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**Faculty of Philology, Nikšić  
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***Language Studies***

***Nauka o jeziku***



**KULTURNA DISKREPANCA U PREVODU SRPSKE KULTURNO  
SPECIFIČNE LEKSIKE NA NEMAČKI JEZIK U DIJALOGU SRBINA I  
NEMCA NA DUNAVU Š. BARTA I N. N. STEFANOVIĆA: TRAGOV  
NARODA**

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**Abstrakt:** Poslednjih decenija studije kulture predstavljaju polje istraživanja koje je umnogome doprinelo daljem razvoju društvenih nauka, među njima i lingvistike. Cilj ovog rada je da analizom *srpske kulturno specifične leksike* i njenog prevoda na nemački jezik u prvom poglavlju knjige *Dijalog Srbina i Nemca na Dunavu: Tragovi naroda* autora Š. Barta (S. Barth) i N. N. Stefanovića ustanovi šta ove jedinice čini kulturno specifičnim odnosno gde nastaje tzv. *kulturna diskrepanca* (eng. *cultural gap*). Korpus je ekscerpiran na osnovu nemačkog prevoda knjige i čine ga leksičke jedinice specifične za srpsku kulturu koje pripadaju Njumarkovim (Newmark) *kulturnim kategorijama* (eng. *cultural categories*). Analiza korpusa zasniva se na poređenju originalne i prevedene verzije, a za utvrđivanje *kulturne diskrepance* (eng. *cultural gap*) biće upotrebljeni rečnici srpskog i nemačkog jezika.<sup>1</sup>

**Ključne reči:** srpska kulturno specifična leksika; kulturne kategorije; kulturna diskrepanca; kultura.

## 1. Uvod

Postoji nemačka izreka koja glasi: „den Wald vor lauter Bäumen nicht sehen”<sup>2</sup> i ona bi se mogla primeniti na status kulture u društvenim naukama. Sve one pokušavaju da dokuče čoveka i ono što čini njegov život, i za sve njih zajednička je upravo kultura. Ono do čega današnja istraživanja dolaze, a što je decenijama ostajalo izgubljeno iz vida, jeste činjenica da istorija, politika, sociologija,

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<sup>1</sup> Ovaj rad predstavlja skraćenu i prilagođenu verziju rada *Srpska kulturno specifična leksika i kulturni narativi u „Dijalogu Srbina i Nemca na Dunavu” Š. Barta i N. N. Stefanovića: „Tragovi naroda”* nastalog u okviru seminara *Srpska kulturno specifična leksika* pod mentorstvom prof. dr Jasmine Dražić.

<sup>2</sup> Srp. *od drveća ne videti šumu*.

filozofija, jezik i sve ono što uključuje čoveka i njegovo delanje u manjoj ili većoj meri zavisi od kulture.

S tim u vezi tema ovog rada biće istraživanje srpske kulturno specifične leksike koja je prisutna u prvom poglavlju knjige *Dijalog Srbina i Nemca na Dunavu* (nem. *Dialog an der Donau: Gespräche zwischen einem Serben und einem Deutschen*). Knjiga Štefana Barta (Stefan Barth) i Nenada Novaka Stefanovića predstavlja značajan izvor za ovakvu analizu iz nekoliko razloga. Prvi je razlog ponovni neposredni susret dveju kultura, nemačke i srpske, koje su od naseljavanja podunavskih Švaba na teritoriju Vojvodine bile usko povezane. Drugi razlog je dijaloška forma koja je pogodna za ovakva istraživanja zbog svoje bliskosti realnom svakodnevnom jeziku. Treći razlog ogleda se u tome da prevod na nemački jezik potiče od jednog od autora, Štefana Barta, čime se postiže izuzetna prevodilačka situacija, pogotovo kada su u pitanju kulturno specifične jedinice. Istraživanje bi se svakako moglo proširiti na čitavo delo, ali to bi umnogome prevazišlo obim ovog rada, pa će se ono zadržati na prvom uvodnom poglavlju, *Tragovi naroda* (nem. *Die Spuren der Völker*).

Cilj rada je da ustanovi samu srž srpske kulturno specifične leksike, odnosno da pomoću srpskih i nemačkih rečnika pronađe onu tačku na relaciji između ova dva jezika na kojoj nastaje *kulturna diskrepanca* (eng. *cultural gap*). Korpus je ekscerpiran na osnovu nemačkog prevoda i to u dva koraka: 1) ustanovljene su one leksičke jedinice kod kojih je prisutan neki vid *kulturne diskrepance* (eng. *cultural gap*) i 2) korpus je sužen na kulturno specifične leksičke jedinice koje pripadaju tzv. *kulturnim kategorijama* (eng. *cultural categories*) koje uvodi Njumark (Newmark): ekologija; materijalna kultura; socijalna kultura; organizacije, običaji, aktivnosti, procedure i koncepti i gestikulacija i navike. Rad čine tri veće celine, od kojih je prva posvećena diskusiji o vezi između kulture, jezika i identiteta, druga prikazu *kulturnih kategorija* i treća samoj analizi ekscerpiranog korpusa.

## 2. Kultura, jezik i identitet

Kultura predstavlja jedan od onih pojmova koji postupak demarkacije u najblažem smislu otežava, a na pojedinim mestima čak i dovodi u pitanje. Za naučni svet ovakva premisa je kontraintuitivna, neki bi možda rekli i pogrešna, ali se ne može poreći da je ona ipak, barem u određenim slučajevima, opravdana. Primera radi, autori Krouber i Klakhon (Krouber/Kluckhohn) u svom istraživanju pronalaze 164 definicije kulture. Za Miler-Funka (Müller-Funk 3) važi sledeće „Wissenschaftlich wie außerwissenschaftlich ist ‚Kultur‘ ein überaus vielschichtiger, mehrdeutig schillernder Begriff”<sup>3</sup>. Hecel (Hetzl 23) u *Handbuch Kulturphilosophie* nudi pregled razvoja pojma kulture kroz istoriju polazeći od

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<sup>3</sup> Srp. *I u nauci i izvan nje „kultura“ je posve višeslojni, umnogome nejasan pojam* (Müller-Funk 3).



sledećeg: „Man könnte von unserem aktuellen Kulturbegriff als einem Archiv semantischer Kämpfe sprechen, wobei die in den Kämpfen unterlegenen Fraktionen nach wie vor in einer Art Unterbewusstsein des Begriffs präsent bleiben“<sup>4</sup>. Znači li ovo da je konsenzus da konsenzusa nema?

U prilog ovome govori i dijahroni razvoj pojma u okviru kojeg je moguće utvrditi nekoliko ključnih tačaka. Prvo, u obzir treba uzeti i to da je sam koncept kulture, onakav kakav nam je danas poznat, relativno mlad. Etimološki posmatrano latinsko *cultūra* znači *sađenje, obrađivanje* i povezano je, između ostalog, s agrikulturom (Bugarski 14). U antičkoj Grčkoj na primer ideja o kulturi povezivala se sa sledećim pojmovima:

- 1) gr. *exemérosis* (nem. *Zähmung der Begierden*);
- 2) gr. *ergasía* (nem. *Erwerb eines Verdienstes*);
- 3) gr. *paideúsís* ili *paideía* (nem. *Bildung, Erziehung*);
- 4) gr. *ho eméros bios* (nem. *Gezähmtheit des Lebens*);
- 5) gr. *he eméros diaita* (nem. *Gezähmtheit der Lebensweise bzw. -führung*);
- 6) gr. *he paideía* (nem. *Ergebnis der Bildung*)<sup>5</sup> (Hetzl 24).

pri čemu je naglašavana individualna, čak i samostalna „izgradnja/oplemenjivanje“ sopstvenog bića. Drugo, kolektivnu obojenost kultura dobija tek u 17. veku (v. Pufendorf *Epistola ad Boineburgium*; prema Hetzel 26). Uslediće potom ideje o naciji i nacionalnom, o narodu, jedinstvu i očuvanju „svog“ nasleđa, i sve će ove ideje dalje oblikovati i dodavati slojeve kulturi i kulturnom. Treće, od Geoga Zimela (Georg Simmel; cit. prema Hetzel 29 – 30) kultura se posmatra u sferi između subjektivnog i objektivnog, kao nem. *schöpferische Tätigkeit*<sup>6</sup>. Time se izdvajaju *individualna, kolektivna i transcendentalna* dimenzija pojma kulture. Međutim, važno je naglasiti da potencijalna dominantnost jedne dimenzije u određenom vremenskom razdoblju ljudske istorije nije značila odsustvo i isključivanje druge, već se ove tačke, retrospektivno sagledano, mogu posmatrati kao proizvod stavljanja određenih aspekata ljudske svesti u fokus u datom momentu. *Transcendentalna* dimenzija kulture univerzalan je princip, ali to ne znači da je kao takva uvek bila i posmatrana. S tim na umu, kultura se može posmatrati kao univerzalna ljudska težnja za oblikovanjem, oplemenjivanjem i davanjem vrednosti različitim

<sup>4</sup> Srp. *O našem aktuelnom pojmu kulture može se govoriti kao o arhivu semantičkih borbi, pri čemu su frakcije poražene u tim borbama još uvek prisutne u svojevrsnoj podsvesti pojma* (Hetzl 23).

<sup>5</sup> 1) Srp. *kroćenje pohlepe*; 2) srp. *sticanje zasluge*; 3) srp. *obrazovanje, vaspitanje*; 4) srp. *ukroćenost života*; 5) srp. *ukroćenost načina života*; 6) srp. *rezultat obrazovanja* (Hetzl 24).

<sup>6</sup> Srp. *stvaralačka delatnost*.

aspektima sebe samog i sveta oko sebe, koja se uvek ostvaruje na stubovima prošlog i uvek zalazi u buduće.

Ovakva definicija ne pretenduje da bude normativna ni univerzalna, već predstavlja polaznu tačku ovog istraživanja. Jedan od aspekata kojim čovek raspolaže, a koji je istovremeno i njegov sastavni deo i deo njegove okoline, jeste jezik. Kod Bugarskog je u ovom smislu uloga jezika dvojaka:

„[...] treba razlikovati ulogu jezika kao *obeležja identiteta* od njegove funkcije kao *nosioca kulture*. U prethodnoj ulozi on je srazmerno manje važan, budući samo jedan u nizu takvih markera (o čemu je već bilo reči), ali je u potonjoj od fundamentalnog značaja, jer je upravo jezik glavni formativni faktor i prenosilac kulturnih sadržaja. U izvesnom smislu moglo bi se čak ustvrditi da sam jezik i jeste kultura, zato što bez njega nema socijalne organizacije, administracije, obrazovanja, religije, prava, politike i drugih velikih kulturnih područja. Ovo je pravi izvor prestiža koji jezik uživa” (Bugarski 71 – 72).

Pored Bugarskog (9), koji sintagmu *jezik i kultura* i sam naziva „veoma popularnom” postoji mnogo drugih naučnika koji se bave ovom problematikom. Ane Ribul (Anne Reboul) u svom istraživanju uzima u obzir dve dominantne hipoteze u ovoj oblasti tzv. Everetovu (eng. *Everett's hypothesis*) i Sapir-Vorfovu hipotezu (eng. *Sapir-Whorf hypothesis*) i pokušava da raščlani i objasni šta uopšte znači ideja o tome da je jezik *instrument kulture* (eng. *cultural tool*) polazeći od dve premise – *kultura ne može da postoji bez jezika* i *jezik ne može da postoji bez kulture*. Kod drugih autora, poput Vajta, ova povezanost ispoljava se na osnovu koncepta koji se nužno zasniva na jeziku – *narativa*: „To raise the question of the nature of narrative is to invite reflection on the very nature of culture and, possibly, even on the nature of humanity itself. So natural is the impulse to narrate [...]”<sup>7</sup> (White 1). Na ovo viđenje nadovezuje se i Miler-Funk koji tvrdi da bi se kultura čak mogla shvatiti i kao „mehr oder weniger (hierarchisch) geordnete Bündel von expliziten und auch impliziten, von ausgesprochenen, aber auch verschwiegenen Erzählungen”<sup>8</sup> (Müller-Funk 17). Relacija *kultura – jezik* ovako postaje ključan faktor u izgradnji i očuvanju identiteta. Identitet takođe predstavlja jedan od onih pojmova koji se ne mogu ograničiti samo na jednu sferu, pa se tako može govoriti o individualnom, etničkom, nacionalnom, religioznom pa i kulturnom identitetu<sup>9</sup> i kod svakog od njih može se diskutovati

<sup>7</sup> Srp. *Postaviti pitanje o prirodi narativa predstavlja poziv na refleksiju o samoj prirodi kulture, i, potencijalno, o samoj prirodi čovečanstva uopšte. Toliko je prirodna potreba za naracijom [...]* (White 1).

<sup>8</sup> Srp. *[...] Manje ili više (hijerarhijski) uređen svežanj eksplicitnih ali i implicitnih, izgovorenih, ali i prećutnih pripovedanja [...]* (Müller-Funk 17).

<sup>9</sup> Kod Bugarskog (70) se on naziva još i *etnokulturni identitet*.

o različitim jezičkim dimenzijama kroz koje se ostvaruju. Neki od najjednostavnijih primera koji ilustruju ovaj odnos jesu i jezički varijeteti poput idiolekta, regiolekta itd. Premda lingvisti ni kod socijalnog ni kod prostornog raslojavanja jezika ne mogu sa sigurnošću tvrditi gde su granice jednog varijeteta, njihovo ustanovljavanje u okviru jezika jedne kulture još je manje pregledno.

Treba naravno uzeti u obzir i to da postoje oni za koje je povezanost kulture i jezika na bilo kom nivou previše nestabilna, ili barem naučno i metodološki neosnovana. Iz ovog razloga rad Ane Vježbicke (Anna Wierzbicka), koja je na ovom polju došla do fundamentalnih otkrića, umnogome je kritikovan. Jedan od primera koje navodi u *Does language reflect culture? Evidence from Australian English* (1986) jesu leksičke razlike između poljskog i engleskog jezika – u poljskom je u upotrebi engleska pozajmljenica *weekend*, jer ne postoji dodatni izraz za subotu i nedelju. Vježbicka se ne bavi samo idejom o leksici specifičnoj za pojedinačne kulture već predlaže da je moguće pronaći uticaje kulture i u gramatici jednog jezika. Za potrebe ovog rada neće biti neophodno sagledati u kojoj meri kultura utiče na gramatičku strukturu jednog jezika, s obzirom na to da je u fokusu istraživanja *kulturno specifična leksika* za koju je od značaja pre svega semantika.

S tim u vezi potrebno je razjasniti sledeće: korpus ovog rada čine one leksičke jedinice kod kojih je ustanovljena *kulturna diskrepanca* (eng. *cultural gap*<sup>10</sup>). S obzirom na to da je proces prevođenja i sam rezultat, prevod, u ovom slučaju poslužio kao polazna tačka, treba uzeti u obzir dva dominantna i oprečna stava koja ga se tiču, i to: 1) prenošenje značenja iz jednog jezika u drugi nije uopšte moguće i 2) prenošenje značenja iz jednog jezika u drugi u potpunosti je moguće. I Vježbicka se u *Semantics, Culture, and Cognition* dotiče ovog problema i predlaže sledeće: „The real question, then, is not *whether* meaning can be transferred from one language to another but *to what extent* it can be so transferred; not *whether* meaning is language-independent but *to what extent* it is”<sup>11</sup> (Wierzbicka 1992, 7). Tako posmatrano, u ovom radu cilj neće biti da se sagleda kvalitet samog prevoda i predloži potencijalno bolje rešenje, već da se ustanovi na osnovu kojih aspekata je zapravo ova *kulturna diskrepanca* nastala i jesu li oni dovoljni da se markirane leksičke jedinice označe kao *kulturno specifične* za srpski jezik.

<sup>10</sup> Pojam *cultural gap* pominje se kod Njumarka (Newmark) u *Textbook of Translation* u kontekstu tzv. *efekta ekvivalencije* (eng. *equivalent effect*) koji je je prilikom prevođenja nemoguće postići ukoliko između dva jezika postoje značajne kulturološke razlike (v. Newmark 48). U nastavku ovog rada koristićemo sopstveni prevod na srpski jezik u vidu sintagme *kulturna diskrepanca*.

<sup>11</sup> Srp. *Pravo pitanje onda nije da li je moguće preneti značenje s jednog jezika na drugi, već u kojoj meri ono može biti tako preneseno; ne da li je značenje nezavisno od jezika, već u kojoj meri jeste* (Wierzbicka 1992,7).

### 3. Kulturne kategorije

Kao što je već pomenuto kao polazna tačka za utvrđivanje *srpske kulturno specifične leksike* poslužio je prevod na nemački jezik. Uzevši u obzir to da prevod potiče od jednog od autora, diskusija o kulturno specifičnoj leksici utoliko je važnija budući da je on i učesnik u dijalogu, pa je njegovo poznavanje konteksta i najbliže „idealnoj” prevodilačkoj situaciji. Originalna verzija, srpska, i prevedena, nemačka, predstavljaju dve tačke, a na relaciji između njih, na svojevrsnom spektru, nalazi se *kulturno specifična leksika*.

Ekscerpirani korpus biće podeljen na tzv. *kulturne kategorije* (eng. *cultural categories*)<sup>12</sup>, koncept koji potiče od E. Nida a koji je adaptirao Njumark (Newmark). Za Njumarka (Newmark 95 – 103) postoji ukupno pet kategorija: 1) „ecology”; 2) „material culture”; 3) „social culture”; 4) „organisations, customs, activities, procedures, concepts”; 5) „gestures and habits”<sup>13</sup>. Pre samog objašnjenja pojedinačnih kategorija trebalo bi ukazati na sličnost između ove podele i podele na semantičke grupe. Reprezentativan primer za ovu podelu može se naći u rečniku *Der deutsche Wortschatz nach Sachgruppen* Franca Dornzajfa (Franz Dornseiff) koji čitav vokabular nemačkog jezika deli na 22 glavne<sup>14</sup> grupe:

- 1) Natur und Umwelt
- 2) Leben
- 3) Raum, Lage, Form
- 4) Größe, Menge, Zahl
- 5) Wesen, Beziehung, Geschehnis
- 6) Zeit
- 7) Sichtbarkeit, Licht, Farbe, Schall, Temperatur, Gewicht, Aggregatzustände
- 8) Ort und Ortsveränderung
- 9) Wollen und Handeln
- 10) Fühlen, Affekte, Charaktereigenschaften
- 11) Das Denken
- 12) Zeichen, Mitteilung, Sprache
- 13) Wissenschaft
- 14) Kunst und Kultur
- 15) Menschliches Zusammenleben
- 16) Essen und Trinken
- 17) Sport und Freizeit

<sup>12</sup> U daljem tekstu korišćićemo sopstveni prevod u vidu sintagme *kulturne kategorije*.

<sup>13</sup> 1) Srp. *ekologija*; 2) srp. *materijalna kultura*; 3) srp. *socijalna kultura*; 4) srp. *organizacije, običaji, aktivnosti, procedure i koncepti*; 5) srp. *gestikulacija i navike*.

<sup>14</sup> U okviru svake glavne grupe postoje i podgrupe.

- 18) Gesellschaft
- 19) Geräte, Technik
- 20) Wirtschaft, Finanzen
- 21) Recht, Ethik
- 22) Religion, Übersinnliches<sup>15</sup>.

Dornzajf (Dornseiff 2004) u razjašnjenju svog metodološkog pristupa ne daje konkretne argumente zašto je nemački vokabular podeljen na ove grupe. S druge strane, ukoliko se navedene grupe posmatraju nezavisno od nemačkog jezika, neutralno, postoji li mogućnost da su one univerzalne? Slično pitanje može se postaviti i kod Njumarkovih (Newmark) *kulturnih kategorija*. Kada se bliže sagledaju, paralela između ovih podela je evidentna, čak bi se moglo reći da one predstavljaju detaljniju i sažetiju verziju. U radu ćemo se zadržati na Njumarkovoj (Newmark) podeli, koja je pogodna i zbog toga što on sagledava i probleme na koje se može naići prilikom prevođenja kulturno specifičnih leksičkih jedinica.

Kao što je to slučaj i kod semantičkih grupa i *kulturne kategorije* same po sebi dosta su opšte i zahtevaju konkretizaciju. Njihovo objašnjenje u narednom delu bazira se na Njumarkovim (Newmark 96 – 102) smernicama, ali bi trebalo uzeti u obzir da će za klasifikaciju ekscerpiranog korpusa ova objašnjenja potencijalno zahtevati proširenje i nadograđivanje:

1) *ekologija*: Prva kategorija obuhvata sve što je vezano za životnu sredinu, od biljaka životinja, geografskih pojmova itd. Trebalo bi naglasiti da se kod Njumarka (Newmark) one razlikuju od ostalih kulturno specifičnih jedinica time što nemaju političku ili komercijalnu vrednost.

