshop practical dimension, its applicability (29.3%), or more specifically: (1) receiving practical advice and solutions (e.g. efficient ways of dividing students into groups, valuing each group member's share of work and clear assessment criteria, along with concrete techniques/structures). Besides, they stated their aspiration to professional development, specifically: (2a) getting further acquainted with this approach (24.4%), and (2b) general improvement of their teaching and professional development (29.3%). Lastly, the main limitations of the conducted research were the sample size and its nature, uneven distribution by the sex criterion, and the mere nature of qualitative analysis, which does not assume standardised instruments and analytical procedures.

In conclusion, despite the insightful comments given by a large number of the participants, some teachers still appear to cling to the belief that traditional classes and the teacher as the only relevant source of knowledge are crucial for complex teaching units (e.g. the introduction of a grammar unit that learners find difficult and complex). Finally, it is deemed necessary that teachers in Serbian state schools should be given support and trained in such a teaching approach. Consequently, the fact that a considerable number of the participants expressed their wish to attend a cooperative learning workshop is promising. Finally, in future studies, we aim to investigate not only the general perception of language teachers, but also their knowledge on concrete cooperative learning postulates to gain more valuable insights into the extent to which teachers are familiar with this teaching approach, but also to determine their beliefs and attitudes towards its actual use in the classroom. Such investigations might provide a step forward in Educational Studies, as well as Applied Linguistics (i.e. Second Language Acquisition) and Developmental Linguistics (L1 acquisition).

IDIOM БОГЪ ВѢСТЬ/ВЕДАЕТ/ЗНАЕТ *I BOG ZNA U RUSKOM I SRPSKOM JEZIKU*

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Apstrakt: Predmet članka jeste idiom *Бог вѣсть/ведает/знает*, odnosno, *Bog zna* u ruskom i srpskom jeziku. U prvom poglavlju, koje se bavi nastankom i genezom izraza, navode se dokazi njegovog biblijskog porijekla, objašnjava se proces frazeologizacije, njegov tok i razlozi za pojavu novog značenja idioma u komunikativnoj upotrebi. Drugo poglavlje daje analizu idioma sa paradigmatskog aspekta. Analiziraju se njegove leksičke, morfološke i stilske varijante. Treće poglavlje bavi se statusom idioma *черт/бес/леший знает* u ruskom jeziku, odnosno, *đavo zna (će znati, bi znao)* u srpskom i njegov odnos prema idiomu *Бог вѣсть/ведает/знает,* odnosno, *Bog zna*. U istraživanju su, kao osnovni korpus, poslužili deskriptivni, frazeološki – jednojezički i prevodni rječnici – kako savremenog jezika tako i istorijski. Kao dodatni korpus korišćena je sopstvena kartoteka nastala na osnovu ekscerpcije primjera iz književno-umjetničkih djela i epske poezije. Nacionalni korpus ruskog jezika (NKRJ) poslužio nam je za provjeru funkcionisanja idioma u kontekstu. Primjena dijahronijskog, kontrastivnog i opisnog metoda na navedenom korpusu za cilj je imala otkrivanje porijekla i geneze idioma istaknutog u naslovu.

Ključne riječi: idiom, ruski jezik, srpski jezik, invarijant, varijante, sinonimi.

Uvod

Idiom istaknut u naslovu tematski spada u skupinu idioma sa komponentom teonimom. I pored visoke frekventnosti, koliko je nama poznato, izostala je posebna studija koja bi se bavila njegovim porijeklom i funkcionisanjem u ruskom i srpskom jeziku. O frazeološkim jedinicama koje obrađuju temu sakralne frazeologije, koja u svome sastavu sadrži komponentu *Bog* tj. biblijske frazeologije postoji mnogo radova, u njima se navode idiomi koji su predmet i naše pažnje, ali nismo našli radove koji se posebno bave nastankom idioma *Bog zna* i njegovim razvojem u jeziku.

Najveći broj frazeoloških jedinica sa komponentom *Bog* po porijeklu su obraćanja božanstvu: trivijalni pozdravi, uzrečice, zakletve, kletve, dakle, govorni činovi u kojima se ili obraća višoj sili različitim povodom ili pominje ime Boga u različitim situacijama. Iako je hrišćanska crkva neblagonaklona prema pominjanju imena Boga bez potrebe, rasprostranjenost različitih idioma sa pomenu-

tom komponentom u većini jezika veoma je velika. Naše preliminarno istraživanje pokazuje da je navedeni idiom rasprostranjen u svim slovenskim jezicima (i ne samo u njima), pa bi se moglo reći da je ova pojava jezička, odnosno, frazeološka univerzalija.

U prvom dijelu ovoga rada dokazuje se biblijsko porijeklo idioma, u nastavku se obrazlaže razvoj njegovog značenja u komunikativnoj upotrebi i pojava novog značenja. Na osnovu provjere leksikografskog opisa idioma u različitim deskriptivnim i frazeološkim – jednojezičkim i prevodnim rječnicima – kako savremenog jezika tako i istorijskim prikazuju se paradigmatski odnosi idioma. Nacionalni korpus ruskog jezika (NKRJ) poslužio nam je kao osnovna provjera funkcionisanja idioma u kontekstu, a analiza velikog broja primjera funkcionisanja frazeologizama ovog strukturno-semantičkog modela u ruskom i srpskom jeziku u književnoumjetničkom tekstu bila je dodatna građa za istraživanje.[1] Detaljnom analizom navedenih izvora uz primjenu dijahronijskog, kontrastivnog i opisnog metoda, kao i etimološke analize, došli smo do zaključka da je primarni oblik koji je poslužio za derivaciju ostalih frazeoloških jedinica idiom: *Бог вѣстъ*.

1. Porijeklo i geneza značenje idioma Богъ вѣстъ/вѣсть/вѣ[2]

Da je idiom biblijskog porijekla svjedoči *Фразеологический словарь старославянского языка*: *Богъ вѣстъ*: Бог знает[3].

Фразу Богъ вѣстъ, по свидетельству евангелиста Луки (Лк 16:15), произносит Иисус, завершая притчу о неправедном домоуправителе. «В числе слушателей притчи были и фарисеи, которые посмеивались над

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[1]Članak predstavlja dio studije koja se bavi različitim pitanjima navedenog idioma u kontrastiranim jezicima. Zbog ograničenog obima u radu ne navodimo sve primjere njegove upotrebe koji su predmet analize a koje posjedujemo u ličnoj kartoteci. Različita značenja i funkcija idioma *Bog zna*, koja su u velikoj mjeri kontekstualno/konsituativno uslovljena, i njegovi mnogobrojni derivati u ruskom i srpskom jeziku predmet su posebnog rada koji je u fazi izrade. O pojedinačnim pitanjima vezanim za navedenu tematiku pisano je u radovima (Pejanović 2012, Пеянович 2013).

[2]Varijante izraza uslovljene su varijantnošću oblika 3. l. jednine atematskog glagola (u staroslovenskom *Богъ вѣстъ*, u staroruskom *Богъ вѣсть*, u srpskom *Богъ вѣ*).

[3] Navedeni izvor jedini je rječnik biblizama koji izraz *Бог вѣстъ* tumači njegovim primarnim značenjem *Bog zna* i navodi njegovo biblijsko porijeklo. Provjerom nama dostupnih rječnika biblizama, kao i studija koje se bave biblijskom frazeologijom, nismo našli njegov zapis (Григорьев 2006, Дубровина 2010, Байрамова, Бойчук 2012). Zanimljivo je da ista autorka u projektu rječnika, koji je prethodio citiranom izdanju, idiom *Бог вѣстъ* ne navodi (Шулежкова 2006). Stariji autoritativni rječnik *Старославянский словарь (по рукописям X–XI веков)* idiom ne bilježi (Цейтлин, Вечерка, Благова 1994). Samo drugo idiomatsko značenje izraza bilježi *Словарь русского языка XI-XVII вв*: Бог вѣсть – *неизвестно* (СРЯ XI-XVII 1, *255*).

Христом – очевидно потому, что им казалось совершенной нелепостью Его мнение о земном богатстве. Закон, говорили они себе, иначе смотрит на богатство: там обещается богатство в награду праведникам за их добродетели, следовательно, оно никак не может быть названо неправедным. Притом и сами фарисеи любили деньги. Такое рассуждение фарисеев имеет ввиду и Христос, когда обращается к ним со словами: *вы выказываете себя праведниками*... Он как бы хочет сказать им: „Да, в законе действительно есть обещание земных наград и, в частности, богатства за праведный образ жизни. Но вы-то не имеете права смотреть на свои богатства как на награду от Бога за вашу праведность. Ваша праведность – мнимая. Если вы можете найти почтение к себе со стороны людей своей лицемерной праведностью, то не найдёте себе признания со стороны Бога, Который видит настоящее состояние вашего сердца"» [Лопухин НЗ, т. 1, 2007: 896].

И рече имъ • вы есте оправьдаѭшеи себе прѣдъ ч(ловѣ)кы • б(о)гъ же вѣстъ • ср(ь)д(ь)ца ваша • ѩкоже есть въ ч(ловѣ)цѣхъ высоко • мрьзость прѣдъ б(ого)мь есть (Лк 16:15) Сав. 48 (Шулежкова, 52)

Iz navedenog citata vidi se da je izraz upotrijebljen u doslovnom značenju: *Bog zna*/*Bog vidi*, odnosno, *Bog je svjedok*, i to značenje eksplicitno izražava jedan od atributa hrišćanskog Boga kao svevidećeg, sveznajućeg[4]. I upravo to doslovno značenje biblijskog izraza poslužilo je kao prvi stupanj u frazeologizaciji iskaza u kome obje njegove komponente i dalje zadržavaju svoje leksičko značenje, ali uz to pridobijaju intenzifikatorsku funkciju, nalik rječcama: *zaista*, *stvarno*, *nesumnjivo*. Osnovna funkcija navedenih rječca je modalno značenje uvjerenosti. Intenzifikatorska funkcija koju je idiom razvio naslućuje se već i u biblijskom kontekstu gdje je poslije komponente *Bog* ona eksplicitno odražena partikulom *же*. Kao potvrdu našega stava, dodajemo činjenicu da je upravo od navedenog izraza u srpskom jeziku tokom istorijskog razvoja srašćivanjem nastala i nova riječ *bôgznā*, koju deskriptivni rječnici srpskog jezika uglavnom opisuju kao prilog:

    bôgznā[5] prilog var. bozna *za iskazivanje neizvesnosti, neodređenosti: ko zna*, niko *ne zna, ne zna se* isp. bog-bi-znao, bog-te-pita (Rečnik SANU I, 684; Rečnik SJ, 97); ***bôgznā*** prilog (obično u negaciji u vezi s upitno-

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[4] U *Etimološkom rječniku ruskog jezika* nalazimo važan podatak: **ведь** с. др.-русск., ст.-слав. **вѣдѣ** является старым и.-е. перфектом с медиальным окончанием -ai (ср, лат. vidi), древнее медиальное знач. которого стерлось. Из знач. «я видел» развилось знач. «я знаю» (Фасмер I, 284–285).

[5] O porijeklu i statusu lekseme *bôgznā* u radu (Pejanović 2012)

odnosnim pridevskim zamenicama ~ kakav, ~ koliki, ~ kako, ~ šta, ~ koliko) *naročito, osobito* (Rečnik SJ, 97).

Navedeni leksikografski opis odražava novije značenje lekseme i njenu kon-tekstualnu upotrebu, a njeno prvobitno značenje rječce zapisano je i seman-tizovano u starijim deskriptivnim rječnicima, kao i u *Rječniku Njegoševa jezika*: **bôgznā** rečca *stvarno, u stvari* (Stevanović I, 41). Noviji rječnici srpskog jezika i ne bilježe ovo starije intenzifikatorsko značenje navedene lekseme koje bilježi *Rječnik Njegoševa jezika*, *Rječnik JAZU* i *Rečnik SANU* pod značenjem 2. *doista, jamačno, zacelo, ustvari* (Rečnik SANU I, 684; up. RJAZU I, 475), a razlog leži u činjenici što je to njeno značenje arhaično. Međutim, potvrdu njegovog posto-janja imamo u starim tekstovima i u epskoj poeziji. Strogo gledano sa aspekta frazeologije, navedeno značenje izraza *Богъ вѣстъ/Bog zna*, njegovo primarno značenje, moglo bi se sa ogradom smatrati frazeološkim s obzirom na to da obje komponente koje su u njegovom sastavu zadržavaju svoje denotativno značenje. Možda je činjenica njegove slabe frazeologizacije u toj fazi i glavni razlog zbog kojega rječnici mahom i ne fiksiraju to njegovo prvo značenje, ako izuzmemo tri citirana izvora. Međutim, sama činjenica njegovog porijekla kao biblizma svrstava ga u krilate izraze, a samim tim i u podvrstu frazeologizama u širem smislu. Ako tome dodamo i njegovo intenzifikatorsko značenje, smatramo to dovoljnim uslovom da se on svrsta u frazeološke jedinice.

1.1. Prvo značenje idioma u srpskom jeziku *Богъ вѣ/Богъ зна*: ʻzaista, stvarno, sigurno, nesumnjivoʼ. Tačnu semantizaciju prvog, izvornog značenje izraza daje rječnik JAZU koji navodi i primjere njegove upotrebe i istovremeno nas obavještava da je izraz prvobitno imao varijantu *Бог вѣ*, dakle, u glagolskoj komponenti idioma sreće se onaj isti oblik staroslovenskog glagola *вѣдѣти* s tim što je u srpskom jeziku glagol u 3. licu prezenta dat u enklitičkom obliku. U rječniku JAZU u veoma opširnoj vokabuli BOG pod značenjem 2. izdvaja se značenje *koje se ostvaruje pri zaklinjanju i uvjeravanju*. Pod značenjem cc) čita-mo: *ńegda* ʻ*bog vȇ*ʼ, *sada* ʻ*bog zna*ʼ *kao bog je svjedok, a potom kao da bi se reklo: doista, baš, jamačno, isporedi* bog me (RJAZU I, 475). Dalje slijede mno-gobrojni primjeri upotrebe izraza kako sa glagolom *вѣдѣти*, tako i sa glagolom *znati*, njegovom leksičkom varijantom:

Богъ вȇ, jerъ vsemu što će biti počteno gospodьstvu vi, jesmo veseli. Mon. serb. 7.
Богъ vȇ, ne bismo se pošetdȇli 19.
Jer je, bog zna, siromah. Starine 11,110.
Je lʼ na tebe mnogo dugovańa? Jes, bog zna, Turčin Asan-Ago, sedam stotin dukat. Nar. pjesme. bog. 299.
Oj devojko u Kušlatu gradu! bog zna jesi u golemu jadu. Nar. pjes. Vuk. 1, 509.

Eno labud ludoga Jovana, đe mu pusti u planinu višti. Bog zna, mu je Jovan poginuo: hajte braćo da vidimo onđe. 2, 34

A Šćepan je, bog zna, opraznio. Prazan sjedi, ništa ne imade. 2, 631.

Bog zna, ima dobra gospodara. 3, 218.

Bog zna. Đecu pogubiti ćahu. Ogled. sr. 2, 34

To ne bila, bog zna, kukavica već ljubica bega Bušatlije 464. Ljepote joj u svijetu nema, za cara bi, pašo, trebovala. Al' je, pašo, bog zna, za junakom; ńu ti Batrić bez jada ne dade. Pjev. crn. 42.

Iz akribičnog zapisa izraza i primjera njegove upotrebe nije teško pratiti evoluciju izraza Bogъ vê/*Bog zna* koji u kasnijoj etapi razvoja, kako smo ranije pomenuli, srastanjem prelazi u svojevrsnu uzrečicu, a kasnije i u rječcu **bôgznā** sa značenjem dodatnog potvrđivanja istinitosti prethodno iznesenih činjenica. Kao što se vidi iz primjera i njihove semantizacije, frazeologizacija biblijskog izraza *Бог въ*, odnosno, *Bog zna* ostvarivala se u trenutku kada je bukvalno značenje izraza pridobilo i dodatni pragmatički sadržaj, to jest, kada je u kontekstu počeo da služi za pojačavanje, naglašavanje značenja, da ima funkciju intenzifikatora, kao i rječce *baš*, *zaista*, *besumnje*, *stvarno*. Da je naša tvrdnja ispravna, svjedoči i sintaksička pozicija izraza koji se može naći kako na početku iskaza, tako i u interpoziciji, pri čemu je na pismu izdvojen zarezima kao umetnuta cjelina koja nema sintaksičku funkciju u rečenici, a kao što je poznato, to je odlika svih rječca.

1.2. Drugo značenje idioma *Богъ въстъ/ Богъ знает*: 'niko ne zna, ne zna se, nepoznato je'. Novo značenje izraza 'niko ne zna, ne zna se, nepoznato je', koje je visokofrekventno i preovladavajuće u savremenoj upotrebi u svim slovenskim jezicima i koje i bilježe leksikografski izvori, nastalo je kao nova etapa u njegovom razvoju. Ovo je značenje nastalo u komunikativnoj upotrebi u trenutku kada je biblijski izraz počeo da se koristi kao gotova formula – odgovor u replici na pitanje na koje komunikat ne zna ili ne želi da dā odgovor.

Semantička interpretacija izraza u Daljevom rječniku možda najbolje ilustruje taj postepeni razvoj izraza u komunikativnoj upotrebi: *Бог весть*, *Бог знает* – я не знаю (Даль, 65). Daljeva semantizacija izraza suštinski se ne razlikuje od njenog opisa u ostalim leksikografskim izvorima, osim po gramatičkom broju jednine i prvom licu. Za razliku od Dalja, u savremenim leksikografskim izvorima i u srpskom i u ruskom jeziku izraz se veoma slično definiše 'ne zna se, nepoznato je, teško je znati'. Na osnovu Daljeve definicije može se rekonstruisati prvobitna komunikativna upotreba izraza *Bog zna*, odnosno, pojava njegovog novog značenja 'niko ne zna, ne zna se, nepoznato je'. Po našem mišljenju, proces frazeologizacije tekao je ovim redoslijedom: *ja* ne znam → *ko* zna → *niko* ne zna → (sami, jedan) *Bog* zna. Zanimljivo je da je novodobijeno značenje praktično antonimsko u odnosu na gorenavedeno i opisano prvo značenje izraza

Bog zna 'zaista, stvarno, sigurno, nesumnjivo'. Odgovor za razlog njegovog nastanka leži u činjenici priznanja da isključivo Bog zna, to jest, ovakvim odgovorom daje se ekskluzivitet Bogu kao sveznajućem, svevidećem i jedinom koji takvim znanjem raspolaže i priznaje se ograničenost ljudskog poimanja svijeta i stvari u njemu: *To ne znam ja → to ne zna niko → već jedino, isključivo, samo Bog.* Uostalom, i u ruskom i u srpskom jeziku postoje leksičke varijante idioma *Bog zna* koje preciznije upućuju na ovo značenje i potvrđuju da je biblijski izraz *Богъ вѣстъ/Бог* знает upravo u komunikativnoj upotrebi dobio novo značenje 'niko ne zna, ne zna se, nepoznato je': <u>*Один*</u> *Бог знает* (*ведает*), <u>*Одному*</u> *Богу известно*, ili u srpskom <u>*samo, sami, jedan*</u> *Bog zna*. Leksičke varijante navedenih idioma, koje uz ključnu komponentu *Bog* imaju atribute *один*, *jedan*, *sam* sugerišu na biblijsku činjenicu o sveznajućem Bogu i ograničenosti ljudskoga znanja. I upravo naglašavanje ove seme ekskluzivnosti znanja Boga omogućilo je nastanak novog značenja idioma: *samo* Bog zna → *niko osim Boga* ne zna →'niko ne zna, ne zna se, nepoznato je'.

Kao dodatni dokaz da je novonastalo značenje idioma odgovor, replika na pitanje svjedoči i primjer iz srpskog jezika. Idiom *Bog zna* u srpskom jeziku ima leksičku varijantu *Boga pitaj* 'niko ne zna, ne zna se, nepoznato je'. On je visokofrekventan u savremenom srpskom jeziku, a nastao je zamjenom glagolske komponente izraza u kojoj se umjesto 3. l. jednine prezenta glagola *znati* pojavljuje 2. l. jednine imperativa glagola *pitati*. Navedena činjenica, po našem mišljenju, eksplicitno potvrđuje komunkativnu funkciju idioma. Na ovaj način biblijski izraz *Bog zna* koji se na početnim etapama koristi kao neka vrsta analitičkog intenzifikatora sa primarnim značenjem afirmacije, potvrde stavova koji se iznose, naglašavanja istinitosti iskaza, u komunikaciji dobija sasvim novo – suprotno značenje neizvjesnosti, neodređenosti, sumnje. Ova pojava svojevrsne enantiosemije izraza nije strana idiomima koji se koriste u komunikaciji i koji imaju prevashodno modalno značenje.

2. Leksikografski status idioma: varijante i sinonimi

2.1. Izvorni oblik idioma, odnosno, biblizam, koji se sreće u obliku *Богъ вѣстъ* ima brojne varijante i u ruskom i u srpskom jeziku. Da je upravo ovaj oblik invarijant idioma dokazali smo prije svega činjenicom da je njegov oblik doslovno upotrijebljen u tekstu Novog zavjeta, kako to navodi samo jedan od leksikografskih izvora koji su bili predmet naše analize[6].

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[6] Iako smo tokom istraživanja pregledali različite rječnike – deskriptivne, frazeološke, rječnike biblizama, krilatih izraza (vidi bibliografiju na kraju rada) podatak o njegovom knjiškom porijeklu evidentiran je samo u još jednom izvoru. Međutim, i u njemu je semantizovano samo drugo značenje, sa naznakom da je bukvalno značenje idioma Bog zna. **Бог весть.** (Бирих, Мокиенко, Степанова, 51).

2.2. Drugi dokaz da je izvorni, primarni oblik iz koga su se kasnije putem različitog variranja komponenti pojavili ostali idiomi očigledan je i sadržan je u činjenici da je glagolska komponenta izražena 3. l. staroslovenskog glagola *вѣдѣти*. Ovaj arhaični oblik sačuvan je u ruskom idiomu, koji se i danas upotrebljava u savremenom jeziku. On je i fiksiran u *Rječniku ruske frazeologije* uz naznaku da mu je porijeklo knjiško. **Бог весть.** *Книжн. Неизвестно.* Ovaj istorijsko-etimološki zbornik nas obavještava da je to „выражение восточнославянское, букв. «Бог знает» uz napomenu da je glagol *весть* – старая форма 3-го лица ед. числа наст. времени глагола ведати «знать» (Бирих, Мокиенко, Степанова 1998: 51). I drugi frazeološki rječnici bez upućivanja na porijeklo zapisuju idiom **Бог весть** u zasebnoj vokabuli (Молотков, 36; Жуков, 36; Федоров, 30).

2.3. Leksičko variranje idioma

U oba jezika prisutno je leksičko variranje analiziranog idioma. Neke varijante prisutne su oba jezika, što je uslovljeno ekstralingvističkim razlozima, odnosno identičnim poimanjem atributa Boga. Postoje, međutim, i razlike uzrokovane lingvističkim razlozima, kao što je to slučaj sa glagolskim variranjem. U ruskom jeziku u idiomu sačuvani su stariji slovenski glagolski oblici, dok se u srpskom jeziku on arhaizirao, a zatim su se pojavile i neke inovacije.

2.3.1 Varijante imeničke komponente idioma.

U srpskom jeziku u upotrebi su leksičke varijante sa atributima uz imeničku komponentu izraza *sami (Bog)*, *jedan (Bog)*, *sveti (Bog) zna*. Navedeni kongruentni atributi su neka vrsta stalnih epiteta hrišćanskog Boga. Paralelno i u ruskom jeziku upotrebljavaju se odgovarajuće leksičke varijante: *один*, *един (Бог) знает*, *сам (Бог) знает*. I dok se u ruskom jeziku varira i komponenta *Бог* komponentama *Господь (знает)* i *Аллах* (*знает*), u srpskom one nisu prisutne. Skoro u svim rječnicima komponenta *Аллах* navodi se u zagradi kao leksička varijanta idioma. To bi nas moglo navesti na zaključak da se varijanata *Аллах* (*знает*) upotrebljava sa istom, ili bar približnom frekvencijom, kao invarijant *(Бог) знает*. Međutim, u ilustrativnom materijalu u rječnicima rijetka je njena potvrda, a naša analiza građe takođe potvrđuje rijetke primjere. A. I. Fjodorov kritički se osvrće na leksikografski opis idioma u *Frazeološkom rječniku ruskog jezika* A. I. Molotkova:

При разработке такого типа словарных статей необходимо проявлять осторожность, учитывать стилистическую среду, в которой упо-треблялись фразеологизмы в XIX в., и современное их употребление. Едва ли православный русский человек XIX и начала XX в. мог сказать *аллах его знает*. Да и в наше время тот оборот в отличие от *бог его знает* сохраняет в себе элемент иронии, легкой шутки, экзотики (Федоров, 136).

Navedeni stav ruskog frazeologa potvrđuje i kvalifikator *шутливое* uz varijantu idioma *Аллах*, koji autori rječnika *Фразеологизмы в русской речи* takođe karakterišu kao šaljivu (Мелерович, Мокиенко, 792). Provjera frekventnosti idioma u NKRJ potvrđuje da je navedena varijanta idioma niskofrekventna. T

2.3.2. Varijante glagolske komponente idioma

Pomenuli smo da ruski idiom *Бог весть* ima varijante (*Бог*) *ведает* i (*Бог*) *знает*. U savremenom srpskom jeziku varijanta idioma sa glagolom *вѣдѣти* se ne upotrebljava, bilježi je, kako smo već naveli, rječnik JAZU u obliku *богъ вѣ*, (glagolska komponenta je u stvari varijantni oblik 3. lica jednine atematskog slovenskog glagola). On je u srpskom jeziku potisnut glagolom *znati*. U srpskom se pojavila inovacija u glagolskoj komponenti izraza. Rječnici fiksiraju, a i jezička upotreba potvrđuje, da se naporedo sa idiomom *Bog zna* koristi i idiom *Boga pitaj*. Navedeni idiom može se koristiti sa obrnutim redoslijedom komponenti *pitaj Boga*, a i on sam ima varijante *Bog te pita* i *Bog te pitaj.*

2.4. Morfološke varijante idioma

Zanimljivo je da u ruskom jeziku sve tri varijante: *Бог весть*, *Бог ведает* i *Бог знает* funkcionišu isključivo u 3. l. jd. sadašnjeg vremena. Jedina morfološka (sintaksička) varijanta izraza je oblik izražen bezličnom konstukcijom *Одному Богу известно*. U srpskom pak jeziku osim izvornog lika *Bog zna* vrlo su frekventni oblici u kojima se glagolska komponenta izraza — 3. l. jednine prezenta glagola *znati* — kao primarni oblik frazeološke jedinice, zamjenjuju oblicima 3. l. jednine kondicionala *bi znao* i 3. l. jednine budućeg vremena *će znati*. Navedene morfološke varijante izraza, u kojima se glagol koristi u budućem vremenu i kondicionalu, još više i na gramatičkom planu akcentuju neizvjesnost koja se izražava globalnim značenjem samog idioma.

3. Status idioma *черт (бес, леший, шут) знает* i *đavo (vrag) zna/ bi znao (će znati).*

Idiomi sa komponentama *đavo* (*vrag*) u srpskom jeziku, odnosno, *черт*, *бес*, *леший* u ruskom, u rječnicima su pretežno zapisani u istoj vokabuli, odakle slijedi da se smatraju varijantama idioma sa komponentom *Bog*. Stavovi o varijantnosti i sinonimiji frazeoloških jedinica u naučnoj literaturi neujednačeni su i do danas su predmet diskusija u frazeološkoj teoriji (Федуленкова 2005). Pojedini naučnici, poput A. I. Fjodorova varijantnost frazeologizma određuju usko, ograničavajući tu pojavu na fonetsko i gramatičko variranje komponenti unutar izraza. Kao primjer neosnovanog svrstavanja različitih frazeologizama u jedan, odnosno, tretiranje frazeoloških sinonima kao varijanata jednog frazeologizma naučnik upravo navodi naš idiom i kritički se osvrće na leksikografski postupak *Rječnika savremenog ruskog jezika* AN SSSR:

Фразеологизмы со словом *черт* стилистически несовестимы с другими оборотами, они однородны с бранными выражениями *черт с ним* (*тобой*, *вами*!), *черт* (*черты*) *бы их* (*вас*, *тебя*) *взял* (*взяли*). И конечно же, за фразеологизмами *бог знает*, *черт знает* стоят разные представления, т. е. они имеют разную подоснову содержания, внутреннюю форму (Федоров, 136).

V. M. Mokijenko, s druge strane, smatra da je varijantnost frazeoloških jedinica njihova imanentna i neosporna osobina i da se leksičko variranje komponenti frazeologizma mora priznati ukoliko su ispunjena dva uslova: motivacija, unutrašnja forma frazeologizama je identična i sintaksička konstrukcija u okviru koje se vrši variranje (Мокиенко, 33). Uvid u leksikografski opis analiziranog idioma u oba jezika otkriva da je u mnogim rječnicima, ne samo opšteg jezika, već i u frazeološkim, on semantizovan u istoj vokabuli u kojoj se pored ključne komponente *Bog* kao leksičke varijante navode i komponente *đavo (vrag)*, odnosno, *черт*, *бес*, *леший*, *Аллах*, *пес* stavljanjem u zagradu komponenti koje autori smatraju varijantama (SANU VII, 130; Menac, 44; Menac, Arsovski, Venturin, 42; Молотков, 36; Яранцев, 67; Меликян, 54; Тихонов, 443). Ukoliko ovakav leksikografski postupak može eventualno biti opravdan u slučaju opštih rječnika, koji se ne bave isključivo opisom frazeološkog sloja jezika, smatramo da on nije najbolje rješenje u frazeološkim rječnicima. Semantika izraza *Бог весть/знает* identična semantici idioma *черт знает* uz istovjetnu sintaksičku strukturu nedvosmisleno dokazuje da se radi o idiomu jednog strukturno-semantičkog modela, ali, s druge strane, i pored toga što oba idioma imaju identično globalno značenje ključne komponente izraza *Бог* i *черт* usljed svoje markantnosti i danas se aktualizuju u procesu komunikacije uprkos frazeologizaciji značenja prvobitnog izraza. Upravo ta prozirna unutrašnja forma prouzrokuje dvostruku aktualizaciju idioma u upotrebi i utiče da se navedeni idiomi u konkretnom kontekstu najčešće razlikuju po konotativnoj vrijednosti. Ta različita konotacija idioma *Бог знает* i *черт знает* nastala je kao skup ekspresivnih (metaforičnih i ocjenjivačkih) elemenata kojima doprinose ključne komponente idioma – *Бог*, odnosno, *черт*. Analiza mnogobrojnih primjera kontekstualne upotrebe dvaju idioma u našoj građi potvrđuje da se osim značenja neizvjesnosti, sumnje, koje im je zajedničko, oni međusobno razlikuju u konotativnoj sferi. Idiom *Бог знает* koristi se pretežno u situacijama koje su praćene ako ne pozitivnim, a ono neutralnim pragmatičkim sadržajima, a drugi *черт знает* osim seme sumnje, neizvjesnosti, nejasnosti često izražava i ljutnju, negodovanje, rezignaciju, bijes. Naše mišljenje potvrđuje i opaska R. I. Jaranceva, koji poslije navođenja idioma *Бог (господ, аллах, черт, бес, леший, дьявол, шут) <его, тебя ее, вас, их> знает (ведает)* komentariše: „Возмущение, негодование, выражается данным фразеологизмом обычно в варианте со словами *черт* (*бес, леший, дьявол*) *и знает*" (Яранцев 1981: 67). Smatramo

da je idiome sa komponentama *Бог* (*знает*) i *черт* (*знает*) adekvatnije fiksirati u zasebnim vokabulama, kako to i čine pojedini autori. A. I. Fjodorov dosljedno u posebnim rječničkim člancima semantizuje idiome i njihove derivate, međutim, on posebno izdvaja čak i varijante sa glagolskom komponentom *ведает* i *весть*: Mislimo da je ovaj postupak dodatno opravdan i činjenicom da se idiom sa komponentom *черт* u ruskom jeziku ne koristi naporedo sa glagolskom komponentom *весть/ведает*, kao što je to slučaj sa komponentom *Бог*. U NKRJ nema ni jednog primjera upotrebe idioma *черт ведает*, a fiksirana su svega dva primjera idioma *черт весть*, pri čemu je očigledno da se radi o okazionalnoj upotrebi:

А то, черт *весть*, опять что по пути случится   [Б.А. Лавренев. Сорок первый (1924)];

Черт весть, что делалось в природе!

/До поту ветер ночь копал,/работал в черном огороде   [С. В. Петров. Как пишутся стихи (1965)].

Slično je sa idiomom, njegovom leksičkom varijantom, *дьявол знает*, koji se u NKRJ sreće sa niskom frekvencijom, ukupno sedam puta, od kojih je jedna upotreba prevod sa poljskog jezika, dok ima svega jedna upotreba idioma *дьявол ведает*, što naravno, ponovo svjedoči da se ne radi o uzualnoj upotrebi. Navedeno dokazuje da je variranje glagolske komponente idioma sa komponetom *черт* (i njenim varijantama *бес, леший, дьявол* i sl. ograničeno na glagol *знать* dok se idiom sa komponentom *Бог* koristi sa sva tri glagola: *весть*, *ведает, знает* neograničeno i visokofrekvento. Stoga smatramo da nije ispravno idiom sa navedenim komponentama *черт, бес* i sl. navoditi u vokabuli sa glagolskom komponentom *ведать*, kako to čine pojedini autori (Тихонов 2004 I: 103) jer se one i ne koriste uz taj glagol, što potvrđuje i provjera u NKRJ.

Među rijetkim frazeološkim rječnicima koji fiksiraju zasebno idiome sa ključnim komponentama *Бог* и *черт* je i rječnik *Фразеологизмы в русской речи*: *черт знает. Прост.* Неизвестно, никто не знает (Мелерович, Мокиенко, 790). Autori na kraju članka daju važan komentar o porijeklu idioma koji je u potpunoj saglasnosti sa našim stanovištem:

Исходным вариантом видимо был оборот **Бог знает**, **один Бог знает** (ср. также **Господь знает** и шутл. **Аллах знает**), отражающий древнее представление о вездесущности и всеведущности Бога, (см. Бог весть). Вариант с **чертом, дьяволом, бесом лешим** – с одной стороны, языковой реликт языческого многобожия, с другой, – речевая реализация общего эспрессивного и негативного значения, характерного для демонологической лексики, с третьей, – отражение характеристики черта, как всезнающего и всюдупроникающего злобного духа (Мелерович, Мокиенко, 792).

Pritom autori u pomenutom rječniku ne bilježe idiom sa komponentama *Бог*, *Господь*, *Аллах* (*знает*) koje pominju kao primarni oblik. Smatramo da negativno značenje koje proističe iz simbolike demonološke leksike (što i sami autori ističu), a koja je dijametralno suprotna simbolici teonima, presudno utiče da se ova dva idioma prije smatraju sinonimima nego varijantama. Ova negativna simbolika direktno se odražava na stilsku karakteristiku idioma. Naši stavovi korespondiraju sa frazeološkim radovima koji se bave sličnom tematikom:

> Модальные фразеологизмы с компонентами «бог» и «черт» выражают субъективную модальность высказывания, характеризуют эмоциональную сферу человека. Фразеологизмы с компонентом «бог» призваны, как правило, выражать положительные эмоции; фразеологизмы с компонентом «черт» – отрицательные эмоции, что связано с семантикой исследуемых компонентов: бог как воплощение доброты, милости, всепрощения, праведности и т.д.; черт как воплощение вселенского зла. Содержательная структура модальных фразеологизмов чаще всего обнаруживается только в контексте, так как они способны выражать широкий круг эмоций [Шведова, 7].

O konceptualnoj dihotomiji komponenti *Bog* i *đavo* u frazeologiji i paremiologiji govori se i u radu koji daje veoma detaljan opis semantičkih dominanti dva pomenuta koncepta koji na nizu primjera dokazuje njihovu suprotstavljenost:

> В соответствии с христианским видением Бог служит олицетворением света, блага и добра, а дьявол отождествляется с тьмой. Славянские языки в разной степени, но весьма последовательно отражают симбиоз язычества и христианства, следы которого отражены в их фразеологии и паремиологии" [Ломакина, Мокиенко, 55].

Dodajmo navedenom konstataciju N. V. Švedove:

> Книжный язык религии явился источником формирования модальных фразеологизмов с компонентом «бог». Основой для создания фразеологических единиц с компонентом «черт» послужила живая разговораная речь (Шведова, 19).

Iz navedenog slijedi da se idiomi sa komponentama *Бог* i *черт* uprkos identičnom globalnom značenju i istom strukturno-semantičkom modelu razlikuju po pragmatičkom potencijalu, porijeklu i da stoga imaju različitu funkciju u jezičkoj upotrebi. Njihov stilski registar je različit, dok se prvi idiom koristi u razgovornom jeziku, drugi ima kvalifikator *просторечное*, što uglavnom i fiksiraju mnogi navedeni rječnici. Ove činjenice mogle bi biti razlog što *Толковый словарь фразеологических синонимов русского языка* idiome bilježi upravo kao sinonime (Жуков, Сидоренко, Шкляров, 36). U vezi sa posljednjom

tvrdnjom zanimljiv je i podatak da *Большой словарь русской разговорной речи* u vokabuli *Бог* uopšte ne fiksira idiom *Бог знает*, a da se njegov sinonim *черт* (*бес* ...) *его*, (*ее*, *вас*, *их*) *знает* definiše kao razgovorni sa kvalifikatorom *неодобр.*, uz opasku „с выражением недовольства, досады, возмущения" (Химик, 51–52). Takođe se navode i njegovi sinonimi sa komponentama *фиг*, *хер*, *хрен*, *хуй его знает* (Химик, 710) koji predstavljaju snižene, vulgarne ili disfemijske izraze nastale zamjenom komponente *черт*. Kao ilustraciju diferencijacije pragmatičkog značenja idiomā navodimo sljedeći interesantan primjer iz NKRJ u kome su u istom kontekstu upotrijebljena oba idioma, a autorski stav odražava svijest govornika o njihovoj razlici:

> *Бог его знает* («*черт его знает*» я постеснялся сказать, а Бога помян
> ул всуе — нехорошо), может быть, одну изэтих пьес, времен доочаков
> ских и до покоренья Крыма, Васильев и поставит когда-
> нибудь на этом своем языке? [Поэт   и   толпа «Театральная   жизнь»,
> 2003. 07.28]

Leksikografski izvori navode da frazeologizam sa komponentom *черт* ima leksičke varijante demonima: *дьявол*, *леший*, *бес*, *шут*, *пес*, *хрен*, *враг* (Яранцев, 67; up. Молотков, 36; Федоров I, 386; Меликян, 54; Жуков, Сидоренко, Шкляров, 407, 409). V. M. Mokienko objašnjava da ova „đavolova mnogolikost" koja se odražava u ruskoj frazeologiji potiče iz paganske, prethrišćanske vjere u kojoj je postojala čitava hijerarhija demona od kojih je svaki imao svoja zaduženja i oblast djelovanja (Мокиенко, 266–284). I srpski frazeologizam sa komponentom *đavo* ima leksičke varijante za koje možemo reći da imaju isto porijeklo, koje vodi korijene još iz stare religije. Veselin Čajkanović piše da su na đavola prenesene funkcije i mitovi koji su se ranije vezivali za starinskog vrhovnog boga (Čajkanović V, 288–289). Dragana Mršević-Radović analizirajući idiome sa komponentama *Bog* i *vrag*, iznosi sljedeći stav:

> Sledeći Čajkanovića, mogli bismo u frazeologizmima u kojima đavo (vrag)
> alternira s bogom, pomišljati na đavola kao naslednika starog vrhovnog
> boga, čije je atribute i ingerencije preuzeo (...) đavo je vešt, sve zna i sve
> razume – isp. izraze *đavo (vrag) će ga znati*, *đavo (vrag) bi ga znao* i sl., kao
> i varijante s „bogom" – *bog bi* (*ga*) *sveti znao*, *bog sveti* (*sam*) *zna*, *boga
> pitaj* (Mršević-Radović, 33).

I Nataša Vulović, govoreći o pomenutim frazeologizmima, naglašava da se sveznanje i sveprisutnost Boga odražava u njima, ali da se u narodnim predstavama i đavo zamišlja kao onaj koji zna, o čemu i svjedoče sinonimni izrazi (Vulović, 242).

Iako se u drugim idiomima sa komponentom *đavo*[7] sreću leksičke varijante, u idiomu koji razmatramo, njegovo leksičko variranje imeničke komponente nije raznoliko kao u ruskom. Kao leksičke varijante komponente *đavo* pojavljuju se *beda, bes i jad*. Ovi idiomi nalaze se na jezičkoj periferiji u srpskom jeziku, bilo kao dijalektski, arhaični ili stilski obojeni. U svakom slučaju, njihova frekventnost nije visoka. Rečnik SANU bilježi ih u istoj vokabuli *bog* kao leksičke varijante komponente idioma *bog zna*: *bog (beda, bes, đavo, jad i sl.) bi (će) ga (sveti, sam) znao (zna, znati)* fam. 'ne zna se, nepoznato je, teško je znati'. *Bes ga znao*, šta je to! (Pop.Đ. 1, 164); Remenje popucalo, nije mazano, *bijeda ga znala*, kad (Turić 3, 60); i nekako *đavo ga kusi znao* otkud, varnica.... prebacila tavanicu pa u drugoj sobi zapalila vence (Radić D. 6, 214); Ali, čuda, ni jedan da se usudi započeti, već čekahu *jad ih znao* šta (Nast. 1, 26); Još dođe onaj pravnik, velikoškolac, *jadi ga znali* šta je (Sremac 4, 178) (SANU VII, 130).

Iz navedenih primjera u srpskom jeziku očigledno je da uz glavnu semu neizvjesnosti izrazi sadrže i dodatni izrazito negativan stav govornika prema situaciji ili sagovorniku.

ZAKLJUČAK

Idiom *Bog zna* predstavlja frazeološku univerzaliju s obzirom na činjenicu da je zastupljen u velikom broju jezika. U radu se prati proces frazeologizacije koji je tekao preko doslovno upotrijebljenog izraza u biblijskom kontekstu i njegova geneza na primjeru dva bliskosrodna jezika – ruskog i srpskog. Idiom ima veliki broj leksičkih, morfoloških i stilskih varijanata u oba jezika. Njegovo primarno značenje 'zaista, stvarno, besumnje', proisteklo iz doslovnog biblijskog citata, koji uz naglašenu intenzifikatorsku funkciju dobija frazeološko značenje, iako arhaično, sačuvano je u srpskom jeziku, dok je u ruskom ono potisnuto. Drugo značenje idioma 'niko ne zna, ne zna se, nepoznato je' prisutno je i visokofrekveno u oba upoređivana jezika i poslužilo je za deriviranje niza novih idioma koji su nastali tokom kontekstualne upotrebe kada su riječi pratioci postale sastavni dio idioma, čime se i modifikovalo njegovo ranije značenje[8].

Idiom *Bog zna* ima i sinonim izražen njegovim aksiološkim antonimom – demonimom *đavo/черт* koji takođe ima niz leksičkih varijanata u upoređivanim jezicima i koji se u rječnicima često semantizuje u istoj vokabuli, iz čega slijedi da se tretira kao njegova varijanta. Mi navodimo argumente prema kojima je pomenute idiome, uprkos identičnom globalnom značenju i sintaksičkoj strukturi, cjelishodnije bilježiti u zasebnim vokabulama s obzirom

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[7] O tome detaljnije u radu *Ekspresivnost frazeoloških jedinica sa komponentom* đavo *u srpskom jeziku* (Vulović 2006)

[8] Status, funkcija i deriviranje novih idioma koji su se razvili iz ovoga značenja biće predmet posebnog rada.

na različitu konotativnu vrijednost i pragmatički potencijal i funkciju koji iz toga proističu.

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THE IDIOM OF БОГъ ВѣСТъ/ ВЕДАЕТ/ ЗНАЕТ and BOG ZNA IN RUSSIAN AND SERBIAN

The subject of this article is the idiom БОГъ ВѣСТъ / ВЕДАЕТ/ ЗНАЕТ, that is, БОГъ ВѣСТъ / Bog zna in Russian and Serbian. In the first chapter, which deals with the origin and genesis of the expression, the evidence of its biblical origin is given, while the process of its development as a phrase, its course and the reasons for the emergence of a new meaning of the idiom in communicative use are explained. The second chapter provides an analysis of the idiom from a paradigmatic aspect. Its lexical, morphological and stylistic variants are analyzed. The third chapter deals with the status of the idiom черт/бес/леший ЗНАЕТ in the Russian language, i.e., джа¬¬¬vo zna (will znati, bi znao) in Serbian and its relationship to the idiom Бог весть/ ведает/ знает, that is, God knows. Descriptive, phraseological - monolingual and translation dictionaries - both contemporary and historical - were used as the basic corpus in the research. As an additional corpus, we used our own file created on the basis of excerpts of examples from literary and artistic works and epic poetry. The National Corpus of the Russian Language (NKRJ) served us as a basic check of the functioning of idioms in context. The application of the diachronic, contrastive and descriptive method on the aforementioned corpus was aimed at discovering the origin and genesis of the idiom highlighted in the title.

The idiom *Бог весть/ ведает/ знает*, or else, *Bog zna belongs, thematically, to the group of idioms with a component theonym. Despite its high frequency, as far as we know, there has been no special study that would deal with its origin and functioning in either Russian or Serbian. In terms of the phraseological units that deal with the topic of*

sacred phraseology, which in its composition contains the component Bog (God), or similar phrases, there are many works on biblical phraseology, in which idioms are mentioned that are the subject of our attention. However, we did not find any works that specifically deal with the origin of the idiom Bog zna (God knows) and its development in language.

The largest number of phraseological units with the component Bog (God) by origin are addresses to the deity: trivial greetings, sayings, oaths, curses, and thus, speech acts in which people address a higher power on different occasions or mentions the name of God in different situations. Although the Christian church is not favorable towards mentioning the name of God without need, the prevalence of different idioms with the mentioned component in most languages is very large. Our preliminary research shows that the mentioned idiom is widespread in all Slavic languages (and not only in them), so it could be said that this phenomenon is a linguistic or a phraseological universal.

In the first part of this work, the biblical origin of the idiom is proven by applying diachronic and contrastive analysis. From the quote used in the Gospel according to Luke, it can be seen that the expression is used in its literal meaning: God knows / God sees, that is, God is a witness. This literal meaning of the biblical expression, which explicitly expresses one of the attributes of the Christian God as all-seeing, all-knowing, served as the first step in the phraseologisation of the expression. Both of its components continue to retain their lexical meaning, but in addition acquire an intensifier function, similar to the words: really, really, undoubtedly. The intensifier function that the idiom later developed can already be sensed in the Biblical context, where after the component God it is explicitly reflected by the particle že. Phraseologisation of the Biblical expression "Bog vê", i.e., "God knows" took place at the moment when the literal meaning of the expression gained additional pragmatic content, that is, when in the end the text began to be used to amplify or emphasize the meaning, to have the function of an intensifier, or else the addition of the words just, really, without a doubt or really. This is also demonstrated by the syntactic position of the expression, which can be found both at the beginning of the statement and in the interposition, where the comma is singled out on the letter as an inserted unit that has no syntactic function or action in the sentence, and as is well known, this is a characteristic of all sentences. The new word bôgznā 'really, surely, definitely, in fact' was created from the aforementioned expression in Serbian during its historical development, the archaic meaning of which is recorded only in older dictionaries. (RJAZU I, 475; Rečnik SANU I, 684, Stevanović I, 41). Its second meaning, which in our opinion appeared later, is recorded in all modern dictionaries: bôgznā for expressing uncertainty, indeterminacy: who knows, no one knows, it is not known I.e. God-would-know, God-asks you (Dictionary SANU I, 684; Dictionary SJ, 97)

The new meaning of the expression *Bog zna* (God knows) 'no one knows, it is not known, it is unknown', which is highly frequent and overwhelming in contemporary use in all Slavic languages and which ¬ already lexicographic sources, it was created as a new stage in its development. This meaning arose in communicative use at the moment when the expression began to be used as a ready-made formula - an answer in a reply to a question to which the communicator does not know or does not want to give an answer. Based on the semantic interpretation of the expression in Dal's dictionary, the gradual development of the expression in communicative use is illustrated: Бог весть, Бог знает

– я не знаю (God knows, God knows - I don't know) (Dal, 65). The original communicative use of the expression *Bog zna* is being reconstructed, that is, we examine the emergence of its new meaning "no one knows, it is not known, it is unknown". In our opinion, the process of phrasing went in this order: I don't know → who knows → nobody knows → (only) God knows. It is interesting that the newly acquired meaning is practically antonymous in relation to the above-mentioned and described first meaning of the expression God knows 'really, really, certainly, undoubtedly'. The answer to the reason for its creation lies in the fact of the recognition that only God knows, that is, this kind of answer gives exclusivity to God as omniscient, all-seeing and the only one who can do so. knowledge is available and the limitation of human understanding of the world and the things in it is acknowledged: I do not know that → no one knows that → but only, exclusively God knows. Both in Russian and in Serbian there are lexical variants of the idiom "God knows" that more precisely refer to this new meaning "no one knows, it is not known, it is unknown" : Один Бог знает (ведает), Одному Богу известно, or, in Serbian, *samo, sa¬mi, jedan Bog zna*. The lexical variants of the mentioned idioms, which in addition to the key component *Bog* (God) have the attributes один, jedan, (one), which themselves suggest the Biblical fact about the all-knowing God and the limitation of human knowledge. It was precisely emphasizing this seed of exclusivity of God's knowledge that enabled the emergence of the new meaning of the idiom: only God knows → no one but God knows →'no one knows, it is not known, it is unknown'. As additional proof that the newly created meaning of the idiom is an answer, the reply to the question is demonstrated by an example from the Serbian language with the lexical variant *Boga pitaj* (lit. Ask God) meaning 'no one knows, it is not known, it is unknown' It is highly frequent in modern Serbian, and it was created by replacing the verb component of the expression in which instead of the 3rd form present singular of the verb *znati* (to know) we have the 2nd form imperative singular of the verb *pitati (*to ask*)*. In this way, the Biblical expression that is used in the initial stages as a kind of analytical intensifier with the primary meaning of affirmation or confirmation of the views expressed, emphasizing the truth of the statement, acquires a completely new meaning in teh communicative context - the opposite meaning of uncertainty, indeterminacy and doubt. This phenomenon of a kind of enantiosemy of expressions is not foreign to idioms that are used in communication and that have a predominantly modal meaning.

In the second part of the paper, on the basis of checking the lexicographic description of the idiom in various descriptive and phraseological - monolingual and translation dictionaries - both contemporary and historical, we ideitify the paradigmatic relations of the idiom in both contrasting languages. Its numerous lexical, morphological and stylistic variants are analyzed. The National Corpus of the Russian Language (NKRJ) was used to make a basic check on the functioning of idioms in context. A detailed analysis of the aforementioned sources presents the paradigmatic relations of idioms in both Serbian and Russian. A certian level of lexical variation in the analyzed idiom is present in both languages. Some variants are present in both languages, which is due to extra-linguistic reasons, i.e. the identical conception of the assumed attributes of God. There are, however, also differences caused by linguistic variation, as is most obviously the case with verb variation. In Russian, older Slavic verb forms have been preserved in

the idiom, while in Serbian these forms have become archaic, and certain innovations have appeared.

. The third chapter deals with the status of the idiom черт/бес/леший знает in Russian, that is, đavo zna (će znati, bi znao) in Serbian (Eng: the Devil knows, will know, would know) and its relationship to the idiom Бог весть/ ведает / знает , that is, God knows. And the synonym of the idiom God knows expressed by its axiological antonym – demononym đavo/черт (the Devil) also has a number of lexical variants in the two compared languages and they are often semanticized in the dictionaries in the same vocabulary, from which it follows that they are treated as its variants. We present arguments according to which the above mentioned idioms, despite their identical global meaning and syntactic structure, should be recorded separately, due to their different connotative values and the pragmatic potential and function resulting from them.

The semantics of the expression Бог весть/ знает is identical to the semantics of the idiom черт знает, with the same syntactic structure, which unequivocally proves that it is an idiom of a structural-semantic model, but, on the other hand, despite the fact that both idioms have an identical global meaning, in the key component of the expression Бог i черт (God and the Devil) are made distinct, and are actualized today in the process of communication despite the phrasing of the meaning of the original expression. It is precisely this transparent internal form that causes a double actualization of the idiom in use and which means that the mentioned idioms in a specific context usually differ in their connotative value. Ta The different connotations of the idioms Бог знает and черт знает were created as a set of expressive (metaphorical and evaluative) elements related to the key components of the idiom, i.e. God or the Devil, The analysis of numerous examples of the contextual use of the two idioms in our literature confirms that apart from the meaning of uncertainty or doubt, which they have in common, they clearly also differ from each other in the connotative sphere. The idiom Бог знает (God knows) is used predominantly in situations that are accompanied by, if not positive, then at least neutral pragmatic content, while черт знает (the Devil knows) give rise to uncertainties and ambiguities, but often also expresses anger, displeasure, resignation or even rage. This type of differentiated relationship between the idiom and the component theonym and demonym can also be applied to the similar idioms used in Serbian.

Keywords: idiom, Russian, Serbian, invariant, variant, synonyms.

Literature and Cultural Studies

Studije književnosti i kulture

Different Generations, Distinct Lifestyles, Same Feeling of Hiraeth: A Postcolonial Study of Ken Liu's "The Paper Menagerie"

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Abstract: The wave of immigration in recent decades has heralded new versions of colonialism. Thus, attention to the phenomenon of migration has gained a special place in literature. Among diaspora writers, one can mention Ken Liu and his "The Paper Menagerie". In the course of this paper, at first and with the help of Edward Said's theory of orientalism, a thorough discussion of the family's and Americans' attitudes toward each other and the cultural differences between them will be provided. Then, the character of the mother, as a representative of the first-generation immigrants, and the boy, as a representative of second-generation immigrants, will be under scrutiny based on Homi Bhabha and William Safran's postcolonial ideas to delineate their path to their diasporic identities. In the final step, in the light of Eric Landowski's theory of social relations, Jack and his mother's distinct lifestyles in their host country will be analyzed to deduce that they chose *snob* and *dandy* lifestyles, respectively. The present paper will conclude that although different generations of immigrants have distinct lifestyles, they will consciously or unconsciously keep the connection with their homeland. Just like Jack, who undergoes an identity crisis and abandons his paper menagerie, his mother, and his Chinese heritage to assimilate into American culture. He loses both his mother and her magic, only to regain them to some extent at the end of the story, when he realizes that he, too, feels hiraeth. Although, the hiraeth that he felt was latent in his unconscious.

Keywords: Postcolonial Study, Diasporic Literature, Immigrants' Generational Differences, Lifestyle and Identity, Orientalism and Cultural Differences, Mimicry and Hybridity, Nostalgia and Hiraeth.

Introduction

Diaspora, which once described Jewish dispersion, now shares meanings with a larger semantic domain which includes words like immigrants, expatriate, refugee, exile community, and an ethnic community of people living together in a foreign region, as the consequence of dispersal from an original homeland, in search of work, in pursuit of a trade or in the hope to find promised-land (Cohen 17). Moreover, postcolonialism critics investigate the relationship between the minority diasporic people and the majority people of the host country. They hear the suppressed voices of immigrants and study their work to understand their

situation. As Theodor Adorno once mentioned: "For a man who no longer has a homeland, writing becomes a place to live." (83). Among diaspora writers, one can mention Ken Liu (1976-).

Ken Liu is a Chinese immigrant writer who was born in 1976. When Ken was 11 years old, his family immigrated to the United States, where later, he studied English Literature at Harvard. It did not take long for him to understand that his true calling in literature was science fiction. Throughout his career, he wrote over 50 short stories. However, he is most famous for his "The Paper Menagerie", which became the first work of fiction to win the Nebula, the Hugo, and the World Fantasy Award. It is a story about a bi-racial boy, Jack, who has an American father and a Chinese mother. His mother, who remained unnamed throughout the story, immigrated to America as a mail-ordered bride. When jack was a kid, the only way to calm him was through origami, the art of paper folding, which is associated with Japanese and Chinese culture. Jack's mother creates an origami menagerie for him, and when she breathes into the origami, the menagerie comes to life. However, later in his life, he began to reject the paper menagerie, and to a greater extent, his Chinese heritage in order to assimilate with Americans.

Magic realism is a literary movement associated with a style of writing or technique that incorporates magical or supernatural events into a realistic narrative. The fusion of fact and fantasy is meant to question the nature of reality as well as call attention to the act of creation. (Galens 151) In Magical realism, the elements of reality and imagination are so elaborately interwoven that the reader simply accepts them, in such a way that all artificial and imaginary incidents in the storyline seem completely real and natural.

As a magic realism story, elements of reality and imagination are so elaborately interwoven in "The Paper Menagerie" that the reader simply accepts them. In other words, all artificial and imaginary incidents in the storyline seem completely real and natural. Moreover, magic realism in this story is intermingled with its unreliable narrator. The narrator of this story is Jack. What we hear from other characters is also going through the boy's filter. Jack himself confessed that due to his age at that time, he might wrongly interpret those events: "… perhaps I had only imagined that these paper constructions were once alive. The memory of children could not be trusted." (Liu 69). Nevertheless, it does not matter whether the paper menagerie is alive or it is all in the child's mind. Because, at the end, the whole point of using magic in this story is to talk about the cultural differences from a second-generation immigrant's point of view.

All in all, many East Asian immigrants are experiencing a crisis of identity. Therefore, there is a strong call for reevaluating and reviewing the migration experience of East Asians from their own viewpoints, which is provided through their diasporic literature. Through their narrations, these diasporic writers shed

light on immigrants' problems and struggles in their host country. Accordingly, Ken Liu's "The Paper Menagerie", a well-known and prize-winning short story by a Korean immigrant, has been chosen as a case study of the present study. By differentiating between two generations of immigrants and studying them based on their feelings and experiences in the host country, the present study delves into the tribulated lives of its East Asian immigrant characters, and it can help to shed light on the nature of immigrants' identity crises, the generational and cultural gap between them.

Orientalism and Exoticism

Before getting into the migrant's point of view in the story, at first, it is necessary to understand and comprehend the view of the host country's inhabitants toward them. Westerners Justified their cruel treatment of the colonized by constructing a belief that Said named Orientalism. According to Said, "Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between the Orient and the Occident." (3). In short, Westerners create some stereotypes constructing and suggesting that Easterners or Orientals are indolent, barber, unreliable, and immoral. In contrast, they regarded themselves, the Westerners or Occidentals, as mature, civilized, reliable, and moral. Thus, for centuries, and even now, the East has been the exotic Other for the West. Consciously or unconsciously, this set of attributes and features remained in the minds of the Westerners, and they began to see Easterners and those immigrants of Orient origins, like Jack's mother, as well as the second-generation immigrants, like Jack, as the exotic Others. This view is evident from the first encounter of the mother, who is a Chinese immigrant, with Connecticut inhabitants. When the neighbors came to welcome them to their new house, they said:

"He seems like a normal enough man. Why did he do that?"

"Something about the mixing never seems right. The child looks unfinished. Slanty eyes, white face. A little monster."

…

"Hello there! What's your name?"

"Jack," I said.

"That doesn't sound very Chinesey." (Liu 164)

First, they see the father's marriage to a Chinese woman as odd. They were baffled by the decision that the father made. He seems normal, so why would he marry an exotic Oriental? Does her Oriental magic possess him? Because otherwise, it seems impossible to comprehend for them. The father's case is debatable as well. His obsession with an Oriental woman can also be the fruit of the Orientalism view that Oriental women are aroused and sexy. Thus, it can be said that to fulfill his fetish for Oriental women, he received a mail-order bride,

who is a woman from a developing country that lists herself in catalogs in the hope of being selected by a man from a developed nation for marriage.

Also, to Westerners' eyes, the fruit of their magic, the boy, is a monster, simply because he possesses Oriental features. Although he was born in America, they judge him based on his appearance and the fact that his name does not suit his look. This view is vivid not only in the neighbors' attitude, but also in his classmates. In his school, he was bullied by Americans, who constantly called him "chink face" (Liu 165). These events were too much to handle for the kid at his age and, therefore, traumatized the boy. As a result, He rejected his Chinese heritage to fit in with other Americans.

Immigrants and Cultural Differences: Their Lifestyles in the Host Country

As N. J. Adler argues, cultural difference involves the integrated and maintained system of socially acquired values, beliefs, and rules of conduct, which impact the range of accepted behaviors distinguishable from one societal group to another (Cited in Jackson and Guerra 2011). Immigrants face a whole new culture when they arrive in the host country. They encounter people who are nothing like them and even speak a different language. Coming to the host country, immigrants have several options for dealing with cultural differences: They can assimilate themselves into the host country, they can differentiate themselves from the host country's inhabitants, or they can possess a hybrid identity. Although, according to Bhabha, the formation of the hybrid identity is inevitable when two cultures clash, in the story, we see that Jack and his mother have chosen the first two options for their lifestyles.

In addition to the characters of the story, Liu tried to expand his theme of cultural difference by depicting it not only between the family versus Americans but also in various animals of the paper menagerie itself. All of them, sooner or later, got into myriads of troubles. Like when the water buffalo jumped into a soy sauce dish, and his legs became crooked. Also, when Jack tossed the paper shark into the aquarium, it sank to the bottom, and his mother made a new one out of a foil. Finally, one of Laohu's favorite activities was to pounce at sparrows, but once, a bird struck back and tore the tiger's ear; he avoided birds after that (Liu 163). The clash between Laohu and the bird can be seen as the clash of two civilizations, which is inevitable. The buffalo in the soy sauce could have represented Jack and his mother or all immigrants to a greater extent, absorbing different cultures that greatly affected them. The paper shark sinking into the water shows the host country's powerful yet destructive effects on Others. The survival of the tinfoil shark by assimilating to the situation of its surroundings can represent the lifestyle that is likely to survive in the host country. Therefore, since the paper menagerie symbolizes Chinese heritage in this story, all these events that happened to them foreshadow the family's situation.

According to Amir Ali Nojoumian, lifestyle is not a pre-made thing that we are situated in. It is not a total individual independent choice as well. Instead, someone's lifestyle makes sense in a dialogue between an individual and the society that they live in. This dialogue gives value, meaning, and identity to both the subject and the object. Thus, human beings' identities are shaped and identified based on their lifestyle (Nojoumian, 2016). Eric Landowski, a French semiotician, divides social relations into four semiotic systems: snob, dandy, chameleon, and bear. Each of these social systems has its particular behavior, which will be explained further by referring to immigrants' situations.

Landowski gave the term *Snob* to those who, by blind imitation of the host country inhabitants, argue that they are just like them, and their efforts are so visible that they betray their own true belonging. On the contrary, *dandy* refers to the lifestyle of those who cherish their difference and are ready to do anything to stand out from the host country's inhabitants. *Chameleons* are given to those who skillfully and cunningly put a mask on their faces. In other words, from the exterior, it seems that they are the same as the host country's inhabitants, and they are getting mistaken for someone who already belongs to the same world, however in secret, they have never separated from their motherland. The last lifestyle, the *bear*, refers to those who, with stubbornness and disobedience, destroy and question all the norms of the host country (Cited in Babak Moein 222-223).

Snob and *Dandy*: The Lifestyles of Jack and His Mother

With the previous information about social relationships in mind, it goes without saying that Jack's and his mother's lifestyles are snob and dandy, respectively. Jack, as a kid, was connected to his mother's land and her heritage. The only thing that could calm him at that age was his paper menagerie that her mother had made for him. However, soon, he became the subject of discrimination. He was intimidated by this discrimination, which affected his moral values and self-esteem. Age 10 was a turning point in his life. Mark, his neighbor and classmate, called his paper menagerie a "Chinese Garbage" (Liu 164) and insulted his mother for her exoticity. In fact, it was the first time that he got ashamed of his Chinese heritage and realized his difference from his classmates. Moreover, he sensed a rejection from Americans for the first time. From then, he sensed rejection and the heavy gazes of Americans almost everywhere.

As a child, that was unbearable for him. He wanted to be as same as his classmates and to fit in with them. He was being rejected for something that he had no choice upon. Thus, being rejected for who he was, he changed his lifestyle and disassociated any connection he had with his Chinese culture, which included his paper menagerie and his mother, whom he felt he looked nothing like: "We had nothing in common. She might as well be from the moon. I would

hurry on to my room, where I could continue my all-American pursuit of happiness." (Liu 167). Thus, borrowing Landowski's terminology, he chooses the snob lifestyle now. He blindly imitates Americans' behaviors and attitudes to assimilate to their costumes and traditions. He becomes a self-centered character who does not care for anyone but himself, and that is probably why he never gave us his parents' names. He once even told his mother that she did not belong to this country (ibid. 166). He let go of his Chinese heritage, holidays, and language. He is hiding it away like he hides the origami away. Jack, in fact, is rejecting himself when he rejects the paper menagerie. The letter is his mother's final gift to him – a way to make jack reconcile with his motherland's identity.

Jack's mother's case is totally different. She immigrated to the United States of America, the so-called promised land, or the land of opportunities, as a picture bride. Although she felt that her life was about to be changed for good, from the moment she lay foot in America, she instantly felt the shock of recognition. She recognized that everyone was urging her to assimilate. It did not take so long for her to realize that she had become double oppressed due to her gender and her status as an immigrant. Moreover, she learned that she must constantly change her identity and lifestyle.

She is clinging to her past, and she is praising her homeland. She wants to be differentiated from Americans because her motto is *viva la différence*[1]. Thus, in Landowski's terminology, her lifestyle is that of a dandy. As a typical dandy, she refused to assimilate herself to her host country till her dying breath. As can be seen on her deathbed, she talks about Qingming, a Chinese festival for the dead, and wants her son to cherish that holiday and remember her on that day, which is in itself a sign of her nonconformity to her host country.

Perhaps their generational differences and their different choice of lifestyle are best evident in the case of language and their mimicry. In most nation-states worldwide, the national language has been constructed as a central ideology for classifying and categorizing people. Thus, language has become the major definer of national identity (Hogan-Braun, Mar-Molinero, and Stevenson 46). In this light, nowadays, it is widely believed that migrants' usage of the host country's hegemonic language serves as a symbol of belonging, yielding, and inclusion. Today, millions of people live in a language that is not their own. They speak, think, imagine, and make love in a language that is not theirs. Mairead Nic Craith, in her *Narratives of Place, Belonging and Language*, discussed the same point and argued that:

This movement between languages may involve some elements of choice, and migrants may seek to assimilate themselves to the new environment as completely as possible and engage fully with the new language. Alternatively,

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[1] Borrowed from French, literally "long live the difference"; Used universally to express appreciation of diversity.

they may continue with the regular use of the language of their birth while acquiring and speaking the language of the host community only where necessary or appropriate. These strategies are not mutually exclusive and can be used at different times depending on circumstances. (4)

In "The Paper Menagerie," when the father urged the mother to speak English because she is in America, she responds that: "'If I say 'love,' I feel here.' She pointed to her lips. 'If I say 'ai,' I feel here." She put her hand over her heart." (Liu 166). It is when she talks in Chinese that she is able to talk freely and with heart. On the other hand, in the family house, where she was a slave, whenever they caught her learning English, they beat her up, because they thought she would inform the police. That can also be a traumatic experience for her, which results in her reluctance to learn English later in life. She finds speaking English torture. That is why she begins her letter with an explanation in this regard: "Because I have to write with all my heart, I need to write to you in Chinese." (ibid. 171).

Mimicry and The Case of Language

However, when she saw that her son was distancing from her, she began to speak gibberish English by imitating Americans. This is what Homi Bhabha labeled as mimicry in his groundbreaking work, *The Location of Culture*. According to him, mimicry occurs when members of a colonized society try to imitate their colonizers' language, dress, politics, and cultural attitudes. Further, for Bhabha, mimicry is the process by which the colonized subject is reproduced as "almost the same, but not quite" (86). He finished his argument by marking that, more often than not, mimicry leads to mockery on behalf of not only host country inhabitants but also the people of the homeland.

Throughout the history, the diaspora generations have been actively engaged in acts of mimicry as a means of survival in their host societies. First of all, mimicry is vivid in Jack, who is classified as the second generation of immigrants. In his attempt to be the same as any other American, Jack let go of his motherland heritage and began to blindly imitate American culture. He gets angry every time his mother speaks Chinese to him or even when she prepares a Chinese dish for the diner. He even let go of his paper menagerie, the only object in his childhood that could soothe him. Further, as was mentioned before, in this story, the paper menagerie is a symbol of Chinese heritage, and Jack by replacing it with action figures toys (a symbol of American culture) shows his decision to let go of his Chinese heritage and embrace an American way of life. However, no matter how much he thought of himself as same as them, he never succeeded. He still bears American's heavy gazes wherever he goes. In other words, he could never and will never be able to disintegrate himself from his homeland. No matter how much he rejected his motherland and its heritage, they are always situated in his unconscious. This is the point he realized at the

end, right after reading his mother's Chinese letter. This incident was the first time in a very long time that he became close to his Chinese heritage, and because of this, he saw his paper menagerie come back alive again right before his eyes.

Next, mimicry is vivid in the mother's case, a first-generation immigrant, when she began to talk English as a means to obtain her connection with her son. However, since she could not speak English properly, their relationship became colder and colder every day. According to Jack, whenever she started to talk English, "her accent and broken sentences embarrassed me. I tried to correct her. Eventually, she stopped speaking altogether if I was around." (Liu 166). Then, it is obvious that her mimicry led to mockery. Embarrassed by this incident, she stopped speaking English altogether. However, she was persistent in her decision to keep in touch with her son, the only person that made his host country tolerable for him. Therefore, she began to mime things and hug him the way she saw American mothers do, but even that was "ridiculous, exaggerated, and graceless" on Jack's account (ibid. 167). Nevertheless, she had to obtain her relationship with her son because her relationship was of high value to her, and Jack reminded her of her homeland. But no matter how much she tried to mimic Americans, she could not win his son over. Soon, she gave up her act of mimicry, and decided to be who she was, a Chinese woman who was forced to leave her homeland.

Hiraeth as a Manifestation of Diaspora: Unhomeliness, Nostalgia, and Longing

As mentioned before, hiraeth is a Welsh word with no exact equivalent in English, which embodies the same connotation. It is a Welsh word, that encompasses several senses at once. A homesickness for a home to which you cannot return; The nostalgia, the yearning, the grief for the lost places of your past; A deep and irrational bond felt with a time, era, place, or person. Thus, it is a blend of unhomeliness, nostalgia, and longing. In this sense, as I will argue, there is no better word to describe Jack and his mother's feeling in their host country.