2) *materijalna kultura*: U okviru ove kategorije akcenat je stavljen na aspekte poput hrane, odeće i nošnje, tipičnu arhitekturu, naseljena mesta, floru i faunu. Materijalna kultura neretko predstavlja svojevrsni „proizvod“ određene zajednice, čime ona postaje jednom od najvrednijih kategorija.

3) *socijalna kultura*: Najčešće obuhvata posao i slobodno vreme. Takođe se može odnositi i na to na koji način određena kultura

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<sup>15</sup> 1) Srp. *priroda i okolina*; 2) srp. *život*; 3) srp. *prostor, položaj, forma*; 4) srp. *veličina, količina, broj*; 5) srp. *biće, veza, događaj*; 6) srp. *vreme*; 7) srp. *vidljivost, svetlost, boja, zvuk, temperatura, težina, agregatna stanja*; 8) srp. *mesto i promena mesta*; 9) srp. *železi i činiti/delati*; 10) srp. *osećanja, afekti, karakterne osobine*; 11) srp. *razmišljanje*; 12) srp. *znak, iskaz, jezik*; 13) srp. *nauka*; 14) srp. *umetnost i kultura*; 15) srp. *ljudski saživot*; 16) srp. *hrana i piće*; 17) srp. *sport i slobodno vreme*; 18) srp. *društvo*; 19) srp. *uređaji, tehnika*; 20) srp. *ekonomija, finansije*; 21) srp. *pravo, etika*; 22) srp. *religija, transcendentalnost*.

vidi grupisanje svog društva, npr.: *proleterijat, radnička klasa* i sl. ili govori o sebi samoj.

4) *organizacije, običaji, aktivnosti, procedure i koncepti*: Kategorija kojom se u prvoj liniji obuhvata organizacija društva – administrativno i politički. Ovo se najviše ogleda u nazivima institucija, kao i titulama koje se dodeljuju „vođama” u određenom društvu. Istorijski i internacionalni pojmovi (poput akronima) kao i religiozni i umetnički (pravci, procedure, organizacije) takođe spadaju u ovu kategoriju.

5) *gestikulacija i navike*: Njumark (Newmark) kod ove kategorije posebno naglašava razliku koju treba napraviti između opisa i funkcije, npr. pucketanje prstima, klimanje glavom i sl. Za ovu kategoriju moglo bi se reći da je ujedno i najapstraktnija, ali se na osnovu navedenih primera može zaključiti da je sfera komunikacije dominantna. Njumark (Newmark) adaptira kategorije koje je razradio Najda (Nida) u *Exploring Semantic Structures* pa bi trebalo uzeti u obzir i jednu od njih koja se u originalnoj podeli pominje, ali kod Njumarka (Newmark) nije razrađena. Najda (Nida) kao petu kategoriju navodi *lingvističku kulturu* u okviru koje se razlike među jezicima mogu posmatrati na osnovu *fonoloških, morfoloških, sintaktičkih i leksičkih faktora*. Pošto se analiza neće zasnivati na jeziku kao sistemu, od važnosti će pre svega biti *leksički faktori* za koje i Najda (Nida 76) tvrdi sledeće: „Without doubt the problems of equivalence and adaptation between languages are greatest in the lexical items.”<sup>16</sup> Na ovom mestu trebalo bi postaviti pitanje da li je *lingvističku kulturu* onda moguće posmatrati samo individualno, kao zasebnu kategoriju, ili ju je ipak moguće uvrstiti u neku drugu. Postoje dva moguća odgovora. *Lingvistička kultura* se može posmatrati u širem smislu kao nadređena svim ostalim kategorijama ili u užem, kao deo neke druge apstraktnije kategorije. Kada se u obzir uzme činjenica da će se predstojeća analiza zadržati samo na *leksičkim faktorima*, a oni zavise i od konteksta komunikativne situacije i (ne)verbalnih sredstava, u ovom istraživanju ona se može smatrati potkategorijom<sup>17</sup> *gestikulacije i navika*.

<sup>16</sup> Srp. *Najveći problemi u ekvivalentnosti i adaptaciji između jezika bez sumnje su u leksičkim jedinicama* (Nida 76).

<sup>17</sup> I kod Njumarka (Newmark) se može naići na sličan proces – četvrta kategorija kod Najde (Nida) je *religiozna kultura*, a nju Njumark uključuje u okviru *organizacija, običaja, aktivnosti, procedura i koncepata*.

### 3. Analiza

*Dijalog Srbina i Nemca na Dunavu* (nem. *Dialog an der Donau: Gespräche zwischen einem Serben und einem Deutschen*) objavljen je 2013. godine. Urednica knjige Nadežda Radović smatra da je to „[...] više od knjige razgovora. To je, pre svega, dalekovidni poduhvat, koji je pokrenut povodom tristote godišnjice naseljavanja Nemaca na srednjem toku Dunava.” Razgovor između Nenada Novaka Stefanovića i Štefana Barta (Stefan Barth) trajao je deset dana, pa je i sama knjiga simbolično podeljena na deset poglavlja: *Tragovi naroda, Kuća i hleb, Rudolfsgrad – Kničanin, Moj Dunav, Dobro i zlo, Promaja identiteta, Erlangenski rukopis, Prevladavanje prošlosti, Dobra uprava, Perspektive*. Proizvod ovog razgovora predstavlja detaljnu sliku saživota pripadnika različitih kultura ovih prostora iz ugla jednog Srbina i jednog Nemca. Praktični deo rada koncentrisaće se na analizu sprske kulturno specifične leksike koja je ekscerpirana iz prvog poglavlja knjige, na osnovu kontrastiranja originalne, srpske, i prevedene, nemačke, verzije.

#### 3.1. Ekologija

U okviru kulturne kategorije *ekologija* ustanovljene su dve leksičke jedinice koje se mogu smatrati kulturno specifičnim:

Tabela 1:

s. 13/s.13	Planina je ovo, <u>pustolina</u> , jeste da smo upućeni jedan na drugog i da nema mrdanja, samo to sa hranom je moglo bolje da se organizuje.	Das ist ein Gebirge, <u>ein Abenteuer</u> . Es ist wahr, wir sind aufeinander angewiesen und daran gibt es nichts zu rütteln. Nur das mit dem Essen hätten wir besser organisieren müssen.
s. 29/s.33	Za sebe su <u>krčili šumu</u> , stekli zemlju, gradili svoja naselja i radili kao seljaci na svojoj zemlji.	Für sich <u>rodeten sie den Wald</u> , gewannen Ackerland, bauten ihre Siedlungen und arbeiteten als Bauern auf ihren Feldern.

Srpska imenica *pustolina* prevedena je kao nem. *Abenteuer*<sup>18</sup>. Ovakav prevod zapravo izlazi iz okvira semantičke grupe kojoj *pustolina* pripada. Premda se ona može smatrati sinonimom za bilo koji krajolik, treba naglasiti da etimologija (od *pusto*) doprinosi određenoj obojenosti ovog pojma, pogotovo

<sup>18</sup> Srp. *avantura, pustolovina*.

kad je u pitanju konkretnije dočaravanje slike. U *Rečniku srpskoga jezika* sledeće je navedeno kao primarno značenje: „pust, nenaseljen, zabačen kraj; neobrađeno zemljište, divljina” (Vujanić et al. 1075). S tim u vezi ne može se reći da *pustolina* predstavlja neutralni pojam, on je dosta konkretniji i može implicirati i nivoe poput izgleda i atmosfere. Kod nemačke imenice *Abenteuer* može se izneti pretpostavka da je sam prevodilac pošao od bliskosti s imenicom *pustolovina*. U *Deutsches Wörterbuch* navodi se sledeće: „gefährliches Wagnis, nicht alltägliches Ereignis; (kurze) außereheliche Bindung”<sup>19</sup> čime se u potpunosti izlazi iz značenjskog okvira originala ali je jasna bliskost s imenicom *pustolovina* (Wahrig 259). Međutim, čak i ukoliko se u obzir uzme da je prevod na nemački jezik uprkos prevodilačkom propustu moguć pomoću nekog drugog neutralnijeg izraza, to ne umanjuje njegovu kulturnu obojenost.

I u drugom primeru, *krčiti šumu*, prevodni ekvivalent je prilično blizak originalu. Srpski glagol *krčiti* međutim specifičan je po tome što je, za razliku od nemačkog, dobio i preneseno značenje, npr. *krčiti sebi put* odnosno *uklanjati prepreke*. Time se upućuje na činjenicu da se prilikom procesa nije radilo samo o „uklanjanju” drvlja, kamenja i sl. već i o, može se reći simbolično, „osposobljavanju” zemljišta i prostora za život zajednice:

„1. vaditi, čupati iz zemlje, uklanjati, odstranjivati sa zemljišta (drveće, panjeve, žbunje, kamenje i sl.); čistiti, raščišćavati (zemljište, teren) vadeći drveće, panjeve, uklanjajući kamenje i sl. 2. (obično s dopunom: put) a. praviti prolaz (uklanjajući, gurajući nekoga, sklanjajući nešto), probijati, utirati (put nekome ili nečemu). b. fig. stvarati, pripremati uslove da se u nečemu uspe, da se nešto ostvari, utirati” (Vujanić et al. 592).

Nasuprot tome nemački glagol *roden* nije u upotrebi u figurativnom značenju i odnosi se samo na čišćenje zemljišta ili terena: „Land urbar machen, Waldland in Feld verwandeln, Wurzelstöcke herausreißen”<sup>20</sup> (Wahrig 2958).

### 3.2. Materijalna kultura

Kategorija *materijalne kulture* obuhvata ukupno četrnaest kulturno specifičnih jedinica. One se tiču hrane i pića, tipičnih naziva za dom (*ognjište*), kao i niza leksema vezanih sa materijal (građevinski i rudarski) i prevozna sredstva preuzetih iz nemačkog jezika:

Tabela 2:

s. 13/s.13	<i>Nema šta, nakon ovog fruštuca može da se divani.</i>	<i>Da gibt es nichts, nach diesem Frühstück kann man plaudern.</i>
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<sup>19</sup> Srp. *opasan poduhvat, nesvakidašnji događaj, (kratka) vanbračna veza.*

<sup>20</sup> Srp. *iskrčiti zemljište, pretvoriti divlje zemljište u polje, ukloniti panjeve.*



s. 13/s.13	<i>Od mene može samo <u>suvo</u> da se dobije, znač kako je...</i>	<i>Von mir kann man nur <u>trockenes Essen</u> bekommen, weißt wie das ist...</i>
s. 14/s.14	<i><u>Našte</u>. Tako se kaže na srpskom, <u>našte</u> ili na prazan stomak.</i>	<i><u>Nüchtern</u>. So sagt man es auf Serbisch, nüchtern auf den leeren Magen.</i>
s. 14/s.15	<i>Samo da <u>klizne</u> i pročisti.</i>	<i>Es soll nur <u>herunterspülen</u> und reinigen.</i>
s. 15/s.16	<i>Nije od <u>stenlejki</u>, <u>stenlej</u> je nova sorta, nije <u>rakijska</u>, šljiva <u>stenlejka</u> je krupna ali nije <u>rakijska</u>, ovo su stare sorte, <u>madžarka</u> i <u>čačanska rana</u>.<sup>21</sup></i>	<i>Garantiert ein Naturprodukt, sauber, von den alten Pflaumensorten, was insbesondere für die <u>jenigen</u> etwas bedeutet, die von der heilenden Wirkung des Schnapses etwas verstehen.</i>
s. 23/s.25	<i>Kako je i u rimsko doba <u>napuštao ognjišta</u> u žurbi.</i>	<i>Wie man in der Römerzeit den <u>heimischen Herd</u> in Eile <u>verlassen</u> musste.</i>
s. 29/s.33	<i>Krivično pravo bilo je uređeno prema starim zakonima, utvrđenim zakonikom „Saksonsko ogledalo“ (Sachsenspiegel) iz kojeg su preuzeli tehničke izraze: Nadzornik topionice se nazivao „hitman“ (Hüttmann), rudnik –</i>	<i>Das Strafrecht wurde nach dem alten Recht eingeführt, das nach dem Code des „Sachsenspiegels“ festgeschrieben war, aus dem man die <u>technischen Begriffe</u> entnommen hatte: Den Überwacher des Schmelzofens nannte</i>

<sup>21</sup> Kod ovog primera može se diskutovati o eventualnom preklapanju kategorija *materijalna kultura* i *ekologija*. Očekivano je da svaka zajednica ima svoje tipične nazive za floru i faunu koje je okružuju. Kod ovih primera u pitanju je vrsta voća od kojeg se proizvodi tradicionalno piće, pa su oni pripisani kategoriji *materijalne kulture* i može se reći da je njihova kategorizacija ovde kontekstualno uslovljena.

*ceh* – Zeche, *drvena man Hüttmann, das građa* – *cimerung* – *Bergwerk* – Zeche, *die Zimmerung, poprečne Holzaufbauten* – *grede* – *kverung* – *Zimmerung, Querung, drveni Querhölzer* – *Querung, stubovi* – *štempla* – *Holzsäulen* – *Stempel, Stempel, kolica* – *karan* – *Schubkarren* – *Karren* – *Karren i dr. usw.*

Imenica *fruštuk* može se okarakterisati kao kulturno specifična zato što se njenom upotrebom zadržava uticaj koji je nemačka kultura ostavila na srpsku. Nemačka imenica koja označava *doručak* zadržana je u srpskom jeziku u skoro originalnoj formi i danas je u upotrebi u pojedinim krajevima poput Vojvodine. Može se naći u *Velikom rečniku stranih reči i izraza* (Klajn i Šipka 1366), a u Stevanovićevom *Rečniku srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika* (1976, 691, 694) posvedočena je u čak dva oblika *fruštuk* i *frištik*. Ovaj primer posebno je važan zbog toga što ukazuje na to da postojanje potpunog prevodnog ekvivalenta ne isključuje prisustvo kulturno specifične dimenzije. Srpska imenica *doručak* (i zastarela *zajutrak*) ipak predstavlja leksemu za kojom bi maternji govornik pre posegnuo, dok se upotrebom germanizma zadržava i upućuje na neosporni uticaj nemačkog jezika na pojedine regiolekte.

Premda je pridev *suv* preveden doslovno i kao takav se može razumeti, postoji jedna njegova dimenzija koja je kulturno specifična, a ona ima veze sa srpskom kuhinjom. Nasuprot kuvanoj hrani stoji *suva hrana* odnosno „hrana koja nije kuvana i koja se sastoji od hleba i čvrstih konzerviranih i sl. proizvoda” (Stevanović 1976, 54). I prilog *našte* tiče se ove semantičke grupe i u srpskom je deo svakodnevnog govora, mada se jednako često koristi i sinonim „na prazan stomak” ili čitava fraza „jesti/piti našte srca” (Vujanić et al. 1240). Prevod na nemački, s obzirom na to da ne postoji potpuni ekvivalent, uključuje i objašnjenje ali i *nüchtern*<sup>22</sup>. O specifičnosti ovog priloga govori i etimologija na koju ukazuje dvojaki oblik kod Vujanić et al. *natašte* (*na+tašt*), s tim da se pridev *tašt* veoma retko koristi u značenju „prazan” koje je u drugom obliku zadržano (Vujanić et al. 782, 1280).

Glagol *kliziti* ili njegov svršeni oblik *kliznuti* pored svog doslovnog značenja veoma često se upotrebljava i uz imenicu *rakija*. Kod Vujanić et al. (525) kao treće značenje za *kliziti* navodi se „kretati se, pomerati se lako, bez zastajanja”, pa se time, u slučaju rakije, implicira kvalitet ovog pića odnosno njegova pitkost.

*Stenlejka, madžarka* i *čačanska rana* odnose se na sorte šljive i kod njih je prevod u potpunosti izostao. Kod Stevanovića se za *madžarku* može naći i oblik *mađarka* (1969, 271). Često nazivi za različite sorte voća i povrća zavise i od

<sup>22</sup> Srp. *trezan, trezven*.

regiona ili dijalekta. Pored njih i sintagma *rakijska vrsta* takođe se može okarakterisati kao kulturno specifična jedinica s obzirom na to da je u direktnoj vezi s tradicionalnim pićem tipičnim za ove prostore.

Kod sintagme *napustiti ognjište* originalna verzija prevedena je doslovno tako da je smisao najvećim delom zadržan. Ona međutim ima i preneseno značenje, tako da se ne odnosi samo na napuštanje doma (upotreba sinegdohe za izjednačavanje jednog dela kuće, pokućstva, s kućom odnosno domom), već može značiti i šire, napustiti svoj grad, selo, državu i sl. Ova figurativna značenja navodi i Stevanović (1969, 907): „rodna kuća, rodni, porodični dom i zavičaj, domovina, otadžbina”. S glagolom *napustiti* najčešće se koristi u kontekstu toga da radnja nije dobrovoljno sprovedena, već da je neko direktno ili indirektno, uslovima, na to bio prinuđen, ali može se javiti i s glagolom *ugasiti*.

Poslednji primer otvara pitanje u kojoj se meri navedene leksičke jedinice mogu smatrati kulturno specifičnim. Zapravo postoje dva razloga za to. Prvo, kontakt s Nemcima koji su živeli na ovim prostorima i uticaj nemačkog jezika na srpski neminovno su deo srpske kulture, kao kod primera *fruštuk*. Drugo, lingvistički posmatrano, ovi su izrazi prilagođeni srpskom „uhu”, odnosno, njihova se fonetska forma udaljila od originalne i zaživela je u „srpskoj” verziji<sup>23</sup>. S obzirom na to da je bliski kontakt ovih dveju kultura svakako deo srpske istorije i nasleđa, ove jedinice neosporno imaju kulturnu obojenost. Neke od njih zabeležene su i u *Velikom rečniku stranih reči i izraza*, kao npr. *ceh* (1450) i *štempl* (1501).

### 3.3. Socijalna kultura

U prvom poglavlju knjige nije bilo puno reči o temama koje bi eventualno podstakle upotrebu jedinica koje su kulturno specifične a pripadaju kategoriji *socijalne kulture*. Ono što se izdvaja jesu dve leksičke jedinice koje se mogu svrstati u semantičku grupu *karakterizacije*, potkategorije kojom se u kontekstu ovog rada *socijalna kultura* može proširiti, i službeni naziv za nadzornika topionice koji je preuzet iz nemačkog jezika:

Tabela 3:

s. 13/s.13	<i>Ja ti nešto <u>nisam vičan</u> spremanju.</i>	<i>Ich bin leider <u>kein guter Koch</u> und kann mich nicht revanchieren.</i>
s. 25/s.27	<i><u>Gorostasna</u> žena.</i>	<i>Eine <u>hünenhafte</u> Frau.</i>
s. 29/s.33	<i>Krivično pravo bilo je uređeno prema starim zakonima, utvrđenim zakonom „Saksonsko ogleđalo”</i>	<i>Das Strafrecht wurde nach dem alten Recht eingeführt, das nach dem Code des „Sachsenspiegels”</i>

<sup>23</sup> Ovaj proces Njumark (Newmark 82) naziva *naturalizacija* (eng. *naturalisation*).

(*Sachsenspiegel*) iz festgeschrieben war, kojeg su preuzeli aus dem man die tehničke izraze: technischen Begriffe Nadzornik topionice se entnommen hatte: nazivao „hitman“ Den Überwacher des (Hüttmann), rudnik – Schmelzofens nannte ceh – Zeche, drvena man Hüttmann, das građa – cimerung – Bergwerk – Zeche, die Zimmerung, poprečne Holzaufbauten – grede – kverung – Zimmerung, Querung, drveni Querhölzer – Querung, stubovi – štempla – Holzsäulen – Stempel, Stempel, kolica – karan Schubkarren – Karren – Karren i dr. usw.

Kod prevoda prideva *vičan* može se reći da je smisao prenesen ali ga svakako stavlja u sferu neutralnog. Izraz *biti vičan nečemu* ne upućuje samo na to da je neko dobar (nem. *gut*) u onome što radi već i to da je neko ponavljanjem, učenjem, čak navikavanjem na neku radnju postao spretan, vešt u njenom sprovođenju. To se oslikava i kod sva tri značenja koja navode Vujančić et al. (146): „a. koji je navikao na nešto, naviknut na nešto: ~ mukama, ~ na pešačenje; b. koji je u nečemu iskusan, vešt, umešan, spretan: ~ poslu, ~ oranju; c. koji nešto dobro zna, poznaje, koji je u nešto dobro upućen, stručan: ~ zakonima, ~ jeziku, ~ čitalac”.

Prevod prideva *gorostasan* takođe je u ovom kontekstu potpun, pogotovo kada se u obzir uzme da i nemački pridev *hünenhaft* potiče od imenice *Hüne* sa značenjem „div, džin” (Zečević 207). Njegova kulturna obojenost leži u figurativnom značenju „izvanredan” (Stevanović 1967, 536) koje se ne mora odnositi samo na izgled, veličinu i snagu nego i na postignuća.

Poslednji primer obrađen je i u okviru kategorije materijalne kulture, ali su iz njega ekscerpirane komponente koje odgovaraju toj kategoriji. Isti se principi mogu primeniti i kod naziva nadzornika topionice, koji je na identičan način ušao u srpski jezik i njemu je prilagođen. Takođe, ova jedinica pripada i istom društveno-istorijskom kontekstu, pa se zbog toga može smatrati kulturno specifičnom.

### **3.4. Organizacije, običaji, aktivnosti, procedure i koncepti**

Četvrta kategorija tiče se aspekata uređenja zajednice i njihovog načina života. U okviru prvog poglavlja utvrđene su dve kulturno specifične jedinice koje se mogu pripisati ovoj kategoriji i one pripadaju sferi religije (*pokrov* i *sablasno*).

Tabela 4:

s. 23–24/s.26	<p>Pripadali su samo rimskoj kulturi, jer varvari nisu naselili Viminacijum, samo su ga spalili, i za njima je dunavski pesak napravio <u>pokrov</u> nad gradom.</p>	<p>Sie gehörten nur der römischen Kultur an, denn die Barbaren besiedelten die Stadt Viminacium nicht, sie brandschatzen sie nur, und danach hat der Sand der Donau <u>ein Leichentuch</u> über die Stadt gelegt.</p>
s. 24/s.26	<p><u>Sablasno</u> vekovima.</p>	<p>mesto, Jahrhundertelang ein <u>unheimlicher</u> Ort.</p>

Za sam prevod u prvom primeru odabran je potpuni ekvivalent. *Pokrov* i *Leichentuch* oba predstavljaju tkaninu u koju se zavija ili kojom se prilikom sahranjivanja pokriva telo pokojnika. Ono što srpski izraz čini specifičnim jeste i to da se *pokrov* ne mora koristiti samo u ovom kontekstu, već se može naći i u sintagmama poput *biljni/cvetni/krovni pokrov* i sl. Stevanović (1971, 635) navodi „platneni pokrivač za pokrivanje mrtvaca” tek kao treće značenje, a „poklopac na mrtvačkom sanduku, pokrovac” kao četvrto, dok se kod Vujanić et al. (1947, 948) ovo značenje nalazi na drugom mestu. U oba rečnika prednost je data neutralnom značenju *omotača, zastirača* i sl.

Pridev *sablastan* potiče od imenice *sablast* koja znači „ono što se u mašti kome pričinu, prividi a u stvarnosti ne postoji, priviđanje, prikaza, utvara” (Stevanović 1973, 597) i upravo zbog te etimologije je kulturno specifičan. Na nemački jezik preveden je kao *unheimlich* što znači „leichte Furcht [...] erregend”<sup>24</sup> (Wahrig 3718). Ovim je značenje samo delimično preneseno jer se ne zalazi u sferu duhovnog. Pridev je pripisan kategoriji religije jer je njome ponajviše pokrivena ova sfera, a pored toga, u hrišćanstvu se *sablastima* mogu smatrati oni koji navode na greh, što je i zadržano u glagolu *sablazniti se* sa značenjem „polakomiti se za čim primamljivim, ne moći se odupreti kakvim grešnim željama” (Stevanović, 1973, 597).

<sup>24</sup> Srp. *onaj koji izaziva blaži strah.*

### 3.5. *Gestikulacija i navike*

Poslednja, peta, kategorija obuhvata samo jednu leksičku jedinicu. Treba podsetiti na to da je u okviru ovog rada i *lingvistička kultura* obrađena kao deo ove kategorije, pa bi se ova jedinica mogla njoj pripisati.

Tabela 5:

s. 13/s.13	<i>Nema šta, posle ovog fruštuca može da se divani.</i>	<i>Da gibt es nichts, nach diesem Frühstück kann man plaudern.</i>
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Glagol *divaniti* svakako svedoči o uticaju koji je turski jezik imao na srpsku kulturu i zabeležen je i u *Velikom rečniku stranih reči i izraza* (Klajn i Šipka 362) sa značenjima „govoriti, razgovarati, ćaskati“. Takođe predstavlja i jedan od turcizama za koje bi se moglo reći da je i danas u upotrebi i s obzirom na njegovo poreklo neosporno predstavlja primer kulturno specifične leksike. Kod glagola *plaudern* Varih (Wahrig 2741) kao primarno značenje navodi „zwanglos unterhaltend reden; mit jmdm.“<sup>25</sup> i iako se u ovom slučaju može reći da semantika ostaje zadržana, prevodni ekvivalent ipak ne prenosi istorijski kontekst i kulturnu obojenost glagola *divaniti*.

## 4. Zaključak

Ovo istraživanje bavilo se analizom srpske kulturno specifične leksike u okviru prvog poglavlja knjige *Dijalog Srbina i Nemca na Dunavu: Tragovi naroda* autora Štefana Barta (Stefan Barth) i Nenada Novaka Stefanovića. Ekscerpirani korpus činile su jezičke jedinice kod kojih se u odnosu na nemački prevod mogla ustanoviti *kulturna diskrepanca*. Korpus je podeljen na *kulturne kategorije* koje potiču od Njumarka (Newmark) i analiziran pomoću nemačkih i srpskih rečnika.

Zaključci bi se mogli grubo podeliti u dve grupe: 1) oni koji se tiču samih *kulturnih kategorija* i 2) oni koji se tiču analize samog korpusa. Ukoliko se *kulturne kategorije* posmatraju izolovano, već na prvi pogled bi se moglo ustanoviti da su *ekologija, materijalna i socijalna kultura i organizacije, običaji, aktivnosti, procedure i koncepti* konkretizovani, a *gestikulacija i navike* daleko apstraktnije pa ih je teže razgraničiti. Zbog toga se ovaj rad još jednom pozvao na kategorizaciju koju izvorno nudi Najda (Nida) i uključio *lingvističku kulturu*. U odnosu na njegovo viđenje *lingvističke kulture* kao jedne od najobuhvatnijih kategorija moglo se zaključiti da se ona može posmatrati u širem i užem smislu. U širem smislu *lingvistička kultura* bila bi nadređena svim ostalim kategorijama, dok se u užem ona može smatrati delom neke druge. S obzirom na to da se i kod primera koje navodi Njumark (Newmark) kod *gestikulacije i navika* radi o

<sup>25</sup> Srp. s nekim ležerno razgovarati, ćaskati.

kulturno specifičnim sredstvima komunikacije, *lingvistička kultura* je za potrebe ovog rada uvrštena kao njena potkategorija i obuhvata jednu jedinicu vezanu za dimenziju verbalne komunikacije.

Drugi deo tiče se rezultata same analize, a istraživanje je u prvoj liniji pokazalo da je kulturno specifičnu leksiku moguće detaljno analizirati pomoću rečnika i kroz *kulturne kategorije*, te da je na taj način moguće ustanoviti *kulturnu diskrepancu*. Čitav korpus obuhvata ukupno 22 jedinice i to: *ekologija* (2); *materijalna kultura* (14); *socijalna kultura* (3); *organizacije, običaji, aktivnosti, procedure i koncepti* (2) i *gestikulacija i navike* (1). Najbrojniju kategoriju čini *materijalna kultura* u kojoj se mogu naći i neke imenice nemačkog porekla *frühtuk, ceh, cimerung kverung, šttempl, karan*, koje čine deo kulture podunavskih Švaba i Srba koji su u jednom momentu u Vojvodini živeli u zajednici. Uticaj druge kulture na srpsku, turske, mogao se videti i kod leksičke jedinice iz kategorije *gestikulacija i navike: divaniti*. U oba slučaja bilo je moguće uključiti i različite društvene i lingvističke aspekte poput istorije i etimologije. Kod pojedinih primera kulturna specifičnost mogla se ustanoviti i pored mogućnosti potpunog prevoda na nemački jezik: *krčiti šumu, frühtuk, gorostasan, pokrov*. Nasuprot njima za primere *stenlejka, madžarka i čačanska rana* ne postoji prevod jer predstavljaju sorte voća čije imenovanje često biva uslovljeno konkretnom kulturom.

Na samom kraju, može se reći da iako se ovo istraživanje ograničilo na samo jedno poglavlje knjige, njega je ipak moguće proširiti na čitavo delo. *Kulturne kategorije* svakako predstavljaju sistematičan pristup pa se pomoću njih može analizirati i jedan veći korpus. Takođe, one omogućavaju ne samo veći obim istraživanja nego i dublje sagledavanje kulturno specifičnih jedinica, jer se kategorije neretko prepliću a autoru je pružena i mogućnost da ih sam proširi i konkretizuje, kao što je to ovde učinjeno u slučaju *lingvističke kulture*.

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**CULTURAL GAP IN GERMAN TRANSLATION OF SERBIAN CULTURAL-SPECIFIC LEXIS  
IN S. BARTH'S AND N. N. STEFANOVIĆ'S *DIALOGUE ON THE DANUBE. CONVERSATIONS  
BETWEEN A SERB AND A GERMAN: THE TRACES OF THE NATIONS***

The aim of this paper is to present one of the possible methodological approaches to analysing culturally valuable linguistic phenomena. Since cultural studies has been one of the fastest expanding scientific fields over the last decades, one might argue that the element of culture has been “the thing missing”, one which could further contribute to our ever-lasting urge to understand our language, our literature and ultimately ourselves. The work of Anna Wierzbicka is certainly one which most obviously contributes to a linguistic understanding of the relationship between culture and language. Among the Serbian linguists, we should mention Bugarski's *Jezik i kultura* (Eng. *Language and Culture*). In both of their works, there is an underlying consideration of cultural influence on the development of language and identity. This study, however, although taking into consideration different approaches to analysing culturally-loaded linguistic phenomena, was based mainly on semiotic terms. Despite the fact that there is a hypothesized cultural influence on the development of language as a system (i.e. grammar, syntactic structures, and so on) these were not taken into consideration and the main focus remained at the level of “meaning”.

The analysed data stems from the first chapter of Barth's and Stefanović's *Dijalog Srbina i Nemca na Dunavu* called *Tragovi naroda* and its German translation *Dialog an der Donau: Gespräche zwischen einem Serben und einem Deutschen – Die Spuren der Völker*. The main goal of the data extraction process was to identify the *cultural gap* i.e. those lexical items (single words, phrases, or even clauses) which could be seen as culturally-loaded and categorized into *cultural categories*. The latter term, originally coined and developed by Nida, was then adapted by Newmark. In his adaptation, there are five *cultural categories*: *ecology*; *material culture*; *social culture*; *organizations, customs, activities, procedures, concepts* and *gestures and habits*, each of them explained in his *Textbook of Translation*. The main difference to Nidas concepts lies in excluding *linguistic culture*, which turned out to be one of the rather useful categories to consider when analysing this type of data. Having recognized this and also the fact that *cultural categories* are in no instance to be understood as absolutes, this research uses Newmark's adaptation as its starting point and develops it further. Categories such *ecology* and *material culture*, even the ones concerning social and organizational aspects of a specific community, might thus be viewed as relatively “stable” in the matter of what they are referring themselves to – although it could be argued that sometimes overlaps can be found. *Gestures and habits*, on the other hand, are not as clearly defined, which might be due to their rather abstract nature. One of the possible ways to further explain them is to include the previously excluded *linguistic culture*, as it is highly connected to the process of communication and (non-)verbal behaviours.

Using Serbian and German dictionaries, all 22 culturally-loaded lexical items were then analysed. This approach enabled a precised identification of the particular dimensions which actually contributed to the *cultural gap*. Some of them were etymological in their nature: for example, *divaniti*, *fruštuk*, or *našte*, while some were idiomatic: *suvo*, *gorostasan*, *napustiti ognjište*, some religious: *pokrov*, or *sablasno*, and some proved themselves to be completely untranslatable: *stenlejka*, *madžarka*, and

*čačanska rana*, for example. Certain historical aspects of Serbian culture also played a significant role which could be seen in examples such as *fruštuk*, *divaniti*, *štempla*, *karan*, *ceh*, *cimerung*, and *kverung*. The borrowed lexical items could be directly translated into German, but they also have their equivalents in Serbian. The *cultural gap* was to be found in discovering the impact that German and Turkish language had on Serbian. The last category, *gestures and habits*, proved itself to be rather dependent on the subcategory *linguistic culture*, as it included only one item, *divaniti*, which could be seen as a specific, culturally-loaded means of verbal expression.

**Keywords:** cultural studies; cultural categories; Serbian cultural-specific lexis; cultural gap.

## **OPIS GLASOVA U GRAMATIČKOJ LITERaturi SRPSKOG I BOSANSKOG JEZIKA**

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**Apstrakt:** U radu se bavimo opisom glasova u gramatičkoj literaturi srpskog i bosanskog jezika. U pitanju je dio šire analize koja je rađena kao doprinos poboljšanju gramatičkog tretmana glasova, a kojom su bile obuhvaćene i gramatike crnogorskog i hrvatskog jezika. I ovom prilikom pažnju smo usmjerili na fonetsku prirodu glasova, a konkretnim zapažanjima zalažemo se za njen sistematičniji i pouzdaniji opis i nedvosmislena artikulaciono-akustička određenja; uopšteno, sugerišemo terminološku preciznost, klasifikacionu principijelnost i metodološku dosljednost. Izvjesno je da stavovi lingvista u vezi sa razgraničenjem fonetike i fonologije ni u ovom vijeku nisu usaglašeni, pa u tom smislu ne opravdavamo formalno favorizovanje fonologije unutar opisa glasova – kao artikulaciono-akustičkih segmenata govora i kao distinktivnih jedinica jezičkog sistema. Tim prije jer određeni opisi definicijama predočavaju teorijsku razgraničenost konkretnih disciplina i istovremeno joj oponiraju podvođeci svojim sadržajem u domen fonologije i one segmente koji su definisani kao predmet fonetike (klasifikacije glasova prema načinu i mjestu tvorbe).

**Ključne riječi:** fonetika, fonologija, glas, fonema, klasifikacije glasova prema načinu i mjestu artikulacije, gramatička literatura, srpski jezik, bosanski jezik

Ovaj rad dio je analize kojom je tretiran opis glasova u gramatičkoj literaturi crnogorskog, srpskog, bosanskog i hrvatskog jezika<sup>1</sup>. U njemu se bavimo opisom glasova u gramatikama srpskog i bosanskog jezika (Пипер, Клајн 2013; Jahić, Halilović, Palić 2000), dok je opis glasova u gramatičkoj literaturi crnogorskog i hrvatskog jezika bio predmet rada koji je objavljen u monografiji iz domena slovenske filologije – *Od uha do uha* (vid. Šubarić 2022). Pažnju primarno usredsređujemo na fonetska svojstva glasova konkretnih jezika, predočavamo način njihovog opisa i analiziramo principe njihove klasifikacije, a provjeravamo i teorijski status određenih fonetskih odnosno fonoloških pojmova i termina. Konkretnim zapažanjima sugerisaćemo prevazilaženje izvjesnih terminoloških, klasifikacionih i metodoloških manjkavosti datih opisa.

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<sup>1</sup> Saglasno nazivu nastavnog predmeta u crnogorskim školama – *Crnogorski-srpski, bosanski i hrvatski jezik i književnost*. Vid. Šubarić 2018: 22–23.

U analizi predstavljenoj u monografiji *Od uha do uha* (Šubarić 2022: 220) već smo ukazali na činjenicu da u gramatičkoj literaturi jezika koji se govore na prostoru nekadašnjeg srpskohrvatskog jezika cjeline posvećene glasovima (kao artikulaciono-akustičkim elementima govora i kao funkcionalnim jedinicama) imaju različite naslove (*Fonetika i fonologija, Fonologija, Fonetika sa osnovama fonologije, Fonetika sa osnovama fonologije i morfonologije, Fonetika...*), ali i da je različitost naslova potvrda da pitanje razgraničenja fonetike i fonologije (koje datira iz prošlog vijeka<sup>2</sup>) još uvijek nije prevaziđeno. U tom smislu izvjesno je i da savremene gramatike srpskog i bosanskog jezika (kao i crnogorskog i hrvatskog) svjedoče o različitim praktičim odrazima teorijske razgraničenosti fonetike i fonologije.

1. U *Normativnoj gramatici srpskog jezika* Matice srpske (Пипер, Клајн 2013) glasovi srpskog jezika predstavljeni su u poglavlju koje je naslovljeno *Fonologija*. Unutar njega izdvojeno je šest podnaslova odnosno cjelina: *Samoglasnici, Suglasnici, Sonanti, Akcenti, Nenaglašeni slogovi, Klitike*. Tako razvrstanom sadržaju prethodi uvodno tumačenje predmeta fonologije srpskog jezika, kratko i uopšteno predstavljanje fonološkog sistema srpskog jezika prema (ne)slogotvornosti fonema, određenje predmeta fonetike srpskog jezika, a uopšteno se ukazuje i na to da su za glasovni inventar konkretnog jezika karakteristični glasovi koji imaju stepen otvorenosti fonacionog kanala u skali od 0 do 7; na istom mjestu glasovi srpskog jezika uopšteno su distancirani kao oralni i nazalni. Određenja fonologije i fonetike kao zasebnih lingvističkih disciplina u ovoj gramatici ograničena su na jezički sistem srpskog jezika odnosno njegovu govornu realizaciju, a datim tumačenjima obuhvaćeni su i konkretizovani pojmovi *foneme, alofona i glasa*, dok je bez teorijskog statusa ostao pojam *fona*.

U cjelini *Samoglasnici* primarna identifikacija te vrste glasova ima redosljed zasnovan na mjestu tvorbe s obzirom na položaj jezika u horizontali – *i, e, a, o, u*. Nakon toga istaknuta je njihova akustička osobina koja podrazumijeva realizaciju u formi tona „bez šuma”, a sa tim u vezi prokomentarišaćemo da na istom mjestu dato akustičko određenje zvučnih suglasnika kao glasova koje karakteriše „šum sa tonom”, bez obzira na naučnu utemeljenost, može biti zbunjujuće – u odnosu na osnovnu akustičku distanciranost *samoglasnika, sonanata i suglasnika* i s obzirom na uobičajena distanciranja *tona i šuma* u stručnoj literaturi (tim prije jer izostaje dalja kontekstualizacija konkretnog određenja). Poimanje zvučnog suglasnika kao „šuma sa tonom” mogu problematizovati i određeni opisi

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<sup>2</sup> Npr. i lingvista, profesor fonetike i opšte lingvistike B. Malmberg smatrao je da fonetika i fonologija nisu dvije zasebne i samostalne discipline i da je pogrešno bilo nastojanje pražnana da ih razgraniče odnosno da je uzaludan pokušaj utvrđivanja prednosti jedne nad drugom. Priznavao je međusobnu zavisnost i upotpunjavanje fonetskih i fonoloških istraživanja, ali se ipak zalagao za njihovo objedinjavanje tradicionalnim nazivom fonetike (1995: 94–95).

akustičkih osobina „čistih suglasnika” u stručnoj literaturi. Na primjer, u *Fonologiji srpskoga jezika* (knjizi namijenjenoj studentima, ali i „pripremanju udžbenika za niže nivoe školovanja”), u cjelini naslovljenoj *Akustička fonetika. Osnovi*, daje se tumačenje da se tonska priroda glasa potvrđuje formantskim realizacijama na njegovoj spektralnoj slici, a da spektralne slike suglasnika koje karakteriše konstrikcija odnosno stvaranje potpune prepreke i njeno naglo uklanjanje, ne potvrđuju prisustvo formanata (Петровић, Гудурић 2010: 75, 84, 87, 94–95, 166; upor. Malmberg 1995: 17, 31; Subotić, Sredojević, Bjelaković 2012: 28).