Since the whole story is from the boy's point of view, we only hear the mother's story in her letter at the end. In the letter, which she wrote in Chinese, she talked about her happy childhood and how the tragedy struck her family, resulting in her escape to Hong Kong. Although she became a refugee in Hong Kong, she left a big part of her back in China. Several years later, when she escaped from slavery, she became a mail-order bride and, thus, became an immigrant for the second time. She is the perfect example of diaspora. William Safran, in his article entitled "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return," attributed several features to diasporas:

They or Their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original "center" to one or more peripheral, or foreign, regions. They retain a collective memory about their homeland. They believe that they are not— and perhaps cannot be—fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it. They regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would eventually return — when conditions are appropriate. They believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity. And, they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethnocommunal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship. (83-84)

Borrowing Homi Bhabha's terminology, she felt unhomeliness that is she was unwelcomed in both her host country and her homeland. It must be mentioned first that "to be unhomed is not to be homeless" by Bhabha's accounts (9). According to Bhabha, lack of identity manifests itself in diverse forms, one of which is unhomeliness. To experience such a feeling involves both dislocations of a migrant as a result of diaspora and the unfamiliarity of recognizing oneself in this moment of dislocation.

In short, unhomeliness is a feeling that the unhomed subject do not feel at home in any nation and culture, because they believe that they do not belong anywhere. In America, the mother felt unhomely and constantly felt nostalgic for her homeland, to which she could not return for political reasons. Also, even if she could, she would not return to China for the sake of her son, Jack. After two migrations, Jack's mother settled in America, but she still felt lonely, alienated, and displaced. She was dispersed from her home in China to America, where she knew no one and was lonely (Liu 172). There, she retains a collective memory of her homeland and tries to bring their costumes, such as Qingming, into America (ibid. 168). Moreover, she always knew that she would never be fully accepted by Americans due to her looks and language, so she just stopped trying and talking at all (ibid. 166). Although she was forced to leave China, she never stopped feeling nostalgia for China, her true home (ibid. 171). To sum up, she was committed to the restoration of their original homeland and its safety and prosperity. Hence, she is a diaspora in its perfect sense. Moreover, since she realized that she neither totally belonged to Chine nor America, her unhomeliness exacerbated.

Although their lives were tough in her hometown, she was happy merely because she knew those people and could understand their language. Out of misery, she had to escape from her homeland to Hong Kong and then to America. After two migrations, she settled in America, but she still felt lonely,

alienated, and displaced: "no one understood me, and I understood nothing." (ibid. 172). It all changed when Jack was born. Since she had lost everything from her homeland and did not know or understand anyone or anything in her host country, the newborn immediately, in a sense, became her homeland. As she said, with her son, she could "remake a small piece of everything that [she] loved and lost." (Liu 172). He instantly became the only reason that she existed, the only one who could understand her, and the only one who gave her back her lost identity:

> I was so happy when I looked into your face and saw shades of my mother, my father, and myself. I had lost my entire family, all of Sigulu, everything I ever knew and loved. But there you were, and your face was proof that they were real. I hadn't made them up. (ibid.)

As a result, she began to raise him as her mother once raised her. Her mother was the one who taught origami to her, and then, she tried to pass down this culture to her son. Everything was fine, and she was happy when Jack accepted Chinese culture, but as he grew up and started to reject his Chinese heritage, she felt alienated once again. In a sense, it could be said that she became an immigrant for the third time. This time, it was not a physical immigration, but a spiritual one with a profound impact on her life. After that, her nostalgia for her homeland intensified: "I felt I was losing everything all over again. Why won't you talk to me, son? the pain makes it hard to write." (ibid. 173). They felt apart more and more with each day passing by, and as formerly mentioned, this became evident in various aspects of their life.

Furthermore, Jack himself can be classified as an example of a second-generation diaspora. No matter how hard he tries not to be in the discussion of being half Chinese, he never succeeds. Interestingly, by probing William Safran's theory of diaspora in his character, it became evident that as a person who harshly rejects his motherland, he had most of the diasporic characteristics that Safran counts. Since Jack's mother was a Chinese woman who has "been dispersed from a specific original 'center'" (Safran 83), thus the first characteristic is axiomatic. Moreover, as a child, he was profoundly connected with his mother and his Chinese heritage. Also, he, along with his mother, celebrated various Chinese costumes and, in this way, shared a collective memory about China with his mother. Although he let go of everything that was Chinese in the hope that he could be American, because he thought that as long as he held to his Chinese heritage and his paper menagerie, he would never be able to blend in with his classmates, let alone his host country in general.

Nevertheless, in the end, he realized that he still cannot be as American as others due to the fact that in his heart and in his unconscious, there are still Chinese parts in him. That being said, he finally realized that this was not a defect. Rather, this was something magical that would make him special. All in

all, he is also a diaspora in its literal sense that he is in constant confusion about his homeland, belonging, and identity. He himself is feeling unhomeliness since, throughout his turbulent life, he was not sure where does he actually belong. He lives in-between two spaces, cultures, and nations without totally belonging to any of them. In this light, this notion of not belonging to neither side and yet both is similar to Du Bois' notion of double consciousness. In his book, *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois describes double consciousness as "a peculiar sensation … [the] sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings" (Du Bois 1994: 3). This feeling of being caught between cultures, or as Du Bois labeled 'double consciousness' makes Jack and his mother to feel that they have no cultural 'home,' or a sense of cultural belonging and therefore to feel unhomed. In other words, their cultural identity crisis has made them psychological refugees.

Conclusion

There exists a word in Welsh culture that has no English equivalent because it encompasses several senses at once. That word is *hiraeth*, which "combines elements of homesickness, nostalgia, and longing. Interlaced, however, is the subtle acknowledgment of an irretrievable loss – a unique blend of place, time, and people that can never be recreated." (Crossley-Baxter). It is a homesickness for a home to which you cannot return; The nostalgia, the yearning, the grief for the lost places of your past that you cannot revisit; A deep and irrational bond felt with a time, era, place, or person. There is no better word than hiraeth to explain Jack and his mother's feelings in Ken Liu's "The Paper Menagerie".

In her letter, the mother explains how she had to leave her beloved hometown amid the civil war, and she expressed her longing for the return, but she could no longer return. Perpetually, she felt homesick, and she constantly graves for her previous life in China. Back there, she was happy with her family and neighbors, but in America, her only delight was to think about her time in China. In other words, she made a deep bond with a place, China, and with a time, her childhood. In addition, after she bore a child who possessed her family's appearance, she made a deep bond with a person as well, her son, Jack.

However, as Jack grew up, he chose a different lifestyle than his mother. Borrowing Eric Landowski's terminology, while his mother chose a dandy lifestyle and did anything to differentiate herself from Americans, Jack leaned toward a snob lifestyle and did anything to assimilate with Americans. To do so, he rejects his mother, along with her magic and her cultural heritage. The mother, who finally became happy in America after the birth of her child, again became isolated and thus, in a sense, became an immigrant for the third time.

Furthermore, it is evident that the mother, as a dandy, consciously keeps her connection with her homeland throughout the story. She consciously differentiated herself from Americans in order to be attracted to her homeland. However, with her son's birth and in order to be close to him and keep his connection with him, she tried her best to mimic Americans but her mimicry was not fulfilled. In Bhabha's words, she was "almost the same, but not quite" (86). Therefore, her mimicry led to mockery from not only the host country's inhabitants but also her own son.

However, at the end of the story, we understand that jack, who chose a snob lifestyle to fit in America and, consequently, vehemently rejected his motherland, saw Lahou become alive once again after he read his mother's letter written in Chinese. After reading his mother's life story in her letter and being in touch with Chinese words once again, he regained his mother's magic to some extent. The letter was his mother's final gift to him – a way to regain his lost identity. In the final part of the story, we also sense a profound hiraeth in Jack, too. He might not even know that, but he himself feels hiraeth. A homesickness for a land that he was never situated in; A deep bond felt with her mother and the time that her mother was still alive. Since he was the object of racism, he had to change his lifestyle and let go of his motherland's heritage to assimilate into the American way of living. However, deep down, he was always displaced.

All in all, it can be said that hiraeth is an eternal story of all immigrants from every generation, disregarding their chosen lifestyles. It was only when he got slightly in touch with his motherland through the Chinese language of his mother's letter that this feeling of his became evident. After all, it turns out that he kept his connection with his motherland latent in his unconscious without even knowing it. Thus, it could be said that disregarding what lifestyle immigrants choose, they will have an ambivalent diasporic identity, in which they, consciously or unconsciously, keep the connection with their motherland. Stories of immigrants are stories of constant hiraeth with no way out.

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DIFFÉRENTES GÉNÉRATIONS, MODES DE VIE DISTINCTS, MÊME SENTIMENT D'HIRAETH : UNE ÈTUDE POSTCOLONIALE DE "THE PAPER MENAGERIE" DE KEN LIU

Le phénomène de la migration au cours des dernières décennies introduit de nouvelles versions du colonialisme. Par conséquent, la migration a été introduite comme l'un des sujets spéciaux dans la littérature. L'un des écrivains de la diaspora est Ken Liu et son "The Paper Menagerie". Tout d'abord, à l'aide de la théorie orientale d'Edward Said, cet article discutera en détail de l'attitude des familles et des Américains les uns envers les autres et des différences culturelles entre eux. Ensuite, le caractère de la mère en tant que représentant des immigrés de première génération et du fils en tant que représentant des immigrés de deuxième génération sera sous surveillance à partir des idées postcoloniales d' Homi Bhabha et William Safran afin de déterminer leur chemin vers leurs identités diasporiques. Selon la théorie des relations sociales d'Eric Landowski, les modes de vie distinctifs de Jack et de sa mère dans leur pays d'accueil seront finalement analysés afin de prouver qu'ils ont respectivement choisi des modes de vie *snob* et à la *dandy*. Le présent article conclut que différentes générations d'immigrants maintiennent consciemment ou inconsciemment leur lien avec leur terre, bien qu'ils aient des modes de vie différents. Par exemple, Jack, qui vit une crise d'identité et quitte le Paper Menagerie, sa mère et son héritage chinois pour s'intégrer à la culture américaine. Il perd à la fois sa mère et sa magie, mais à la fin de l'histoire, quand il se sent hiraeth, il les retrouve en quelque sorte. Cependant, son hiraeth était caché dans son subconscient.

Mots-clés : Étude postcoloniale, Littérature diasporique, Différences générationnelles des immigrés, Mode de vie et identité, Orientalisme et différences culturelles, Mimétisme et Hybridité, Nostalgie et Hiraeth.

A Transmedia Narration of Circe through Madeline Miller's Adaptation of the Ancient Goddess

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Abstract: Transmedia storytelling involves unfolding several narratives across differing platforms while each text makes a distinctive contribution to the creation of a unique grand narrative. According to Hen- ry Jenkins, one of the ways in which contemporary writers are using transmedia literature is by recreating old stories in a new way. Madeline Miller has challenged the dominant male perspective by re-writing an ancient myth through the female point of view and renegotiating the female pres- ence in literary history. Transmedia has allowed the writer to rewrite mythical history and partici- pate in the recreation of literary history. Through transmedia, the readers are no longer passive observers, but rather active participants involved in the creation of the literary world that in Circe's case is an enhanced myth.

Keywords: Transmedia, mythology, re-telling, hyper media, Circe

> "The best weapon against myth is to perhaps mythify in its turn and to produce *an artificial myth*:and this reconstituted myth will in fact be a mythology" (Barthes, 139).

Mythology is the background music to all writing; it seeps through all prose either consciously or unconsciously. Joseph Campbell talks about the pervasive mono myth in *Hero with a Thousand Faces* (1949), stating that "It would not be too much to say that myth is the secret opening throughwhich the inexhaustible energies of the cosmos pour into the human cultural manifestation." Madeline Miller has taken an ancient myth, retranslated it, and reconfigured the story through the lens of transmedia, offering a new experience to the old tale. According to Henry Jenkins, "a transmedia story unfolds across multiple media platforms" (Jenkins, 95) yet making "a distinctive and valuable contribution to the whole" (Jenkins, 96) is what makes transmedia different from adaptation. This rendition is transmedia in that it is adding to the conversation and expanding the world of mythology while also connecting the stories to current situations. Mythology is not exclu- sive to text anymore, as the stories have

caught the attention of mass population. We have several media platforms at work, which are interacting with the audience and expanding the conversation. Transmedia storytelling does not focus on individual pieces but rather the grand narrative that all of the different pieces create. Each of these pieces is a standalone, which means without the otherpieces, it still makes perfect sense; however when all of the pieces are placed side by side, it cre- ates a very unique and enriched experience. "The concept of *transmedia storytelling* is defined as the practice of 'coordinated storytelling across multiple media platforms'" (Pietschmann, Völkel, Ohler, 2260). In transmedia storytelling, different sources of media are used to engage the audi- ence with the story and each media source carries a different component of the original source.

This type of storytelling is an experience where it is not only the original text that is influencing all other forms of media, but rather all forms become layers of a single work. Movie scenes end up influencing follow-up novels, or the backstory included in a game is included in the movie and so on. As Culler explains, "the notion of intertextuality names the paradox of linguistic and discursivesystems: that utterances or texts are never moments of origin because they depend on the prior existence of codes and conventions, and it is the nature of codes to be always already in existence, to have lost origins" (1383). The communal aspect of online writing results in "a demystification of

the creative process, a growing recognition of the communal dimensions of expression, as writing takes on more aspects of traditional folklore practice" (Jenkins, 179). The internet has facilitated the access for younger generations to take part in fan communities and has intensified fan partici- pation. The act of creation is no longer a privilege afforded to few, but rather it is a common right seized by all participants. Through looking at Madeline Miller's rendition of *Circe* though Henry Jenkins' theories of transmedia, we analyze her contribution to rewriting mythology and reclaimingthe female narrative.

Ancient goddess in a new world:

Female writers are continuously rewriting and challenging the patriarchal format of the myths thatare generally well accepted and embraced by the public. Some critics argue that the long history ofmisogyny that forms the base and walls of mythology are unbreakable by the feminist movement and efforts should be focused elsewhere, but the new developments in contemporary literature and their reception has fostered hope. Madeline Miller's *Circe* was a New York bestseller, Kamila Shamsie's *Home Fire*, a reworking of the Antigone myth, won the Women's prize for literature.

Everything Under, Daisy Johnson's take on the Oedipus myth, was shortlisted for the Booker Prize, and in 2005, Canongate launched the first volume of the *Canongate Myths*, which commissions renowned authors to retell ancients myths through a very contemporary, and thus anti-misogynis-tic, point

of view. Female retelling of the myths is creating a meta narrative where the writers are no longer accepting the context that has been forced upon them. They are instead now renegotiat-ing their place within the literary world. As Liedeke Plate states, "the emancipatory potential of rewriting" (Plate, 4) , refashioning a myth through a new lens, can provide the opportunity for recreation or even creation of artificial myth. Myths are placed in the land between truths and un-truths. They clearly represent the state of minds that were prevalent at the time and the dominant ideologies present among the people, yet logically, they are not holistically based on truth either. This makes the place of women even more precarious in mythology, considering how in most myths, there is some form of rape or abuse and these stories were created as moral lessons and not just for the sake of entertainment.

Ostriker characterizes myth thus:

Whenever a poet employs a figure or story previously accepted and defined by a culture, the poet is using myth, and the potential is always present that the use will be revisionist: that is, the figure or tale will be appropriated for altered ends, the old vessel filled with new wine, initially satisfying the thirst of the individual poet but ultimately making cultural change possible, like the gods and goddess of classical mythology, all such material has a double power. It exists or appears to exist objectively, in the public sphere, and consequently confers on the writer the sort of authority un- available to someone who writes "merely" of the private self. Myth belongs to "high" culture and is handed "down" through the ages by religious, literary and educational authority. At the same time, myth is quintessentially intimate material, the stuff of dream life, forbidden desire, inexplica-ble motivation – everything in the psyche that to rational consciousness is unreal, crazed or abom- inable (Ostriker, 72).

As the writers can consider their role as myth-makers, Miller has the privilege to recreate her own version of myths and is fortunate enough to see the impact of her myths on simultaneous myths tocome. As Susan Sellers states in her book *Myth and Fairy Tale in Contemporary Women's Fiction* (2001), "Myth-making as a primal or universal function of the human mind ... Both for society at large and for the individual, this story-generating function seems irreplaceable. The individual finds meaning in his life by making of his life a story set within a larger social and cosmic story" (29). The writer is already accessing the world of mythology when they are using older stories as a founda- tion to build their story upon: even the functionality of the new myths have not changed as they are both entertaining and contain a lesson to be learned. Though they might not be as didactic as they once were, they do nonetheless have a message for the reader. While Miller focuses on the sexist treatment of women in *Circe* "there always remains, around the final meaning, a halo of vir-

tualities where other possible meanings are floating: the meaning can almost always be *interpret- ed"* (Barthes & Sontag , 119). Reestablishing a story from a single medium into a Transmedia narra-tive involves adapting and translating the text into different modes of interpretation, thus further establishing the plot and the characters through the story world to afford new artistic affordances. According to Henry Jenkins, transmedia needs to be understood as a shift of how media and cul- ture are produced and consumed. Transmedia is not mere passive participation, but rather the readers are to become active hunters of content. The readers gather information and differentiate between reliable and unreliable pieces of content.

Madeline Miller has access to the many different forms of narration that revolve around Circe, but she has chosen to narrow down her narrative through hunting and gathering as Henry Jenkins claims. Literature is availing itself with transmedia to keep in line with the digital culture of the dayand the needs of the new generation. Transmedia story worlds offer an infinite number of readings of a text, as readers engage with the text through different mediums and are granted a creative outlet with differing degrees of participation according to their interest. Each media provides a dif-ferent door into the story world where the reader may enter to engage with other visitors, whereaslinear narratives only had one entry way for the reader to follow and engage with the text and es- tablish an interpretation. Boltin and Grusin claim that " Because there is no single, privileged point of view, the self becomes a series of 'other' points of view - the intersection of all possible points of view that can be taken in a given space" (232). As the narratives and differing forms of media overlap, the reader becomes the point of convergence of this story world. Therefore, the narration no longer circles the text, but instead it circles the reader. Each version of the story is shaped by the different forms of media and the forms of engagement that is attached to the text from the participants, ultimately contributing to the maintenance and relevancy of the story world.

Circe Rebirthed:

Miller is revitalizing the epic tradition through *Circe*. Representation of Circe is not a new concept. Miller is adding to a conversation that Milton, Spencer, Yates, and many more have had a say in. Circe has been a character that has caught the imagination of many poets, but most of these writ- ers have focused on one version of her dual personality. She is either a vengeful sorceress or a healer, a wanton seductress or a faithful mother. But Miller manages to dissolve this duality in her character and show her as a flawed, yet complete, character. Henry Jenkins theories of hunting and gathering to create a new narrative through the old pieces of narrative can be seen in this new de-piction. Miller has gathered the prevalent narratives and restitched the pieces into a new canvas.

Miller's Circe is neither devil nor saint, but rather a 'human' character who is shaped by her cir- cumstances. There might not be justification for some of her actions, but there is empathy and un-derstanding. Miller has managed to humanize this goddess, whereas most writers sought to de- monize her. This version of the myth might seem unique, but as Mary Beard points out, "Ultimatelythe answer lies in the nature of the myths and the very idea of an orthodox version. Except for dull encyclopedias and stories told on grandmothers' knees, there was no such thing as a 'straight' version of Greek myth, even in antiquity. Every literary telling we have is already a reworking, a pre- quel, a sequel or a subversion" (2). Madeline Miller is adding to a thousand-year-old conversation but with reclaimed power. She subverts the old stories into a new narration, changing the flow of power and harnessing transmedia and adaptation techniques.

The myth of Circe seems to be in conflict with itself as her image has evolved through the ages. Myth's generation of meaning seems to depend on the time and context that it is placed upon, evolving as cultural values evolve. Homer's Circe might have seduced men into her island, but shewas also a healer and a helper. She helped Odysseus and the men escape the wrath of Scylla and continue their journey back to Ithaca. Homer's original depiction "emphasizes the important role the enchantress plays, in Homer and Ovid in particular, as a figure for specifically rhetorical and poetic seductions… a persistent doubling of poet and temptress" (Gough, 72). Homer strikes a bal-ance between both sides of her personality: a sorceress who turns men into pigs and the woman who helps heroes get back home.

However, other renditions of her character have not been so kind. Spencer's rendition of her in the*Faerie Queene* was of a 'prostitute,' a villainous temptress that had to be banished for the hero to save his virtue. Milton's rendition was not as harsh in *Paradise Lost*, but it is not a flattering image either. There have been many adaptations of this character through the times, but it has been through the dominant male gaze, forcing an identity upon her. Miller changes this narrative into a feminist retelling. This is a feminist narrative told by a woman, challenging the previous images.

> Circe, the witch-goddess who was villainized and depicted as a bitter forlorn woman out to re- venge mankind, has her own narrative. This time, the stories are framed from her point of view, and the audience experiences the events from an alternative perspective. Circe seems aware of the contradictory stories that are told about her and accepts these stories with a sense of humourand indifference: "Later, years later, I would hear a song made of our meeting. I was not surprised by the portrait of myself: the proud witch undone before the hero's sword, kneeling and begging for mercy. Humbling women seems to me a chief pastime of poets. As if there can be no story un-less we crawl and weep." (Miller, 181)

In time, feminine retellings of mythology may help destabilize the masculine gaze of the patriar- chal story tellers, such as Homer and Ovid, who make the foundation of literature. As Barthes rightly points out, "Storytelling is always a way of searching for one's origin, speaking one's conflictwith the Law, entering the dialectic of tenderness and hatred" (Barthes & Turner, 47). Critical opin-ions vary on the effectiveness of the female retellings as long as they are following the same framework and language pressed on us by the patriarchal writers, but this research argues that multimedia representation of mythology through differing viewpoints is, in fact, helping with the acceptance of 'otherness.' As Barthes rightly draws into focus:

"Re-vision – the act of looking back, of seeing with fresh eyes, of entering an old text from a new critical direction – is for us more than a chapter in cultural history: it is an act of survival. Until we can understand the assumptions in which we are drenched we cannot know ourselves. A radical critique of literature, feminist in its impulse, would take the work first of all as a clue to how we live, how we have been living, how we have been led to imagine ourselves, how our language has trapped as well as liberated us…We need to know the writing of the past, and know it differently than we have ever known it; not to pass on a tradition but to break its hold over us"(Rich , 18–19).

Madeline Miller liberates Circe from the forced personality caging her from the past and allows herthe chance to self-represent. Henry Jenkins argues that by taking the power away from the text and allowing the readers to recreate the narrative, the interactive transmedia we are creating be- comes superior to the original text. Miller reevaluates Circe's history through transmedia as she chooses the pieces of narrative to mold a new story.

Myths are infamously misogynistic, packed with abuse, rape, and violence against women. Howev-er, female authors are counteracting the exclusion of women from literature and canon, accompanied with their exclusion from the public sphere, by rewriting history and inserting themselvesback into the conversation. By rewriting the ancient myths, they are renegotiating their place with-in the texts. Historiographic metafiction, using Linda Hutcheon's definition, "installs and blurs the line between fiction and history and there is simultaneous and overt assertion and crossing of boundaries in a way which is intensely self-conscious" (112). Novelists are revisioning the ancient myths from a new perspective, humanizing them, and bringing them out of marginalization. These meta-narratives in patriarchy are, in fact, helping with the dismantling of this system and allowing the 'other' voices to be heard. Miller, in her desire to reengage the patriarchal story telling of women, states that she wanted to give Circe a life of her own and to not have her as only a mar- ginal character: "I wanted her to be the centre of the story. I wanted it to be an epic story about a woman's life. And for her to have all the attention and all the adventures and the growth, the errors, the virtues, that heroes like Achilles and Odysseus have

in their stories" (Nicolau, 3). Hyper- media texts allow the audience to engage with a chain of media versions rather than being limited to individual versions of interpretations. The openness of hypermedia affords the readers flexibilitysince the creative element is ever-evolving and subject to change as the expectations of the audi- ence changes. There is no final work, but rather a "work in progress, insofar as it remains open andis constantly increasing" (Hellekson and Busse, 7). The hypertexts take into consideration thechanging environmental conditions and react to the needs of the audience.

Elaine Showalter explains how the female writer does not have the necessary history to build upon as male writers would, so they have to "rediscover the past anew, forging again and again the con-sciousness of their sex" (12–13). Even the femininity that is showcased in mythology is femininity for men. Naturally, the question arises that by recreating mythology, are the female authors adding to the pervasive masculine narrative or are they recreating a new mythology? According to trans- media storytelling, as long as a story is embraced by readers and expanded upon, the text is not fixed. Each author that adds to the story, be it through fanfiction or a published piece of work, is adding to this conversation. Miller's *Circe* is thus not a resurrection, but rather a recreation of whatthe story needs to be for this generation. Circe has been expanded through stories, poetry, opera, movies, and even a television series, and each of these creations are a mirror of the dominant dia- logue of the time they represent. Lévi-Strauss's assertion that "we define the myth as consisting ofall its versions," hinting towards future versions (435) supports the theory that myth is not limited to the time it was created but it also encompasses all of its growing sects. Purkiss comments how "for feminists, the rewriting of myths denotes participation in the struggle to alter gender asym- metries agreed upon for centuries by myth's disseminators" (Larrington & Purkiss, 441). Female writers refuse to accept the mythologies as they were once represented. Instead, by changing the stories and inserting their narratives into the fold of the original stories, they are reviving the 'compost' we are planting on. Mythology encompasses so much of the foundation that stories are based upon, that until we manage to balance the asymmetry present in that ancient narrative, the stories coming out of this foundation will be lopsided.

According to Susan M. Gilbert and Sandra Gubar's *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth Century Imagination* "patriarchy and its texts subordinate and imprison women" (13), so therefore by taking control of the texts, we can exchange subordination to prima- ry and vital. Miller's Circe is quite literally exiled by the patriarchy, specifically her patriarch, but she does not accept the constraints placed on her without finding ways around the limitations. She learns to rebuild her identity into something new, shatter the image of the meek unloved child andbuild a powerful woman in her

stead. Her dislodging of the invisible girl creates an opportunity for her to experiment with her new identity and a new source for her personal myth.

In most retellings of Circe, there is a tangible reduction of power for the female characters, evengoing so far as removing her from being the protagonist of her own story to playing second fiddle. Examples of this can be Ovid's rendition of her, and Spencer's refashioning of her into a side char- acter. The lines of magic and medicine were often blurred throughout history, and working with herbs and drinks to heal the sick very closely resembled Circe's type of magic where she also uses herbs and drinks to transform men into animals and conduct magic. Circean attributes were often used to represent "bad" or "lost" women; characterizations such as sexual desire, independence, and self-awareness were considered as satanic traits and had to be "cured." The mythical female characters had a significant influence over the creation of female stereotypes as either being dan- gerous seductresses or evil doers if they happen to be powerful and independent, as Kimerly Strat-ton examines in *Naming the Witch: Magic, Ideology, and Stereotype in the Ancient World.* Circe, who has always been an outsider, transforms into a symbol of rebellion, a figure unwilling to sub- mit to male authority, and challenges the status quo. Her punishment is banishment, but this ex- ilement is a blessing in disguise. When she is rid of the suffocating pressures of society, she begins to flourish and hone her craft. She becomes one with nature and learns to extract power from the elements of nature. Circe is understood through nature the way her own kind refuses to under- stand her. She wills her thoughts into elements of nature, and nature creates her desires. There is perfect harmony between her thoughts and object of her desire, but she cannot communicate the simplest of her needs to her family: "I brought a withered flower back to life. I banished flies from my house, I made the cherries blossom out of season and turned the fire vivid green. If Aeetes hadbeen there, he would have choked on his beard to see such kitchen tricks" (Miller, 74).

There is a phase of transition that the character needs to go through to come into herself but ulti-mately, the island becomes a threshold of change. Not only does the island change its inhabitants but all who step upon it. Circe's *Pharmakon* was both poison and cure depending on the outcomeshe desired.

"Circe with one drink converted men into beasts, and with another remedy restored to them to their real shape and human form. By this the poets, first inventors of all philosophy, meant to con-vey to us that desire when it is used for luxury and vice, makes us more brutish than the beasts themselves, but if it is by divine help imbued with precepts of virtue, it renders to men their true form and delivers them from the bestial servitude of vice and lust" (Balet, 102).

Circe is defined as 'other,' as she does not belong with the gods nor does she belong with the mortals. Therefore, she is placed on an island to be isolated in order to highlight her strangeness. She issomeone who is on the fringe of

society, and society punishes her for being different. They label her as a witch, a term used for non-conforming women and to underline her undesirability. In the previous literary traditions, powerful women were vilified in some manner to detract from their influence. Circe not only had the power to transform men but also immortal creatures. She trans- formed a sea nymph into a terrible monster and a man into a god. This made her the most fear- some for the gods who took glory in their unchangeability.

Circe through different eras:

The myth of Circe is to be found in numerous classical sources, including Homer's *The Odyssey* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* to name a few. Homer's Circe is depicted as a powerful and wise god- dess who is not only in touch with nature but can also control it. She uses herbs and magic to transform Odysseus's men into pigs, but she also shows his way home when he decided to leave her island. Through the centuries, as different religious and social points of view begin to affect theoriginal text, Circe changes from a well-balanced character into a new vengeful, jealous, and un- balanced character. Close reading of any text can transform it into a new text, and the alternative texts that were created from the same character are a testimonial to that.

Ovid's version of Circe is a misogynistic one, turning a powerful goddess into a sexually insatiable,cunning sorceress. This new version of Circe is selfish and only seems to use her magic when she wants to take revenge on those who have angered her. In Ovid's depiction of Circe and the other gods, gender and magic go hand in hand. However, the male characters are far more powerful andcarry more magic than the female characters. The male characters are also more stable, whereas the female characters are linked to change. Their identities are not stable because they is depen- dent on the men in their lives. Circe, for example, is defined by her relationships to men: her fa- ther, Glaucos; her brothers, Odysseus; and finally her son and husband. Each recreation adds to world of Circe a new depth and differing perspectives, which bring with themselves new justifica- tions and renunciations. Miller's use of intertextuality and reworking of this ancient text allows herto escape the heavy burden of the patriarchal damnation and affords her a rebirth while still keep-ing her main characteristics intact.

Circe's gift is transformation. She transforms others among her own transformation. Her magic "can be used benevolently or malevolently," but her transformations also induce "some kind of moral reform" (Yates, 202). Circe's potions bring out the true nature of the man who drinks it. Formen who rape and abuse her, she transforms them into swine and as these animals are within their nature, she feels no remorse for her actions. She reflects on her actions as repercussions to certain deeds and has no remorse for her choice in her transfigurations because the intended par- ties have 'earned' their new roles.

"After I changed a crew, I would watch them scrabbling and cry-ing in the sty, falling over each other, stupid with their horror. They hated it all, their newly volup- tuous flesh, their delicate split trotters, their swollen bellies dragging in the earth's muck. It was a humiliation, a debasement" (Miller, 172). She is branded as wicked for turning men into pigs, but through Miller's feminist narrative, the reader has the opportunity to fill in the gaps left by the an-cient authors. This alternative version of the text affords the opportunity for the author to chal- lenge the stereotypes of gender and the expectations set for each gender through her storytelling. By adding background and depth to a sideline character, she shifts the spotlight from the male characters onto the female protagonist. Miller is focused on dismantling the systematic patriarchal story and eliminating the hero worship from both sexes. Both sexes are depicted on equal ground, and Miller does not bend to social expectations. One example of this is when Penelope and Circe meet each other on Circe's island. Miller does not lower either woman to sensationalism nor dra- ma, as would be expected. The wife and the mistress meet, and as the dominant patriarchal narra-tive would demand, hatred and strong emotions should ensue. Instead, both women carry on with dignity and find common ground to stand on. Penelope and Circe share similarities in that both are living a pseudo-life by waiting for life to happen rather than partaking in life. Both are fighting un- wanted attention from lecherous men and both are raising their sons as single mothers. Although they meet on unfriendly terms and as rivals, they soon realize they are the same person and even-tually go so far as to change places. Penelope becomes the witch of Aiaia, and Circe sets off to ex- plore the world as a mortal and a healer. They have been wronged by men most of their lives, but they thrive when they accept and lean into their powers. They both have Odysseus in common and have born him a son, but contrary to older versions of Circe's story, Odysseus is not some prize to be won by the women. The female characters are pushed to the side for the male character to shine as Macmillan argues:

> The same can be argued for the *Odyssey,* where the female characters, including the goddesses Circe and Calypso, appear to act primarily as structural elements, enabling or hindering Odysseus on his journey home to Ithaca. In the *Odyssey,* Circe certainly hinders Odysseus' journey in one sense, as she turns his men into swine and becomes his lover and hostess on Aiaia for a year. How-ever, she also acts as an important enabler; in contrast to Calypso, who wants to keep Odysseus with her for ever, Circe makes no protest when Odysseus eventually decides to leave. (Macmillan, 32)

The female characters are entertainment of little value, they can easily be replaced or forgotten, and if they follow the rules of the patriarchy, they will be rewarded with marriage. According to Campbell, the journey of the male hero

and female hero differ in this respect: the male hero entersinto marriage as a prize, which he is the master of, whereas the female hero is to hand over her power and be subdued. Whether or not she wants to be conquered is of little relevance, as, "Whenthe adventurer, in this context, is not a youth but a maid, she is the one who, by her qualities, her beauty, or her yearning, is fit to become the consort of an immortal. Then the heavenly husband descends to her and conducts her to his bed— whether she will or no. And if she has shunned him, the scales fall from her eyes; if she has sought him, her desire finds its peace" (Campbell, 109-11). Miller challenges this narrative, as the female characters take centre stage as the most powerful goddess, mother, and individual. Circe is battling Athena, the most powerful goddess in the world. She fights monsters and battles demons while the men are shown as frivolous and lustful. Mar- riage is not a prize to be won, but rather a determent in these characters lives.

The transmedia retelling of Circe's story is challenging the dominant narrative by allowing the writer to rewrite the story from a feminist point of view. Henry Jenkins argues that fan participa- tion in rewriting texts enhances the quality of literature for all involved, and Miller has managed toprove this theory by rewriting Circe's story. By allowing a side character to have an individual voice and affording her the chance to narrate her story from her point of view, Miller affords her the power that has been snatched away by the male authors. Miller challenges all of the stereotypical labels placed upon this character by creating a strong, resilient woman who is determined to per- severe no matter what the patriarchal society throws at her. By interjecting these powerful womeninto ancient myths, the writers are helping reshape literature and grant permission for the youngerwriters to follow in their footsteps. Even history is not set in stone, and these authors are proving that.

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TRANSMEDIJSKA NARACIJA KIRKE U ADAPTACIJI *ANTIČKE BOGINJE* MADELIN MILER

Transmedijsko pripovijedanje uključuje razvijanje različitih narativa na različitim platformama, pri čemu svaki tekst daje svoj poseban doprinos stvaranju jedinstvene velike naracije. Prema Henrlju Dženkinsu, jedan od načina na koji savremeni pisci koriste transmedijsku književnost jest preoblikovanje starih priča na nov način. Madelin Miler izazvala je dominantnu mušku perspektivu ponovnim pisanjem drevnog mita iz ženske

perspektive i pregovaranjem o prisutnosti žena u književnoj istoriji. Transmedija joj je omogućila ponovno pisanje mitološke povijesti i sudjelovanje u stvaranju književne istorije. Kroz transmediju, čitaoci više nijesu pasivni promatrači, već aktivni sudionici u stvaranju književnog svijeta koji je u slučaju Kirke obogaćen mit.

Ključne riječi: transmedija, mitologija, ponovno pripovijedanje, hipermedija, Kirka.

Moby-Dick, Modernism and the "Post-Death" Narration

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Abstract: There is a peculiar tendency among many first-person Modernist narrators to simulate the narrative perspective of "posthumousness" (as if these accounts were somehow narrated by the dead). The procedure (that could be termed the "post-death narration") seems to be present in various proto-modernist and Modernist works such as Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury* and *Absalom, Absalom!*, T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*, etc. This narrative perspective is entwined with the trauma discourse, and the article argues that some of the best-known Modernist techniques (like the stream of consciousness) are based on the Gothic model of spectral narration. In the works of the genre, ghosts are often portrayed as traumatized, incommunicative, and disoriented "shattered selves" eternally entrapped in the closed space of a single, repetitive traumatic memory. This also seems to be the case with many Modernist narrators. The article shows various ways this genre convention of the Gothic has been (re)used in Modernist storytelling. Furthermore, the "post-death narration" could also be interpreted as a "symptom" of extreme subjectivity and epistemic frustration (which are typical features of Modernist narration in general). It is also claimed that the narrative perspective of "posthumousness" was first employed in Melville's *Moby-Dick* and that Ishmael, the narrator of the novel, could be seen as the "prototype" of this kind of Modernist "post-death" narration.

Keywords: post-death narration; Modernism; subjectivity; *Moby-Dick*

"Memories of the dead"

The "underworld" is not just a frequent motif but the symbolic model of the storyworld in many Modernist fictions. What is Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*[1], "a Modernist manifesto, announcing in 1899 the note of its new era" (Graham 2004, 211), but a reworking of an ancient theme: a hero, a doomed Orpheus is descending into the underworld, "the city of the dead" (Conrad 2002, 15), gliding through the Styx-like Congo river, "like a phantom, wondering and secretly appalled" (Conrad 2002, 58). For Marlow, Congo becomes "the tenebrous land invaded by […] mean and greedy phantoms" (Conrad 2002, 114), the underworld

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[1] For a more elaborated exploration of the "underworld" theme in Conrad's novella, see (e.g.) Anspaugh 1995 and Vujošević 2021.

from which one can never find a way out. The entire geography becomes strangely chthonic: not only Africa but Europe itself turns out to be the world of the dead. Brussels is "the sepulchral city" (Conrad 2002, 119), and London is "one of the dark places of the earth" (Conrad 2002, 5). As if everything is swallowed up by the experience of death and destruction, even Marlow himself. His narration is strangely "posthumous": his sentences are incoherent, elliptical, like "memories of the dead that accumulate in every man's life—a vague impress on the brain of shadows that had fallen on it in their swift and final passage" (Conrad 2002, 123). He seems to be "numbered with the dead" (Conrad 2002, 114), and his narration is disturbingly inconclusive, shattered, and elliptical, like whispers and wailings of ghosts that are forever haunting the places of their traumas. There is a spectral effect to this kind of Modernist narration.

This same narrative model is also present in Eliot's *The Waste Land* (1922). The depiction of the London workday morning routine suddenly turns into a purgatorial vision, like an image from a nightmare of some visionary saint:

> Unreal City,
> Under the brown fog of a winter dawn,
> A crowd flowed over London Bridge, so many,
> I had not thought death had undone so many. (Eliot 2001, 7)

The multiple narrators of Eliot's poem are also strangely spectral. These are fragmented, overheard chatters of the dead, specimens of shadows talking:

> And when we were children, staying at the arch-duke's,
> My cousin's, he took me out on a sled,
> And I was frightened. He said, Marie,
> Marie, hold on tight. And down we went (Eliot 2001, 5).

These are phantom memories, melancholy repetitions of shattered, evaporated, ghostly subjects, long dead. If there is a lesson we can learn from the Gothic, it is that ghosts are strangely incommunicative, eternally obsessed with some private image or memory, some arcane word they cannot stop uttering. They are forever caught up in endless eerie repetitions, entrapped in a haunted nostalgia for their own terminated lives, for some unacted possibility. They can offer nothing but "a heap of broken images" (Eliot 2001, 5). There is a uniquely Gothic ghostly script sustaining many Modernist narratives.

This is perhaps nowhere as obvious as in Faulkner's high modernist *Absalom, Absalom!* (1936). Seven years after his suicide in Faulkner's previous novel *The Sound and the Fury*, Quentin Compson (re)appears again as a narrator, speaking from "the cold air, the iron New England dark" (Faulkner 1951, 378) of his Harvard campus. As if he were invoked, "exhumed" from a previous text in which he was already dead and buried, to become "a faceless mind agonizing in the void" (DiRenzo 1993, 147), speaking quietly to Shreve (as if from shadows)

about multiple traumas, intimate and collective. In *Absalom, Absalom!*, the world of the *postbellum* South is already the world of the dead: "The deep South dead since 1865 and peopled with garrulous outraged baffled ghosts, listening, having to listen, to one of the ghosts which had refused to lie still even longer than most had, telling him about old ghost-times; and the Quentin Compson who was still too young to deserve yet to be a ghost, but nevertheless having to be one" (Faulkner 1951, 9). Another narrator of the novel, Rosa Coldfield is also "a ghost" musing "with shadowy docility" (Faulkner 1951, 8), a spectral spinster still haunting the old mansion, keeping hold of its secrets like "the cold Cerberus of [family] hell" (Faulkner 1951, 136) narrating from "the dim coffin-smelling gloom" (Faulkner 1951, 8) of the old, decrepit house. She is caught up in the loop of reveries, missed opportunities and regrets (like all ghosts are), eerily repeating the childish ditty: "*Yes, Rosie Coldfield, lose him, weep him; caught a beau but couldn't keep him*" (Faulkner 1951, 171).

Perhaps, this spectral atmosphere (the hidden symbolic presence of the underworld waiting to swallow up the world of the living) is also present in Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (1925), as if the entire narrative is driving on "toward death through the cooling twilight" (Fitzgerald 2001, 87). When Nick Carraway sees Gatsby for the first time, he seems to be only a passing apparition: "When I looked once more for Gatsby he had vanished, and I was alone again in the unquiet darkness" (Fitzgerald 2001, 16). Could the "unquiet darkness" be a strange reference to "The Unquiet Grave," a ballad describing a young man grieving the death of his beloved and talking to her specter? Isn't Nick Carraway a strange, symbolic "widow" of Gatsby, the only one who had stayed by his bier until the end? For Nick, Gatsby seems to be invested with spectral quality, entrapped within the ghost-like world of a single desire, single futile obsession: "He must have looked up at an unfamiliar sky through frightening leaves and shivered as he found what a grotesque thing a rose is and how raw the sunlight was upon the scarcely created grass. A new world, material without being real, where poor ghosts, breathing dreams like air, drifted fortuitously about… like that ashen, fantastic figure gliding toward him through the amorphous trees" (Fitzgerald 2001, 103). The lesson of the Gothic is emerging again and again in Modernist narration: gothic specters are always desperately plagued with impossible dreams that distance them from the solid world.[2]

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[2] For example, in Matthew Lewis's Gothic novel *The Monk*, the afterlife of the Bleeding Nun, a ghost haunting the castle of Lindenberg, is nothing but a mute repetition of a single erotic fascination, a disembodied fantasy surviving her physical substance. She is doomed to eternally reenact her transgression, forever entrapped in this single emotion. A similar thing happens in *The Turn of the Screw*, where the ghosts of bedeviled lovers, Miss Jessel and Peter Quint, forever haunt the mansion at Bly, their afterlife being

But, how to account for this Modernist "hauntology," this strange propensity of Modernist texts to be "possessed" with images of the underworld, with uncanny narrative *posthumousness*?

"An author from the dead": narrating trauma in (proto-)modernism

The origin of Modernist post-death narration could be traced back to Melville's *Moby-Dick* (1851). This novel is also structured as a symbolic "descent into the underworld" (Kenngott 2014, 2). It represents an unstable rewriting of Dante's *Divine Comedy* with Queequeg as "Ishamel's Virgil, [...] a type of virtuous pagan" (Kenngott 2014, 13). Moreover, Ishmael's narration is uncannily spectral: toward the end of the novel it appears that the I-perspective (established already in the first chapter with "Call me Ishmael") is abandoned, and some more "pervasive" narrative instance seems to be taking hold of the narration, surveying and rendering various events of the sinking of the Pequod. For example, in the last chapter, we are informed of the two relatively distant events: Stubb's moribund lamentation on the Pequod's deck is almost immediately followed by Ahab's concluding, tragic soliloquy (uttered on his whaling boat). A single, "normal" human consciousness could hardly be the narrator of these nearly simultaneous but spatially removed events. The description of the Pequod sinking is then elaborately offered, resembling some "last revelation, which only an author from the dead could adequately tell" (Melville 2014, 466).

As if something paradoxical has happened here. It seems that everyone has perished in the final confrontation with the white whale, yet a strange, disembodied, phantom narrative voice somehow survives to tell the entire story: "[T]hen all collapsed, and the great shroud of the sea rolled on as it rolled five thousand years ago" (Melville 2014, 560). However, the ensuing short "Epilogue" informs us that "one did survive the wreck" (Melville 2014, 561). Ishmael somehow survives the vortex opened by the sinking of the ship and the shark-infested waters for "almost one whole day and night" (Melville 2014, 561). The "Epilogue" seems to be a forced move: an unconvincing attempt to provide a realistic basis for previous narration. But the sense of some narrative "posthumousness" remains as if this was an effect necessary for the narration. In the end, *Moby-Dick* is not so much a survivor's tale as the narration of the dead, unconvincingly excused in the "Epilogue" from its own impossibility. Tara Robbins Fee rightly notices that "such closure eludes the reader of Melville's novel [...] for although the ending resolves the conflict of the story [...], it does not render the Ishmael plucked out of the ocean recognizable as the Ishmael

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nothing but an eerie and anemic repetition of their transgression. It seems that ghosts are, ultimately, shadows of desire.

who tells the tale" (Fee 2012, 139). As if the retelling of the events of the novel somehow demands a simulated perspective of the post-death experience.

This simulated perspective of "posthumousness" is related to narrative accounts of trauma. According to Ishamel, the "knowledge of the dead" is essentially connected with incommunicability. As if there is a dark *surplus* of traumatic experience that cannot be adequately and discoursively expressed:

> In what census of living creatures, the dead of mankind are included; why it is that a universal proverb says of them, that they tell no tales, though containing more secrets than the Goodwin Sands; [...] in what eternal, unstirring paralysis, and deadly, hopeless trance, yet lies antique Adam who died sixty round centuries ago; [...] why all the living so strive to hush all the dead; wherefore but the rumor of a knocking in a tomb will terrify a whole city. All these things are not without their meanings. (Melville 2014, 35)

This could be a compelling way to approach the Modernist post-death narration. Modernist narrators (and Ishmael is, perhaps, the protomodernist narrator, a prototype of shattered, solipsistic narrators such as Conrad's Marlow, Medox Ford's John Dowell, or Faulkner's Quentin Compson) "tell no tales." What is, for example, the "tale" of *Heart of Darkness*? Marlow is caught up in the narrative crisis, constantly asking for reassurance concerning the identity of his own story:

> Do you see [Kurtz]? Do you see the story? Do you see anything? It seems to me I am trying to tell you a dream—making a vain attempt because no relation of a dream can convey the dream-sensation, that commingling of absurdity, surprise, and bewilderment [...] that notion of being captured by the incredible which is of the very essence of dreams... "He was silent for a while...." No, it is impossible; it is impossible to convey the life-sensation. (Conrad 2002, 43)

Traumatized by his experiences, Marlow is "the narrator who constantly evokes forms of unreality – dreams, nightmares, phantoms, visions" (Knight 1987, 26). The real world is lost to him. "The whole text [seems to be merely] an adventure of Marlow's imagination" (Knight 1987, 26). It appears that any objective, impartial rendition of empirical reality is impossible here. Instead, we are caught up in "the literal/figurative play-off by which it becomes impossible to process descriptions of light, darkness, hearts, etc., without slipping into metaphorical reading" (Knight 1987: 25). Everything becomes invested with arbitrary symbolism, like a laborious and inconclusive interpretation of an utterly chaotic dream. Narrative failure seems to be an integral part of the

Modernist aesthetic.[3] No wonder Faulkner famously described the *Sound and the Fury* as "a splendid failure,"[4] for none of the shattered, traumatized Compson narrators are able to "tell the story" adequately.

The stance of narratorial posthumousness seems to be provoked by some traumatic crisis of subjectivity. (E.g., Septimus Smith, a shell-shocked character in Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway*, is described as an animated dead person[5]). Perhaps, even the stream of consciousness, the Modernist narrative technique par excellence, could be viewed as a uniquely spectral discourse of trauma, a peculiar narrative imitation of catatonic rigor of the shell-shock with "its stutter-like repetitions and syntactic tremor, [...] resembling a speech in a restless dream" (Vujošević 2021, 121).[6] This is especially true of Quentin Compson in *The Sound and the Fury* and John Dowell in *The Good Soldier*. These narrators are caught up (to use Ishmael's description of the condition of the dead) in some "eternal, unstirring paralysis and deadly, hopeless trance." Their stream of consciousness reflects the disturbing fact that somehow every kind of future development is excluded for them. These are the agitated, hopeless narrators plagued by past traumas, by some death-like uneventfulness in which they can do nothing but brood over the traumatic experiences that have already happened in a futile attempt to make of them a coherent story. "I was the walking dead" (Ford 2003, 120), says a disoriented narrator of Medox Ford's

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[3] Jonathan Ullyot, e.g., claims that "literary modernity" in general is "committed to failure" (2015, 1). Various works of literary Modernism are often "repetitive, fragmented, and nonlinear texts that privilege moments of paradox, confusion, anxiety, and breakdown over moments of revelation, discovery, coherence, and resolution" (Ullyot 2015, 1).

[4] Faulkner used this phrase in response to a student's question at the Virginia College Conference on April 15, 1957. The transcript and the audio recording of the event are available at "Faulkner at Virginia" website, n.d. Retrieved July 27, 2022, from https://faulkner.lib.virginia.edu/display/wfaudio07_2.html.

[5] "But he himself remained high on his rock, like a drowned sailor on a rock. I leant over the edge of the boat and fell down, he thought. I went under the sea. I have been dead, and yet am now alive, but let me rest still, he begged (he was talking to himself again - it was awful, awful!)" (Woolf 1992, 83).

[6] An interesting specimen of this kind of repetitious, traumatic narration could be found (e.g.) in Quentin's section of *The Sound and the Fury*: "Because if it were just to hell; if that were all of it. Finished. If things just finished themselves. Nobody else there but her and me. If we could just have done something so dreadful that they would have fled hell except us. I have committed incest I said Father it was I it was not Dalton Ames And when he put Dalton Ames. Dalton Ames. Dalton Ames. When he put the pistol in my hand I didn't. That's why I didn't. He would be there and she would and I would. Dalton Ames. Dalton Ames. Dalton Ames. If we could have just done something so dreadful and Father said That's sad too people cannot do anything that dreadful they cannot do anything very dreadful at all" (Faulkner 1946,98-9).

novel. This type of narration presupposes some symbolic death of the narrator. For such narrators, everything has already happened: they wait for nothing and expect nothing. They are reduced to spectral minds agonizing over their traumatic histories.

"The **demon phantom**": the loss of reality and solipsistic disintegration of the (proto-)modernist self

It seems that this new narrative crisis begins with Melville's Ishmael. He is the narrator with "no world of his own" (Dreyfus 2018), strangely obsessed with his own death: "A stark, bewildered feeling, as of death, came over me" (Melville 2014, 413). He is a shattered, manic-depressive subject. The fact is obvious even in the very first chapter.[7] What he narrates is always compromised by his own "fantasmatic" investments. Reality is lost, rejected, censored ("Ishamel" even withholds his real name), and what remains is a fantasmatic overwriting of reality, a flight to fantasy. But there is something decentralized, shiftless in Ishmael's fantasies, in this "pocket novel" (Barthes 1994, 87) of reveries he always carries with himself.

For example, his initial encounter with Queequeg (they were bedfellows at the Spouter Inn) is invested with excessive homoerotic intimacy and desire for proximity ("Queequeg now and then affectionately throwing his brown tattooed legs over mine"[8]). The bed-sharing affair becomes, in Ishmael's unrestricted fantasies, almost a symbolic marriage. "But human relationships mean little to [Ishmael], and after a [...] violent entry, Queequeg is almost forgotten" (Forster 1985, 140). A strange kind of emotional "promiscuity" is at work in Ishmael's fantasy of intimacy. A similar thing happens with his idealization of one Bulkington whose physique is described with obvious homoerotic fascination ("This man interested me at once"[9]), and with a sort of melancholy desire (he's compared even to a "demi-god"[10]), and then is mentioned no more. Ishmael's fantasy is not built around anyone: Queequeg and Bulkington are merely dispensable guest-actors of his intimacy plays. His fantasies are startlingly solipsistic. No wonder that in what is perhaps the strangest chapter of the novel "A Squeeze of the Hand," Ishmael's intimacy play achieves an almost explicit

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[7] The narrative opens with Ishmael's suicidal ideation: "[W]henever I find myself involuntarily pausing before coffin warehouses, and bringing up the rear of every funeral I meet; and especially whenever my hypos get […] an upper hand of me […] then, I account it high time to get to sea as soon as I can. This is my substitute for pistol and ball. With a philosophical flourish Cato throws himself upon his sword; I quietly take to the ship" (Melville 2014, 1).

[8] Melville 2014, 53.

[9] Melville 2014, 13.

[10] Melville 2014, 104.

"onanistic" quality. "When the sperm of the whale is extracted, it is found to have 'strangely concreted into lumps.' [...] The task of the crew is to squeeze these lumps back into fluid" (Cosgrove 2014, 24). However, the event provides an unexpected, symbolic *surplus* pleasure for Ishmael:

> [I]n that inexpressible sperm, I washed my hands and my heart of it; I almost began to credit the old Paracelsan superstition that sperm is of rare virtue in allaying the heat of anger. [...] Squeeze! squeeze! squeeze! all the morning long; I squeezed that sperm till I myself almost melted into it; I squeezed that sperm till a strange sort of insanity came over me; and I found myself unwittingly squeezing my co-laborers' hands in it, mistaking their hands for the gentle globules. Such an abounding, affectionate, friendly, loving feeling did this avocation beget; that at last I was continually squeezing their hands, and looking up into their eyes sentimentally. (Melville 2014, 405-6)

The scene is not (so much) a "celebration of human fellowship and community" (Cosgrove 2014, 4) as some critics would have it, but a delirious, compulsive, manic episode. This alleged celebration of fellowship is paradoxically associated with the "solitary vice." Fraternization and communal proximity are only masking out Ishmael's private reveries and "his own (onanistic) solipsism" (Schutjer 2000, 171).

There is something "haunting" about fantasies as if they can establish a spectral world concomitant to our own but strangely spectral and elusive, to which one could easily become a prisoner: an enslaved ghost of one's own desire. This destructive power of fantasy is something that Ishmael expresses through a uniquely spectral idiom of the ghost stories, almost resembling a summary of Poe's Gothic *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*: "But in pursuit of those far mysteries we dream of, or in tormented chase of that demon phantom that, some time or other, swims before all human hearts; while chasing such over this round globe, they either lead us on in barren mazes or midway leave us whelmed" (Melville 2014, 229).

Dealing with the psychology of Modernism, Patricia Waugh notices that "as the mind turns inward – and this is an 'inward turn' [typical of Modernism] – the world is drained of affective meaning and becomes a place of the imaginary, [...] shimmery and strange and like a world but never achieving that depth and solidity that gives the feeling of reality" (Waugh 2012, 90). Ishmael's fantasies create a "double space, disconnected, layered" (Barthes 1994, 88), thus slowly replacing reality with fantastic interpretations. E.g, numerous chapters in the novel are complete fabulations. Ahab's soliloquy (uttered in the privacy of his cabin) in Chapter 37 is nothing but a fabricated Shakesperian pastiche. Chapter 40 is a dramatic play script (not a mimetic report of actual events) portraying sailors singing and dancing to the tambourine, speaking like characters in a

vaudeville. Chapter 95 is a strange hallucinatory rendition of a sailor "called the mincer" (Melville 2014, 408) pulling over himself the skin of a whale's penis. And so on. There is this constant retreat to some private vision, to the "defensive and deceptive, the unreliable and the darkly inconceivable" (Waugh 2012, 85). This kind of narration ultimately offers merely "desires and obscure drives and the self-dramatizations that hide characters from themselves" (Waugh 2012, 85). This is something that "Modernist fiction is almost exclusively identified with" (Waugh 2012, 85). Ishmael's unreliability is so specifically manic and solipsistic that it becomes an early symptom of Modernist writing.

Speaking of Musil's novel *The Man Without Qualities* (*Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften*, 1943), Paul Ricoeur claims that it "amply verifies that the crisis of identity of the character is correlative to the crisis of identity of the plot" (Ricoeur 1991, 78). This is also true of Ishmael and his narration. His narrative only masquerades itself as an adventure story (the novel is only a broken promise of the seafaring adventure). Ishmael's narration seems to be a strange fulfillment of the famous Flaubertian „proto-modernist" desire: "to compose a book about nothing" (Flaubert 1980, 154). His renditions of the seafaring events slowly recede, giving way to numerous chapters of endless theoretical speculations, daydreams, fantasies, unresolved cetology, and metaphysics. It is the doomed *Summa Cetologiae* that ends with the horrid and destructive nothingness of the sea, deep and dark enough "to make an infidel of Abraham" (Melville 2014, 394). All of Ishmael's exegetical attempts are ultimately arbitrary and futile: the ocean is a symbolic anti-text, groundless substance, the great erasure of non-narrativity[11] that ultimately swallows up all narrative structures, all interpretative attempts: this is "the sea which refuses to give up its dead" (Melville 2014, 251).

The white whale is a monstrous text, and Ishmael's narrative a hopeless attempt at its reading. This seems to be the onset of Modernism: the world itself becomes a textual enigma. For example, "Quentin's desire to know Bon's lineage and Sutpen's murderous past in *Absalom, Absalom!* mirrors the perpetual frustration to fully understand both the [the semantic significance of the] white whale and Ahab's monomania through the lens of Ishmael's relentlessly discursive investigations" (Ball 2018, 313). There is something ungraspable, some perpetual obsession with "textual" meaning (and this is also the very stuff of the ghost stories – with their secret manuscripts written in "the faint spidery script"[12] that always hide more than they reveal). Everything breaks down, for Ishmael, into arbitrariness of interpretation. There is a certain Gothic inspiration to this (proto-)modernist epistemic anxiety. Even the hue of the sperm whale,

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[11] Hubert Dreyfus also speaks of this ''unrepresentativeness of the sea" (Dreyfus 2018) in Melville's novel.
[12] Faulkner 1951: 129.

its spectral whiteness, becomes the cause of obsessive, inconclusive, and "bipolar" speculations. It must mean something! But, for Ishmael, it simultaneously denotes contradictory things: "divine spotlessness and power" (Melville 2014, 182) and "nameless horror" (Melville 2014, 181) and "demonism" (Melville 2014, 187). Ishmael is not a mere conveyor of events, but a spectral and doomed interpreter, a purveyor of interpretations.

Everything has become a "textual" sign for Ishmael. Even the folds, delineations, and scars of the white whale's skin "are hieroglyphical" for him; "that is, if you call those mysterious ciphers on the walls of pyramids hieroglyphics, then that is the proper word to use in the present connexion. […] [T]he mystic-marked whale remains undecipherable" (Melville 2014, 299). This image of unreadable, encrypted text reappears anew in *Moby-Dick*.[13] There is a doomed quest for the "complete theory of heavens and earth" in Ishmael's narration, megalomaniacal interpretative lunacy that necessarily ends up in epistemic frustration. According to Louis Sass, "modernist art has been said to manifest certain […] characteristics that are reminiscent of [mental illness]" (Sass 1992, 8). Schizophrenic attitude, in Sass's terms, has something of Apollonian, even Socratic propensity for "exaggerated cerebralism" (Sass 1992, 9). In a word, the schizophrenic mind is never simply "unhinged": it is "possessed" by a peculiar far-reaching interpretative logic. It is preoccupied with the quest for totalities. The ultimate "delusional" attitude is to read the world as "text," and that is what Ishmael does (and many subsequent Modernist narrators). What does this mean? For example, when the narrator of *The Great Gatsby* informs us that the hue of Gatsby's car is "yellow" we can read this as symbolic information (perhaps it denotes gold, the quality of money and wealth, etc.). But we can engage in such interpretations only because we are dealing with a fictional narrative. But what will happen if, in real life, I start to attribute symbolic values to the colors of the cars I encounter in my everyday routine? To see the world as a (fictional) text in which everything could be endowed with a special symbolic significance is already a sign of delusion.[14]

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[13] For example, Queequeg's tattooing, Ishmael informs us in what is probably one of his fabulations, "had been the work of a departed prophet and seer of his island, who, by those hieroglyphic marks, had written out on his body a complete theory of the heavens and the earth, and a mystical treatise on the art of attaining truth; so that Queequeg in his own proper person was a riddle to unfold; a wondrous work in one volume; but whose mysteries not even himself could read […] and these mysteries were therefore destined in the end to moulder away with the living parchment whereon they were inscribed, and so be unsolved to the last" (Melville 2014, 469-70).

[14] Sass offers an example of a schizophrenic patient "who noticed that people in a train car were crossing their legs from time to time, and then suddenly concluded that they were all performing some kind of play for his benefit" (1992, 43).

Similarly, Ishmael constantly tries to see the outer world as potentially "engaged" in a peculiar Morse code communication with him through various symbolic hints (the color of the whale, the scars on its skin, the Queequeg's tattoos, etc.). As has already been said, the same thing repeatedly happens in (e.g.) Marlow's narration in *Heart of Darkness*. Realistic accounts are exchanged for unstable symbolic/metaphorical interpretations of events.[15]

This loss of stable reality through excessive fantasies and rabid, inconclusive interpretations seems to explain the simulation of the "post-death" narration on behalf of many (proto-)modernist narrators. Ultimately, they resemble some ghost-like subjects devoid of the stable world, inhabiting the liminal space of their own making. As if detailing Ishmael's narratorial propensities, Sass observes that "schizophrenic individuals often describe themselves as feeling dead yet hyperalert—a sort of corpse with insomnia; thus one such patient spoke of having been 'translated' into what he called a 'death-mood,' yet he also experienced his thoughts as somehow electric— heated up and intensified"(Sass 1992, 6). To borrow Sass's term, "a death-mood" narration will become the ultimate narrative position of a shattered, solipsistic subject in much of the later Modernist tradition.

The enclosed space of narration

The simulation of narrative posthumousness, or the position of the post-death narration, seems to be an expression of extreme, solipsistic subjectivity that runs through much of Modernist tradition. This particular narrative procedure already occurs in Melville's *Moby-Dick*, a novel that has been "deemed protomodernist" (Ball 2018, 308). I have offered two possible explanations for the appearance of this narrative model.

The "death-mode" narration in (proto-)modernist fiction could be seen as an expression of a traumatic experience. What often characterizes a traumatized subject is the sense of loss of stable subjectivity. When narrating traumatic episodes, many Modernist I-narrators simulate the post-death narrative perspective (which is informed by the Gothic model of spectral

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[15] Thus, Marlow's account of persons and events is "only marginally anchored in direct observation" (Knight 1987, 24). For example, his description of the Intended's apartment is more allegorical than realistic: "The tall marble fireplace had a cold and monumental whiteness. A grand piano stood massively in a corner; with dark gleams on the flat surfaces like a sombre and polished sarcophagus. A high door opened—closed. I rose'' (Conrad 2002, 104; also cited in Knight 1987, 24). His report invests the Intended's apartment with the symbolic value of a mausoleum. Sensory knowledge is illusory here: these descriptions pertain to be a part of an almost mystical, visionary knowledge of events.

narration). In the works of the genre, the ghosts are often portrayed as subjects entrapped in repetitious and incommunicative memories of traumatic experiences.

The second explanation (that cannot be separated from the first one) is that the simulated perspective of "narrative posthumousness" arises from a sense of the narrator's isolation from the objective reality. There is a particularly solipsistic quality to many Modernist or proto-modernist I-narratives (such as *Heart of Darkness*, *The Sound and the Fury*, *Absalom, Absalom!*, *The Waste Land*, and *The Good Soldier*). Often, the narrator is lost in his conjectures and "inconclusive experiences" (Conrad 2002, 9), caught up in the dream-like "effect that erodes the normal solidity of the world" (Graham 2004, 204) while "the sense of [...] reality" is slowly "falling away" (Graham 2004, 208). Thus, the narration takes place in an enclosed, ethereal space devoid of any kind of inherent solidity. Such narratives are marked by constant retreats to some incommunicative privacy of experience. The narrator becomes an almost apparition-like Cartesian mind, narrating from the "impenetrable darkness" (Conrad 2002, 115).

I have claimed that Ishmael's narration in *Moby-Dick* could be seen as the prototype of the "post-death" I-narration in Anglophone Modernism. Melville's novel is a point of a unique crisis: it is the narrative space of transition from one great tradition to another. In Ishamel's renditions of events, something far-reaching has happened: a specific "mutation" of the Romantic ideal of heroic individuality into a new Modernist crisis of subjectivity has been achieved. Romanticism (which marked the era in which *Moby-Dick* was written) perpetuated the notion of the private experience as the higher-level authenticity. Thus, in many Romantic works, we find individuals retreating to some self-sufficient, heroic privacy (heroic, since it is the ultimate place of individual authenticity in which the individual, with their limited capacities, could, nevertheless, stand against the power of society). To create a world of one's own seems to be the ultimate stipulation of Romanticism.[16]

Natty Bamboo exchanging the degrading civilization for the heroic wilderness, Hester Pryne holding her ground against the power of society, Catherine and Heathcliff leaving the material world of customs and mores for some amoral, private consummation of their desire in their haunting afterlife on the moors – these are all Romantic "retreats" to the heroic space of individuality. What ultimately characterizes Romanticism is a peculiar apotheosis of private experience. No wonder that "Blakean tiger of the night, feeling no scruples and

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[16] Isn't this the very fantasy of Frankenstein's monster pleading with Victor to create him a mate, a ''creature of another sex, but as hideous as [himself]" (Shelley 2001: 142) with whom he could happily flee the civilization, and create a world of his own, *a ménage à deux* in the ''vast wilds of South America'' (Shelley 2001: 142)?

nursing no unacted desires" (Sass 1992, 3), a solitary wild animal without a community of its own, has become an icon of Romantic individuality. Romanticism challenges us to accept the "groundlessness" of subjectivity as the heroic choice: "[B]ut as in landlessness alone resides the highest truth, shoreless, indefinite as God—so, better is it to perish in that howling infinite, than be ingloriously dashed upon the lee, even if that were safety! For worm-like, then, oh! who would craven crawl to land!" (Melville 2014, 104). *Moby-Dick* begins with this Romantic expectation. Ishmael answers the heroic invitation to set sails to the unknown lands, to leave behind the communal life of safety and shared experiences, to become an "*Isolato*, not acknowledging the common continent of men, but [...] living on a separate continent of his own" (Melville 2014, 117). But this is already a doomed enterprise, for Ishmael. This new, private Romantic continent would prove to be a desolated, ghostly space, the proto-modernist netherworld, the abode of the dead.

What the Romantics "admired was wholeheartedness, sincerity, [...] the ability and readiness to dedicate yourself to your ideal, no matter what it was. No matter what it was: that is the important thing" (Berlin 1999, 9). This is ultimately the message of Fr. Mapple's sermon in *Moby-Dick*. He is a preacher of explicitly Romantic ideals: "Delight is to him [...] who against the proud gods and commodores of this earth, ever stands forth his own inexorable self" (Melville 2014, 47). Thus, the ultimate message of Fr. Mapple's sermon is one of Romantic subjectivity: our goal is only "true insofar as we are totally committed to it" (Dreyfus 2018). What ultimately counts is the larger-than-life subjectivity behind our plans and intents. But Hubert Dreyfus is right: after the sermon, Ishamel leaves the church completely "unaffected" (Dreyfus 2018). Ishmael is not a real Romantic. He can no longer believe in such ideals.

Ishmael's narration is a violent push of Romantic subjectivity to its limits. It seems that extreme subjectivity necessarily ends up in the solipsistic fragmentation of the self. Ishmael's narration and experiences ultimately represent the overworking of the Romantic heroic and stable subjectivity into incommunicative solipsistic disorientation. Through the complete subjectivization of experience, the communal structures and shared meaning are "swallowed up" by utter privacy. The solid world is lost and what remains is a kind of shattered psyche unsuccessfully trying to gather its "inconclusive experiences" into a coherent and meaningful story. The consequence of this disintegration of the narratorial self is a specific narrative atrophy, narration that seems to come from a ghostly trance of an "impalpable shadow" (Hart 2013) rather than from a healed and unified subject. This is the birthplace of the Modernist "narration of the dead." It first emerged as a "symptom," a "mutation" within the Romantic tradition of subjectivity.

The Modernists have perhaps found a model for this utter subjectivization of narratorial experience in the Homeric depiction of the underworld. It is no

surprise that Pound's *The Cantos*, a great Modernist epic, begins with a passage from *The Odyssey*, describing Odysseus's encounter with the world of the dead. In both *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*, the afterlife is introduced as a sort of "shadowy, spectral, half existence in a dark, barren, joyless underworld" (Hart 2013). There is a memorable place toward the end of *The Odyssey* where "Hermes leads the shades of the slain suitors away to the underworld. Where they are going is a place of despair, fragmentary memory, and emptiness" (Hart 2013). The dead own no stable persona; they are "the senseless burnt-out wraiths of mortals" (Homer 1996, 265). All the shadows of the dead that the suitors encounter are strangely preoccupied with their own fragmented stories and former glories and heroisms, eternally entrapped in tragic repetitions and unallayable nostalgia; "wailing, heartsick" (Homer 1996, 470), devoid of any new experiences. This haunting imagery (that will survive in the Gothic spectral discourse) will also become a model for many "phantom" narrators in the Modernist tradition. As Ishmael himself concedes: "Methinks that what they call my shadow here on earth is my true substance" (Melville 2014, 36).

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MOBI-DIK, MODERNIZAM I POSTHUMNA NARACIJA

Pri modernističkom pripovijedanju u prvom licu često se simulira pripovjedačka perspektiva posthumnosti (kao da nam u takvim djelima pripovijeda mrtvi narator). Ova procedura koju možemo opisati kao „posthumnu naraciju" čini se prisutnom u različitim protomodernističkim i modernističkim djelima poput Konradovog *Srca tame*, Foknerovih *Krika i bijesa* i *Avesalome, Avesalome!*, T. S. Eliotove *Puste zemlje*, itd. Ova je pripovjedačka perspektiva bitno vezana za diskurs traume, te u članku pokazujemo kako su neke od najprepoznatljivijih modernističkih tehnika (poput toka svijesti) utemeljene na gotičkom modelu spektralne naracije. U djelima ovog žanra, utvare su često prikazane kao nekomunikativna, dezorijentisana „raspolućena sopstva" trajno zarobljena u repetitivnom, traumatičnom sjećanju. U članku ukazujemo i na različite načine na koje je ova gotička žanrovska konvencija bila upotrebljavana u modernističkom pripovijedanju. „Posthumnu naraciju" možemo takođe sagledati i kao „simptom" ekstremne subjektivnosti i epistemičke frustracije (što su tipični elementi modernističkog pripovijedanja uopšte). Tvrdimo, takođe, kako se ova narativna perspektiva posthumnosti prvi put javlja u Melvilovom *Mobi Diku* i kako se Išmael,

pripovjedač ovog romana, može sagledati kao „prototip" modernističke „posthumne naracije".