U *Normativnoj gramatici srpskog jezika* nije predstavljeno oblikovanje pojedinačnih samoglasnika, a opis te vrste glasova nakon početne identifikacije i određenja osnovne akustičke osobine, sveden je na njihovo razvrstavanje prema horizontalnom odnosno vertikalnom „mestu tvorbe” i ukazivanje na njihovu ulogu kao nosilaca sloga i akcenta. Tek povodom slogotvorne funkcije samoglasnika, autori usputno ukazuju na razliku između tri osnovne vrste glasova srpskog jezika (*samoglasnika*, *sonanata* i *suglasnika*), koja je uslovljena slobodom protoka „fonacione struje kroz usni rezonator”; oni konstatuju da je protok fonacione struje „najslobodniji” kod samoglasnika, a mjesto na kome se našla ta konstatacija, kao i povod i način njenog iznošenja umanjuju njenu fonetsku vrijednost. Na istom mjestu predstavljena je i slogotvorna upotreba pojedinih sonanata srpskog jezika (*r*, *l*, *m*, *n*), ali izostaje određenje sloga kao izgovorne jedinice – zapravo, istina je da slog i pravila o podjeli riječi na slogove nisu obuhvaćeni normativnim kvalifikacijama konkretne gramatike. Da je u pitanju nedosljedan opis glasova s obzirom na primjenu osnovnih artikulacionih parametara, svjedoči i činjenica da *Normativna gramatika srpskog jezika* ne određuje samoglasnike kao glasove koje karakteriše aktivnost glasnih žica i time uslovljena zvučnost. Opisom se ne predočava ni različitosamoglasnika određena različitom aktivnošću usana prilikom njihove tvorbe<sup>3</sup>.

I opis suglasnika u *Normativnoj gramatici srpskog jezika* prilično je nesistematičan. Za razliku od samoglasnika, suglasnici se primarno artikulatorno određuju – kao glasovi pri čijem izgovoru „vazдушna struja savlađuje prepreku u govornim organima”. Odmah nakon toga prepoznaje se uloga suglasnika u strukturi sloga, ali iako su u pitanju glasovi koji ne mogu biti nosioci sloga, ta činjenica relativizovana je formulacijom da „ne mogu biti samostalni nosioci sloga niti akcenta”.

U segmentu opisa koji slijedi suglasnici su razvrstani prema akustičkom svojstvu zvučnosti odnosno razdijeljeni su kao zvučni i bezvučni, uz komentar da je konkretno svojstvo uslovljeno učešćem glasnih žica u njihovoj artikulaciji. Razvrstanost suglasnika prema načinu nastanka označena je primarno trijadom termina – *pregradni*, *strujni* i *sliveni* suglasnici, a u njihovom bližem određenju

<sup>3</sup> Vokali *o* i *u* pored osnovnog mjesta tvorbe imaju i „pomoćno” na usnama (Петровић, Гудурић 2010: 74).

predstavljani su i njihovi paralelni nazivi – *eksplozivni*, *frikativni* i *afrikate*. Očigledno je da u ovoj vrsti razvrstavanja autori nisu vodili računa o motivacionoj ujednačenosti odabranih termina. Otuda je datim opisom otkrivena terminološka prozirnost „pregradnih” suglasnika, ali ne i *strujnih (frikativnih)* – naime, *pregradni* su određeni kao suglasnici koji se formiraju „tako što govorni organi formiraju potpunu prepreku fonacionoj struji”, a *strujni* kao suglasnici koji se formiraju „tako što govorni organi stvaraju tesnac kroz koji prolazi fonaciona struja”. Saglasno takvom opisu identifikovanje *strujnih* glasova kao *tjesnačnih* u semantičkom smislu bilo bi prozirnije, sistemski opravdanije, a onda i metodički prijemčivije. Sljedstveno tome bilo bi opravdano i *slivene* glasove, koji su opisani kao oni koji u svom sastavu imaju „slivene elemente pregradnog i strujnog suglasnika”, imenovati kao *pregradno-tjesnačne*<sup>4</sup> i opisati ih kao glasove čiju artikulaciju karakteriše potpuna prepreka, a potom i tjesnac. S druge strane, terminološka utemeljenost oznaka istih glasova na akustičkom, tj. slušnom planu (*čujni prasak*, *čujno strujanje* / *čujna frikcija*, *čujna jednoobraznost*) trebalo bi da podrazumijeva dosljednost trijade – *praskavi/eksplozivni*, *strujni/frikativni*, *sliveni*<sup>5</sup> *suglasnici* (upor.: Станојчић, Поповић 2008: 33). U tom kontekstu, prema grupi frikativa, za slivene glasove značenjski je prikladna i oznaka *afrikate* – ako se ima u vidu čujna frikcija karakteristična za završnicu njihove artikulacije.<sup>6</sup>

Izjesno je da je klasifikacija suglasnika prema načinu tvorbe nepotrebno opterećena njihovim dodatnim razvrstavanjem prema zvučnosti – naime, iako podjeli prema načinu tvorbe prethodi podjela suglasnika prema zvučnosti, autori prema istom kriterijumu posebno razvrstavaju „pregradne”, „strujne” i „slivene” suglasnike.

U tom smislu privlači pažnju predstavljanje glasa *v* kao strujnog zvučnog suglasnika. Taj glas u odnosu na druge strujne glasove izdvojen je zgradama, a

<sup>4</sup> Ova vrsta glasova u literaturi se imenuje i oznakom *polupregradni* (ili *poluzatvorni*) – naše mišljenje je da takvo imenovanje i nije najadekvatnije jer njihovu artikulaciju karakteriše potpuna pregrada koja potom prelazi u tjesnac. Upor. Šubarić 2022: 223.

<sup>5</sup> Ovi glasovi se „na perceptivnom (slušnom) planu doživljavaju kao jednoobrazni”, ali zapravo „predstavljaju kombinaciju dve različite artikulacije: jedne trenutne i jedne trajne. [...] U svetlu akustičke fonetike, dakle, ovi glasovi se mogu posmatrati kao dva posebna ali kombinatorički sinhronizovana signala realizovana u kratkom vremenskom rasponu...” (Петровић, Гудурић 2010: 99). Međutim, Subotić, Sredojević i Bjelaković smatraju da je afrikata „monolitna fonaciona jedinica izvedena jednim artikulacionim pokretom koji samo u svom početnom delu zauzima položaj karakterističan za okluzive, a u završnom podseća na pokret svojstven konstriktivnim glasovima” (2012: 42). I Stevanović smatra da su u pitanju suglasnici jedinstvene artikulacije (1981: 84).

<sup>6</sup> Sa tim u vezi treba reći da frikcija u fonetici predstavlja i način prolaska vazdušne struje kroz tjesnac koji čine govorni organi, pa se tako u hrvatskom jeziku isti glasovi imenuju kao „treni” (prema lat. *fricare* – *trljati*), odnosno „trljani” glasovi (prema lat. *affricare* – *trti*) (Jelaska 2004: 46–47). Upor. i Jelaska, Novak 2006: 144.

njegovo pozicioniranje u konkretnoj grupi glasova propraćeno je kontradiktornim komentarom: „Glas *v* je stavljen u zagradu jer mada po mestu izgovora (usneno-zubni) jednak glasu *f*, on se ne ponaša kao njegov zvučni parnjak nego kao sonant, o čemu v. § 38.” (Пипер, Клајн 2013: 23) Iako bi se na osnovu ovoga moglo pretpostaviti da je za autore *Normativne gramatike srpskog jezika* glas *v* zapravo strujni sonant, oni i unutar poglavlja posvećenog sonantima (tačka 38, na koju upućuju prethodnim citatom) izbjegavaju konkretnu kvalifikaciju i glas *v* zajedno sa glasom *j* ostavljaju bez tvorbene specifikacije: „U sonante (glasnike) ubrajaju se nazali M, N, Nj, likvide L, Lj, R i glasovi V i J”. Mi ćemo na ovom mjestu podsjetiti da su mišljenja autora o prirodi glasa *v* u srpskom jeziku podijeljena<sup>7</sup> i da savremena fonološka literatura srpskog jezika ističe da je „pitanje statusa ovog glasa u fonološkom sistemu” podložno preispitivanju, ali i da svrstavanje glasa *v* u klasu sonanata, na osnovu istorijskih argumenata, „ne odgovara u potpunosti stanju u savremenom jeziku” (Петровић, Гудурић 2010: 235–236). Ipak, s obzirom na te činjenice savremena gramatička literatura, posebno normativna, umjesto formalnih i dvosmislenih rješenja morala bi na neposredan način konkretizovati rezultate fonetskih istraživanja, a ona pokazuju da se glas *v* u srpskom jeziku može realizovati na tri načina: kao *sonant*, kao *poluvokal*, ili pak kao *strujni suglasnik*, to jest *zvučni frikativ* (Петровић, Гудурић 2010: 235).

Analiza gramatičkog opisa glasova srpskog jezika pokazala je i da su unutar razvrstavanja slivenih glasova na zvučne i bezzvučne (tačka 36) pogrešno spareni glasovi *c* (bezzvučni) – *dž* (zvučni), *č* (bezzvučni) – *đ* (zvučni), dok je glas *ć* predstavljen kao bezzvučni glas bez zvučnog parnjaka. Iako je izvjesno da je u pitanju tehnički propust<sup>8</sup>, vjerovatno je da će među čitaocima biti i onih koji će predočenu uparenost konkretnih glasova usvajati bez preispitivanja.

Interesantno je da u nastavku autori daju samo djelimičan opis slivenih glasova. Kao metodološku nedosljednost ocjenjujemo činjenicu da autori predočavaju sastavne komponente tri slivena glasa – glasa *c*, *č* i *dž*, a da ne identifikuju elemente čijim „slivanjem” nastaju *ć* i *đ*. Istovremeno, na sasvim konfuzan način zalaze u artikulaciju glasova *č* i *ć* odnosno *dž* i *đ*, distancirajući po akustičkom utisku *č* i *dž* kao „tvrđe” u odnosu na *ć* i *đ* kao „mekše” glasove (*č* – *ć*; *dž* – *đ*). Naime, na osnovu datog tumačenja za čitaoce bez jezičkog predznanja

<sup>7</sup> „Većina autora glas *j* smatra sonantom, dok su kod određivanja prirode glasa *v* mišljenja podeljena. A. Belić, M. Stevanović, P. Ivić, B. Ostojić i R. Simić smatraju *v* sonantom, Đ. Kostić preuzima Belićevo mišljenje, ali u svojim radovima *v* naziva „zvučnim frikativom” [Kostić 1961: 21]. B. Miletić u svojim istraživanjima takođe tvrdi da je reč o frikativnom glasu, a to potvrđuju i naši rezultati istraživanja akustičkih osobina glasova srpskog jezika.” Петровић, Гудурић 2010: 167, fusnota 36.

<sup>8</sup> U prilog tome da se radi o tehničkom propustu svjedoči primarno razvrstavanje suglasnika prema zvučnosti, u kome je kao bezzvučni parnjak suglasniku *dž* naveden suglasnik *č*, odnosno suglasniku *đ* suglasnik *ć* (tačka 34) (Пипер, Клајн 2013: 23).

vrlo je teško poimati da su glasovi *č* i *dž* i *ć* i *đ* artikulaciono-akustički parovi čiji se članovi oblikuju na istom mjestu – tako što jezik prilikom izgovora članova prvog para ostvaruje „uzak dodir” sa nepcem, a prilikom izgovora glasova drugog para „širok dodir”, rezultirajući akustičkim utiskom „tvrdoće” glasova prvog para odnosno utiskom „mekoće” glasova drugog para. U ovom dijelu kao nedorečen i neprecizan ocjenjujemo i dio opisa kojim se konstatuje da se prilikom oblikovanja glasa *č*, a onda i glasa *dž*, „vrh jezika oslanja o alveole” – tim prije jer su u nastavku (tačka 39) isti glasovi prema mjestu tvorbe određeni kao „prednjonepčani tvrđi (prepalatalni)” (Пипер, Клајн 2013: 23, 25). Bez obzira na izgovornu varijantnost ovih glasova u srpskom jeziku i na mimoilaženja u literaturi srpskog jezika u vezi sa njihovom lokalizacijom<sup>9</sup>, izvjesno je da bi im na osnovu položaja jezika koji su im pripisali Piper i Klajn mjesto bilo među alveolarnim glasovima.

U nastavku predstavljeni su i sonanti, koji su, kao što smo već predočili, inicijalno razvrstani kao „nazali M, N, Nj”, „likvidi L, Lj, R” i „glasovi V i J”. Nakon uopštenog određenja sonanata kao vrste glasova daje se za gramatičku literaturu njihov netipično uobličen opis. Njime su obuhvaćeni glasovi *n*, *nj*, *l*, *lj*, *j* i *v*, dok su glasovi *m* i *r* sasvim zanemareni. U datom opisu nema metodološke dosljednosti – na primjer, opisom sonanata *nj* i *lj* predočava se mjesto njihove artikulacije, dok je opis glasa *j* sveden na njegovu artikulacijsku blizinu sa vokalom *i*, a opis glasa *v* na njegovu neutralnost „u odnosu na zvučnost”. Termin „likvidi” nije sadržajno razotkriven opisom tvorbe glasova na koje se odnosi, niti je na bilo koji način doveden u vezu sa terminološkom oznakom „lateralni sonanti”, koja je u nastavku dodijeljena glasovima *l* i *lj*, tako da nije realno očekivanje da će korisnici konkretne gramatike poimati laterale kao podvrstu likvida. Takvo očekivanje manje realnim čini i neprepoznavanje glasa *r* kao vibranta, tj. kao vrste glasa kojoj je nadređena kategorija likvida (*likvide* / *tekući glasovi* uobičajeno se dijele na *laterale/bočnike* i *vibrante/treptajnike* (upor. Jelaska 2004: 45)). U zaista površnom opisu sonanata čitaoci se suočavaju i sa konstatacijom da je glas *lj* „umekšan u odnosu na *l*” što može biti sporno ako je izvjesno da u fonološkom sistemu srpskog jezika nema „umekšanih fonema” (Станојчић, Поповић 2008: 35) i da se o glasu *lj* u naučnom kontekstu ne može govoriti kao varijanti glasa *l*. Opis prirode glasa *j*, kao što smo već rekli, sveden je na tvrdnju da je „po artikulaciji veoma blizak vokalu *i*”, ali se ne prepoznaje kao posebna artikulaciono-akustička vrsta unutar klase sonanata. Činjenica da se glas *j* u literaturi o srpskom jeziku identifikuje na različite načine – najčešće kao sonant<sup>10</sup>,

<sup>9</sup> Upor. Петровић, Гудурић 2010: 268.

<sup>10</sup> Stevanović ovaj glas određuje samo kao sonant koji je artikulacijski i akustički sličan vokalu *i* (1981: 77–78), Ostojić ga zajedno sa glasom *v* određuje kao poluvokal unutar klase sonanata (1997: 18), Stanojčić i Popović i *j* i *v* određuju kao spirante, takođe unutar klase sonanata (2008: 29–30), Petrović i Gudurić i *j* i *v* određuju kao strujne suglasnike (2010: 252–259, 223–236).



ali i kao strujni suglasnik, posebno obavezuje autore normativnih priručnika da neposredno i nedvosmisleno kvalifikuju fonetsku prirodu konkretnog glasa i njegovu funkciju u fonološkom sistemu.

Unutar cjeline o sonantima prema mjestu izgovora razvrstavaju se i sonanti i suglasnici (tačka 39). Takvim objedinjavanjem narušena je strukturiranost predočena naslovima sadržajnih cjelina i umanjena je preglednost primarne klasifikacije glasova. Formulacija koja je data kao uvod u razvrstavanje nije precizna i ne doprinosi razumijevanju mjesta tvorbe kao artikulacijskog parametra koji se određuje ili prema aktivnosti pokretnih govornih organa, ili prema položaju pokretnih u odnosu na nepokretne organe. Istom formulacijom usne se (uz zube i nepce) pogrešno prepoznaju kao pasivni artikulatork, dok su alveole u tom kontekstu neopravdano izostavljene<sup>11</sup>? Ipak u neposrednom nastavku prema „mestu artikulacije na pasivnim artikulatorkima” alveolarni glasovi (*n, r, l*) izdvojeni su kao posebna grupa, a po istom principu i dvousnjeni (*p, b, m*) i usneno-zubni (*f, v*) i zadnjonepčani (*k, g, h*) identifikovani su kao glasovi koji se tvore „na pasivnim artikulatorkima” iako su usne i meko nepce pokretni govorni organi. Zapravo, svi suglasnici i sonanti prema lokalizaciji razvrstani su u sedam grupa, koje su uz primarne domaće oznake imenovane i nazivima latinske etimologije, ali njihova lokalizacija nije konkretizovana pojedinačnim opisima. Prednjonepčani suglasnici razdvojeni su kao „prednjonepčani tvrdi (prepalatalni) i prednjonepčani meki (palatalni)”. Dakle, u identifikaciju suglasničkih i sonantnih glasova prema tvorbenim zonama uključeno je na formalnom nivou i akustičko svojstvo mekoće odnosno tvrdoće glasova. Artikulacijska utemeljenost konkretnog svojstva nije predočena nijednim dijelom opisa glasova u predmetnoj gramatici i njegovo svođenje na element oznake tvorbene vrste za korisnike gramatike ne može imati posebnu vrijednost. Iako oznake „prepalatali” i „palatali”<sup>12</sup> nisu neobične u preciziranjima lokalizacije *palatala* kao njima nadređene kategorije, mišljenja smo da dvoznačnost termina „palatali” nije u službi razumijevanja hijerarhijske ustrojenosti i fonetske prirode konkretnih glasova – i da „meke” glasove *ć, đ, nj, lj, j* treba terminološki distancirati u odnosu na nadređenu skupinu palatalnih/prednjonepčanih glasova.<sup>13</sup>

Iako je u *Normativnoj gramatici srpskog jezika* poglavlje posvećeno glasovima naslovljeno *Fonologija*, ono ne sadrži p(opis) distinktivnih obilježja

<sup>11</sup> „Po mestu izgovora na usnama, zubima ili nepcu svi nevedeni suglasnici i sonanti dele se, po mestu artikulacije na pasivnim govornim organima, na sledeće grupe: ...“ (Пипер, Клајн 2013: 25).

<sup>12</sup> Упор. Subotić, Sredojević, Bjelaković 2012: 48; Jelaska 2004: 50–51.

<sup>13</sup> Autorke Jelaska i Novak svojevremeno su predočile određena načela za stvaranje fonoloških identifikacija u glasovnome nazivlju. Kao jedno od tih načela istakle su „jednoznačnost” (2006: 138).

kojima se foneme međusobno suprotstavljaju unutar fonološkog inventara srpskog jezika. Njime nisu obuhvaćena ni pravila po kojima se fonemske jedinice raspoređuju u fonacionom lancu (vid. Barić i dr. 2005: 55–60; upor. i: Станојчић, Поповић 2008: 35–36).

2. U odnosu na predočeni opis glasova srpskog jezika, ali i u odnosu na predstavljene opise crnogorskog i hrvatskog jezika (Šubarić 2022), opis glasova bosanskog jezika unutar *Gramatike bosanskoga jezika* (Jahić, Halilović, Palić 2000) jeste i sistematičniji i detaljniji. Njihov opis obuhvaćen je poglavljem *Fonetika i fonologija*, kome pripada čak 37 stranica teksta (83–119), pa ćemo, saglasno primarnom interesovanju i prostornoj ograničenosti ovoga rada, komentare iznijeti uglavnom na nivou opštih napomena. Naime, pažnju ćemo usmjeriti na opšta tumačenja obuhvaćena inicijalnim podnaslovom – *Glasovi* (83–85) i istim podnaslovom obuhvaćenu cjelinu *Tvorba (artikulacija glasova)* (85–98). Izvjesno je da su autori *Gramatike bosanskoga jezika* dali temeljan uvod u opis glasova bosanskog jezika, jasno određivši predmet fonetike i fonologije kao zasebnih lingvističkih disciplina, a onda i distanciravši glas kao fiziološko-akustičnu pojavu/jedinicu i glas kao razlikovnu jedinicu. Ipak, odnos *fonema – glas* u datom tumačenju neopravdano je opterećen terminološkim poistovjećivanjem *tona i glasa*, to jest konstatacijom da se fonema „glasovno realizira kao ton ili glas” (84). Svakako, osim što konkretno određenje *foneme* treba korigovati na pojmovnoj ravni (jer lingvistički opseg termina *ton* i *glas* ne podrazumijeva njihovu istoznačnost), treba ga i stilski pojednostaviti izostavljanjem pleonazma (upor. Čirgić, Pranjkić, Silić 2010: 19; Šubarić 2022: 221). I određenjem alofona autori nameću istoznačnost *glasa* i *tona*. Opšti fonološki termin *fon* nije predstavljen kao dio terminološkog aparata svojstvenog tumačenju glasova.