Ključne riječi: posthumna naracija, modernizam, subjektivnost, *Mobi Dik*;

Foucauldian Concept of "Death of Man" in *The Waves*

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Abstract: Virginia Woolf significantly impacted modernism as an experimental writer and challenged the conventional principles regarding realism. In this paper, Foucault's views on bio-power and the death of Man are used to analyze the main female characters in the novel *The Waves,* in order to see how their identities are shaped in a patriarchal society. It is argued that the stereotypes of femininity are internalized within the individuals by the normalizing power, and every particular anomaly is excluded. Thus, women might have predetermined fates. Sexuality as a social construct is an anchor for shaping women's identities and destinies. Bio-power, which is a socio-political kind of power in the modern world, deploys sexuality in four great different strategic unities, namely, a hysterization of women's bodies, a pedagogization of children's sex, a socialization of procreative behavior, and a psychiatrization of perverse pleasure, to manage and control individual's life and population. Due to the role of bio-power and its deployment of sexuality, the repressive hypothesis regarding sexuality is rejected. Thus, we turn into docile bodies, whereby the individual's agency is effaced, and ultimately the death of Man occurs. The death of Man indicates that we are on the brink of a new episteme, which may bring about new possibilities only if we reconsider the way we see Man in the universe.

Keywords: Bio-power, Deployment of Sexuality, Death of Man, Episteme, Michel Foucault, *The Waves*.

Introduction

Virginia Woolf (1882–1941) established her name as one of the most significant writers of the twentieth century. Not only was she an innovative writer, but also an essayist, a reviewer, and a critic. She is recognized as a theorist of modernism and feminism, apart from the fact that she stands alongside other great canonical modernist writers such as T. S. Eliot and James Joyce. "Her criticism has shaped many of the

fundamental ideas and debates of literary criticism and theory concerned with modernism, feminism, and even postmodernism" (Goldman 308).

Woolf challenged the inherited tradition in literature, attempting to experiment with new techniques to abandon previous clichés and searching for a more profound sense of realism than those already laid inside the mind of people. Archer compares Woolf to modern painters and musicians and concludes, "she sought new ways to render the realities of thought and feeling in her novels. By holding up her mirror of fiction at a different angle, she attempted to help readers see themselves in a more revealing light" (2803).

Woolf attacked the writers who did not consider the inner life of characters, calling them materialist writers who only paid attention to "external details" of life. She was an innovative writer. As a modernist novelist, Woolf challenged conventional beliefs about the plot and character to achieve an authentic inner life. Thus, she rejected the "tyranny plot" along with "James Joyce" and "Frenchman Marcel Proust." She developed the modernist technique of "stream of consciousness and internal monologue … [with a] greater emphasis on … 'moments'-- that is, points in time when reality seems to stand revealed and to speak itself" (Hawthorn 79-82). It is true that the stream of consciousness originally belonged to France; however, the two English novelists, James Joyce, and Virginia Woolf, "developed it to a very high level of artistic perfection" by "their unique writing style(s)" (Jin 115).

Woolf's novel, *The Waves*, is usually considered experimental. Apart from the structure and the form of this novel, we can analyze it from a philosophical or a historical point of view to call it an early postmodern novel. We can claim it is a postmodern novel by applying the Foucauldian approach. However, what we mean by postmodern is related to the death of Man and the fact that we are already on the brink of a new episteme. After two earlier discontinuities in history, one with the beginning of the Renaissance episteme, and the other with the advent of the modern episteme, we are now starting to live in a new kind of episteme that we may call postmodern. However, Foucault did not precisely name that epoch.

Woolf tried to write *The Waves* as an autobiographical novel. Apart from that, she tried to write realist novels in modern ways, which means she tried to approach real life. In her essay, "Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown," published in 1924, Woolf discusses modernity noticing a significant shift in human nature and human relations. She claims,

in or about December, 1910, human character changed ... All human relations have shifted—those between masters and servants, husbands and wives, parents and children. And when human relations change there is at the same time a change in religion, conduct, politics, and literature (4-5).

Accordingly, along with the change in human nature, a change in human interactions and power relations seems to be inevitable. In this respect, we can claim that in her novels we can survey real power relations, in a more modern world, because these power relations form day-to-day interactions in a real life.

Woolf is usually considered a feminist writer, and her works inspired feminism in general. In this paper, Foucauldian power relations in *The Waves* are analyzed in three female characters, namely Susan, Jinny, and Rhoda. Subsequently, a transition from sovereign power to disciplinary power and later bio-power is shown. Then the role of bio-power in the deployment of sexuality in a patriarchal society is elaborated, and finally, the death of Man in a postmodern world is discussed.

Bio-power & Deployment of Sexuality

Michel Foucault as an anti-humanist philosopher anticipated the death of Man although he believed that Man is a recent invention. Sara Mills defines the word "episteme" as "the body of knowledge and ways of knowing which are in circulation at a particular moment" (28). Foucault distinguishes at least three different underlying epistemes in Western philosophy, namely the epistemes of Renaissance, Classical, and Modern; he argues that we are on the brink of a new episteme.

In *The Order of Things* (1966), Foucault criticizes the philosophies related to the subject stating that, "we are trapped" in the episteme of the modern age, and that the death of Man has heralded a new era that can help us evade the dead end and seek for a new episteme. Foucault "diagnoses man as the problem of modern episteme" (Oksala 32).

He no longer believes in the individual self as the ultimate source of meaning. Instead, he favors a linguistic turn in philosophy, emphasizing that language has a constitutive role in shaping and understanding our experiences. He must have been more interested in impersonal structures that shape human beings than the knowing Man as the articulator of these impersonal structures of thought. In one of his interviews, Foucault concludes, "paradoxically, the development of the human sciences is now leading to a disappearance of Man rather

than an apotheosis of Man" ("The Disappearance of Man"). Therefore, we have to reconsider the way we see Man in the universe.

The human experience is basically formed by language, and sometimes power circulates through the exchange of ideas. In this respect, the role of discourse as a social language is indispensable. These discourses are formed by culture, and they provide a vista through which our experiences are understood. In *The History of Sexuality*, Foucault notices the complex and reciprocal relationship of power and discourse, and mentions, "discourse can be both an instrument and effect of power." He argues that discourse may provide an "opposing strategy" against the power and offer "a point of resistance." It "reinforces [power], but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it." He continues to develop his idea into a well-known line, "where there is power, there is resistance." He believes that in every part of the power network, there is a possibility for resistance (95-102).

In *Discipline and Punish* (1975), Foucault elaborates on how power underwent a huge transformation by a shift from a sovereign power to a disciplinary power. The older sense of sovereign power was no longer applicable and it was replaced by disciplinary power relations. These changes occurred to create a network of exact surveillance and to subjugate people living in a society. Accordingly, our once condemned bodies at the hands of the sovereign power gradually became "docile bodies" trained and disciplined in disciplinary institutions. "Thus discipline produces subjected and practiced bodies, 'docile' bodies" (138). In this process, according to Diana Taylor, the techniques of normalization gains great value. Some particular social norms become "uncritically accepted" by the people or society in general, to the point that they start to believe these social norms are "natural and necessary." In other words, they can be described as "normalizing" (4).

Sexuality is a basis for forming our identity in the modern world. Consequently, sexual conduct is affected by normalizing power. Body and sexuality became places for exerting power, and they became pivotal aspects of what Foucault calls the "bio-power". In his analysis of the modern form of power, Foucault mentions that sexuality is a social construct, and along with the body, they have the capacity to be a basis for exerting bio-power over individual life and population. Thus, scientific studies around the whole idea of "sex" became widespread, and they produced the necessary knowledge that it "supports the socio-political control of people in modern society" (Oksala 71). Accordingly, sexual identity was formed around the knowledge about sex that normalized certain sexual behaviors and entitled others as abnormal.

In *The History of Sexuality,* Foucault declares that in the eighteenth century, "specific mechanisms of knowledge and power centering on sex" formed by "four great strategic unities", namely, a hysterization of women's bodies, a pedagogization of children's sex, a socialization of procreative behavior, and a psychiatrization of perverse pleasure (103-105). It is through the hysterization of women's bodies that bio-power targets women's bodies because it is where reproduction takes place. Bio-power tries to control this domain to manage the population for the benefit of society. Thus, "woman's reproductive role has been equated with her sexuality" (Chloë Taylor, 89). In this process, according to Foucault, women's bodies became saturated with sexuality. Women may respond to this medicalization of their bodies in different ways to resist the mechanisms of power, hysteria being one of them.

In the second strategy, bio-power targets the children leading to the sexualization of children and the family. The children were seen "as 'preliminary' sexual beings," and they should be protected from "the dangerous … sexual potential." Therefore, "parents, families, educators, doctors, and eventually psychologists" must take care of the situation regularly (*History of Sexuality* 104).

In the third strategy, bio-power targets married couples. These couples are responsible for serving the well-being of society. Those suitable couples were supposed not only to procreate but also to improve the next generation. Naturally, those who were not genetically fit were considered a threat to society and they were counted as irresponsible if they would procreate. Consequently, certain privileged members of society were encouraged to reproduce. Especially after the two World Wars, couples had the patriotic duty of procreating.

The last strategy for the deployment of sexuality is a "psychiatrization of perverse pleasure" which targets the so-called perverts. As Foucault noticed, all anomalies were studied in clinics, and then corrective practices were exerted (*History of Sexuality* 103). Then, these "abnormal" sexual behaviors were categorized pathologically. Therefore, "abnormal" acts were treated as illnesses to be cured and normalized under the supervision of medicine. Homosexuality, as one of the widespread manifestations of these abnormalities, was supposed to bring about the degeneration of humanity. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, eugenicists claimed that these "abnormal" acts might have had a destructive impact on the offspring.

Foucault rejects the repressive hypothesis concerning sexuality. In the repressive hypothesis, sex has been repressed and prohibited. However, as we noticed in bio-power, the whole issue is much more complex. The power might be productive rather than repressive

regarding sexuality; bio-power roughly has sexualized everyone. Sexuality is an important discourse that can shape an individual's identity. Moreover, sexuality helps power to manage, direct, and govern people's behavior.

Susan: A Stereotype of Traditional Woman

In the first chapters of this novel, when the girls are in the boarding school, Susan is depressed and homesick all the time. She is a country girl who misses nature and her father. From the beginning of the novel, we start to know her desires. She wants to leave the boarding school as soon as possible to get back to rural life. She wishes to get married, have children, and become just like her mother. In other words, she wants to become the angel of the house; a Victorian discourse that limited women to the household chores. Moreover, Susan says, "I shall be like my mother, silent in a blue apron, locking up the cupboards" (*The Waves* 57).

The reminiscing about her father in all speeches of Susan may suggest that she grew up in a patriarchal family or generally in a patriarchal society. Susan's father is symbolically a male figure in a patriarchal society that restricts women to household duties. Her character has been shaped by a discourse, and Susan aspires to become the angel of the house in a patriarchal society. She is known as a traditional woman in this society. Susan is closely modelled on a stereotype of femininity. That is the effect of normalizing power, which defines specific roles for women as norms, and stirs them to act in those predicted ways.

Susan is also associated with nature. She enjoys being in nature, and she is united with nature. However, it does not suggest a nostalgic view of feminism in which women were once free. Instead, it emphasizes Susan's nurturing character and her will to get married and to have children. This is the manifestation of what Foucault names as socialization of married couples.

One can see how sexuality is being deployed by bio-power. In this manner, married couples have the responsibility to procreate for the benefit of society. Since after the world wars, soldiers returned home, they needed their jobs. Consequently, women were to be sent back to their domestic territories to do household chores. Moreover, there was a need to increase the birth rate to create a workforce or a military force. Therefore, married couples had to procreate to save and improve the nation. It was a duty and no longer a preference for the individuals.

In *The Waves*, Susan is a character who wants to get married and to procreate. She is under the influence of bio-power. She supposes that

having a family must be her best achievement. On the other hand, we know that being an angel in the house is a discourse spread in a patriarchal society. Normalizing power makes women accept their traditional roles uncritically and internalize those norms as values. Therefore, their identities are shaped by such underlying structures, influenced by patriarchy and bio-power.

This is what we may refer to as the death of Man in a postmodern world. Susan imitates her mother, and her identity is based on the stereotypes of feminine models. Even if she chooses the life she wants, she is under the influence of power relations in the modern world. However, these structures are hidden, and we are unaware of their mechanisms. Thus, the individuals, and specially the women, are not seen as free agents anymore, because their identities are formed by predetermined structures. They are caught in a web, controlled, disciplined, and governed by it.

The role of bio-power in managing population and individual lives is more prominent considering the baby boomers after the two world wars. The birthrates "in England and Wales leapt by 45 percent between 1918 and 1920" (Bingham). This fact can clarify the role of bio-power in managing the population, because it can systematically influence the birthrates and normalize its values in society. In this way, Susan or her identity is reduced to a womb. She is evaluated by her ability to procreate or to satisfy a man, and in favor of a patriarchal society. In this process, the body has been turned into a place for exerting power. Foucault identifies it as the sexualization of women in his analyzing the bio-power under the concept of hysterization of women's bodies. Susan's identity is equal to her sex, to be a woman, and her identity is reduced to her reproductive role. Hence, a heterosexual relationship must be her predetermined fate so that she can accomplish her role in society. She has internalized the heterosexuality norms, and now she tries to fulfill her duty in this society with respect to the sexual norms. This is what we mean by the death of Man in a modern society, where the individual's agency has been effaced.

This pessimistic reading of *The Waves* is reinforced throughout the novel. Gradually we understand that Susan is not quite contented with her household duties after giving birth to her children and establishing her identity as a grown-up woman. Susan once enjoyed living in harmony with nature. She gradually discovers that her life is limited to household chores and taking care of her children. She starts to recognize that she is too exhausted with her responsibilities inside the house.

Now that she claims she has reached the summit of her desires, Susan has an epiphany that she finds out she has missed some opportunities in her life. She admits that,

> I am fenced in, planted here like one of my own trees … Yet sometimes I am sick of natural happiness, and fruit growing and children … I am sick of the body, I am sick of my own craft, industry and cunning, of the unscrupulous ways of the mother who protects, who collects under her jealous eyes at one long table her own children, always her own … I think sometimes of Percival who loved me (*The Waves* 112 -114).

Susan feels that she is imprisoned in some way or another, and she is sick of all things she once enjoyed much. She feels the burden of being a traditional woman and being an angel in the house on her shoulders, and she regrets the lives she did not live elsewhere. She even detests her body which is a result of hysterization of women's bodies whether she is reduced to reproductive organs or she shows the symptoms of a hysteric woman. Lisa Marie Lucenti states that Susan's hatred of the "regulatory functions of patriarchal" systems is ironic, and she concludes, "that she comes to fund those same institutions through her reproduction of children for the State. She herself valorizes her position as a reproductive body which manufactures sons" (82). However, she has to continue because she has no other alternatives.

Apart from the philosophical death of Man that applies here to Susan, as a female character in this novel, she faces another kind of death, a literal death. Her life is like living in death. She experiences a gradual death imposed on her by bio-power, normalizing power, and a patriarchal society or culture.

Jinny: A Stereotype of Modern Woman

Jinny is the second role model for women and another stereotype of femininity in *The Waves*. While Susan represents a traditional woman in a patriarchal society, Jinny exemplifies another stereotype of women. She is the portrayal of an exploited woman since she depicts a modern woman in contemporary society. Her identity is shaped by a seemingly different discourse from that of Susan. However, Jinny is also influenced by power networks in a patriarchal society.

In the initial chapters of this novel, Jinny is portrayed as a beautiful young lady. She lives in her own body; thus, she is described as a sensual character. When Jinny matures, she becomes sexually attractive and dedicates herself to bodily pleasures. She is aware of her beauty and uses her body to attract men. In this way, Jinny notices her ability to

attract men and then values her body as a source of her power. She sees the power of her body and states, "I feel a thousand capacities spring up in me ... The body is stronger than I thought" (*The Waves* 59). Jinny appreciates this form of power when she is at the center of the male gaze. Jinny exposes her beauty to have a kind of superiority over men, to control them, and to make them hers, as she says, "I pass them, exposed to their gaze, as they are to mine" (58).

Jinny is absorbed in bodily pleasures and enjoys exerting her power over men to the extent that she becomes sexually promiscuous. She is the only character not associated with the theme of permanence in this novel. For instance, Jinny is not similar to Susan because Jinny does not seek a kind of permanence through procreation. She is not identical to male characters since she does not create any artwork in any form. Jinny's identity has been shaped by hedonistic ideas and discourses. She believes in what Horace called carpe diem. In contrast to other characters in this novel, Jinny pursues the body's sensation at the moment. She defines and hence reduces her identity to a body and nothing more.

In direct contrast to Susan, we can analyze Jinny's character as a modern woman. She follows bodily pleasures and becomes promiscuous in this process. On the one hand, she resists the traditional notion of women that requires them to stay at home and procreate. On the other hand, she is the character that raises our consciousness about the sexuality of women. Woolf as a feminist writer, tries to raise her audience's awareness about the pleasure of women. In other words, women, just like men, might be promiscuous. This is an attempt and a will to know about women's sexuality.

In this case, Jinny as a modern woman, tries to subvert the sexual normalization, which was prevalent in those days and the Victorian era. That may be considered a revolutionary act that resists notions that reduce women to reproductive acts maintaining that women's bodily pleasures are not inferior to that of men. It transforms the ignorance about the sexuality of women indeed. Chloe Taylor argues,

> Susan represents the woman who fully identifies with the mother and rejects language, or the paternal, while Jinny represents the phallic woman who fully assimilates herself into the symbolic, rejecting the maternal and embracing the role defined for her within patriarchy ("Kristevan Themes" 61).

Of course, Jinny challenges the traditional institution of marriage; however, she is still under the influence of bio-power and patriarchal discourses. Foucault argues that bio-power targeted women's bodies in

new ways. Thus, sex is no longer repressed, and then bio-power saturated women's bodies with sexuality. Jinny is also saturated with sexuality. It is under the influence of bio-power that Jinny's identity is shaped.

Jinny's body has been highly sexualized and this is another aspect of the hysterization of women's bodies. Jinny's body is exploited by men differently from Susan's body. However, her fate has already been predetermined again because her future life is highly connected with her body, her sexuality, and the normalizing power. Even if she resists the traditional institution of marriage or pursues the pleasure of her body, she is ultimately an object of sexual pleasure for men in a patriarchal society.

In this society, and with normalization techniques, the idea is promulgated that women must be beautiful and young. This belief is internalized, and then accepted uncritically to the point that it turns into the norm. The existence of women and their identities are evaluated by their beauty, which is directly related to their bodies. Again, the body becomes a place for exerting power and resistance in multiple ways.

Under the influence of this discourse, normalizing power and patriarchy, Jinny, whose identity has been reduced to a body, must always stay young and beautiful. However, this is beyond human control. Naturally, when she gets older, she feels worried. She starts to think that she does not have sufficient merits as a woman any longer, especially as a beautiful woman who has spent her time with different lovers. She starts to feel pressure in this process as soon as she gets older. Jinny acknowledges that,

> How solitary, how shrunk, how aged! I am no longer young. I am no longer part of the procession … Millions have died. Percival died. I still move. I still live. But who will come if I signal? … I shall look into faces, and I shall see them seek some other face (*The Waves* 114).

She feels lonely, and her position in this society is threatened since she might not find lovers easily any longer.

Now she starts to feel excluded. It is the beginning of her fall because she does not have eternal youth and beauty. Therefore, her power is on the wane and she can be substituted by other beautiful young women. Once again, her substitution will be done quickly because there is no real individuality. All the women are the same, and one can replace the other easily. That is another sign of the death of Man in a postmodern world. In this patriarchal society, woman's beauty is an anchor for the power of women, which is undoubtedly a shallow and superficial merit. Eventually, this type of woman is bereft of her power.

Jinny tries to pull herself together. She assures herself that she is not afraid of aging. However, even if Jinny reaches a kind of self-assurance that she is still beautiful and desirable, it is just a sugarcoated pill. She is worried that she has no value in this society. One day, she has to face the inevitable bitter truth. She is afraid of confronting the bitter truth while she denies her fears. Even denying her terrors emphasizes the fact that her fears do exist.

At first, Jinny seems to be rebellious by resisting the institution of marriage and by emphasizing bodily pleasures. Somehow, she achieves a kind of liberation in this way. She can be a role model for modern women. In this case, we can claim she is shaping the culture and spreading a new kind of discourse regarding the women. On the other hand, we understand that she is trapped in these patriarchal networks of power. She herself is shaped by this patriarchal discourse. She loses her individuality and identity. She becomes a sexual object for male desires. She is shaped by underlying patriarchal structures, and hence we see the metaphorical death of this character. In addition, her aging suggests her gradual literal death while she seeks no permanence in any forms.

Rhoda: An Excluded "Pervert" Woman

Woolf portrays Rhoda as an outsider in her novel. Not only does Rhoda enjoy her solitude, but also she takes shelter from the outside world in her imagination and her dreamed world. If Jinny lives in her body, Rhoda lives in her mind instead. She dreams about falling repeatedly, which foreshadows her suicide. Rhoda claims that she is nobody and that she has no face. In many cases, we feel that she is lost. She has a romantic relationship with Louise, who is another outsider. However, they separate very soon.

Rhoda admits, "I have no face. Other people have faces; Susan and Jinny have faces; they are here. Their world is the real world" (*The Waves* 24). As we mentioned previously, Rhoda is an outsider, for she feels excluded. The theme of exclusion is of great significance in a Foucauldian analysis. Rhoda confesses that she has no identity. Her feeling of being lost, her having no identity, and her exclusion are all interconnected.

Rhoda believes that other people, including Susan and Jinny, have faces. She admires both of them; she feels completely lost to the extent that she tries to copy her friends, Susan and Jinny. She says, "Both despise me for copying what they do" (*The Waves* 24). Rhoda seems to depend upon her best friends to establish her own identity. Susan and Jinny form their identity based on their sexuality. In the first part of the

novel, Rhoda chooses them as role models of her femininity so that she can find her place in this world, but to no avail. Nevertheless, we have to compare these characters to find out more about the mechanisms of power.

We know Susan as a traditional woman who is a typical example of Victorian beliefs. She decides to get married and have children while doing the household chores. However, Rhoda, as an outsider, tries to have a romantic relationship with Louise, another outsider in the novel. Ultimately, they fail to have a successful relationship because of Rhoda's fear of intimacy or for other reasons. We know that Rhoda cannot communicate with other people as well; besides, what we know for sure is that she is incapable of establishing appropriate relationships.

On the other hand, she is in direct contrast with Jinny, who is the embodiment of a modern woman. Rhoda does not enjoy being in populated London or interacting with other people. She is a character who lives inside her mind and imagination, which ultimately distinguishes her from Jinny, who lives in her body and seeks bodily pleasures. Rhoda loves her body just when she is alone.

Susan and Jinny are the role models for Rhoda, the stereotypes of femininity. Rhoda has to choose one of these two predetermined choices to establish her identity as a woman in a patriarchal society. She tries to copy them but fails to do so. She does not fit into these stereotypes of femininity. Subsequently, she is not accepted in this society and then is excluded.

This exclusion is a result of the mechanisms of normalizing power. There are only two options for women in this society, which are considered the norms. The normalizing power forces Rhoda to copy the predetermined role models of femininity and establish her identity, or she has to endure excessive pressure. If one does not fit into this dichotomy as a woman, then she may suffer depression and then feel an emptiness as Rhoda did. She suffers so much that she commits suicide. Her emptiness and then her suicide, respectively, determine metaphorical and literal death of Man in a new world.

As mentioned previously, sexuality is greatly important in forming the characters' identities. However, does it really affect Rhoda's identity and her life as well? According to Oxidine, "Rhoda's eroticism is overtly lesbian in the first draft of the novel and implicitly so in the final text." Moreover, Virginia Woolf deals with the issues of "patriarchal resistance and lesbian desire" ("Lesbian Suicide in *The Waves"* 204). If we study Rhoda's character carefully, we recognize her as a lesbian. Then it does really make sense why she is an outsider and why she is excluded. In this patriarchal society, it is heterosexuality that is considered a norm.

Consequently, all other categories may be labeled as "abnormal" behavior, which may pose a danger, and thus must be treated medically.

In *The Waves*, Susan and Jinny are categorized and defined as heterosexual characters, although they may have different outlooks. They behave in a predicted way, and their identities are formed based on cultural norms. However, Rhoda belongs to a far different category. She cannot copy Susan and Jinny because she is a homosexual. Once again, she does not fit into the norms of this society. She must be defined as so called the "abnormal", and hence, be excluded from this society.

That is how sexuality is deployed by bio-power. Foucault names that as a psychiatrization of perverse pleasures. Eugenicists once believed that sexual perversion could degenerate human beings. In other words, the sexual deviants could pass on their degenerate genes to the next generation. Therefore, these so-called "perverts" had to be treated in hospitals, for they were a potential danger to the goodness of society. In this kind of reading the novel, Rhoda is considered a sexual deviant, and to be more precise, she is a lesbian. Although she is not hospitalized, she must be excluded for the best benefit of society.

Rhoda is excluded to the point that she feels she does not belong to this society. She has no face and no identity, which is equal to her metaphorical death. She is filled with emptiness and depression. Rosenfeld believes that, "Rhoda emerges as a compelling portrait of the kind of woman who is maimed by patriarchal values, and most especially, by the restriction of women to a certain sphere of manners" (111). The only identity she is permitted to have is being a pervert. She has to endure all these pressures, leading ultimately to her suicide. However, her suicide might be considered a kind of freedom for Rhoda, releasing her from all the power networks functioning in the system. In this manner, her suicide takes the shape of a resistance to normalizing power.

Her suicide can be interpreted differently. Suicide is a modern phenomenon. In religious contexts, no one has the right to take the life of a human being except for the sake of God. Later, only the King had the authority to take the life of human beings on behalf of God. Not only Rhoda does show resistance to religion, but she also resists the sovereign power, which emphasizes again that we are living in a new postmodern world.

In this incident, even we may notice that Rhoda's identity is shaped by the culture. However, by showing resistance, she can influence the culture and shape that too. It is noteworthy that Rhoda resists the power

structures just as Jinny did. Nevertheless, Rhoda's reaction is much more radical, tragic, moving, and influential.

Educational Discrimination and Producing Docile Bodies

Woolf's brothers attended prestigious universities to continue their education. However, she and her sisters had to spend their time in their father's library to practice self-study. Virginia Woolf, as a feminist writer, was highly aware of the educational discrimination that existed between the two genders.

In chapter four of the novel, Bernard, the main narrator of this novel notices how the school has changed them all. The role of the school in shaping their identity for good or bad is inevitable. School is seen as a kind of disciplinary institution which has a significant role in disciplining our bodies and turning them into docile bodies. Gradually, throughout this novel, we will understand that the boys are going to a prestigious college, which prepares them for a hopeful future. The boys are much more ambitious in this manner. For boys, school and college are the places that provide them with opportunities to achieve a fruitful life.

Surprisingly the girls attend a lesser school. All the female characters, namely Susan, Jinny, and Rhoda abhor the school days. Susan hopes that the schooldays are over so she can be home soon. She is entirely homesick during the schooldays. She resists the disciplinary power of the school when she promises she will never send her children to school. Jinny despises the passing days at school, thinking about a promiscuous lifestyle in her future. Finally, Rhoda rejects the brown serge uniforms of the school that they have to wear in a symbolic gesture. She resists the conformity and the disciplinary power promulgated in this institution at an early age. Lee also noted Rhoda's resistance,

> [when Rhoda] evades the pedagogical forces only through her acts of imagination, rather than undertaking any direct involvement in communal acts: it is the aesthetic performance that she has adopted for escaping the school's aggression towards her … By distracting herself from the girls' school … Rhoda refuses to be a tamed body, albeit unconsciously (127-128).

The girls have to attend a lesser school, which does not prepare them for promising good days. In contrast to boys, they have no opportunities because they are not trained to be ambitious. The disciplinary power of the school has turned these female characters into docile bodies. Bio-power is at work at a very early age by not giving the

female characters opportunities to have an ambitious and fruitful life. What the female characters have are very limited and limiting predetermined choices, which shape their identities. They have to procreate for the benefit of society, or they have to be exploited sexually in this patriarchal society. No alternative is defined. Perhaps, the best option is a kind of resistance and awareness. Otherwise, there might be no escape from the power networks; thus, exclusion, death, or suicide is the only choice remaining.

Conclusion

By scrutinizing Susan, Jinny, and Rhoda as the three main female characters of *The Waves*, we can perceive how their identities formed by the predetermined structures of thought, discourses, normalizing power, and bio-power based on their sexuality in a patriarchal society. These limiting structures shape their identities and fates. This process nullifies women's agencies as free subjects to the point that they cannot form their own identities autonomously anymore. Thus, all of these characters lose their agencies and come close to metaphorical deaths, which can be entitled philosophically as the death of Man in a new world.

The death of Man is the herald of a new episteme. Although Foucault did not name that episteme, we can call it a postmodern episteme. He already noticed three different epistemes, namely Renaissance, Classical, and Modern. In this way, we can conclude that we are on the brink of a completely new episteme. According to Foucault, the death of Man may create new possibilities. It may raise our awareness about our status in the world and thus has the potential for change.

Foucault also negates the repressive hypothesis regarding sex. In this novel, the discourse on sexuality is not repressed. However, it is circulated in different forms to be an anchor for exerting power in different manners. Therefore, *The Waves,* as a novel and a piece of art, promulgates the discourse on sex in various ways.

Woolf tries to portray the real world. As a feminist, she was aware of how the sexuality of women could affect their entire life. She paid close attention to marginalized people. Even if the culture excludes the marginalized people, they should have been portrayed in her novels since her works were a reflection of the real world outside. However, it should be depicted as objectively as possible.

Understandably, Rhoda is excluded in this society as a homosexual character. Thus, she should be portrayed as an outsider, left out of this society. However, Woolf did not exclude Rhoda thoroughly from the

text. By representing Rhoda in *The Waves*, and giving a voice to her, even if it is not that strong, Virginia Woolf endeavored to raise our consciousness about the society we live in, and she cautioned us about the threats that might intimidate us as human beings.

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مفهوم فوکویی «مرگ انسان» در رمان *خیزاب*
صائب شبانی، لاله آتشی، فریده پورگیو

ویرجینیا وولف نویسنده‌ای تجربه گراست که بر مدرنیسم تأثیر شگرفی داشته است تا سنت‌های مرسوم رئالیسم را به چالش بکشد. در این جستار، سعی داریم تا با استفاده از مفاهیم «مرگ انسان» و «زیست-قدرت» میشل فوکو، شخصیت‌های اصلی زن رمان *خیزاب* اثر ویرجینیا وولف را تحلیل کنیم تا چگونگی شکل گیری هویت آنها را در جامعه‌ای مرد سالار آشکار کنیم. بدین سان، متوجه می شویم چگونه قدرت همگن ساز، تفکر قالبی زنانگی در این شخصیت‌ها را در اجتماع نهادینه می کند تا هر گونه نا همگنی طرد شود. بدین نحو، جنسیت که برساختی اجتماعی است، هویت و سرنوشت افراد به خصوص زنان را در این رمان شکل می‌دهد. سوزان تفکر قالبی از زن سنتی، جینی تجسم زن مدرن، و رودا نشان دهنده ی زن مطرود به علت لذت منحرف است. زیست-قدرت که قدرتی اجتماعی-سیاسی در دنیای مدرن است، در چهار مجموعه ی بزرگ استراتژیک، سامانه ی خاص دانش و قدرت حول محور سکس را بسط داده است. این چهار مجموعه ی استراتژیک شامل هیستریک شدن بدن زن، تربیتی کردن جنس کودک، اجتماعی کردن رفتارهای تولید مثلی، و روان پزشکانه کردن لذت غیر متعارف است که در نهایت به مدیریت و کنترل فرد و جمعیت می انجامد. بنا بر نقش زیست-قدرت و سامانه ی سکسوالیته، فرضیه ی «سرکوب سکسوالیته» نفی می‌شود. در نهایت انسان به بدن‌های ی مطیع فرو کاسته می‌شود و فاعلیت فرد سترده می‌شود که به تعییر میشل فوکو منجر به«مرگ انسان» می شود. مرگ انسان بازگوی این حقیقت است که ما در اپیستمه ی نوینی هستیم که ممکن است به فرصت‌ها ی جدیدی منجر گردد، به این شرط که در باره ی جایگاه انسان در جهان مدرن باز اندیشی شود **.**

کلمات کلیدی: زیست-قدرت، سامانه ی سکسوالیته، مرگ انسان، اپیستمه، میشل فوکو، *خیزاب*.

A Dialogue Between the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century in John Fowles's *The French Lieutenant's Woman*

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Abstract: John Fowles's *The French Lieutenant's Woman* (1969) is generally acknowledged as a postmodernist neo-Victorian novel. Presumably, it parodies Victorian conventions and represents a critical comment on the Victorian age. However, the aim of this research is to problematize the claim that the relationship between the Victorian and the postmodern age in this novel is much more complex. Fowles attempts to link these two apparently very different periods. The nineteenth century represents the source of English identity and an undeniable influence on the present. Nonetheless, the present also influences the past. The events which took place during the course of the twentieth century changed the way we conceptualize the past. Fowles implies that the past does not exist – what does exist is our deconstruction of the past. Still, Fowles reaches beyond this deconstruction. He believes that a novel should introduce something new and authentic. One of the key postmodernist concepts is that parody and irony represent the only possible originality. Still, apart from parodying the conventions of both the nineteenth and the twentieth century, *The French Lieutenant's Woman* deals with existentialist dilemmas that might be applied to both periods.

Keywords: Fowles, neo-Victorian, postmodernism, past, present, history, convention, existentialism, freedom

Introduction – At the Crossroads of Historical and Literary Epochs

John Fowles's *The French Lieutenant's Woman* was published in 1969. This period is generally characterized by a revival of interest in the "golden age" of English history and literature – the Victorian age. Two world wars that took place during the course of the twentieth century redefined the way Fowles and his contemporaries conceptualized the past. This concept has been questioned in the neo-Victorian genre. Although *The French Lieutenant's Woman* is generally acknowledged as a forerunner of a neo-Victorian novel, this article adopts the position that it is a typical representative of this genre. As Heilman and Llewellyn

explain, the key feature of a neo-Victorian novel is its critical engagement with the phenomenon of "the Victoria" (4). Indeed, Fowles's novel "challenges received (and potentially erroneous) notions about the Victorian age and values" (Krombholc 120). Presumably, the aim of a neo-Victorian novel is a critique of Victorian social, moral and literary conventions. However, this paper is attempting to demonstrate that a crucial part of the endeavor of *The French Lieutenant's Woman* is to simultaneously question and reinforce the conventions it challenges. It has two social contexts, which inevitably overlap and influence each other. The present mingles with the image of the past in neo-Victorian novels, blurring the boundaries between them: Fowles's narrator "juxtaposes nineteenth and twentieth century modes of thought, feeling, and behavior, enabling each to comment upon and qualify each other" (Holmes 205). In that manner, as Krombholc suggests, neo-Victorian novels reveal as much about the past they attempt to rewrite as the present (123). *The French Lieutenant's Woman* suggests "an uneasy relationship with the past" (Krombholc 128). The Victorian age is simultaneously represented as the source of contemporary attitudes towards gender and sexuality and is reflected on as the age of conformity, oppression and hypocrisy. The returns to the past suggest that there are similar anxieties in the present time, and we look back at the past in an effort to understand them better. As Bowler and Cox propound, our frequent looks at the past may symbolize the projections of our present concerns and dilemmas (10). If that is the case, then the past may be only a means of solving our present issues from a safe distance.

As Fowles claims, "A novel is something new. It must have relevance to the world's now" (1998, 15). Folwles chooses to set the plot into 1867, but he informs the reader that he writes about events in 1967. The aim of his double social context is not only to take a critical perspective towards both the Victorian and contemporary age. Fowles's intention is to point at universal themes which permeate both the past and the present. The period that followed the discoveries of scientists such as Lyell and Darwin was a period of turbulence and reconsideration. In "Notes on an unfinished novel", Fowles compares the scientific discoveries of the nineteenth century with the bombs of the twentieth century. The effect of these findings was the same – "society faced an urgent need to find 'new myths' to replace the inadequate ones it had inherited" (Stephenson 15). Similarly, Vukićeivć Garić points to other common features of the two apparently very different periods. First, 1960s and 1860s denote eras in which women's awareness of their subordinate position in society was growing. Sarah

Woodruff is a symbol of "feminist awareness" (Vukićević Garić 181), of a woman conscious that she lives in a society that attempts to limit and mould her according to conventional roles and labels. Second, the 1860s mark the beginning of the collapse of traditional Victorian values. Growing dissatisfaction resulted in the gradual change in ethics that took place at the end of the nineteenth century. Similarly, the post-war years were marked by a radical redefinition of moral values. In the 1960s, the social debate about various kinds of freedom reached its climax (Vukićević Garic 180). The quest for freedom is the leitmotif of *The French Lieutenant's Woman*, which is one of the "constants that resist the flux of history" (Vukićević Garić 183).

The fact that *The French Lieutenant's Woman* was written in the sixties is highly significant. The post-war years stand for the transitional period not only when it comes to historical, but also literary epochs. In contrast with modernism, which arose as a reaction against the Victorian conventions and mores, post-war years were characterized by a reaction against modernism. Passage of time provided the necessary distance for a detailed and impartial analysis of the Victorian age. Therefore, it should be emphasized that, although neo-Victorian fiction offers a critical comment on the repressive and conformist aspect of Victorian age, it also exudes nostalgia for "the seriousness and moral purpose of the Victorian world" (Kaplan 95). The position of neo-Victorian fiction is complex and may be summarized as an effort to take a critical attitude towards both the nineteenth and twentieth century. In contrast with the Victorian age, modernity does not symbolize just an endeavor towards "a classless and multicultural society" (Kaplan 5). It also suggests sexual liberation, which turns sexuality into a banal and trivial issue. Sexuality is one of major concerns for Fowles. *The French Lieutenant's Woman* is often interpreted as a sexual novel, not only due its dealing with Victorian prostitution and depiction of a sexual intercourse. The novel implies that sexuality was a very important issue for Victorians that owed its lure partly to its taboo status. In the modern age, sex as a topic is too present in everyday life. This omnipresence deprives sexuality of its lure, of its mystery. Adopting such an attitude towards sexuality, *The French Lieutenant's Woman* exhibits one of the main characteristics of the neo-Victorian genre – "tacit agreement with the potentially problematic aspects of the Victorian world view" (Krombholc 119–120). Dealing with topics of class rigidity and sexuality is a crucial part of a dialogue between the past and the present in the novel. On the one hand, Fowles criticizes Victorian conventions and class rigidity. On the other hand, the novel indicates the potential threat of sexual liberation. As Kaplan suggests, Fowles makes an excellent

observation that contemporary time "suffer[s] as much from the hypocrisy of liberation as the Victorians did from the effects of repression" (Kaplan 98). This complex position on the topic of sexuality is an outstanding example of the endeavour of a neo-Victorian novel to simultaneously subvert and return to the Victorian values (Krombholc 121).

Aleksandra Jovanović maintains that Fowles's "literary prose rests at the crossroads of realism, modernism and postmodernism" (12). We have to bear in mind the fact that many critics view postmodernism as deepened modernism. As Fišić observes, the fragmentation of the world is recognized in both modernism and postmodernism. However, whereas modernist writers attempt to find a meaning in the fragmented world, there is no such attempt in postmodernism. What matters is discourse and nothing but discourse. Text becomes independent even of the author (Fišić 44). *The French Lieutenant's Woman* is depicted by Linda Hutcheon as a "kind of summation of metafictional techniques" (1978, 81), and historiographic metafiction is one of the columns of postmodernist poetics (Jovanović 48). Still, there are a number of characteristics of this novel that belong to modernism and realism. Stephenson discerns in Fowles's protagonist's quest for freedom a similarity to a modernist Bildungsroman (9).[1] Moreover, he adds that though Fowles insists that his novel is independent of him, the narrator is omnipresent in the novel. This omnipresence, along with the theme of thwarted love between members of different social classes, is typical of a realist novel (Stephenson 13).

In a true postmodernist fashion, there is a hybridity of genres in *The French Lieutenant's Woman*. In the first twelve chapters this novel resembles a typical realist novel. However, the narrator then chooses to dispel the illusions of the reader. In the thirteenth chapter the reader finds out that the narrator lives not in 1867, but in 1967. The postmodern characteristics of the novel begin to manifest themselves: irony, parody, self-referential and self-reflexive nature, the death of the author. In order to be authentic, postmodernist novels experiment with form. Parodying the conventions of previous periods, they reach that highly desired originality and authenticity. Linking the Victorian age to the contemporary era, Fowles escapes the trap of creating a pseudo-Victorian novel, but creates a twentieth century version of it (Gunduz

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[1] Richard Lynch cites similarities between *The French Lieutenant's Woman* and *Great Expectations*, which leads him to the conclusion that the first may be interpreted both as a classic Bildungsroman or a parody of this form (58).

64). [2] On the whole, this novel is in a way a game designed by the narrator. The narrator plays with the reader's expectations, with the genres, with blurring the boundaries between imaginary and real, and between past and present.

The Past versus the Present, the Real versus the Imaginary

In contrast with modernist writers, history becomes an important issue in postmodernism. As Banarjee propounds, writers "can hardly proceed without a sense of history". There is nothing new and extraordinary, she claims, in returns to and dialogues with the past. What makes neo-Victorian so distinctive is not its interest in the past, but its metafictional quality, its postmodernism (Banarjee par. 10). *The French Lieutenant's Woman* is frequently cited as an exemplary historiographic metafiction. [3] Hutcheon defines historiographic metafictions as "novels which are intensely self-reflexive, and yet paradoxically lay claim to historical events and personages" (1991, 5). In addition, Holmes claims that historiographic metafictions are concerned not only with the past events, but also with the "methods by which we know the past" (111). The implication is that we learn about the past from texts, from traces of the past in the present. Although we look back at the past, we cannot reach the real past, only its construction. As Hutcheon propounds, we cannot escape from the constructedness of the past (1991, 58). The concepts of past, history, fiction and reality are elaborated in *The French Lieutenant's Woman*. The narrator raises the question of whether reality exists:

> You do not even think of your own past as quite real; you dress it up, you gild it or blacken it, censor it, tinker with it […] fictionalize it, in a word, and put it away on a shelf – your book, your romanced autobiography. We are all in flight from the real reality. That is a basic definition of Homo Sapiens. (Fowles 2004, 87)

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[2] Fowles states in "Notes on an unfinished novel" that *The French Lieutenant-s Woman*'s originality is in the fact that it deals with a sensitive and harshly censored issue in the Victorian age – that of sexuality. Although he praises Victorian novelists, he accuses them (with the exception of Hardy) for not dealing with this topic. Therefore, this novel is not about something "one of the Victorian novelists forgot to write; but perhaps something one of them failed to write" (Fowles 1998, 15).

[3] For example, Gunduz quotes Fowles's novel as the first historiographic metafiction "because of its separation of historical and literary sources" (62).

Postmodern discourses express an incredulity of grand narratives (Stephenson 9) such as history, past, reality. This distrust does not refer to the existence of these concepts. However, postmodernism emphasizes the need for redefinition of these concepts. In a true neo-Victorian fashion, which discerns that history, fiction and reality are human constructs (Schiller 54), the narrator of *The French Lieutenant's Woman* denies distinctions between reality and fiction. Fowles implies that his characters are as real as any living person. He attempts to create a new reality in his fiction. Unlike modernists, who lament the notion that reality is no more real than fiction, Fowles, like a true postmodernist, accepts such a realization (Fišić 47). The author first questions and redefines the concepts of past and reality, and then builds upon this redefinition so as to explain his concept of fiction. According to him, authors tend to "create the world as real as, but other than the world that is" (1998, 82). The striving of the novelist is compared to the striving of the historian, whose aim is not to write about history, but to create "a plausible historic text" (Munslow 149), which depends on the historian's choice and interpretation of referents. Indeed, as Tica asserts, there are a number of characteristics due to which history "bears a strong resemblance to literature" (378). Whereas history was defined as a scientific discipline based on facts in the nineteenth century, postmodern historiography challenges such a definition. As Hutcheon notices, "Facts are events to which we have given meaning" (1991, 57). Therefore, it is not hard to conclude that history depends on the perspective of a historian, who selects the referents and interprets them in a certain way. In that manner, his position is similar to the position of a writer, who chooses the events he is dealing with in the novel and how he is going to interpret them. Both history and a novel are featured by narrative mastery (Hutcheon 1991, 64).

Postmodernism adopts the position that there is not only one acceptable version of history. There is no universal past since each person has his/her own version of an event. There are many versions, which differ since they are based upon different perspectives of historians. Tica correctly notes that historiographic metafiction is "determined to establish whose history survives" (377). Since the protagonists of historiographic metafictions are "the marginalized, the peripheral figures of fictional history" (Hutcheon 2004, 114), it becomes clear that this genre provides space for those who are absent from the official (in this case, Victorian) history. In accordance with its postmodernist framework, Fowles's novel rejects the accepted version of history and deals with the (hi)stories of the powerless and invisible. Sarah Woodruff is a typical representative of the marginalized due to

her humble origins and because she is female. Her story enables the reader to look at the other side of the Victorian age. By "juxtapos[ing] what we think we know about the past with an alternate representation" (Hutcheon 1991, 71), *The French Lieutenant's Woman* recreates the past it writes about. It deals with the topics prohibited in the Victorian era, such as prostitution, the great social evil of the Victorian period. The novel implies that history lies in the cracks and corners of official history which hide the stories of the repressed and marginalized. For the author, it is essential to sort out this messy past in order to understand the present. As Hutcheon asserts, historians' most important goal is to "establish a relationship between the past and the present" (1991, 70). The narrator of *The French Lieutenant's Woman* has the same intent. By challenging traditionally held notions and offering a positive representation of the marginalized, such fiction may be a potential source of social change (Krombholc 121). In that manner, the achievement of historiographic metafiction goes beyond the intention of correcting the history. However, as Krombholc suggests, although fictional returns to the nineteenth century do add previously absent layers to the representation of "the Victoria", the comprehensive understanding of the Victorian age proves impossible to be arrived at (126). There is no absolute truth, but many versions of the truth that depend on the choice of signifiers and the perspective of the historian/novelist.

As Hutcheon propounds, postmodern fiction simultaneously questions and confirms the established literary, social and historical conventions (1991, 2). The narrator of *The French Lieutenant's Woman* reveals his intention to challenge traditional literary conventions, such as "authentic and absorbing story, omniscient narrator and one definite ending" (Vukićević Garić 180). However, it may be argued that his open agreement with the premise of Roland Barthes that discourse is written independently of the author is deliberately misleading.[4] Although the narrator claims to be ignorant of the inner state of his characters' minds, the fact is that he enters the minds of all his characters but Sarah's. Therefore, the author is not dead, only his function has changed, as

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[4] Fowles states that his novel is independent of his intrusions. Contrary to the authors of realist novels, who claim authority and manipulate the story, Fowles believes that "This is only one good definition of God: the freedom that allows other freedom to exist" (2004: 86). For him, the creative process does not tolerate limitations set up by the author – the story overwhelms the author and he yields to it. Therefore, he cannot choose the destiny of his characters – their actions are the consequences of their characters.

suggested by his appearance as a character. Secondly, though the plot of the novel may be interpreted as a parody of the plot of a Victorian novel, it certainly proves absorbing and "secures the place of the novel in history" (Vukićević Garić 180). By mixing the elements of different literary movements, Fowles attempts to prove that there are no limits in contemporary age. One of the most disputed ways of his game with the reader is his reluctance to offer a traditional closure of the plot. Instead of one, *The French Lieutenant's Woman* has three endings. Nevertheless, despite the fact that Fowles does not end his novel in a conventional way, he undoubtedly directs the reader to view the third ending as the most probable. When it comes to social conventions, *The French Lieutenant's Woman* questions Victorian conformism and oppression and praises Victorian seriousness and moral earnestness. The novel suggests an uneasy attitude towards Victorian society, an attitude in which "irony is inevitably mixed with nostalgia" (Vukićević Garić 181). History is also de-naturalized as a human construct. However, the novel does not question the existence of history and the past. The narrator suggests that the past and history do exist, but emphasizes the need for their redefinition. In that manner, Fowles proves his excellence with his complex attitude to the established norms and conventions, which are simultaneously challenged and reinforced. Furthermore, the narrator introduces the reader not with an official history, but with an alternative history, history of the marginalized. His intent is not that of a historical novelist, who wants his readers to learn about the past. The narrator's aim is to make the reader realize that his/her present is inextricably linked to the past. There is no clear boundary between them, they overlap and influence each other. The neo-Victorian genre points to the fact that the past should not be forgotten and put aside as irrelevant. In fact, the temporal distance allows for an unbiased and comprehensive understanding of the past. This understanding implies not only realization of the advantages and disadvantages of the past. Reading literature and history together for postmodern writers suggests a shift from "learning about history to learning from history" (Tica 379). It may be argued that *The French Lieutenant's Woman* adopts the position that the past is the teacher of life. The novel implies that the past teaches us not to repeat its errors. Still, the emphasis is not only on the diversity of the past and the present. There are universal topics which bother people of all periods, such as themes of duty, and freedom and sexuality. Freedom is the leitmotif of Fowles's fiction. His literary oeuvre suggests that the choice between freedom and convention is timeless, eternal. Freedom is the

indispensable factor in the dialogue between the past and the present in *The French Lieutenant's Woman*.

Freedom and Existential Awareness

Although Fowles himself states that this novel originates from a vision of a woman who is an embodiment of "a reproach on the Victorian age" (1998, 13), this novel does not imply that Fowles's age is in any way superior to the age he looks back on. As Hutcheon asserts, Fowles makes us aware of the temporal gap between the narrator's age and the setting of the novel, but he "is not telling us that change is improvement or even that we are so very different from the Victorians" (1978, 84). Similarly, Dana Schiller points out that Fowles's aim is not to represent either the past or the present as superior to the other period, but to emphasize their common qualities: "common humanity, shared strengths and shared failings" (555). *The French Lieutenant's Woman* indicates that there are similar existentialist dilemmas in the past and present. This research is an attempt to point out not only the fact that the present is related to the past, but also the fact that striving for freedom is a universal theme that permeates fiction both in the past and in the present.

As stated by Holmes, Fowles's insistence on an "authentic self" is more characteristic of existentialism than of postmodernism since individuality is either denied or deconstructed in postmodernism (66). The influence of existentialism on Fowles's oeuvre is acknowledged by Fowles himself, particularly of the French existentialists such as Camus and Sartre (qtd. in Campbell 459). In his interview with James Baker Fowles attempts to explain his existentialist concept. It is common knowledge that Fowles studied at Oxford. Fowles describes Oxford as an escape from the rigidity and conservatism of mainstream British society. Oxford was the place where "the individual was paramount, not the nation" (qtd. in Baker). There Fowles got interested in existentialism, though he states that existentialism only "quickened the feelings that would have emerged anyway" (qtd. in Baker).

Freedom for Fowles represents the ability of an individual to decide which path he/she is going to take. In his opinion, the bourgeois way of life, typical of both the Victorian and modern times, introduces the concept of duty, which denotes the choice that is most obvious, but not the choice that was always the right one. In a way, he finds a similarity between the Victorians and his contemporaries. There is a similar unrest in both eras, a feeling that dominant myths and conventions are no longer able to satisfy people and meet their needs:

> They sensed that current accounts of the world were inadequate; that they had allowed their windows of reality to become smeared by convention, religion, social stagnation; they knew, in short, that they had things to discover, and that the discovery was of the utmost importance to the future of man. (Fowles 2004, 49)

Although Fowles asserts that critics often exaggerate the influence of existentialism on his literary oeuvre, he claims that he is "interested in the side of existentialism that deals with freedom: the business of whether we do have freedom, whether we do have free will, to what extent you can change your life, choose, yourself, and all the rest of it" (qtd. in Campbell, 466). Indeed, freedom is the question which motivates the quest of self-realization of Fowles's characters (Jovanović 16). Charles is at the crossroads of his life. He is torn between the life expected of him and the life he desires. Charles realizes that he differs from most of his contemporaries. After his engagement to Ernestina Freeman, he begins to question himself whether marriage to a conventional middle-class woman will bring him happiness:

> It was a fixed article of Charles's creed that he was not like the great majority of his peers and contemporaries. … So? In this vital matter of the woman with whom he had elected to share his life, had he not been only too conventional? Instead of doing the most intelligent thing had he not done the most obvious? (Fowles 2004, 114)

The starting point of his dissatisfaction with his life and choices is the moment he meets Sarah Woodruff. Sarah, or "the French lieutenant's woman" is diametrically opposite to most of the Victorian women. Ernestina, though described as beautiful, is also commented on as "characterless, a little monotonous with its one set paradox of demureness and dryness" (Fowles 2004, 113). Sarah, with her aura of mystery, with her directness of look, thought and language, represents a sort of challenge, an invitation to a life of excitement and unpredictability. She poses a danger since she makes Charles aware of a certain deprivation. She reminds him that marriage to Ernestina, a well-to-do daughter of a prominent merchant, will be "a fixed voyage to a known place" (2004, 114). Charles becomes terrified of such a realization of his life as pre-determined and devoid of challenges. Therefore, he starts to think about Sarah, not only as an object of desire, but as a symbol of mystery and freedom. He sees that freedom brings excitement, but also that freedom implies a "feeling of terror" (2004,

296). Sarah's face, as Charles notices, is not beautiful, but it is unforgettable. In contrast with Ernestina, who is a prototype of a Victorian girl, who "behaved always as if habited in glass: infinitely fragile [...] encouraged the mask, the safe distance" (127), Sarah is a symbol of "an intelligence, an independence of spirit [...] a determination to be what she was" (2004, 105). Surprisingly, Sarah enjoys her state of an outcast, since she discerns freedom in her fictional "stumbling". In opposition to women like Ernestina, Sarah, with her intelligence and directness "behind her façade of humility, forbade [...] the mask, the safe distance" (127).

As Fowles suggests, "Existentialism is not a philosophy, but a way of looking at, and utilizing, other philosophies" (qtd. in Hutcheon 1978, 85). It implies a question of whether we have a freedom of choice. The realization that there is always a choice is crucial for the process of self-realization. However, we have to be aware of the consequences of each alternative. Majority of people internalize the conventions of their age. Charles Smithson discerns the hypocrisy and repression in his narrow-minded social environment and sets on a journey of self-knowledge, a quest for an alternative. This journey begins at the moment when he realizes that he is not willing to live as he is expected to. If he marries Ernestina, he is going to attach himself to a world based on possession. If he starts an affair with Sarah, life will be unpredictable and exciting: "What he felt was really a very clear case. You know your choice. You stay in prison, what your time calls duty, honour, self-respect, and you are comfortably safe. Or you are free and crucified" (Fowles 2004, 314).

In order to attain freedom Charles has to "reject the notion of possession as the purpose of life" (Fowles 2004, 295). Although he succeeds to break off his engagement with the prosperous Ernestina, he does not realize until the end that he has to reject the notion of sexual possession as well. Charles is willing to sacrifice his reputation, but Sarah remains a mystery to him until he meets her at Rossetti's house. Only then does he understand that she values her freedom the best. Diametrically opposite to a typical Victorian girl, she does not want marriage – marriage is for her a symbol of sexual possession. As Hutcheon suggests, although Charles naively supposes that he set himself free by breaking his ties with the bourgeois society, the last meeting with Sarah makes him realize that freedom is painful (1978, 93). To be free means not to impose oneself on anyone, not even the person you love. Sarah sets Charles on the journey of self-recognition and freedom, but chooses to leave him in the end, free and terrified.

Sarah Woodruff is an embodiment of Fowles's concept of freedom. In a way, she is closest to the author, since she invents her life, revises her past in order to become free and independent of the society. Hutcheon correctly concludes that Sarah is "the greatest fiction maker of the novel" (1978, 88). On the one hand, Sarah resembles a postmodern historian since she carefully selects referents in order to create a plausible version of her past. On the other hand, she willingly makes up the story of her fall so as to parody Victorian morality. After she becomes an outcast, she is free to choose her own destiny: "I think I have a freedom they cannot understand. No insult, no blame, can touch me. Because I have set myself beyond the pale. I am nothing. I am hardly human any more. I am the French lieutenant's whore" (Fowles 2004, 153). By calling herself "The French lieutenant's woman", she points to the fact that Victorian women were observed in relation to their fathers, husbands, lovers. Marriage meant that a woman had to relinquish her identity and become the shadow of her husband (Fišić 46). However, Sarah does not want to belong to anyone, she is "No-One's Woman" (Hutcheon 1978, 88). She is independent, free to choose her own destiny, not willing to limit herself through marriage.

Sarah Woodruff's main "problem" is her unwillingness to be looked at through the prism of gender and class stereotypes. The characters from her surroundings (including Charles) attempt to affiliate her with certain etiquette, a type. Sarah is described by others as a governess, a fallen woman, a mysterious woman, a mentally unstable woman. They all attempt to reduce Sarah to her essence, to label her. However, Sarah resists labeling of any kind. She does not want to conform to roles and types and know her own essence. As Lynch notices, Sarah has two simple wishes: "to be who she is and to be happy as she is" (63). By refusing to conform to society, its expectations and generalizations, Sarah exhibits a high level of existential awareness. In contrast with her, Charles, who likes to think of himself as ahead of his contemporaries, does not abandon the Victorian assumptions about gender and conduct (Tarbox 62–63, 77–78). Even when he thinks that his acquaintance with Sarah has radically changed him, his attitudes do not differ much from the attitudes of Mr. and Miss Freeman. He still conceptualizes marriage as "the purpose for which woman was brought into creation" (2004, 353). Taking into consideration his internalization of the Victorian world view, it makes sense that Sarah rejects him. It seems that a long and thorny way is ahead of Charles, the way of rejecting conventions for the sake of self-realization.

Conclusion

The specificity of *The French Lieutenant's Woman* lies in the fact that it has two social contexts. It refers both to the Victorian age (1867) and contemporary age (1967). Therefore, this novel cannot be interpreted as only a critical comment on the Victorian era. Fowles's complex endeavor is to adopt a critical perspective towards both the nineteenth and twentieth century. In contrast with modernism, which arose as a reaction against the conventions and mores of the Victorian age, the post-war years symbolize the period which provided the distance necessary for a comprehensive analysis of this controversial era. On the one hand, the novel implies that Victorians were conformist and oppressive. Sexuality was a taboo, an issue not written about in realist novels. Fowles deals with themes of sexuality and class rigidity. On the other hand, the novel suggests that contemporary age lacks Victorian seriousness and moral purpose. It indicates the potential threat of sexual liberation, which as a consequence tends to deprive sexuality of its lure, of its mystery.

In a true postmodernist fashion, Fowles questions and redefines concepts of history, past, reality, and fiction. He blurs the distinctions between them. It is essential for us to realize that these concepts are constructs. History and the past are no more real than fiction. Additionally, all these concepts are textualized. As it follows from the novel, there is not just one acceptable version of history/the past. There are many different versions, which depend on the perspective of the historian, as well as on the choice of the traces of the past. The aim of history and fiction is not to write about the past/reality, but to create a plausible version of them. Accordingly, Sarah is compared to a historian who selects the referents and creates not a factual, but a plausible version of her past. By making up her moral lapses, she simultaneously symbolizes the freedom of a novelist and parodies Victorian conventions.

Two social contexts of the novel mix, comment and influence each other. However, Fowles's intent is not to qualify either of them as superior. By juxtaposing their characteristics, Fowles aims at pointing at their common features. One similarity between these two apparently different periods is the fact that they symbolize transitional periods, the periods marked by dissatisfaction with prevailing attitudes and the search for alternatives. According to the author, the question of existential freedom is a universal topic which permeates the fiction of all periods. Charles Smithson, who embarks on a spiritual journey, is on the long and thorny path of self-recognition. His affair with the unconventional and elusive Sarah inspires him to see his life as

unfulfilling and devoid of challenge and excitement. Sarah takes on the role of his teacher on the issue of freedom. The first lesson that Charles learns is that there is always a choice. We are in position to choose between our duty and our personal wishes and goals. The second lesson is a more serious and painful one. Charles has to realize that freedom is painful and that it includes rejection of the notion of possession. For most of the novel, Charles is a conventional rebel who renounces his social position, but still adheres to Victorian assumptions about gender and sexuality. His condition in the end of the novel embodies Sartre's concept of existential freedom. Sartre associated freedom not with security, but with "anguish over our responsibility in choosing" (Lynch 351). The novel implies that the quest of freedom is painful, but worth the effort. Following Sarah's and Charles's example, Fowles's reader is encouraged to rise against the conventions, find out who he/she is and become the forge of his/her own destiny. In the contemporary world, where nothing is secure and stable, an individual has to think for him/herself, cherishing existentialist self-awareness and the ability of suspecting as his/her greatest virtues.

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ДИЈАЛОГ ДЕВЕТНАЕСТОГ И ДВАДЕСЕТОГ ВЕКА У ЖЕНСКОЈ ФРАНЦУСКОГ ПОРУЧНИКА ЏОНА ФАУЛСА

Женска француског поручника (1969) Џона Фаулса се генерално тумачи као нео-викторијански постмодернистички роман. По свој прилици, овај жанр има за циљ пародију викторијанских конвенција и представља критички коментар на викторијанско доба. Међутим, циљ овог истраживања је проблематизација тврдње да је однос између прошлости и садашњости у роману много сложенији. Фаулс настоји да повеже ова два наизглед потпуно различита периода. Деветнаести век представља извор енглеског идентитета и има непорециви утицај на садашњост. Међутим, и садашњост утиче на прошлост. Догађаји који су се одиграли током двадесетог века променили су начин на који концептуализујемо прошлост. Фаулс имплицира да прошлост не постоји – постоји само наша деконструкција прошлости. Ипак, Фаулсов роман превазилази деконструкцију прошлости. Он верује да роман мора да донесе нешто ново и аутентично. Један од кључних постмодернистичких концепата је да пародија и иронија представљају једину могућу оригиналност. Међутим, поред пародирања конвенција деветнаестог и двадестог века, роман се бави и егзистенцијалним дилемама које се могу применити на оба периода.

Кључне речи: Фаулс, неовикторијански, постмодернизам, прошлост, садашњост, историја, конвенција, егзистенцијализам, слобода.

IL SOLDATO INESISTENTE DI BUZZATI E KADARE (*IL DESERTO DEI TARTARI* E *IL GENERALE DELL'ARMATA MORTA*)

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Riassunto: Questo articolo si propone di evidenziare alcuni elementi in comune tra due romanzi: *Il Deserto dei Tartari* di Dino Buzzati e *Il Generale dell'armata morta* di Ismail Kadare. Tutti e due i romanzi hanno come sfondo la seconda Guerra mondiale. Una guerra che sta per cominciare in Buzzati e i ricordi e le conseguenze di questa guerra in Kadare. Il tenente Drogo e il Generale di Kadare partono dalla propria città per raggiungere la destinazione, uno verso il deserto dei Tartari e l'altro versa la terra ignota, l'Albania. Sono due soldati di due eserciti mandati per portare avanti una missione militare.
Benché i soldati siano preparati per combattere e fare la guerra, i due personaggi si trovano svuotati dalle caratteristiche fondamentali del combattente. Il tenente Drogo rimane ad aspettare per tutta la vita un nemico che non arriverà mai, mentre il Generale di Kadare porterà avanti una missione che diventerà il suo tormento, ricercare le tombe dei soldati italiani caduti durante la guerra, in Albania. Tutto questo lo fa soffrire della sua inesistenza, della sua nullità come soldato. Un intero esercito morto a che cosa può servire? Cosa può fare un generale con un'armata morta? In entrambi i romanzi la guerra si rivela una forte delusione, un'assurdità che non serve niente all'umanità.

Parole chiave: soldati, narrazione, inesistenza, assurdità, morte, attesa

Introduzione

Buzzati e Kadare sono due scrittori che hanno scelto di *viaggiare*, di partire verso un paese straniero, per affrontare l'Altro e per conoscere se stessi. Un generale e un tenente hanno quasi la stessa missione e lo stesso dovere, quello di essere a capo di un esercito di soldati e prepararsi per combattere. Ma come mai i soldati non combattono contro il nemico straniero? Perché il generale e il tenente non esercitano il loro dovere da militari? Loro devono viaggiare per missione, ma le assurdità che susseguono fanno sì che la missione si trasformi in una minaccia. Lo stato d'animo e il suo adattarsi alle circostanze, la

trasformazione delle aspettative e delle ambizioni dell'uomo di fronte alla realtà della vita sono elementi che percorrono le pagine dei due scrittori.

I due romanzi, Il *Deserto dei Tartari (1940)* di Dino Buzzati, del primo Novecento italiano e *Il Generale dell'armata morta* (1963) di Kadare, scrittore albanese della seconda metà del Novecento, sono libri di notevole fortuna, di vasta ricezione e tradotti in diverse lingue. Il caso vuole che diventino anche soggetti di film. *Il generale dell'armata morta* è un film del 1983, diretto da Luciano Tovoli, con la partecipazione di Marcello Mastroianni nel ruolo del generale ed *Il Deserto dei Tartari* del 1976 è stato diretto da Valerio Zurlini.

Quello che fa da sfondo a tutte e due le opere è la seconda guerra mondiale. Una guerra che sta per cominciare in Buzzati e i ricordi e le conseguenze di questa guerra in Kadare, che somigliano quasi al preludio e all'epilogo di un romanzo. Ci troviamo di fronte ad esigue informazioni sull'ambientazione della storia di Buzzati, elementi ridotti di spazio e di tempo, quasi nessun elemento reale nel romanzo che si riferisca ad un determinato contesto storico. Però non mancano le voci che vedono in quella narrativa lo stesso periodo storico che stava attraversando anche l'Italia. Yves Panafieu scriveva: «*Il Deserto dei Tartari* sarebbe quindi l'eco metaforica, continuamente traslata, della crisi dell'*intera nazione italiana* di quegli anni, in attesa di un conflitto preparato da tempo ma sempre rimandato» (Vitagliano, 2015, p. 310). Del resto Buzzati era un giornalista e l'Europa fremeva sotto i colpi di una guerra dentro la quale anche l'Italia iniziava a muovere i primi passi.

A differenza dell'opera di Buzzati, con scarse indicazioni sulla collocazione storica e area geografica delle vicende, in quella di Kadare il contesto storico e geografico è molto preciso. In quell'epoca anche Kadare, molto giovane, faceva il giornalista. Si tratta del 1963, vent'anni dopo la fine della seconda guerra mondiale, quando a un generale e ad un colonnello cappellano dell'Esercito italiano viene affidato l'incarico di ritrovare i resti dei soldati italiani caduti in Albania. Secondo Kadare questa storia è stata strutturata sulla realtà dei fatti storici [1] con riferimenti precisi di tempo e di spazio. La realtà storica che accomuna le due vicende è l'atmosfera grigia e fredda della guerra, di una guerra che produce quasi le stesse sensazioni, le stesse paure e delusioni. A

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[1] Durante un'intervista del giornalista francese Eric Faye con Ismail Kadare, lo scrittore afferma l'autenticità dei fatti storici. Afferma di aver incontrato in hotel "Dajti", appena tornato dagli studi a Mosca, un generale italiano ed un prete che lo accompagnava, venuti per questa stessa missione. ERIC FAYE, *Tri biseda me Kadarenë*, Tirana, Casa Editrice Onufri, 2007, p. 62-63.

prima vista tutto si svolge attorno alla guerra ed alle sue conseguenze; le parole e le frasi non fanno altro che ricostruire un particolare sfondo di guerra. Ci sono soldati, generali, tenenti, sentinelle, battaglioni, colonelli, tombe, regolamenti, provocazioni e poi ci sono i nemici, ci sono gli stranieri. La cosa più importante, però, è la missione che loro devono portare avanti, quella missione nobile di guerra che li farà sentire orgogliosi e importanti. Possiamo trovare, a questo punto, una somiglianza tra i due protagonisti, del loro mondo, di quello che provano, di come riescono ad affrontare la pressione del dovere, dell'incarico ufficiale. I due protagonisti che devono portare a termine la missione affidata sono il tenente Drogo e il Generale di Kadare, tutti e due contagiati da quel clima eroico di avidità di gloria. Tutti e due partono dalla propria città per raggiungere la destinazione, un luogo strano mai visto prima; uno verso il deserto dei Tartari e l'altro verso la terra straniera, l'Albania.

Il giovane tenente Giovanni Drogo è promosso ufficiale ed è assegnato alla Fortezza Bastiani. La fortezza, avamposto di uno sperduto sito di confine, è misteriosamente minacciata dall'invasione dei mitici nemici, i Tartari. L'incipit del romanzo è improntato dalla premura del tenente nel voler partire e dalla sua soddisfazione per l'obiettivo finalmente raggiunto:

> Si fece svegliare ch'era ancora notte e vestì per la prima volta la divisa di tenente… Era quello il giorno atteso da anni, il principio della sua vera vita... Adesso era finalmente ufficiale… Sì, adesso egli era ufficiale… (Buzzati 1976, p. 23)

Il generale italiano di Kadare è stato inviato in Albania per assicurare il rimpatrio dei resti dei suoi compatrioti caduti durante l'ultima guerra mondiale. Anche qui, nel primo capitolo ci viene narrato da subito il piacere e l'orgoglio che gli ispirava questa missione umana:

> Migliaia di madri attendevano le spoglie dei figli e sarebbe stato lui a portarle loro. Avrebbe fatto tutto quanto era in suo potere per assolvere degnamente quel compito sacro. Nessuno dei suoi compatrioti doveva essere dimenticato, nessuno doveva essere abbandonato in quella terra straniera. Oh, sì, era una nobile missione! (Kadare 1982, 5).

I due protagonisti, benché soddisfatti degli incarichi, proveranno un'altra sensazione già descritta nelle prime pagine, una sensazione strana, un sentimento che li rende incerti, ambigui, che li sconcentra, una strana miscela di piacere e di sofferenza, di tensione e di ansia. Si rendono conto ben presto che la realtà non era quella che si

immaginavano, non era quella che avevano sognato e avevano tanto desiderato. La realtà che si trovano davanti è sconosciuta e quasi quasi mette paura. Il generale di Kadare, appena vede per la prima volta la terra straniera «... Ecco l'esercito era laggiù, fuori del tempo, rigido, calcificato, coperto di terra. Toccava a lui il compito di sollevarlo dal fango. E questo compito gli faceva paura. Era una missione che valicava i confini del naturale ... » (Kadare 1982,5). Vediamo che il protagonista comincia a perdere l'equilibrio interno: appena inizia il viaggio, subisce una trasformazione a causa del contatto diretto con la realtà, una realtà che rivelava nei suoi riguardi non solo indifferenza, ma qualcosa di più, che somigliava quasi all'ostilità. Questa forte emozione lo faceva persino dubitare di quello di cui andava fiero, cioè della sua missione, della sua stessa carriera. La sua esistenza ormai era sconvolta dall'enorme abisso che separava l'immaginazione e la realtà. Egli non era più l'eroico e glorioso generale che sognava anche una solenne cerimonia con la musica funebre per il trasferimento delle ceneri. Mentre si rivolge al prete che l'accompagna prova disagio e solitudine:

> ... da quando siamo arrivati qui le cose hanno preso un'altra piega... Dapprima è sfumato il nostro orgoglio, poi poco dopo non è rimasto più nulla di solenne in tutto questo, infine sono svanite le mie ultime illusioni, e adesso andiamo in giro... miseri buffoni di guerra, più terribili di tutti coloro che hanno combattuto e sono stati vinti in questo paese. (Kadare 1982, 45).