Za razliku od gramatika crnogorskog, srpskog i hrvatskog jezika, *Gramatika bosanskoga jezika* u uopštenom tumačenju glasova izdvaja i određuje *jačinu, visinu i boju* kao fizička svojstva svakog glasa, a jedina i predstavlja i opisuje organe koji učestvuju u proizvodnji glasova. Opis govornih organa upotpunjen je ilustracijom njihovog anatomskeg presjeka u profilu – slikom uobičajenom u fonetskim opisima glasova. Bez prvobitne namjere da se zadržavamo na tom segmentu fonetskog prikaza, ipak procjenjujemo da je kao podsticaj za preispitivanje važno izdvojiti nekoliko činjenica: prije svega činjenicu da je grkljan primarno predstavljen kao organ koji sprovodi vazduh (upor. 85, 86), a ne kao organ „u kojem se stvara zvučna energija koju koristimo u govoru” (Malmberg 1995: 21) odnosno kao generator glasa (upor. Петровић, Гудурић 2010: 64)<sup>14</sup>; potom tumačenje da se „udisanje i izdisanje zraka i zračne struje” vrši „promjenom zapremine pluća” (86) iako je zapravo izvjesno da udisaji odnosno izdisaji uslovljavaju zapreminu pluća; sporna je i činjenica da se gornji zubi

<sup>14</sup> Utisak je da je uloga grkljana kao generatora glasa ostala u sjenci njegove uloge kao disajnog organa.

predstavljaju kao govorni organi „koji se pri izgovoru glasova pokreću skupa sa gornjom ... vilicom“, mada je gornja vilica nepokretna; semantički su neprozirna i predstavljanja desni kao „izbrazdanog dijela iza zuba“, tvrdog nepca kao dijela „koji se nalazi iznad usne duplje“ odnosno kao „najuzdignutijeg dijela gornje vilice“, a onda i mekog nepca kao mekog dijela „iza najuzdignutijega dijela gornje vilice“...; kao nedosljednost se prepoznaje i činjenica da je opis usne i nosne šupljine (u odnosu na opis ostalih govornih organa) na račun njihove anatomije sasvim šturo sveden na njihovu ulogu rezonatora.

Primarna dioba glasova bosanskog jezika podrazumijeva način izgovora odnosno način prolaska vazdušne struje kroz glasovni kanal i saglasano tom kriterijumu oni su razvrstani na *samoglasnike*, *glasnike* i *suglasnike* (uz domaće oznake paralelno su navedena i internacionalna imena – *vokali*, *sonanti* i *konsonanti*, a u samom opisu primjetno je da se naizmjenično upotrebljavaju domaći i internacionalni nazivi za prvu i treću klasu glasova<sup>15</sup> odnosno da se uglavnom samo druga klasa dosljedno imenuje internacionalnim oblikom)<sup>16</sup>. U prilog prethodno pomenutoj neopravdanosti da se realizacija foneme označava kao *ton* izdvajamo i činjenicu da su samoglasnici, saglasno uobičajenom akustičkom tumačenju, identifikovani kao tonovi, tj. „čisti zvučni tonovi“, a u nastavku opisa i glasnici kao „tonovi sa primjesama šumova“. Ono što je očigledno jeste da je u *Gramatici bosanskoga jezika* dat pregledan i detaljan artikulacioni opis samoglasnika. Za razliku od većine gramatičkih priručnika u kojima se uobičajeno stepen zatvorenosti/otvorenosti vokala predstavlja unutar klasifikacije prema mjestu izgovora, tj. položaju jezika u vertikali, bosanska gramatika razdvaja tri kriterijuma diobe samoglasnika – položaj jezika u horizontali, položaj jezika u vertikali i „veličina otvora usne duplje“. Interesantno je da se položaj usana, odnosno njihova zaobljenost ne izdvaja kao poseban parametar za diobu samoglasnika, iako se u njihovim pojedinačnim opisima prepoznaje aktivnost usana.

I opis sonanata bosanskog jezika odlikuje sistematičnost i temeljitost. U skladu sa osnovnim artikulacionim parametrima predstavljene su njihove podjele i izvjesno je da autori bosanske gramatike nisu dozvolili klasifikacione i metodološke propuste kakve smo zabilježili u opisima sonanata crnogorskog, srpskog i hrvatskog jezika. Naime, sonanti su bez izuzetka određeni prema načinu

<sup>15</sup> Potvrdu naizmjenične upotrebe konkretnih oznaka nalazimo i u unutar istih rečenica: „**Vokal i** je visoki samoglasnik prednjeg reda.“ „**Vokal e** je srednji samoglasnik prednjeg reda.“... (89).

<sup>16</sup> Jedino u *Gramatici crnogorskoga jezika* u konkretnom razvrstavanju glasova prednost je data internacionalnim terminima; u *Normativnoj gramatici srpskog jezika* prema domaćim nazivima *samoglasnici* i *suglasnici*, treća klasa glasova imenovana je internacionalizmom *sonanti*, dok su u *Gramatici hrvatskoga jezika* kao primarni dati domaći oblici – *samoglasnici*, *suglasnici* i *zvonačnici*.

izgovora i lokalizaciji (na osnovu terminoloških oznaka izdvojenih grupa dâ se zaključiti da se autori u odabiru termina ipak nisu rukovodili principom etimološke dosljednosti).

Za razliku od samoglasnika i sonanata koji su u fonetskom prikazu glasova bosanskog jezika na akustičkoj ravni određeni kao „čisti zvučni tonovi” odnosno „tonovi sa izvjesnim primjesama šuma”, suglasnici su ostali bez akustičke kvalifikacije. Prvom podjelom razvrstani su kao zvučni i bezzvučni, a povodom bezzvučnih suglasnika *f*, *h* i *c* ne pominju se njihovi zvučni parnjaci (ni kao jedinice jezičkog sistema (upor. Čirgić, Pranjkić, Silić 2010; Silić, Pranjkić 2007) ni kao izgovorne varijante (upor. Пипер, Клајн 2013). Drugom podjelom prema mjestu tvorbe bosanski suglasnici razvrstani su u četiri grupe, koje u odnosu na istu vrstu podjele sonanata, karakteriše dosljednost u imenovanju domaćim oznakama, a onda i oznakama latinskog porijekla. Kao i u *Normativnoj gramatici srpskog jezika* unutar konkretne klasifikacije prednjonepčani glasovi su razdijeljeni prema akustičkom utisku mekoće odnosno tvrdoće, ali samo na formalnoj ravni.

Trećom podjelom bosanski suglasnici razvrstani su prema načinu tvorbe kao *eksplozivni (praskavi)*, *sliveni suglasnici (afrikate)* i *strujni (frikativni)*, a sa tim u vezi konstatujemo terminološku dosljednost za kakvu smo se načelno i mi zalagali tretirajući opis načina tvorbe suglasnika u gramatikama crnogorskog, hrvatskog i srpskog jezika. Opisom artikulacije konkretnih glasova autori uvode termine čija fonetska vrijednost nije predočena u provjeranim gramatikama srpskog, crnogorskog i hrvatskog jezika – to su prije svega termini koji imenuju faze, tj. elemente tvorbenog procesa: *implozija*, *okluzija*, pa i *frikacija*, a onda i nazivi određenih tvorbenih kategorija – *piskavi (z, s)* i *šuštavi (ž, š) suglasnici* (unutar grupe *strujnih suglasnika* distanciraju se *piskavi, šuštavi* i *obični strujni suglasnici*).

Tvorba svih 17 suglasnika bosanskog jezika predočena je pojedinačnim opisima, koji su, kao i opisi svih ostalih glasova, ilustrovani crtežima položaja govornih organa tokom njihove artikulacije, a povodom kojih se autori pozivaju na B. Miletića (str. 89). Predočavajući fiziološka svojstva suglasnika autori su nužno zašli u njihovu akustičku prirodu, potvrđujući još jednom opštepoznatu činjenicu da artikulacijski opisi i diobe glasova ne mogu zanemarivati njihovu čujnu prirodu. Iako je u pitanju pregledan i prilično detaljan opis pojedinačnih suglasnika, sastavni elementi slivenih glasova nisu dosljedno predstavljeni – naime, prepoznati su elementi slivenih *ć, č* i *c*, ali ne i *dž* i *đ* (ista nedosljednost uočava se u *Normativnoj gramatici srpskog jezika* u vezi sa gasovima *ć* i *đ*).

3. S obzirom na predočena zapažanja, a imajući u vidu i analizu opisa glasova u gramatikama crnogorskog i hrvatskog jezika, izvjesno je da glasovi (kao fiziološko-akustički segmenti govora i kao distinktivne jezičke jedinice) u gramatičkoj literaturi zahtijevaju veću pažnju autora. Iznijeti komentari ukazuju na to da se konkretni gramatički sadržaji mogu poboljšati – sistematičnijim i pouzdanijim opisom fonetskih svojstava glasova i nedvosmislenim artikulaciono-akustičkim kvalifikacijama, jednoznačnom i preciznom terminologijom,

klasifikacionom principijelnošću i metodološkom dosljednošću. Iako smo pažnju primarno usredsredili na fonetsku prirodu glasova, opet se potvrdila konstatacija da opisi kojima smo se bavili uglavnom ne idu u prilog jasnom razgraničenju fonetike i fonologije (ali i da se u širem kontekstu istih sadržaja prepoznaje i otvorenost pitanja o odnosu fonologije i morfonologije) (Šubarić 2022). Zapravo, bez obzira na naslovljenost tumačenih gramatičkih sadržaja (*Fonologija, Fonetika i fonologija*) i unutar njih predočena razgraničenja konkretnih disciplina, njihova teorijska distanciranost ili se potire samim opisima (upor. Пипер, Клајн 2013; Silić, Pranjković 2007) ili njen praktični odraz i nije sasvim prepoznatljiv (upor. Čirgić, Pranjković, Silić 2010; Jahić, Halilović, Palić 2000). Mišljenja smo da formalno favorizovanje fonologije nije opravdano i da naslovnim identifikacijama gramatičkih sadržaja koji se bave glasovima konkretnih jezika treba uvažiti lingvistički opseg fonetike<sup>17</sup> – podrazumijeva se da je fonetska priroda glasova u osnovi opisa fonoloških sistema, odnosno da tretman glasova u gramatičkoj literaturi mora biti utemeljen na njihovim artikulacionim i akustičkim osobinama, koje se utvrđuju fonetskim istraživanjima.

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<sup>17</sup> Taj opseg neosporan je – bilo da se tumači(o) kao opseg samostalne ili pak pomoćne discipline (upor. Malmberg 1995: Uvod; Muljačić 1972: 13; Петровић, Гудурић 2010: 306).

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### DESCRIPTION OF SOUNDS IN THE GRAMMATICAL LITERATURE OF SERBIAN AND BOSNIAN LANGUAGES

This paper is part of an analysis that examines the description of sounds in the grammatical literature of Montenegrin, Serbian, Bosnian, and Croatian languages, in accordance with the title of the course in Montenegro: *Montenegrin, Serbian, Bosnian and Croatian Languages, and Literature*. This course covers the study of the 'official language' of Montenegro (*Montenegrin*) and the 'languages in official use' in Montenegro (*Serbian, Bosnian, and Croatian*) as standardized systems. The paper deals with the description of sounds in the grammars of Serbian (Пипер, Клајн 2013) and Bosnian (Jahić, Halilović, Palić 2000) languages, while the description of sounds in the grammatical literature of the Montenegrin and Croatian languages was the subject of a paper published in the monograph within the field of Slavic philology – "From Ear to Ear" (Šubarić 2022).

Sounds, as the fundamental elements of speech, have their own dedicated chapters within the grammatical literature of a specific language. In the analysis presented in the monograph "From Ear to Ear" (Šubarić 2022: 220), we pointed out the fact that in the grammatical literature of the languages spoken in the former Serbo-Croatian language area, sections dedicated to sounds (as articulatory-acoustic speech elements and functional units) have different titles (*Phonetics and Phonology, Phonology, Phonetics with the Basics of Phonology, Phonetics with the basics of Phonology and Morphophonology, Phonetics* and so on). This diversity of titles is supported by the fact that the issue of distinguishing between phonetics and phonology has not yet been resolved. In this regard, it is certain that the contemporary grammars of Serbian and Bosnian languages (as well as Montenegrin and Croatian) bear witness to various practical manifestations of the theoretical distinction between phonetics and phonology.

Our primary focus has been on the phonetic nature of sounds in the specific languages. We have presented the way they are described and analyzed the principles of their classification. In order to improve the grammatical treatment of sounds, we have also examined the theoretical status of certain phonetic and phonological concepts and terms. Through specific observations, we have suggested overcoming certain terminological, classificatory, and methodological deficiencies in the given descriptions.

In *The Normative Grammar of the Serbian Language* by Matica srpska (Пипер, Клајн 2013), the sounds of the Serbian language are presented in a chapter titled "Phonology." Within this chapter, there are six subsections or sections: *Vowels, Consonants, Sonants, Accents, Unaccented Syllables, and Clitics*. In general, it can be said that the description of vowels, consonants, and sonants in this grammar is characterized by inconsistency. To overcome this, we have commented on the observed inconsistencies and inaccuracies.

As an example of the aforementioned observations, we highlight a few comments related to the description of sonants in the Serbian language in this context. For example, in this specific grammar, after a general definition of sonants as a type of sound, their description is atypically structured for grammatical literature. The description includes the sounds *n*, *nj*, *l*, *lj*, *j*, and *v*, while the sounds *m* and *r* are entirely neglected. Within this description, the sounds *v* and *j* unexpectedly lack formation specifications. Hence, our opinion is that different articulatory-acoustic identifications of the sounds *j* and *v* in the Serbian language literature particularly oblige authors of normative manuals to directly and unambiguously qualify their phonetic nature and function in the phonological system. Interestingly, in this specific description, the theoretical status of the terms "liquid" and "lateral sonant" is confirmed at a formal level (without presenting their hierarchical relationship), but the term "vibrant" is not addressed. Confirmation of the classificatory and methodological inconsistencies in the treatment of Serbian language sounds is provided by the fact that within the section on sonants, both sonants and consonants are classified according to their place of articulation. This unification disrupts the structure presented in the titles of the content sections and reduces the clarity of the primary classification of sounds.

Although the chapter in *The Normative Grammar of the Serbian Language* dedicated to sounds is called "Phonology", it does not contain a description of the distinctive features that phonemes use to contrast with each other within the phonological inventory of the Serbian language. It also does not encompass the rules by which the phonemic units are organized within the phonological chain.

In comparison to the description of sounds in the Serbian language, and also in comparison to the descriptions of the Montenegrin and Croatian languages presented in "From Ear to Ear" (Šubarić 2022), the description of sounds within *The Grammar of the Bosnian Language* is both more systematic and more detailed. The description is covered in the chapter "Phonetics and Phonology," which comprises a substantial 37 pages of text (pages 83–119). Given the primary focus and spatial limitations of this paper, our comments on this specific description are mostly presented at the level of general remarks. It is clear that the authors of *The Grammar of the Bosnian Language* have provided a thorough introduction to the description of Bosnian language sounds, clearly defining the subject of phonetics and phonology as separate linguistic disciplines. They have also distinguished between a sound as a physiological-acoustic phenomenon/unit and a sound as a distinctive unit.

However, from the observations presented in the analysis of the description of Bosnian language sounds, we highlight an observation regarding the relationship between *phonemes and sounds*: this relationship in the relevant grammar is unjustifiably burdened by terminological equivalence between "tone" and "sound," specifically by the statement that the phoneme is "phonetically realized as a tone or sound." Certainly, besides the need for a conceptual correction of the definition of the *phoneme* (because linguistically, the terms "tone" and "sound" do not imply their synonymy), it should also be stylistically simplified by omitting pleonasm (compare to Šubarić 2022: 221). By defining allophones in *The Grammar of the Bosnian Language*, the authors impose synonymy between "sound" and "tone." The unjustifiability of designating the realization of the phoneme as a *tone* from our perspective is further confirmed by the fact that in the same grammar, vowels, according to common acoustic interpretation, are identified as tones, i.e., "pure tonal sounds," and then, in the continuation of the description, consonants are referred to as "tones with noise components."

In the case of *The Grammar of the Bosnian Language*, we have also pointed out

certain inaccuracies in the formulations describing the anatomy of speech organs.

We also noted that in the classification of consonants in the Bosnian language based on their manner of articulation (*explosive, merged consonants, and fricatives*), there is terminological consistency that aligns with the approach we generally support when treating the same type of classification in the grammars of the Serbian, Montenegrin, and Croatian languages. In *The Grammar of the Bosnian Language*, the terms used to name consonants based on their manner of articulation are consistently motivated by the auditory impression that characterizes their articulation. In contrast, the grammars of the Serbian, Montenegrin, and Croatian languages used in this segment do not confirm terminological uniformity. Instead, they employ triads of identification labels motivated by either the type of articulatory obstruction or acoustic/auditory impression (e.g., *plosive, fricative, and merged consonants*) to name specific consonants.

We emphasize that this analysis, as well as the analysis of sound descriptions in the grammars of the Montenegrin and Croatian languages, has shown that sounds (as physiological-acoustic segments of speech and as distinctive linguistic units) require greater attention from authors in the grammatical literature. The comments provided indicate that specific grammatical content can be improved through a more systematic and reliable description of the phonetic nature of sounds, unambiguous articulatory-acoustic qualifications, precise and consistent terminology, principled classification, and methodological consistency. Once again, the earlier assertion that the descriptions we have examined do not contribute to a clear distinction between phonetics and phonology (and that in the broader context of the same content, the question of the relationship between phonology and morphophonology remains open) has been confirmed (compare to Šubarić 2022). In fact, regardless of the titles of the explained grammatical content (*Phonology, Phonetics and Phonology*) and the distinctions presented within them between specific disciplines, their theoretical separation is either negated by the descriptions themselves (cf. Пипер, Клајн 2013; Silić, Pranjković 2007) or is not entirely recognizable in their practical reflection (cf. Ćirgić, Pranjković, Silić 2010; Jahić, Halilović, Palić 2000).

It is evident that linguists' views regarding the distinction between phonetics and phonology are not yet fully harmonized in this century. Therefore, we question the formal favoritism of phonology within grammatical descriptions of sounds – both as phonetic speech segments and as phonological units. This is particularly problematic because, as demonstrated, certain descriptions convey theoretical distinctions between specific disciplines through their definitions while simultaneously opposing these distinctions by incorporating aspects within the domain of phonology that are defined as the subject of phonetics (e.g., classifications of sounds by manner and place of articulation). In fact, we believe that formal favoritism of phonology is not justified, and that in the titular identifications of the grammatical content dealing with the sounds of specific languages, the linguistic scope of phonetics should be considered. It is implicit that the phonetic nature of sounds is fundamental to the description of phonological systems, meaning that the treatment of sounds in the grammatical literature should be grounded in their articulatory and acoustic characteristics, which are determined through phonetic research.

**Keywords:** phonetics, phonology, sound, phoneme, classifications of sounds by manner and place of articulation, grammatical literature, Serbian language, Bosnian language







## **MOST FREQUENT MULTI-WORD EXPRESSIONS IN ENGLISH FOR BANKING: A CORPUS-BASED DIACHRONIC STUDY**

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**Abstract:** The aim of the paper is to perform diachronic research in one segment of Business English – English for Banking to check the diachronic stability of its vocabulary. Therefore, an analysis of multi-word expressions (MWEs) in 15 syntactic categories in annual reports of four biggest US banks for fiscal years 2006 and 2021 was made. More precisely, the diachronic changes comprising the span of time of 15 years were analysed in both the frequency of the occurrence of MWEs across the 15 analysed syntactic categories and in their percentage relationship to the scope of the corpora. The corpus analysis made it possible to extract real language in use, enabling the author to determine diachronic changes in vocabulary across categories, thus bridging the gap between the existing knowledge of vocabulary in English for Banking and the current situation. The research showed that there is a high statistical significance of changes in both the frequency of the occurrence of MWEs across the 15 analysed categories and in their percentage relationship to the scope of the corpus in the period over 15 years. The research findings might be useful for both Business English lecturers and their students, due to the various possible pedagogical implications of the results. The research might function as an impetus for linguists doing research in corpus linguistics to undertake further research in other areas of Business English to determine and describe possible changes in the language used. These areas could include: international trade, logistics, wholesale, retailing, industry, business media, leadership, management, marketing or investing.