L'uomo, consapevole della propria inadeguatezza e dell'impossibilità di giungere alla meta, è perennemente e tragicamente inquieto. Questo è anche lo stato d'animo che caratterizza in parte la figura dell'altro protagonista, del tenente Giovanni Drogo. Buzzati, a sua volta, fa sì che il suo protagonista, benché contento della sua carriera e desideroso di raggiungere la sua meta, provi una certa tensione appena si trova davanti alla Fortezza Bastiani. Fuori da ogni aspettativa, il luogo verso cui si dirige è subito connotato da un alone di mistero, una collocazione spaziale indefinita, più vaga che misteriosa: lo sconosciuto e l'inimmaginabile.

> ...non riusciva a immaginarlo. Non sapeva neppure esattamente dove si trovasse, né quanta strada ci fosse da fare. (Kadare 1982, 8-9)

> Un luogo che non si può immaginare e non si può collocare secondo le categorie dello spazio e del tempo. Un pensiero che non può essere più identificato, un'anima combattuta da diversi sentimenti, come dice Vianelli "l'ansia dell'impresa, il dubbio della riuscita,

l'amarezza della partenza dalle cose care, abituali e sicure, il presentimento del fallimento. (Vianelli 2010, 7)

Due romanzi sulla morte

Un aspetto importante che fa riflettere su un confronto possibile tra le due opere è il motivo della morte, argomento centrale attorno cui muovono tutti i personaggi e si svolgono tutte le vicende. La morte si avverte già dai titoli delle opere in questione; il lettore può subito diventare cosciente che lì tra le pagine incontrerà di sicuro l'ansia e la paura che la morte suscita. Il titolo del *Deserto dei Tartari*, e il deserto in particolare è una metafora del vuoto, della solitudine, dell'angoscia del nulla, che non promette niente, oltre l'unico principio di realtà che la vita possiede: la morte. Lo stesso vale per l'altra opera e il suo titolo *Il Generale dell'armata morta*. Questo titolo è strutturato sulla base di una forte antitesi, l'antitesi della vita e della morte, cioè tra il generale di un'armata di soldati simbolo di vitalità e di azione e l'assoluto contrario con l'aggettivo morta.

Le vicende seguono quasi lo stesso percorso, due ufficiali, militari, tutti e due per caso dell'esercito italiano, sono obbligati a portare avanti una missione militare, che risulta molto presto una grande delusione. Invece di provare orgoglio e stima per i sacrifici e la loro carriera militare, rimangono in preda della solitudine e dell'inquietudine, affrontando giorno dopo giorno l'unica verità possibile, la morte. Giovanni Drogo che aspetta per tutta la vita il nemico, senza sapere che il suo unico vero nemico sarà la morte e il Generale di Kadare che finisce per diventare un generale di soldati morti, che portano addosso solamente una medaglietta come unico segno di riconoscimento e una nuova uniforme, completamente in nylon azzurro. Un militare che aspetta la morte e l'altro che l'accompagna e la raccoglie.

È molto evidente per chiunque legga questi due romanzi, che si tratta di una presenza concreta della morte, estesa in tutte le pagine. In ogni pagina di Kadare ci sono tombe scavate e resti umani, cosi come in Buzzati c'è così tanta freddezza, tanta perturbazione e tanta solitudine che portano a presagire l'ineluttabile presenza della morte.

Quanto detto finora conduce verso la problematica morale ed esistenziale dell'uomo, che vive gli albori della guerra in Buzzati o che rivive e affronta le reminiscenze del passato in Kadare. Tutto si svolge in pieno contrasto, in un'ambiguità di sentimenti e di dubbi che si collocano nei due estremi; tra la vita e la morte, tra *il tempo e l'evento*[2],

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[2]Queste analogie in Buzzati sono state segnalate dalla critica, ALVARO BIONDI, *Il tempo e l'evento: Dino Buzzati e l'"Italia magica"*, Roma Bulzoni, 2010.

tra il visibile e l'invisibile, tra la natura e l'uomo, tra sogno e realtà. Secondo Alvaro Biondi, «La costante tensione tra l'uomo e la natura, tra la vita e la morte, tra il Tempo e l'Evento costituisce la caratteristica essenziale e peculiare di Buzzati. La sua grandezza è essere inventore di miti moderni, anzi il suo *Deserto dei Tartari*, continua Biondi, è veramente il mito dell'uomo novecentesco, della sua condizione spirituale e storica» (Biondi 2013, 180). Buzzati ci offre una particolare visione filosofica della condizione umana: vani sacrifici, attesa spietata, illusione nei confronti del futuro e alla fine una grande delusione. Drogo si trova in balia di una malattia che lo sta conducendo alla morte. Il destino non gli ha permesso di avere quell'unica cosa, quell'unica impresa eroica, in cui tanto aveva creduto. Non poteva aspettare altro che affrontare la morte con serenità.

Riferendosi a Kadare, la critica afferma che il valore particolare della sua arte è la capacità di penetrare nelle zone più difficili, di mettere insieme il mondo reale con quello fantastico, la vita con la morte, la capacità di penetrare negli strati più profondi della coscienza, nel groviglio dei complessi, nei desideri inespressi (Çaushi 1993, 246-247). La morte entra in rapporto con i personaggi, a volte, in modo diretto e immediato e, a volte, lentamente e quotidianamente, procurando la perturbazione e l'inquietudine. La vita stessa non può fare a meno della morte e proprio per questo anche il realismo di Kadare non può fare a meno di questi problemi esistenziali. Il generale dell'armata morta si sente ormai stanco e continua a bere sempre di più: un'ubriachezza che egli cerca volutamente, necessaria per lasciarsi tutti quegli orrori alle spalle, per allontanarsi qualche momento dalla morte, che aveva dominato la sua quotidianità, la sua mente, il suo respiro.

Il generale sentiva che l'alcool gli dava alla testa. Adesso ho ai miei ordini un'intera armata morta», pensava. «Solo che per uniforme hanno tutti un sacco di nylon. Un sacco azzurro sbarrato da due righe bianche e bordato di nero, fabbricazione speciale della ditta Olympia… Al principio c'erano solo alcuni plotoni di bare, poi, a poco a poco, si sono formati compagnie e battaglioni e ora stiamo completando reggimenti e divisioni. Un intero esercito avvolto nel nylon (Kadare 1982, 68-69).

La situazione del generale è ormai tragica. Si sente disperatamente solo, solo con le tombe dei soldati e con un passato che suscita ancora rancore e ostilità. Il pensiero della morte diviene ormai insopportabile, il tormento della sua presenza quotidiana lo rende sempre più stanco e sempre più triste, egli dimentica di vivere la propria vita. In questa relazione inevitabile di vita e di morte, di realtà e immaginazione vive da

solo, nel suo disagio esistenziale, in un mondo in continua tensione in cui, piuttosto che agire, aspetta provando ansia e un progressivo raffreddamento interiore.

L'inquietudine del soldato "inesistente"

I due protagonisti ufficiali delle due opere sono in realtà due soldati di due eserciti, mandati per portare avanti una missione militare. Però vediamo che questo incarico non era per niente quello che i due si aspettavano. Sono dei soldati preparati per combattere, per fare la vera guerra, con l'odore delle armi e la sconfitta del nemico. La figura del nostro soldato è svuotata dalle caratteristiche principali del combattente e di conseguenza il suo ruolo è completamente svuotato di significato. Drogo sente una forte tentazione di abbandonare la Fortezza, prima che il fascino delle abitudini militari lo costringa a portare fino in fondo l'avventura.

> Il formalismo militare, in quella fortezza, sembrava aver creato un insano capolavoro. Centinaia di uomini a custodire un valico da cui nessuno sarebbe passato. Andarsene, andarsene al più presto – pensava Giovanni – uscir fuori all'aria, da quel mistero nebbioso (Buzzati 1976, 54).

Però i meccanismi di una rigida disciplina militare, il regolamento e in particolar modo quel desiderio di comportarsi da eroi impone al tenente Drogo e al generale di Kadare di procedere con l'incarico. Panafieu[3] rivela che la volontà di conformarsi all'immagine nobile – l'immagine mitica dell'eroe che si sacrifica per la patria – lo incita ad abbandonare il suo progetto di partire: è un meccanismo autorepressivo che mano a mano lo porta a mettere a tacere la verità che egli sente riaffiorare nella mente.

> Drogo ha deciso di rimanere, tenuto da un desiderio ma non solo da questo: l'eroico pensiero forse a tanto forse non sarebbe bastato. Per ora egli crede di aver fatto una cosa nobile e in buona fede se ne meraviglia, scoprendosi migliore di quanto avesse creduto. Solo molti mesi più tardi, guardandosi indietro, egli riconoscerà le misere cose che lo legano alla Fortezza (Buzzati 1976, 90).

Nel romanzo di Kadare, il generale prova grande tormento e un grande senso di vuoto, come se tutto fosse inutile, lasciando intendere

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[3] Vedi, Daniela Vitagliano, Il soldato inesistente ne Il Deserto dei Tartari *di Dino Buzzati*,inItalies, 2015

il dubbio sulla necessità di quella missione. Comincia ad essere stanco, nervoso, provando di tanto in tanto un senso di oppressione. Per il generale, principale protagonista dell'opera, è l'occasione di affrontare un popolo estraneo, un popolo con cui vent'anni prima era in guerra e con cui ora si ritrova a dover lavorare fianco a fianco nella ricerca delle tombe dei suoi compagni, occasione che da una diffidenza iniziale si trasforma in un profondo astio, fino allo scontro aperto, in una serie di eventi che porteranno la figura austera del generale a una profonda crisi di coscienza e di distacco dalla realtà e dalle sue responsabilità. Ma il sacerdote che lo accompagna cerca di spiegare ad alta voce al generale quello che in fondo anche il generale sapeva, quello che lui voleva realmente, la vera missione che merita un soldato, la vera guerra.

> Se lei prova questo senso di oppressione è perché, nel più profondo di sé, si rammarica di non essere stato lei alla testa delle nostre divisioni in Albania. E pensa che, forse, sotto la sua guida tutto sarebbe andato diversamente… In realtà lei deplora ogni insuccesso, rivive ogni sconfitta e si vede retrospettivamente al posto degli sventurati ufficiali che comandavano le nostre truppe; e accarezza, allora, il più insensato dei sogni: mutare le nostre sconfitte in altrettante vittorie… Basta – disse il generale – sono forse uno psicopatico, perché lei si metta a frugare così nel mio intimo? (Kadare 1982, 85)

Tutto questo lo fa soffrire della sua *inesistenza*, della sua nullità come soldato, dei lunghi mesi che non finiscono mai, di tutto quello che si aspettava e sognava. Ormai la sua vita di tutti i giorni è dominata da incubi, da sonniferi, alcolici, mal di testa, dalla morte che gli aveva invaso pure l'anima. Un intero esercito morto a che cosa può servire? Cosa può fare un generale con un'armata morta? Un'assurdità, un continuo rincorrere un qualcosa che, una volta raggiunto, non è più ciò che si stava aspettando. A questo punto, tutto somiglia al destino di Giovanni Drogo, un soldato impossibilitato ad assolvere la sua funzione di soldato, seppure obbediente alle regole che scandiscono la sua vita. Un'eterna attesa di un destino insano, di un viaggio che inevitabilmente porta verso la morte. «Con Buzzati –scrive Benedetta De Bonis – si è dunque in presenza di una barbarie interna, se il nemico contro il quale alla fine Drogo comprende di dover combattere non sono i Tartari, ma quell'entità perturbante nel senso freudiano del termine che è la morte per l'essere umano» (De Bonis, griseldaonline.it).

L'assenza di un nemico reale esterno rende quasi inutile la presenza di quei soldati in quel deserto e pure l'esistenza della frontiera stessa e della Fortezza Bastiani. Se il tenente Drogo non può affrontare il nemico

e morire in battaglia, allora che senso ha aspettare tutta la vita sulla frontiera? A questo punto questa frontiera, posizionata nel deserto non sembra altro che un simbolo della solitudine e di una quasi eterna attesa insensata. Altro elemento che aiuta a costruire il mondo dei due protagonisti e che permette alcune associazioni è la natura. Una scelta stilistica molto suggestiva sin dall'inizio dell'opera, che potrebbe essere letta anche come una chiave per capire molto di più sul mondo interiore dei protagonisti, di quello che provano, di come e perché si comportano e reagiscono. Una natura capace di riflettere e di avvertire su tutto quello che sta per succedere. Tutto il primo capitolo del romanzo di Kadare è dominato da colori oscuri, grigi e neri e da un clima di vento e di pioggia, come succede di solito in autunno. Domina una densità di parole che si riferiscono alla nebbia, umidità, fango, alle cime aguzze delle montagne, ai monti silenziosi e tragici, asfalto nero. Una natura dall'aspetto quasi minaccioso che annuncia la paura, il timore e l'apatia che verrà.

> Il terreno era aspro e il maltempo si è accanito contro di noi… Una pioggia mista a fiocchi di neve cadeva sulla terra straniera... La neve sciolta bagnava la pianura e le colline circostanti, facendo luccicare l'asfalto nero della carreggiata. In qualsiasi altra stagione quella pioggia monotona sarebbe parsa a tutti una coincidenza. Ma il generale non era affatto sorpreso (Kadare 1982,5).

Nella sua opera *Kadare, lo scrittore e la dittatura*, Peter Morgan mette in evidenza lo stretto rapporto tra la natura e l'evolversi delle vicende dell'opera e va anche oltre. Secondo lui questa scelta è molto intenzionale, e non solo per farci entrare nell'atmosfera della morte, ma anche un modo figurato per rivelare che Kadare non era contento del sistema comunisma «Il romanzo si apre con la pioggia e il nevischio del novembre, una metafora tipica di Kadare, per mettere in evidenza "l'inverno del malcontento" in comunismo» (Morgan 2011,76). Un altro studioso della sua opera aggiunge che la nebbia e la pioggia, l'autunno e l'inverno sono i suoi veri alleati. Lo schema dell'entrata del Generale dell'armata morta, nella capitale, è caratterizzato dalla neve e dalla pioggia. «Il fango e la sporcizia fanno da ostacolo alle sue ricerche grottesche per trovare i resti dei morti» (De Moor 2007,19).

La forte presenza degli elementi della natura e la loro relazione con i fatti che accadono è molto evidente anche nell'opera di Buzzati. La natura parla nello stesso modo dei fatti e delle azioni, con la stessa tonalità del pessimismo o della monotonia o dell'inquietudine. Nelle prime pagine il paesaggio si fa sempre più aspro e ostile, quasi a voler scoraggiare quel piccolo uomo in quel deserto così sterminato: con le

ombre della sera salgono e s'ingigantiscono le inquietudini, i dubbi, le esitazioni, i timori. Buzzati sembra avere un rapporto particolare con la natura e il paesaggio; mette accanto a ogni azione o comportamento dei personaggi uno stato della natura, cioè il paesaggio ci aiuta a capire ogni movimento o stato d'animo dei personaggi, cercando di creare parallelismi o anche contrasti certe volte per renderla più interessante, come se la natura stessa facesse da guida alle emozioni o agli avvenimenti.

> Tutto vallone era già zeppo di tenebre violette, solo le nude creste erbose, a incredibile altezza, erano illuminate dal sole, quando Drogo si trovò improvvisamente davanti, nera e gigantesca contro il purissimo cielo della sera, una costruzione militaresca… ma tutto, dalle mura al paesaggio, traspirava un'aria inospitale e sinistra (Buzzati,26-27).

> Lingue di nebbia si andavano intanto formando nella pianura, pallido arcipelago sopra oceano nero… Che lunga notte! Drogo aveva già perso la speranza che potesse mai terminare quando il cielo cominciò a impallidire e folate gelide annunciarono che l'alba non era lontana (Buzzati, 41).

Per concludere, possiamo dire che in entrambi i romanzi la guerra si rivela una forte delusione. La verità che accomuna i due autori risulta essere l'assurdità della guerra che accomuna, nel suo destino di morte, vincitori e vinti. Alla bramosia di gloria sia del generale che del tenente si contrappone con forte simbolismo la ricerca di una verità definitiva sulla propria esistenza.

La forte presenza della natura non puo essere un elemento casuale, essa fa da sfondo continuamente allo stato d'animo e alle emozioni umane. Malgrado non abbiano la pretesa di essere esaustive, queste osservazioni vogliono evidenziare il fatto che questi due bellissimi romanzi meritano ulteriori ricerche riguardanti sia quello che li accumuna che quello che li distingue.

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THE INEXISTENT SOLDIER IN BUZZATI E KADARE (*THE DESERT OF THE TARTARS* AND *THE GENERAL OF THE DEAD ARMY*)

The two novels, *Deserto dei Tartari* (*The desert of the Tartars*) (1940) by Dino Buzzati, of the early twentieth century in Italy and *Il Generale dell'armata morta* (*The general of the dead army*) (1963) by Kadare, an Albanian writer of the second half of the twentieth century, are considerably successful books of a wide reception and translated into several languages. The background to both works is the Second World War. A war that is about to begin in Buzzati and the memories and consequences of this war in Kadare. A general and a lieutenant have almost the same mission and the same duty, that of leading an army of soldiers and preparing to fight. But neither of them carries out his military duty, there is no enemy to fight against.

The state of mind and its adaptation to circumstances, the transformation of man's expectations and ambitions in front of life reality are elements that run through the pages of the two writers'works. Unlike Buzzati's work, with little indication on the historical location and geographical area of the events, in Kadare's work the historical and geographical context is very precise.

It is 1963, twenty years after the end of the Second World War, when a general and a colonel chaplain of the Italian Army were entrusted with the task of finding the remains of the Italian soldiers who fell in Albania. The historical reality that unites the two events is the gray and cold atmosphere of the war, of a war that produces almost the same sensations, the same fears and disappointments. At first sight, everything revolves around the war and its consequences; the words and phrases do nothing but reconstruct a particular war background. There are soldiers, generals, lieutenants, sentries, battalions, colonels, graves, regulations, provocations and then there are the enemies, there are the foreigners. The two protagonists who must carry out the mission entrusted to them are Lieutenant Drogo and the General of Kadare, both

infected by that heroic climate of greed for glory. Both of them leave their own city to reach their destination, a strange place never seen before; one towards the desert of the Tartars and the other towards the foreign land, Albania.

The young lieutenant Giovanni Drogo is promoted to officer and is assigned to the Bastiani Fortress. The fortress, an outpost of a remote border site, is mysteriously threatened by the invasion of the mythical enemies, the Tartars. Its existence is now upset by the huge abyss that separated imagination and reality. The two official protagonists of the two works are actually two soldiers from two armies, sent to carry out a military mission. But we see that this assignment was not at all what they expected. They are soldiers prepared to fight, to make real war, with the weapons smell and the enemy's defeat. The figure of our soldier is emptied of the main characteristics of the fighter and consequently his role is completely meaningless.

Now his everyday life is dominated by nightmares, sleeping pills, alcohol, headaches, death that had invaded his soul as well. What good can a whole dead army do? What can a general do with a dead army? An absurdity, a constant chasing after something that, once achieved, is no longer what he was expecting. At this point, everything resembles the fate of Giovanni Drogo, a soldier unable to fulfill his role as a soldier, even if obedient to the rules that mark his life. The absence of a real external enemy makes the presence of those soldiers in that desert almost useless, as does the existence of the border itself and the Bastiani Fortress. If Lieutenant Drogo cannot face the enemy and die in battle, then what is the point of waiting all life on the frontier? At this point, the border, positioned in the desert, seems nothing more than a symbol of solitude and an almost eternal senseless waiting. Another element that helps to build the world of the two protagonists and that allows some associations is nature. A very suggestive stylistic choice from the very beginning of the work, which could also be read as a key to understanding much more about the inner world of the protagonists, what they feel, how and why they behave and react. A nature capable of reflecting and warning of everything that is about to happen. The strong presence in the background of the nature elements and their relationship with the events that occur, is also very evident in Buzzati's work.

To conclude, we can say that in both novels the war turns out to be a strong disappointment. The lust for glory of both the general and the lieutenant is contrasted with strong symbolism by the search for a definitive truth about his own existence. The only truth that unites the two authors is death. The lieutenant who awaits death and the general who gathers it everywhere are another common aspect that unites them. The strong presence of nature could not be a random element, it is the ongoing background to the mood and human emotions. Although they do not claim to be exhaustive, these observations want to highlight the fact that these two beautiful novels have many things to say and represent a beautiful literary heritage, shared between two writers joined and separated by the same sea, the Adriatic.

Younes's Perplexing Hybridity in Khadra's *What the Day Owes the Night*

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Abstract: This study investigates the structure and reverberations of Algerian-French hybridity in Khadra's novel *What the Day Owes the Night, as represented by* Younes the protagonist. Being called Younes and Jonas, talking French and Arabic, living in Algerian Jnane Jatto and French Rio Salado, the protagonist is viewed here as an incarnation of hybridity practiced by some Algerians during French colonialism. We contend that such state of being does not necessarily imply deliberate submissiveness to the colonizer; rather, it sometimes reflects the colonized's confusion and uncertainty regarding resisting colonialism without complying with its stereotypical perspectives or propaganda. The study deploys Bhabha's perspective of hybridity, ambivalence, and unhomeliness to decipher Younes's hybridity, concluding that *What the Day Owes the Night* discharges hybrid individuals from any guilt of national disloyalty or estrangement towards their native countries.

Keywords: Identity, hybridity, Algeria, Yasmina Khadra, *What the Day Owes the Night.*

Introduction

Postcolonial critics claim that there are two forms of identities: the hybrid and the nonhybrid. Constructionists like Bhabha view identity as a hybrid formation that fuses the colonized and colonizer's cultures. Essentialists like Fanon and Memmi seek to establish a national identity at any cost. Considering that hybridity involves a space of "two-ness'' where two identities subsist within one individual, Bhabha calls for hybrid roots and cross-cultural relations that incorporate ''difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy'' (58). This state is sometimes beneficial as it allows individuals to assimilate with new cultures maintaining some cultural components of their original. Nevertheless, hybridity emanates from two opposite cultures and identities; consequently, hybrid individuals may experience ambivalence, being

torn between different cultures and nations, which constitutes the "third space", a 'space of enunciation' that relies on ''the inscription and articulation of culture's hybridity'' (Bhabha 38). This theorization of identity is exposed in Yasmina Khadra's What the Day Owes the Night (2008),1 which emphasizes the functionality of Algerians' hybrid identity in their fight against French colonialism. Thus, this paper relies on Bhabha postcolonial viewpoints of hybridity, ambivalence, and unhomeliness to decipher Younes's hybrid identity in terms of willingness and inexorableness, considering that the novel portrays Younes as a nonviolent individual who adopts hybridity as a means of survival and prosperity during French colonialism in Algeria.

Literature Review

The formation of Algerian identity during French colonialism prominently occupies many literary pieces of Algerian literature, such as Mouloud Feraoun's *The Poor Man's Son* (1950), Kateb Yacine's *Nedjma* (1956), and Assia Djebar's *Fantasia: An Algerian Cavalcade* (1984). In these narratives, resisting French colonialism is viewed as the main concern of Algerians whose relationship with the French is ''that of embattlement, dismantlement, and subversion'' (Igoudjil 175). For example, Kateb Yacine rejects the French colonial mission by unveiling its oppression, emphasizing ''the indignation, the bitterness, and the misery of the Algerian people caused by colonial exploitation'' (Igoudjil 169). Likewise, Assia Djebar condemns French ferocious hegemony over Algeria by stressing "the [Algerian] indigenous culture, and Algerian origins'' (Igoudjil 178). This viewpoint confirms that ''Algerian poetry, novels and short stories written in French became 'resistance literature,' *a cri de cœur and a cri de guerre*'' (Elimelekh 469). Overall, critics usually associate ''the Algerian novel's importance [with] its progressive search for the Algerian identity [during French colonialism]'' (Boudersa 253). Thus, Yasmina Khadra's *What the Day Owes the Night* (2008) is significant due to its involvement in the issue of Algerian identity and its hybrid phase during French colonialism.

In an interview with Ameziane Ferhani, Khadra describes his narrative as the ''best novel''. He states, ''I have dreamed of it so much for over twenty years. I've always wanted to write an Algerian saga … I chose to deal with colonial Algeria because I wanted to move on, without forgetting my desire for appeasement'''. This testimony is acknowledged by Zhengshun Han who emphasizes that,

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1 *What the Day Owes the Night* is Frank Wynne's English translation of the Khadra's French *Ce que le Jour Doit à la Nuit*.

[Khadra's novel is] a marvelous must-read for any with an intercultural consciousness. It depicts us their beautiful dream of an ethnically harmonious heaven. It describes the epic historical evolution of Algeria over the range of almost 100 years. It, above all, portrays the panorama of cultural dimension of Arabs in general, and Algerian Arabs in particular…so anyone interested in Arabs must study the novel in question as a debut or beachhead to understand Muslims, particularly, over the matters of identity, propriety, prejudice, evil eye and the like. (121)

What the Day Owes the Night does not only talk about Algerians' fight against French colonialism; rather, it addresses several ethnic, cultural, religious, social, and historical issues associated with every vulnerable across the globe, which qualifies the narrative to be an encyclopedic introduction to the East and its relationship with the West.

Considering the significance of this issue and its thematic value in world literature and culture, several critics investigate Khadra's novel pointing out its viewpoint of identity and colonialism. For example, Ludivine Auneau's *Ce que le Jour Doit à la Nuit de Yasmina Khadra: Résumé Complet et Analyse Détaillée de L'oeuvre* argues that the novel is about the impossibility of having any mutual relationships between Algerians (the wretched) and French (Black-Foot). Auneau contends that Younes's continuous search for his family symbolizes his quest for Arabic origin and heritage, which implies that Younes suffers a crisis of identity due to his hybrid state and conditions (22). Auneau concludes that such identity crisis is resolved when Younes expresses his deeply rooted Algerian belonging saying: ''Mhiedine Younes … That's me'' (Khadra 391).

Likewise, Zhengshun Han's "To Unveil an Iota of the Muslim Cultural Mask" addresses the novel's manipulation of Algerian identity, hybridity, and assimilation. Han states that Younes is ''wedged between the two worlds of being an Algerian or European of being in past or present'', which explains why ''[he] felt swayed and wedged between two identities'' (5, 122). He concludes that Younes is a hybrid individual who looks ''like a French thanks to his blue eyes and handsome face but he was indeed an Arab'' (121). In the same vein, Nabil Semrouni compares Khadra's *What the Day Owes the Night* to Kateb Yassine's *Nedjma* contending that Rachid in *Nedjma* is the equivalent of Younes in *What the Day Owes the Night* at several levels: "The two characters are in love with Nedjma and Émilie from the first meeting and both live a love forbidden. The Protagonists are also the main actors of their histories. Rachid is the narrator of the story, just like Younes'' (50). This

comparison contextualizes Khadra's novel into the body of Algeria's literature of resistance, considering that Yassine's *Nedjma* is a complex Algerian novel that "follows the fortunes of four young [Algerian] men … as they wander across the country in search of work. It also describes what they see, their fights with the colonial [French] authorities and the settlers, and their many arrests and escapes from prison" (Aoudjit 82).

Similarly, Hassiba Alloune reads Khadra's *What the Day Owes the Night* emphasizing the love story between Jonas and Emilie in comparison to that love story between Sammar and Rae in Leila Aboulela's *The Translator*. Alloune claims that love in both novels is set ''in a complex context whether at microscopic level (family) or macroscopic lever (community and country)'' (82). Regarding Younes's identity, Alloune explains that Younes ''was living, studying among Christian, Jews and foreigners from different nationalities, his adoptive mother was also Christian;" therefore, he is French (81). She adds, "Every single detail in this novel shows that Jonas was absorbed by the French way of life, even his parents (the source of tradition and faith) disappeared (although he always remembered, and looked for his relatives)'' (81).

While these studies constitute the main available investigations of the novel, they do not contemplate the different layers of association between Algerian identity and French colonialism. For example, Auneau's study neither stresses the role of Younes's hybridity in resisting French colonialism nor philosophizes Younes's adoption of hybridity as an existential means of life and prosperity. Similarly, Han's study does not illustrate the many phases of Younes's hybridity; rather, it restricts them to the man's physical presence and Arabic origin. Also, it does not view Younes's hybridity as a form of the perplexity and lack of certainty experienced by the protagonist during French colonialism. Alloune traces the development of Younes's hybridity to conclude that that hybridity results in a state of transformation where the Algerian protagonist becomes French entirely. This finding successfully complicates Younes's Western demeanor throughout the novel; nevertheless, it ignores the man's maintenance of several traits of his Algerian identity and cultural principles. To resolve such issues, our paper discusses the structure of Younes's hybridity and its role in forming the man's viewpoint towards French colonialism, people, and culture as well as colonized Algeria. Such a perspective may discharge hybrid individuals from any accusation of disloyalty or lack of patriotism towards their countries, considering that hybridity is never final or balanced.

Discussion

What the Day Owes the Night expresses an insightful viewpoint regarding the identity-oriented experience of Younes in a challenging and troublesome world. Younes's journey of identity starts as he moves from his family's home in Algerian Jnane Jatto, to his uncle's house at the European zone where he gets a new name, Jonas. Younes reports, "'This is your new home, Jonas'. Germanie said to me. 'My name is Younes', I reminded her. She gave me a tender smile, stroked my cheek and whispered, 'Not anymore, my darling'" (Khadra 2008, 64-5). The young man gets a new name, his "fez and Gundorah" are removed, and he gets redressed in "a sailor's pea Jacket with a high collar and four brass buttons [...] short trousers [...] beret" (65). The new name and clothes given to Younes represent the new phase of his identity. He is viewed no longer as Younes the Algerian, but as Jonas the French, and his native land gets gradually estranged to become ''some country called Algeria'' (82).

From that moment, Younes starts feeling like ''a bird plucked of its feathers'', like "a different person'' (87). He realizes that he must assimilate with the regulations and traditions of his French host environment. Thus, he tries to behave like a French by adopting French lifestyle and by trying to look like a "roumi" and live "like one of them" (87, 175). To get identified as a French or, at least, as ''a reformed'' or ''recognizable'' other (Bhabha 22), Younes reports to Isabelle that his name is Jonas. Ironically, the French woman responds: "Your name is Younes, is not it? … Why do you go around calling yourself Jonas? … We are from a different world" (118). Isabelle's words "ripped" and "shocked" Younes. They remind him of his Arab-based otherness, thus causing him to be "more attentive" to the possibility that he is both Younes and Jonas. The name that painstakingly designates the person's idiosyncrasy turns into a burden for Younes. Neither "Younes" nor "Jonas" provides the protagonist with a unified identity; rather, they cause him to involve in an endless search for his true belonging. Eventually, the man admits that he is like Isabelle and other French people but not "quite the same" (Khadra 119).

The feeling that he is both Algerian and French constitutes Younes's state of   ambivalence, which becomes very ascendant when he gets invited to a brothel by his French friends. He has had then two minds: Younes does not want to go there, but Jonas is very excited to get that experience. The narrative flows thus,

'What about you, Jonas, are you coming?'

'Absolutely' [...] I was more shocked than anyone to hear myself say this [...] I felt terribly uncomfortable [...] sitting behind the counter,

I contemplated this world and regretted ever being ventured inside
… a terrible tension hung in the room. (Khadra 143-46)

Jonas is inside the brothel, but Younes is not there yet. The man is
split into two, thus suffering ''partial'' presence. Offered a drink, he does
not know what to do. He reports, ''I stared at the glass in front of me,
which seemed to be mocking me. I wanted to drink my self-senseless -I
felt myself unworthy to resist temptation- Though I tried to pick up the
glass a hundred times, my arm refused to bring it to my lips'' (267). The
speaker is confused, and he seems unable to enjoy the bawdy house. He
is ambivalent, a state that gets empowered by the presence of Hadaa,
his former Algerian female neighbor who potentially reminds him of
former conservative culture. Consequently, Younes suffers deeply inside
and ''rushed out into the street, choking for breath'' (148).

Nevertheless, Younes fails to maintain his Algerian identity in that
place for a long time. After spending some time in the brothel, he gets
involved in a sexual affair with a married woman, violating the Islamic
and Arabic principles of his Algerian-Islamic identity. He, as Alloune
explains, ''grew up among non-Muslims, which easily made him respond
to his temptations and sin with Madame Cazenave'' (81). Younes seems
confused, and he starts suffering ''double vision'' or ''partial
representation'' of standards and principles, a state that is associated
with the "contradictory and multiple beliefs" of the self and the other
(Bhabha 199). The man carries inside himself two opposing worlds, but
he belongs to none of them. As a result, he does not feel at home and
never knows what to do. He declares, ''somewhere it has been written
that I was born to leave my home" (Khadra 105). Younes occupies a third
space, "the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the in-between
space" (Bhabha 38). He suffers a crisis of identity, which is "a period of
disorientation in which an individual becomes skeptical about his/her
identity asking ''who am I?''' and "where do I belong?" (Ninkovich 16)

Raising the question: "Had I been Younes or Jonas?" (Khadra 266),
Younes behaves as a "host of [two] characters in one". The man is
confused whether he is Algerian or French, which triggers his
unintentional codeswitching between Arabic and French. He says, for
example, "notre *gourbi* était en passe de s'effacer" (Khadra 12 italics
added) and "Je ne savais quoi dire. Je suivais des yeux ses mains
blanches en train de courir sur mon corps, de me défaire de ma chéchia,
de ma gandoura, de mon *tricot* élimé, de mes *bottes* en caoutchouc.

J'avais le sentiment qu'elle m'effeuillait'' (Khadra 79 italics added). [2] There seems to be no certain context for the speaker's switching between Arabic and French, which implies that he does not prefer any of these two languages over the other. Arabic and French constitute his linguistic doubleness that empowers the third space where ''the meaning and symbols of cultures have no prodigal unity or fixity'' (Bhabha 37).

Younes's linguistic doubleness may seem functional in a bilingual culture; nevertheless, it empowers the uncertainty that dominates his personality and demeanor throughout the narrative. Despite living in the European zone and trying to look like French, Younes violently reacts against Andre's treatment of Jelloul and challenges French stereotypical viewpoints against Arabs. Andre says, ''You do not have servants, you do not know what it's like [...] Arabs are like dogs, you have to beat them to get them to behave'' (134). In response, Younes feels ''sick at heart'' emphasizing, ''this [Algeria] is his place [...] I am the one who does not know my place'' (135). In fact, Younes's association with Algeria and France is perplexing. Living in Rio Salado at the European zone, he misses his Algerian city. He says, '''How had I managed to live without this part of my birthright? I should have come here regularly to fill the gaps in my identity''' (Khadra 265). When in Algeria, he wanders almost everywhere trying to find a substitution for his life experience in Europe. Younes is ''neither here nor there''; he is unable to identify his ''belonging to either place'' (McLeod 210). He lives in his own third space, which constitutes the sort of reality the man ''had not wanted to face'' (Khadra 298).

The man is split between the dominant subject and the dominated object, which represents a stage of ''*cross-cultural exchange*'' between two different worlds or cultures (Ashcroft et al. 135). These two worlds do not tolerate each other, but Younes cannot favor one over the other. He declares, ''I sat on the fence, Torn between loyalty to my friends and solidarity with my people [...] I knew that I had to choose, but still I refused to take sides'' (Khadra 178). This state of ''cultural engagements'' (Bhabha 26) deprives Younes the pleasure of choosing what to say or do regarding identity-oriented issues. When Jose is murdered, Andre and other French individuals accuse Jelloul of that murder, but Younes is ''pained by both Jose's death and Jelloul's

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[2] This sentence taken from p.12 is translated into English as "Our *gourbi* was about to fade", and the one taken from p.79 is translated into English as "I didn't know what to say. I followed with my eyes her white hands running over my body, getting rid of my *chechia*, my *gandoura*, my threadbare knitting, my rubber boots. I had the feeling that she was stripping me".

suffering. That is how it has always been'' (Khadra 279). Younes feels sorry for Jose's death because he is partly French; concurrently, he worries about Jelloul due to his Algerian origin. Likewise, he feels so sad when the Fallagas (Algerian revolutionists) kill his French friend Simon, but he never betrays Algerian people in favor of the French. In short, Younes belongs to both nations, and his hybrid identity is "caught between two stools" (Khadra 2008, 317). Therefore, when Algerian revolution "was ripping Algeria apart'', he has been fighting against himself. He thinks, ''there could be no doubt: I was at war with myself'' (Khadra 295, 296).

Aware of Younes's identity-based conflict, Jelloul tries to provide his friend with the necessary therapy but in vain. He reminds Younes of his Algerian origin and asks him to join former Algerian friends. Jelloul says, "'This is how our people live, Jonas; my people and your people [...] Turn your back on the truth, on your people, run back to your friends [...] Younes [...] you do still remember your name? Hey, Younes'" (Khadra 177-8). Jelloul encourages Younes to join Algerian people and *return to his origin*, but Younes is unable to decide. He says that he does not "like wars" (317). While this may imply that Younes prefers the French party over the Algerian, it is noteworthy that he is neither French nor Algerian. He is "something else besides, which contests the terms and territories of both'' (Bhabha 29).

Younes's personality and attitudes throughout the narrative are influenced by the constant negotiation of his hybrid identity, considering that "the importance of the hybrid moment of political change […] lies in the rearticulation, or translation, of elements that are neither the one nor the other'' (Bhabha 28). When Algerian revolutionaries penetrate his house, and their guns have been in his own ''living room'', and the insurrectionists threaten Germanie by obliging her to do a surgery for the captain, Younes does not know what to do. It seems that he is struck by a sort of trauma, ''a wound'' that impacts his mind and causes the familiar domestic space to look unfamiliar (Caruth 3). Reporting that traumatic experience, which "dramatizes the notion that the trauma of colonialism can and must be addressed" (Visser 258), Younes says, "'My hand refused to turn the key in the ignition. I was convinced that Jelloul was hiding somewhere nearby, rifle aimed at me, waiting for the sound of the engine to drown out the shot. It took me an hour before I really believed that they had gone'" (Khadra 327). Younes is afraid of Jelloul, but he is unable to ignore the righteousness of Algerian rebels' cause.

This incident maximizes Younes's discomfort and sort of "unhomeliness", which emphasizes the association between the public and private spheres. Bhabha (1994) writes:

To be unhomed is not to be homeless, nor can the 'unhomely' be easily accommodated in that familiar division of social life into private and public spheres. The unhomely moment creeps up on you stealthily as your own shadow and suddenly you find yourself [...] taking the measure of your dwelling in a state of incredulous terror and it is at this point that the world first shrinks [...] and then expands enormously. (13)

Younes does not feel at home anymore; he suffers estrangement at his own zone. He then starts negotiating his hybrid identity, considering the stereotypical context that mirrors the concept of otherness (Bhabha 24). He wonders why Arabs are stereotypically depicted as the 'Other': "lazy" and "uncivilized", "Irrational and depraved", and "liars" and "suspicious". He wonders also why Algerians are viewed as the "contrasting image'' of their French colonizers in terms of personality and experience.

Examining the accuracy and logic of such perspective, Younes is still unable to decide whether such French stereotypical perspective against Arabs is right or wrong. He does not bear French bigoted attitudes against Algerians, but he cannot adopt any counter argument. Pointing to French children, Younes declares, ''I still found *roumi* children to be strange'' (Khadra 83). The words "strange" and "roumi" imply that the speaker is still viewing French children as outsiders for his comfort zone, which analogically suggests that he himself is an outsider for their own French zone. Yet, Younes cannot escape that dilemma; therefore, he talks to his uncle who explains,

'No, Arabs are not lazy, but we take the time to live life to the full. It is something Europeans don't understand. To them, time is money. To us, time has no price. We can be happy simply taking the time to share a glass of mint tea, whereas nothing in the world is enough to make them happy. That is the difference between us, son'. (Khadra 85)

Younes's uncle does not only subvert the hierarchical values promoted by the French against Algerians but also asserts the East's humanity and the West's materialism, which reinforces Younes's respect of himself and his Arabic identity.

However, Younes faces further supercilious Western condemnation of Arabs, as evident in his conversation with Mr. Sosa, which runs thus,

'What is the problem, Jonas?'
'It is about Jelloul [...] he might be innocent'.

'You disappointed me, young man, you are not cut from the same cloth, and you are better where you are […] I have been employing Arabs for generations. I know what they are like [...] Vipers […] the lot of them … these crazy murders need to know that we are not going to give in. Every bastard we get our hand son has to pay for the others'.

'His family came to see me'.

'Jonas, poor little Jonas. He cut me off. You do not have the first idea what you are talking about. You are honest, sincere, well-brought-up young man. You need to steer clear of these thugs. It will only confuse you'. (Khadra 282)

Sosa tries to convince Younes that Jelloul is ferocious and should be punished for his violent attitudes against the French and that Younes is unlike other Algerians and should not sympathize with them. In support of this, Sosa emphasizes that French colonialism is motivated and guided by the western inclination to spread civilization among uncivilized Algerians. He claims,

This country owes everything to us …We built the roads, we laid the railway lines […] we threw bridges across the rivers, built towns and cities [...] we created the Garden of Eden [...] This land knows its people, and we are that people [...] we came here to a dead place and we breathed life into it […] we created Algeria. It is our finest creation. (Khadra 284-6)

Sosa suggests that Orientals are "surrogate" and "underground self" (Said 3) and that they are ''uncivilized'' and ''childlike'' (Khadra 28). The speaker views French colonialism as a mission to civilizing degenerate Algeria, a viewpoint that concurs with Kipling's definition of colonialism as the "White Man's burden" (Brooks and Faulkner 307).

Responding to Sosa's Western cultural exoticism, Younes declares,

'A long time, a long time before, Monsieur Sosa, long before *you* and *your* great grandfather, a man stood where *you* are standing now [...] This man was self-possessed because he was free [...] He lived to the rhythm of seasons, believing that peace of mind lies in the simplicity of things [...] they took away his lands [...] took away everything comforted his soul [...] And now they expect him to believe that he was here merely by accident; they are amazed and angry when he demands a little respect. Well, I disagree with *you*, Monsieur. This land does not belong to *you*. It belongs to that ancient shepherd whose ghost is standing next to *you* [...] take *your* cities and garden and give back what remains to its rightful owner

[…] Misfortune holds sway here since *you* reduced free men to the rank of beasts of burden. (Khadra 286-7 italic added)

Conspicuously, Younes deconstructs the "Oriental Silence" (Said 9), reminding Sosa to rethink about the association between the Orient and the so-called Western civilization. He denies the French the right to colonize Algeria or claim the right to manipulate its culture. Younes gets frankly suspicious about the French colonial propaganda; nonetheless, he is not ready to join the Algerian party. The heavy usage of the pronoun 'you' reflects the distance between Younes and his French addressee. It indicates that Younes does not feel like a Western anymore and that he is different from the French. Simultaneously, using 'that' instead of 'our' or 'my' in ''*that* ancient shepherd'' stresses the distance between the speaker and his Algerian grandfathers.

Younes is confusingly in-between; therefore, his hybridity causes him to go beyond ''the binary oppositions implicit in the colonial situation master/slave, colonizer/colonized, dominant/subordinate, centre/periphery'' (Hawkins 50). The man temporarily subverts the cultural gap between the colonized and colonizer into an accessible third space that gets empowered by remarks of respect articulated by some French individuals in his own favor. Some French individuals describe Younes as an ''intelligent boy'', ''honest and sincere'', ''well brought up'', and ''a good Muslim'' (Khadra 218). When André beats Jelloul and calls all Arabs ''dogs'', the French man makes an exception of Younes emphasizing that his statement applies to "some Arabs" (Khadra 135). This may imply that Younes's hybridity "reverses the effects of the colonial disavowal, so that other 'denied' knowledge enter upon the dominant discourse and estrange the basis of its authority" (Bhabha 165). Yet, it is noteworthy that such a gain functions at an individualistic rather than communal level.

This explains why Younes does not mind viewing the Algerian zone as inferior to its French counterpart. For him, the European territory is a ''beautiful neighborhood" where ''children were not pitted with the masks of damnation; they took in life in great lungful and seemed to genuinely enjoy it'' (Khadra 62). The Algerian side is vulgar and uncivilized. Younes reports,

'The shanty town where Jelloul and his family lived was beyond anything I had ever imagined. The douar was made up of a dozen squalid hovels on the banks of dried-up of riverbed […] The place smelled so foul. I found it difficult to imagine how anyone could spend two days here [...] the douar had been abandoned to feral children and dying men'. (176-7)

While this viewpoint reflects Younes's hybrid position, it expresses the man's awareness of the colonial disparity between France and Algeria: The French part ''is permanently full of good things''; the Algerian side is a world where ''You are born anywhere, anyhow. You die anywhere, from anything. A world with no space, people are piled one on top of the other, the shacks squeezed tightly together'' (Khadra 4; 5). Younes's awareness of such oppositionality is undeniable, but it does not undermine his Algerian belonging or involvement in the Algerian struggle against the colonizer. In fact, Younes's hybridity never causes him to betray Algerian rebels or accuse them of any malpractices. Younes forgets neither his Algerian belonging nor French orientation, a state that triggers the deep tension between him and his adoptive French mother, Germanie, who decides not to talk with him anymore (Khadra 328).

Younes's duality of belonging causes him a sense of estrangement towards that woman as well as the entire French environment. He reports,

> 'What I was doing turned her joy at having me back safe and sound into a vague feeling of irritation and later mute anger. She looked at me and there was bitterness in her eyes I had never seen before. I realised that the ties that had bound me to her had finally sundered. This woman, who had been everything to me -mother, fairy godmother, sister, confidante, friend- now saw me simply as a stranger.' (Khadra 333)

Younes has lost his adoptive mother's love, and his intimate relationship with her is estranged and transformed into the exact opposite. The man is involved here in a process of estrangement that develops into "interstitial" intimacy, which fuses at once "the private and public [...] the psyche and the social" (Bhabha 13), considering that the historical and political circumstances profoundly rebuild the domestic space by reshaping family structure and ties.

Conclusion

Assimilating with the colonizing culture or getting transformed into a hybrid individual does not necessarily imply any form of *submissiveness* or lack of national belonging and patriotism. Both stances potentially suggest that resisting colonialism should not cause the colonized to lose their temper or violate their own peaceful traditions, considering that practicing counter violence against the colonizer may *ironically* prove the colonizer's stereotypical image against the colonized. In fact, the nonviolent nature of hybridity may

function as a lethal weapon against the colonizer's propaganda, as hybridity can undermine the violent image the colonizer usually promotes against colonized nations. This explains why Khadra is viewed as ''a messenger capable of representing the Eastern world in a way that made Westerners feel that they were getting to know it firsthand'' (Ågerup 180). The novelist portrays hybrid individuals whose hybridity neither expresses full submission to the colonizer nor fulfills the colonizer's biased propaganda against colonized nations.

In fact, *What the Day Owes the Night* views Younes's hybridity as a civil approach that uncovers the many lie-based exploitations and phases of dehumanization practiced by the French colonizer against Algerians. Depicting a new image of the East that challenges the French stereotypical perspective and proves it as fake, the novel undermines the colonial propaganda that usually promotes colonialism as a ''civilizing mission'' and part of the Occident's *moral* responsibility towards the Orient. By emphasizing nonviolent hybridity, the novel contributes to the tradition of "telling stories that [can] change Western readers' perceptions of and attitudes to the East" (Ågerup 183). Thus, since ''there is a common destiny between [...] the nations which both are dominated by the same French colonialism'' (Fanon 44), *What the Day Owes the Night* is a must-read piece for all individuals interested in the nature and history of French colonialism across the globe.

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JUNASOVA ZAGONETNA HIBRIDNOST U DJELU "ŠTA NOĆ DUGUJE DANU" JASMINE KADRE

Ova studija istražuje strukturu i odjeke alžirsko-francuske hibridnosti u romanu *Šta noć duguje danu* Jasmine Kadre, oličene u protagonisti Junasu. Budući da se on zove Junas i Jonas, da govori francuski i arapski, živi u alžirskom Žan Jatu i francuskom Riu Saladu, ovaj lik posmatramo kao inkarnaciju hibridnosti iz vremena francuske kolonizacije. Tvrdimo da ovakvo stanje ne implicira nužno namjernu poslušnost kolonizatoru; naprotiv, ponekad odražava zbunjenost i nesigurnost kolonizovanih u vezi sa suprotstavljanjem kolonijalizmu bez pridržavanja stereotipnih perspektiva ili propagande. Studija koristi Babinu perspektivu hibridnosti, ambivalencije i nepripadnosti kako bi razjasnila Junasovu hibridnost, zaključujući da roman *Šta noć duguje danu* oslobađa hibridne individue od krivice za nacionalnu neposlušnost ili otuđenje prema svojoj rodnoj zemlji.

Ključne riječi: identitet, hibridnost, Alžir, Jasmina Kadra, *Šta noć duguje danu*

From Wedlock to Deadlock: Madame Bovary's Path toward Self-Destruction

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Abstract: By undertaking an investigation into the unexplored thicket of nineteenth-century ideology, this study reappraises the rationale behind Emma Bovary's suicide. The historical examination in this article reveals that the doctrine of the separate spheres exerted a great influence on the lives of middle-class women. Furthermore, the practice of this doctrine resulted in the reinforcement of a rigid housewife/harlot dichotomy. As the upshot of such an ideology, an association was made between women in public and the public women i.e. the prostitutes. By unearthing the traces of this ideology in *Madame Bovary*, this article aims to substantiate that as a middle-class woman, Emma's longing for public life culminates in her identification with the figure of the prostitute. This abject metamorphosis, which is the ramification of societal adherence to the doctrine of separate spheres, ushers her toward her ultimate suicidal act.

Keywords: domestic sphere, harlot, housewife, Madame Bovary, public sphere, suicide.

> "Women had only two possible roles in society: that of a housewife or prostitute"
> Pierre Proudhon

Introduction

Suicide is portrayed as the last resort of many fictional female characters in nineteenth-century literature. Hedda Gabler, Anna Karenina, Miss Julie, and Emma Bovary are not immune to this destructive end and their suicides are scrutinized by many scholars. Margaret Higonnet, the writer of "Suicide: Representations of the Feminine in the Nineteenth Century", remarks that the literary works of this period limned female suicide as a consequence of the deficiencies of social institutions. Higonnet, for instance, examines Emma Bovary's suicide as a

nineteenth-century cultural obsession. According to her, Emma's suicide implies "disintegration and social victimization rather than heroic self-sacrifice" (106). Thus, Emma similar to other female protagonists of this century dies by the "victimizing effects of a society that imprisons women" (112).

Nevertheless, the contentious nature of Emma's death has generated other valid interpretations as well. Jacqueline Merriam Paskow avers that *Madame Bovary* deviates from other canonical texts of the nineteenth century that deal with female suicide. Emma's reasons for taking her own life "are not those common to nineteenth-century female adultery" (234). Paskow contends that through her love affairs, Emma is attempting to quench her yearning for absolute oneness with the other. Yet this unity with the other cannot possibly exist. As she realizes this bitter truth, despair overcomes her and she takes her own life. While Higonnet condemns the social institutions for Emma's death, Paskow whittles down her motives for self-destruction to the unfulfillment of a psychological need. In respect of Emma's suicide, Jacques Rancière employs a different method of analysis. As stated by Rancière, Emma attempts to merge literature into life and she "makes the error of mistaking literature for life" (534). However, she betrays the artistic experience by reducing art to material commodities that she purchases for her house. Since Flaubert treasures pure literature, she brings Emma to trial and sentences her to death. Rancière then proposes that *Madame Bovary* is an anti-kitsch manifesto and Emma Bovary is killed by the author for committing the sin of being a bad artist.

Whilst the aforementioned studies on Emma's suicide are illuminating and instructive, they are far from being exhaustive. The present paper attempts to approach Madame Bovary's suicide, yet again, from a different angle. This article investigates how the dominant doctrine of separate spheres, by accentuating the housewife/harlot dichotomy, contributed to Emma's mental breakdown. In order to shed light on how the dominant discourse of the time shaped Emma's self-perception, it is imperative to provide an excursus on how women were viewed in nineteenth-century France. The following discussion will provide the essential grist for analyzing Emma's suicide.

The Paradigm of Housewife and Harlot
The social condition of women did not improve after the French revolution and assuming that post-revolutionary France was a good time to be a woman is gratuitous. Although the Enlightenment movement and the French Revolution underscored the significance of universalistic values such as liberty and equality, these opportunities were not

granted to women in post-revolutionary France. Yet, one should not overlook the fact that the living standards of some women were ameliorated; for instance, more women had access to primitive birth control pills and as a result, "the high rate of unintended pregnancy plummeted" (Théré 252-265). Nonetheless, even this advantage arouse suspicion and controversy since it was argued that birth control allowed "the female body to succumb to dangerous excesses" (Mesch 77). Thus, the historical body of evidence indicates that "the misogynistic tradition which had come down from the ancient and medieval worlds persisted in this era" (McMillan, *France and Women* 4). According to Outram, the systematic exclusion of women from political rights and the public realm testifies to "the limited application of the universalistic values of the Enlightenment" (972). Landes also expresses that "the enlightened thinkers usually maintained an ambivalent posture toward the justice of the women's cause" (21).

Moreover, some of the notions of the Age of Enlightenment, such as the Rousseauian ideal of motherhood exacerbated the already-undesirable condition of women. Rousseau's model of motherhood hugely influenced the ideology of the time. Following this model, "the maternal-centered family was lauded as the basis of a stable society and the wellspring of civic virtue" (Foley 45). As a consequence of this model of motherhood, the ideal of the woman by the hearth was propagated and diffused. The domestic ideal was established as the dominant model of femininity and was privileged over public life. While "man's destiny was to work and participate in public affairs: women's place was to organize the household and raise children" (McMillan, *Housewife or Harlot* 12). The hypothetical clash between the domestic ideal and public life accounted for the confinement of women to the private sphere. Protecting women's purity, spirituality, and innocence was "a justification for her necessary privatization" (Landes 21). On that account, it can be deduced that the French revolution did not make women into citizens, on the contrary, it "gave a powerful boost to the ideology of domesticity which was soon to become the dominant discourse on women's place in the post-revolutionary social order" (McMillan, *France and Women* 31).

Although the doctrine of separate spheres had existed in the pre-industrial era, the drastic separation between home and work was accentuated with the arrival of the industrial age. A great number of treatises and books advocated the ideal of separate spheres; for instance, Baronne Staffe, author of *Usages du Monde*, a best-selling book, warned women against "the perils of attempting to abandon the separate sphere" (McMillan, *France and Women* 13). Likewise, Jules

Michelet, the French historian, eulogized motherhood by stating that women had no need to work outside the home "since it is the paradise of the marriage that the man works for the woman" (McMillan, *France and Women* 10). Alexis de Tocqueville, the prominent political thinker of France, had a favorable view of the doctrine of separate spheres. In *Democracy in America,* Tocqueville writes "the confinement of American women to the domestic sphere testifies to their superiority" (qtd. in Keber 10).

These books helped contain the dominant ideology of time by laying down the admissible norms of society. Nevertheless, one must not fall into the trap of easy generalization while examining the ideologies of a historical period. Even though the roles of men and women were allocated according to their gender, some women entered the public sphere by becoming the workforce of the industrial age. It should be noted that the degree of acceptance of this ideology varied among different social classes. While the upper-class and the working-class families were not entirely controlled by the doctrine of the separate spheres, the bourgeoisie set store by this doctrine and the notion of a maternal-centered family. "The maternal-centered family distinguished the 'bourgeois' model of womanhood from the aristocratic pattern in which mothering had played only a minor role" (Foley 45). This doctrine was mainly directed at middle-class women and it retained its effect till the end of the nineteenth century when "women of the middle classes began to enter the labor market in significant numbers" (McMillan, *Housewife or Harlot* 5). Ergo, by 1814–15, many middle-class women had restricted access to the public sphere. The ideal of women as wives and mothers was not just an abstract "moral ideal but an important social reality" (McMillan, *France and Women 44).*

The ideology of separate spheres, nevertheless, did not merely make an impact on the involvement of women in the social aspect of life. This doctrine, more essentially, generated a paradigm of harlot/housewife and in this regard, it is pertinent to the argument of this study. Due to the strict division between the public and domestic sphere, frequenting the outside world for women was associated with sexual freedom, whereas confinement to the domestic sphere betrayed women's chastity and good sexual mores. This view was extended toward the working-class women who entered the public sphere of life by working in factories and fields. On account of their presence in the public sphere of life, young working-class women had the opportunity of having sexual relations. To some people, the entrance of working-class women into the public sphere heralded the arrival of sexual freedom. The bourgeoisie interpreted this freedom as the

"incontrovertible signs of the immorality of the working class and of the disintegration of the family in their milieu" (McMillan *Housewife or Harlot,* 41). This ideal finds its full expression in Pierre Joseph Proudhon's *Contradictions Économiques*.

Proudhon maintained that "women had only two possible roles in society: that of a housewife *(ménagère)* or prostitute (courtisane)" (Proudhon 197). It should be noted that Proudhon endorsed this state of affairs instead of condemning it. Proudhon's doctrine of "woman by the hearth' was fervently championed, especially by union leaders" (McMillan*, France and Women* 184). Strangely, this dictum was not repudiated by the general middle-class public either and it was cited as "a definitive statement about women's position in French society" (McMillan*, France and Women* 92). Swoerwine underscores that "Proudhon meant this barb seriously" (418). As a result of such infamous statements, the association between "women in public" and "public women" (or prostitutes) was reinforced. Based on this model, the presence of middle-class women in the public sphere signaled their sexual degeneracy. The huge rift between the private and the public sphere resulted in the formation of housewife/harlot binary opposition. Yet, this is not to suggest that this ideology forced actual women into these roles, but to highlight how women's sexuality and their involvement in the public sphere were intricately related.

As maintained by Mesch, the housewife/ harlot opposition was the nineteenth-century "variation of the age-old madonna/whore complex" (Mesch 71). As a result of the ideal of the separate spheres, "the opposition of bonne épouse and maîtresse, housewife and harlot, continued to dominate" (Mesch 71). During this period, the sexuality of the middle-class housewife could not be reconciled with her role as a mother. This notion finds its way to the pamphlet of Neo-Malthusian propagandists who wrote "the price of the woman is the child, childless by choice, she falls to the rank of the prostitute, the whore whose organs are only instruments" (McMillan, *Housewife or Harlot* 191).

This viewpoint can even be observed in some literary works of post-revolutionary France. In Honoré de Balzac's epistolary novel Mémoires de Deux Jeunes Mariées "motherhood is pitted against sexuality" (Mesch 71). Balzac's opposition between housewife and harlot betrays "a deeply felt cultural anxiety about the integration of female sexual desire into a broader female identity" (Mesch 73). The deep-seated anxieties about the sexuality of the housewife reveal that the French society perceived "potentially threatening fluidity between the sexualities of the good wife and the mistress" (Mesch 73). The deeply ingrained ideology was so persistent in the literary works of post-

revolutionary France that the later "women writers had to challenge the binary opposition between the Harlot and the housewife" (Mesch 80). At that period, since sexuality and wifehood could not be reconciled, the middle-class women were pigeonholed into the strict dichotomy of the housewife and the harlot. Due to the parallel that was drawn between sexual freedom and the public sphere, middle-class women found it hard to participate in the public sphere of life without getting associated with the soi-disant *public women*.

In post-revolutionary France, prostitution was not necessarily seen as a way of life or a career. Parent-Duchâtelet, a French physician who wrote *Prostitution in Paris*, highlighted the distinctive physical characteristic of prostitutes and identified them as members of another breed. Paradoxically, as opposed to this biologically deterministic view, "Parent was prepared to concede that prostitutes were most often hapless proletarian women driven to sell their bodies out of *economic necessity*" (McMillan, *France and Women* 107). Consequently, women had to have specific *physical and financial* traits to choose the path of prostitution. In the French society of the time, prostitutes were seen as agents of depravity and the well-run middle-class house was haunted by the shadow of the prostitutes that could endanger the bliss of the family. This ideology found its way to the literary works of the time. Writers such as George Darien 'developed the theme of the prostitute as the corruptor of the bourgeoisie' (McMillan, *Housewife or Harlot* 23). Hence, the figure of the prostitute was demonized, but what was society's stance on women who were engaged in extramarital affairs?

Women were expected to be chaste and loyal and any sexual activity outside marriage was deemed to be immoral. Nonetheless, due to the prevalence of arranged marriages that were usually deficient in love, extramarital affairs were rampant. As maintained by Patricia Mainardi, adultery in nineteenth-century France was a major social problem and this illicit action was punishable by law. Adultery was a "major theme in the mentalité of the period" (22). Still, as opposed to other crimes "adultery could be prosecuted only on the complaint of one of the spouses" (22). Not many husbands filed charges of adultery against their wives and the cases that ended up in court constituted only a small percentage of the incidence of this offense. In most cases, women's adulterous affairs were condoned as long as they retained their positions as housewives. In other words, in middle-class families, women's freedom and prosecution were contingent upon the mercy of the husband. That being said, the approach toward the adulterous affairs of French women from upper-class families was much more lenient. "In polite society, female sexual infidelity was tolerated,

provided it was not flaunted and the honor of a husband not impaired" (McMillan, *France and Women* 3). This is not to suggest that female infidelity was normalized or celebrated, but assuming that adultery was treated as an inexcusable deed is a faulty misconception. All in all, by undertaking an investigation into the historical thicket of the time, one can perceive the reverberations of the dominant ideologies of the time in nineteenth-century literature. Circling back to the main subject of the discussion, it is imperative to see how the dominant notions of the time effectuated Emma's downward spiral and propelled her toward self-destruction.

The Separation of Spheres and Emma's Suicide

To unearth what propels Emma toward suicide, Madame Bovary's death should be seen as the outcome of a life-long procedure rather than an impulsive decision that is made on the spur of the moment. As a woman who was born into a rural family, she "grew up in the expectation that marriage was their destiny" (Foley 254). While Emma has unrealistic presumptions about romantic love, she resembles provincial girls in assuming that marriage defined her life. That being so, Emma is hurled into the web of matrimony, without fully appreciating what a nuptial bond entails in the French society of the time.

The problematic aspect of the doctrine of separate spheres becomes apparent when Emma's desire for a public life cannot be realized in her newly-formed middle-class family. Madame Bovary's confinement to the domestic sphere reveals itself from the beginning of their marriage. While Charles "toddles off to see his patients, she stays home and darns socks. And everything's so boring! How we'd love to live in the city and dance polkas every night! Poor little thing" (116). The situation gets exacerbated as Emma becomes a mother, shackled by the impairing values of the bourgeois family. As a middle-class mother, Rousseau's restricting model of motherhood is set as an ideal for her. Even though in this model motherhood "was seen as the key, not the barrier, to progress for bourgeois women" (McMillan, *France and Women* 50), Emma struggles in fulfilling her maternal role. Throughout the novel, Emma dissociates herself from her child and the readers are informed that "she never engaged in those preparations that stimulate maternal love, and this may perhaps have blunted her affection from the start" (79). In congruence with the bourgeois ideology of the time, Flaubert's novel does not reconcile Emma's maternal life with her desire for public life. Emma's yearning for a vibrant life that would emancipate her from the domestic sphere is revealed in the following passage:

> For indeed not all husbands were like this one. He might have been handsome, witty, distinguished, attractive, as were no doubt the men her old school friends from the convent had married. What must they be doing now? In the *city*, with the noises of the streets, the hum of the theatres, and the bright lights of the balls, they were leading lives where the heart had space to expand, the senses to blossom. But her life was as cold as an attic with a skylight facing north, and boredom, like a silent spider, was weaving its web in every shadowy recess of her heart. (41)

This passage discloses Emma's two main impulses; first, her fancy for attractive and distinguished men, and second, her desire for inclusion in the public sphere of life. Nevertheless, one can argue that her desire for public life is even stronger. In fact, she wants to be with such men since these men can offer her the public life that she desperately yearns for. It can be inferred that Emma's sexual desires do not push her toward involvement in the public sphere, but the languor of domestic life drives her toward extramarital affairs; "the mediocrity of her home provoked her to sumptuous fantasies, the caresses of her husband to adulterous desires" (97).

This is the point that one might overlook by merely foregrounding Emma's romantic ideals. The readers are told that Rodolphe and Leon, as opposed to Charles, are able to pull her out of the debris of *domestic* life [that] fed her unhappiness" (111). Emma's confinement to the domestic sphere is the main reason for her dissatisfaction with life. Emma is excluded from a public life that offers "the vast realm of joy and passion" and the mediocrity of life seems "to her the exception, a freak accident that had befallen her alone" (53). Her unquenched desire for the public sphere manifests itself, once more, when she wishes to bear a son rather than a daughter. The readers are told that she can take revenge for the powerlessness of her past life by having a son since "a man is free, free to explore all passions and all countries, to surmount obstacles, to indulge in the most exotic pleasures. But a woman is constantly thwarted" (80). As a middle-class woman, such liberties are not offered to Emma; nevertheless, Emma's adulterous affairs with Leon and Rodolphe can, to some extent, undermine the restrictive lifestyle that her position as a middle-class housewife brings about. In other words, only through her adulterous relationships can she get involved in the public sphere of life. Thus, Emma's zest for a romantic relationship pales in comparison with her desire for public life.

On numerous occasions, Emma accompanies Leon and Rodolphe to the gatherings of upper-class families. When Emma appears in the

company of the aristocratic women, she attempts to imitate their behavior and through this emulation, she rids herself of her limiting role as a middle-class wife and mother. Furthermore, as long as Emma frequents the circles of the aristocratic women, her adulterous behavior is pardoned since "sexual infidelity was tolerated in polite society" (McMillan, *France and Women* 3). This is partially due to the fact that the doctrine of separate spheres exerted a paltry influence on the situation of women from upper-class families. In fact, in post-revolutionary France, in the elite circles, a new female had emerged that reasserted "something of the influence which the *salonnières* had wielded in pre- Revolutionary society" and their interest was "in the unfettered pursuit of pleasure, partying, and dancing" (McMillan, *France and Women 35)*. Be that as it may, this lifestyle was heavily frowned upon, and the behavior of the loose women of the salons and the cities was contrasted with "the virtuous and amiable disposition of the women from the middle-class families" (McMillan, *France and Women 10)*. In the light of this essentialist view, the women who had active social lives were dubbed *"une femme-homme".* Although this worldview persisted in the middle-class society, the French society, in general, was notoriously tolerant of the promiscuous behavior of upper-class women.

Emma's perceptive mind does not overlook this fact when she observes "rich woman's wealth seems to protect her virtue like a cuirass, as if all her banknotes were stitched into her corset lining" (205). Even though Emma is living vicariously through the figure of the upper-class woman, she is not acknowledged as a member of this class. Emma's identity as a bourgeois woman has such a strong and definitive hold on her that she cannot shake off the feeling of alienation even when she attempts to identify with the upper-class women. When she attends the parties of the aristocratic families, she is plagued by a sense of estrangement and isolation. Nonetheless, female aristocrats are not the only women who are allowed in the public sphere. As Emma wanders through the streets of Rouen, she constantly finds herself in "the area of theatres, bars, and whores" (234). She notices the unconstrained presence of these women, but she refuses to identify herself with them. In spite of that, by the end of the novel, circumstances change and Emma in fact is acknowledged as a 'public woman'.

It is generally assumed that Emma's suicide is the upshot of her adulterous affairs and financial ruin. This type of reading posits that Emma feels apprehensive about the divulgence of her marital trespass before her husband and the scornful society. Concerning Emma's infidelity and society's attitude toward it, Paskow writes "it is true that

at the beginning of her marriage Emma is worried about what people would think of her were they to discover her with other men. But she soon changes her attitude, feeling only contempt for the bourgeois provincialism of her fellow Yonvillians" (Paskow 325). As was indicated earlier, the French society exonerated adulterous women who were forgiven by their husbands.

As a person who can grant Emma this exoneration, Charles is in no way a vindictive man. After he learns of Emma's infidelity, he does not erupt into fury; he even fantasizes about being one of her lovers. He experiences this daydream when he sees Emma's lover, Rodolphe. "He would have liked to be that man" (310). This might appear as an unorthodox and deviant fantasy, yet it uncovers the nineteenth-century husband's "real desire and in some cases a poignant need to imagine the wife as a sexual being", yet the opposition of bonne épouse and maîtress "impeded the imagining" (Mesch 71). Charles begins to view Emma as a sexual being only after the divulgence of her love affairs. When he peruses Emma's letters, he thinks

> everyone must have adored her. Every single man, without a doubt, must have lusted after her. Because of this she became, in his eyes, only the more beautiful, and he conceived for her an unremitting, raging *desire* that fed his despair, and was unbounded, because it could never be satisfied now. (305)

This passage demonstrates that the imposition of the housewife/harlot dichotomy caused a huge rift between sexual and conjugal love. Due to the distinction that was made between erotic and marital love, "men were discouraged from viewing their wives as sexual beings" (Mesch 68). Charles's reaction to Emma's affairs points to a troublesome clash between "sexuality and patriarchal marriage structures in nineteenth-century France" (Mesch 82). By de-sexualizing the figure of the housewife, the dire impact of the doctrine of separate spheres reveals itself in Emma and Charles's marital life. Charles commences sexualizing Emma only after the divulgence of her extramarital relationships. In a way, both Charles and Emma are victimized by the imprisoning ideology of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, as Paskow also points out "fear of Charles's wrath should he find out about her affairs [...] cannot have been the motivating forces of her suicide" (Paskow 324). For Paskow, Madame Bovary commits suicide since she is unable to reach oneness with the other and indubitably, Emma's failed love affairs contribute to her sense of dismay and misfortune and precipitate her into self-destruction. Nevertheless, the following discussion will indicate that Emma's lack of success in love might have further significance.

Throughout the novel, Emma dwells on the feeling of love that she has for Leon and Rodolphe. She draws an analogy between herself and the characters who are the emblems of ethereal love in works of literature. As it was indicated, Emma cannot fit into the figure of the de-sexualized and angelic housewife. Hence, by holding on to the far-fetched romantic fantasies, she shows her quest for fashioning an identity that would incorporate her desires and would also defy the housewife/harlot dichotomy. Therefore, not only does her romance get her involved in the public sphere of life, but it also helps her to forge an identity that engulfs her amorous desires, without getting demoted to the rank of a harlot. However, the feeling of love dissipates eventually and Emma's financial ruin changes her body into a commodified entity.

When Emma's accumulated debts reach a troublesome amount, she desperately attempts to repay the money by any means necessary. Throughout the novel, she sells some items to repay her debt to Monsieur Lheureux, the merchant of Yonville, who brings about Emma's financial ruin. When he finally confronts Emma about the sum of her debts, Emma anxiously says that she can still sell things to reimburse him for the debt. Lheureux responds "Don't pretend! You've nothing left to sell" (262). However, Emma can still sell her body in exchange for money. This is insinuated by Lheureux when Emma presses her hand on his knee as a gesture of pleading and he remarks "Don't touch me! Anyone would think you're trying to seduce me!' to which Emma replies 'You're despicable!" (261). Later, he suggests that she can procure the money from her lovers or so-called friends. When he says this, it is mentioned that "he stared at her with such a knowing, terrifying look that a deep shudder of fear ran through her" (262). At this point, Emma realizes that Lheureux's knowing look suggests the commodification of her body. He is intimating that Emma should sell her body to her lovers to wrest herself free from her financial burden. Although Emma is infuriated by what Lheureux suggests, she still shuns the association that society draws between her and the figure of a harlot. Yet again, she takes notice of the crystallization of this trait, when she meets the notary, Maître Guillaumin. Emma explains her predicament to him and in reaction to what she mentions, he makes sexual advances toward Emma.