**Keywords:** ESP, Business English, English for banking, vocabulary, teaching BE at a tertiary level

### **1. Introduction**

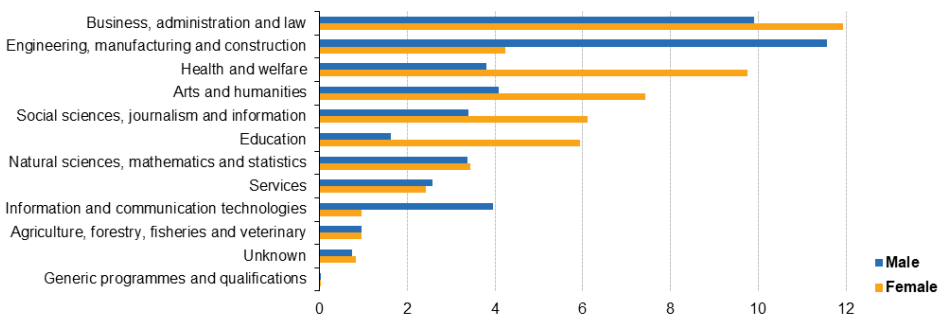
The expansion of English as a *lingua franca* and a language of globalization gathered speed after the WW2, when the USA arose as the world's only superpower. One of the important factors in becoming a global superpower was the status of U.S. Dollar as the world's reserve currency, which status it achieved by the Bretton Woods Agreement in 1944. The Congressional Research Service that informs the US Congress Members the legislative debate since 1914 states in the text "The U.S. Dollar as the World's Dominant Reserve Currency" from

15th September 2022 the following advantages of having a world's reserve currency:

Because many central banks and financial institutions around the world want to hold U.S. dollars and dollar-backed securities like U.S. Treasury bonds, there is strong demand for U.S. dollars. That demand, in turn, allows the United States to borrow more cheaply (at lower interest rates) than it would otherwise. Strong demand for dollars also allows the U.S. government, firms, and consumers to borrow from foreign creditors in dollars rather than foreign currencies. As a result, the value of that debt does not depend on fluctuations in exchange rates. When other governments, firms, and individuals borrow in foreign currencies, they incur the risk that swings in exchange rates will cause their real debt level (the size of the debt in the borrower's national currency) to increase, potentially quickly and significantly. U.S. firms and consumers also benefit by saving on transaction costs.

Consequently, the importance of Business English (BE) standing for language of communication in international business has grown even more than that of General English (GE) in the several recent decades. According to the Eurostat, Business English has achieved the undisputable position Nr. 1 among all Languages for Specific Purposes, since business is omnipresent and taught, learnt and used much more than any other major in the European Union:

**Distribution of tertiary education students by broad field and sex, EU, 2020**  
(%)

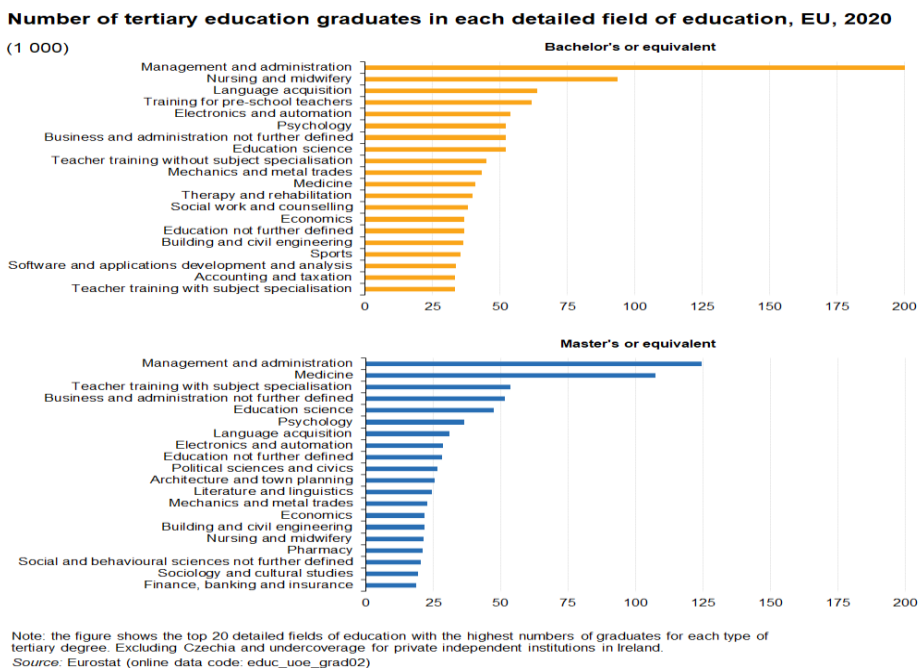


Note: ranked on the total (male and female) share of students in each broad field.  
Source: Eurostat (online data code: educ\_uae\_enrt03)

eurostat

Graph 1.

The research reveals that in 2020, 21.8 % of tertiary education students in the EU were studying business, administration or law vs. 15.8 % of students studying the second frequent group of majors including engineering, manufacturing and construction. More clear picture can be obtained from the same research depicting the number of graduates:



eurostat

Graph 2.

As it can be seen from the Graph 2., there are around 200 graduated students in management and administration plus more than 50 graduated students in business and administration not further defined out of each 1.000 students in the EU Member States. These numbers reveal the dominant number of students learning BE reflecting the need of BE users to communicate and gain information when doing business intentionally. Banking is one of the important topics in BE classes and it is therefore useful to analyse its language in the authentic environment. One of the most efficient scientific methods in this regard is corpus analysis.

Annual reports of the biggest US banking corporations for fiscal years 2006 and 2021 – *JP Morgan Chase & Co.*, *Wells Fargo & Co.*, *Citigroup Inc.* and *U.S. Bancorp* were used as two corpora in the research. The diacronic study enabled the author to identify the most frequent MWEs in 15 syntactic categories and

compare the most frequent from 2006 and 2021 in each category. The results gave insights into the diachronic position of MWEs in this segment of BE. The results of the research are of practical importance for BE lecturers, students with majors in business and economics and all those people dealing with financials around the world with their mother tongue other than English. Finally, the corpus findings can be used to compile lists of phrases suitable for teaching and practising on various exercises at faculties and colleges for business and economics.

## 2. Theoretical background

### 2.1. Financial sector and the American banking system

The financial sector represents one of the biggest sectors under the 11 S&P 500 sectors: Communication Services, Consumer Discretionary, Consumer Staples, Energy, Financials, Health Care, Industrials, Information Technology, Materials, Real Estate and Utilities. The importance of the sector derives from the fact that banks finance other businesses and thus enable and generate growth of the whole economy.

S&P 500 sector	Operating profit margins in percent	S&P 500 sector	Operating profit margins in percent
Information technology	22	<b>S&amp;P 500 total</b>	<b>11.9</b>
Real estate	21.8	Utilities	11
<b>Financials</b>	<b>15.4</b>	Healthcare	9.1
Communication services	15.3	Industrials	8.8
Energy	13.4	Consumer staples	6.7
Materials	12.5	Consumer discretionary	6.5

Table 1.

The Financials sector is very profitable too. Table 1. gives the insight into operating profit margins across the S&P 500 sectors<sup>1</sup>. Commercial banks function as a part within the wider financial system. Between 1933 and 1999 as a consequence of NYSE crash in 1929, American banks were clearly divided into two large sectors: the commercial one and the investment one. The division was

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.yardeni.com/pub/sp500margin.pdf>

made by the Glass-Steagall Act<sup>2</sup>, passed in 1933 which prohibited the commercial banks to conduct the investment business in order to prevent repetition of events such as the 1929 stock market crash. The mix of commercial and investment banking activities was regarded as a potential risk of high degree and as a possible trigger for prospective stock market crisis. However, during the Clinton Administration in 1999, it was annulled by the Gramm-Leach Bliley Act<sup>3</sup> due to concerns that such division was making American industry less competitive on a global scale. Moreover, it was thought that lifting the division between the sectors would reduce risks of running banking operations. Since then, according to investopedia.com<sup>4</sup> the commercial banks have been taking on the following business roles: accepting deposits, lending money, processing payments, issuing bank drafts and checks and offering safety deposit boxes for items and documents. The chapter on the roles of commercial banks in economy ends with the statement that "...the common theme among these activities is that they are aimed at providing a financial service to an individual or business". As such the banks are a very important part of wider financials and the economy as a whole. This gives the reason why English for banking is a very important part of BE curricula at a tertiary level of education.

## 2.2. English for banking

When it comes to *English for banking*, it is a part of almost each BE curriculum at a tertiary level of business education. This fact can be confirmed by checking the contents pages of BE textbooks for courses at intermediate and upper-intermediate level by British publishers Oxford University Press, Cambridge University Press and Longman Pearson. These textbooks are used as mandatory (or optional) teaching materials in many BE curricula at a tertiary level.

Publisher	Title of the textbook	Intermediate level	Upper-intermediate level
OUP <sup>5</sup>	Business Result	Performance	Performance
	International Express	-	-

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.goldmansachs.com/our-firm/history/moments/1933-glass-steagall-act.html>

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PLAW-106publ102/pdf/PLAW-106publ102.pdf>

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.investopedia.com/articles/investing/062513/role-commercial-banks-economy.asp>

<sup>5</sup> See [https://elt.oup.com/learning\\_resources/subjects/businessenglish/?cc=global&selLanguage=en&mode=hu](https://elt.oup.com/learning_resources/subjects/businessenglish/?cc=global&selLanguage=en&mode=hu)

Cambridge University Press <sup>6</sup>	English for Business Studies	Finance Banking	Finance Banking
	Business Advantage	Accounting Finance	Accounting Microfinance
	New International Business English	-	Money matters
Longman Pearson <sup>7</sup>	New Insights into Business	Banking Company Performance	no upper-intermediate textbook
	Business Leader	Money	Raising Finance
	Business Partner	-	Finance Performance

Table 2.

There is an overview over banking topics in the most frequently used textbooks in BE classes given in the Table 2. There is at least one lesson / unit committed to *English for banking* at intermediate and upper-intermediate level in each textbook with the exception of *International Express* published by the Oxford University Press. Moreover, having full awareness of the importance of financial sector in the modern economy and BE classes, the Cambridge University Press published *Professional English in Use – Finance* within its well-known series *English in Use*, as well as *English for the Financial Sector*, a material covering "a wide range of financial topics, including retail and investment banking, accounting, trade finance, and mergers and acquisitions"<sup>8</sup>. Although there are many textbooks published by big publishers, Stojković (2023) states that they "produce material that is of a specific purpose, yet far too general at the same time." As main problems, she mentions such books almost never reaching beyond intermediate level and the segmentation of texts and exercises not allowing "the overall aim of university studies – to study thoroughly." (ibid.) That is why corpus analysis can be used as a source of additional teaching materials, that can be created according to individual needs of BE lecturers and their students.

There are many ways how the finance industry has changed over more than a decade. According to the Graft on Banks Finance<sup>9</sup> there have been following

<sup>6</sup> See <https://www.cambridge.org/is/cambridgeenglish/catalog/business-professional-and-vocational>

<sup>7</sup> See <https://www.pearson.com/english/catalogue/business-english.html>

<sup>8</sup> See <https://www.cambridge.es/en/catalogue/business-english/other-titles/english-for-the-financial-sector>

<sup>9</sup> <https://graftonbanksfinance.co.uk/news/news.php?news=70>



changes in the banking sector: financial services have become stronger regulated and supervised after the financial crisis, trust in finance industry has newly been built mostly in "...organisations that operate with transparency and strong values at the forefront", gender and ethnic diversity have been promoted, as well as inclusivity and diversity. Moreover, "...this surge in new technology has shaken the finance industry up, breaking down the barriers for new competition to enter the market and made some of the bigger players sit up and listen. The explosion of new technology and availability of mobile functionality means it has become an expectation from most consumers today." These changes, particularly the ones regarding new technology and its use, within the finance industry could have furthered potential changes in its vocabulary too. The analysis of expected diachronic changes in the language of Annual Reports of four biggest American banks was the initial intention of this scientific research.

An annual report is according to *the Longman Business English Dictionary* (2007) "...a report presented each year by the directors of the company to the members and shareholders, containing financial information about the company's trading activities and the documents the company must produce by law, which are the BALANCE SHEET, the PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT and the AUDITOR'S and DIRECTORS' REPORT". *The Oxford Learner's Pocket Dictionary of Business English* (2015) gives this brief definition of an annual report "...a financial report that a company must by law present each year to its shareholders". From the linguistic standpoint, an annual report is not only a complex financial document containing business information on all aspects of a company's performance in a given fiscal year, but also written material appropriate for linguistic analysis. The results of such analysis can be applied and used in BE classes.

### 2.3. Corpus-based studies

Corpus-based studies enable analysis of the use of language in context. They have come into foreground of linguistic research having huge research potential. Stojković (2023) claims that „The potential of corpora is such that Conrad (2000) spoke of them as a means that will thoroughly change the teaching of foreign languages and the overall language education, to include both what is taught and how it is taught“. As such, they are the best way to explore the functionality of language on lexical, semantic and syntactic levels. Mockienė (2023) names lexis as the most changeable level of the language: "New words constantly appear to name new phenomena; thus, language change is never ending (Meyer 2002)". The most comprehensive insight into the history and importance of corpus-based studies in contemporary linguistics gives Bennett (2020), so that for the purpose of the theoretical background, we convey his whole information: "The

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principles of corpus linguistics have been made around for almost a century. Lexicographers, or dictionary makers, have been collecting examples of language in use to help accurately define words since at least the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Before computers, these examples of language were essentially collected on small slips of paper and organized in pigeon holes. The advent of computers led to the creation of what we consider to be modern-day corpora. The first computer-based corpus, the Brown corpus, was created in 1961 and comprised about 1 million words. Today, generalized corpora are hundreds of millions of words in size, and corpus linguistics is making outstanding contributions to the fields of second language research and teaching“. Additionally, Römer (2008) states “that corpus resources and methods have a great potential to improve pedagogical practice and that corpora can be used in a number of ways, indirectly to inform teaching materials and reference works, or directly as language learning tools and repositories for the design of data-intensive teaching activities“.

Custom-made corpora research in LSP pose a great challenge for lecturers as such research enable analysis of authentic LSP and consequently creation of teaching materials for their classes. It is the so-called *indirect* way of their use according to Römer (2011). The researchers prepare a custom-made corpus, analyse it and incorporate the corpus findings into their classes. When it comes to the *direct* way of using custom-made corpora, it is primarily used in the process of *data-driven learning (DDL)*. The use of data-driven learning in LSP is confined in at least two ways: it can be done only with students at higher levels of language knowledge and the students should be technically skilled and trained for such learning. Đurović & Bauk (2022) conducted a research in order “to test the possible application of contemporary corpus linguistics methods through the Data-driven learning method in the process of teaching/learning teaching vocabulary. The method applied exposed the students to authentic technical material and provided them with a specifically developed word list from the corpus of selected ship instruction books and manuals“. According to the authors, the students showed positive reactions regarding experimental and innovative teaching models. Anđelković et al. (2018) state that “In recent years, corpus-based studies have recently become the core areas of LSP research. LSP and professional communication have benefited from both direct and indirect applications of specialized corpora. For LSP teachers and learners, the most obvious advantage of the use of specialized corpora is that they provide authentic examples of specialized language, which are, in turn, beneficial in developing reading and writing skills and in understanding and producing particular texts and types of texts (Aston, 2001; Flowerdew, 2001; Connor & Upton, 2004; Römer, 2011)“. According to the same authors Anđelković et al. (2018:12) “Several studies have also reported the effectiveness of using corpora for creating LSP teaching materials (indirect application of corpora in LSP teaching and learning), especially those aimed at teaching and learning

collocations (Howarth, 1998), lexical acquisition (Cobb, 1999), writing and grammar (Tribble, 2001)“.

In addition to various corpora related to general and specific areas of English such as Sketch Engine containing “600 ready-to-use corpora in 90+ languages, each having a size of up to 60 billion words to provide a truly representative sample of language<sup>10</sup>“, the British National Corpus (BNC) “a 100 million word collection of samples of written and spoken language from a wide range of sources, designed to represent a wide cross-section of British English, both spoken and written, from the late twentieth century<sup>11</sup>“ and one of the most widely-used English corpora – Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) – containing more than 1 billion words<sup>12</sup>, there are numerous corpus analysis tools for custom-made corpora available online. They are convenient for large-scale analysis of the compiled corpora. Some of the widely-used are AntConc<sup>13</sup>, a freeware corpus analysis toolkit for concordancing and text analysis created by Laurence Anthony, LancsBox<sup>14</sup>, a Lancaster University corpus toolbox, Corpus Workbench<sup>15</sup> and WordSmith Tools<sup>16</sup>. With the aim of doing this research we used TermoStat Web 3.0 corpus analysis tool.

### 3. Methodology

#### 3.1. Research aim and hypotheses

The primary aim of the research was to analyse the two separate corpora extracted from annual reports of four biggest American banks for fiscal years 2006 and 2021. The extracted MWEs were analysed in 15 syntactic categories: 1) noun + noun; 2) adjective + noun; 3) adjective + adjective + adjective + noun; 4) noun + preposition + noun; 5) adjective + noun + noun; 6) noun + preposition + adjective + noun; 7) noun + noun + noun + noun; 8) adjective + adjective + noun; 9) noun + noun + noun; 10) adjective + noun + noun + noun; 11) noun + noun + noun + noun + noun; 12) noun + preposition + noun + noun; 13) noun + preposition + 4 nouns; 14) noun + adjective + noun; 15) noun + adjective + noun + noun. Further diachronic analysis made possible to compare the most frequent MWEs in the given categories and years and spot changes having come into existence over a decade and a half.

The secondary aim of the research was to check the frequency of occurrence of the above categories in relation to the total scope of corpus (total

<sup>10</sup> See <https://www.sketchengine.eu/>

<sup>11</sup> See <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/>

<sup>12</sup> See <https://www.english-corpora.org/coca/>

<sup>13</sup> See <https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/>

<sup>14</sup> See <http://corpora.lancs.ac.uk/lancsbox/download.php>

<sup>15</sup> See <https://cwb.sourceforge.io/cwb.php>

<sup>16</sup> See <https://www.lexically.net/wordsmith/>

number of words) in both corpora to determine possible diachronic changes in the occurrence of each category.

The final aim of the research was to raise awareness about possible application of gained results in BE classes, where BE lecturers must teach only authentic and up-to-date vocabulary.

Prior to the research two hypotheses were formulated:

1. The language in annual reports has experienced diachronic changes related to the frequency of the most frequent MWEs in 15 analysed syntactic categories. Even though the span of time encompassing a decade and a half does not represent a very long period in a language diachronically observed, the above change was expected. As financials in general are becoming more and more complex, the head-to-head competition in the banking sector is becoming more and more fierce, the processes within it are speeding up and the banks are continuously becoming more and more global, the above mentioned change is to be expected.

2. The total share of 15 syntactic categories as a percentage in relation to the scope of the corpora (total number of words) has diachronically remained the same. Although the author infers that the language in annual reports has diachronically changed on a lexical level over 15 years, he assumes a ratio of the syntactic categories to the total scope of the corpora to have remained stable. The texts in both corpora are of the same type and no significant numerical deviations were expected when it comes to the percentage of a particular category in relation to the total scope of corpus.

### **3.2. Corpus and corpus analysis tool**

The two comparable corpora (those for the fiscal years 2006 and 2021) were compiled from the annual reports of four biggest US banks by assets: *JP Morgan Chase & Co.*, *Wells Fargo & Co.*, *Citigroup Inc.* and *U.S. Bancorp*. The two corpora are monolingual, representative, well-designed and large enough to enable the diachronic study. The corpora have the following counts:

	<b>Corpus of 2006</b>	<b>Corpus of 2021</b>
Words	259.491	334.373
Sentences	7.745	16.295
tag	63	63
pos	9	9
Documents	4	4

Table 3.

The number of words in the corpus of 2021 is larger because the content of annual reports has become bigger over time. In order to make diachronic comparison possible, all necessary statistical data were calculated as a percentage either of a single syntactic category or of a total scope of each corpus. The composition of the corpora with multiple authors of the analysed documents and its total scope encompassing 593.864 words prevent any type of idiolect that would influence the results in a negative way. The MWEs of the two sub-corpora were analysed in 15 syntactic categories:

	<b>Categories</b>
1.	Noun + noun
2.	Adjective + noun
3.	Adjective + adjective + adjective + noun
4.	Noun + preposition + noun
5.	Adjective + noun + noun
6.	Noun + preposition + adjective + noun
7.	Noun + noun + noun + noun
8.	Adjective + adjective + noun
9.	Noun + noun + noun
10.	Adjective + noun + noun + noun
11.	Noun + noun + noun + noun + noun
12.	Noun + preposition + noun + noun
13.	Noun + preposition + 4 nouns
14.	Noun + adjective + noun
15.	Noun + adjective + noun + noun

Table 4.

The corpus analysis was carried out by means of TermoStat Web 3.0<sup>17</sup>, a corpus analysis tool created by professor Patric Drouin from the University of Montreal, Canada. It is a corpus analysis tool developed for quantitative analysis of custom-made corpora. It is an open-source software, that requires initial registration and is thereafter free for research purposes. It enables analysis of texts in French, English, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese. A list of results with terms that can be simple (one word) or complex (a sequence of words) is made after a term gets a score based on term's frequency in the analysed corpus and its frequency in the reference corpus consisting of about 8.000.000 occurrences. The uploaded corpus, the so-called technical corpus (Drouin 2003) is compared with the non-technical one in this way. Since the tool does not analyse adjectives in postpositive position, such constructions were excluded from the ADJECTIVE

<sup>17</sup> [http://termostat.ling.umontreal.ca/index.php?lang=en\\_CA](http://termostat.ling.umontreal.ca/index.php?lang=en_CA)

+ NOUN category. Figure 1. shows the partial results of the analysis of JP Morgan Chase & Co. Annual Report 2021 listed by the frequency of terms.

Candidate (grouping variant)	Score		Variants	Pattern
	Frequency	(Specificity)		
firm	1680	204.64	firm firms	Common_Noun
loan	1192	187.39	loan loans	Common_Noun
credit	954	151.28	credit credits	Common_Noun
fair value	488	139.09	fair value fair values	Adjective Common_Noun
asset	657	134.14	asset assets	Common_Noun
risk	862	129.46	risk risks	Common_Noun
o	478	105.26	o	Common_Noun
value	796	101.66	value values	Common_Noun
derivative	262	96.99	derivative derivatives	Common_Noun
liability	308	96.04	liability liabilities	Common_Noun
security	649	95.91	security securities	Common_Noun
credit loss	215	92.3	credit loss credit losses equity	Common_Noun Common_Noun

Figure 1. Corpus analysis tool Termostat Web 3.0

When it comes to statistical part of the research, the software IBM SPSS 22 S (IBM SPSS Statistics for Windows, Version 22.0. Armonk, NY: IBM Corp.) was used in the analysis. Statistical significance level ( $p$ -value) was set to 0,05 mirroring less than 5 % chance that the results would occur if the null hypothesis is true.

To compare the frequency of the occurrence of a particular MWE within a particular syntactic category, a Chi-square test was used. The results are shown in graphs in which the share of each MWE is shown in relation to the total number of MWEs in that category in a given year – 2006 and 2021. The share of each MWE is shown as a percentage of the total number of MWEs in the category for both years to determine the occurrence of the MWE in a given category. Additionally, the total share of MWEs for the whole categories are calculated in relation to the total scope of the corpus (number of words) for both fiscal years to determine diachronic category to scope of the corpus ratio.

The tools enabled the author to test his hypothesis ie. whether there is a statistically significant difference in frequency of occurrence of the MWEs across 15 analysed categories from a diachronic point of view. Another point of scientific analysis was to determine whether the share of particular categories as a percentage of total number of words in the corpus had remained the same over period of 15 years.

#### 4. Corpus analysis and results

Corpus analysis of the annual reports of the biggest US banking corporations for fiscal years 2006 and 2021 – *JP Morgan Chase & Co., Wells Fargo & Co.,*

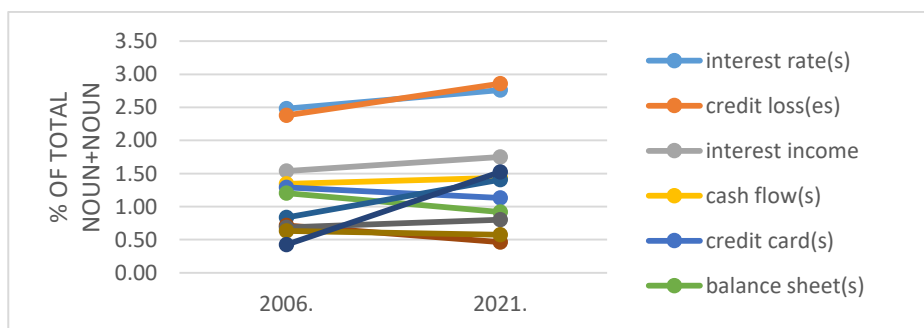
*Citigroup Inc., U.S. Bancorp* was made on 593.864 words. The separate sub-corpora were created out of Annual Reports 2006 and 2021 so that diacronic study of MWEs in 15 years could be done. The corpus analysis enabled the autor to determine the frequency of the occurrence of a particular syntactic category in the annual reports. The frequency of the occurrence itself is a very useful information for teachers of LSP / BE, since it reveals real BE in use. In this light, Stojković (2023) claims that "Corpora help lecturers indirectly, in deciding what to teach, but also in their direct use, regarding how to teach".

The most frequent MWEs for a respective category and fiscal year are as follows:

### NOUN + NOUN

	Annual Reports 2006	Findings	Annual Reports 2021	Findings
1.	interest rate(s) <sup>18</sup>	326	credit loss(es)	671
2.	credit loss(es)	313	interest rate(s)	648
3.	interest income	202	interest income	411
4.	cash flow(s)	177	debt security	357
5.	credit card(s)	170	cash flow(s)	337
6.	balance sheet(s)	158	credit risk(s)	330
7.	credit risk(s)	110	credit card(s)	266
8.	noninterest expense	94	balance sheet(s)	216
9.	mortgage loan(s)	90	mortgage loan(s)	188
10.	non-interest income	83	non-interest income	135
	TOTAL NN CORPUS FINDINGS	13.146	TOTAL NN CORPUS FINDINGS	23.467

Table 5.



Graph 3.

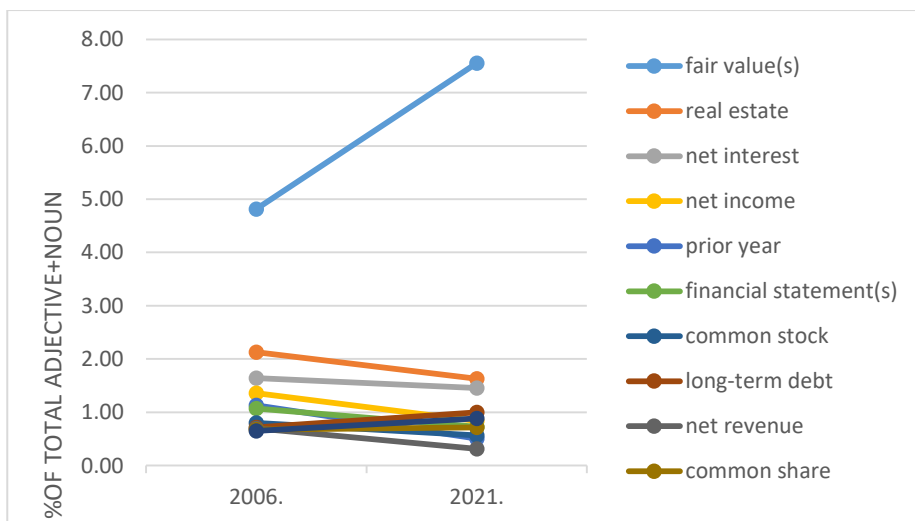
<sup>18</sup> Terms highlighted in yellow indicate the presence of the same MWEs among the 10 most frequent ones in both corpora.

There are 5 MWEs of a type NOUN + NOUN with moderate diachronic rise ( $\leq 25\%$ ) in the occurrence in this category – *interest rate(s)*, *credit loss(es)*, *interest income*, *cash flow(s)* and *mortgage loan(s)*. Two MWEs – *credit risk(s)* and *debt security* show sharp diachronic rise ( $\geq 25\%$ ) in the occurrence within the category. There are 3 MWEs showing slight diachronic fall ( $\leq 25\%$ ) in the occurrence – *non-interest income*, *credit card(s)* and *balance sheet(s)* and 1 MWE *noninterest expense* showing sharp diachronic fall in the occurrence within the category. The category NOUN + NOUN is the most frequent one (43.8 % in the corpus of 2006; 41.8 % in the corpus of 2021) The most prototypical MWEs in the category are *interest rate(s)* and *credit loss(es)*.

### ADJECTIVE + NOUN

	Annual Reports 2006	Findings	Annual Reports 2021	Findings
1.	fair value(s)	613	fair value(s)	1.675
2.	real estate	271	real estate	361
3.	net interest	209	net interest	323
4.	net income	173	long-term debt	221
5.	prior year	144	residential mortgage	196
6.	financial statement(s)	136	net income	186
7.	common stock	102	financial statement(s)	162
8.	long-term debt	91	common share	159
9.	net revenue	89	common stock	126
10.	common share	86	prior year	112
	TOTAL AN CORPUS FINDINGS	12.728	TOTAL AN CORPUS FINDINGS	22.181

Table 6.



Graph 4.

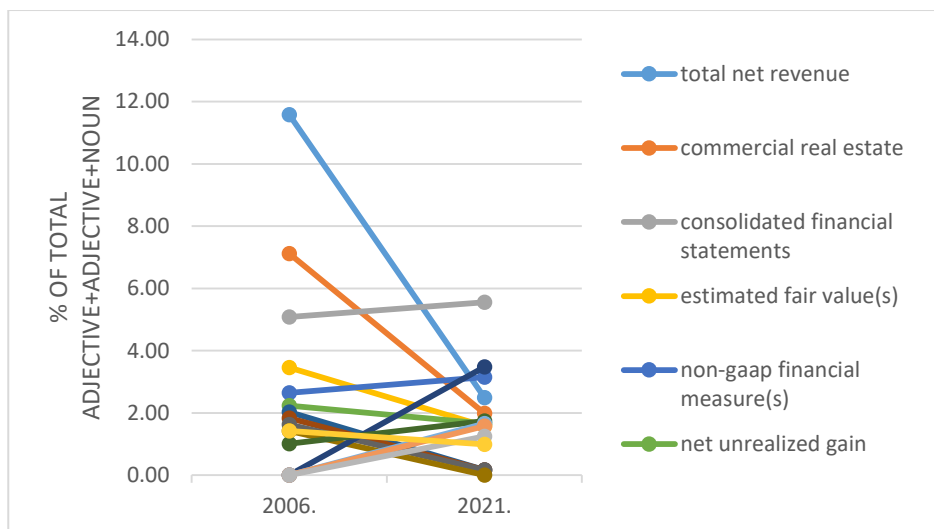


This category has seen more dynamic diachronic change than the first one. There are 3 MWEs of a type ADJECTIVE + NOUN with sharp diachronic rise ( $\geq 25\%$ ) in the occurrence in the category – *long-term debt*, *fair value(s)*, *residential mortgage*. There is 1 MWE with moderate diachronic rise ( $\leq 25\%$ ) in the occurrence in this category – *common share(s)*. There are 5 MWEs showing sharp diachronic fall ( $\geq 25\%$ ) in the occurrence within the category – *net revenue*, *common stock*, *financial statement(s)*, *prior year* and *net income*. The remaining 2 MWEs – *net interest* and *real estate* have slight diachronic fall ( $\leq 25\%$ ) in their occurrence. The category ADJECTIVE + NOUN is the second most frequent one in both corpora (42.4 % in the corpus of 2006; 39.5 % in the corpus of 2021). The most prototypical MWEs in the category are *fair value(s)* and *real estate*.

### ADJECTIVE + ADJECTIVE + NOUN

	Annual Reports 2006	Findings	Annual Reports 2021	Findings
1.	total net revenue	57	consolidated financial statements	67
2.	commercial real estate	35	tangible common equity	42
3.	consolidated financial statements	25	non-gaap financial measure(s)	38
4.	estimated fair value(s)	17	total net revenue	30
5.	non-gaap financial measure(s)	13	commercial real estate	24
6.	net unrealized gain	11	net realizable value	21
7.	net actuarial loss	10	total retained loans, net unrealized gain	20
8.	hybrid financial instrument(s)	9	significant unobservable input(s), estimated fair value(s)	19
9.	material legal proceedings	8	non-cumulative perpetual class	15
10.	average total asset(s), gross unrealized losses	7	gross unrealized losses	12
	TOTAL AAN CORPUS FINDINGS	492	TOTAL AAN CORPUS FINDINGS	1.206

Table 7.



Graph 5.

The syntactic category ADJECTIVE + ADJECTIVE + NOUN is the sixth most productive category in the analysed corpora.

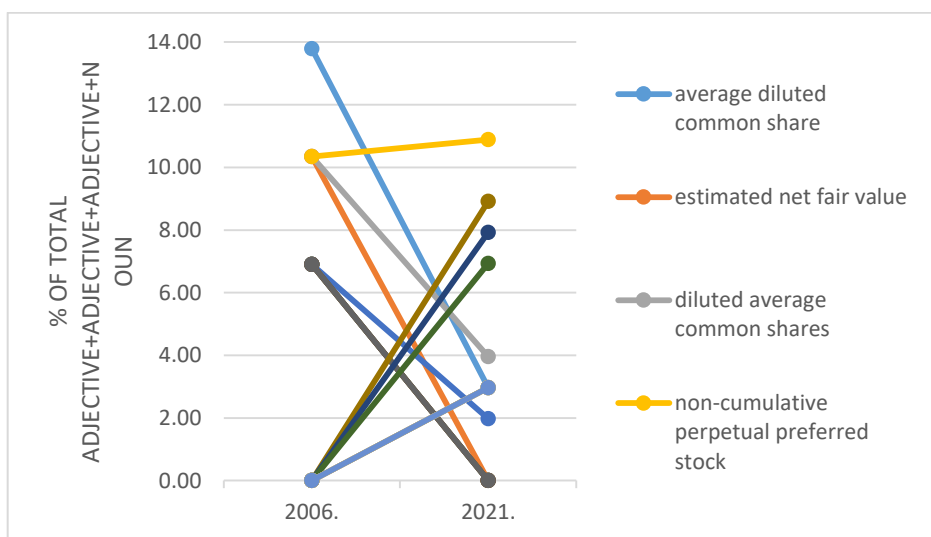
There are 2 MWEs of this type with moderate diachronic rise ( $\leq 25\%$ ) in occurrence in this category – *consolidated financial statements* and *non-gaap financial measure(s)* and 1 MWE with sharp diachronic rise ( $\geq 25\%$ ) – *net realizable value*. There are no MWEs showing slight diachronic fall ( $\leq 25\%$ ) in the occurrence and 7 MWEs – *total net revenue*, *commercial real estate*, *estimated fair value(s)*, *net unrealized gain*, *hybrid financial instrument(s)*, *material legal proceedings* and *gross unrealized losses* – showing sharp diachronic fall in the occurrence in the category. The most prototypical MWEs in this category are *total net revenue* and *consolidated financial statements*.

#### ADJECTIVE + ADJECTIVE + ADJECTIVE + NOUN

	Annual Reports 2006	Findings	Annual Reports 2021	Findings
1.	average diluted common share	4	non-cumulative perpetual preferred stock	11
2.	estimated net fair value	3	total commercial real estate	9
3.	diluted average common shares	3	average tangible common equity	8
4.	non-cumulative perpetual preferred stock	3	direct outstanding funded loans	7

5.	total junior subordinated debt	2	diluted average common shares	4
6.	total average interest-bearing deposits	2	total net derivative receivables	3
7.	total average common equity	2	total estimated fair value	3
8.	granted long-term stock-based awards	2	total long-term unsecured funding	3
9.	total net managed revenue	2	real gross domestic product	3
10.			total non-accrual corporate loans	3
	TOTAL AAAN CORPUS FINDINGS	29	TOTAL AAAN CORPUS FINDINGS	101

Table 8.



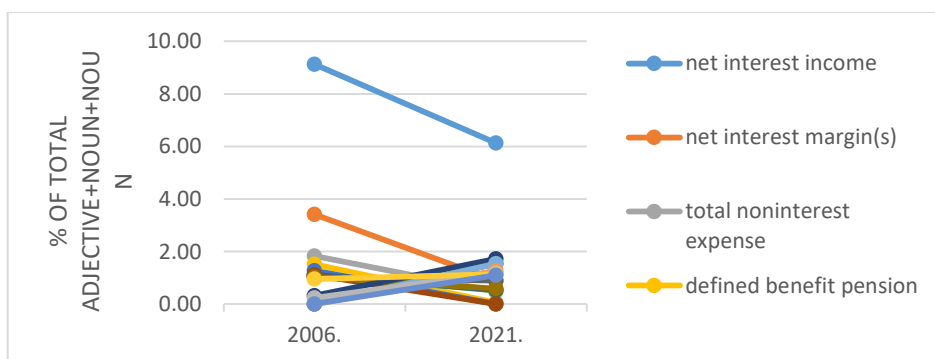
Graph 6.

The syntactic category ADJECTIVE + ADJECTIVE + ADJECTIVE + NOUN is among unproductive categories in the analysed corpora. There is 1 MWE of this type with moderate diachronic rise ( $\leq 25\%$ ) in the occurrence in this category – *non-cumulative perpetual preferred stock*. There are 3 MWEs showing sharp diachronic fall ( $\geq 25\%$ ) in the occurrence within this category – *average diluted common share*, *diluted average common shares* and *total junior subordinated debt*. The most prototypical MWEs in this category are *non-cumulative perpetual preferred stock* and *total commercial real estate*.

## ADJECTIVE + NOUN + NOUN

	Annual Reports 2006	Findings	Annual Reports 2021	Findings
1.	net interest income	115	net interest income	228
2.	net interest margin(s)	43	consolidated balance sheet	64
3.	total noninterest expense	23	nonmarketable equity security(ies)	57
4.	defined benefit pension	19	fair value option	57
5.	net charge-off rate(s)	16	net credit losses	47
6.	real estate mortgage	14	fair value measurement(s)	44
7.	real estate construction	14	residential mortgage loans	42
8.	corporate trust business(es)	14	fair value hierarchy	41
9.	unfunded credit commitments	13	unfunded credit commitments	33
10.	marketable equity securities	13	net interest margin(s)	33
	TOTAL ANN CORPUS FINDINGS	1259	TOTAL ANN CORPUS FINDINGS	3715

Table 9.



Graph 7.

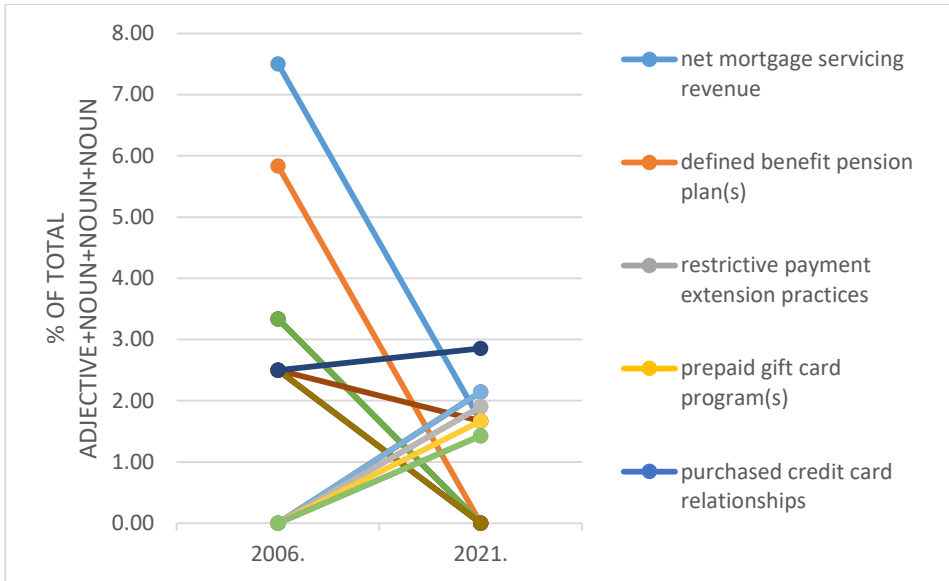
The syntactic category ADJECTIVE + NOUN + NOUN is the third frequent one in both corpora (4.2 % in the corpus of 2006; 6.6 % in the corpus of 2021). Two MWEs – *consolidated balance sheet* and *fair value measurement(s)* show sharp diachronic rise ( $\geq 25$  %) in the occurrence within the category. The following

MWEs show sharp diachronic fall ( $\geq 25\%$ ) – *net interest income*, *net interest margin(s)*, *total non interest expense*, *defined benefit pension*, *net charge-off rate(s)* in the occurrence in this category. The most prototypical MWEs in the category are *net interest income* and *net interest margins*.