> Stretching out his hand, he grasped hold of hers, planting a voracious kiss on it, then held it on his knee; and he toyed gently with her fingers while mouthing an endless succession of sweet nothings. His toneless voice babbled on like a flowing stream; his eyes sparkled behind his glinting spectacles, and his hands were

creeping up inside Emma's sleeve, stroking her arm. She could feel his urgent breath against her cheek. What a horrible man! (270)

At this juncture, even the notary proffers financial help in exchange for sexual relations. Emma notices that due to her monetary trouble, her body is commodified once more. For this reason, she states "You are shamelessly taking advantage of my distress, Monsieur! I am to be pitied, but I am not for *sale*!" (270). When he leaves the notary's office, she is filled with "indignation over the insult to her honor" (271). She desperately attempts to latch on to her last shred of dignity; But this effort is of no avail since, after her financial ruin, society regards her as a harlot, *not just a mistress*. Due to her financial debt, Emma's body has become a public commodity, available to everyone and not just her lovers.

Emma's encounter with Binet, the tax collector, also highlights the degrading perception that society has of her. Madame Tuvache and Madame Caron witness Emma's arrival at the tax collector's office, but they cannot hear what is exchanged between them, therefore they make baseless speculations. They imagine that she is mouthing the word franc and deduce that Emma's begging for money by making sexual advances. Emma takes Binet's hands and Madame Tuvache asks Madame Caron "is she making up to him?" Although they cannot hear them, they infer that "she must surely be proposing something infamous". Madame Tuvache states "women like her should be whipped" (273).

What indeed transpires in this meeting is never explicated, yet it provides us with society's outlook on Emma's new position. It is clarified that due to Emma's financial distress, her behavior is interpreted in a new light. The combination of precarious financial status and Emma's sexual desire destabilizes her position as a middle-class housewife. Emma has always had one of the two characteristics that Parent-Duchâtelet had outlined for prostitutes; that is having a high libido. David Barash in his book *Madame Bovary's Ovaries* asserts that "Madame Bovary is, in fact, a lustful married woman" (8). However, till the end of the novel, she lacks the other determinant factor that in Parent's view drives women to prostitution, namely dire financial need. The dominant ideology of the time proposed that having specific biological and sociological characteristics could propel women toward prostitution; these passages illustrate Emma's gradual change from a mistress to a harlot. Nonetheless, Emma tries to retain her previous position by visiting her lovers and highlighting the love that she felt for

them while asking for money. Emma's final meetings with Leon and Rodolphe wield the final blow to Emma's self-perception.

Since Emma cannot confide in Charles, she deigns to demand money from Leon. As she is entreating him for money, she expresses her love for him, even though her feeling for Leon is not as intense as it used to be. Leon's response to Emma's solicitation is "You must be crazy!" to which Emma answers 'No, not yet!' (264). This conversation displays an impending transformation in Emma's psychological state. When Emma realizes that Leon cannot provide her with the money that she requires, she decides to turn to her previous lover; Rodolphe. After the commodification of her body by several people, she sets off for Rodolphe's place to consolidate her position as his mistress. However, due to her delicate financial state, this attempt is also fruitless and she cannot curb her transformation into a harlot. When she is headed to Rodolphe's house, the readers are informed that "she is about to *prostitute* herself" (275).

Flaubert's narrator employs the term 'prostitution' for describing Emma's request for money from Rodolphe. Based on the principles of French society, at this point, Emma is selling her body to pay her bills. Emma's affection for Rodolphe had dissipated long ago. Even so, the instant that she meets him, she reminds herself and him of the love that she once had felt for him. She says "if you only knew! . . . I loved you so much" (276). Emma's insistence on the love that she had for him is not merely a manipulative tactic. Throughout their conversation, by stressing the emotional aspect of their relationship, rather than her monetary demand, she reasserts her identity as Rodolphe's mistress and *not as his prostitute*. Rodolphe, at first, becomes susceptible to Emma's expression of love and responds by saying:

> -I've been stupid and vile! I love you! I'll always love you! What's the matter? Please tell me!
> -Well, then! . . . Rodolphe, I'm ruined! You must lend me three thousand francs!
> -But . . . but . . ., he said, slowly standing up, a serious expression coming over his face. [...] Ah! thought Rodolphe, suddenly turning extremely pale: so that's why she's here!
> Finally, he said, without a trace of emotion: I haven't got three thousand francs, dear lady. (277)

As soon as Emma mentions her financial situation, Rodolphe's face grows pale and his demeanor becomes cold, as though he is interacting with a completely different person. The narrator expresses that even if he had given the money, his generous gesture would have tainted their

love because "of all the icy blasts that can lay waste to love, a financial demand is the coldest and most devastating" (277). From Rodolphe's standpoint, Emma's financial demand mars the loftiness of her love. Since this emotional aspect dissipates, only the sexual and financial aspects of the relationship remain. As a result, Emma's monetary necessity relegates her, even in the eyes of her lover, to the level of a prostitute. Due to Emma's financial turmoil, she cannot escape the dire consequences of her licentious behavior. Whereas a rich woman's wealth protects her virtue like a cuirass, an indebted woman such as Madame Bovary cannot defend her extramarital affairs. This implies that after losing her financial resources, Emma is unable to secure a reputable position for herself among the members of this community. Therefore, she is no longer the amorous mistress with an unconventional lifestyle but a 'petty' prostitute that is looked upon with aversion and condescension by the society of the time. In a society within which only two possible roles are offered to middle-class women, Emma's identification with the public women of her time seems inevitable. Emma's longing for public life culminates in her eventual dégringolade and molds a public woman out of her.

By the time Emma leaves Rodolphe's house, Emma realizes that her body has become a commodity that she needs to sell, not enjoy. As soon as the awareness of her abject position dawns on her, she scurries toward Mr. Homais's apothecary shop and buys arsenic. The breakdown of Emma's position as a housewife is irretrievable. But in order to dispose of her role as a harlot, Emma needs to demolish her sexualized body. Her agonizing and prolonged death affects every part of her body that had participated in sexual pleasure. While Emma is incapacitated by pain, Canivet, the local doctor says "this paroxysm may perhaps be a sign of recovery" (285). Indeed, the destruction of Emma's sexualized body is interpreted as a sign of recovery in the French society of the time. When the priest is called upon her bed to anoint her with oil, Emma bestows a passionate kiss on the crucifix; This kiss is "the most passionate kiss of love that she had ever given" (289). Emma's last spiritual kiss and the priest's unction purge her of the sexual desires that haunt her. The priest begins administering extreme unction:

> first upon the eyes, which had so fiercely craved every earthly luxury, then upon the nostrils, so greedy for caressing breezes and erotic scents, then upon the mouth, which had opened to lie, to bemoan her wounded pride, and to cry out in lustful pleasure, then upon the hands, so avid for pleasurable sensations; and lastly upon the soles of the feet, once so swift in speeding her to satisfy her desire. (289)

As the priest administers the sacrament of unction, Emma's face "no longer looks so pale, and her face bears an expression of serenity, as if the sacrament has healed her" (289). Although Emma is not cured of poisoning, she is cured of her sexuality. After her death, Emma's body is donned in the bridal gown and it is at this point that she reverts to her previous desexualized position, viz. being a middle-class housewife. This bridal gown also signifies the de-commodification of her body. Upon Emma's passing, Charles says "I want her to be buried in her wedding dress, with white shoes, and a wreath" (292). At this point, Charles stakes a claim for Emma's lifeless body. Emma's suicide has returned her body to her husband and for this reason, it is no longer a public property that can be controlled. Yet, even with her death, Emma cannot secure her position as Charles's middle-class wife. When they lift her body, "a stream of black liquid, like vomit, flows from her mouth" (295) and threatens the sanctity of her bridal gown. The purity of her dress is besmirched by the black liquid, symbolizing Emma's licentious behavior. Hence, similar to Balzac, Flaubert is unable to reconcile Emma's sexuality with her roles as a mother and wife. Since the eroticization of marriage undermined the entrenched ideology of the time, it is not realized in the pages of Flaubert's novel. Flaubert does not come up with a third term to mingle the supposedly opposing impulses of Emma. She has to waver between two identities that were offered to her. Even though she tries to fabricate a new identity for herself by emulating the lifestyle of the upper-class women, due to her financial misfortunes, she eventually falls into the category of 'the harlot'.

Therefore, one can observe the reflection of the dominant ideology of the time in Flaubert's novel. It can be inferred that Flaubert's book first subverts and then contains the dominant discourse on women. Initially, it attempts to construct a female identity that does not fall into the rigid dichotomy of housewife/harlot, but Emma's suicidal act confirms that the realization of such an alternative identity is not feasible for the women of that period. Conventionally, it is deduced that two reasons contribute to Emma's suicide; her debts and her extra-marital love affairs. Nonetheless, it is important to note that Emma is not, as Paskow indicates, particularly concerned about the disclosure of her love affairs. Furthermore, it is not Emma's financial loss per se that leads propels her toward suicide, but what that financial loss signifies, i.e. her position as a harlot in society. The previous studies fail to recognize the important distinction between Emma's identity as a mistress and as a harlot and the role that it plays in Emma's suicide. By concentrating on the commodifying impact that the housewife/harlot

dichotomy had on Emma, this article expanded upon Higonnet's main argument that Emma's suicide is symptomatic of social illnesses. It might also be appropriate to add that although Emma reduces art to a material commodity as Rancière points out, society also transforms her body into a commodified and abject object in return. In retribution for betraying her socially-assigned role, Emma's body is transformed into a lascivious monster that society abhors. Her debauchery made such a corrupting impact on Charles's life that the readers are informed that "she was corrupting him from beyond the grave" (305).

The serenity of Emma's middle-class household is disrupted from within. In *Madame Bovary*, no wanton outsider corrupts the fabric of the family; the threat comes from the inside. Emma had to be either a housewife or a prostitute, and what other choices except for drinking arsenic she had if she desired to be neither? This was the solution that was offered by a society that refused to eroticize marital relations and commodified the body of impoverished women. That being the case, Emma's wedlock had to reach its lethal and even foreordained deadlock.

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DE WEDLOCK À DEADLOCK: LE CHEMINEMENT DE MADAME BOVARY VERS L'AUTODESRUCTION

De nombreuses interprétations ont été tirées du suicide de Madame Bovary à la fin du roman. Néanmoins, tout en entreprenant une investigation dans le fourré de l'idéologie inexplorée du 19e siècle, cette étude réévalue la logique derrière le suicide d'Emma une autre fois. L'analyse historique dans cet article révèle que la doctrine des sphères séparées a exercé une grande influence sur la vie des femmes de la classe moyenne. En outre, la pratique de cette doctrine a abouti au renforcement d'une dichotomie rigide de femme au foyer/prostituée. Comme le résultat d'une telle idéologie, une association est faite entre femmes en public et femmes publiques, c.-à-d. les prostituées. Tout en mettant au jour les traces de cette idéologie dans *Madame Bovary*, cet article a pour objectif de démontrer que le désir d'Emma, comme une femme de la classe moyenne, pour la vie publique aboutit à un point où elle s'identifie à la figure d'une prostituée. Cette métamorphose pitoyable, qui est la ramification d'adhérence sociétale à la doctrine des sphères séparées, l'amène vers son acte suicidaire final.

Mots-clés : sphère domestique, prostituée, femme au foyer, Madame Bovary, sphère publique, suicide.

Médée ou la maternité meurtrière dans La Voyeuse interdite de N. Bouraoui et Fritna de G. Halimi. Une lecture psychanalytique

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Résumé: Le thème de la maternité occupe une place de choix dans la production littéraire maghrébine. C'est un thème hautement chargé de significations qui trahit la nature de la relation entre les membres d'une famille et les différentes tensions sociales, psychiques et morales qui l'altèrent. Les femmes dans les romans soumis à l'étude sont en grande difficulté. Ce sont des mères incapables de s'occuper de leurs enfants et d'en prendre soin. L'indifférence, le rejet, l'agression, l'abandon et même la destruction et le meurtre caractérisent leur relation avec leurs filles, contrairement aux garçons qui bénéficient d'un amour inconditionnel. Fritna et la mère de Fikria sont deux femmes qui présentent des cas cliniques d'agression et d'infanticide largement abordés dans les études psychanalytiques. Nous essayerons de montrer dans cette étude, à travers les deux romans *La Voyeuse interdite* de N. BOURAOUI et *Fritna* de Gisèle HALIMI, la réalité de l'infanticide et la haine maternels qui forment un phénomène extrême à travers l'investissement de la tragédie grecque d'Euripide pour voir la vérité du mythe de Médée dans la réalité de ces mères qui ont réellement existé, le genre autobiographique des romans soumis à l'étude en témoigne.

Mots-clés: Fritna, Fikria, maternité, Médée, psychanalytique.

Le thème de la maternité avortée dans le roman maghrébin n'a jamais cessé de faire couler de l'encre particulièrement chez les auteures prises dans l'engagement de défendre la femme soumise aux lois du patriarcat et de l'injustice sociale.

Les femmes dans les romans de notre corpus comme toutes les femmes maghrébines qui présentent des cas cliniques ne deviennent réellement mères qu'après avoir enfanté des garçons. La mère de Fikria

à titre d'exemple est « plus femme que mère » selon les termes de C. Eliacheff (Eliacheff, 2002). Elle ne se reconnaît pas en tant que mère tant qu'elle n'a pas eu son premier garçon, raison pour laquelle on remarque que les mères dans notre corpus se soucient peu des besoins psychiques et physiques de leurs filles. La peur d'être abandonnées par leur époux les conduit au lâchage affectif de leurs filles.

A travers une étude se basant sur l'approche psychanalytique et se référant au mythe de Médée, nous tenterons d'apporter un éclairage sur la mère en tant que personnage meurtrier, de mettre l'accent sur l'atmosphère de mort et de vide qui prouve notre hypothèse et finalement, d'expliciter la culpabilité et la culpabilisation éprouvées par la mère et la fille dans les deux romans.

1. La femme entre maternité meurtrière et maternité avortée

La dimension meurtrière et destructrice dans les actes des mères dans notre corpus nous invite à une mise en relation avec le mythe de Médée, véritable lieu des fantasmes les plus tragiques. Le drame de Médée a permis de construire une « structure médéique » (Alain Depaulis, 2015) qui constitue aujourd'hui le soubassement de toute analyse psychanalytique et criminologique de l'infanticide maternel.

De tous les meurtres que l'on connait à travers la mythologie grecque, l'infanticide médéique demeure le plus bouleversant et le plus difficile à comprendre. Comparé au crime de Médée, le crime d'Œdipe pâlit et se montre timide, car Œdipe tuait Laïos en ignorant qu'il était en réalité son père, alors que Médée savait bien ce qu'elle faisait en sacrifiant ses enfants. Pour cette raison le choix d'un mythe pour étudier le thème de l'infanticide demeure à nos yeux très pertinent, car le mythe à travers le théâtre et la dimension cathartique a toujours montré que ce crime existe depuis très longtemps et a initié plusieurs interrogations. La pièce tragique d'Euripide, composée en 431 avant notre ère, qui présente l'une des variantes du mythe de Médée, en l'occurrence celle d'Apollonios de Rhodes, de Corneille et de Sénèque, est un exemple qui illustre le thème choisi pour notre étude. Cette exemplification ne peut que représenter la réalité de ce crime comme le reprend Freud dans l'*Homme aux rats* : « L'exemple est la chose même ».

Avant de pénétrer dans l'analyse du mythe et sa mise en parallèle avec les romans choisis, s'avère nécessaire de raconter sommairement l'histoire de Médée, notamment les séquences clés qui nous aideront à comprendre le meurtre commis et sa vengeance. Médée est une déesse outragée. Patronne des magiciennes, Médée maitrise des pouvoirs extraordinaires : le feu de la vie, le pouvoir de rajeunir et les brûlures mortelles. C'est une femme qui a tout donné à son époux Jason. Elle a

abandonné sa ville natale pour s'enfuir avec Jason et est allée même jusqu'à sacrifier son frère. Grâce à ses pouvoirs de magicienne, elle a aidé Jason à remplir beaucoup d'exploits héroïques, notamment la conquête de la toison d'or. Arrivé chez le roi Créon, Jason choisit de répudier Médée et de prendre la fille du roi pour épouse. Ayant peur de Médée, Créon lui ordonne l'exil. Médée demande à Jason de garder les enfants et à Créon de lui ajouter un jour supplémentaire pour préparer un stratagème de meurtre. Elle tue finalement sa rivale en lui offrant des cadeaux empoisonnés, le roi et ses enfants même. Elle s'enfuit grâce aux dieux sur un char ailé et laisse derrière elle un Jason malheureux et désespéré.

Dans le mythe de Médée, on a affaire au sacrifice de deux enfants mâles, alors que dans les romans de Bouraoui et de Halimi, on parle de sacrifice physique et psychologique des filles. Dans les deux cas, on remarque qu'il y a une castration qui hante leurs mères et la souffrance qui consume leurs êtres à cause de leur incapacité d'assumer leur sexuation et de combler leur manque narcissique. L'acte de meurtre ou de destruction des filles par les mères incarne toutes les modalités archaïques dans la relation mère /fille, à savoir la peur, le désespoir, la menace, la haine, etc. qui dénaturent la relation qui unit la mère à ses enfants.

Si la tragédie d'Euripide évoque plus le côté passionnel de Médée pour Jason qui était source du désastre, dans les romans soumis à l'étude la maternité destructrice est motivée par les préjugés de la société patriarcale, le diktat et la religion. Dans *La Voyeuse interdite* de Nina Bouraoui, la narratrice résume la représentation d'une femme dans une société patriarcale sur la langue du père de Fikria : « Fille, foutre, femme, fornication, faiblesse, flétrissures ! » (Bouraoui, 1999). Cette vision de la femme qui la réduit à un simple objet de reproduction de l'espèce humaine et la hante de peur à travers le pouvoir de la religion, la pousse à se conformer aux normes imposées par l'homme et désirer des naissances mâles comme souhaité. Dans *Médée* d'Euripide, la passion destructrice avait pour raison l'amour éprouvé pour Jason, l'homme pour qui elle commis de multiples crimes et a quitté sa terre natale. Dès la scène d'exposition, le public peut entendre les gémissements très touchants de Médée à l'intérieur de la maison. Malheureuse, elle pleure la trahison de l'homme qu'elle a aimé passionnément : Jason. A l'ouverture de la porte, paraît Médée pâle et dans un état de tristesse lamentable. La nourrice, à travers ces vers témoigne de l'état de Médée après avoir été trahie par Jason :

Le gage le plus sûr, prend les dieux à témoin,
De ce qu'elle a reçu de Jason pour la peine.

Étendue, sans manger, abandonnant son corps à la douleur,
Dissolvant tout son temps dans ses larmes,
Depuis qu'elle a senti l'outrage de son mari,
Elle ne lève pas les yeux, ne détache pas son visage Du sol.
Telle un roc, telle une vague de la mer (Euripide, 1997)

La maternité avortée se présente de plusieurs manières dans les romans composant notre corpus d'étude. La maternité ne signifie nullement dans ces romans le fait de mettre au monde, mais elle dépend du sexe de l'enfant, étant donné que c'est le garçon qui honore son père et fait valoir à sa génitrice le titre précieux de mère. Même si la femme devient mère, la société ne lui reconnait ce statut qu'après avoir mis au monde un enfant mâle. Une maternité avortée se présente par l'incapacité d'enfanter un garçon dans le cas de la mère de Fikria dans *La Voyeuse interdite* de N. BOURAOUI ou la perte d'un garçon dans le cas de *Fritna* de G. HALIMI.

La réflexion sur le mythe de Médée en colère contre son époux nous invite à trouver beaucoup de parallélismes et de points communs avec l'histoire des mères de notre corpus. La colère est une émotion clé dans l'acte de destruction entrepris par ces femmes. Ces dernières sont très en colère de ne pas pouvoir se conformer aux préjugés de la société, satisfaire le souhait du patriarche et l'honorer par une naissance mâle. Ce sont des mères en colère contre leurs propres corps fautifs car incapables de concevoir un garçon ou du moins le surveiller et le protéger. Dans la pièce d'Euripide, la colère a comme source principale la passion pour Jason, puis sa condition de femme inférieure et soumise qu'elle a choisie volontairement, car poussée par son amour pour Jason. En fait, la pièce d'Euripide dénonce l'infériorité des femme à cette époque qui sont traitées comme d'« éternelles mineures ». Médée, déesse donc ayant un statut supérieur par rapport aux humains, a accepté cette soumission à son époux qui l'a lâchement abandonnée. Médée est alors devenue victime d'un homme ingrat et est par conséquent restée comme le prototype des femmes trahies. A travers le mythe de Médée, Euripide, nous livre un véritable réquisitoire contre la domination des hommes qui font des femmes de simples esclaves. La nourrice rapporte le malheur de Médée causé par sa soumission dans les vers suivants :

Quand une femme ne s'oppose pas à son mari.
Elle ne trouve que haine, souffre dans ce qu'elle aime.
Trahissant ses enfants ainsi que ma maîtresse,

Jason, par son hymen, gagne le lit d'une princesse, Il a épousé la fille de Créon, qui règne en ce pays ; Médée, la malheureuse, indignement traitée (Euripide, 1997)

Dans la mythologie grecque, la femme est considérée cet Autre qui n'a pas le droit de partager son humanité avec l'homme. Venant de Pandora, la femme est un « cadeau empoisonné pour l'humanité » (Kyveli Vogiatzoglou, 2010). Elle est un porte-malheur qui engendre la mort de l'homme. Tout tragique dans la vie d'un homme trouve sa source dans la présence d'une femme : « Il aurait fallu que les mortels, pour procréer et fabriquer leurs petits, l'aient pu faire par un autre moyen. Ainsi la race des femmes n'eût pas été, et alors, chez les humains, nul mal, jamais, n'eût existé, dit Jason. » (Euripide, 1997).

La colère de Médée contre ses enfants vient ensuite du fait qu'elle les considère comme une partie de leur père, car ils portent la loi du père et le représente. Les enfants pour Médée ne sont pas le produit de la mère, mais une métonymie du père. Malgré le grand amour qu'éprouve Médée pour ses enfants, cette conviction la pousse à commettre plus tard beaucoup de meurtres du côté des enfants : elle rajeunit les parents et tue leur progéniture faisant ainsi inverser l'ordre des générations.

Médée qui n'a jamais haï ses enfants, commence à le faire, car poussée par un sentiment de haine. Elle les hait, car fruit de son union avec Jason : « Ah ! je souffre, infortunée, je souffre trop ! Enfants maudits d'une mère qui n'est plus rien que haine, puissiez-vous périr avec votre père… ». Les meurtres de Créon et de la princesse n'ont pas assouvi sa soif. Abandonnée par Jason qui n'a pas tenu sa promesse, Médée voulait aller à l'extrême en portant atteinte à ses enfants. Elle voulait tuer Jason à travers ses enfants comme il l'a tuée : « MÉDÉE : Je voulais que tu souffres. » Pire encore, elle prive Jason de voir ses enfants morts et les emporte sur un char tiré par un monstre, laissant derrière elle Jason complètement défait :

Mais, comme c'est tout ce que je peux faire, Je les pleure et j'en appelle aux dieux, Je prends à témoins les divinités Qu'après m'avoir tué mes enfants, tu m'empêches De les toucher de mes mains, et d'ensevelir leurs cadavres. (Euripide, 1997)

La femme a une représentation négative dans la société arabo-musulmane. Les enfants nés filles sont un lourd fardeau pour la famille. Elles déshonorent la mère et sont source de honte et de malheur pour le père. La multiplication des naissances d'enfants filles engendre des tensions familiales et des conflits entre père et mère d'un côté et père

et filles de l'autre. Dans les romans soumis à l'étude, Fritna et la mère de Fikria sont victimes de la tradition qu'elles perpétuent, forcées par l'autorité imposée par l'époux et la société patriarcale. Cette situation qui force la femme à enfanter d'un enfant de sexe masculin pour trouver sa place dans la société et s'affirmer vis-à-vis de son époux la pousse à adopter des comportements extrêmes et tomber dans l'abîme. Effet, la haine, le meurtre, le rejet, et l'abandon de ses filles sont des réactions très remarquables dans les relations entre mère et fille dans le roman maghrébin qui rendent impossible le rêve de la maternité heureuse recherchée par toute femme.

Dans *La Voyeuse interdite* de N. BOURAOUI, la mère de Fikria, complice du père a osé faire mourir sa fille à peine née en la jetant avec froideur par la fenêtre. Le bébé fille a pu survivre miraculeusement condamnée à passer le reste de sa vie cloîtrée dans un coin sans mouvement à cause d'un handicap sévère. Leyda, sœur cadette de la narratrice et « miraculée de trottoir » (BOURAOUI, 1991) est jetée constamment par terre. L'appellation « maman meurtrière » qui apparaît à plusieurs reprises dans le roman surgit suite à cet incident et est un renvoi concret au mythe de Médée. Cet incident d'infanticide commis par la mère nous rappelle à multiples égards le meurtre de la mère texane Andréa YATES qui a tué ses cinq enfants en 2002 en Amérique. Femme dévouée à son mari, pieuse et consacrée à l'éducation de ses enfants, Andréa Yates distinguait correctement le bien du mal, mais était victime du fondamentalisme religieux qui considère la femme comme péché et source de malheur, ce qui l'a poussée à faire noyer ses enfants dans le bain pour les sauver de Satan. De manière similaire, la mère de Fikria est victime de la religion façonnée par le patriarcat qui n'hésite pas à la mettre à son service pour renforcer sa domination dans la société et entraver l'émancipation de la femme. En effet, les versets coraniques se trouvent partout dans la maison de Fikria : sur la table, gravées sur les décors, etc. Elles surveillent les femmes en l'absence du père et les rappellent de son autorité. Recevant constamment des lettres de la part du pasteur Michael WORNIECKI qui exposait ses idées religieuses extrémistes soutenant que la femme résulte du péché d'Eve, qu'elle est mauvaise et qu'elle enfante de mauvais enfants, Andréa Yates s'abîmait dans la lecture de la Bible au point d'avoir des hallucinations et d'entendre des voix qui la poussent à tuer ses enfants pour les sauver de Satan. L'infanticide commis par la mère de Fikria montre de manière similaire la face cachée de l'idéologie transmise par le patriarcat et le rôle du conservatisme dogmatique de la religion. La femme considère le mâle (son époux) comme un être privilégié par la religion, voire sacré qu'il

faudrait suivre et obéir. Le fondamentalisme religieux ancré dans le principe de crainte de Dieu et de l'époux a amené à un résultat dévastateur : l'infanticide. L'acte meurtrier commis par la mère de Fikria et Andréa Yates est bien d'ordre psychotique, car les deux femmes l'ont effectué avec froideur et sans culpabilité. Elles n'ont pas le moindre doute, ni de remords vis-à-vis de leur acte. Elles sont convaincues par leur croyance religieuse paranoïaque.

Dans *Fritna* de G. Halima, la situation n'est pas très différente, Fritna est une mère fortement désintéressée de ses deux filles. Elle est poussée par la haine et la volonté de les détruire pour venger injustement son fils décédé à cause de Gisèle prétendait-elle.

Fritna n'a jamais accepté d'enfanter des filles. Elle ne cessait de raconter à Gisèle encore fille l'histoire haineuse de sa naissance, une histoire que Fritna ne cesse de répéter comme un refrain pour confirmer sa prise de position de refus radical envers ses filles : « une fille ? Catastrophe ! Pendant trois semaines, nous avons caché ta naissance. » (Halimi,1999). Gaby, sœur de Gisèle n'est pas soustraite à l'abandon de Fritna : « Fortunée n'aimait pas davantage sa seconde fille » (Halimi,1999), car sa venue au monde n'était que « parade au malheur » (Halimi,1999) pour la mère et le père qui souhaitaient compenser la mort de leur fils André. Pour se venger de Gaby, la mère occupait sa fille de tâches ménagères pénibles et se souciait très peu de son bien-être. Elle lui « réserva les tâches les plus ingrates du ménage, l'habilla de mes vieux vêtements, tenta sur elle un asservissement (…) » (Halimi,1999).

Fritna accordait son amour inconditionnel et indivisible exclusivement à ses garçons auxquels elle se montrait soucieuse, chaleureuse et attentive. Gisèle et Gaby récoltaient le malheur de naître filles tout en constatant avec regret et amertume le degré d'affection maternelle réservé à leurs frères. « Ma sœur et moi-même, en sandwich entre les deux, avions eu le malheur de naître filles » (Halimi,1999).

Fritna était une bédouine qui n'accordait aucune attention à l'avenir de ses filles. Elle n'aspirait pas à voir ses filles heureuses et émancipées. Elle voulait se venger d'elles en leur réservant un destin semblable au sien. Pour elle, ses filles devaient rester enfermées à la maison, se marier très jeunes, avoir des époux riches, donner naissance à des enfants mâles, et ne s'occuper que de leurs foyers :

Dans la société tunisienne des années 40, ma mère nous avait tracé nos destins : un mari riche –ou, en tout cas, n'exigeant pas de notre père le paiement d'une dot, et cela, le plus tôt possible, dès la puberté. Comme des objets rangés jusqu'à ce qu'ils deviennent utiles, ma sœur et moi – ainsi semblait en avoir décidé Fritna- ne devions solliciter aucune attention particulière. Ni marque

d'affection, ni souci de formation autre que celle d'apprendre à faire la vaisselle, la lessive, les lits…pour nos futurs époux. En attendant, il nous était ordonné de servir les hommes de la maison. (Halimi,1999)

Gisèle et Gaby voyaient leur mère détruire de ses propres mains leurs rêves en leur traçant un avenir qui n'apaisera jamais leurs blessures.

D'après la lecture de *La voyeuse interdite* de Nina BOURAOUI et *Fritna* de Gisèle HALIMI, nous constatons qu'il y a une ambivalence entre les caractères féminin et maternel chez Fritna et la mère de Fikria. On assiste à un refoulement du maternel au profit du féminin ou vice-versa. FREUD soutient l'idée que la femme accède à un statut de complétude en devenant mère. L'œuvre freudienne ne cesse de confirmer que la venue d'un enfant dans la vie d'une femme répare le défaut féminin en compensant son manque de pénis. L'enfant est en fait un substitut phallique qui comble le manque d'une femme. Lacan soutient l'idée de Freud sans la confirmer totalement. Il avance que le don d'un enfant n'est pas suffisant pour combler le désir sexuel d'une femme.

Les positions freudienne et lacanienne nous invitent à voir si Fritna et la mère de Fikria adoptent une position haineuse envers leurs filles en tant que mères ou en tant que femmes. Dans l'œuvre d'Euripide, Médée adopte son comportement destructeur et meurtrier envers ses enfants en tant que femme car poussée uniquement par sa passion pour Jason : « Celui qui était tout pour moi, je m'en rends bien compte, Mon époux, est devenu le plus méchant des hommes » (Euripide, 1997). L'infanticide qu'elle a commis était une manière pour créer le manque d'enfants chez Jason comme ce dernier a créé le manque d'amour chez elle en partant avec une autre femme. Dans les romans de notre corpus, la seule passion autour de laquelle gravite le désir de ces femmes est d'enfanter un garçon. Fritna et la mère de Fikria agissent en tant que femmes égoïstes désirant uniquement satisfaire les souhaits du patriarcat et prouver l'utilité de leur corps de femmes capables de concevoir un enfant de sexe masculin. Ces mêmes femmes détruisent la vie de leurs filles en tant que mères poussées dans cela par l'échec et la haine engendrés par l'insatisfaction de leur propre désir et celui de leurs conjoints. Fritna aime ainsi de manière passionnelle et exclusive ses deux garçons. Le décès d'André, son fils cadet, à cause du fauteuil de Gisèle explique bien la quantité de violence et de haine que Fritna et éprouve à sa fille. L'amour passionnel que la femme maghrébine a envers ses garçons rime toujours avec la haine, la mort et la destruction

envers les filles : « Ah! Quel mal peuvent faire les amours humaines » (Euripide, 1997) déclare Médée.

La perte de Jason dans le mythe de Médée comme la perte d'André par Fritna représente une souffrance majeure qui ne tolère aucun pardon et qui a suscité une haine déchaînée et excessive. Roland Gori explique que l'objet de la haine d'un sujet vient principalement de la perte d'un être qui échappe à l'appropriation. Après le décès d'André, le complexe de castration s'est fortement réveillé chez Fritna qui commençait aussitôt à chercher un moyen pour combler son manque phallique. La naissance de Gaby, dix mois après le décès d'André et le pire des échecs vécus par la mère dont la haine s'est enflammée envers ses filles fautives.

La haine et l'agressivité d'une mère envers sa fille est une situation très répandue dans la clinique. La psychanalyse démontre que parfois la fille n'est pas la vraie destinataire de la violence et de l'agression maternelles. La mère est souvent victime de la représentation du sexe féminin chez l'homme et dans la société de manière générale. Haïssable par le père et objet de sa honte, la fille est ainsi repoussée par la mère car ayant une représentation dépréciative dans l'imaginaire collectif maghrébin et arabo-musulman. Nous parlons ici d'une haine déplacée car la fille est victime de la représentation que la mère en a.

Détruire ou tuer les enfants filles représente aussi une tentative de la mère d'arrêter la métaphore maternelle. L'aliénation de la fille de manière totalitaire en l'empêchant d'accéder à tout ce qui est d'ordre symbolique ou identitaire féminin, en la chosifiant et en l'instrumentalisant est une façon pour la mère d'enfermer ses filles qui représentent son échec dans un cercle mortifère afin de les anéantir.

2. Une atmosphère de mort et de vide mortifère

La mort est un thème clé dans les deux œuvres mises à l'étude avec toutes ses variations métaphoriques, à savoir le silence, la rupture, le vide, l'ennui, etc. Les mères meurtrières touchées en profondeur dans leurs égos génèrent chez leurs filles fautives toutes les sensations violentes et brutales.

La mort est un thème clé dans *Médée* d'Euripide. Loin d'aborder la mort effective des personnages, Médée ne parle que de mort après avoir été trahie par Jason. D'abord, elle souhaite la mort à ses enfants, ce qui laisse douter la nourrice et craindre pour eux : « Il y a de quoi pleurer à n'en plus finir, enfants Maudits d'une détestable mère, si vous pouviez mourir Avec votre père, et votre maison s'effondrer !… » (Euripide, 1997), puis elle souhaite la mort pour elle-même : « La tête ; à quoi bon vivre encore ? Pouah ! Pouah ! si je pouvais me délivrer par

la mort, Mettant fin à cette haïssable existence ! » (Euripide, 1997). Mais de substance divine, Médée ne pouvait se donner la mort, qu'elle croit libératrice : « Hélas ! Puissé-je quitter par une mort libératrice une vie odieuse ! » (Euripide, 1997). Le thème de la mort est accompagné dans la pièce par le thème de la solitude qui renforce la dimension pathétique et le réquisitoire en faveur de la condition féminine, notamment chez Médée la barbare étrangère victime de son mari et de l'injustice : « Moi je suis seule, sans cité, … sans mère, sans frère, sans parent près de qui aller jeter l'ancre » (Euripide, 1997)

Le lecteur de *La Voyeuse interdite* de N. BOURAOUI se heurte à une réalité sombre : une famille où chacun mène sa vie dans la rupture et la solitude totales. Ainsi, la mère ne parle plus à ses propres filles même en les croisant du regard. Elle les haït, car elles sont la cause de son malheur et délaisse son corps de femme désormais inutile.

La mère de Fikria se présente comme le symbole parfait de la mort. C'est une femme sévère qui applique à la lettre les ordres de son époux en sa présence et son absence. Son incapacité de mettre au monde un garçon la pousse à se venger de ses filles fautives et de faire régner dans son foyer une atmosphère suicidaire. L'ennui pour la narratrice est une mort en elle-même. Pour Fikria, l'ennui et la mort sont synonymes. Elle déclare ainsi : « Le silence, la solitude, l'abandon définitif de la Vraie me submergent d'une peur inhumaine, les autres se taisent, les murs se rapprochent, mon corps est à la limite de la putréfaction. Je sens mes organes durcir, et le cœur décide, seul, d'un nouveau tempo : la petite musique de la mort. » (Bouraoui, 1999).

Le chagrin de la mère de Fikria se reflète de manière significative sur l'espace de la maison qui devient une tombe familiale. L'endroit isolé où se trouve la maison n'a pas suffi à la mère qui détruit le jardin et arrache les rares fleurs qui font sa beauté déjà fanées par manque de lumière et de soleil pour priver ses filles de regarder par la fenêtre. L'extrait suivant décrit avec un lexique de mort et d'absence de vie la demeure de Fikria dépourvue de tout signe d'amour ou de chaleur : « Ma demeure a le calme d'un fond marin tapissé d'algues vénéneuses, le mutisme de la mort ! rejetées de la surface, les plantes meurtrières se meuvent en silence, en évitant de se toucher, crache le venin fatal au beau visage de la Vie puis portent avec disgrâce le deuil de leur victime. » (Bouraoui, 1999).

A travers une écriture intime, Gisèle dénonce avec amertume l'injustice qu'elle avait subie avec sa sœur Gaby et qu'elle n'est jamais arrivée à oublier malgré son succès et le temps passé. Elle présente son livre par une conclusion tranchante qui confirme l'absence totale de l'amour maternel auquel elle avait toujours aspiré dès sa petite

enfance : « Ma mère, ne m'aimait pas. Ne m'avait jamais aimée, me disais-je certains jours. Elle, dont je guettais le sourire –rare – et toujours adressé aux autres (…), dont je frôlais les mains, le visage, qu'elle touche, m'embrasse, enfin, elle, ma mère, ne m'aimait pas » (Halimi, 1999).

Fritna tourne le dos à ses deux filles et aux questionnements incessants de Gisèle en particulier qui n'avait jamais cessé de chercher les causes de ce refus fatal contraire à la nature d'une mère, même après le décès de sa mère : « Cette femme, qui m'avait mise au monde et qui, dès ma naissance, me laissa dans l'indifférence, me déchirer entre cet amour que j'avais pour elle et ce questionnement permanant, destructeur : pourquoi ne m'aimait-elle pas ? » (Halimi, 1999). Fritna ne semblait plus honorer le titre de « mère » qu'elle portait envers ses filles. L'absence de la maternité entrainait l'absence de l'amour et du sacrifice : « Fritna et l'absence. Absence de tout câlin, absence du corps, absence de la mère » (Halimi, 1999).

L'égoïsme de Fritna et l'absence d'amour envers ses filles est d'ordre pathologique, car motivé par une grande pression exercée par la société dont elle ne se rend pas compte. Fritna qui « refusait toute étreinte, tout baiser, tout contact. » (Halimi, 1999) n'était pas forcément une mère pour ses filles mais une rivale et un adversaire, car ses filles étaient synonymes de son échec duquel il lui faudrait se débarrasser. Gisèle sentait toujours une rupture qui s'opère avec sa mère et était dans l'incapacité d'apprendre d'elle pour se construire en tant que femme : « cet amour sans réciprocité pour une mère atypique m'aura privée de la connaissance de moi-même. » (Halimi, 1999). Le silence était l'arme redoutable de Fritna : « son arme absolue : le silence implacable » (Halimi, 1999). Le peu de paroles adressé à ses deux filles n'était que pour leur accuser de sa souffrance en déclarant qu'elle est « faite pour souffrir, meghbouna, maudite, je suis maudite » (Halimi, 1999). Faute de pouvoir justifier la coupure qu'elle creuse entre elle et ses filles et de fuir les demandes d'explication de Gisèle, Fritna avance que « Tout ça ne sert à rien : j'ai vécu comme ça, ma mère a vécu comme ça, ma grand-mère a vécu comme ça, toi, tu vivras comme ça. » (Halimi, 1999).

Se venger de leurs filles, principales sources de malheur est une manière de soulager la blessure de ces femmes incapables et hurlant silencieusement leurs souffrances. La destruction des enfants filles est la seule issue pour ces femmes qui ne supporte plus de voir leur échec bouger devant elles. Médée exprime son malheur et son intention de détruire la vie de ses enfants ainsi : « je suis celle sur qui le mal arrive. Celle qui porte le mal, c'est moi. J'ai le mal, j'ai mal, et ce mal me fait m'élever aux plus lamentables des lamentations. O malheureux enfants

d'une odieuse mère. Si vous pouviez crever vous et votre père. Et que notre maison ne soit plus qu'une ruine » (Euripide, 1997). Médée qui a donné naissance à ses enfants, donc un droit de vie croit qu'elle a un droit de mort sur eux. De la même manière, la mère de Fikria a facilement jeté son dernier bébé par la fenêtre comme un objet qui ne sert plus à rien. Les filles ne sont pas prises pour des sujets mais en tant qu'objets qui peuvent être sacrifiés à tout moment. Elles représentent pour la mère une menace constante qui pourrait la faire subir les pires malheurs du pouvoir patriarcal.

3. Culpabilité et culpabilisation

La culpabilité revêt plusieurs formes dans les romans soumis à l'étude. Il s'agit d'abord de la mère qui culpabilise ses filles de son mauvais sort en leur rendant fautives et en rendant leur existences accidentelles et non souhaitées, et la culpabilité ressentie par les filles, car faussement amenées à croire à la tragédie d'être nées de sexe féminin.   En conséquence, elles se livrent à des pratiques d'automutilation.

Dans la pièce d'Euripide, Médée ne se culpabilise pas malgré le grand amour qu'elle éprouve à ses enfants. Elle a commis un acte atroce, mais elle ne le supporte pas. Elle s'est apitoyée longuement sur le sort de ses enfants. Ce dilemme l'a conduite à état schizophrénique.

Médée ne se considère pas responsable du sort de ses enfants. D'abord, on remarque qu'elle s'adresse à ses mains qui ont exécuté les enfants comme si elle n'était pas elle qui avait agi. Vers la fin de la pièce, elle responsabilise les corinthiens en leur rejetant la faute et en leur prescrivant des cérémonies solennelles « en expiation de ce meurtre impie ». Finalement, elle culpabilise Jason de la mort de ses enfants :

MÉDÉE
Ô mes fils, comment vous êtes morts de la folie de votre père !
JASON
Ils n'ont pas été tués de ma main.
MÉDÉE
À cause de tes outrages, et de ton nouveau mariage. (Euripide, 1997)

« Etre fautive » est un leitmotiv qui revient sans cesse, de manière machinale et sans raisonnement logique dans les deux romans. Cette culpabilisation des filles se prononce verbalement comme elle se lit dans le regard et le silence de la mère. Gisèle se rappelle d'un souvenir ancré dans sa mémoire où elle était âgée d'environ neuf ans. Revenant avec sa famille de la plage par train, le contrôleur exigeait de faire payer les

parents le ticket entier de Gisèle n'ayant pas cru qu'elle était âgée de moins de sept ans. Devant les explications incessantes du père qui avançait que sa fille n'avait que six ans, la mère demeurait silencieuse et répondait aux implorations de Gisèle par un regard accusateur : « elle me regarda enfin…tout était de ma faute » (Halimi, 1999). Gisèle était coupable d'avoir choisi sa date de naissance.

Dès la petite enfance, Gisèle se trouvait contrainte de contenir la souffrance de sa mère due à l'enfantement des filles et de la perte de l'un de ses garçons. La mère est ainsi dépourvue de toute « capacité de rêve » (Gabrielle, 2000) selon les termes de Rubin GABRIELLE dans son ouvrage *Les Mères trop bonnes, Etudes psychanalytiques* qui représente l'une des missions majeures de toute mère lui permettant de contenir la souffrance de son enfant par un travail psychique. Dans le cas de Fritna, c'était à Gisèle d'absorber la souffrance et la colère de sa mère. La fille tombait malade constamment dans l'indifférence totale de sa mère même dans les moments de faiblesse.

La mort d'André, le frère cadet de Gisèle était un autre motif de culpabilisation. Un accident survint après l'incident du train alors que Gisèle n'avait que cinq ans. André, âgé de deux ans seulement se mettait à pousser le fauteuil de Gisèle qui était en train de jouer avec son frère. Arrivé à la cuisine, le fauteuil poussé par André heurta le réchaud à pétrole et la cafetière pleine de café bouillant. Cette dernière tomba directement sur André et le feu du réchaud avait rapidement enflammé le fauteuil en osier et avait provoqué sa mort après peu de temps. Fritna n'avait pas hésité depuis de rappeler à Gisèle tout naturellement sa culpabilité dans la mort de son frère André : « ma mère m'en attribua la faute, puisque c'était à cause de mon petit fauteuil que le drame avait pu se produire. » (Halimi, 1999). Gisèle à son tour, croyant innocemment les accusations de Fritna se répétait sans cesse : « Je suis coupable. […] Coupable de la mort atroce de mon petit frère… » (Halimi, 1999).

Gisèle était également la cause de noyade de son frère dans la plage. Fritna précise que : « Tu étais sur la plage aussi, […], tu allais remplir le seau à la mer… […] elle précise qu'André me suivait […] J'ai provoqué la noyade, à ses yeux voilà ce qui compte » (Halimi, 1999). Elle insistait sur le fait qu'en voulant imiter sa sœur partie remplir son seau, qu'André la suivait sans revenir. Fritna se défaisait de sa responsabilité en tant que mère et trouvait dans la culpabilisation de sa fille une solution pour se débarrasser de sa propre culpabilité et se venger de ses filles porteuses de malheur et de mauvais sort. Un autre incident difficile à admettre par la raison est l'accusation de Gisèle d'avoir provoqué l'appendicite à son père : « Mais, m'a-t-on dit, j'avais aussi failli provoquer la mort de mon père. » (Halimi, 1999). En s'entortillant dans

le drap la nuit, Gisèle, encore bébé, avait découvert le ventre de son père, ce qui avait provoqué un certain refroidissement du côté de l'appendice. Fritna expliquait l'appendicite de son époux par la température qui n'a en réalité aucun rapport avec cette maladie.

Fortement traumatisée, et ayant besoin de l'attention et de l'amour maternels, Gisèle urinait involontairement la nuit, elle endurait un manque de tendresse flagrant durant son enfance. Fritna n'avait jamais compris cette situation et continuait d'accuser sa fille de sa maladie involontaire en ignorant qu'elle en était la cause. Pire encore, Fritna n'avait jamais raté une occasion pour se moquer de la maladie de sa fille avec ses amies et ses voisines de quartier au point de pousser sa fille à se suicider : « Je crois que de cette époque date ma première envie violente de mourir. J'avais décidé, tout compte fait, que vivre dans ces conditions faisait trop mal » (Halimi, 1999). L'intention de Fritna était claire encore une fois : culpabiliser Gisèle et la rendre le bouc émissaire à tort ou à raison. Le sentiment de culpabilité accompagne continuellement Gisèle au point de croire tous les prétextes avancés par la mère. Se trouvant dans l'impossibilité d'accuser Fritna, la fille retourne toutes les accusations contre elle-même : « si elle ne m'aime pas, pense-t-elle inconsciemment, c'est que je ne suis pas aimable, et tout est donc de ma faute » (Halimi, 1999). La culpabilité ressentie à chaque instant par Gisèle s'est vue alors renforcée par le temps qui passe : « Ma mère me rejetait, me culpabilisait, redoublait mon désespoir » (Halimi, 1999).

La culpabilisation mène inéluctablement au sentiment de culpabilité chez les enfants et se traduit souvent par l'automutilation. Freud soutient qu'il n'y a pas de corps ni de pulsion sans l'existence de l'Autre qui influe le sujet. Nous sommes tous situés dans le champ de l'altérité qui détermine notre grammaire pulsionnelle. Toute atteinte à notre propre corps est à interpréter en fonction de la présence horrible, soulageante, opaque, etc. de l'Autre. L'automutilation est une conduite qui découle de la notion du « complexe d'autrui » (Sigmund Freud, 1956) freudien largement soumise à la compréhension psychanalytique. C'est un comportement difficile à cerner par la psychanalyse car émis souvent dans le silence total. Son aspect non verbal et le vide du langage accompagnant l'automutilation en tant qu'acte agressif rend compliquée toute interprétation psychanalytique.

La culpabilité que ressent Zohr en particulier dans *La Voyeuse interdite* de N. BOURAOUI se manifeste dans l'automutilation, une solution pour cacher ce corps de fille qui fait la honte de ses parents : « Zohr est en guerre contre sa nature, nature féminine, pourriture pour notre père, honte pour notre fautive de mère. » (Bouraoui, 1999).

Cacher tout signe de féminité devient pour Zohr une routine quotidienne en présence de ses parents : « Et la diaphane n'oublie jamais dans notre présence de pincer sa bouche légèrement charnue une fois relâchée, pour cacher, mordre au sang, détruire enfin ce bout de chair rouge et strié, signe de vie et de fécondité ! » (Bouraoui, 1999)

Zohr, sœur aînée de Fikria, est une fille anorexique qui se livre à une lutte féroce contre son corps féminin à travers de multiples gestes de bandage et de serrage afin de cacher ses rondeurs et ses formes de femme. Elle se nie afin de satisfaire un patriarche qui rompt tout lien avec ses filles à cause qu'elles sont de sexe féminin. Zohr dissimule, sous le tissu de l'enfermement, toutes les parties séduisantes de son corps : cheveux, seins et hanches jusqu'à l'anéantissement. Son corps n'est plus qu'un squelette dépourvu de toute féminité :

> Toujours enfermés dans une natte filasse et biscornue, appauvris par des rubans trop serrés, les cheveux de Zohr tombent aujourd'hui. […]. Tous les soirs, elle resserre un savant corset de bandelettes qui masquent deux seins dont les pointes sans support suffoquent derrière la bande de tissu close […]. Zohr est en guerre contre sa nature, nature féminine, pourriture pour notre père, honte pour notre fautive de mère. (Bouraoui, 1999)

Quant à Fikria, elle s'adonne dans ses moments de solitude à des comportements masochistes vis-à-vis de son corps qui vont jusqu'à faire couler du sang. Elle réclame la liberté de son corps et se défait de la culpabilité en vivant des aventures insolites et extrêmes avec son corps et son imagination. Dans un geste de révolte, elle renverse brutalement les meubles de sa chambre, cogne sa tête contre le mur, « tout en espérant faire plaisir à ses veines dépossédées » (Bouraoui, 1999), lèche son propre sang qui coule sur le carrelage. Fikria rêve de dormir sur un banc, nager sous le soleil, courir dans la ville, se battre comme une chiffonnière et flirter avec le chauffeur du bus. L'automutilation pour Fikria est aussi une forme de transgression de la religion et du patriarche : « je léchais le liquide satanique, reniant ainsi les règles religieuses, oubliant la présence oppressante de mon père dans ces murs de l'ennui. » (Bouraoui, 1999).

La pratique de l'automutilation pour Fikria est une manière de se libérer du poids de la culpabilité par la douleur qui apaise. Par la position de la mère haineuse envers ses filles, Fikria culpabilise à son tour le patriarcat et la présence de l'homme dans la vie de toute femme. Elle refuse d'offrir son corps de fille vierge à tout homme souhaitant rendre sa vie inutile. Fikria provoquait elle-même la perte de sa virginité supposée appartenir à son futur époux. Fikria se réapproprie son corps

en se débarassant de ce tissu fragile qui témoigne injustement de la chasteté d'une jeune fille. Son geste marque une rupture avec les traditions et agit contre tout acte réducteur envers la femme : « Oui le corps reste intact, mais bon Dieu, la pureté ne se borne pas à un dérisoire écoulement de sang. » (Bouraoui, 1999).

A partir des deux cas de Zohr et de Fikria qui se livrent à l'auto-agressivité, nous pouvons avancer que ces adolescentes anxieuses et dépersonnalisées se livrent à l'autodestruction car leurs orientations fantasmatiques qui tracent leur continuité dans le futur se trouvent contrariées par le patriarcat et la présence d'une mère despotique. Cette dernière trace pour ses filles un avenir qui ressemble au sien et en totale rupture avec leurs espérances. L'automutilation comme conduite pathologique qui peut amener à une psychose peut être dotée d'une valeur de défense. Les enfants subissant une agression par l'Autre choisissent souvent de se replier sur leur corps qui devient le lieu des remaniements narcissiques. L'automutilation représente un processus de communication entrepris par Fikria et Zohr. C'est un message qui répond à leurs questions sans réponse, une sorte de solution qui trahit les tensions et les conflits qu'elles endurent.

Conclusion

En définitive, nous pouvons dire que la castration chez les mères dans les trois œuvres soumises à l'étude conduit au comportement meurtrier à l'égard des enfants, mais les raisons restent liées à des passions amoureuses différentes. Lorsque la castration est due à l'absence de l'enfant mâle, vu l'importance que requiert le garçon dans l'imaginaire maghrébin et musulman, le résultat de cette castration se traduit par la vengeance des enfants de sexe féminin, car considérée comme source de malheur par la mère. Au cas où la castration trouve comme source l'absence de l'amour éprouvé pour le conjoint, comme c'est le cas de l'amour passion de Médée pour Jason, le résultat est toujours la vengeance à travers le meurtre à l'égard des enfants qui vise la neutralisation de cet amour en ôtant le lien de sang.

Nous constatons aussi que la fille et la femme sont des êtres très dévalorisées dans la société maghrébine et arabo-musulmane de manière générale. Cette infériorité est perçue chez la fille dès son enfance qui n'arrive pas à dépasser le complexe œdipien. Cette difficulté se fait remarquer encore une fois dans le cadre de la maternité avortée où l'enfantement d'un garçon rend impossible le comblement du manque phallique. Les enfants filles nées dans ces conditions caractérisées par l'absence d'amour maternel qui peut aller jusqu'à l'infanticide constatent dès la petite enfance qu'être garçon est

beaucoup plus avantageux. Elles adopteront l'un des comportements : soient elles refuseront la féminité considérée comme source de malheur, c'est le cas de Zohr en particulier dans l'œuvre bouraouienne, et se révolteront contre le matriarcat comme le cas de Gaby dans *Fritna* soit elles se résigneront à s'identifier à la mère dans un premier temps sans conviction comme le cas de Gisèle enfant. Cette identification ne tardera pas à retourner contre la mère dans un acte de culpabilisation incessante.

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MEDEA OR MURDEROUS MATERNITY IN *LA VOYEUSE INTERDITE* BY N. BOURAOUI AND *FRITNA* BY G. HALIMI. A PSYCHOANALYTIC READING

The murderous and destructive dimension in the acts of mothers in our corpus invites us to relate to the myth of Medea, the real place of the most tragic fantasies. The drama of Medea made it possible to build a "medeic structure" (Alain Depaulis, 2015) which today constitutes the foundation of any psychoanalytical and criminological analysis of maternal infanticide.

Of all the murders that we know of through Greek mythology, the infanticide of Medea remains the most shocking and the most difficult to understand. Compared to the crime of Medea, the crime of Oedipus pales and is timid, because Oedipus killed Laos without knowing that he was in reality his father, while Medea knew well what she was doing by sacrificing her children. For this reason the choice of a myth to study the theme of infanticide remains in our eyes very relevant, because the myth through the theater and the

cathartic dimension has always shown that this crime has existed for a very long time and has initiated several questions. Euripides' tragic play, composed in 431 BC, which presents one of the variants of the Medea myth, in this case that of Apollonius of Rhodes, Corneille and Sénèque, is an example which illustrates the theme chosen for our study. This exemplification represents the reality of this crime.

Before entering into the analysis of the myth and its comparison with the chosen novels, it is necessary to briefly tell the story of Medea, in particular the key sequences which will help us to understand the murder committed and her revenge. Medea is an outraged goddess. Patroness of magicians, Medea masters extraordinary powers: the fire of life, the power to rejuvenate and fatal burns. She is a woman who gave everything to her husband Jason. She abandoned her hometown to run away with Jason and even went so far as to sacrifice her brother. Using her powers as a magician, she has helped Jason complete many heroic feats, including winning the Golden Fleece. Arriving at King Creon, Jason chooses to repudiate Medea and take the king's daughter as his wife. Afraid of Medea, Creon orders her exile. Medea asks Jason to babysit and Creon to add an extra day for her to prepare a murder scheme. She finally kills her rival by giving her poisoned gifts, the king and even his children. She flees thanks to the gods on a winged chariot and leaves behind an unhappy and desperate Jason.

In the myth of Medea, we have the sacrifice of two male children, whereas in the novels of Bouraoui and Halimi, we have the physical and psychological sacrifice of girls. In both cases, we notice that there is a castration that haunts their mothers and the suffering that consumes their beings because of their inability to assume their sexuation and fill their narcissistic lack. The act of killing or destroying daughters by mothers embodies all the archaic modalities in the mother/daughter relationship, namely fear, despair, threat, hatred, etc. that distort the relationship between the mother and her children.

If the tragedy of Euripides evokes more the passionate side of Medea for Jason which was the source of the disaster, in the novels submitted to the study destructive motherhood is motivated by the prejudices of patriarchal society, diktat and religion. This vision of woman, which reduces her to a simple object of reproduction of the human species and haunts her with fear through the power of religion, pushes her to conform to the norms imposed by man and to desire male births as wish. In Euripides' Medea, the destructive passion was due to the love felt for Jason, the man for whom she committed multiple crimes and left her native land. From the exhibition scene, the public can hear the very touching moans of Medea inside the house. Unhappy, she mourns the betrayal of the man she loved passionately: Jason. As the door opens, Medea appears pale and in a state of lamentable sadness.

Aborted motherhood is presented in several ways in the novels of our study corpus. Maternity does not mean in these novels the fact of giving birth, but it depends on the sex of the child, since it is the boy who honors his father and asserts to his progenitor the precious title of mother. Even if the woman becomes a mother, society only recognizes this status after she has given birth

to a male child. An aborted maternity is presented by the inability to give birth to a boy in the case of Fikria's mother in *La Voyeuse* interdite by N. BOURAOUI or the loss of a boy in the case of *Fritna* by G. HALIMI.

Reflecting on the myth of Medea angry with her husband invites us to find many parallels and common points with the story of the mothers in our corpus. Anger is a key emotion in the act of destruction undertaken by these women. They are very angry that they cannot conform to the prejudices of society, satisfy the wish of the patriarch and honor him with a male birth. They are mothers angry with their own faulty bodies because they are unable to conceive a boy or at least watch over and protect him. In Euripides' play, anger has as its main source the passion for Jason, then her condition as an inferior and submissive woman that she chose voluntarily, because driven by her love for Jason. In fact, Euripides' play denounces the inferiority of women at that time who are treated as "eternal minors". Medea, a goddess therefore having a higher status compared to humans, accepted this submission to her husband who cowardly abandoned her. Medea then became the victim of an ungrateful man and consequently remained as the prototype of betrayed women. Through the myth of Medea, Euripides gives us a real indictment against the domination of men who make women mere slaves.

Medea's anger against her children then comes from the fact that she considers them a part of their father, because they carry the law of the father and represent him. Children for Medea are not the product of the mother, but a metonymy of the father. Despite the great love that Medea feels for her children, this conviction drives her to later commit many murders on the children's side: she rejuvenates the parents and kills their offspring by reversing the order of the generations.

Medea, who has never hated her children, begins to do so, driven by a feeling of hatred. She hates them, because fruit of her union with Jason. The murders of Creon and the princess did not quench his thirst. Abandoned by Jason who did not keep his promise, Medea wanted to go to the extreme by harming her children. She wanted to kill Jason through his children as he killed her. Worse still, she deprives Jason of seeing his dead children and carries them away on a monster-drawn chariot, leaving Jason behind completely defeated.

Women have a negative representation in Arab-Muslim society. Children born girls are a heavy burden on the family. They dishonor the mother and bring shame and unhappiness to the father. The multiplication of births of girl children generates family tensions and conflicts between father and mother on one side and father and daughters on the other. In the novels under study, Fritna and Fikria's mother are victims of the tradition they perpetuate, forced by the authority imposed by the husband and the patriarchal society. This situation which forces the woman to give birth to a male child to find her place in society and to assert herself in front of her husband pushes her to adopt extreme behaviors and fall into the abyss. Indeed, the hatred, murder, rejection, and abandonment of her daughters are very remarkable reactions in the relations between mother and daughter in the Maghreb novel which make impossible the dream of happy motherhood sought by every woman.

In *La Voyeuse interdite* by N. BOURAOUI, Fikria's mother, an accomplice of the father, dared to kill her barely born daughter by coldly throwing her out of the window. The baby girl was miraculously able to survive condemned to spend the rest of her life cloistered in a corner motionless due to severe disability. Leyda, the narrator's younger sister, is constantly thrown to the ground. The name "murderous mother" which appears several times in the novel arises following this incident and is a concrete reference to the myth of Medea.

In *Fritna* by G. Halima, the situation is not very different, Fritna is a strongly selfless mother of her two daughters. She is driven by hatred and the desire to destroy them to unjustly avenge her son who died because of Gisèle, she claimed.

Fritna never agreed to bear daughters. She kept telling Gisèle, still a girl, the hateful story of her birth, a story that Fritna keeps repeating like a refrain to confirm her position of radical refusal towards her daughters. Gaby, Gisèle's sister is not spared the abandonment of Fritna, because her coming into the world was only a "parade to misfortune" (Halimi, 1999) for the mother and the father who wanted to compensate for the death of their son. Andrew. To get revenge on Gaby, the mother occupied her daughter with heavy household chores and cared very little for her well-being. Fritna gave her unconditional and indivisible love exclusively to her boys, to whom she was caring, warm and attentive. Gisèle and Gaby reaped the misfortune of being born girls while noting with regret and bitterness the degree of maternal affection reserved for their brothers. Fritna was a Bedouin who paid no attention to the future of her daughters. She did not aspire to see her daughters happy and emancipated. She wanted revenge on them by reserving a fate similar to hers. For her, her daughters had to stay locked up at home, marry very young, have rich husbands, give birth to male children, and only take care of their homes.

After reading *La voyeuse interdite* by Nina BOURAOUI and *Fritna* by Gisèle HALIMI, we see that there is an ambivalence between feminine and maternal characters in Fritna and Fikria's mother. We are witnessing a repression of the maternal in favor of the feminine or vice versa. FREUD supports the idea that the woman reaches a status of completeness by becoming a mother. Freudian work continues to confirm that the arrival of a child in a woman's life repairs the feminine defect by compensating for her lack of a penis. The child is in fact a phallic substitute who fills the lack of a woman. Lacan supports Freud's idea without totally confirming it. He argues that the gift of a child is not enough to satisfy a woman's sexual desire.

In Euripides' play, Medea does not feel guilty despite the great love she feels for her children. She has committed an atrocious act, but she cannot bear it. She felt sorry for the fate of her children for a long time. This dilemma led her to a schizophrenic state.

Medea does not consider herself responsible for the fate of her children. First, we notice that she addresses her hands that executed the children as if she was not the one who had acted. Towards the end of the play, she empowers the Corinthians by placing the blame on them and prescribing solemn

ceremonies "in expiation of this impious murder". Eventually, she blames Jason for the deaths of her children.

In the novels under study, mothers' blaming of daughters and their responsibility for misfortune leads to self-harming behavior on the part of daughters. these anxious, depersonalized teenage girls engage in self-destruction as their fantasy orientations that chart their continuity into the future find themselves thwarted by patriarchy and the presence of a despotic mother. The latter traces for her daughters a future that resembles hers and in total rupture with their hopes. Self-mutilation as a pathological behavior that can lead to psychosis can be endowed with defensive value. Children subjected to aggression by the Other often choose to withdraw into their body, which becomes the site of narcissistic changes. Self-harm represents a communication process undertaken by Fikria and Zohr. It is a message that answers their unanswered questions, a kind of solution that betrays the tensions and conflicts they endure.

In short, we can say that castration in mothers in the three works under study leads to murderous behavior towards children, but the reasons remain linked to different amorous passions. When castration is due to the absence of the male child, given the importance that the boy requires in the North African and Muslim imagination, the result of this castration results in the revenge of the female children, because considered as source of misfortune by the mother. If castration finds its source in the absence of the love felt for the spouse, as is the case of the passionate love of Medea for Jason, the result is always revenge through murder against children which aims to neutralize this love by removing the blood tie.

Zarka la dalmate et Melitza la Monténégrine, figures insolites de l'imaginaire de Leopold Sacher-Masoch – Entre héroïnes masochiennes et stéréotypes romantiques

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Abstract: Dans cet article, nous nous proposons de présenter et analyser deux personnages féminins peu connus appartenant au monde littéraire de Léopold von Sacher-Masoch et identifiant en même temps leurs traits atypiques et stéréotypes relatifs au femmes slaves placées au centre de l'imaginaire masochien. Zarka la Dalmate, de la nouvelle du même nom, et Melitza la Monténégrine, de la nouvelle *La journée de Gatzko*, s'inscrivent dans la série des dix représentantes du monde slave, héroïnes des nouvelles *Femmes slaves* publiées en langue française dans la *Revue des deux mondes* entre juin 1889 et septembre 1891. Après avoir brièvement présenté les caractéristiques de l'oeuvre de Sacher-Masoch, nous identifions les prinicipaux motifs de son oeuvre, analysons leur présence dans les nouvelles concernées pour identifier les similarités et les différences entre l'image de deux femmes dinariques étudiées d'une part et celles des autres femmes slaves du monde littéraire de Sacher-Masoch d'autre part.

Mots-clés: monde slave, monténégrine, dalmate, Sacher-Masoch, femme forte.

1. Introduction

Leopold von Sacher-Masoch (1836-1895), écrivain et publiciste autrichien extrêmement productif et à bien des égards controversé a publié dans la *Revue des deux Mondes*, l'une des plus éminentes revues littéraires et sociales françaises de la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle, dix nouvelles centrées sur les personnages féminins du monde slave qui vivaient autrefois à l'intérieur des frontières ou à proximité immédiate de l'empire habsbourgeois, sur les territoires appartenant aujourd'hui à l'Ukraine, Pologne, République tchèque, Slovaquie, Bulgarie, Serbie, Croatie et Monténégro.

Sachant que dans le monde littéraire inhabituel de Sacher-Masoch la place centrale était réservée aux femmes slaves, il serait erroné d'affirmer que les nouvelles *Femmes slaves* s'écartent de manière

significative du reste de l'œuvre volumineuse de l'écrivain. Dans cet article, nous nous intéressons particulièrement à deux personnages, Zarka la Dalmate de la nouvelle du même nom et Melitza la Monténégrine de la nouvelle intitulée *la Journée de Gatzko*[1].

Léopold von Sacher-Masoch, écrivain de langue allemande, était une grande vedette de la vie littéraire et mondaine française de l'époque et ses œuvres étaient très généreusement traduites et publiées par des éditeurs français. Il n'était donc pas étonnant que la très populaire *Revue des deux mondes* lui a consacré un espace considérable en publiant dans la période de 1889 à 1891 dix nouvelles intitulées *Femmes slaves*[2]. Sacher-Masoch soulignait lui-même que le français était sa deuxième langue maternelle[3], et certaines sources indiquent qu'il avait rédigé et publié ses textes directement en français[4] (Sacher-Masoch, 2013:15). Bien qu'il s'agisse de textes empreints de passages romanesques et longtemps laissés de côté en raison de la réputation insolite de leur auteur, leur attrait pour les lecteurs contemporains est attesté par la réédition des *Femmes slaves* en France en 2013 accompagnée des commentaires de l'historien Olivier Cariguel[5]

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[1] Nous avons trouvé ces textes de Sacher-Masoch dans les numéros de la Révue de deux mondes accessibles en ligne sur le site Gallica de la Bibliothèque nationale de France.

[2] Les nouvelles *Femmes slaves* ont paru dans six numéros de la *Revue de deux mondes* dans la période de juin 1889 à septembre 1891 dans l'ordre chronologique suivant: Juin 1889: I Téodora (Serbie); II – Le Banc vivant (Galicie) ; Août 1889:III Zarka (Dalmatie). IV – La Pénitente (Petite Russie); Juilles 1890: V Véra Baranoff; Septembre 1890: VI – La Journée de Gatzko; Décembre 1890: VII – Henrika Listevska;VIII L'Amazone de Prague; Septembre 1891: IX – Ursa et Stanko; X – Bozena et Bozidar.

[3] Dans son article sur les traductions des oeuvres de Sacher-Masoch en français, Irène Cagneaux l'affirme par cette citation de sa revue *Auf der Hohe* de 1881: *Mit besonderer Freude, ja mit Stolz erfüllt mich die warme und lebhafte Weise, in der sich Frankreich an unserer Revue betheiligt, dieses schöne, herrliche Frankreich, das ich so sehr liebe, dessen Sprache meine zweite Muttersprache ist, und das überall voranging, wo es dem Kampf des Lichts gegen die Finsternis galt.* (2020-103)

[4] Dans sa préface à l'édition des *Femmes slaves* de 2013 Olivier Cariguel évoque cette probabilité.

[5] Les nouvelles ont été publiées sous le même titre, *Femmes slaves* dans l'édition *Agora* de la maison *Pocket* avec les adaptations ortographiques au français moderne, notes explicatives du cadre historique et géopolitique, préface d'Olivier Cariguel et une bibliographie exaustive de Sacher-Masoch.

ainsi que par leur traduction et publication en italien par Damiano Cataneo en 2018[6].

Nous nous proposons d'analyser deux personnages féminins du monde littéraire de Léopold von Sacher-Masoch présentant en même temps les traits atypiques et stéréotypes de la panoplie des femmes slaves placées au centre de l'imaginaire masochien. Zarka la Dalmate de la nouvelle du même nom et Melitza la Monténégrine de la nouvelle *La journée de Gatzko* s'inscrivent dans la série de dix héroïnes des nouvelles *Femmes slaves*. Nous allons d'abord présenter l'auteur, ayant en vue sa notoriété littéraire fluctuante et controversée, puis identifier les éléments de sa biographie ayant une influence décisive sur sa façon de modeler les personnages féminins.Nous allons ensuite identifier les prinicipaux motifs de l'oeuvre de Sacher-Masoch et présenter brièvement les deux nouvelles concernées, ce qui nous permettra de définir nos deux personnages féminins en fonction de la présence ou l'absence des motifs évoqués. Cela nous permettra de d'identifier les similarités et les différences entre l'image de deux femmes dinariques étudiées d'une part et celles des autres femmes slaves du monde littéraire de Sacher-Masoch.

2. Sacher-Masoch, écrivain victime d'une nomination malheureuse

Le nom de Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, sa vie et son œuvre ont fait l'objet de nombreuses controverses, préjugés, étiquetages et obscurcissements. Il a été longtemps et injustement plus connu d'un large public par le fait que son nom a été utilisé pour nommer une déviation sexuelle que par le fait qu'il signe une quarantaine de titres variés dont la diffusion et la réception, même sa vie durant, avait largement dépassé les limites de sa langue maternelle. La réception, l'interprétation et l'intérêt général suscité par son œuvre littéraire étaient fortement marqués par la décision du psychiatre Richard von Krafft Ebing [7] d'utiliser des références littéraires pour illustrer les déviations sexuelles dans l'étude *Psychopatia sexualis* publiée à Stuttgart en 1886. De même que la perversion sexuelle dans laquelle le plaisir est éprouvé en imposant douleur et souffrance à autrui a été

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[6] Dans la collection *I Saggi* de l'éditeur *Archivio Cataneo* qui a également publié d'autres textes de Sacher-Masoch

[7] Richard fon Krafft Ebing (1840-1902), psychiatre allemand et fondateur de la sexologie. Son oeuvre capitale est l'étude médico-légale *Psychopatia sexualis* publiée 1886 et longtemps considérée comme référence professionelle des psyshiatres et des médecins légistes.

appelée sadisme, terme inspiré des œuvres du marquis de Sade, le roman le plus célèbre de Sacher-Masoch, *Vénus en fourrure* a servi de référence pour dépeindre la perversion de la satisfaction éprouvée dans la soumission à son partenaire nommée masochisme. Le fait que ces deux termes, le sadisme et le masochisme, entreront dans l'usage le plus large et seront internationalement acceptés comme signifiants des déviations mentionnées marquera de façon permanente la perception et la distribution des œuvres de Sacher-Masoch, conditionnant les oscillations de sa popularité et de sa réputation dans les différents cercles sociaux et littéraires au fil du temps.

Elles iront de la renommée dans les salons littéraires parisiens où il a été proclamé successeur de Tourgueniev, en passant par la *la réduction du nom de son auteur à une perversion sexuelle et de sa prolixité littéraire à un titre unique*, comme l'indique Cécile Gilbert dans l'essai *Les passions d'un gynocrate (Sacher-Masoch, 2013-2:*11), à la réhabilitation littéraire à travers l'analyse linguistique et philosophique de Gilles Deleuze (1967) et de Pascal Quignard (1969), et enfin, la recherche et réédition de ses textes à notre époque.

Leopold von Sacher-Masoch est né en 1836 dans l'actuelle ville ukrainienne de Lviv, alors Lemberg, le centre du royaume de Galicie et de Lodomérie, province orientale de l'empire autrichien. Il était le premier enfant du préfet de police Leopold von Sacher et de Caroline Masoch. La variété des racines et les déménagements conditionnés par la profession de son père ont permis à l'écrivain d'acquérir dès son plus jeune âge une profonde compréhension de la diversité ethnique, religieuse et sociale de l'empire des Habsbourg qu'il montrerait plus tard dans ses œuvres. Leopold von Sacher-Masoch a passé son enfance dans la préfecture de police de la ville où la famille vivait en raison du travail de son père et où il avait l'occasion de rencontrer toute une gamme de personnages curieux, des prostituées aux hauts fonctionnaires.

Deux figures féminines dominantes du monde slave ont marqué l'enfance de l'écrivain - sa nourrice ukrainienne Handscha et sa cousine Zénobie, dont le comportement, les habitudes vestimentaires et la mentalité auront une influence décisive sur la construction de ses héroïnes romanesques. La nourrice Handscha l'a élevé avec des histoires et des légendes du patrimoine folklorique slave, tandis que sa force physique fascinante et les vêtements de paysanne locale sont devenus un motif obsessionnel de son imaginaire. Stephanie Weismann (2013-373) indique que Sacher-Masoch appartient en ce sens à la tradition romantique, car le trasfert de la culture populaire par le lait maternel et son identification avec la culture ruthène rappelle la poésie de Pushkin. Le développement psycho-sexuel de Sacher-Masoch dans la petite

enfance et l'attrait des femmes dominatrices s'expliquent en grande partie par son rapport à une cousine ou amie de la famille qu'il appelle tante Zénobie, du nom de la reine de Palmyre. Cette femme corpulente au ton autoritaire, drapée de fourrure et portant des pantoufles brodés d'or fascinera complètement le garçon qui la suivra et l'épiera. Après l'avoir surpris caché dans l'armoire à observer la scène de sa cruauté envers son amant, elle le fouettera sans pitié. Cette scène, que Sacher-Masoch multipliera dans ses œuvres, est considérée comme l'un des moments biographiques-clés pour expliquer son obsession littéraire par les femmes fortes, impitoyables et dominantes. Ainsi, Jean-Paul Corsetti estime dans la préface à la traduction française du roman *Die Seelenfängerin (*Pêcheuse d'âmes) que Zénobie est le pivot de l'inconscient qui *occupe le centre d'une scène capitale et primitive (*Sacher Masoch,1991-2).

L'enfance de Sacher-Masoch a été marquée par deux événements politiques majeurs: le soulèvement de Cracovie de 1846[8], dont les echos il ressent à Lemberg, et la révolution de mars 1848, à laquelle il assiste à Prague[9].

En 1846, lors du soulèvement brutal des communautés paysannes contre leurs maîtres, le jeune Leopold découvre la violence et les massacres en Galicie. La misère et l'assujettissement dans lesquels vivaient les paysans ont déclenché la rébellion et leur justice a lynché tous ceux qui s'y opposent. Leopold von Sacher-Masoch en témoigne dans trois romans, *Justice paysanne, Paradis sur le Dniestr* et *Mère de Dieu*. De nombreux personnages qui menent des soulèvements nationaux dans les romans de Sacher-Masoch, traduisent la fascination de l'écrivain par la personne de Jakub Szela, chef de la révolte des paysans polonais (Sacher-Masoch, 1888- 407).

Après le déménagement à Prague en 1848, la maison familiale de la famille Sacher-Masoch est devenue un point de rencontre de la

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[8] Le soulèvement de Cracovie en février 1846 était une tentative des rebelles polonais de soutenir la lutte pour l'indépendance. Les organisateurs étaient des membres de la noblesse et de la bourgeoisie polonaise qui souhaitaient la restauration de l'État polonais, dirigés par Jan Tisovski et Edvard Dembovski, héros de la nouvelle *Henrika Listevska*. Le soulèvement était centré sur la Ville libre de Cracovie, un territoire neutre créé au Congrès de Vienne en 1815 sous le contrôle de trois puissances, l'Autriche, la Russie et la Prusse. La rébellion a duré environ neuf jours et s'est terminée par la victoire autrichienne.

[9] Le soulèvement à Prague en juin 1848, marqué par trois jours de combats sur des barricades de rue. Organisé sur la vague révolutionnaire européenne partie de France la même année et stimulé par l'éveil national et social de la population de la monarchie des Habsbourg.

propagande slave. Le jeune Sacher-Masoch y a rencontré personnellement le révolutionnaire russe Bakounine et il a suivi avec une grande attention le premier congrès panslaviste à Prague la même année. En juin 1848, une révolution éclate, marquée par des épisodes de barricades brutalement réprimées par l'armée autrichienne. Léopold von Sacher-Masoch sera particulièrement impressionné par le courage des femmes dans les combats de rue qu'il décrit dans *l'Amazone de Prague*, l'une des dix nouvelles des *Femmes slaves*.

En 1870 Leopold von Sacher-Masoch publie la première partie du cycle de romans intitulé *Héritage de Caïn* avec le sous-titre *Amour,* dont fait partie la célèbre *Vénus en fourrure,* en partie inspirée de sa relation passée avec Fanny von Pistor et la signature du premier "contrat de soumission" entre les deux amants (Deleuze, 1991-277). Conformément aux obligations "contractées", Léopold a voyagé avec Fanny dans le rôle subalterne du serviteur Gregor [10]. L'année suivante, il entame une correspondance avec Aurora Rumelin, jeune femme qui le séduira et qu'il persuade de changer son nom en Wanda von Dunajev, puis après le mariage en Wanda von Sacher-Masoch. Il a signé un nouveau contrat d'assujettissement avec Wanda, nettement plus rigide que le précédent (Deleuze, 1991-279)[11]. L'héroïne de l'œuvre la plus populaire de Sacher-Masoch, *Venus en fourrure,* porte le nom de son épouse Wanda qui a décrit la genèse du personnage ainsi que leur vie conjugale dans ses mémoires intitulés *Les confessions de ma vie (*Sacher-Masoch,W-1987).

En 1881, Leopold von Sacher-Masoch a lancé la revue littéraire internationale *Auf der Höhe* (Au sommet), publiée à Leipzig en langue allemande et prônant une approche littéraire supranationale. De grands noms de la littérature et de l'art français tels que Victor Hugo, Frédéric

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[10] Une traduction en français du contrat avec Fanny von Pistor est accessible en annexe de l'essai *Présentation de Sacher-Masoch: le froid et le cruel de* Gilles Deleuze. Selon les dispositions de ce texte, signé le 8 décembre 1869. et valable six mois Fanny a le statut de maîtresse, et le chevalier Sacher-Masoch a le statut d'esclave. Alors que Léopold s'engage à une obéissance aveugle, Fani a l'obligation de porter de la fourrure le plus souvent possible, mais aussi de protéger son honneur.

[11] Le contrat avec Wanda von Dunajev est également joint à l'essai de Deleuze. Contrairement au contrat avec Fanny von Pistor, qui est plus proche de la forme juridique standard, ce texte est écrit à la première personne (Vanda) avec un court paragraphe à la fin dans lequel Léopold accepte tout ce qui précède. Entre autres choses, il se prive de libre arbitre et n'est qu'un "esclave couché dans la poussière", prêt même à la mutilation physique. En plus de montrer une plus grande rigidité dans les rapports de soumission, ce texte n'est pas figé, il donne donc l'impression d'une extension illimitée.

Mistral, Camille Flamarion, Alphonse Daudet, Camille Saint-Saëns et Juliette Adam y ont publié leurs textes. La revue était ouverte et encline aux sujets et auteurs slaves: elle a publié l'étude de l'ethnographe croate Marija Čop sur les femmes slaves du sud (Čop,1883), qui aurait pu influencer l'intérêt de Leopold von Sacher Masoch à faire les portraits des femmes de la région dinarique, telles que Melitza la Monténégrine et Zarka la Dalmate. La combinaison du succès littéraire et de la critique ouverte de la politique de Bismarck contribuera à faire de l'écrivain une grande vedette des cercles littéraires parisiens très sensibles à la défaite française dans la guerre franco-allemande de 1870. Sacher-Masoch sera décoré de la Légion d'honneur, et cet événement sera salué par de nombreux écrivains français, dont Hugo, Daudet, Taine, Maupassant et Zola, *Le Figaro* lui consacre un article et la *Revue bleue* publie ses souvenirs, précieux pour l'interprétation de nombreux romans et nouvelles. En dépit du déclin de sa popularité suite à la "nomination" de Krafft-Ebbing, Leopold von Sacher-Masoch a écrit et publié jusqu'à la fin de sa vie en 1895, à l'âge de soixante ans, dans sa maison de Lindheim (Hesse), en Allemagne.

2.1. Eléments masochistes et structuration du modèle féminin

Sachant que les œuvres de Sacher-Masoch ont été longtemps traitées de "perverses", il est important de souligner que ses textes sont caractérisés par une absence complète, non seulement de scènes explicites, mais de toute scène dans laquelle les relations sexuelles soient décrites en détail. Maja Zorica Vukušić souligne à juste titre que les textes de Leopold von Sacher-Masoch peuvent être considérés comme presque puritains de ce point de vue, et que la relation entre un homme soumis et une femme dominante rappelle la guerre des sexes que l'on retrouve dans *Liaisons dangereuses* de Choderlos de Laclos. Sur le même ton, Gilles Deleuze rend hommage à l'exceptionnelle pudeur de l'œuvre de Sacher-Masoch, tandis que Cecil Guilbert pointe l'absence d'expressions choquantes ou de phrases audacieuses. En d'autres termes, le lecteur cherchant un « masochisme » explicite conformément au concept moderne de ce terme, sera profondément déçu qu'il le fasse en lisant *Femmes slaves* ou d'autres œuvres de l'écrivain.

À partir des données biographiques, on peut conclure que l'idéal féminin de Sacher-Masoch a été forgé dans son petite enfance, sur la base des femmes de son environnement immédiat. Il y apparaît souvent la figure maternelle forte et déterminée d'une femme slave, avec une apparence imposante et des vêtements colorés du folklore caractéristique de la steppe russe, d'où viennent les contes de fées de la nourrice Handcha. Elle alterne avec la cruauté et la beauté de la

comtesse Zenobia, l'autre figure féminine impitoyable et dominante comme le revers de medaille qui s'oppose à la gentillesse et la naïveté de la paysanne slave. À cet égard, les personnages des dix nouvelles *Femmes slaves* représentent des variations intéressantes de ces deux types présents dans les romans de l'auteur. Cecil Guilbert le reconfirme dans sa préface aux *Oeuvres maîtresses* :

> Qu'elles se nomment Irma, Kasimira, Martscha, Anna, Warwara ou Loba ; qu'elles soient épouses ou maîtresses, traîtresses ou trahies ; cruelles par amour, sens de l'honneur honneur ou vice, impossible d'échapper au portrait de la créature sublime de beauté, énergique et charnelle, fière et dominatrice, qui souveraine ou terroriste, amazone ou grande courtisane, agit toujours selon ses goûts, son honneur, son intérêt ou son caprice, subjuguant l'homme de sa féminité virile et despotique teintée d'animalité souvent féline. (Sacher-Masoch, 2013:28)

Il est intéressant que Cécile Guilbert retrouve dans l'idéal féminin masochien des traces de la "dame sans merci" et du "romantisme noir" de Keats confirmant que les stéréotypes romantiques sont présents dans les textes de Sacher-Masoch même s'ils sont écrits dans la seconde moitinés du XIXe siècle.

De plus, les descriptions de la beauté féminine, les scènes d'adultère, de vengeance et d'humiliation s'accompagnent d'un arsenal d'objets presque incontournable qui complète visuellement le fantasme féminin de Sacher-Masoch : pantoufles, fourrure et fouet sont certainement les éléments incontournables du fétichisme de l'écrivain. Nous verrons dans les exemples que certains de ces éléments se retrouvent également dans les nouvelles sur Zarka et Melitza.

La fascination de Leopold von Sacher-Masoch pour l'art ancien, en particulier les statues de marbre de femmes et les représentations de figures féminines anciennes dans la peinture se réflète dans ses oeuvres par l'apparition fréquente de Vénus et d'Aphrodite, non seulement dans le titre du célèbre roman, mais aussi dans le texte de ses nouvelles. Dans le roman *Vénus en fourrure*, Séverin démontre un humble culte des statues de marbre ce qui correspond parfaitement à l'esthétique masochienne des figures féminines grandes et fortes. Cependant, Bernard Michel, biographe de l'écrivain,indique que l'idéal féminin de Sacher-Masoch est basé sur l'ancien modèle des déesses, des impératrices et des amazones ainsi que sur de vieilles légendes slave, comme celle de la séductrice Libussa.

Une des principales preuves de la modernité de l'œuvre de Sacher-Masoch est son féminisme. Un écrivain qui, à l'ère des normes sociales patriarcales, dépeint audacieusement le monde du matriarcat et de la domination des femmes contribue certainement à une vision sociale différente et plus juste du "deuxième sexe". En témoigne la suivante citation de la fin de *Vénus en fourrure* :

> La morale est que, telle la nature l'a créé et telle qu'actuellement l'homme la traite, la femme est l'ennemie de ce dernier, qu'elle n'en peut être que l'esclave ou la despote, mais jamais la compagne. C'est seulement quand la naissance aura fait de la femme l'égale de l'homme par l'éducation et par le travail, quand, comme lui, elle maintiendra ses droits, qu'elle en pourra devenir la compagne. (Sacher-Masoch, 2013:262)

3. Melitza et Zarka, femmes slaves pas comme les autres ?

Les nouvelles *Femmes slaves* représentent un mélange réussi du roman historique, de l'exotisme slave et des portraits féminins d'un érotisme discret. Bien que les œuvres masochiennes placent au centre les personnages féminins dominants, elles ne négligent pas les thèmes historiques, ethnographiques et sociaux et peuvent en ce sens être une source d'informations très précieuse sur l'esprit du temps et l'espace dans lesquels elles ont été créées. Leopold von Sacher-Masoch peint la diversité ethnique et religieuse dans les moindres détails, et ses textes sont un véritable catalogue des costumes, coutumes et scènes de la vie quotidienne. Les *Femmes slaves* sont tout à fait illustratives à cet égard - chacune d'elles montre des femmes et des relations femme-homme d'une certaine région slave tout en décrivant en détail les modes de vie et les relations sociales. Le contexte historique de nouvelle *la Journée de Gatzko* sont les conflits avec les Turcs en Herzégovine en 1875. Le narrateur se rend au Monténégro, « ce Tyrol slave » (2013-95) afin de se mettre à la disposition du prince Nikola Ier Petrović qui le désignera assistant d'un certain Karaditch. Bien que l'histoire soit centrée sur la brillante sortie de l'ombre de la Monténégrine Melitza et son portrait présenté sous un autre jour par rapport à l'image habituelle d'une épouse soumise, Sacher-Masoch ne manque pas de nous rapprocher de la guerre monténégrine, la dureté du paysage, mais aussi le don poétique national. La description des paysages slaves, vraisemblablement sous l'influence de Tourgueniev, est très présente dans les textes « galiciens » de Sacher-Masoch, mais elle n'est absente d'aucun des deux récits analysés. Cet aspect de l'exotisme oriental, très en vogue en Europe occidentale, et notamment en France à la fin du XIXe siècle, a permis à l'écrivain de pénétrer dans les salons littéraires

parisiens. Les critiques de cette utilisation du paysage naturel et culturel soulignent que Sacher-Masoch a consciemment produit une sorte de *littérature coloniale* pour ses lecteurs européens, s'identifiant de manière hybride à la fois aux populations occupées et aux autorités habsbourgeoises. Dans les deux nouvelles étudiées, le cadre naturel dramatique entre les montagnes abruptes et l'Adriatique sert de décor parfait des drames personnels et collectives racontés. Nous ajouterons que la similarité des paysages suggère la similarité de deux figures féminines.

Zarka - Dalmatie:

> Aujourd'hui, le soleil darde ses rayons brûlants sur toute l'étendue de ces rochers escarpés que n'ombrage aucun arbre, où ne végètent que des herbes chétives, alternant avec des mousses jaunâtres. Avec leurs murs noircis par le temps, les deux villages sont comme des oasis dans le désert pierreux, où, en été, semble régner le simoun, en hiver le vent polaire glacial. Au pied de ces rochers, s'étend un autre désert, mais, celui-là, brillant, étincelant, murmurant, plein de vie et de mouvement, c'est l'Adriatique azurée. (Sacher-Masoch, 2013-53)

La Journée de Gatzko:

> La première fois que, assis sur une pierre, dans la montagne, je promenai mes regards sur les horizons lointains, je compris pourquoi on avait donné à ce pays le nom étrange de Monténégro. Ce sont, en effet, des montagnes noires qui forment son territoire si étroitement limité. Loin, très loin, les regards errent sur des montagnes de pierre calcaire, déboisées, nues, d'un gris noirâtre, sillonnées partout de fissures profondes. Un océan de vagues pétrifiées, gigantesques, dont le silence inspire la terreur. Puis, dans un autre lointain doré, la vraie mer où dansent de petites voiles et des étincelles de soleil, qui font ressembler l'azur des flots au manteau bleu de la mère de Dieu, parsemé d'étoiles. Tout le pays est comme une immense forteresse, et chaque maison comme un poste retranché. La montagne n'est traversée que par des sentiers qui ondulent comme d'énormes serpents qui dormiraient sous les chauds rayons du soleil. Quelle sauvage mélancolie ! (Sacher-Masoch, 2013-95)

En matière de relations familiales, les nouvelles *La journée de Gatzko* et *Zarka* traduisent toute la cruauté du patriarcat qui pèse sur la femme au Monténégro et dans l'arrière-pays dalmate. Dans d'autres nouvelles de la série, Sacher-Masoch critique les différences de classe

causant l'humiliation des paysannes et des servantes punies pour l'immoralité de leurs riches patrons. Souhaitant rémédier à cette injustice sociale, l'écrivain permet à ses personnages féminins de dominer plus tard et souvent de se venger cruellement des intimidateurs comme font Théodora de Serbie ou Matrina dans *le Banc vivant.* Contrairement aux paysannes naïves qui se transforment en vengéresses impitoyables comme la Serbe Théodora ou Henrika Listevska, la Monténégrine Melitza et la Dalmate Zarka sont de fières montagnardes qui acceptent stoïquement leur sort comme les héroïnes du théâtre antique. Au début de l'histoire, Melitza est la belle et modeste épouse du héros monténégrin Karaditch, dont la confiance en soi, le courage et la force brilleront dans la bataille contre les Turcs. Cette combattante sauvera son mari qui, en revanche, dans les dernières scènes sortira de l'image du pater familias dominant et placera sa femme au centre de la célébration, la décorant de trésors confisqués. Représentée comme une mère et une épouse soumise dans un environnement familial, Melitza deviendra une guerrière dominante, sûre d'elle et indépendante sur le champ de bataille, mais son comportement belliqueux ne touchera pas aux rapports dans le noyau familial. La transformation masochienne s'y opère de manière discrète, car si la description des relations du couple commence par la soumission de la femme *Cette superbe femme allait et venait dans la maison comme l'ombre de son mari. On aurait dit une servante, même un esclave* (Sacher-Masoch 2013-97)*,* elle se termine par son triomphe - Melitza devient le centre de la fête victorieuse.

> Désormais, je veux qu'elle soit vêtue et parée comme une sultane, dit le prince d'un air grave.Parmi les objets précieux du pacha, il avait découvert une chaîne d'or qu'il mit, devant moi, au cou de sa femme, toujours du même air grave et solennel. On eût dit qu'il rendait hommage à cette admirable héroïne. Ensuite, il prit une magnifique étoile, étincelant de mille feux, qu'il attacha lui-même dans l'épaisse chevelure noire de sa belle compagne. (Sacher-Masoch 2013-97)

Cette scène presque inconnue dans les récits de voyage de l'époque est le fruit de l'imaginaire masochien et rend le personnage de Melitza doublement insolite. Elle est non seulement héroïne masochienne atypique par manque de domination de son partenaire, mais elle échappe à l'image du stéréotype patriarcal de la femme soumise.

Le drame amoureux de la nouvelle *Zarka* est située dans l'arrière-pays dalmate. Sacher-Masoch décrit le destin de la jeune femme dans

les chaînes du patriarcat et de la vendetta qui pousse deux familles montagnardes à la destruction mutuelle. D'après la description des relations sociales et familiales et l'apparence physique des héros qui s'affrontent sans pitié, cette histoire pourrait se situer aussi bien au Monténégro, aux confins duquel elle se déroule. *Zarka* est une version dinarique de Roméo et Juliette: le jeune couple appartenant à des familles en conflit recourt au suicide dans le incapacité à rejeter le fardeau de la tradition et réaliser son amour. Outre le souffle d'exotisme que l'histoire de la vengeance sanguinaire apporte aux lecteurs d'Europe occidentale, Sacher-Masoch souligne la position subjuguée de la femme et son incapacité à prendre des décisions et à participer de manière égale à la chevalerie masculine. A la différence des héroïnes masochiennes humiliées par leur partenaire et révoltées contre lui, Zarka est subjuguée par la tradition de la vendetta et elle intègre complètement son milieu. Ainsi, au retour des funérailles du père, elle donne la priorité à l'honneur familial en demandant à son frère unique *Qui vengera la mort du père ?* (Sacher-Masoch 2013-57). Suite au décès du frère, elle est obligé de rentrer du couvent et d'accepter une position sociale imposée par son milieu:

> Personne ne parlait à Zarka du devoir traditionnel qui semblait lui incomber de venger la mort de son frère, car elle n'était qu'une femme, et les montagnards à moitié sauvages des bords de l'Adriatique, ne considérant la femme que comme une sorte de bête de somme, ne peuvent la croire capable de sentiments belliqueux et chevaleresques. (Sacher-Masoch 2013-57)

Son unique révolte au destin se traduit par la décision d'aimer un inconnu et de continuer à l'aimer après avoir découvert que c'est celui qui a tué son frère. Sa manière de s'opposer au patriarchat, sa forme de résistance au joug imposé est d'affronter la mort par le suicide et dans ce sens, elle représente un antipode à la Croate Ursa de la nouvelle *Ursa et Stanko* qui devient bourrelle de son partenaire masculin.

Maja Vukušić-Zorica (2016-119) souligne que sur dix histoires de femmes slaves, seules quatre contiennent des éléments clairement masochistes avec un mélange du cruel et du sentimental (*Théodora, Le Banc vivant, la Pénitente, Ursa et Stanko*) dans lequel les héroïnes mettent leurs partenaires en position de bêtes de somme ou les déshumanisent en les réduisant à des objets. *Zarka* et *Melitza* luttent contre les chaînes de la tradition patriarcale, faisant preuve de courage et de détermination dans les situations de crise telles que les batailles et la guerre.

En ce qui concerne les inévitables objets du fétichisme masochién, pantoufles, fourrure et fouet, présents dans la majorité des nouvelles *Femmes slaves* nous en retrouvons deux dans *La Journée de Gatzko* et un seul dans *Zarka*. Les pantoufles sont présentes dans la scène de la femme soumise en début de la nouvelle, Melitza les met au pieds du mari après lui avoir lavé les pieds. La fourrure apparaît pour marquer le triomphe féminin à la fin, lorsque Karaditch l'enveloppe dans *une pelisse turque*. Nous devons ajouter que ces deux élements sont très discrètement introduits et passent inaperçus par un lecteur qui ne connaît pas les oeuvres ou les obsessions littéraires de l'auteur.

Même si Zarka est privée de la volonté de dominer, la fourrure est présente dans la description de ses vêtements: *Avec son costume moitié slave, moitié turc, ses petites bottes rouges, son court jupon bleu, sa petite jaquette brodée d'or et garnie de fourrure, s'arrêtant à la ceinture, et son petit fez, elle eût été capable de se faire, d'esclave du sultan* (…) (Sacher-Masoch 2013-59)

Finalement, à l'image des autres héroïnes de Sacher-Masoch, Melitza est comparée à son idéal de beauté antique, à savoir Junon Ludovisi, sculpture en marbre romaine faisant partie de la collection du cardinal Ludovic Ludovisi à Rome.

> Près de moi, sa femme Melitza paraissait grande et massive; à côté de son mari, elle redevenait svelte et souple autant qu'elle était gracieuse. Elle aussi possédait un nez au dessin hardi et une bouche aux lignes âpres ; mais, en revanche, ses yeux bruns étaient si doux, si pleins de bonté ! Sans cette douceur et ce sourire, qui avaient la suave splendeur d'un beau clair de lune, on aurait dit, plantée sur les fières épaules de Melitza, la tête d'une Junon Ludovisi. (Sacher-Masoch 2013-93)

Dans la battaille, Melitza se transforme en une véritable Amazone, image si chère à Sacher-Masoch. En se sens, elle est un idéal masochien, même si elle s'en écarte dans le cadre familial et des rapports du couple.

De son côté, Zarka, modeste et résignée, démontre quelques traits sauvages dans une scène amoureuse inattendue:

> Elle fixa sur lui un regard ardent, puis, de ses mains hâlées, elle le saisit par les boucles noires de sa chevelure, non avec la douceur et les transports attendris d'une amante civilisée, mais avec l'emportement et la fureur d'une belle bête fauve de la souple race des félins quand elle s'élance sur sa proie.(Sacher-Masoch 2013-93)

4**. Conclusion**

Les personnages de Melitza la Monténégrine et de Zarka la Dalmate incarnent les femmes slaves du monde masochien adaptées au cadre général de la série des nouvelles étudiées, mais elles s'écartent des héroïnes masochiennes par l'absence de la puissance vengéresse et destructive envers leur partenaires et leur environnement masculin contraignant. Présentant un physique masochien impressionnant qui mélange ses obsessions personnelles, ses inspirations antiques et de mythologie slave, elles sont imprégnées des contrastes méditerannéens des paysages environnants. Zarka et Melitza mélangent la soumission et la révolte intime au milieu opressif pour les femmes, elles s'y intègrent et gardent leur individualisme tout en acceptent de jouer leur rôle social et familial modèle. Leopold von Sacher-Masoch ne les prive pas d'un érotisme discret ni de stéréotypes romantiques propres à son écriture, tout en leur accordant une finesse physique et morale qui les protège des humiliations et des réactions violentes et passionnées de leur soeurs slaves venant des contrées septentrionales. Aucune des deux nouvelles ne contient d'éléments masochistes proprement dits, mais elles représentent une contribution importante à la connaissance de la société monténégrine et dalmate du XIX siècle si proche l'une à l'autre et si lointaine aux visiteurs des salons parisiens qui constituent le public privilégié de Leopold von Sacher Masoch. En dépit des critiques partiellement fondées de son éxotisme colonial, l'étude des femmes slaves de Sacher-Masoch ouvre des pistes intéressantes à la critique littéraire féministe.

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ZARKA THE DALMATIAN AND MELITZA THE MONTENEGRIN, UNUSUAL FIGURES OF LEOPOLD VON SACHER-MASOCH'S IMAGINATION - BETWEEN MASOCHIAN HEROINES AND ROMANTIC STEREOTYPES

Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, a German-language writer, was a great star of French literary life. The famous *Revue des deux mondes* devoted considerable space to him by publishing ten short stories entitled *Slavic Women* (*Femmes slaves*) in the period from 1889 to 1891. Sacher-Masoch emphasized that French was his second mother tongue, and some sources indicate that he wrote and published his texts directly in French.

We propose to analyze Zarka the Dalmatian from the short story of the same name and Melitza the Montenegrin from the short story "A Day in Gatzko" (*La journée de Gatzko*), two female characters from the literary world of Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, presenting at the same time the atypical traits and stereotypes of the panoply of Slavic women placed at the center of the Masochian imagination. We will first introduce the author and consider his fluctuating and controversial literary notoriety, then identify the elements of his biography that have a decisive influence on his way of modeling female characters. We will then determine the central motifs of Sacher-Masoch's work and briefly present the two short stories concerned, which will allow us to define our two female characters according to the presence or absence of these motifs. Finally, on this basis, we will identify the similarities and differences between the images of the two Dinaric women studied and those of other Slavic women in the literary world of Sacher-Masoch.

The name of Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, his life, and his work have been the subject of much controversy and prejudice. He was unfairly better known to a large public because his name was used to identify a sexual deviation than by the fact that he was the author of some forty varied titles whose distribution and reception had largely exceeded the limits of his mother tongue. The reception and the interpretation of his literary work were strongly marked by the decision of the psychiatrist Richard von Krafft Ebing to use literary references in illustrating sexual deviations in the study *Psychopatia sexualis* published in Stuttgart in 1886. In a similar way to the naming of the perverted sexual pleasure experienced by imposing pain and suffering on others sadism, a term inspired by the works of the Marquis de Sade, Sacher-Masoch's most famous novel *Venus in Furs* served as a reference to depict the perversion of satisfaction experienced in the submission to one's partner called masochism.

Leopold von Sacher-Masoch was born in 1836 in the current Ukrainian city of Lviv, then Lemberg, the center of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, the easternmost province of the Austrian Empire. The variety of roots and moves conditioned by the profession of his father, the prefect of police, allowed the writer, from an early age, to acquire a deep understanding of the ethnic, religious, and social diversity of the Habsburg Empire.

Two dominant female figures of the Slavic world marked the childhood of the writer – his Ukrainian nurse Handscha and his cousin Zenobia, whose behaviour, habits of dress, and mentality had a decisive influence on the

construction of his romantic heroines. Handscha raised him with stories and legends of Slavic folk heritage, while her fascinating physical strength and local peasant clothes became an obsessive motif in his works. A cousin or friend of the family whom he called Aunt Zenobia, named after the queen of Palmyra, corpulent and authoritarian, draped in fur and wearing slippers embroidered with gold, fascinated the boy who followed and spied on her.

Sacher-Masoch's childhood was marked by two major political events: the Krakow uprising of 1846 and the March 1848 revolution he witnessed in Prague. The many characters who lead national uprisings in Sacher-Masoch's novels reflect the writer's fascination with the revolt of the Polish peasants in particular. After he moved to Prague in 1848, a revolution broke out, marked by episodes of the erection of barricades, which was brutally suppressed by the Austrian army. Leopold von Sacher-Masoch was particularly impressed by the courage of the women involved in street fights that he describes in the "Amazon of Prague," one of the ten short stories of *Slavic Women*.

Knowing that the works of Sacher-Masoch have long since been called "perverse," it is important to point out that his texts are characterized by a complete absence of any scene in which sexual relations are described in detail. In other words, the reader of *Slavic Women* seeking explicit "masochism" in accordance with the modern concept of this term will be deeply disappointed. There often appears the strong and determined maternal figure of a Slavic woman, of imposing appearance and colorful clothes from the folklore characteristic of the Russian steppe, where the fairy tales told by Handcha show their influence. She alternates with the cruelty and the beauty of Countess Zenobia, the other ruthless and dominant female figure, who, like the opposite side of the coin, opposes the Slavic peasant's kindness. In this respect, the characters of ten Slavic women represent interesting variations of these two types present in the author's novels. The depictions of feminine beauty, scenes of adultery, revenge, and humiliation are accompanied by an almost inescapable arsenal of objects that visually complement Sacher-Masoch's feminine fantasy: slippers, fur, and a whip are certainly the essential elements of the writer's fetishism.

Leopold von Sacher-Masoch's fascination with ancient art, particularly marble statues of women and depictions of ancient female figures in painting, is reflected in his works by the frequent appearance of Venus and Aphrodite, not only in the title of his famous novel but also in the texts of his short stories. Bernard Michel, Sacher-Masoch's biographer, indicates that the writer's feminine ideal is based on the ancient model of goddesses, empresses, and amazons, as well as on old Slavic legends, such as that of the seductress Libussa.

Finally, one of the main items of evidence of the modernity of Sacher-Masoch's work is his feminism. In an age of patriarchal social norms, a writer who boldly portrays the world of matriarchy and female domination certainly contributes to a different and more just social view of the "second sex."

The short stories in *Slavic Women* represent a successful blend of historical romance, Slavic exoticism, and female portraits of discreet eroticism. Leopold von Sacher-Masoch paints the ethnic and religious diversity of his

subject in great detail, and his texts are a veritable catalogue of the costumes, traditions, and scenes of daily life of the women represented there. *Slavic Women* is illustrative in this respect – each story shows women and female-male relations from a specific Slavic region while depicting their lifestyles and social relations in detail.

The historical context of "A Day in Gatzko" is the conflicts with the Turks in Herzegovina in 1875. The narrator travels to Montenegro to put himself at the disposal of Prince Nikola I Petrović, who designates him assistant to a certain Karaditch. Although the story centres on the brilliant emergence from the shadows of the Montenegrin Melitza, with her portrayal presented in a different light from the usual image of a submissive wife, Sacher-Masoch does not fail to bring us closer to the Montenegrin war, the harshness of the landscape, but also the national poetic gift. Critics of this use of the natural and cultural landscape point out that Sacher-Masoch consciously produced a kind of colonial literature for his European readers, identifying in a hybrid way with both the occupied populations and the Habsburg authorities. In the two short stories studied, the dramatic natural setting between the steep mountains and the Adriatic serves as the perfect backdrop for the personal and collective dramas told, while the similarity of the landscapes suggests the similarity of two female figures.

Regarding family relations, the short stories "A Day in Gatzko" and "Zarka" reflect the patriarchy's cruelty that weighs on women in Montenegro and the Dalmatian hinterland. In some of the other short stories of the series, Sacher-Masoch criticizes the class differences which cause the humiliation of peasant women and servants, who are punished for the immorality of their wealthy patrons. Wishing to remedy this social injustice, the writer allows his female characters to dominate later and often take cruel revenge on bullies. However, unlike naïve peasant women who turn into ruthless avengers, the Montenegrin Melitza and the Dalmatian Zarka are proud mountain folk who stoically accept their fate like the heroines of ancient theatre. At the beginning of the story, Melitza is the beautiful and modest wife of the Montenegrin hero Karaditch. However, Melitza is also a fighter whose self-confidence, courage, and strength shine in the battle against the Turks. She manages to save her husband, who, in the final scenes, steps out of the image of the dominant *pater familias* and places his wife at the centre of the celebration, decorating her with the confiscated treasures. Depicted as a submissive mother and wife in a family environment, Melitza becomes a dominant, self-confident, and independent warrior on the battlefield. Still, her belligerent behaviour does not affect the relationships in the family nucleus.

The Masochian transformation occurs discreetly because, if the description of the couple's relations begins with the woman's submission, it ends with her triumph – Melitza becomes the centre of the victorious celebration. This scene, almost unknown in the travelogues of the time, is the fruit of the Masochian imagination and makes the character of Melitza doubly unusual. She is not only an atypical Masochian heroine for her lack of

domination by her partner; she also escapes the image of the patriarchal stereotype of the submissive woman.

"Zarka" is a Dinaric version of *Romeo and Juliet*: a young couple from conflicting families resort to suicide, unable to cast off the burden of tradition and realize their love. Besides the breath of exoticism that the story of bloody revenge brings to Western European readers, Sacher-Masoch emphasizes the subjugated position of women and their inability to make decisions and participate equally in male chivalry. Unlike the Masochian heroines humiliated by their partner, who then revolt against him, Zarka is subjugated by the tradition of the vendetta and is completely integrated into her milieu. Following her brother's death, she is forced to return from the convent and accept the social position imposed by her environment. Her only rebellion against fate results in the decision to love a stranger and to continue to love him after discovering that he is the murderer of her brother. Her way of opposing the patriarchy, her form of resistance to the imposed yoke, is to face and choose death by suicide.

As for the inevitable objects of Masochian fetishism – slippers, furs, and whips – present in the majority of the short stories in *Slavic Women*, we find two of them in "A Day in Gatzko" and only one in "Zarka." These elements are discreetly introduced and go unnoticed by readers unfamiliar with the author's other works or literary obsessions.

The characters of Melitza the Montenegrin and Zarka the Dalmatian embody the *Slavic Women* of the Masochian world adapted to the general framework of the series of short stories studied. Still, they deviate from the Masochian heroines by the absence of vengeful and destructive power towards their partners and their constraining masculine environment. Presenting an impressive Masochian physique that mixes his obsessions, ancient inspirations, and Slavic mythology, they are imbued with the contrasts of the surrounding Mediterranean landscapes. Zarka and Melitza mix submission and intimate revolt in an oppressive environment for women; they integrate into it and keep their individualism while accepting and playing their model social and family roles. Leopold von Sacher-Masoch does not deprive them of the eroticism or romantic stereotypes specific to his time, while granting them a physical and moral finesse which protects them from the humiliations or violent and passionate reactions of their northern Slavic sisters. Neither of the two short stories contains masochistic elements as such, but they represent an essential contribution to the knowledge of Montenegrin and Dalmatian society of the 19th century, so close to each other and so distant to the visitors to the Parisian salons which constitute the privileged audience of Leopold von Sacher Masoch. Despite partially substantiated criticisms of its colonial exoticism, Sacher-Masoch's study of Slavic women opens interesting avenues for feminist literary criticism.

Oslobođeno Evino tijelo u romanima Bisere Alikadić: *Larva* i *Krug*

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Apstrakt: U radu se ispituje dimenzija tjelesnosti u romanima Bisere Alikadić *Larva* i *Krug* s kojima je u polje muslimanske književnosti još sedamdesetih godina 20. vijeka uvedena intrigantna i specifična tema oslobođenja ženskog tijela i ženske seksualnosti. Bisera Alikadić na taj način pruža otpor rigidnoj, mizoginoj, nacionalnoj binarnoj matrici, te književnom (i kulturnom) kanonu smještajući svoju junakinju Evu u polje proboja i borbe za preuzimanje vlasti nad sobom i sopstvom, odnosno postizanja totaliteta, kao i autonomije svoje ličnosti. U literarnom fokusu je kako svjedoče simbolički naslovi dva romana *Larva* i *Krug* cjeloviti put transformacije (spisateljice kroz pisanje) junakinje Eve koja tek zaokruženjem puta dostiže puni stepen neovisnosti i slobode: koliko osluškivanjem potreba tijela, toliko i spoznajom i sviješću da je pisanje, odnosno autoekspresija kreativnosti jedini istinski put u slobodu i prevazilazak društvenih i kolektivnih kulturoloških stereotipnih ograničenja.

Ključne riječi: tijelo, identitet, kultura, Bisera Alikadić, *Larva*, *Krug*.

Pozicija spisateljice – između islamskog i maskulinog, porodičnog i kulturalnog autoriteta i ženskog prava na književnost

Patrijarhalne, etničke i religijske politike ostvaruju direktan uticaj na konstrukciju fenomena tijela. Skopčanost ličnog sa kolektivnim identitetom žene u polju tjelesnosti moguće je dekonstruirati i interpretirati na primjeru romana spisateljice Bisere Alikadić: *Larva* (1974) i *Krug* (1983). Specifičnost kulturološko-povijesnog trenutka objavljivanja romana određuje način recepcije teksta i poziciju spisateljice u kanonu nacionalne književnosti. Alikadićkina djela etiketirana su odrednicom erotskog, kakve je u svjetskoj književnosti etablirala godinu dana prije Erica Jong *Strahom od letenja* (1973) izazivajući skandal ogoljenom reprezentacijom seksualnosti i ekspresivnosti tijela u odbacivanju društvenih okova kulture. Bisera Alikadić je u jednom intervjuu izjavila da je njen čin pisanja reflektirao svjetske tendencije revolucionarnog oslobođenja (posebno sputane

seksualnosti) i sticanja ženskih prava. Kao prva autorka romana u muslimanskoj književnosti[1] kako to navodi Alma Skopljak, Bisera Alikadić se pojavila „sa gotovo stoljećem 'zakašnjenja'" (Skopljak 419-428) u odnosu na autore muškarce. U tom smislu, signifikantan je čas objavljivanja *Larve*, koji je determiniran, osim izazovom maskulinom (i ženomrzačkom) kanonu, u domeni spolne oznake autora teksta, istovremeno je prema riječima spisateljice oivičen govorom „da su seks, ludilo i rak, možda i još neke bolesti, tabu-teme" (Alikadić 2022) tadašnjeg društva.[2]

Romanom *Larva* spisateljica je izazvala bijes javnosti, potom i cenzuru. Vrhunac javnog otpora ka Biseri Alikadić, bio je stav glasila Islamske zajednice *Preporod*, koje se rigidnim i moralizatoriskim optužbama okomilo na djelo ove spisateljice. Međutim, prevagu je odnijela autorska svijest iskazana navodom „islam nije u suprotnosti ni sa erotikom ni sa seksom, evo ima mnoštvo knjiga koje to opisuju. Pogledaj *Vrt milovanja* ili *Hiljadu i jednu noć*..." (Alikadić 2009).[3] Argument za recepciju pronađen je u pogrešnoj identifikaciji njenog narativa kao autobiografskog, te satanizaciji spisateljice kao *đavola koji ne krije svoju spolnost*[4], kao i kroz sugestije o hipertrofiranoj i skarednoj seksualnosti zbog koje se nalazimo u „u praznom krugu naše egzistencijalne zatočenosti u kome se zaludno batrgamo" (Kadribegović 149-152). Uvlačenjem u erotski krug spisateljica osuđuje junakinju na ostanak „u zatvorenom krugu prazne vlastitosti" (Isaković 115).

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[1] Unatoč sličnostima u realiziranju književnog djela u srpsko-hrvatskom jeziku u kontekstu jugoslavenskih i nacionalnih književnosti i muslimani (danas Bošnjaci) kao etnička kategorija su imali svoju osobenu književnost. U odnosu na trenutak pojave Bisere Alikadić, muslimanska književnost se formirala kao jedinstven sistem ili unutar pripadnosti srpskoj ili hrvatskoj književnosti u sklopu, kako primjećuje Staniša Tutnjević opšte kampanje kreiranja ravnopravnog okruženja i afirmacije svih pisaca u većim centrima kulture. Muslimanska književnost je zasnovana na identificiranju pisaca i spisateljica na osnovu njihovog (učitanog) nacionalnog identiteta, tema i motiva koje obrađuju, to jeste putem „recepcije istočnjačkih naslaga u njihovim djelima" (Tutnjević 1999, 62). Istovremeno, pripadnost Bisere Alikadić muslimanskoj nacionalnoj književnosti postaje važna kad se ima na umu značaj razbijanja tematskih ograničenja nametnutih tradicijom.

[2] Usp. *Pisanje kao tegoba i zadovoljstvo*, Intervju s Biserom Alikadić objavljen u dnevnom listu *Oslobođenje,* 04.03.2022.

[3] Usp. *Žena hrabrost: Kraljica iz dvorišta*, Intervju s Biserom Alikadić objavljen u listu *Slobodna Bosna,* 19.02.2009.

[4] Usp. *Poredili su me s crnim đavolom koji ne krije spolnost*, Intervju s Biserom Alikadić objavljen u magazinu *Start*, 02.12.2003.

Marginalizacija[5] Bisere Alikadić vezana za postojanje dvostrukih kriterija u vrednovanju književnog rada muškaraca i žena. Značajan je i tadašnji incident na nivou suspektne moralnosti *Larve*, a konkretnije primjer je dvostrukim standardima vrednovanja djela spisateljica i autora. U tom kontekstu, Bisera Alikadić se prisjeća: „Zanimljivo je da su mene tada u *Preporodu* iznapadali što pišem o seksu djevojke sa muškarcima, a Anđelka Vuletića koji je u svom romanu pisao o seksu sa rođenom majkom u katoličkim časopisima opravdavali kao zabludjelu ovčicu" (Alikadić, 2009). Osim što se pisanje autora poima u dimenziji superiornosti, muški autoritet proizvodi idealni model žene – anđela iz doma ili kako to povrđuje primjer motiva i figure žene pomenutog autora – žene bludnice. Odstupanje od propisanog modela (junakinje i spisateljice) vodi u uzurpiranje patrijarhalnog modela kulturoloških zakona, te smješta spisateljicu u poziciju da bude umjesto krotka i skeptična spram sopstevnog pisanja – proglašena đavolom, bludnicom i šizofereničarkom. Izborivši pravo pisanja spisateljica odbija ulogu „domaćice anđela" (Gilbert i Gubar 40). Osim u dimenziji profesionalnog – bavljenja pozivom spisateljice, i unutar privatnog života, Alikadićka je iskusila i kritiku vlastitog oca koji je našao rukopis romana prije objavljivanja, „bjesnio je, morala sam se skloniti, otići na nekoliko dana od kuće. Moja majka iako domaćica, imala je puno više razumijevanja, govorila da ne zna zašto me napadaju kad je ona čitala i puno bezobraznijih stvari" (Alikadić 2009).

Paradoksalno, u odnosu na današnju priznatost spisateljice i skoro prisilno kanoniziranje, romani *Larva*, ali i *Krug* nakon prvobitnog sablažnjavanja javnosti, postaju opšta tačka mobilizacije drugačijih vrijednosti (u rijetkim feminističkim čitanjima), ali i daljnje nedosljednosti i pogrešne, površne interpretacije u nacionalnalizovanom kritičkom svođenju djela na erotsko i ljubavno. Tačnije, radi se o relativizaciji vrijednosti i značaja, kako samog djela označenog erotskim, ljubavnim, osrednjim, tako i mizoginim ne samo jednačenjem spisateljice s glasom njenih junakinja, već i procesom degradacije praćenog poznatom tvrdnjom o neispunjenosti uslijed neostvarenosti u polju majčinstva.[6] Međutim, kako će se pokazati u

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[5] Marginalizirana i obeshrabrena za dalji rad, B. Alikadić se u muslimanskoj književnosti afirmisala isključivo kao dječja pjesnikinja. Književnost za djecu se nalazi niže na ljestvici književnog kanona i stoga postaje pogodan prostor za ekspresiju ženskih literarnih ambicija.

[6] Dovoljno je pomenuti samo neke od kritičara nacionalne književnosti koji na ovakav način pr/ocjenjuju djelo i lik Bisere Alikadić: Dijana Hadžizukić, Zilhad

ovom radu, navedeni romani su o potrazi za sopstvom, identitetom i cjelovitošću, kao i autonomijom ženskog bića, to jeste i shodnoj narativizaciji tijela i tjelesnog kao preduslova – uporišta za postizanje slobodne kreativnosti i autonomije ženskog bića.[7]

Napisano tijelo kao medij uspostavljanja drugačijih kulturoloških značenja

Romani *Larva* i *Krug* predstavljaju cilj spisateljice da se otrgne iz nominalnog prostora sevdalinke, povezanog s tumačenjima feminilnosti, prostorima doma kao intime, nedorečenošću cenzuriranog i nagovještenog erotizma. Bisera Alikadić ujedno, prekoračuje dozvolu poetskog prostora i ekspresijom osvaja i suvereno vlada poljem romana. Sa sviješću o ograničenjima savdalijskog diskursa, pripisanog pjesnikinjama s punim pravom navodi: „možda su mi se pranenine dimije vrtjele oko nogu dok sam pisala, ali sam ipak uspjela napisati *Larvu*" (Alikadić 2003). Zahvaljujući navedenoj introspekcijskoj opservaciji spisateljicu je lako mapirati u pripadajuću kulturi. Osim što ukazuje na kompleksan odnos kroz povijest s nacionalnim književnim kanonom, B. Alikadić implicira važnost kulturološke određenosti koja manipulira sa vaspitanjem utemeljenom na strogim normama koje sputavaju artikulaciju ženskog iskustva i oslobođenost bića u totalitetu, kao i osvajanje slobode. Pranenine dimije[8] su metafora ograničenja jer se identificiranje s odjevnim predmetom može shvatiti kao prihvatanje

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Ključanin, Enes Duraković, već ranije pomenuti Alija Isaković, Aziz Kadribegović i drugi.

[7] Navedeni aspekt je vrlo važan, pogotovo kad se ima u vidu i domet feminističkog čitanja ne samo *Larve* i *Kruga*, već i poetskog opusa Bisere Alikadić – koje se zadržava na nivou slavljenja oslobođenog ženskog tijela i seksualnosti, dok izostaje metafizički aspekt i upućivanje na analizu polja identiteta i sopstva.

[8] Bosanskohercegovačke narodne nošnje od otomanskog perioda naovamo su dominantno bile orijentalizirane. Takav stil narodne nošnje koji je bio svojstven muslimanima uključivao je dimije, čakšire, fermane, jemenija, fesove, zarove, feredže i slično. Dimije (tur. dimi – čvrsto platno i grč. dimitos) su osnovni dio tradicijske odjeće muslimanki. Hlače širokih nogavica koje padaju u bogatim naborima i vežu se ispod koljena, a odijevaju se preko donjeg rublja (*Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje. Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža. 2021*). Nazivane su i turskim hlačama koje su sinonim za šalvare, tradicionalne nošene širom Bliskog Istoka, te su sa osvajanjima Osmanlija svoje mjesto našle na Balkanu, a potom i šire (egzotični modni izričaj). Vremenom su postale sinonim za oblačenje žena *a la turca*. Uprkos promjenama tokom 20. vijeka dimije su kao glavni, tradicionalni odjevni predmet za muslimanke, očuvane pretežno među seoskim stanovništvom sve do danas.

vrijednosti tradicije, dok u motivu saplitanja nalazimo preporuku odustanka od kreativnog rada. Ukratko, dimije imaju zadatak da ukažu na uzaludnost i ponište spisateljski rad. Smještena u ponore kolektivnog obeshrabrivanja spisateljica se suočava sa nalogom da „porekne ili suspregne" (Showalter 207-220) vlastito iskustvo, segmente o sfere bića, posebno tijelo/tjelesnost i potrebu za izražavanjem. Nakon prvobitnih emancipacijskih praksi iz doba ranog jugoslavenskog socijalizma žena muslimanka[9] stekla je uslove za bavljenje različitim profesijama i istraživanje vlastitih dometa. U muslimanskoj književnosti (danas bošnjačkoj) povećan je broj spisateljica koje su testirale i koristile drugačije forme izražavanja, pa tako i žanr romana.

Iako su nastali i objavljeni u razmaku od devet godina, romani *Larva* i *Krug* tematiziraju život glavne junakinje i pripovjedačice Eve, obuhvatajući jednu godinu njenog života. Četiri godišnja doba obilježavaju prirodni ciklus kojim je determinirana Eva kao žena i njena aspolutna transformacija – od djevojke u ženu, i od bibliotekarke u spisateljicu. Od larve koja zahtjeva preporod iniciran istraživanjem tjelesnosti i seksualnosti, junakinja kako bi stigla do nalaska smisla u pisanju, zatvara krug preobrazbe zaokruženjem vlastite autonomne ličnosti. Na taj način se istraživanja tijela i seksualnosti nameću kao osnovni i vitalni preduslovi upoznavanju vlastite čulnosti, potreba i uopšte cjelokupnog bića. Junakinja završava transformaciju sa nepokolebljivom odlučnošću da načini definitivan iskorak u odnosu na patrijarhalne odnose (brak, supružništvo, majčinstvo, brigu za domaćinstvo), te se ohrabri na zadovoljenje intelektualnih i duhovnih potreba za bavljenjem književnošću ne iz pozicije bibliotekarke, već spisateljice. Sraz između društvenih zahtjeva za majčinstvom potpomognutih idejom o biološkom satu i oponašanjem modela supruge, u Evinom slučaju biva svjesno iznevjeren. U borbi s društvenim postulatima, iako se na trenutke čini da će Eva ćuteći preuzeti nametnute heteronormativne obaveze i pritisak, posebno iz smjera roditeljskog očekivanja „Ne vjerujem da su prestali da vjeruju u mene kao mogućnost čuda koje će da bljesne, da ostvari nešto. Moram produžiti njih, moram produžiti sebe" (Alikadić *Krug* 38), nad junakinjom prevlast odnosi težnja za ispunjenjem unutrašnjih zahtjeva. Stoga, joj

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[9] Prije svega se misli na pristup žene muslimanke obrazovanju, pravu na glas, javnim prostorima i posebno na odijevanje kao preduslov inoviranju i stvaranju pogodnijih uslova za život. *Zakon o ukidanju feredže i zara* koji je na nivou Bosne i Hercegovine i ostalih Republika donešen 1947. godine na osnovu inicijative Antifašističkog fronta žena (AFŽ) bio je zasigurno jedan od najvažnijih emancipacijskih koraka. Usp. Karčić, Fikret (2013).

pisanje omogućava da preuzme kontrolu nad svojim životom i ispuni težnje i ambicije koje figuriraju od lične satisfakcije do kreativnog učinka i društvene participacije.

Glavna junakinja oba romana je tridesetogodišnja Eva. Bisera Alikadić svoju junakinju gradi s aluzijom na starozavjetni motiv o prvom muškarcu Adamu i ženi Evi, pri čemu savremena Eva preuzima kodifikovanu moć prve žene u otporu i kršenju zakona boga i rajskog poretka. Taj čin se interpretira kao narušavanje i opstrukcija patrijarhata jer žena kao subjekt volje investira u sebe. Visoko otjelešnjen i čulan postupak kušanja jabuke koji funkcionira u službi oslobođenja tjelesnog i spolnog i seksualnog sa/znanja o sebi izaziva društvenu kaznu jer se u cjelosti kosi sa nalozima dobrog života za ženu. Uprkos činjenici da živimo u politički liberalnom društvu suočeni smo sa prisilnom socijalizacijom seksualnosti utemeljenoj na procesu internalizacije u kojem se „identifikujemo sa spletom moralnih ubeđenja i političkih angažmana koje personalizujemo kao deo sebe, i na koja se pozivamo kao merila kojima prosuđujemo odvijanje svog života" (Kornel 54-55). *Larva* upućuje na junakinjin postupak odbijanja majčinstva i rađanja čime se redefinira ključni zahtjev društvene stvarnosti, kojeg ne koleba niti pesimizam izazvan strahom od izostanka metamorfoze: „U sebi napravih čahuru/ Sa zlatnom larvom/ Što preobrazbe joj nema" (Alikadić *Larva* 7). „Sam naslov romana sugerira na nužnost preobrazbe i neodrživost postojećeg sistema u kojem su žene Drugost u odnosu na muškarca, jedinog egalnog predstavnika u društvu i patrijarhalne sredine iz koje potječe" (Pečenković i Delić 67-74). Eva odbija tradiconalnu zakonitost seksualnosti koja podrazumijeva prokreativnost i koncentrira se na druge dimenzije poput užitka i afekata. Afekti odluke „s kim ćemo imati seksualne odnose" (Kornel 59) u potpunosti determiniraju sve aspekte oslobođene seksualnosti. Stoga, ne iznenađuje junakinjina sloboda upuštanja u (nedozvoljene) seksualne odnose s različitim likovima, oženjenima (što je protiv podrazumijevanog morala „uzmu me. Uzimam ih. Bez posljedica" (Alikadić *Larva* 87), „bila sam mu tvorac i ljubavnica" (Alikadić *Krug* 40) – odnos sa Vladom, prijateljski odnos s Čalfijem, slobodni seks s Mikelom), u vezi, i bez obaveze; pa potom na mjestima – na primjer u parku (filozofija i kontroverza javnog prostora), uzbuđenje i želja za orgazmom „poplava sam" (Alikadić *Larva* 11) (u odnosu na promoviranu krotkost žene); osciliranje između potčinjavanja i davanja; toplina unutrašnjeg junakinjinog svijeta u odnosu na strogost vanjskog; sloboda ljetovanja naspram sigurnosti (i uslovljavanja) roditeljskog doma „to je cijena po koju prodajem svoju slobodu, svoju potrebu da sam samostalna, svoju mogućnost zrenja" (Alikadić *Larva* 17), slobodan izbor

u sudaru sa pokušajem oponašanja patrijarhalnih vrijednosti (na primjer testiranje uloge dobre žene /prirodnog i prikladnog odnosa/ koja tetoši muškarca Lazu i pruža mu podrazumijevano: pospremanje prostora, kuhanje, kupovinu, slušanje, te razumijevanje). Tek raskid s Lazarem, nudi konačno oslobođenje, ali i naučenu lekciju – ovaplоćenu u završetku romana.

Zapravo, u istraživanju vlastite seksualnosti junakinja koristi benefite stečene slobode kako bi preuzela kontrolu nad svojim tijelom i istrgnula ga od pristiska društva. U kontekstu slobodne upotrebe svoga tijela, junakinja demistificira i deminira tradicionalne patrijarhalne vrijednosti, kako bi razotkrila sisteme na kojima funkcionira porodica i društvo. Konkretnije, Eva raspolaže svojim tijelom i seks koristi radi sticanja užitka kojeg joj društvo odriče privilegirajući muškarca u odnosu.

> Moje tijelo u vodi. Voda na mom tijelu. ... Voda je postala muškarac. Vlado. Ja joj se predajem. Ona me prožima cijelu. Ili je možda moja najveća ljubav voda. Pa kada uživam hoću da sve na nju liči. Šta je vatra u odnosu na vodu! Voda je gasi. Voda je sila. Život je počeo u njoj. ... Vsevolod me nazvao kristalnom bludnicom kad sam mu povjerila svoju ljubav prema vodi. Bludnica i jesam. Svaki milimetar moje kože, svaka čestica moga mozga želi da osjeti spajanje (Alikadić *Larva* 71).

Eva se podrivanjem heteronormativnih standarda usredsređuje na povezivanje potrebe, želje sa svojom tjelesnošću stavljajući sebe na prvo mjesto. Potraga za satisfakcijom realizirana je kroz slobodne i senzualne spolne odnose sa nekolicinom neobaveznih ljubavnika. Pominjanje vode u ovom kontekstu označava zadovoljenje strasti, ali i praporijekla života, te da je jedan od četiri osnovna elementa prirode koji u korealaciji s elementima zemlje, zraka i vatre predstavlja bitne pojmove vezane za čovjeka. Sjedinjenje s vodom ukazuje na harmonizaciju odnosa na nivou prirode, ali i dovođenje u ravnotežu tijela, duha/emocija, razuma i svijesti. Artikulacija stava i svijesti o seksualnosti i razvijanju i prepoznavanju spolne želje nastavljena je i u romanu *Krug* u kojem Eva zaziva vodu kao simbol oslobođene seksualnosti, ali i slobode da se izdigne iznad patrijarhalnih ograničavajućih zakonitosti o prioritetu muškog užitka u seksualnom odnosu. Istovremeno, optočeti proces ispitivanja tjelesnosti i tijela, u Krugu dobija još veći zamah, postajući ne samo medij, nego i „poprište pregovora, usklađivanja i nadmetanja", odnosno i samo „jezgro identiteta" (Pečenković i Delić 67-74). B. Alikadić na sljedeći način opisuje tjelesnu senzaciju ekspresije i aktualizacije junakinjine seksualnosti:

Baci se na mene, ali i ja ću se baciti na tebe. Ako si ti maestro na violini i ja sam maestro na onoj stvari. Upoznaj me. Upoznaćeš me. Nećeš me samo tako imati. Volim seks kao što volim toplu kišu, ali mi je potreban sloj iznad i ispod toga. Tebi nije. Tim gore po tebe. Spojih svoju misao punu želje i osvete sa svim onim zatomljenim ćutnjama svoga tijela" (Alikadić *Krug* 30).

Bisera Alikadić oslobađa Evu od osjećanja krivice radi stavljanja svojih potreba na prvo mjesto. Među normama kulture, pored primanog muškog zadovoljstva i demoniziranja, zatomljenosti, te cenzure ženske seksualnosti, spisateljica reprezentirajući Evino iskustvo razara predodžbe o nedostatnosti ženskog bića i tijela da iskusi granice čulnosti. Ispoljavanje ženskog tijela na taj način determinirano je otporom muškoj kolonizaciji i prevlasti, napuštanjem loših obrazaca kulture neslobode i čednosti i svođenju na propisane i biološki uvjetovane, a potom u društvo transponirane uloge. U središtu pozornosti *Larve* i *Kruga* se nalazi netom oslobođeno tijelo žene. „Telo kako je imanentno, tako i transcendentno. U meri u kojoj živim telo, ono je fenomen koji iskušavam i koji obezbeđuje, dakle, sam horizont i tačku perspektive koja me postavlja u svet i omogućava odnose između mene, drugih objekata i drugih subjekata" (Gros 131). Tijelo posjeduje i komunikacijsku i spoznajnu dimenziju. Stoga, Eva svoje tijelo upotrebljava kao senzor za spoznaju i komunikacijski medij na relaciji sa sobom, drugima (posebno muškim spolom/rodom koga progresivnost samostalnost ženskog tijela šokira), ali i u smislu redefiniranja krute uloge i pozicije žene u svijetu, odnosno tim se putem uspostavljaju drugačija – depatrijarhalizirajuća kulturološka značenja. Preciznije, junakinjino tijelo iako, čvoršite identiteta i okidač potrage za sopstvom, nezaustavljivi fluid, ono i pregovara društvene uzuse, ispitujući ih vlastitim postupcima. Muškarac kao univerzalija iz tradicionalne opozicije, ohrabren vlastitim društvenim privilegijama stečenim na račun svoje spolnosti, u narativu i diskursu Bisere Alikadić postaje (seksualni) objekt ženskog raspolaganja i na koncu motiv za subverzivnost ženskog teksta. Ako bi na trenutak posumnjali da je Alikadić upala u zamku objektivizacije Evinog tijela na osnovu podavanja muškarcima, te u trenucima pokušaja junakinje da načini kompromis sa društvom oponašajući modele u odnosu sa Lazom (primjerene žene, požrtvovane, domaćice i buduće majke), Eva se repozicionira, transformira i okreće ka slobodi – neposlušno cureći iz normirane fizičke i metafizičke vlasti muškarca.

I razum i tijelo – totalitet ženskog bića

S obzirom da se u *Larvi* i *Krugu* isprepliću tendencije junakinje za odbranu prava na postojanje ženskog bića u totalitetu, druga referentna tačka literarne reprezentacije proizlazi iz binarnog konstrukta razum/osjećajnost, pri čemu se potonja karakteristika pripisuje ženama, ali i u odnosu na prirodu tijela. Eva u oba romana dekolonizira vlastito tijelo od društvene prakse osvajanja, prevlasti i korištenja, kao i dominantnih konstitucija u kulturi i načina reprezentacije njihovih razlika. Tim putem njeno tijelo postaje uporište za (samo)otkriće cjelokupnog bića žene. Zazor od ženskog tijela – takozvanog *crnog kontinenta*, o kojem u „Smehu meduze" (1975) piše Hélène Cixous kao o muškom, frojdovskom diskursu koji označava pokoravanje žene i njeno nepoznavanje, koju vodi u internalizovanje „strave crnog" (Siksu). Uopšte, kulturološki zazor od ženskog tijela kanalisan je procesima kontroliranja, discipliniranja i instrumentalizacije utemeljen je na patrijarhatu koji „zahteva da ženska tela i polnost budu društveno proizvedeni kao manjkavi" (Gros 98). Oduzimajući ženama pravo na razum i djelovanje, te u odnosu na karakter muškog tijela[10] i prisvajanje razuma, fokus ženske borbe je stavljen koliko na fizičko, toliko i na duhovno oslobođenje ili autonomiju bića. Međutim, Eva odstupanjem od prinudne materijalzacije tijela u društveno prihvatljivim i preporučljivim okvirima, ojačava individualne potencijale i dolazi u fazu otkrića i zadovoljenja unutrašnjih težnji svog bića. U hijatusu nepoštivanja normi koje bi da oblikuju i socijalizuju tijelo smještaju se subverzivni zahtjevi za transformacijom i artikulacijom subjekta žene. Proces materijalizacije tijela koji se provodi pod uslovima patrijarhata ne može biti konačan, niti završen jer se „tela nikad ne povinuju normama koje su ih naterale da se materijalizuju" (Batler 14). Kroz djelovanja razuma i spoznaje žena stiče mogućnost za odbacivanje ukodirane osjećajnosti i potmule tjelesnosti, te na njihovo mjesto dovodi oslobođeno tijelo od patrijarhalnih stega i svijest o značaju i artikulaciji vlastite kreativnosti. B. Alikadić zaokružuje Evinu ličnost problematizirajući njenu odluku da iz pozicije bibliotekarke (simbolične čuvarke muškog znanja i epistemološkog poretka) pređe ograničenja i postane spisateljica. U zadnjim paragrafima romana *Larva* za vrijeme posuđivanja knjiga čitateljima Eva opservira sljedeće:

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[10] Muško tijelo pod istovjetnim okolnostima i uslovima pod kakvim subjekt funkcionira, nameće se kao paradigma prostora i epistemologije. Muško tijelo je središte kulture ne samo radi fizičke snage, nego i dominacije falusa koji iz prostora tjelesnosti i biološkog spola zadobija na društvenoj i univerzalnoj vrijednosti.

Iz kataloga vadim kutiju. Podsmjehuje mi se ta papirnata sila, unizuje me svojom moći trajanja. Listići. Imena pisaca i knjiga. Koliko ljudskih ostvarenja i pokušaja. Sve je to ovdje u slovima i prašini, složeno mojom rukom, a kada pođem u penziju neću imati pravo da posljednji listić u katalogu da stavim svoje ime. Teško mi je kad na to pomislim, teško mi je toliko da mi niko ne bi povjerovao" (Alikadić *Larva* 112).

Pesimizam s kojim Bisera Alikadić zatvara ovaj roman u *Krugu* evoluira do problematiziranja procesa pisanja kao obeshrabrenja. Osim napada na Evinu želju da se realizira kao spisateljica koji su dolazili iz njenog intimnog okruženja – ljubavnika Lazara i porodice – ona je imanentno suočena sa strepnjom od autorstva. U literarnom fenomenu kojeg su definirale Sandra Gilbert i Susan Gubar kao „koreniti strah da ne ume da stvara", strepnja od autorstva je „pogoršana njenim strahom da se ne može boriti protiv muškog prethodnika po ˈnjegovimˈ pravilima i da pobedi, a takođe i strepnjom da ne može da ˈzačneˈ umetnost sa (ženskim) telom muze" (Gilbert i Gubar 112-137). Prijem njenog pisanja u društvenoj sredini u kojoj se kreće primjer je poznatih i spornih praksi koje se kreću od: Vlade koji preporučuje da piše pisma (duboko intimistički žanr i formu, u zatvorenosti privatnog prostora), Lazara koji vjeruje da njen roman neće biti objavljen, do Plundre koji daje svojevrsnu podršku. Dajući Lazaru rukopis na čitanje Eva je namjeravala da ostvari i potvrdi bliskost, te dostigne žuđeno odobrenje. Kontekst gradiran Evinim pospremanjem stana dodatno usložnjava patrijarhalnu opresiju izraženu Lazarevim negodovanjem i kritikom teksta.

-Ne sviđa mi se. Loš ti je stil pisanja, kako bi mi seljaci rekli. Priča, sadržaj, ne znam, ali mislim da se tako ne piše. Oči mi dotače iznenadni plamen zle vatre. Izgubih sliku svijeta, sliku sobe u kojoj sam se nalazila. Prvi čovjek koji čita moj rukopis, čovjek koji bi trebalo da me shvati kaže da ne valja. Ne dopada mu se. Loše pišem. Nešto kao bol stegnu mi srce. Tako se umire naglo... Neću da umrem. Kako samo da iščeznem iz njegove kuće? Kako da se smirim dok odživim zadani udarac? – Znaš, to je samo rukopis. Još ću da mijenjam, a ako bude štampano... – Ovo nikad neće biti štampano – odrečno zavrti glavom. Bez obzira na sve ne mogu mu opsoriti pravo mišljenja. Na oštar nož me je nabo, ali... Što se pisanja tiče moram da budem svoja, hrabra, sama u sebe da vjerujem... Makar i u svoju zabludu. A ako on ima pravo? Ja se solidarišem s njim, a on meni ovako surovo ... Biće. Čista hartija u štamparijama čeka na me (Alikadić *Krug* 121-122).

Između izbora oponašanja tradiconalnih uloga i prihvatanja obeshrabrenja od strane ljubavnika i s druge strane suprotstavljanja svemu radi pisanja, Eva se odriče romantične ljubavi i vraća se sebi. Taj povratak iznjedruje svijest o snazi i značaju vlastite kreativnosti i artikulacije subjekta pisanjem. Stepen dosezanja konačne slobode ne može biti zadržan na nivou tjelesnog, spolnog i seksualnog, svakako mora biti podignut na duhovno i racionalno. Procesima pisanja i ispisivanja junakinja shvata i poima svijet, osmišljava postojanje i u odnosu na sebe i sa sobom i kroz sebe piše, unapređuje sopstvo, ali i procesuira svoj identitet. Završetak romana za junakinju neće značiti, sporan čin – kojim bi se dovelo u pitanje osvajanje slobode – kako navode kritičari/ke nacionalnih književnosti – kompenzaciju majčinstvu i braku. Prije, radi se o bazičnoj potrebi žene na testiranje i upoznavanje svog tijela, potom Evinoj ekspresiji i kreativnosti i na koncu odbrani subjekta, sopstva i identiteta od društvenih datosti, patrijarhalnih hijerarhija, kao i kulturoloških negativnih predodžbi. Upravo suprotno, od bilo kakve kompenzacije, pisanje će postati put ka kulturalnoj vidljivosti koja uključuje upisivanje u polje kulture koja ju u ime razlike i ženske neposlušnosti prezire i odbija. U konačnici proces pisanja će označiti rekapitulaciju vlastitog života: „Kad sam malo pročačkala po sebi i upitala se šta činiti, ne uvenuti tek tako, došla sam do rješenja: pisati“ (Alikadić *Krug* 36).

Larva i *Krug* – put ka cjelovitosti ženskog bića

Autonomnim činom propitivanja tjelesnosti i seksualnosti i rada na sebi Eva će konačno uspostaviti poveznicu između tijela i uma, odnosno preći put ka otkriću i konkretizaciji bića, a preko zahtjeva za ispitivanjem polja identiteta, segmenata sopstva i upisivanja subjekta žene u tijelo teksta. Bisera Alikadić je romanima *Larva* i *Krug* zaokružila ličnost junakinje – u rasponu od larve/ gusjenice do leptirice - Eve uspostavljajući koordinate njenog tijela kao skopče i okidača društvenog pregovora oko društvenih ugovora i pozicija, modela, figura i uloga, to jeste tijela kao mjesta ne samo za postizanje slobode, već i značenja. Putem tijela kao medija i alata za pregovaranje slobode uopšte, junakinja je napustila dominantne i sporne obrasce kulture koji bi da je formatiraju i dodjele primjereno značenje, dubinski i zapravo određeno posebnim spektrom stereotipa i negiranjem, kao i cenzurom žene i njenog bića. Alikadićkina junakinja Eva svojim postupcima pruža otpor patrijarhalnoj tradiciji i uzima ili osvaja pravo na samoerotizaciju pod vlastitim uvjetima strujanja i cirkuliranja (osluškivanja unutrašnjih i želja tijela) suprotstavljajući se nazorima i kontroli društva. Etabliranjem drugačijih iskustava iz pozicije oslobođene žene Eva po profesiji, ne

samo bibliotekarka, već i spisateljica ulazi u područje proizvodnje teksta, na način na koji to čini i Bisera Alikadić u svojim romanima i poeziji – posredstvom iskustva i sa/znanja tijela i uzurpiranja porodice, društva i kulture. U tom smislu fenomen tijela i tjelesnosti se ispostavlja kao ključan preduvjet/okidač i moćan medij ženskom postanku društvenim autonomnim subjektom.

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EVA'S LIBERATED BODY IN BISERA ALIKADIĆ'S NOVELS: *LARVA* AND *KRUG*

This work of Bisera Alikadić, the first author of the novel that tackles taboo topic of body and corporeity, scrutinizes dimension of body and corporeity. Novels *Larva* [The Larva] (1974) and *Krug* [The Circle] (1983) introduce intriguing and specific theme of liberation of woman's body and censorship on sexuality into Muslim (now it is Bosniak) literature, as early as seventies of 20. century. Owing to this type of writing, B. Alikadić was met with a negative reception and was criticized in terms of mainstream national literature. Namely, her position of female author is defined by shifting between Islamic and masculine, as well as family and cultural authority on one hand; and the tendency to achieve woman's right to literature-creative work and independent writing, on the other. Her novel Larva published in a specific cultural and historic moment (just a year after Erica Yong's Fear of flying) was found to be erotic, vulgar, scandalous in a bare representation of sexuality and woman's body, therefore damaging. In the context of internal social (patriarchal) limitations and bounds of national literature in which the work and the author occur, resistance of the community and the act of marginalization of the author is evident. Such attitude is based on public rage or more precisely, on rigid and a self-righteous stance of the Islamic Community (the case and the incident appeared in *Preporod*), negative and outward critic of the fathers of national literature (historians and critics). In latter field, the novel Larva was brought into disrepute by literary critics, agreeing mainly in (wrong) assessment that the literary work was viewed in a manner merely simplistic- through shameful exaggeration of sexuality and identifying the voice of main character Eva as autobiographical, labeling the work as vain and mediocre at best, erotic and romantic, and finally

by means of satanizing the author, with accusation that she contributes to bad moral status of the society.

In the core of this misogynist attitude towards the author and her novel, we detect double not only literary-critical standards, but also binary cultural and social standards. All-out defamation of Bisera Alikadić was followed by prying into her private life and condemnation through claims that she has not achieved motherhood and that writing served to compensate for that, which has no relevance to literature. On the other hand, although quite aware of these processes (in her interviews she talks about those incidents), her own marginalization, innate superiority of author-she thus confirms the power of resistance and importance of her choice to write, creativeness and tackling taboos. Simultaneously, authorities strive to produce the desirable model of woman-an angel from home (Virginia Woolf), in a face of which is, her, (heroine and author) with a capacity to break away from the grip of social control-woman harlot. Such a departure from recommended model in literature leads to usurpation of literary system and patriarchal system and cultural laws in general. The aim Bisera Alikadić had on her mind with her novels Larva and Krug, was to liberate herself from social conditioning, destroying traditional stereotypes and norms of behavior, face taboos, undermine false morality and puritan conception about Islam and Muslim literature by offering an alternative version and concept of life (awareness of erotic and corporeal in oriental literature and culture in general); and finally, her aim was also to become a part of world's revolutionary movement of liberation of woman, her body and her sexuality.

It is a paradox that today's position of the author in national literature, when she's being forcefully canonized and declared the first Muslim woman/female author of novels-novelist, after initial outrage of public at her novels Larva and Krug, and her poetry as well, together with superficial approach and misinterpretation of her work (as being erotic and romantic novels) by most of the national critics, the works of Bisera Alikadić, receives first feminist interpretations and reading. However, in spite of affirmation for the sake of existence and mobilization of different values, inconsistence in studies based exclusively on politics of body and sexuality, still remains a problem. Therefore, the objective to this thesis is to expand the field of politically corporeal, that is, to show that *Larva* and *Krug* are actually narratives about quest for one's self, identity and integrity, as well as the autonomy of woman's being; in other words that both novels represent body, corporeal and sexual as a true precondition- a hotbed of freedom, creativeness and accomplishment, the autonomy of woman.

Bisera Alikadić resisted rigid, misogynist, national binary matrix, as well as literary (and cultural) canon with her works; thus, placing her heroine Eva into the field of breach and struggle for taking over of power over oneself and one's self, that is, achieving totality and autonomy of personality. The literary focus is, as symbolic titles of both novels *Larva* and *Krug* would tell, a whole path of transformation (of the author through writing) of character of Eva who reaches her full independence and freedom with completion of that path;

achieved through listening to the needs of the body, and understanding and awareness of the fact that writing that is, auto-expression of creativeness is the only right way to gain freedom and transcending of social and collective cultural, stereotype limitations.

This work argues two key assumptions: using body as medium to establish different cultural meanings and standpoints that, apart from the body, the mind of a woman represents a starting point in forming of totality of woman's being.

Novels *Larva* and *Krug* represent the attempt of the author to break away from nominal sphere of sevdalinka associated with interpretations of feminine, home as a sphere of privacy, ambiguity of censorship and hints of erotism. In that sense Bisera Alikadić overtakes the field of novel, offering a different poetics in respect to traditional understanding of feminine (in transgenerational aspect of her female family tree- for example in a symbol of para-grandma's dimije/fundamental part of traditional clothes of Muslim women; the garment which consists of baggy pants lavishly folding down to be tied at the ankles/ wrapping in between the legs; the author sees as distracting factor for unobstructed writing; to the spite of which she wrote *Larva*). Following the emancipation of Muslim woman, after the end of World War II and the policy of social organization of Socialist Federative Republic Yugoslavia, women got rights and women/female authors were in a position to appear on the literary market and write freely, as well as test genres.

Heroine's readiness to defend the right for existence of woman's being in totality is entangled into *Larva* and *Krug*. Decolonizing her body away from social practice of conquer, dominance and utilization and dominant constitutions in culture as well, the author takes the body of her heroine as a stronghold of the very revelation of the woman's being as a whole. Deciding to forego desirable materialization of body, the heroine Eva trespasses the realm of using her reason to boost her own potential so as to reach the phase of revelation and gratification of inner desires of her being, that is, subversion, the idea of transformation and articulation of subject of woman. Through action and place of reason and function of cognizance, woman gets an option to discard coded sensitivity and censorship of corporeity, put her body liberated from patriarchal shackles on its place, as well as show awareness of her own creativeness. Bisera Alikadić rounds up Eva's personality by discussing her decision, from the position of librarian, (symbolic guardian of male knowledge and epistemological order) to transcend limitations and become a female author; that confirms in the chapter about Eva's browsing of library file. In this manner, the author expresses her doubt about the choice of heroine's calling, with which the novel Larva ends. The novel ends in pessimism and in Krug it evolves and problematizes process of writing as discouragement. Apart from an assault at Eva's wish to realize herself as writer, that came from her intimate circle-her lover Lazar and family-she is immanently faced with a fear of authorship (Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar). Acceptance of her writing in her social circle entails some questionable practices: refusal and criticism, skepticism toward publishing of her novel (Eva's novel), and a certain form of

support. Eva gives her novel's rough draft to Lazar to read and instead of desired understanding and fellowship she receives disapproval and criticism of her work. It is interesting how the main character of the novel Eva is placed in the house chores setting (patriarchal oppression), while Lazar is reading her rough draft; thus underlining more dramatically differences between men and women. Her choice is to either emulate traditional roles and accept her lover's discouragement, or oppose everything for the sake of writing. Eva throws away romantic love and returns to herself and her mission of writing. Level of reaching final freedom cannot be withheld on the level of corporeal, sexual and gender; it certainly has to be lifted to the level of spiritual and rational. Process of writing helps the heroine to understand and take stock of the world, deliberate the existence and in relation to herself, with and through herself, she writes, updates the self, yet processes her identity as well. The end of *Krug*, and *Larva* when observed together-will mark (not a controversial act of writing as a compensation for marriage and inability to become a mother, as some critics claim) a basic need to explore body and expression of creativity, and finally to defend the subject, self and identity from a normative of patriarchal society. Moreso, writing will make her visible (both Eva and Bisera Alikadić), and make her name enter the books of a culture that rejects her on the account of difference and woman's disobedience. Finally, process of writing marks recapitulation of one's own life: "When I looked deeper into my soul and asked myself what to do, and not wilt just like that, I came to a solution: write" (Alikadić *Krug* 36).

Novels *Larva* and *Krug* represent a path to integrity of woman's being. Bisera Alikadić managed to create a full-fledged character in *Larva* and *Krug* - in a developing process from larvae/caterpillar to a butterfly Eva, setting up coordinates of the body as buckles and triggers of social negotiation over social agreements and positions, models, features and roles, that is, the body as a place where both freedom and meaning are achieved. Through body as a medium and a tool to negotiate freedom in general, the heroine abandons dominant and controversial patterns of culture which aim on re-shaping her and allocate a proper meaning, specifically and profoundly determined by a special specter of stereotype and negation, as well as a censorship of woman and her being. Eva, with her doing, offers resistance to patriarchal tradition, opts for self-erotization under her own conditions of circulating (hearing out inner desires of her body), thus resisting a viewpoint and control of the society. Eva acquires new experiences from the position of a liberated woman, and Eva, librarian and woman writer, steps into a field of text production and becomes a subject of the text, same as Bisera Alikadić did it in her novels and poetry-through experience and revelation of body and usurpation of family, society and culture. With a view of that, phenomenon of body and corporeity appears to be a key prerequisite/trigger and a powerful medium to a birth of a woman as social, autonomous subject.

Cultural Capital and Gender Discrimination in the Field of Education: Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Practice

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Abstract: Gender discrimination can be observed in all historical periods in diverse societies and cultures in all fields, especially in the field of education. Having chosen Parinoush Saniee's *The Book of Fate* and Anne Brontë's *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*, the present paper attempts to plot complex connections between cultural capital, gender discrimination, and education. This paper scrutinizes and examines how cultural capital has engaged with and fostered gender discrimination in the field of education based on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice. The findings of this study represent that the individuals' culturally-created habitus renders gender discrimination seems natural and therefore contributes to the continuation of masculine domination and women's submissiveness in the field of education. This paper also demonstrates that women are ultimately submitted to the prevailing culture of the patriarchal society in which they live despite their efforts to resist the confinements imposed on them by that culture.

Keywords: Pierre Bourdieu, cultural capital, field, habitus, gender discrimination, education, *The Book of Fate*, and *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*

1. Introduction

Culture is of great importance in understanding the perpetuation of gender discrimination and thus men's domination and women's submissiveness in the field of education. The notion of culture is used to refer to "forms of life and of social expression. The way people behave while […] interacting at work, engaging in ritualized social behavior […], and the like constitute a culture" (Rivkin and Ryan 1025). In fact, this definition contains the "regularities, procedures, and rituals of human life in communities" (Rivkin and Ryan 1025). Therefore, according to Rivkin and Ryan, culture can be considered as an "instrument of gender

domination" that contributes to the "reproduction of the social system by allowing only certain kinds of imagery and ideas to gain access to masses" (1025-26).

Bourdieu also believes that culture plays an important role in "the reproduction of social structures" and "the ways in which unequal power relations […] are embedded in the systems of classification used to describe and discuss everyday life as well as cultural practices" (Bourdieu, *The Field* 2). Therefore, culture can maintain social, hierarchical orders and also "mediate practices by connecting individuals and groups to institutionalized hierarchies. Whether in the form of dispositions, objects, systems, or institutions, culture embodies power relations" (Swartz 1). Bourdieu demonstrates the "ontological complicity" (Grenfell 44) that exists between objective structures and internalized structures. This points to the fact that "everything we know about the world is both established and developed as a consequence of individual acts of perception" (Grenfell 45). It also represents that the objective structures have "defining principles which are both pre-constructed and evolving according to the logic of differentiation found within the social universe" (Grenfell 45). In other words, such principles are the product of "what already has-been-values which serve the status quo and/or emerging social form" (Grenfell 45). The purpose of this study is to show how culture can lead to gender discrimination and women's submissiveness to men's domination in the field of education through Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice as well as the detailed analysis of the selected novels.

2. Theoretical Framework and Methodology

Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice provides a distinctive perspective based on which gender discrimination in the field of education can be traced. His theory consists of three key concepts, namely capital, field, and habitus that contribute to clarify the process of stratification between men and women, leading to social inequality and gender inequality in the field of education.

2.1. Bourdieu's Concept of Capital

Bourdieu believes that "it is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms" (Grenfell 101). Bourdieu used the concept of capital to conceptualize the relationships between culture and social structure and to consider culture as an important aspect of capital. Cultural capital is "long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body in the form of cultural goods" (Bourdieu and Jean-Claude 84). According to

Swartz, Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital suggests that "culture can become a power resource" (75). Therefore, culture as a form of capital can be a tool of power. Moreover, men as powerful agents in patriarchal societies are able to determine legitimate and valued capitals through cultural formats and, thus, reproduce their power while women are "*capital bearing objects*, whose value accrues to the primary groups to which they belong (for him, the family), rather than as capital-accumulating subjects in social space" (Skeggs 28-29).

2.2. Bourdieu's Concept of Field

Bourdieu defines field as "a separate social universe" that "is endowed with specific principles of evaluation of practice and works" (Bourdieu, *The Field* 162). Each field has its particular rules, which Bourdieu referred to them as *doxa*:

> Pre-reflexive, shared but unquestioned opinions and perceptions mediated by autonomous social microcosms (fields) which determine natural practice and attitudes via the internalized sense of limits and habitus of the social agents in the field. (Grenfell 120)

Therefore, the individual whose habitus conforms to the rules of a specific field has the greatest power and can both define the members of that particular field and establish legitimacy as well as the boundaries of that field. In the field of education in patriarchal societies, men are agents who "seek to preserve their power over that field" while women as "challengers will strive to overtake them, turning the field into an arena of struggle for power" (Swartz 136-37).

2.3. Bourdieu's Concept of Habitus

Habitus is responsible for the continuities and regularities observable in the social world (Bourdieu, "The Three" 73). Bourdieu refers to habitus as a "structured and structuring structure" (Bourdieu, *In Other* 170). Habitus is structured by both "past and present conditions of an individual like family upbringing or education" (Grenfell 51). Habitus is structuring, too. It implies that the individuals' habitus "helps to shape [their] present and future practices" (Grenfell 51). It is also a structure because every established order appears to be natural to the members of that order (Bourdieu, *Outline* 164). Therefore, it can be inferred that the most important characteristic of habitus is its embodiment. McNay states that gendered habitus includes a "layer of embodied experience that is not immediately amenable to self-fashioning" (103). In his book *Masculine Domination*, Bourdieu considers a little room for change or resisting gender norms and

describes women as "condemned to give at every moment the appearances of a natural foundation to the diminished identity that is socially bestowed on them" (30). Therefore, it is obvious that women are forced to take part in the symbolic violence of gender and to adhere to structures and agents of domination.

Bourdieu concludes that there is a reciprocal relationship between habitus and field and summarizes his discussion as such: "[(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice" (Bourdieu, *Distinction* 101). This equation means "practice results from relations between one's dispositions (habitus) and one's position in a field (capital), within the current state of play of that social arena (field)" (Grenfell 51). Therefore, practices are not merely the product of one's habitus but are the outcome of relations between one's habitus and one's current circumstances.

3. The Field of Education and Power Relations in *The Book of Fate* by Parinoush Saniee

Education is one of the most important aspects of cultural capital. Bourdieu's investigation of educational institutions is in parallel with his survey of the Kabyle in Algeria in that he pays particular attention to "the ways in which the structured and structuring habitus of agents are positioned within the fields in which they strategize and act" (Grenfell 187). In order to investigate education as a form of cultural capital in the life of the female protagonist of the novel, Masoumeh, and her reaction(s) from the viewpoint of Bourdieu's theory of practice, her educational field will be subdivided into two subfields including the subfield of her celibacy period and the subfield of her marital period.

3.1. The Subfield of Masoumeh's Celibacy Period

A significant form of cultural capital is its institutionalization. Institutionalized cultural capital is "a form of objectification which [...] confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee" (Bourdieu, "The Forms" 243). The home is recognized as the primary institution in which the acquisition of cultural capital takes place, and individuals learn their specific attitudes, beliefs, values, and norms. In fact, the family is the initial source for "the systematic cultivation of a sensibility in which principles of selection implicit within the environment translate into physical and cognitive propensities expressed in dispositions to acts of particular kinds" (Grenfell 111). Cultural capital "requires the investment of time by parents, other family members, or hired professionals to sensitize the child to cultural dispositions" (Swartz 76). Therefore, the home is

considered as a site of social reproduction that replicates and retains the cultural capital.

In this subfield, Masoumeh's parents and her brothers constitute the most important pole. Her parents are illiterate, and her brothers are not well-educated. Her brother Ahmad "didn't study and kept failing year eight until he finally dropped out of school" (Saniee 18). It points to the lack of education as cultural capital in her family. On the other hand, the preliminary discussion of the novel takes place in the city of Qom, signifying that her family is a religious and traditional one that is quite influenced by patriarchal thinking. In traditional Iranian families, men have a superior position in relation to women in the family hierarchy and, thus, have the power and authority to define and determine worthy and worthless norms. In such families, men try to keep and reproduce their power by ignoring the importance of girls' educational continuation, limiting their educational fields to certain types, and forbidding them from going to school. It is because education as a form of "symbolic capital" works together with "other capitals to advantage or disadvantage, and to position social agents in multiple fields" (Grenfell 76). Therefore, Masoumeh's brothers disagree with her going to school. "From the first, Ahmad had been against my going to school […] he didn't want me to study more than he had" (Saniee 18). As Bourdieu represents, it can be inferred that education, as a sort of cultural capital, is at the service of those "social agents taking up dominant positions in the universal field of power" (Grenfell 76).

Moreover, to maintain and reproduce their power, men are able to classify education into various types due to their power in patriarchal societies and set specific forms of education for women. First, men consider it worthwhile to adhere to the notion that a successful woman should be   well-educated in sewing and cooking classes, which make them ready for their roles as wives and housekeepers. Then, they force the individuals to internalize these attitudes and thoughts as accepted cultural norms and values, *doxa*, in such a way that these attitudes and thoughts shape the individuals' habitus and their practices. In fact, this embodiment constitutes the central aspect of the individuals' habitus.

Individuals learn to want what conditions make possible for them and not aspire to what is not available to them. The conditions in which the individuals live generate dispositions compatible with these conditions and in a sense pre-adapted to their demands. The most improbable practices are therefore excluded by a kind of immediate submission to order that inclines agents to make a virtue of necessity, that is, to refuse what is categorically denied and to will the inevitable. (Bourdieu, *The Logic* 54)

Masoumeh's mother, Khanom Jan, and grandmother are examples of women in whom the established and widely-known cultural norms and values about women's education have penetrated their unconscious minds and transformed into their habitus. Khanom Jan believes that "Masoumeh has her year six certificate and even studied an extra year. It's time for her to get married" (Saniee 18). Her grandmother also complains about Masoumeh's going to school and repeatedly warns Masoumeh's mother, "your girl has no skills. When she gets married, they will send her back within a month" (Saniee 18). She notifies Masoumeh's father that "why do you keep spending money on the girl? Girls are useless. They belong to someone else. You work so hard and spend it on her and in the end you'll end up having to spend a lot more to give her away" (Saniee 19).

Using various techniques, Masoumeh does her best to resist the imposed attitudes of Iran's patriarchal society that filled up the unconscious minds of her family members. Her techniques include praying to God: "I went to Her Holiness Masoumeh's Shrine every day" (Saniee 19), crying and entreating her father: "I threw myself at father's feet and cried a bucketful of tears until he agreed" (Saniee 20), and taking self-care: "Ahmad was so angry he wanted to strangle me and used every excuse to beat me up […] I would wrap my chador tightly around me and took care not to give him any excuse" (Saniee 20). As Masoumeh's techniques become effective, she is allowed to continue her education.

There are many factors that play important roles in learners' academic achievements or their decline in knowledge. "The most important factor is the family environment. Parents play a strategic role in the family, and this has a great impact on the emergence of children's talents and their intellectual maturity" (Alavi Aala 126). Therefore, the family and especially the parents are the most important factors in academic progress. Bourdieu also argues that education is "one of a series of strategies used by the families to perpetuate or advance their social position" (Bourdieu, *The State* 273). However, despite not having her family support in the field of education, Masoumeh attempts to attain the highest achievements in education at school. Although her progress and success at school are remarkable and highly commendable by everyone at school, her family members dismiss her achievements as worthless and try to discourage her. Masoumeh says, "at home, no one showed any reaction […] Mahmood says [to her] so what? What do you think you've achieved" (Saniee 27)? In addition, her father says, "well, why didn't you become the top student in your class" (Saniee 27)? Also, in response to Masoumeh's friend, Parvaneh, praising Masoumeh's

scores, Masoumeh's mother says, "what's the use my girl? These things are not practical for a girl. She is wasting her time. Pretty soon she'll have to go to her husband's house and wash nappies" (Saniee 39).

These indicate that women's individual achievements in the field of education are viewed as worthless in Iran's patriarchal society. In other words, Iranian men first compare women's education with their household duties. Then, they try to keep and reproduce their power by embedding the trivialization of women's education and their success and improvement in this field in Iran's inhabitants especially women themselves. In fact, they attempt to turn this trivialization into women's habitus. This also points to the concept of *distinction*. What Bourdieu means by the term *distinction* is that "individuals in social space each develop cultural peculiarities which mark them out from one another [...] These differences can become a focus of symbolic struggles" in which "members of those clusters seek to establish both the superiority of their peculiarities and an official sanction for them" (Grenfell 96). Therefore, men in patriarchal societies establish different cultural norms and values and create a distinction between them as the proper habitus of males and females through internalizing them in individuals' unconscious minds. "The habituation of cultural differences and criteria for judging them higher or lower" (Grenfell 96) is an important aspect of this process. Bourdieu believes that habituation "allows differences and ultimately inequality between clusters of individuals to appear natural and thus both inevitable and just" (Grenfell 96). By overlooking education, viewing marriage as something prior to education, and regarding women's duties in tasks such as washing, sweeping up, caring for the husbands' needs, and reproducing, Masoumeh's mother ignores women's dignity. Also, by accepting the seemingly natural oppression as well as being submitted to men's orders, Masoumeh's mother not only promotes the superiority of men over women but also seeks to convey these unpleasant experiences and fundamental beliefs, *doxa*, to the next generation, her daughter. "The transmission of cultural capital" is undoubtedly "the best hidden form of hereditary transmission of capital" and, thus, it "receives disproportionately greater weight in the system of reproduction strategies as the direct, visible forms of transmission tend to be more strongly censored and controlled" (Bourdieu, "The Forms" 246).

Once again, Masoumeh becomes frustrated and feels worried by approaching the end of the school year because education as the cultural capital does not exist in her home. And also, her family members, underestimating women's education in comparison to their main duties of housekeeping, can prevent her from attending school.

"They don't care whether I am doing well at school or not. They say anything beyond the first three years of secondary school doesn't do a girl any good" (Saniee 31). However, by resorting to her father's compassion and persuading him to speak with her school manager, Masoumeh succeeds in obtaining the right to continue her education despite all the difficulties and opposition of her family members. "Ali would kick my books aside" (Saniee 37). But her happiness and success do not last long because she is completely banned from going to school through Ali's spying activities and finding Saiid's love letters in her bag. Masoumeh is imprisoned at home and physically tortured, and her family members decide that she has to marry as soon as possible.

Since the pure love of a teenage girl for a boy is unacceptable, the girls will be left in miserable and defenseless conditions if seen. This means that women themselves participate in violence against their congeners instead of supporting them because of the existence of patriarchal cultural beliefs and norms in their unconscious minds. "Femininity is a symbolic capital exclusive to the female sex," and this symbolic capital is manifested in "feminine beauty and elegance, maternal delicacy, and other similar characteristics" (Gol Moradi 183). Therefore, maternal delicacy is one of the symbolic capitals that is not noticeable in the field to which Masoumeh belongs. Instead of mediating and defending her daughter, Masoumeh's mother lets Masoumeh's brothers apply extreme violence against her. She also deprives Masoumeh of seeing her only friend, Parvaneh, and even does not send her to sewing classes that could have been a gleam of hope. Therefore, she takes her freedom away at once.

Masoumeh has turned into a submissive person who cannot resist. She tried to commit suicide several times, but there were in vain. She now discovers that all resisting ways are closed and decides to surrender herself. "By then, I knew that the only way I could ever leave that house was as someone's wife" (Saniee 67).

3.2. The Subfield of Masoumeh's Marital Period

After marriage, the cultural capital of education exists in the subfield to which Masoumeh belongs. But the question is whether the existence of this capital in Masoumeh's current life can change her situation. When Masoumeh asks her husband's idea about her education, he says,

I would rather be with an educated and intelligent person […] Everyone should be able to pursue what they like and believe to be the right path for them. Being married doesn't mean impeding your

spouse's interests. On the contrary, it means supporting them. (Saniee 104-105)

Masoumeh is very glad that her husband is not only an obstacle to her education but also a firm supporter for achieving her aspirations. However, in patriarchal societies, some rules are enacted that apparently refer to the equality of men and women, and women are convinced to accept them. But, in fact, men take advantage of these rules to advance their goals. Her husband, Hamid, believes that "men and women have equal and clearly defined rights, and neither has the right to fetter the hands and feet of the other or to force them to do things they don't like. And they don't have the right to cross-examine each other either" (Saniee 107). Although this unwritten law can endow Masoumeh with her human rights, it has some disadvantages, as well. Hamid is a Marxist intellectual and political activist who intends not only to take advantage of this law to make himself free from the shackle of the family but also to obviate Masoumeh, who can prevent him from achieving his political aspirations. This points to the existence of symbolic violence imposed on women. Symbolic violence is a form of "gentle violence, imperceptible and invisible even to its victims" imposed through the "symbolic channels of communication and cognition (more precisely, misrecognition), recognition or even feeling" (Bourdieu, *Masculine* 1-2). This relation, therefore, suggests an opportunity to "grasp the logic of the domination exerted in the name of a symbolic principle known and recognized by the dominant and the dominated [...] a lifestyle (or a way of thinking, speaking, and acting)" (Bourdieu, *Masculine* 2). Therefore, symbolic violence can be a more influential means of domination and also oppression because it is installed within social structures to contribute to the reproduction and maintenance of social hierarchies. Thus, those hierarchies are unquestioningly regarded by the dominant and dominated classes as natural and legitimate. Symbolic violence "is exerted whenever any power imposes meanings and imposes them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its ability to impose those meanings" (Mander 432).

Masoumeh gradually realizes that Hamid's intended support should only be unilaterally provided by herself. In fact, it is her husband who wants Masoumeh to support him in achieving his goals. He wants her not to hinder his activities. Masoumeh is only verbally supported by her husband and receives no practical assistance in this regard. By giving birth to a child, having new responsibilities of motherhood in addition to the wifehood duties, as well as finding a job and earning a living due

to her husband's absence, her education becomes even much more difficult. Masoumeh says, "the universities opened. But the last time on my mind was going to classes" (Saniee 202). Or she says elsewhere that "every day after work, I would do our shopping and then stop by to see Bibi" and then "the housework would start […] I would collapse like a corpse and sleep. Given all that, I no longer thought I could continue my education. I had already lost one year, and it seemed I would have to lose many more" (Saniee 206).

Finally, when Masoumeh adjusts to her new circumstances and has the opportunity to continue her education, her father-in-law says, "you are under a lot of pressure. Don't you think managing both a job and the university will be too much for you" (Saniee 211)? Her mother-in-law also says, "you are at work from morning until late afternoon, and I guess you will then want to go to the university. But what about these boys" (Saniee 211)? From the words of her father-in-law and mother-in-law, it can be understood that in Iran's patriarchal society, the motherhood duties of a woman and her care for her children are recognized as cultural values and have precedence over her personal interests. By internalizing and accepting this culture, her father-in-law and mother-in-law also want Masoumeh to devote herself to her children first and then pursue her own personal interest, education. But Masoumeh does not give up again and tries to manage all her affairs by taking only a few courses. But this time, with the universities' closure due to the political and social disagreements, she is unable to continue her education. However, when the conditions are conducive to learning and universities are opened, Masoumeh does not have any eagerness to resume her education and eventually succumbs after much effort and resistance.

4. The Field of Education and Power Relations in *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* by Anne Brontë

Using culture as a practical and strategic method, men in the patriarchal Victorian society also attempted to retain their superiority and reproduce their power. Actually, in the field of gender, "men have worked to establish a case for the superiority of men's essential nature in all of those domains" that "determine the real worth of a person- from superiority in the moral sense to superiority in […] capacities of logic and rational argument" (White 167). Therefore, this is of significance to "the maintenance and extension of the inequitable arrangements between the genders, the justification of the oppression of women, and the support of male power, privilege, and violence" (White 167). Anne Brontë's novel *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* demonstrates that how the

established cultural norms and principles, created by men in the Victorian era, can impose limitations on women's education and induce them to be educated in particular fields. The female protagonist's reactions to the established cultural principles about women's education will also be scrutinized.

In the Victorian patriarchal society, there was a great and significant difference between girls and boys in education and training, which was absolutely influenced by the culture of that period. It is "a very powerful thing to have the privilege of self-description, the ability to be an expert about the facts of your own life," and "if your life is marked by lower class, you are less likely to be considered an expert about anything, even your own life" (Suarez 362). Therefore, men who possessed a superior position in the hierarchical order of the Victorian society were able to determine the domain of women's educational fields and their peculiar cultural values and principles. Thus, they could form women's habitus in this way.

Therefore, in the Victorian patriarchal society, women's training and educational fields were confined to those that could accelerate men's achievement of their goals. One training that women had to be educated in was to stay at home like an angel and run their housework chores. This doctrine stemmed from the Victorian culture that emphasized the separation and division of spheres of activities: "man for the field and woman for the heart: / Man for the sword and for the needle she: / Man with the head and woman with the heart. / Man to command and woman to obey; / All else confusion" (Stoneman 131). This doctrine was embedded in the unconscious minds of the Victorian women, who not only did not see it as in conflict with their rights but also regarded it as a necessity. They strived to adapt to it and, therefore, turned it into their habitus. As Winkle-Wanger states, "cultural preferences are accepted without recognition of them as an exercise of power but rather are seen as normal cultural expressions that exist within the natural social order" (15). Bourdieu also mentions that "the schemes of habitus, the primary form of classification owe their specific efficacy to the fact that they function below the level of consciousness and language, beyond the reach of introspective scrutiny and control of will" (Bourdieu, *Distinction* 466). Because of being unconscious, habitus is resistant to change and evolution. "These dispositions or tendencies are durable in that they last over time, and transposable in being capable of becoming active within a wide variety of theatres of social action" (Bourdieu, *Sociology* 87).

This is evident when Gilbert's mother talks to his son about his marriage and the girl he has to choose. She believes that "you must fall

each into your proper place. You'll do your business, and she, if she's worthy of you, will do hers; but it's your business to please yourself, and hers to please you" (Brontë 54). She exemplifies her own life for her son to prove the truth of her belief: "your poor, dear father" never "put himself out of his way to pleasure me. He always said I was a good wife, and did my duty; and he always did his," and he "always did justice to my good dinner, and hardly ever spoiled my cookery by delay- and that's as much as any woman can expect of any man" (Brontë 54). This refers to the fact that habitus is a "structural structure that derives from the class-specific experiences of socialization in family and peer groups" (Swartz 102). In fact, the structuring characteristic of a given habitus "predisposes actors to select forms of conduct that are most likely to succeed in light of their resources and past experience" (Swartz 106). This reflects that habitus naturally forces an individual to deal with the present and anticipate the future according to past experiences. Therefore, individuals have to create "self-fulfilling prophecies according to different class opportunities" (Swartz 104). So, habitus involves a link between past, present, and future.

Gilbert's mother also tries to teach this doctrine to other women, including her own daughter. She tells Rose that "in all household matters, we have only two things to consider, first, what's proper to be done, and secondly, what's most agreeable to the gentlemen of the house- anything will do for the ladies" (Brontë 53). She tries to give some useful advice, necessary to be known by every respectable woman, to Mrs. Graham, as well. She does this because she thinks that Mrs. Graham may remarry although she is single now. She shares her information with Mrs. Graham about "household matters, and all the little niceties of cookery, and such things […] and several excellent receipts" (Brontë 13). Mrs. Graham expresses her disagreement with these matters by ignoring them. This can be understood from Gilbert's mother's retelling of Mrs. Graham's reaction towards her advice. "I gave her some useful pieces of information […] the value of which, she evidently could not appreciate, for she begged I would not trouble myself" (Brontë 13).

Gender discrimination in the education field in Brontë's novel can also be understood from the conversation between Mrs. Graham and Gilbert when talking about how boys and girls should be trained. Believing that little Arthur does not receive the suitable training, Gilbert says, "I only say that it is better to arm and strengthen your hero, than to disarm and enfeeble the foe" (Brontë 30). Gilbert brings an example for his belief:

> If you were to rear an oak sapling in a hothouse, tending it carefully night and day […] you could not expect it to become a hardy tree […] exposed to all the action of the elements, and not even sheltered from the shock of the tempest. (Brontë 30)

But when Mrs. Graham asks him whether he has the same opinion about girls, she encounters Gilbert's *no* answer. Expressing the differences between boys' and girls' training, Mrs. Graham states that girls are believed to be

> tenderly and delicately nurtured, like a hot-house plant- taught to cling to others for direction and support, and guarded […] from the very knowledge of evil […] A woman cannot be too little exposed to temptation, or too little acquainted with vice, or anything connected therewith. It must be, either, that you think she is essentially so vicious, or so feeble-minded that she cannot withstand temptation, and though she may be pure and innocent as long as she is kept in ignorance and restraint. (Brontë 30-31)

This means that women do not possess pure virtue and will be corrupted if they are exposed to sin. In fact, it was believed that "the greater her knowledge, the wider her liberty, the deeper will be her depravity" (Brontë 31). But on the other hand, in men, who are considered a superior and nobler sex, there is a "natural tendency to goodness, guarded by a superior fortitude, which, the more it is exercised by trials and dangers, is only the further developed" (Brontë 31).

It can be inferred that boys have to experience everything to understand themselves and acquire knowledge about who they are. These experiences help their training to be strengthened and embellished. But for the girls, the situation is different. The aim of their training is not to make them powerful but to provide shelter for them. In other words, girls are not permitted to experience things in the same way as boys. Girls can neither gain experience of various things by themselves nor benefit from the experience of others. Bourdieu believes that "the social relations of domination and exploitation" that exist between the sexes are the result of the "principles of vision and division," leading to the "classifying of all the things of the world and all practices according to distinctions that are reducible to the male/female opposition" (Bourdieu, *Masculine* 30). This distinction can also point to a form of symbolic violence. This symbolic violence reflects the fact that "the relationships within fields and their hierarchies of values are in reality purely arbitrary" and also represents "the arbitrary and

instrumental character of symbolic capitals as types of assets that bring social and cultural advantage or disadvantage" (Grenfell 104). In other words, "the legitimations of the system of social domination and subordination constituted within and through these symbolic relations are ultimately based on interest" (Grenfell 104).

However, Mrs. Graham insists on her own beliefs. She attempts not to succumb to the existing culture and attitudes of Victorian society. She states that "I would have both so to benefit by the experience of others, and the precepts of a higher authority, that they should know beforehand to refuse the evil and choose the good, and require no experimental proofs to teach them the evil of transgression" (Brontë 31). She continues to say that she can never let a poor girl enter the world "unarmed against her foes, and ignorant of the snares that beset her path" (Brontë 31). She does not also want to "watch and guard her deprived of self-respect and self-reliance" because she may lose "the power, or the will to watch and guard herself" (Brontë 31). Moreover, Mrs. Graham's attitudes about training and experience are not merely limited to words and giving a speech about that. She does her best to pass on her own knowledge and experiences to others. The typical examples are her help to her friends Esther and Milicent. However, she has to return to Grassdale at the end of the novel. This means that the duties and training associated with being a spouse in the Victorian period run deep with Helen as if they are part of her unconscious mind and identity. She finally conforms to what the Victorian society expected her to be and has to yield to the Victorian patriarchal society's demands, established through the accepted culture.

5. Conclusion
Based on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice, cultural capital is the most important factor in the constitution of gender discrimination in the field of education. Deep in the education field are the cultural norms and principles that form individuals' dispositions and habitus. According to the mentioned formula, [(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice, the relationship between field and habitus is a two-way one:

> Individuals learn to want what conditions make possible for them and not to aspire to what is not available to them. The conditions in which the individual lives generate dispositions compatible with these conditions and in a sense pre-adapted to their demands. The most improbable practices are therefore excluded by a kind of immediate submission to order that inclines agents to make a virtue of necessity, that is, to refuse what is categorically denied and to will the inevitable. (Bourdieu, *The Logic* 54)

Moreover, the embodied nature of habitus emphasizes that "the somatization of power relations involves the imposition of limits upon the body which simultaneously constitute the condition of possibility of agency" (McNay 104). Bettero also points that "the operation of habitus, and its interaction with field, is partly a question of the international properties of networks, in which our practice is subject to the contingently variable characteristics and dispositions of the people around us" (20). Therefore, men in patriarchal societies can establish dispositions about women's education by creating common and accepted cultural norms and principles. These cultural principles are internalized and stored in women's unconscious minds as ordinary matters. Thus, these internalized principles form women's habitus without being recognized as an exertion of power. This can represent the symbolic violence that constitutes "the essential aspect of male domination" (Bourdieu, *Masculine* 11) in the field of education. This symbolic violence is "an invisible mode of dominating, a concealed form of violence- the realization of a world view or social order anchored in the habitus of the dominating as well as the dominated" (Krais and William 58).

Undoubtedly, literature, particularly novel, confronts us with numerous notable works that manifest gender discrimination, developed by the male-dominated society's embodied culture, in the education field. Women writers have considered the literary genre of the novel superior to other literary genres. In other words, this literary form has become a preferred tool with which women have analyzed and published aspects of their life and their status and conditions in various fields, particularly the field of education. Good examples are the selected novels of Anne Brontë and Parinoush Saniee. The selected novels provide objective evidence to understand the relationship between the existence and continuation of gender discrimination in the education field and culture as a form of capital at the service of men in patriarchal societies.

In this investigation, the acquisition of conclusion is based on close reading and contextual analysis of the selected novels according to the raised concepts by Bourdieu's theory of practice. The significance of culture as a form of capital and its impact on both creating individuals' habitus, especially women's, and constructing gender discrimination in the field of education are reflected and manifested by the characters in these selected novels. In both novels, the male characters in the patriarchal societies of Iran and the Victorian era establish a set of cultural principles and norms that restrict the female characters' education to domestic education and give it precedence over scholarly

knowledge. These cultural principles are embedded in the unconscious minds of some female characters and turned into their habitus. Masoumeh's mother and mother-in-law and Gilbert's mother are examples of such women. They even try to transfer these cultural principles to the main female characters. Therefore, they contribute to the reproduction of men's power and superiority and, thus, women's submissiveness. However, the female protagonists in both novels first try to resist these false established cultural principles that imposed limitations on their field of education but are, finally, forced to submit to the established culture of the societies in which they live.

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KULTURNI KAPITAL I RODNA NERAVNOPRAVNOST U OBLASTI OBRAZOVANJA: TEORIJA PRAKSE PJERA BURDIJEA

Rodna neravnopravnost može se posmatrati u svim istorijskim periodima u različitim društvima i kulturama, u svim oblastima, posebno u oblasti obrazovanja. U ovom se članku analiziraju *Knjiga moje sudbine* od Parinoush Saniee i *Stanar Wildfell Halla* od Anne Brontë i pokušavaju se utvrditi složene veze između kulturnog kapitala, rodne neravnopravnosti i obrazovanja. U članku se pomno razmatra i ispituje kako je kulturni kapital povezan i kako je

podsticao rodnu neravnopravnost u oblasti obrazovanja na osnovu teorije prakse Pjera Burdijea. Rezultati pokazuju da formirani kulturni habitus pojedinca opravdava rodnu diskriminaciju i doprinosi nastavku muške dominacije i inferiornosti žena u području obrazovanja. Na osnovu analiziranih djela u radu se takođe pokazuje da su žene podložne dominantnoj kulturi patrijarhalnog društva u kome žive uprkos svojim naporima da se odupru ograničenjima koja im nameće navedeni kulturni habitus.

Ključne riječi: Pjer Burdije, kulturni kapital, oblast, habitus, rodnadiskriminacija, obrazovanje, *Knjiga moje sudbine, Stanar Wildfell Halla*

FRANZ KAFKA IN SIGHT OF POPCULTURE

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Abstract: The paper deals with the research of elements of popular culture in Franz Kafka's oeuvre from the aspect of the relationship between society and popular culture in the 20th century. The research leads to several examples in which, while building popular culture, the heroes of Kafka's works try to solve their own emotional, family, religious and social problems. In this regard, this paper demonstrates how popular culture in Kafka's works manifests itself through the interaction of the broad masses of people with government structures, up to his personal relationship with his father, which grows into rebellion. In this way, this work points to a theme that runs through almost all of Kafka's works, which is the problem of modern man. Relying on the theory of John Fiske, this paper aims to present the importance of the elements of popular culture in the broader plan of the analyzed segments, that is, on the level of their modernist character. Since in the era of simulation and representation, any kind of authentic and original culture is virtually impossible, this paper tries to point out Kafka's unique way of resisting the imposed way of life and a view of the world through literature.

Keywords: society, popular culture, Fiske, everyday life, struggle, adaptation

Introduction

The concept of culture has been defined in numerous studies, mainly from the fields of sociology, anthropology and psychology. Kloskovska (2001:11) points out that culture considered from a genetic point of view is achieved through tradition, i.e. by transferring cultural achievements between individuals and generations. A special role in the overall culture is played by language as the art of expressing ideas by using sounds, marking objects by using sounds, and the art of ruling the world by using words that flow from the mouth. In the middle of the 20th century, a phase of the development of cultural anthropology followed, which is closely related to the point of view that culture is the product of various forms of human social activity, because culture is acquired through social transmission, has an ideational character and is accepted through norms and patterns. Kloskovska (2001:14) emphasizes that culture represents a key apparatus for satisfying human

needs, but it is also an impulse braking instrument, subject to changes of adjustment. Although it has the form of a system, that system should be understood as open, directed towards integration, which has not been completely reached.

Mass culture as a form of society developed under the influence of the development of mass media, primarily television, film, press, radio, and all in the context of mass production and mass consumption. In this connection, it should be emphasized that it cannot be understood without its two fractions - folk culture and high culture, within which popular culture also developed. From an etymological point of view, according to the Latin word from which populus - the people - was born, we see that culture is not a concept that can be viewed simply and without a close connection with the national basis. John Fiske (2001:28) defines popular culture as a part of power relations, "it always bears traces of the constant struggle between dominance and subordination, power and resistance." It is not consumption, but culture - an active process of creating and transmitting meaning and pleasure within a certain social system.

In his study *Popular Culture*, Fiske gives a whole series of elements that reflect the process of creating popular culture, and which are highly represented as central motifs in almost all of Kafka's works, namely: popular pleasures, spectacle, popular texts in relation to the use of language, popular productivity, everyday life, adaptation, manipulation, excess, contradiction, complexity as well as the struggle between the dominant and subordinate classes.

Franz Kafka in sight of popculture

By the examination of popular culture, Fiske means the study of the circulation of the text, explaining that the meaning of popular texts can only be reached intertextually, more precisely from following the way of their commercial promotion, through the interpretation of the users themselves, to the meaning derived from them by the media (2001:200). This continuous circulation of meaning in popular culture marks its tendency to repeat and shape the time of everyday life.

By publishing his cult works such as *the Methamorphosis* and *America*, Kafka became a unique representative of the popular culture of the 20s of the last century, in which the technique of stream of consciousness is masterfully connected with traditional storytelling procedures and which is considered the most significant pledge for the future of Kafka's art. In this regard, it should be emphasized that an outstanding work of world literature, *the Process*, a novel that will push the boundaries of the written word, was created on those

foundations. On the other hand, it should be emphasized the connection between *the Process* and *the Castle*, which complement each other in a way, because the Process does not pose a problem, but only describes it, but does not conclude, while the *Castle* resolves things to a certain extent, but does not remove the problem - it only helps to let's accept it, because each chapter is a new defeat and at the same time a new beginning. In *the Process*, the main protagonist Jozef K. accepts the indictment, although no one informs him of it, although he does not know what he should defend himself against, although he encounters evil, immorality and depravity at every step, precisely wanting to prove all the absurdity of the accusation, he thus allows it is he who gets drawn into the general vortex of nonsense. In his desire to prove that the accusation is baseless, he clashes with an unknown force, which is stronger because it is mysterious. It is precisely the awareness that he is addressing someone, that he will influence the understanding of the one with whom he communicates through the text, that makes Kafka an active part of the process of creating popular culture, because if cultural material offers the possibility of connecting with everyday life, if it is relevant to the social situation of the reader, then it can be consider that it is suitable for participation in the process of creating popular culture.

Kafkaesque style, space and atmosphere

In Kafka's works, the focus is on specific relationships in space-time categories, that is, on the concept of relating space, time and identity, where space is often disputed. Three types of time appear in his works: individual, historical and collective, and the space in which the individual lives in his works is undefined. For example, the reader is first in the building where Jozef K lives, then in the building where the trial is held, and the courtroom is entered from the kitchen, there are also tenants in the offices, everything changes and moves from one to the other. This space often resembles a labyrinth in which an individual loses his own identity and has no right to a personal life and thus loses his dignity, because it is a space that swallows the individual, where discomfort, caution and fear are felt on every page. In such area, there are no signs, no streets, no parts of the city, we do not know the country or the city where the action takes place. There are only partial indications that carry certain symbolism. On the other hand, we can see that Kafka is very realistic in his descriptions of urban space, i.e. pictures of the city as a crucial representation of popular culture, where he gives a detailed description of the house, yard, and even details such as clothesline, children playing, stairs, offices, people meeting each other, etc. By

reading Kafka's works in detail, the average reader can conclude that this space is often full of banalities, unbelievable, and very often surreal. That's probably why Kafka uses allusion and allegory in his works, which gives every reader the opportunity to interpret the idea and meaning of his works in his own unique way, but above all, Kafka is quite specific in his views on the world and human rights. In his works, the personality disappears, its self and everything is uncertain and indefinite in duration, as an individual who is completely unable to integrate into the world of popular culture. Hidden in those labyrinths in which the individual moves is the accusation of powerful forces that have priority over everything and very often are against the individual and even the people themselves, for the sake of their own interests and actions, which always leave an indelible mark (Aisenberg, 1986:11).

Fantastic elements

Fiske (2001:212) emphasizes that the elements of fantasy lead to the exaggeration and distortion of conventional meaning, thereby mocking it in a way. This means that in the study of popular culture, the focus shifts from the question of what people read to the question of how they read it. Attention is directed not so much to the structure of the original text, but more to its role in shaping the consciousness of the readers. They may act as "fans", who will not accept one-way communication, but will tend to be part of the "process" that implies a new use of the offered cultural product. Fiske calls this process popular productivity, alluding to the fact that language is a special medium of mediating popular culture.

In this connection, the famous short story *the Metamorphosis,* which was published in 1912, is certainly one of the best and most representative examples from Kafka's oeuvre, in which elements of fantasy can be recognized, which arose from family relationships. It is common knowledge that he had an extremely strict and authoritative father, so he himself felt like an insect next to him, which has armor and many legs and represents something insignificant that can be easily crushed. This work Kafka begins "in medias res", with the iconic first sentence when Gregor Samsa woke up one morning from restless dreams and found in his bed transformed into a large insect (original in German: ungeheurer Ungeziefer), which can literally be translated as a monstrous monster, with the word "Ungeziefer" primarily means unwanted and dirty animals. This story follows the life, or rather the living, but also the decline of the main protagonist Gregor Samsa, as well as his gradual alienation, first from the outside world, and then from his family and his own life. Therefore, many critics consider this work, which

is full of symbolism and metaphors, to be one of the most important works of the 20th century, because it depicts popular culture as a tendency to penetrate further and to use the energy of a fairy tale, folk tale or myth, while at the same time retaining strong contemporary social significance (Wünsch, 1991:17).

Kafka's family relations

Fiske (2001:233) explains that: "popular culture is not a culture of the submissive. People who are subordinated in white patriarchal capitalism are not hopelessly shackled by it. Their economic and social deprivation did not rob them of their diversity, or the ability to resist or evade the forces that make them subordinate; on the contrary, it is precisely this deprivation that motivates them to create constantly adaptive tactics of daily resistance". This daily resistance is primarily reflected in Kafka's relationship with his father, and in this sense we can talk about another element of popular culture, which is the struggle between dominance and subordinates.

It is quite clear that Kafka in *the Matamorphosis* reveals the family as a community in which everything functions on the basis of interests, because the modern family largely suffers from egoism, hypocrisy and envy, and the basic principle that is present both in the family and in society is the principle of benefit. What was Kafka's father in his childhood, later becomes a society that stifles personality and prevents the development of individuality, which is one of the most important motifs of contemporary literature and popular culture (Dettmering, 1995:26). Such a person cannot lead a life the way he wants, because society somehow sets rules and boundaries for him. The enormous authority of his father, but also the fear that he would reach or even exceed his father, limited Kafka in terms of emancipation. In a word, in relation to his father, even when he observed all his father's flaws, bad character traits, his injustice and tyranny, Kafka still remained a man transformed into an insect, a convict in a prison colony, a forced expert in starvation, a badger who his pit, that is, from behind and secretly, he shows his teeth, never daring to publicly confront his father, and in this way expose himself to the risk of complete defeat or victory, which opens completely new perspectives and possibilities.

A sense of freedom and rebellion

Getting out of control creates a sense of freedom, rebellion inspires riotous behavior and proves the vitality of popular forces. In considering the everyday and its role in the formation of popular culture, Fiske refers to the interpretations of Eco, De Certeau and other cultural theorists. He

emphasizes that in a capitalist society, consumption is the only way to obtain things necessary for life, but every act of consumption is also an act of cultural production of meaning. The strategy of power, as he states, is particularly visible in places such as large shopping centers, squares, schools, workplaces, authorities, where power holders try to establish control over the everyday lives of ordinary people. Fiske further emphasizes De Certeau's idea that popular culture can be found in "adaptation" or more precisely "ways of using imposed systems" through manipulation and tricks (Fiske, 2001:215). If we look back at these statements, we can understand better the essence of his two main novels: *Process* and *Castle*. The heroes of these novels can certainly be interpreted as tragic figures, who frantically strive to achieve not only the possibility of entering the life of someone close to them, but also contemporary society, which rejects them and instills fear in them even before God himself, instead of striving to achieve a close contact with heavenly forces (Engel, 2002: 256). Therefore, we can say that almost all "processes" in Kafka's works are processes that resulted from a rebellious relationship with his authoritative father, and that relationship between an authoritative father and a submissive son is actually the equivalent between an ordinary man and God, which Kafka especially evokes in *the Process* and in *the Castle.*

Religion and politics

The influence of religion and politics on people's behavior, on their everyday life, undoubtedly leads to the understanding that these are two extremely strong elements of popular culture. On the one hand, the church wants to shape people's behavior within the framework of its sermons, which often include political views. The following examples best illustrate the relationship between politics and partly religion in the Process:

No," said the priest, "you don't have to consider everything true, you just have to consider it necessary."
"He wants to free himself, but freedom is impossible, for how can one free oneself when one does not know what they are guilty of?"
"Nevertheless, above all, it is the lawyer's connections that matter most, and they are, for the most part, the value of one's defense."
" He had suffered defeat only because he sought to do battle."
(Kafka 1998)

From these examples, the average reader can conclude that the whole world, although it is very often absurd, unclear, and even funny, is woven from a series of rules that participate in the creation of reality,

which often do not allow anyone who does not fit into its framework, to find his place under the sun. Such is the case with Jozef K., who is a proud loner, who leads a senseless struggle, trying to reject the rules imposed on him by modern society. In this connection, a key question arises, how can popular culture resist the ruling system, modern society, and even church dogmas? Namely, popular culture is focused on the everyday life of an ordinary individual, which means that it first of all manifests itself at the micro-political level. Only if change occurs within ourselves, is it possible for things to change in the long term, because unlike radical social upheavals, popular culture is progressive. In this regard, David Danov, the author of important studies on the process of carnivalization and the grotesque in the works of writers, as was Kafka himself, emphasizes a specific view of life that exudes a sense of energy and vitality in a world that promises not only joy, but also a certain amount of suffering. Kafka's reader is rewarded with a view of the world that still contains much that has been lost elsewhere, i.e. a place where "possible" instantly turns into "probable", while the text takes us from the realm of the "real" to the realm of the "spiritual real" through the equally unexpected wiles of the artist's imagination (Carter, 1966:3-4).

A picture of the city

If we look back at *America*, we will realize that it has not been adequately studied. This stems from the understanding that Kafka does not reach the essence in his thoughts, because he focuses on imagery and even pathos, which distance him from the main flow of the work. In this way, the average reader cannot easily distinguish what is important from what is not. Reading this work, the reader can get the impression, based on the detailed descriptions that Kafka was in America several times, but that he never actually set foot on American soil. This work was created when the writer was fighting an internal struggle with his own identity and when his life in Prague was unbearable and painful. Looking for an escape from that hopeless situation, he thought of America, which at that time had the epithet of the Promised Land. Max Broad[1] emphasizes that Kafka was obsessed with collecting various reports, guides, travelogues, and even attended various lectures given by world travelers who stopped in Prague. His only desire and thought was to disappear into the distance, to go to a big city and never return, because only in America can he find peace and freedom, which is best illustrated by the following example:

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[1] friend and biographer of Franz Kafka who published many of his works posthumously

„As the sixteen-year-old Karl Rosman, who had been to America by his poor parents because a servant-girl had seduced him and had a child by him, entered New York harbor in the already slowing ship, he saw the statue of the Goddess of Liberty which he had been observing for some time as though in sudden blaze of sunlight. Her arm with the sword stretched upward as though newly raised and the free breezes wafted around her" (Kafka, 2012:32).

Although visibly more humorous and realistic than Kafka's other works, this novel, which follows the wanderings of the European emigrant Karl Rossman in America, shares the same motifs of an oppressive and untouchable composition that puts the protagonist in various bizarre situations. There, first of all, the elements of a big city are known, which shows the action, space and time in a realistic way, and in addition, they offer rich factual, historical or documentary material, where the popular appears in certain details, while the narrative text remains predominantly realistic. However, it is precisely through realistic descriptions that "double" worlds similar to the ones we live in are created, and the protagonist reaches from the primary to the secondary world through various modal limitations, which is best illustrated by the following example:

„And from morning to evening and amid the dreams of the night there passed along this street an incessant bustle of traffic, whiched looked from above like a confused, constantly self-renewing medley of distorted human shapes and the roofs of all kinds of transport vihecles, from which arose a new, manifold, yet more sevage medley of noice dust and smells, and all this was grasped and permeated by a powerful light that kept being diffused, dispersed and eagerly restored by the innumerable objects, and that seemed to the bedazzled eye physically palpable, as though as glass pane covering the entire street where being repeatedly smashed every moment with the utmost force." (Kafka, 2012:49).

As Fiske (2001:204-206) emphasizes, the city is a symbol of entrepreneurial capitalism. As such, it is designed to promote certain ways of behaving, moving and thinking. One of the functions of the city is to suppress all physical, mental and political irrationalities. Also, the city should suppress history and tradition because they encourage experiences that are contrary to the rational organization symbolized by the city and that are difficult to manage. The city has the potential to develop into a universal and anonymous subject whose inhabitants are

actually its subjects. Fiske claims that the city plan does not only include architecture, but that this plan also includes the people-subjects of the city devoid of historical and social specificities. The city needs to subtly and covertly discipline the lives of the people who live in it, and numerous structures are aimed at creating a certain way of life that citizens should strive for (Bachelard, 1975:37). Kafka in America suggests that city life has a negative effect on the individual and the community in general. However, it should be emphasized that the very complexity of the city results in the city being the place where the greatest chaos reigns, especially if we bear in mind that huge systems are extremely difficult to control completely. That is why the city is at the same time a place that limits us and that gives us freedom.

Popular pleasures

Another type of manifestation of popular culture are popular pleasures, which can be observed in America as well as in *Process* and *Castle*: they can be physical and refer to social identity, more precisely to social relations. In this regard, Fiske (2001:68) bases his division into pleasures of interpretation and pleasures of meaning production on Barthes' distinction between jouissance (ecstasy, bliss, occurs in the reader's body when reading) and plaisir. In this sense, it should be emphasized that by avoiding the dominant ideology, people lose their own being and become active participants in the construction of popular culture, because the orgasmic pleasure of the body that is beyond control is actually an escape from self-control, that is, social control, by which people manage themselves and others. This form of "popular pleasure" occupies a central place in *America*, when an overweight singer with a failed career gets a job in a "mysterious institution" or rather a brothel and introduces the reader to the further course of the novel. On the other hand, if we look back at *the Castle*, such roles belong to Frida and Peppa, who are bewitched by the main protagonist K, and he, on the other hand, does not care about them at all. In this way, we can come to the conclusion that all those ladies who appear in his works and want to be with him, are exactly those ladies from the taverns and even public houses that Kafka visited as a young man in Prague, with whom he spent the nights, whom he never loved or wanted as wives. For this reason, we can conclude that America is in an internal relationship with The Process and The Castle, which it chronologically precedes, and that it is a trilogy about loneliness in a big city dominated by alienation and isolation among people, because of which Kafka's heroes often resort to popular pleasures (Pape, 2011:133).

Conclusion

If we look back at the previously mentioned works of Franz Kafka, we can come to the conclusion that the works are somehow mutually intelligible, i.e. that in his works it is about fitting the individual into the human community that is popular culture imposed by modern society. From this point of view, we can classify Kafka's works as works of popular culture, or more precisely, as works of productive popularity, because Kafka introduced popular attitudes into his text, which was made available to the general public, and gave a personal interpretation in a way. In this connection, it is concluded that the elements of popular culture in these works are of great importance because, being built in the meeting of the outside world and individual personalities as its main creators, popular culture contributes to a truer representation of human consciousness - one of the greatest efforts of modern man. Analyzing the various previously explained segments such as: Kafka's space, fantasy, image of the city, family relations, religion and politics and finally popular pleasures, we come to the conclusion that one of the features that make Kafka a significant contemporary writer is undoubtedly his ability to through his novels present an entire culture in all its complexity. In the rich oeuvre that Kafka left behind, we see how his works exude comprehensiveness, which is why many of them are considered masterpieces and credible representatives of popular culture, because they put the attitude of the common man in the foreground. As long as such an attitude exists, there is hope that man has not surrendered and can rebel against the system that seeks to turn him into a robot and reduce life to playing imposed roles.

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FRANZ KAFKA IN SIGHT OF POPCULTURE

Der Beitrag befasst sich mit der Erforschung popkultureller Elemente im Werk Franz Kafkas unter dem Aspekt des Verhältnisses von Gesellschaft und Popkultur im 20. Jahrhundert. Die vorliegende Arbeit stellt mehrere Beispiele dar, in denen die Helden von Kafkas Werken beim Aufbau der Popkultur versuchen, ihre eigenen emotionalen, familiären, religiösen und sozialen Probleme zu lösen. In diesem Zusammenhang zeigt diese Arbeit, wie sich Popkultur in Kafkas Werk über die Interaktion der breiten Volksmasse mit staatlichen Strukturen manifestiert, bis hin zu seiner persönlichen Beziehung zum Vater. Damit weist diese Arbeit auf ein Thema bzw. das Problem des modernen Menschen hin, das sich durch fast alle Werke Kafkas zieht. Aufbauend auf der Theorie von John Fiske zielt diese Arbeit darauf ab, die Bedeutung der Elemente der Popkultur im breiteren Plan der analysierten Segmente darzustellen, d. h. im Plan ihres modernistischen Charakters. Da im modernen Zeitalter jede Form authentischer und ursprünglicher Kultur praktisch unmöglich ist, versucht dieser Beitrag, Kafkas einzigartige sprachliche Schreibweise aufzuzeigen und sich der aufgezwungenen Lebensweise und Weltanschauung durch Literatur zu widersetzen.

Schlüsselwörter: Gesellschaft, Popkultur, Fiske, Alltag, Kampf, Anpassung.

Programska djela i samostalni izbori – čemu i zašto osmaci daju prednost

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Apstrakt: Globalno prisutna kriza čitanja čija posljedica može biti i smanjeno interesovanje školaraca za čitanje književnoumjetničkih djela, motivisala nas je da istražimo aktuelna čitalačka interesovanja starijih osnovaca (VIII razred) tj. njihove izbore kada su u pitanju djela školske lektire, ali i ona van tog popisa. Zanimalo nas je kojoj vrsti djela i kojem naslovu konkretno daju prednost i zašto, u obje navedene kategorije. Istraživanje je bilo kvalitativnog tipa, sprovedeno putem fokus grupnog intervjua, u tri podgoričke osnovne škole. Diskusiju dobijenih podataka zasnovali smo na njihovoj kvalitativnoj tematskoj analizi čemu je prethodilo detaljno proučavanje zabilježenog materijala, zatim njegovo kodiranje kroz isticanje najvažnijih značenja i ideja ekstrahovanih iz učeničkih narativa te formulacije odgovarajućih kategorija (19). Kategorije su, potom, razvrstane u četiri teme koje se podudaraju s istraživačkim pitanjima (Braun, Clark 2006). Analiza rezultata istraživanja pokazuje da pripadnici ispitivane populacije (učenici uzrasta 13 godina, tj. rane adolescencije) čitaju djela školske lektire, ali prave i samostalne čitalačke izbore i o pročitanom prosuđuju, formirajući sopstvena mišljenja. Stoga konstatujemo da im je čitanje kao školska obaveza važno, ali da mu se posvećuju i van tog konteksta. Sudeći po učeničkim narativima, u obje kategorije pažnju plijene djela fantastične proze i epske fantastike, zatim epistolarna forma (vršnjački dnevnik), horor (misterije), romani družine i oni koji se odnose na tinejdžersku ljubav, avanturistički i detektinski romani, pa je jasno da se čitalačka interesovanja navedenog uzrasta nijesu značajno promijenila u savremenom kontekstu, te da osmaci biraju žanrove karakteristične za razdoblje njihovog književnog razvoja. Komparacija sa sličnim istraživanjima u regionu i šire pokazala je da se, kada su žanr i vrsta djela u pitanju, pa dijelom i njihovi naslovi, kako u školskom, tako i u vanškolskom čitanju, opredjeljenja ispitanika u velikoj mjeri podudaraju s izborima vršnjaka iz regiona i šire, čemu najvjerovatije doprinosi jaka generacijska povezanost zasnovana na savremenoj tehnologiji. Rezultati istraživanja dokaz su da se tokom nastave književosti u savremenim okolnostima još uvijek mogu uspješno oblikovati budući posvećeni čitaoci, tragači za dobrom knjigom i njeni iskreni poklonici. Stoga je zadatak odraslih, kao kreatora i realizatora obrazovanja, da se razvoju čitanja književnoumjetničkog teksta, organizovano i sinergetski posvete te da se sami mijenjaju prihvatajući promjene zarad onih koje obrazuju i vaspitavaju.

Ključne riječi: čitanje, školska lektira, samostalni izbori, književni žanr

...Pri tom je jedno bitno: ni suvremeni prozaik, ni suvremeni nastavnik književnosti ne može polaziti od preduvjerenja da je književnost bogomdana, da je čitanje uvijek bilo i da će uvijek biti, da je književnost središnja u nacionalnoj kulturi te da nastavni program reflektira tu vječnu i nepromjenjivu istinu. Već danas nije tako, a po svemu sudeći neće nikad više ni biti. Promjene traže da se mijenjamo svi: da se mijenjamo mi pisci, ono što pišemo, da se mijenjaju nastavnici, škola i programi. Ako se ne budemo znali mijenjati, svi ćemo zajedno postati tek veliki muzej gipsanih odljeva, mrtva gliptoteka u kojoj stanuju okamine prošle, mrtve kulture. A ja, kao i vi, previše volim čitanje da bih takvo što želio.

Jurica Pavičić, 2013, 12.

Uvod

Kontekst u kojem stasavaju savremeni mladi čitaoci komplikovaniji je i zahtjevniji od konteksta u kojem su odrastali čitaoci krajem prošloga i početkom ovoga vijeka, kada su mobilni telefoni bili privilegija odraslih sa svrhom da se uspostavi brza i funkcionalna komunkacija. Sveukupan razvoj nauke, posebno napredovanje u oblasti komunikacionih tehnologija, kreirao je i kreira neke nove i drugačije uslove čitanja, pa time i same čitaoce. U takvim okolnostima teško je postavljati granice i nametati izbore – činjenica je da trivijalna ili *laka* literatura[1] kroz čije se tekstovno tkanje čitalac probija bez mnogo kognitivnog napora a ipak dolazi do značenja, sve više utiče na odluke i izbore djece i mladih, pa i zrelijih i starijih konzumenata pisane riječi.

Stalni izazovi digitalnih formi tehhološki sve savršeniji u svom izrazu, protivteža su klasičnoj knjizi i dubinskom čitanju koje zahtijeva posvećenost. Problem koji u zemljama razvijenog zapada već odavno egzistira, obrušio se i na balkanski prostor i njegovo, u dobroj mjeri, još uvijek tradicionalno obrazovanje.

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[1] Šta je *laka* ili trivijalna literatura, a šta ona zahtjevna ili *teška*, visoka literatura, zavisi od stanovišta s kojeg se određeno djelo posmatra. Ovdje se pozivamo na izvod iz Solareve rasprave u kojoj kaže "da *laki oblik* (literature) može biti jedino onaj u kojem nema odstupanja od uobičajenog, u kojem nema iznenađenja ni originalnosti, pa je, prema tome, jezik prepušten lakom, automatizovanom razumijevanju u smislu obične, svagdašnje komunikacije" (Solar 2010, 316), jer je najsličnije onom značenju u kojem smo ovaj naziv upotrijebili.

U međuvremenu, kompleksna jezička aktivnost kakva je čitanje stavljena je u fokus mnogih naučnih disciplina čije polje istraživanja daje svoj doprinos rasvjetljavanju njenih posebnosti i značaja za čovjeka i njegovu djelatnost u cjelini. „Složenošću svojih kognitivnih, metakognitivnih, afektivnih, socijalnih-povijesnih i ukupnih kontekstualnih determinanti, čitanje zahtijeva multidisciplinarni i interdisciplinarni pristup te nužnu suradnju različitih disciplina u okviru humanističkih, društvenih i medicinskih znanosti" (Pšihistal 2013, 44). Tako psiholozi, lingvisti i ostali naučnici koji se ovim domenom ljudske djelatnosti bave, ističu da je čitanje jedan od najvažnijih činilaca učeničkog kognitivnog napretka (Čudina Obradović, 2014) i transformativni katalizator intelektualnog razvoja pojedinaca i pismenih kultura u cjelini (Wolf, 2019). Čitalačka pismenost ključni je činilac obrazovanja, života i rada u savremenom dobu, što je prepoznato u predmetnim programima namijenjenim nastavi maternjeg jezika i književnosti u osnovnoj školi (2017) i srednjim školama (2020) i uočljivo u obrazovno-vaspitnim ishodima i ishodima znanja usmjerenim na razvoj kako različitih strategija čitanja, tako i ove zahtjevne kognitivne vještine u cjelini[2].

U odnosu na opisanu problematiku, u ovom radu navodimo i rezultate istraživanja čitalačkih interesovanja djece i mladih realizovanih u Crnoj Gori i regionu, a pozivamo se i na međunarodna istraživanja iz slične oblasti, s obzirom na to da je problem (ne)čitanja mladih globalno aktuelan. Navedena tematika u regionu većinom je istraživana na srednjoškolskom uzrastu, ali s obzirom na to da ispitivanu populaciju (učenici VIII razreda osnovne škole) put vodi u srednju školu kao naredni nivo obrazovanja i korak naprijed u razvoju kompetencije pismenost čiji je čitanje neodvojiv dio, pomenute rezultate smatrali smo značajnim za naše istraživanje.

Kvalitativno istraživanje o čitalačkim interesovanjima učenika petog razreda (uzrast 10 godina) realizovano je 2012. godine u nekoliko osnovnih škola u Nikšiću (Crna Gora). Tokom istraživanja nastojalo se utvrditi na koji način djeca biraju knjigu koju će čitati, kakvu ulogu u tome imaju naslov i autor, koje tekstove iz čitanke i lektire izdvajaju, koji književni rod i vrstu djela preferiraju (prozu ili poeziju, fantastičnu ili realističnu prozu) i dr. Rezultati su, između ostalog, pokazali da su učenici petog razreda zainteresovani za književnoumjetničke tvorevine, pri čemu posebno ističu epiku i žanr fantastike, te da su, većinom, usmjereni na djela školske lektire ispoljavajući značajno interesovanje i

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[2] U dokumentima Savjeta Evrope prepoznata je kao ključna kompetencija za cjeloživotno učenje.

za naslove van tog popisa, koje pronalaze na različite načine (Vučković 2012).

Učestalost čitanja adolescenata i njihovi stavovi o čitanju nastojali su se utvrditi ispitivanjem učenika VII i VIII razreda iz tri osnovne škole u Splitu (Hrvatska) (Kunac 2013). Pokazalo se da 60,8% od ukupnog broja ispitanika mjesečno pročita jednu knjigu, 23,8 % dvije do četiri knjige, dok zabrinjava podatak da 10,1 % učenika ne pročita nijednu knjigu mjesečno, dakle, ni obaveznu školsku lektiru. Prvi podatak, pretpostavljaju autori, odnosi se na školsku lektiru, dok drugi pokazuje da učenici čitaju i u slobodnom vremenu. Čitalački materijal koji najviše privlači pažnju jeste sadržaj s interneta (društvene mreže), slijede knjige (lektira, tinejdžerske knjige itd.), časopisi za tinejdžere, stripovi i novine. U svakom slučaju, rezultati istraživanja u cjelini pokazuju da učenici imaju pozitivne stavove prema čitanju, uviđaju značaj čitanja i posjeduju potrebu za čitanjem, no istovremeno pokazuju želju za autonomijom i mogućnošću izbora knjiga koje će čitati (Kunac 2013, 77).

Važne podatke o djelima i autorima koje čitaju mladi 14 do 28 godina, dalo je istraživanje realizovano u 10 biblioteka u Hrvatskoj, tokom ljetnjeg raspusta, „kada je posjećenost isključivo od strane pravih čitatelja koji čitaju iz vlastite pobude", a čiji rezultati pokazuju da su „čitateljske navike mladih količinski svedene na dvije i više pročitanih knjiga mjesečno (60,8%), jednu pročitanu knjigu mjesečno (29,2%) te manje od jedne pročitane knjige mjesečno (10%)" (Plavšić, Ljubešić, 2009, 141).

U okviru obimnog istraživanja o načinu organizacije slobodnog vremena, kulturnim potrebama i interesovanjima srednjoškolaca realizovanom u Srbiji konstatovano je da „12% učenika ne čita; 21% čita samo obaveznu lektiru; 40% čita lektiru i ponekad knjige koje nisu obavezne; 20% čita lektiru, a često i druge knjige; a 7% su pasionirani čitaoci" (Krnjaić, Stepanović, Pavlović Babić, 2011, 266). Božić i Novaković (2020) su istraživanje realizovano krajem 2018. i početkom 2019. godine (središnja i istočna Srbija) usmjerili na odnos učenika srednje škole prema knjizi i čitanju, kako tokom nastave književnosti, tako i u privatnim okolnostima. Rezultati su pokazali da se procenat onih koji ne čitaju povećao u odnosu na prethodno istraživanje (iznosi 14,5%), da je procenat onih koji čitaju samo školsku lektiru ostao gotovo isti (21,8%), kao i onih koji uvijek čitaju neku knjigu (8%).

Rezultati navedenih istraživanja doprinijeli su temeljnijem pozicioniranju čitalačkih izbora i navika naših ispitanika u dijahronijskoj i sinhronijskoj ravni.

Problem i cilj istraživanja

Popis djela za čitanje kod kuće u predmetnim programima namijenjenim nastavi maternjeg jezika i književnosti u osnovnim i srednjim školama uvijek je akutelna tema – kakve korekcije napraviti u odnosu na postojeći izbor, koliko zastupiti klasike dječje književnosti, a kako i koliko uvoditi nove autore i s kojih prostora? Kakav je odnos učenika prema djelima već zastupljenim u programu i žele li da čitaju školsku lektiru? Koliko tematika zastupljena u tim djelima izaziva i intrigira mlade čitaoce i da li žele da joj se posvete? Stoga smo u fokus istraživanja stavili djela za čitanje kod kuće predložena u *Predmetnom programu* (2017) namijenjenom nastavi maternjeg jezika i književnosti u osnovnoj školi, dakle, ona djela koja se čitaju u cjelini. Specifičnost crnogorskog konteksta jesu četiri nacionalna predznaka koja su sastavni dio naziva predmeta[3] u okviru kojeg se izučava maternji jezik, pa je valjalo voditi računa o tome da budu zastupljena književnoumjetnička djela iz regiona tj. država u kojima se pomenuti jezici govore, kao i djela internacionalne provenijencije kada su dječja književnost i književnost za mlade u pitanju. Što se prve grupe djela tiče, u aktuelnom crnogorskom programu uglavnom su se zadržali klasici dječje književnosti s jugoslovenskih prostora, iako se na tom području u produkciji novije književnosti za djecu i mlade, u međuvremenu, javio značajan broj veoma uspješnih i plodnih stvaralaca.

Ciljevi cjelokupnog istraživanja bili su mnogostruki, ali za ovaj rad izdvojili smo sljedeće: doseći čitalačka interesovanja učenika osmog razreda osnovne škole kroz njihov odnos prema čitanju preporučenih djela školske lektire[4] i samostalne čitalačke izbore književnoumjetničkih djela, ispitujući istovremeno kojem književnom žanru i zašto daju prednost. Navedeni dio istraživanja usmjeravala su dva istraživačka pitanja formulisana u skladu s postavljenim ciljevima: *koja djela školske lektire učenici rado čitaju i zašto? koja djela sami biraju i zašto?* Pritome smo razmatrali djela za čitanje kod kuće iz prethodna dva razreda (šesti i sedmi) i ona koja se čitaju u osmom razredu (ukupno 19)[5] koji su respodenti upravo priveli kraju.

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[3] Crnogorski-srpski, bosanski, hrvatski jezik i književnost

[4] Dio predloženih djela kroz kanon postaje obavezan u trećem ciklusu osnovne škole.

[5] Prijedlog djela za čitanje kod kuće: VI razred: Defo: *Robinson Kruso,* Kestner: *Emil i detektivi*, Gazivoda: *Razgovor uz oganj,* Nušić: *Hajduci,* Crnogorske narodne bajke: *Baš-čelik, Đevojka brža od konja, Mustafa i Merima, Čoso i divovi, Međedović, Zla braća, Tica đevojka* (Vatra samotvora); VII razred: Ćopić*: Orlovi rano lete,* Radjard Kipling: *Knjiga o džungli,* Rouling: *Hari Poter,* Tven: *Tom*

Intervjui su obavljeni u posljednjem mjesecu školske godine, dakle onda kada su recepcija navedenih djela i aktivnosti koje prate rad na njima, uglavnom završene.

Promišljanje i diskusija o navedenoj problematici mogu ponuditi zanimljivo polazište za izvjesna prilagođavanja čitalačkog štiva i izbor djela u predmetnim programima, kao i adekvatnu čitalačku motivaciju malih i mladih čitalaca. U trenutku kada se zadovolji, prije svega, nacionalni kriterijum s obzirom na to da značajan korpus obično čine estetski vrijedna djela nacionalne književnosti [6] i kriterijum izbora reprezentativnih djela svjetske književnosti, neizostavno bi se morali imati u vidu aktuelni i učenicima izazovni naslovi.

Metodologija istraživanja

Učesnici. Istraživački korpus činili su učenici VIII razreda iz tri osnovne škole iz Podgorice (72 učenika – 38 djevojčica i 34 dječaka). Oni se nalaze godinu dana pred završetkom osnovnoškolskog obrazovanja što znači da su tokom nastave književnosti, osim unapređenja strategija čitanja književnoumjetničkog teksta, bili u mogućnosti da steknu uzrastu primjeren korpus književnoteorijskih znanja i usvoje bazične koncepte i pojmove iz teorije iz književnosti, na osnovu kojih mogu unaprijediti svoje analitičko-sintetičke sposobnosti u procesu prihvatanja umjetničke tvorevine i produbiti svoje razumijevanje i doživljaj književnog djela. Takođe, cjelokupno prethodno obrazovanje, kao i kontekst u kojem borave, u značajnoj mjeri može uticati na njihova čitalačka opredjeljenja i izbore.

Istraživanje je bilo kvalitativnog tipa, realizovano kroz metod fokus grupnog intervjua, uz primjenu vodiča za diskusiju. Vodič je sačinjen od precizno formulisanih pitanja, s markiranim djelovima razgovora koje je trebalo posebno poentirati. Kvalitativni pristup omogućio nam je da istaknutu problematiku sagledamo kroz učeničku perspektivu, pa smo

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Sojer, Vajld: *Bajke,* London: *Zov divljine,* Molnar: *Dječaci Pavlove ulice,* Lagerlef: *Saga o Nilsu Holgersonu*; VIII razred: Vuković: *Poruke* (odlomci), Frank: *Dnevnik,* London: *Priče sa sjevera i juga,* Vern: *Petnaestogodišnji kapetan,* Olujić: *Glasam za ljubav,* Tolkin: *Gospodar prstenova* (odlomak, I dio) (*Predmetni program* 2017)

[6] Osim nacionalnog kriterijuma, Rosandić (2005) navodi još estetski kriterijum (iz sveukupnog književnog stvaralaštva nacionalne i svjetske književnosti biraju se reprezentativna, antologijska djela različitih vrsta i tematske usmjerenosti, zatim recepcijski kriterijum (izbor u skladu s doživljajno-spoznajnim mogućnostima učenika na pojedinim stepenima literarnog i čitalačkog razvoja) i, konačno, pedagoški kriterijum po kojem pri izboru djela treba prepoznati i njihovu vaspitnu ulogu.

cijeneći njihove odgovore, promišljanja i stavove, nastojali da opišemo odnos osnovaca prema djelima domaće lektire navedenih u *Predmetnom programu* (2017) i prema čitanju uopšte, kao i da dobijene rezultate precizno opišemo i predstavimo (Halmi 2005).

Primjena fokusgrupnog intervjua doprinijela je uspostavljanju dinamične govorne komunikacije i konstruktivnom i produktivnom dijalogu, a neposredan kontakt između ispitanika smanjio je mogućnost davanja „poželjnih odgovora" često prisutnih u tehnikama posrednog ispitivanja. Intervjui su realizovani u grupama od osam ispitanika, u trajanju do šezdeset minuta (devet intervjua), pri čemu smo se oslonili na stanovište da adolescenti u većim grupama bolje funkcionišu, te lakše iznose stavove i mišljenja. Jedini nedostatak ove tehnike može biti uticaj jednih ispitanika na druge, što je moguće preduhitriti umješnim vođenjem intervjua. Našem stavu doprinijela su i lična iskustva u primjeni ove tehnike tokom prethodnih istraživanja.

Ispitanici su bili veoma zainteresovani, većinom su zrelo komentarisali iznoseći svoja mišljenja i iskustva, s oduševljenjem se prisjećajući pojedinih djela iz prethodnih razreda. Bilo je, međutim, i naslova koji su ih „smorili", što ne znači da je i diskusija o tim djelima bila „smorna" – naprotiv, izazvala su intenzivan kritički osvrt kako na sama djela, tako i na obavezu da se njima uopšte bave. Razgovor je sniman, a zatim transkribovan.

Osim intervjua, koristili smo i skalu procjene – učenici su imali zadatak da lektirne naslove rangiraju na nivou razreda polazeći od djela koje im se najviše dopalo, do onog koje ih je najmanje dotaklo.

Analizom dobijenih rezultata i njihovom komparacijom nastojali smo da uspostavimo cjelovit utisak o ispitivanoj problematici (Fraenkel, Wallen 2000, 501) uzimajući u obzir kontekst u užem i širem smislu (porodični i školski, kao i međuprostor koji je ovom uzrastu prilično otvoren).

Rezultati istraživanja

Iz dobijenog materijala izdvojili smo odgovore i komentare koje smo procijenili najrelevantnijim u odnosu na cilj našeg istraživanja te smo analizu i diskusiju zasnovali na kvalitativnoj tematskoj analizi podataka i sproveli je u sljedećim koracima: transkribovani materijal je detaljno proučen, potom kodiran kroz isticanje najvažnijih značenja i ideja ekstrahovanih iz učeničkih narativa, iz čega su definisane kategorije (19), koje su, potom, razvrstane u četiri teme koje se podudaraju s istraživačkim pitanjiima (Braun, Clark 2006). Kako bi se postigla intersubjektivna saglasnost dva nastavnika maternjeg jezika razvrstali su iskaze u ponuđene kategorije bez uvida u kategorizaciju onog drugog.

Saglasnost u kategorizaciji između autora istraživanja i nastavnika bila je značajna, potvrđene su opšte i posebne kategorije, na osnovu čega su interpretirani dobijeni rezultati istraživanja i razvijena rasprava o njima (Tabela 1).

Tabela 1: Klasifikacija kodova u kategorije i teme, učestalost pojavljivanja kategorija

Teme	Kategorije (f)	Kodovi
Programska djela predložena za čitanje kod kuće koja učenici rado čitaju	Fantastična proza i epska fantastika (68)	• *zanimljivi događaji* • *zanimljivi likovi i prostor u kojem borave* • *borba protiv mračnih sila zla.*
	Vršnjački dnevnik (59)	• *opis života, preživljavanja, druženja i osjećanja u posebnim uslovima.* • *vjera da će biti bolje.*
	Druženje i družine (52)	• *junaci – vršnjaci* • *drugarstvo i druženje* • *vrijeme mira i rata* • *humor – vesele i zabavne knjige*
Djela koja učenici sami biraju	_____	_____ • *zanimljiva čudesna bića, likovi i njihove avanture*
	Naučna i epska fantastika (66)	• *zanimljivi događaji* • *novi svjetovi, zemlje i predjeli* • *mitovi i istorija* • *dinamična radnja* • *mnogo avantura* • *drži pažnju*
	Vršnjački dnevnik (60)	• *piše neko ko je kao mi*
	Horor misterije (47)	• *neobično je i zastrašujuće*

	Tinejdžerska ljubav (43)	• *ne postoji, ali je zanimljivo*
	Detektivski romani (42)	• *svima nam se to dešava, pa je zanimljivo* • *tragamo za istinom*
	Izbor po nekim drugim kriterijumima (15)	• *sami otkrivamo počinice zla* • *obim knjige* • *uzbudljiva sadržina*

Diskusija rezultata istraživanja

Programska djela predložena za čitanje kod kuće koja učenici rado čitaju

Tema je generisana iz nekoliko kategorija, koje se, prvenstveno odnose na književni žanr, a polazimo od one čija je frekvencija najveća – fantastična proza i epska fantastika (68[7]), s obzirom na to da su učenici iz korpusa programski ponuđenih djela u šestom, sedmom i osmom razredu, tokom intervjua, prvenstveno istakli djelo epske fantastike *Gospodar prstenova* i, paralelno s njim, roman *Hari Poter*.

Evo šta o tome oni kažu:

Najviše mi se sviđa „Gospodar prstenova". Pa zanimljivi su događaji, likovi – vilenjaci, patuljci, Orci, njihove osobine i moći, moć prstena...

Dopada mi se čarobnjak Gandalf koji svojim moćima pomaže da se savlada zlo i pobijedi dobro. On je osnovao družinu koja se uputila u nepoznatu zemlju Mordor kako bi uništila prsten i spriječila zlog Saurona da zavlada svijetom. Usvari, dopadaju mi se svi likovi koji se bore da dobro pobijedi...

Meni je posebno zanimljiv svijet u kojem borave junaci iz Gospodara prstenova – opisana je zemlja u kojoj žive, istorija, pa čak i jezik koji neki od njih govore. Sve je u toj knjizi neobično i posebno.

„Gospodar prstenova" je posebno zanimljiva knjiga, ali bi trebalo da čitamo i „Hobita", da bismo znali kako je sve počelo...

Najviše mi se sviđa „Hari Poter"... pa zato što ima puno zanimljivih događaja – bore se sa čudovištima, igraju na metlama, dobacuju se loptama pa onda kroz onaj veliki koš... Kvidič se taj sport zove, čini mi se.... Stalno se bore protiv mračnih sila, protiv zla...

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[7] Broj u zagradi označava frekvenciju kategorije u okviru označene teme.

> *Hogvortska škola za čarobnjake i sve što se u njoj dešava, prijatelji Harija potera – Ron i Hermiona, koji se zajedno s njim bore protiv negativnih likova, Hagrid koji pomaže Hariju, sve je to nekako privlačno, iako nestvarno… Podstiče nas da maštamo, da budemo dio tog svijeta…*

Žanrovski, dakle, učenici s popisa lektirnih djela izdvajaju djelo koje opisuje fantastične zemlje i narode i pripovijeda o događajima epskih razmjera, kao i roman o dječaku čarobnjaku. Čudesnost novih svjetova i isto takvih bića koja u njima borave, plejada neobičnih likova opremljenih fascinantnim moćima i njihove avanture, zemlje i predjeli koji funkcionišu na posebne, u svakodnevnom životu nepoznate, no istovremeno savršene načine, očigledno plijene pažnju mladih čitalaca.

Fantastična priča po svojoj prirodi je dvodimenzionalna i sadrži dva gotovo ravnopravna nivoa događaja koji opisuje – realni i fantastični. Čudesnost takvog narativa proizilazi iz načina na koji se ona strukturira, a prepozaje se kao prodor fantastike u realan svijet (Hameršak, Zima 2015). Fantastični događaji i isto takvi likovi, osim što borave u sasvim novom i posve fantastičnom hronotopu, često su zasnovani i na već poznatim istorijskim događajima i junacima iz realnog svijeta ili povezani s postojećim naučnim saznanjima i tehničkim dostignućima. Taj prepoznatljiv, no ipak posve drugačiji i izazovan univerzum stvara privid da nešto od svega toga zaista postoji ili se može desiti, pa sam po sebi jeste izazov da se hrli naprijed u njegovom čitalačkom osvajanju. Na adolescentskom uzrastu posebno ih „privlače alternativni svjetovi, viteštvo, stilizirani jezik i fantastična bića i likovi, a radnja se temelji na shemama mitova, odnosno legendi" (Dzimov, Batarelo Kokić 2016, 69).

Eksplicirajući svoj čitalački izbor, većina respondenata ističe da čitajući djela ove provenijencije imaju priliku da upoznaju mitove, legende i istorijski važne događaje i ličnosti, kako slovenskih tako i drugih naroda i kultura, što, između ostalog, doprinosi razumijevanju i prihvatanju njihovih kulturoloških struktura tj. običaja i vrijednosti. U svijetu fantastike pravda je obično dostižna, a identifikacija s junacima priče i distanciranje od njih omogućava da mali i mladi čitaoci zauzimaju različite (obično poželjne) etičke stavove i donose odluke na tom nivou. Oni naglašavaju kontinuiranu borbu junaka ovih djela protiv mračnih sila zla, pa se se suština ovog izbora ne odslikava samo u eskapizmu, već je očigledno da ispitanici prepoznaju ključne ideje koje djela nose i pokazuju suštinsko razumijevanje navedenog žanra.

Odnos prema fantastičnoj književnosti formira se još u ranom djetinjstvu inkliniranjem prema bajkama, dok se kasnije manifestuje u izborima kompleksnijih bajkovitih struktura, fantastičnih priča te naučne

i mitske fantastike. Ispitivana populacija petaka u crnogorskim školama, pokazuje visok stepen interesovanja za narativnu prozu fantastičkog tipa, što autorka objašnjava dječjom potrebom za fikcionalnim svjetovima koji fizički pružaju mnogo više mogućnosti od postojećeg (Vučković 2012). No, i stariji adolescenti zadržavaju naklonost ka fantastičnom romanu i djelima epske fantastike uopšte, na šta upućuju prethodno pomenuta istraživanja srednjoškolske populacije (Plavšić, Ljubešić 2009; Stevanović, Ranđelović, Lazarević, 2020 i dr.).

Vršnjački dnevnik (59) kao epistolarna forma vrsta je koju učenici izdvajaju iz korpusa predloženih naslova, a klasik koji u školskim programima na ovim prostorima egzistira već pet decenija visoko se kotirajući u izborima savremene mlade populacije, jeste *Dnevnik Ane Frank.*

> *Od lektire mi se najviše svidio Dnevnik Ane Frank – ta knjiga je ostavila poseban utisak na mene jer mi se svidjela Anina hrabrost tokom tih godina u skloništu. I zapravo sam oduševljena koliko je ona stigla da uči i da čita i možda je baš to održavalo tokom vremena.*
>
> *Ana je bila hrabra djevojčica i vjerovala je da će uspjeti da preživi. Divim se njenoj hrabrosti i želji da u tome istraje.*
>
> *Dnevnik Ane Frank pročitao sam prošle godine, a nisam znao da će da bude za lektiru. Dopalo mi se djelo, Ana je hrabra djevojčica…*

Sudbina mlade Jevrejke koja drugi svjetski rat, zajedno sa porodicom, provodi u skloništu, intrigira učenike opisom njenog života u posebnim okolnostima i odnosom prema dešavanjima u okruženju. Takođe, borbom da u zatočeništvu izazvanom ratnim okruženjem i posebno opasnim po jevrejski narod kojem pripada, a koje u tom trenutku garantuje opstanak dok ubuduće može značiti život i slobodu, pronađe nadu i vjeru da može biti bolje. Ispitivanje čitanosti diskurzivnih vrsta kod djece i mladih u Gradskoj knjižnici u Zadru, pokazalo je, takođe, da se iz tog korpusa, najviše čita *Dnevnik Ane Frank* (Kuvač Levačić 2013, 20).

Sljedeća kategorija iznjedrena iz snimljenih narativa jeste fenomen družine i druženja (52) svojstven ispitivanom uzrastu. U okviru nije jasno se ističu junaci-vršnjaci, drugarstvo i druženje, solidarnost i posvećenost, kao i fenomen humora. Iz tog domena učenici izdvajaju romane *Hajduci* i *Orlovi rano lete,* a uz ova dva ključna naslova, pominje se, u znatno manjoj mjeri, i roman Ferenca Molnara *Dječaci Pavlove ulice.*

> *„Hajduci" su vesela i zabavna knjiga po svemu!*

> *„Hajduke" smo čitali u šestom razredu. Bilo je baš zabavno – likovi, njihovi nadimci, kako su otišli od kuće i kako su ih pronašli i vratili kućama. Ti su nestašluci nama bliski, kao i igra i druženje.*
> *Knjiga „Orlovi rano lete" posebno mi se dopala – opisano je vrijeme mira i vrijeme rata i djeca, njihova učiteljica i porodice u svemu tome.*
> *Svidjela mi se knjiga „Dječaci Pavlove ulice", svidjela mi se jer govori o družini dječaka koja se borila za svoje mjesto pod suncem…*

Junaci ovih djela vršnjaci su učenika koji ih čitaju, s gotovo identičnim interesovanjima i željama, bez obzira na to što se radnja dešava na udaljenim vremenskim destinacijama[8]. U središtu romana za djecu *Hajduci* priča je o odrastanju grupe dječaka, a radnja je smještena u malom mjestu na obali Dunava, krajem 19. vijeka. Tematika je mirnodopska a naslov djela *Hajduci* simbolično najavljuje posebnosti protagonista priče i vrstu njihovog „podviga". Donekle autobigrafski, ovaj roman plijeni dječju pažnju kako tematikom, tako i humorom koji protkiva priču – od susreta s dječacima i njihovim nadimcima, preko situacija u školi i onih koji prate igru, preko „hajdukovanja" kao kulminacije i, konačno, načina na koji se priča u romanu raspliće. Osobine dječaka, način na koji provode slobodno vrijeme, njihovi razgovori i igre, razotkrivaju likove ponaosob, pa se navedeni uzrast lako identifikuje s protagonistima djela. Roman je dio lektire u VI razredu, ali se rado čita i pamti kao jedno od najdražih djela koje tokom osnovne škole treba pročitati.

Hronotop romana *Orlovi rano lete* implicira mirnodopska i ratna dešavanja prije i za vrijeme drugog svjetskog rata u ambijentu jednog bosanskog sela, pa se u djelu formiraju dvije cjeline shodno okolnostima. Kontrast između ovih oprečnih društvenih pojava koje u cjelini i sudbonosno određuju ljudske živote, intenzivira se i prelama kroz prizmu dječjih doživljaja jedne i druge stvarnosti – mirnodopski život mališana vezan za školu, igru i nestašluke i ratne okolnosti koje zbunjuju odlascima dragih ljudi i zastrašujućom ozbiljnošću neprimjerenom djetinjstvu. I u ovom djelu djeca „hajdukovanjem" izražavaju bunt u odnosu na okruženje, pa tematsko-motivsku strukturu djela čini druženje njegovih junaka i uzajamna briga i podrška u „dobru i zlu". Stoga su snažan izazov za mlade čitaoce savremenog doba, jednako kao i za one koji su ga čitali onda kada je djelo nastalo.

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[8] Roman *Hajduci*, Branislava Nušića, objavljen je 1933. godine, a *Orlovi rano lete*, Branka Ćopića, 1959. godine.

Učenici ističu humor koji se kontinuirano protkiva kroz djelo što jeste jedna od najbitnijih dominanti Ćopićeve poetike (Milekić 2014), a pisac ga ostvaruje koristeći u svojim autorskim komentarima tip govora i pogled na svijet blizak narodnom pripovjedaču, prizore kontrastnog karaktera, te neočekivane obrte i duhovite poente... (Dimitrijević, 2014, 101). I Ćopićev jezik umnogome doprinosi njihovoj humornoj noti – raznovrsna leksika (lokalizmi, arhaizmi i pežorativni izrazi), dijalekatska obojenost jezika, pa tako i glagolski i imenički ekspresivi na funkcionalnostilskom planu njegovog jezičkog izraza postaju snažno sredsvo za postizanje kako šaljivog i humorističnog, tako i satiričnog efekta (Tepavčević 2014).

Osim što smo o djelima razgovarali, zamolili smo ispitanike da ih individualno rangiraju na skali procjene od jedan pa nadalje za svaki razred, s tim da prvorangirano bude djelo koje im se najviše dopada (Tabela 2 i Tabela 3).

Tabela 2: Djela rangirana po razredima.

Razred	Djela	
VI	Branislav Nušić: *Hajduci* Danijel Defo: *Robinson Kruso* Erih Kestner: *Emil i detektivi* Mihailo Gazivoda: *Razgovor uz oganj*	5. *Vatra samotvora* *(crnogorske narodne bajke)*
VII	Branko Ćopić*: Orlovi rano lete* Džoan Rouling: *Hari Poter* Ferenc Molnar: *Dječaci Pavlove ulice* Radjard Kipling: *Knjiga o džungli*	5. Mark Tven: *Tom Sojer* 6. Džek London: *Zov divljine* 7. Oskar Vajld: *Bajke* 8. Selma Lagerlef: *Saga o Nilsu Holgersonu*
VIII	Grozdana Olujić: *Glasam za ljubav* (odlomci) *Dnevnik Ane Frank sjevera i juga* Žil Vern: *Petnaestogodišnji kapetan* Dž. R. R. Tolkin: *Gospodar prstenova* (odlomak, I dio)	5. Čedo Vuković: *Poruke* 6. Džek London: *Priče sa*

Tabela 3: Ukupan poredak djela u odnosu na učeničko interesovanje (prvih 10 mjesta) na nivou sva tri razreda.

1.	Branislav Nušić: *Hajduci*	6.	Grozdana Olujić: *Glasam za ljubav*
2.	*Dnevnik Ane Frank*	*7.*	Erih Kestner: *Emil i detektivi*
3.	Branko Ćopić*: Orlovi rano lete*	8.	Žil Vern: *Petnaestogodišnji kapetan*
4.	Džoan Rouling: *Hari Poter*	9.	Dž. R. R. Tolkin: *Gospodar prstenova* (odlomak, I dio)
5.	Danijel Defo: *Robinson Kruso*	10.	Ferenc Molnar: *Dječaci Pavlove ulice*

U tabeli 2 vidljivo je da djelo *Hajduci* zadržava prvu poziciju u popisu lektirnih djela namijenjenih VI razredu, u VII razredu na prvom mjestu nalazi se roman *Orlovi rano lete,* dok su u VIII razredu učenici na prvo

mjesto pozicionirali roman Grozdane Olujić *Glasam za ljubav. Dnevnik Ane Frank* zadržava visoku drugu poziciju, dok na nivou razreda opada popularnost *Gospodara prstenova*. Dobra pozicija *Petnaestogodišnjeg kapetana* potvrđuje da Vern i dalje intrigira mlade čitaoce, čemu, kada je ovo djelo u pitanju, pridonio vršnjački momenat. Uočljivo je da su učenici, tokom samostalnog rangiranja, djela rasporedili na drugačiji način, čemu je, najvjerovatnije, doprinijela veća fokusiranost i duži vremenski interval koji su imali na raspolaganju da o knjigama iz prethodnih razreda detaljnije promisle.

U tabeli 3 predstavljen je raspored djela u ukupnom zbiru, u odnosu na učeničko interesovanje – prema njihovom pozicioniranju na prva tri mjesta u svakom razredu. Dok su tokom razgovora prednost dali *Gospodaru prstenova* i *Hariju Poteru*, u ukupnom zbiru prvu i treću poziciju zauzimaju djela koja se svrstavaju u klasike književnosti za djecu na eksjugoslovenskom prostoru – *Hajduci* i *Orlovi rano lete*. Prethodni status zadržalo je samo djelo *Dnevnik Ane Frank*, čak ga je i popravilo, jer u zbiru zauzima drugo mjesto na skali procjene. Rouling s *Hari Poterom* pokriva četvrto mjesto, a na petom je Defoov *Robinson Kruso.* Slijede Olujić, Kestner i Vern, dok se Tolkin, iako prethodno posebno istican, našao na poziciji devet.

Takav raspored lektirnih djela još jednom potvrđuje da se izbori ispitivanog uzrasta, shodno njegovim karakteristikama, i dalje odnose na tematiku drugarstva i druženja i epistolarnu formu – vršnjački dnevnik. Fantastični roman o dječaku čarobnjaku i njegovim prijateljima, iako je u konačnom zbiru izgubio primat, još uvijek se dobro pozicionira. Zasnovanost priče na školskom ambijentu Hogvortsa, druženju, igrama, nadmetanju u čarobnjačkim moćima i stalnom borbom protiv zla ovom na svijetu – učinili da učenici ovo djelo žele da čitaju u sklopu školske lektire, što će kod naredne analize biti još transparentnije.

Priča o pustom ostrvu i njegovim stanovnicima – Robinzonu Krusou i njegovom prijatelju Petku, i dalje je avanturistički roman koji privlači učeničku pažnju, pa se u ovom popisu našao na petom mjestu, iako ga tokom razgovora djeca nijesu posebno pominjala. Olujićkin roman o tinejdžerskoj ljubavi u ukupnom zbiru zauzima šestu poziciju, a prate ga klasici Kestner, Vern i Molnar. Ovakva učenička opredjeljenja aktueliziju pitanja koja je istakla Gabelica (2015): *šta je, zapravo, savremena književnost? može li savremenoj književnosti pripadati i književni klasik ukoliko ga današnje generacije djece biraju i rado čitaju*? Sve, naravno, zavisi s kojeg stanovišta posmatramo navedenu problematiku. Tematski, interesovanja učenika shodno uzrastu, u samoj biti, nijesu se mnogo promijenila – oni i dalje biraju djela karakteristična za period rane adolesencije, ističući, uprkos intenzivnom prisustvu najnovijih žanrova

mitske fantastike i horora s neobičnim vršnjačkim, često vampirskim družinama, zapravo one koje su im najbliže – realističke hajdučke družine davno prošlih vremena, no jednako aktuelnih djetinjih i mladalačkih ograničenja i nevolja, protkane humorom. „Suvremenost tih djela predodređena je činjenicom da ih današnja, suvremena djeca čitaju" (Gabelica 2015, 62).

Ono što bi bilo zanimljivo istražiti jeste – kako se Tolkin našao gotovo na začelju učeničkog izbora prvih deset lektirnih djela? Šta se to, zapravo, *Gospodru prstenova,* u jednom trenutku, dogodilo? Je li to zasićenost tematikom, izvjesna zrelost mladih čitalaca ili su se, moguće, pojavili neki novi izazovi?

Djela koja učenici sami biraju

Kao pandan usmjerenom i donekle ograničenom izboru programom ponuđenih djela, naredna tema odnosila se na *djela koja učenici sami biraju*. Prva kategorija, kao i kod prethodne teme, jeste književni žanr, pa sumiranje rezultata pokazuje da se i pri samostalnim izborima respondenti opredjeljuju, prije svega, za naučnu i mitsku fantastiku, u čiji kontekst svrstavaju i avanturu (66). Odmah nakon toga slijedi vršnjački dnevnik (60), horor misterije (47), romani s tematikom tinejdžerske ljubavi (43) i detektivski romani (42). Manji broj ispitanika za izbor djela koristi i neke druge kriterijume (15). Osim vrste djela, zamolili smo ih da navedu i njihove naslove, pretpostavljajući da ćemo dobiti precizniji podatak o njihovom čitalačkim interesovanjima.

S *epskom fantastikom* (66) ispitanici povezuju *avanturu,* pa svoj izbor, između ostalog, obrazlažu dinamičnošću radnje i velikim brojem zanimljivih događaja u romanesknom tkivu djela.

Volim da čitam naučnu fantastiku i avanturističke romane.
Zanimljivi su jer likovi prolaze kroz različite avanture i meni to drži pažnju dok čitam.
Volim da čitam epsku fantastiku – sviđa mi se posebno. Zanimljivo mi je nekako...
Volim avanturističke romane i epsku fantastiku. Od epske fantastike najviše mi se sviđa Gospodar prstenova.
Od romana najviše volim naučno-fantastične, jer su mi zanimljiva sva ta čudesna bića, volim sve akcije koje se u njemu dešavaju.
Volim naučnu fantastiku jer je to nešto što nije stvarno, pa možemo da zamišljamo događaje…
Uvijek ću izabrati neko avanturističko djelo gdje je radnja malo dinamičnija…

U popisu djela koja bi iz ove grupe predložili za čitanje nalaze se: Ž. Vern: *20.000 milja pod morem, Put u središte zemlje;* D. Adams: *Autostoperski vodič kroz galaksiju;* Dž. Rouling: *Hari Poter* (više djelova)[9]; Dž. R. R. Tolkin: *Gospodar prstenova* (više djelova), *Hobit;* Ž. Orvel: *Životinjska farma,* L. Bardugo: *Senka i kost – trilogija Griša I,* Tešić: *Kosingas: Buđenje Svarogovo,* B. Mal: *Utočište za bajke,* M. Ende: *Beskrajna priča.*

S obzirom na to da ispitivna populacija na prvo mjesto pozicionira djela naučne i mitske fantastike kada usmeno razmatraju popis lektirnih djela[10] i kada sami prave izbore – očigledno je da je navedeni žanr, zapravo, primarni izbor osnovaca. Kako se uzrast osmog razreda (13, 14 godina) nalazi u herojskom razdoblju čitanja (12. do 15. godine, prema Bühler i Engelmann, u Kuvač Levačić 2013), odnosno u fazi moralizma (prema Rosandić 2005) oni likove posmatraju s moralnog stanovišta pronalazeći svog „idealnog junaka" kojeg krasi moralnost, plemenitost i neustrašivost i iznose o njemu sopstvene moralne ocjene i stavove i, identifikujući se s njim, spasavaju planete, zemlje i narode. Junaci fantastične proze najčešće posjeduju natprirodne osobine i moći koje ulivaju povjerenje u snagu i uspjeh borbe za pravdu, koliko god prepreka da se na tom putu pojavi. No, i u realističkoj prozi koju ispitanici biraju pojavljuju se snažni, upečatljivi i pravedni likovi zahvaljujući čijoj se čestitosti, odlučnosti i snazi svi zapleti uspješno rješavaju.

Osim tematike navedenih djela i argumenata koje su učenici za njihovo čitanje iznijeli, smatramo da popularnosti ovih naslova i njihovom pozicioniranju u centar čitalačkog interesovanja mladih (pa i starijih) čitalaca, posebno doprinosi njihova ekranizacija. Sve savršenija filmska tehnika fascinantno dočarava hronotop savremene fantastike konstituisan od magičnog prostora i magičnog vremena, pri čemu se magični prostor strukturira na više načina: kao zatvoren sekundarni svijet (radnja djela se u cjelini odvija u natprirodnoj ravni), otvoreni sekundarni svijet (radnja se odvija u realnom/primarnom i magičnom/sekundarnom svijetu) ili implicirani sekundarni svijet (u onim djelima u kojima magično prodire u realno okruženje), pri čemu se vrijeme provedeno u magičnom svijetu ne podudara s vremenom u

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[9] „Serijal o Hariju Poteru spada u najpopularnije i najvoljenije serijale u istoriji izdavaštva, čije su knjige prevedene na 80 jezika i prodate u neverovatnih pola milijarde primeraka. Neretko se kaže, sasvim s razlogom, kako je Hari Poter doprineo da mlađi čitaoci širom sveta zavole knjigu i da ljubav prema čitanju ne uzmakne pred drugim, savremenim oblicima zabave" (Dragomirović, nedeljnik Vreme, jul 2022).

[10] Pa i kada ih samostalno rangiraju pojedina ne gube visok status.

stvarnom svijetu (Nikolajeva 2003: 142–143). Filmska umjetnost uzimajući za podlogu književnost, uvodi vizuelne i audio efekte, sliku i njene brze promjene te mnogostruke i sve savršenije filmske efekte kreirajući prostor koji plijeni pažnju čak i onih gledalaca koji ovaj filmski žanr primarno ne biraju. Filmska industrija se, od samih početaka do danas, u značajnoj mjeri oslanja na književnoumjetnička ostvarenja, pa je snaga filma zapravo u tome što je iz književnosti preuzimala najbolje – likove, teme, žanrove, sadržajne komponente, pa i konstrukcijska romaneskna načela (Pavičić 2013). Osim toga, Plavšić i Ljubešić (2009) ističu da ova djela vjerovatno imaju visoku popularnost[11] i zbog upliva marketinških djelatnosti kojima se izdavači njihovih autora služe, kao i činjenice da zauzimaju značajan medijski prostor, s čime se, uz uvažavanje svih njihovih književnih kvaliteta, uglavnom možemo složiti.

Izbor *dnevnika* (60) ispitanici obrazlažu činjenicom da je autor obično njihov vršnjak ili je pak na taj način djelo pisano (u prvom licu), tj. dnevnik „piše neko ko je kao mi", što očito doprinosi lakšem povezivanju s autorom djela i njegovim protagonistima. Oni predlažu naslove S. Taunzend: *Tajni dnevnik Adrijana Mola* i A. Pantermiler: *Dnevnik jedne skoro pa tinejdžerke.*

Na trećem mjestu nalazi se forma koju učenici nazivaju *horor misterije*[12] (47) za koje kažu da je ono što se u njima nalazi „neobično i zastrašujuće", da „ne postoji, ali je zanimljivo" i „vuče nas da čitamo": *Volim horor misterije zato što ima puno iznenađenja, npr. ja očekujem da se desi nešto a onda se desi totalno drugo! To me privlači da još više čitam.*

Horor je, očigledno, žanr koji privlači mlade čitaoce. U nekim klasifikacijama književnih vrsta, horor i detektivski romani podvode se pod misterije. Određen paradoksima i dominantnom osobinom koncentrisanom u estetskoj namjeri da kod čitalaca izazove stravu, horor se ostvaruje izborom tematike pogodne za dostizanje navedenog cilja, kao i osobenom žanrovskom retorikom podređenom zadatku „da kod čitaoca proizvodi osećanja neizvesnosti, strepnje, jeze, straha, iznenađenja, neočekivanog šoka i groze, pri čemu su ta osećanja za čitaoca istovremeno odbojna i privlačna" (Ognjanović, 2014, 39). Tematika ovih romana u skladu s nazivom (*horor* lat. nakostriješiti se)

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[11] Uzrast 14 do 18 godina – *Hari Poter* prvo mjesto, *Gospodar prstenova* četvrto; 19 do 23 godine – *Hari Poter* drugo mjesto, *Gospodar prstenova* treće; a od 24 do 28 godina – *Gospodar prstenova* treće mjesto*, Hari Poter* šesto. (Plavšić, Ljubešić 2009).

[12] Naziv *horor misterije* koristi se u filmskoj produkciji da označi udvojeni filmski žanr.

bira se i strukturira tako da čitaoca šokira i uplaši, tretirajući teme smrti i zagrobnog života, gdje obitavaju demoni, zli duhovi, vještice, vampiri, vukodlaci i druga monstruozna bića, a djeca ih ipak čitaju! Objašnjenje, moguće, leži u izazovu susreta s onim što uznemirava i plaši, pri čemu se aktivira strah, kao najstarija i najjača ljudska emocija koja budi iskonski instikt – zaštiti sebe od drugoga. Stoga, „odgovor leži u čovekovoj prirodi, koja ga tera da se bavi nepoznatim i potencijalno opasnim" (Jelisavčić, 2018, 352), a sigurno okruženje doma u kojem se čitanje najčešće odvija, olakšava susret sa stravičnom atmosferom djelom. Ispitanici su u odovorima koje smo prethodno istakli, zapravo, iskazali svoje razumijevanje ovog žanra i naveli razloge za njegovo čitanje. Sudeći po navedenim karateristikama, učenici su dobro odredili djela kojima su svoj izbor potkrijepili: K. Dž. Doerti: *Noćna škola* (svi djelovi), M. Banićević: *Demon školske biblioteke,* R. Rigs: *Dom gospođe Peregrin za čudnovatu djecu.*

Romani s tematikom tinejdžerske ljubavi koja se „svima dešava, pa je zanimljivo" očekivano su izbor ispitivanog uzrasta (43):

Tokom ljetnjeg raspusta čitam one koje me interesuju, dramske i ljubavne romane jer iz njih mogu da se izvuku velike poruke za život, a najviše volim da čitam knjige koje su napisane po istinitom događaju. Smatram da to može da me nauči raznim lekcijama u životu i da mi da neku veću hrabrost da naučim nešto novo.

Iz ovog opusa izbor je djelo Dž. Grin: *Krive su zvezde,* o kojem kritika ima oprečne stavove.

Pažnju učenika u slobodom izboru zadržavaju i detektivski romani (42), jer u njima „tragamo za istinom" i „sami otkrivamo počinioce zla".

Ja inače čitam detektivske romane, interesuje me misterija, hoću da probam da smislim sama, da riješim ko je izvršio zločin ili šta se desilo i kako će se završiti… Kao kod Agate Kristi.

Osim Agate Kristi, biraju Dojlovog *Šerloka Holmsa*.

Iako ih u svijet navedenog književnog žanra uvode djela iz opusa književnosti za djecu (npr. *Emil i detektivi*), ispitivana populacija ističe detektivske romane namijenjene odraslima. Od samog postanka na granici trivijalne i umjetničke književnosti, detektivski žanr plijeni pažnju čitalaca svih uzrasta, pa ga i naši respodenti u značajnom broju biraju kao vanškolsko čitalačko štivo. Komponovani po uzusima specifičnim za sami žanr, s karakterističnim kriminalnim i pravosudnim motivima i motivima zagonetke (Čapek u Mandić, 2015), izazivaju čitaoce da se detektivskim traganjima svesrdno pridružuju.

Postoje i drugi kriterijumi za izbor djela (15), pa pojedinci ističu obim knjige i uzbudljivu sadržinu:

Zavisi od same knjige, pripovijetke, romana, pjesme – samog djela – njegove sadržine.
Ne biram po tome, samo što mi izgleda uzbudljivo uzmem pa čitam.
Mada neću uzeti neku knjigu od 2500 strana. Uživam u čitanju.
Više volim kada su djela malo duža, ali ne predugačka.
Volim da čitam pripovijetke, jer su kraće, više mi drže mi pažnju.
Možda pripovijetke ili pjesme, ne znam… nekako, lakše mi je da pročitam i pratim sve to…

Poezija gotovo da se ne pominje u učeničkim odgovorima, a javila se u trenutku kada su ispitanici obrazlagali izbor djela u odnosu na njihov obim, pa im je lakše da pročitaju i prate pripovijetku i pjesmu, od obimnije forme djela. Istina je da se pripovijetka i pjesma zarad svoje dužine mogu relativno brzo pročitati, no uzrok tome što učenici ne biraju poeziju kao čitalačko štivo može ležati u alegoričnosti pjesničkog jezika, kompleksnosti poetskog izraza kompresovanog u stihove i strofe pregnante značenjima do kojih treba doprijeti. Poeziju manje od proze bira i mlađi i stariji uzrast od istraživanog, kako u okruženju, tako i šire. Prethodno pomenuto istraživanje čitalačkih interesovanja u Crnoj Gori pokazalo je da su i mlađi učenici manje zainteresovani za liriku u odnosu na prozne i dramske vrste, a kao razlog navodi se to što nastavnici uglavnom traže da se lirske pjesme uče napamet (Vučković 2012). Istraživanje čitalačkih navika učenika srednjih škola takođe je pokazalo da „poeziju čita najmanji broj srednjoškolaca (1,5%)“ (Stevanović, Ranđelović, Lazarević 2020, 147). Identičan odnos mladih čitalaca prema poeziji pokazuju rezultati istraživanja realizovanih van regiona, a kao jedan od razloga za to navodi se njena nepovezanost s realnim životnim okolnostima i savremenim događajima (Dias 2010; Manuel & Carter 2015; Pike 2000).

Predloge djela kao što su *Tvrđava,* Selimović i *Čovek po imenu Uve,* F. Bakman, smatramo uticajem starijih osoba iz okruženja, dok se Orvelova *Životinjska farma* koju su predložila dva učenika, nalazi na popisu djela predloženih za čitanje kod kuće u devetom razredu (Program 2017).

Nekima je čitanje prestalo biti zanimljivo: *Kod kuće sam prije čitao Zabavnik, ali više ne. Ne znam zašto, nije mi više zanimljivo…*

Konačno možemo zaključiti da osnovci od djela ponuđenih u školskoj lektiri visoko rangiraju djela fantastične provenijencije, potom formu vršnjačkog dnevnika i roman družine, te avanturističke i detektivske romane, kao i romane koji se odnose na tinejdžersku ljubav. Kada predlažu djela van popisa školske lektire, poredak u odnosu na

vrstu djela gotovo je identičan, s tim što se roman družine sad ne pojavljuje, ali izranjaju horor (misterije).

Uvid u istraživanja u čijem se fokusu nalaze čitalačka interesovanja učenika rane adoslescencije, ali i srednjoškolskog uzrasta, pokazala su da adolescenti u regionu imaju veoma slične izbore. Analiza čitalačkih interesovanja učenika srednjih škola iz regiona u odnosu na književnu vrstu, pokazuje izvjesni kontinuitet u odnosu na izbore koje su napravili naši osnovci: naučnofantastični romani (19,7%) pozicioniraju se odmah nakon stripova kojima srednjoškoci u velikom procentu daju prednost (30,5%), a slijede kriminalistički (17,3%) i ljubavni romani (15,4%) (Stevanović, Ranđelović, Lazarević 2020). U već pomenutom istraživanju realizovanom u bibliotekama, mladi čitaoci uzrasta 14 do 18 godina[13], u izboru deset omiljenih djela, *Harija Potera* pozicioniraju na prvo mjesto, na četvrtom se nalazi *Gospodar prstenova*, dok su između njih *Sumrak* i *Mi djeca s kolodvora Zoo*[14], a najomiljeniji autori su Rouling, Stine i Tolkin (Plavšić, Ljubešić 2009). Rezultati istraživanja u okviru projekta *Boys reading* (2016)[15] pokazali su da dječaci uzrasta od 11 do 15 godina za čitanje biraju djela iz sljedeće tri kategorije: fantastična proza i naučna fantastika, distopija te romani/pripovijetke[16] (CARDET 2015) što je gotovo identično s rezultatima našeg istraživanja. Takođe, potvrđene su jake generacijske veze mladih i na evropskom prostoru što je zasigurno posljedica savremenih tehnologija koje utiču na formiranje zajedničkog tržišta omogućavajući čitaocima pristup istim knjigama ili onim slične kategorije (Dzimov, Batarelo Kokić 2016). Na međunarodnom nivou adolescenti, takođe, biraju slične vrste književnih djela (Coles, Hall 2002; Clark, Foster 2005; Logan, Johnston 2010), iako se sami naslovi mogu razlikovati.

Kada je nastava književnosti u pitanju, postoji više faktora koji mogu osporiti kvalitetnu komunikaciju učenika s književnoumjetničkim djelom, a jedan od njih je neuvažavanje njihovih čitalačkih interesovanja, što može biti razlog za izbjegavanje samostalnog čitanja

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[13] Plavšić, Ljubešić 2009, 134.

[14] Slijede: *Da Vinčijev kod, Mladi mjesec, Pomrčina, Princezini dnevnici, Bilješke jedne gimnazijalke i Noć vještica.*

[15] Projekta „Boys reading" (2014-2015) je međunarodni projekat sedam evropskih univerziteta, koji je vodio Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Splitu, a ključna aktivnost bila je istraživanje čitalačkih navika dječaka.

[16] Dječaci u Hrvatskoj dominantno izdvajaju *Harija Potera, Tolkinovog Hobita* i *Kolinsove Igre gladi.* Na spisku su i *Dnevnik Ane Frank*, *Junaci Pavlove ulice* F. Molnara, kao i Vernov *Put oko svijeta za osamdeset dana* (CARDET 2015).

školske lektire (Benjak, Požgaj Hadži 2013). Da bi se takva prepreka prevazišla, potrebno je kontinuirano praćenje učeničkih izbora i savremenih tokova u oblasti književnosti namijenjene djeci i mladima, te osim klasika iz ove oblasti, uvoditi nova djela, ali i ona koje su svojom tematikom svježa i djeci inspirativna, bez obzira na to kada su nastala. Samo nastavnik koji prati savremene tokove u oblasti književnosti za djecu i mlade, može blagovremeno odreagovati na očuvanje čitalačkih navika svojih učenika i doprinijeti daljem razvoju ljubavi prema lijepoj književnosti. Djelimična otvorenost programa, prilika je da se, kako u osnovnoj, tako i u srednjoj školi, bez administrativnih procedura kontinuirano osvježavaju programski sadržaji i uvode novi, djeci i mladima zanimljivi naslovi. Istraživači ove oblasti ističu da u radu s adolescentima treba uzeti u obzir njihovu potrebu za autonomijom i priznanjem vršnjaka (Alexander i Fox 2011), što je još jedan argument koji ide u prilog intenzivnijeg prihvatanja prethodno pomenute mogućnosti. Uvažavanje njihovih interesovanja van tog popisa otvara prilike za detaljniju analizu odabranih naslova i pozicioniranje takvih djela u odnosu na njihovu književnoumjetničku vrijednost uz pomoć stručne osobe tj. nastavnika.

Završna riječ

Prethodna analiza pokazuje da ispitivana populacija (učenici uzrasta 13 godina, tj. rane adolescencije) većinom čita djela školske lektire i o pročitanom prosuđuje formirajući sopstvena mišljenja te možemo konstatovati da im je čitanje kao školska obaveza važno, ali da mu se posvećuju i van tog konteksta.

Sudeći po učeničkim narativima, pojedina djela predviđena programom posebno plijene njihovu pažnju, pa se ponavljaju i u samostalnim izborima. To su, u obje situacije, djela koja pripadaju fantastičnoj prozi – iz popisa školske lektire *Hari Poter* i *Gospodar prstenova,* a u slobodnom izboru, osim klasika (Vern), navode i djela novije književne produkcije. *Dnevnik Ane Frank* veoma je omiljeno djelo koje se čita u školi, a epistolarna forma javlja se i kada učenici sami biraju: *Tajni dnevnik Adrijana Mola* i *Dnevnik jedne skoro pa tinejdžerke.* Od djela školske lektire ispitanici ističu i realističke romane o družinama, posebno Nušićeve *Hajduke* i Ćopićev roman *Orlovi rano lete,* dajući im u individualnom rangiranju prednost nad fantastikom uopšte, pri čemu je, u konačnom poretku, Tolkinov roman ostao na začelju rang liste od deset naslova.

U samostalnim izborima, osim romana epske fantastike, ispitanici navode horor, avanturističke i detektivske romane i one koji se odnose na tinejdžersku ljubav, pa je jasno da biraju one žanrove koji pripadaju

razdoblju njihovog književnog razvoja. Komparacija sa sličnim istraživanjima pokazala je da se, kada su žanr i vrsta djela u pitanju i dijelom njihovi naslovi, kako u školskom, tako i u vanškolskom čitanju, opredjeljenja ispitanika u velikoj mjeri podudaraju s izborima vršnjaka iz regiona i šire, čemu doprinosi jaka generacijska povezanost zasnovana na savremenoj tehnologiji. Sve skupa ukazuje na generacijski trend kada je izbor čitalačkog štiva u pitanju.

Kao razlog za izdvajanje pojedinih djela kroz čitav učenički narativ emanira njihova z*animljivost* – likovi, događaji i radnja u cjelini, junaci koji su uspjeli da savladaju različite prepreke u izmišljenom i realnom svijetu, s kojima strahuju i raduju se... Humorna nota realističkih pripovijesti posebno im je važna. Ističu i mogućnost da putem čitanja steknu određeno životno iskustvo, kao i uopšteno ideje djela – isticanje dobra i borbu protiv mračnih sila zla u svijetu.

Korpus naslova koje učenici navode kao samostalan izbor može biti podstrek za dalja istraživanja i osnova za promišljanje prilikom planiranja nastave književnosti na različitim nivoima. Takođe, i razlog da se nastavi s ispitivanjem čitalačkih izbora, što može višestruko doprinijeti opstanku i dajem razvoju ljubavi prema književnosti. To je, istovremeno, način da se ova nastava individualizuje i konsoliduje kao kritička promišljaonica i istraživačko-kreativna kontinurana radionica u kojoj se zrcale lični doživljaji i promišljanja i, u živoj diskusiji zasnovanoj na argumentima, dolazi do zaključaka i stavova ili se uspostavljaju nove dileme i problemi koje valja razriješiti.

Rezultati istraživanja dokaz su, takođe, da se tokom nastave književnosti u savremenim okolnostima još uvijek mogu uspješno oblikovati budući posvećeni čitaoci, dakle, tragači za dobrom knjigom i njeni iskreni poklonici. Stoga je zadatak odraslih, kao kreatora i realizatora obrazovanja, da se razvoju čitanja o čijem smo značaju dosta toga prethodno rekli, organizovano i sinergetski posvete te da se sami mijenjaju prihvatajući promjene zarad onih koje obrazuju i vaspitavaju.

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IN-SCHOOL READING AND FREE CHOICES –
WHAT THE EIGHTH-GRADERS PREFER AND WHY

The context in which modern young readers grow up is more complicated and demanding than the context in which readers grew up at the end of the last century, and the beginning of this century when mobile phones were the privilege of adults for establishing fast and functional communication. The overall development of science, especially progress in the field of communication technologies, creates some new and different conditions for reading, and thus the readers themselves. In such circumstances, it is difficult to set boundaries and impose choices – the fact is that trivial or easy literature, through whose textual fabric the reader breaks through without much cognitive effort and still discovers the meaning, increasingly influences the decisions and choices of children and young people, but also older and more mature readers. Therefore, a complex language activity such as reading has been put in the focus of many scientific disciplines whose field of research contributes to elucidating its peculiarities and significance for man and his activity as a whole, because "the complexity of cognitive, metacognitive, affective, social-historical and overall contextual determinants of reading requires a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approach and the necessary cooperation of various disciplines within the humanities, social and medical sciences" (Pšihistal 2013, 44). Reading literacy is a key factor in education, life, and work in the modern age, which is recognized in the Montenegrin subject curricula for teaching the mother tongue and literature in primary (2017) and secondary schools (2020) and is noticeable in educational and knowledge outcomes aimed at the development of both different reading strategies and this demanding cognitive skill as a whole. Concerning the described topic, in this paper, we also cite the results of research into the reading interests of children and young people carried out in Montenegro and the region, and we also refer to international research from similar fields, given that the problem of (non)reading among young people is a global trend. The mentioned topic in the region was mostly researched at the high school age, but considering that the researched population (primary school eighth-graders) goes to high school as the next level of education, and a step forward in the development of literacy competence, of which reading is an inseparable part, the mentioned results we considered significant for our research. The list of works to be read at home in mother tongue and literature subject curricula in primary and secondary schools is always an acute topic that raises many questions: What corrections should be made about the existing selection? How and to what extent should we represent the classics of children's literature, but also introduce new authors, and from which areas? What is the attitude of the students towards the works already represented in the curricula and do they want to read the school reading material? To what extent do the themes presented in those works provoke and intrigue young readers and do they want to devote themselves to such works? The goals of the overall research were multiple, but for this work, we singled out the following: to reach the reading interests of primary school eighth-graders through their

attitude towards reading the recommended works of school reading and the free reading choices of literary-artistic works, examining at the same time which genre they prefer and why. The aforementioned part of the research was guided by two research questions formulated following the set goals: *Which works of school reading do students like to read and why*? *Which works do they choose and why?* In doing so, we considered works for reading at home from the previous two grades (sixth and seventh) and those that are read in the eighth grade (19 in total) that the respondents had just finished. The interviews were conducted in the last month of the school year, that is when the reception of the mentioned works and the activities accompanying the work on them are mostly finished. Reflection and discussion on the above-mentioned issue can offer an interesting starting point for certain adaptations of the reading material and the selection of works in the subject curricula, as well as adequate reading motivation for small and young readers. At the moment when, first of all, the national criterion is satisfied, given that a significant corpus usually consists of aesthetically valuable works of national literature, and the criterion for choosing representative works of world literature is also met, then the current and challenging titles for students must be taken into account.

The research corpus consisted of eighth-grade students from three primary schools in Podgorica (72 students – 38 girls and 34 boys). They are one year before the end of primary school education, which means that during literature classes, in addition to improving their reading strategies of literary and artistic texts, they were able to acquire an age-appropriate corpus of literary theoretical knowledge and adopt basic concepts and notions from the theory of literature, based on which they can improve their analytical-synthetic abilities in the process of accepting the artistic creation and deepen their understanding and experience of the literary work. Also, the entire previous education, as well as the context in which they live, can significantly influence their reading preferences and choices. We based the discussion of the obtained data on a qualitative thematic analysis, which was preceded by a detailed study of the recorded material, then its coding by highlighting the most important meanings and ideas extracted from the student narratives and the formulation of the appropriate categories (19). The categories were then classified into four themes that correspond to the research questions (Brown, Clark 2006). The analysis of the results of the research shows that the studied population (students aged 13, ie early adolescence) reads school textbooks, but also makes independent reading choices, and judges what they read, forming their own opinions. Therefore, we conclude that reading is important to them as a school obligation, but that they devote themselves to it outside of that context as well. Judging by the students' narratives, in both categories the works that belong to fantastic prose and epic fiction especially attract attention, so explaining their choice of readers, most of the respondents point out that by reading works of this provenance they have the opportunity to learn about myths, legends, and historically important events and personalities of different peoples and culture, which, among other things, contributes to the understanding and acceptance of their cultural structures, i.e. customs and values. Also, the wonder of new

worlds, a constellation of unusual characters equipped with fascinating powers and their adventures, countries, and regions that function in special, unknown in everyday life, but at the same time in perfect ways, obviously capture the attention of young readers. In the world of fantasy, identifying with the heroes of the story and distancing themselves from them allows young readers to take different (usually desirable) ethical positions and make decisions on that level. They emphasize the continuous struggle of the heroes of these works against the dark forces of evil, so the essence of this choice is not only reflected in escapism, but it is obvious that the respondents recognize the key ideas that the works carry and show an essential understanding of the mentioned genre. In this sense, Harry Potter (Rowling) and The Lord of the Rings (Tolkien) are highly positioned, but also Jules Verne and his works, as well as recent literary productions (Adams: *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy*, Bardugo: *Shadow and Bone - Grisha I trilogy*, Tešić: *Kosingas – Svarog The Awakening,* Mal: *Haven for Fairy Tales*, Ende: *The Neverending Story...).*

The peer diary, as a simpler epistolary form, captures the attention of schoolchildren both when it is an integral part of school reading (*The Diary of Anne Frank*) and when it comes to a free choice of works to read (Townsand: *The Secret Diary of Adrian Mol*, Pantermiller: *The Diary of an Almost Teenage Girl*). From the list of reading works, the respondents single out the novels of the group/clique – classics of children's literature from the ex-Yugoslav territories (Nušić: *Brigands* and Ćopić: *Eagles Fly Early*), which they read in previous grades (sixth and seventh grade), while in free choices they place horror (mysteries) highly. Determined by paradoxes and a dominant feature concentrated in the aesthetic intention "to produce in the reader feelings of uncertainty, apprehension, chills, fear, surprise, unexpected shock, and horror, while these feelings are both repulsive and attractive for the reader" (Ognjanović, 2014, 39), *horror* is a genre that attracts young readers, so our respondents suggest Doherty: *Night School* (all parts), Banićević: *School Library Demon*, Riggs: *Mrs. Peregrine's Home for Peculiar Children*.

Novels with the theme of teenage love, which "happens to everyone, so it's interesting", are expectedly the choice of the examined age, (Green: *The Stars are to Blame*), as well as detective novels because in them we "search for the truth" and "discover the perpetrators of evil ourselves" (Christie and Doyle).

Poetry is rarely mentioned in the students' answers, and it came up at the moment when the respondents explained the choice of works concerning their volume, so it is easier for them to read and follow a short story and a poem, than a more voluminous form of work. It is true that the short story and the poem can be read relatively quickly because of their length, but the reason why students do not choose poetry as reading material may lie in the allegorical nature of the poetic language, the complexity of the poetic expression compressed into verses and stanzas pregnant with meanings that need to be reached. Thematically, we can state that the interests of students according to their age, in essence, have not changed much – they still choose works characteristic of the period of early adolescence, pointing out that, despite the intense presence of the latest genres of mythical fantasy and horror with

unusual peers, often vampire groups, in fact, those that are closest to them – realistic gangs of hooligans from long ago times, but equally current childhood and youthful limitations and troubles, interwoven with humor. "The modernity of those works is determined by the fact that today's, modern children read them" (Gabelica 2015, 62).

A comparison with similar research in the region and beyond has shown that, when it comes to the genre of literary works, and partly their titles, both in-school and out-of-school reading, the preferences of the respondents largely coincide with the choices of their peers from the region and beyond, which is why it is most likely contributed by a strong generational connection based on the possibilities provided by modern technology. The results of the research are proof that future dedicated readers, seekers of a good book, and sincere devotees can still be successfully formed during the teaching of literature in modern circumstances. Therefore, it is the task of adults, as creators and implementers of education, to dedicate themselves to the development of the reading of literary-artistic texts, in an organized and synergistic way, and to change themselves by accepting changes for the sake of those they educate.

Keywords: reading, in-school reading, free choices, a literary genre

REVIEWS

RECENZIJE

Veran Stanojević, Le temps et l'aspect en français et en serbe. [Time and Aspect in French and Serbian]

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If tense is treated as a case of grammaticalisation of temporal localisation, then the canonical function of verb forms is to establish certain relationship between tense and moment of speech. One immediate impression is not simply that of the topic of tense and aspect but, more importantly, a theoretic-methodological cohesion reflected in the way the author approaches "la résultativité en français et en serbe" (p. 43-74) and grammatical polysemy (p. 143-159). The book raises important theoretical and methodological questions in several specific domains. However, the subtitle of the book might equally have been 'une approche néoreichenbachienne' with all the implications generally associated with this line of enquiry. The book consists of eight chapters of generous length covering all major aspects of tense and aspect in French and Serbian. The aim of this study is twofold: to fill the lacuna in the current contrastive scholarship on French and Serbian nuances of tense and aspect, and to contribute to a better understanding on the morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic profiles of these phenomena. Although it is largely descriptive in orientation, the study nevertheless explores empirically corpus-based examples and reflects the underlying assumptions of the theoretical frameworks in which they are couched. For this reason, the author finds it necessary to review issues relevant to the study of French tenses in relation to semantics-pragmatics. The text opens with a descriptive account of "grammaires scolaires", i.e. "grammaires traditionnelles" (p. 21-22). Then, the author skillfully departs from descriptive accounts to actual incorporation of aspectual meaning within the system of Reichenbach (p. 28-40). More specifically, the author picks out one aspect of the theory as a starting

point for tense description leaving no loose ends, and providing English and Serbian contrastive examples to support his claims. The author's analysis of French tenses is neat work in what might be called Reichenbach-theoretic framework (p. 41). Not unusually, the author states that "il est connu qu'en plus de présent perfectif, le présent imperfectif est également utilisé dans la narration" (p. 99). Contrary to the traditional treatment of the specific Serbian equivalents, the author argues for temporal transposition of the Present Tense. The great majority of corpus-based examples assume a temporal subsystem approach to indicative and relative French and Serbian tenses with the exception of French that has a morphologically complete subsystem (p. 101-102). Pointing out that "la définition du plus-que-parfait (E-R-S) proposée par Reichenbach rend compte de l'intuition communément partagée selon laquelle ce temps verbal exprime dans la plupart de ses usages l'antériorité et l'éventualité" (p. 103) the book sheds light on more specific treatment of the phenomena under investigation. Particularly illuminating is exploration into "le future périphrastique et le future simple en français" (p. 161-184). Regarding "du futuroïde dans la traduction littéraire" (p. 185), the author ties it to a specific theoretical-methodological provenance and the specific corpus-based data (p. 187). Given the diversity of approaches this book cannot settle all plausible issues and challenges, but may bring into focus various solutions proposed in the pertinent literature.

WREDE, OĽGA: THEORETISCH-PRAGMATISCHE REFLEXIONEN ZUR INTERLINGUALEN ÜBERSETZUNG AUSGEWÄHLTER TEXTSORTEN DES STRAFPROZESSRECHTS (DEUTSCH – SLOWAKISCH)

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Diese im Verlag Dr. Kovač erschienene Monographie von Oľga Wrede setzt sich zum Ziel, auf die Problematik der Rechtsübersetzung durch das Prisma des interlingualen Transfers aus dem Deutschen ins Slowakische einzugehen. Im Vordergrund stehen die von der Autorin ausgewählten und in einem gewissem Sinne für das Strafprozessrecht repräsentativen Textsorten, bzw. ihre Analyse, die eine solide Basis für die Übersetzung dieser Textsorten im Sprachenpaar Deutsch – Slowakisch liefern kann. Mit der Auswahl der zu übersetzenden Materie, d.h. der einem Rechtsgebiet angehörenden Textsorten, hat die Autorin ein Thema aufgegriffen, das in der slow. Germanistik bzw. Translatologie sehr wenig behandelt wird. Die bisher in der Slowakei erschienenen Monographien und Publikationen zum Thema Rechtssprache und Rechtsübersetzung fokussieren nämlich sehr selten auf ein konkretes Rechtsgebiet, was möglicherweise dadurch erklärt werden kann, dass solche Fokussierungen mit einem großen Aufwand auf Seiten des Translatologen verbunden sind. In der Slowakei gibt es nämlich kein auf Rechtsübersetzung ausgerichtetes Studienprogramm und die Linguisten und Translatologen müssen die fehlende Fachkompetenz meistens durch Selbststudium erwerben. Umso erfreulicher ist es, dass Monografien wie die vorliegende entstehen, die von einer großen Fachkompetenz der Autorin zeugt.

Das vorliegende Buch stellt einen ziemlich umfangreichen Beitrag zum Textsorten-Diskurs im Allgemeinen und dann konkret zum deutsch-slowakischen interlingualen Rechtstransfer im Bereich der relevantesten Textsorten des Strafprozessrechts dar und möchte, wie

die Autorin sagt, die in der Translationswissenschaft sehr wenig behandelten Zusammenhänge zwischen Fach- und Textsortenwissen im Translationsprozess bewusster machen. Ausgehend von der Lokalisierung des Forschungsobjektes in breiteren Zusammenhängen der Rechtskommunikation und ihrer besonders für den interlingualen Transfer wichtigen Modelle, die die bekannte und eher asymmetrische Beziehung zwischen Rechtsordnung und Sprache thematisieren, setzt sich die Autorin v.a. befasst sich die Autorin v.a. mit den im Strafprozessrecht relevanten Fachfragen rund um die Strafgerichtsbarkeit und die dabei zur Anwendung kommenden Verfahren. Dieser Vorgehensweise ist zwar zuzustimmen, zugleich möchte ich in diesem Zusammenhang aber darauf hinweisen, dass sie sich noch etwas mehr dem materiellen Strafrecht (dem Strafgesetzbuch) hätte widmen können, da dieses bekanntlich als Basis für den Strafprozess zu verstehen ist, insofern in den Urteilen und anderen Entscheidungen natürlich immer auf das Strafgesetzbuch verwiesen wird. Dass die Autorin dem Strafverfahren große Aufmerksamkeit schenkt, fällt besonders positiv in die Augen, da hier das den einzelnen Textsorten zugrundeliegende Begriffssystem verborgen liegt, welches die Autorin durch Definitionen und Hinweise auf weiterführende Literatur erläutert und aufdeckt. Dabei behandelt sie das Begriffssystem auch unter diatopischen Aspekten. Besonders hervorzuheben sind weiters die Übersetzungen deutscher Begriffe ins Slowakische (in den Klammern, direkt im Text), die es ermöglichen, diese Publikation im gewissen Sinne auch als eine Art Wörterbuch zu verwenden. Den Schwerpunkt bildet, wie oben erwähnt, die Textsortenlehre. Als Basis dienen der Autorin die Bestimmung und die Klassifizierung der Textsorten, in deren Rahmen auf verschiedene Texttypologien eingegangen wird. Die Textsorten des Strafprozessrechts werden dann aus kontrastiver Sicht vor allem unter funktionalen und pragmatischen Aspekten reflektiert. Bei den einzelnen Textsorten werden sowohl textexterne als auch textinterne Faktoren berücksichtigt. Schließlich sind insbesondere bei der Rechtsübersetzung auch textexterne Faktoren von Belang, indem geeignete Übersetzungslösungen nur unter Einbeziehung von textexternen Faktoren gesucht und gefunden werden können, was die Notwendigkeit einer systematischen Terminologiearbeit unterstreicht. Die vorliegende Monographie ist also auch in dieser Hinsicht als ein gelungener Versuch der systematischen Bearbeitung eines konkreten terminologischen Bestandes zu bezeichnen, der pragmatische Faktoren berücksichtigt und durch die Erweiterung der terminologischen Arbeit auf Kollokationen und feste Wortverbindungen eine solide Basis für die kontrastive Terminologie-

und Übersetzungsarbeit schafft. Besonders wertvoll sind diejenigen Unterkapiteln, die sich mit der Mikrogliederung der einzelnen Textsorten beschäftigen, und zwar aus kontrastiver Sicht. Die Autorin geht auf die einzelnen Textteile und Standardformeln ein, die mit Beispielen aus dem Textkorpus belegt und damit in den Kontext eingebettet werden, was bei der Übersetzung bzw. bei der Suche nach einer geeigneten Übersetzungslösung äußerst hilfreich sein kann. Ebenso erlauben die Bezüge auf die jeweils entsprechenden Rechtsquelle eine rasche Orientierung und helfen bei der Übersetzung. Slowakische Textsorten bzw. Textsortenbeispiele werden dann mit deutschen Übersetzungen versehen, was wiederum die Nutzbarkeit der ganzen Monographie u.a. auch als eine Art Wörterbuch der Standardformeln und fester Wendungen im Strafprozessrecht unterstreicht. Bei der Übersetzung ist gerade die Einbettung in den Kontext wichtig, und zwar in zweierlei Hinsicht. Erstens geschieht es auf der Makroebene der Textsorten, wo die Gegenüberstellung von zwei (aus zwei verschiedenen Rechtsordnungen stammenden) Textsorten bei der Monosemierung von oft polysemen Rechtsbegriffen in dem Sinne helfen kann, als sich der Übersetzer für eine bessere Übersetzungslösung anhand des Kontexts entscheiden kann. Zweitens wird die Monosemierung der Rechtsbegriffe auf der Mikroebene (d.h. bei einzelnen Bestandteilen der Textsorten) realisiert. In diesem Fall kann man sich für eine dem jeweiligen Bestandteil entsprechende Wortverbindung oder den für ihn typischen Rechtsbegriff entscheiden.

Zusammenfassend kann man sagen, dass sich die Autorin mit ihrem theoretisch hinreichend unterlegten Übersetzungsansatz, der auch aus praktischer Sicht reflektiert wurde, moderneren Theorien und Ansätzen nähert, die bei der Übersetzung parallele Texte, Kontexte des Ausgangs- und Zieltextes, zweisprachige Textressourcen usw. in Anspruch nehmen und den traditionellen Äquivalenzbegriff für überholt halten (siehe z.B. SANDRINI, P., Der Wert ungleicher Lösungen: Wider ein unangebrachtes Äquivalenzdenken. In: RAKŠÁNYIOVÁ, J. et al. (Hrsg.), *Quo vadis Rechtsübersetzung?* Bratislava, 2017, S. 88–99).

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