#### ADJECTIVE + NOUN + NOUN + NOUN

	Annual Reports 2006	Findings	Annual Reports 2021	Findings
1.	net mortgage servicing revenue	9	foreign currency translation adjustment(s)	12
2.	defined benefit pension plan(s)	7	federal income tax rate	9
3.	restrictive payment extension practices	4	net credit loss rate(s)	9
4.	prepaid gift card program(s)	4	primary credit quality indicator	8
5.	purchased credit card relationships	4	corporate payment products revenue	8
6.	total income tax expense	4	effective income tax rate	7
7.	global equity market appreciation	3	net mortgage servicing revenue	7
8.	selected balance sheet data	3	selected balance sheet data	6
9.	fair value measurement method	3	off-balance sheet credit exposure(s)	6
10.	residential mortgage servicing rights	3	nonconforming mortgage loan securitizations	6
	TOTAL ANNN CORPUS FINDINGS	120	TOTAL ANNN CORPUS FINDINGS	420

Table 10.



Graph 8.

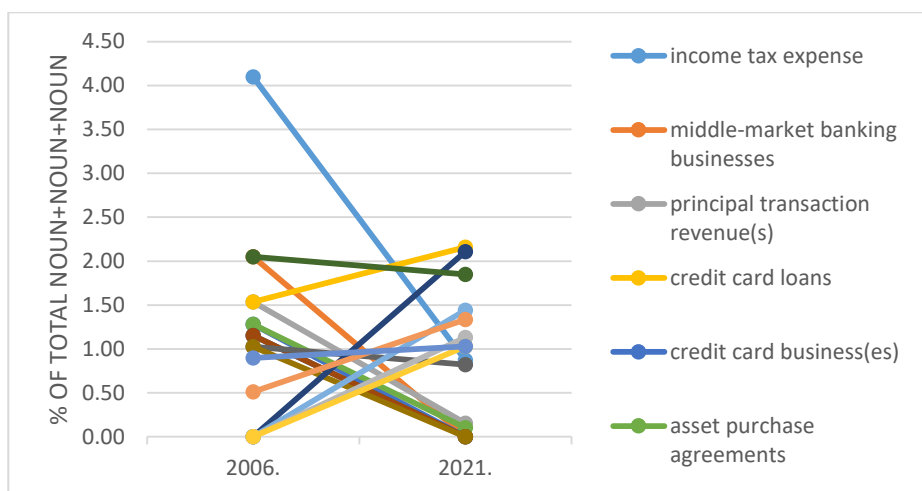
There are 2 MWEs with sharp diachronic fall ( $\geq 25\%$ ) in their occurrence in the category ADJECTIVE + NOUN + NOUN + NOUN – *net mortgage servicing revenue* and *selected balance sheet data*. There is 1 MWE showing slow diachronic rise ( $\leq 25\%$ ) in the given category – *foreign currency translation adjustment(s)*. The majority of the most frequent corpus findings in this category only occur either in the corpus of 2006 or in the corpus of 2021, so that they could not be compared with each other. The most prototypical MWEs in the category are *net mortgage servicing revenue* and *foreign currency translation adjustment(s)*.

### NOUN + NOUN + NOUN

	Annual Reports 2006	Findings	Annual Reports 2021	Findings
1.	income tax expense	32	credit card loan(s)	42
2.	middle-market banking businesses	16	consumer banking business(es)	41
3.	principal transaction revenue(s)	12	cash flow hedge(s)	36
4.	credit card loans	12	trading account assets	28
5.	credit card business(es)	10	investment securities portfolio	26
6.	asset purchase agreements	10	trading account liabilities	22

7.	document management services	9	capital transition provision(s)	20
8.	stock repurchase program	9	mortgage banking revenue	20
9.	bank holding company	8	income tax expense	17
10.	investment management fees	8	bank holding company	16
	TOTAL NNN CORPUS FINDINGS	781	TOTAL NNN CORPUS FINDINGS	1.945

Table 11.



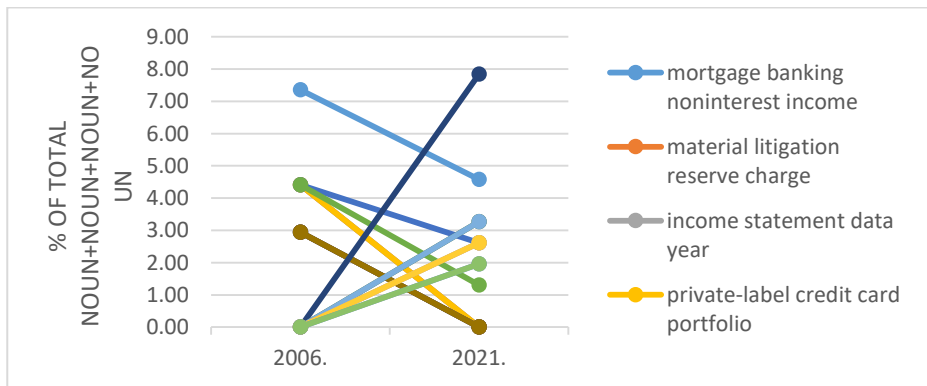
Graph 9.

The syntactic category NOUN + NOUN + NOUN is the fifth most productive in the analysed corpora. Only one MWE has a slight diachronic rise ( $\leq 25\%$ ) in this category – *mortgage banking revenue*. There are 2 MWEs showing sharp diachronic rise ( $\geq 25\%$ ) in the given category – *credit card loan(s)* and *investment securities portfolio*. The following 2 MWEs have a slight diachronic fall ( $\leq 25\%$ ) in their occurrence – *cash flow hedge(s)* and *bank holding company*, whereas the following MWEs show sharp diachronic rise ( $\geq 25\%$ ) in their occurrence – *income tax expense*, *principal transaction revenue(s)* and *asset purchase agreements*. The most prototypical MWEs in the category are *income tax expense* and *credit card loan(s)*.

**NOUN + NOUN + NOUN + NOUN**

	Annual Reports 2006	Findings	Annual Reports 2021	Findings
1.	net mortgage servicing revenue	9	foreign currency translation adjustment(s)	12
2.	defined benefit pension plan(s)	7	federal income tax rate	9
3.	restrictive payment extension practices	4	net credit loss rate(s)	9
4.	prepaid gift card program(s)	4	primary credit quality indicator	8
5.	purchased credit card relationships	4	corporate payment products revenue	8
6.	total income tax expense	4	effective income tax rate	7
7.	global equity market appreciation	3	net mortgage servicing revenue	7
8.	selected balance sheet data	3	selected balance sheet data	6
9.	fair value measurement method	3	off-balance sheet credit exposure(s)	6
10.	residential mortgage servicing rights	3	nonconforming mortgage loan securitizations	6
	<b>TOTAL NNNN CORPUS FINDINGS</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>TOTAL NNNN CORPUS FINDINGS</b>	<b>420</b>

Table 12.



Graph 10.

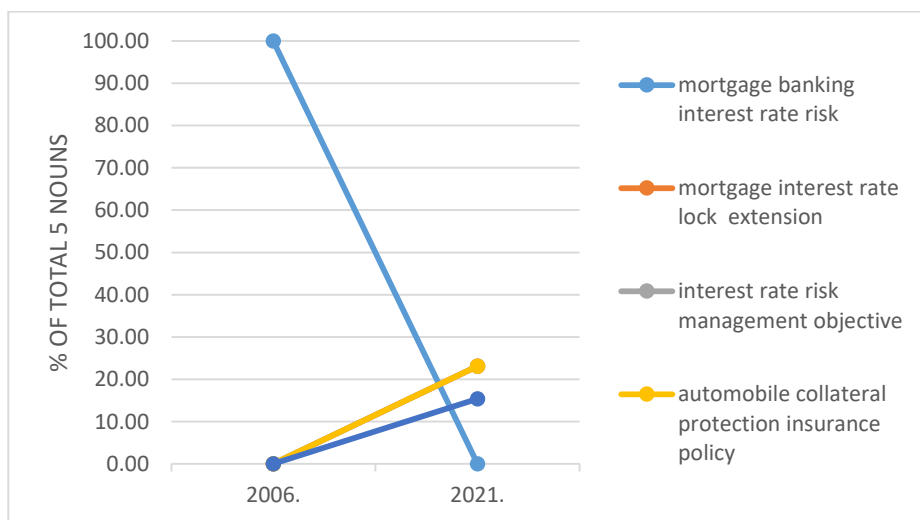


The following MWEs show sharp diachronic fall ( $\geq 25\%$ ) in this syntactic category – *credit risk management process*, *merchant processing services revenue* and *mortgage banking noninterest income*. Other MWEs could not be compared with each other since they are non-existent either in the corpus of 2006 or of 2021. The most prototypical MWEs in the category are *net mortgage servicing revenue* and *foreign currency translation adjustment(s)*.

**5 NOUNS**

	Annual Reports 2006	Findings	Annual Reports 2021	Findings
1.	mortgage banking interest rate risk	3	mortgage interest rate lock extension	3
2.			interest rate risk management objective	3
3.			automobile collateral protection insurance policy	3
4.			cash balance interest crediting rate	2
	TOTAL 5N CORPUS FINDINGS	3	TOTAL 5N CORPUS FINDINGS	13

Table 13.



Graph 11.

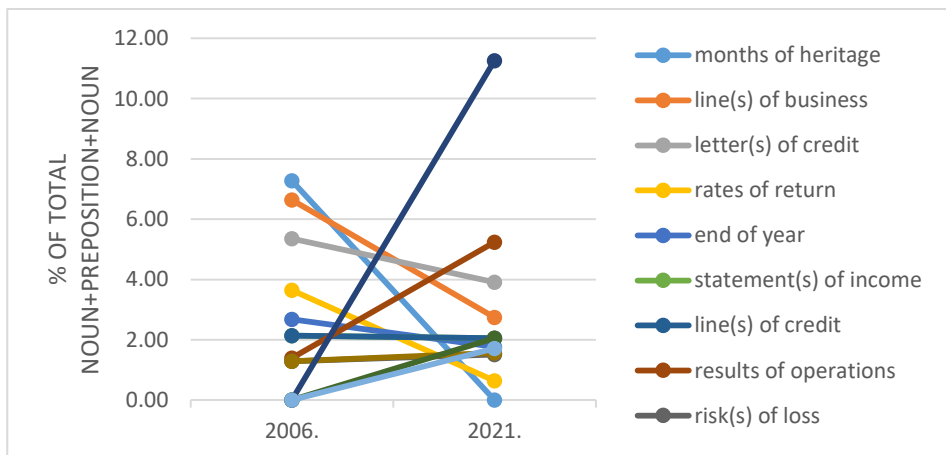
The syntactic category 5 NOUNS is the second least productive among all analysed categories with totally 16 corpus findings in both corpora). The few

MWEs from one corpus do not overlap with the findings from another one, so they could not be statistically compared.

### NOUN + PREPOSITION + NOUN

	Annual Reports 2006	Findings	Annual Reports 2021	Findings
1.	months of heritage	68	millions of dollars	230
2.	line(s) of business	62	results of operations	107
3.	letter(s) of credit	50	letter(s) of credit	80
4.	rates of return	34	line(s) of business	56
5.	end of year	25	billions of dollars	42
6.	statement(s) of income	20	line(s) of credit	42
7.	line(s) of credit	20	statement(s) of income	42
8.	results of operations	13	end of year	36
9.	risk(s) of loss	12	line(s) of defense	35
10.	course of business	12	course of business	32
	TOTAL NPN CORPUS FINDINGS	934	TOTAL NPN CORPUS FINDINGS	2.044

Table 14.



Graph 12.

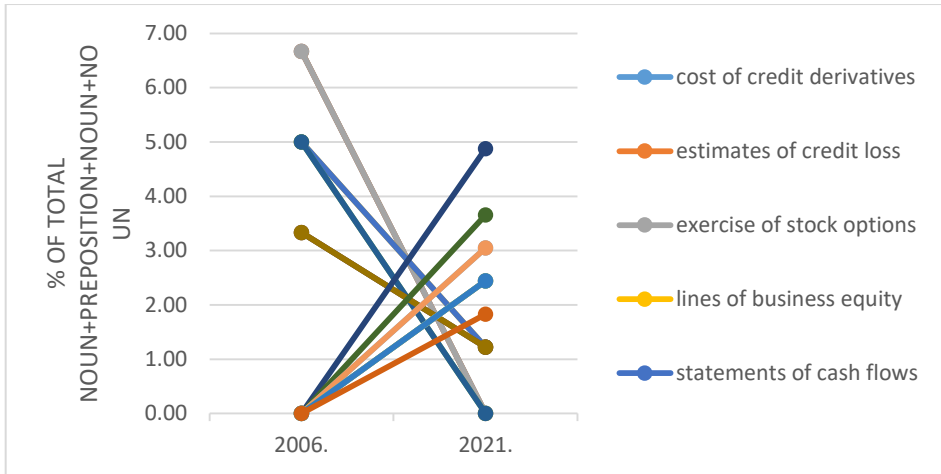
There is one collocation – *course of business* of a type NOUN + PREPOSITION + NOUN with moderate diachronic rise ( $\leq 25\%$ ) in the occurrence in this category. Two MWEs – *consolidated balance sheet* and *fair value measurement(s)* show sharp diachronic rise ( $\geq 25\%$ ) in the occurrence within the category. The following MWEs show sharp diachronic fall ( $\geq 25\%$ ) – *net interest income*, *net interest margin(s)*, *total non interest expense*, *defined benefit*

*pension, net charge-off rate(s)* in occurrence in this category. The syntactic category NOUN + PREPOSITION + NOUN is the fourth most frequent one in both corpora (3.1 % in the corpus of 2006; 3.6 % in the corpus of 2021) The most prototypical MWEs in the category are *millions of dollars* and *results of operations*.

**NOUN + PREPOSITION + NOUN + NOUN**

	<b>Annual Reports 2006</b>	<b>Findings</b>	<b>Annual Reports 2021</b>	<b>Findings</b>
1.	cost of credit derivatives	4	netting of cash collateral	8
2.	estimates of credit loss	4	impact(s) of fx translation	6
3.	exercise of stock options	4	reduction of interest revenue	5
4.	lines of business equity	3	charge-off of peak delinquencies	5
5.	statements of cash flows	3	reduction of card income	4
6.	timing of repurchase activity	3	market comparable pricing techniques	4
7.	rate of compensation increase	3	trust preferred security vies	4
8.	level of market volatility	2	recognition of credit losses	4
9.	calculation of credit risk	2	transfer of investment securities	4
10.	percent of credit exposure	2	components of card income	3
	<b>TOTAL NPNN CORPUS FINDINGS</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>TOTAL NPNN CORPUS FINDINGS</b>	<b>164</b>

Table 15.



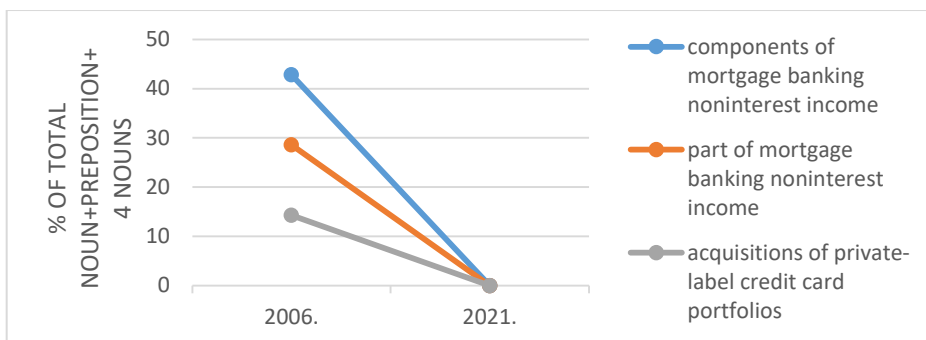
Graph 13.

The upper syntactic category is the unproductive one with few corpus findings related to the scope of both corpora. When taking into consideration the most frequent MWEs, they are completely different in both corpora (some of them do not occur in the first corpus, other ones in the second one). Still, there are two MWEs existent in both corpora – *statement of cash flows* and *percent of credit exposure* showing sharp diachronic fall ( $\geq 25\%$ ) in the occurrence in the given category.

**NOUN + PREPOSITION + 4 NOUNS**

	Annual Reports 2006	Findings	Annual Reports 2021	Findings
1.	components of mortgage banking noninterest income	3		
2.	part of mortgage banking noninterest income	2		
3.	acquisitions of private-label credit card portfolios	1		
	TOTAL NP + 4N CORPUS FINDINGS	7	TOTAL NP + 4N CORPUS FINDINGS	0

Table 16.



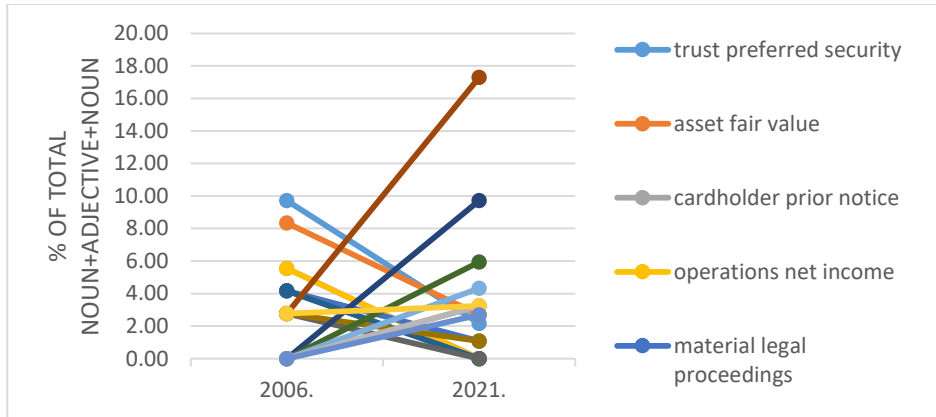
Graph 14.

The syntactic category NOUN + PREPOSITION + 4 NOUNS is the least productive among all analysed categories. There are altogether 7 corpus findings in the corpus of 2006 and none corpus findings in the corpus of 2021.

**NOUN + ADJECTIVE + NOUN**

	Annual Reports 2006	Findings	Annual Reports 2021	Findings
1.	trust preferred security	7	deposit related fees	32
2.	asset fair value	6	agency mortgage-backed securities	18
3.	cardholder prior notice	4	credit derivative contract(s)	11
4.	operations net income	4	credit risk-weighted assets	8
5.	material legal proceedings	3	securities loaned agreements	6
6.	employees stock-based incentives	3	business retail banking	6
7.	employees stock-based plans	3	option adjusted spread	6
8.	deposit related fees	2	market comparable pricing	5
9.	payment due date	2	asset fair value	5
10.	consumer real estate	2	trust preferred securities	4
	TOTAL NAN CORPUS FINDINGS	72	TOTAL NAN CORPUS FINDINGS	185

Table 17.



Graph 15.

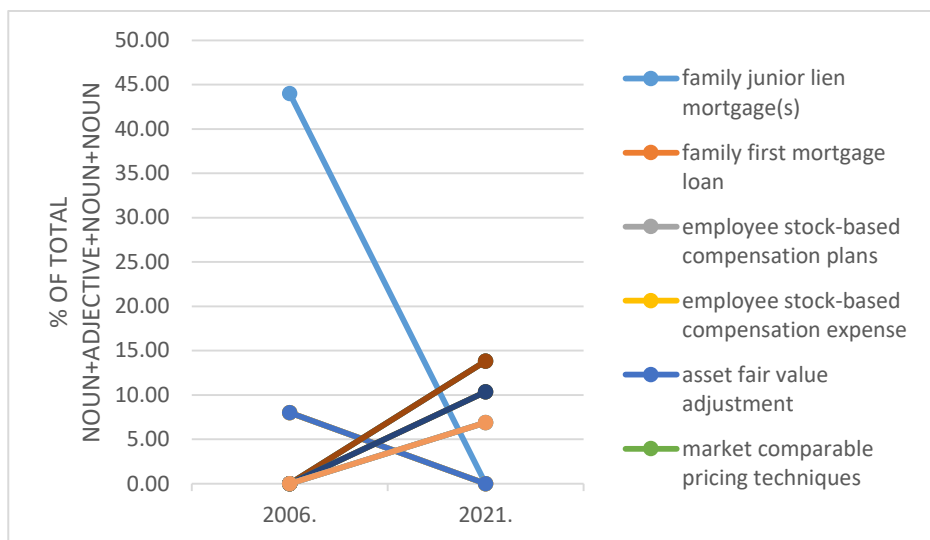
The category NOUN + ADJECTIVE + NOUN is the unproductive one. There are 4 MWEs showing sharp diachronic fall ( $\geq 25\%$ ) in the occurrence in the given category – *trust preferred security*, *asset fair value*, *material legal proceedings* and *consumer real estate*. There is 1 MWE having a slight diachronic rise ( $\leq 25\%$ ) in the occurrence in this category – *option adjusted spread* and 1 collocation showing a sharp diachronic rise ( $\geq 25\%$ ) – *deposit related fees*. The most prototypical MWEs in the category are *deposit related fees* and *agency mortgage-backed securities*.

#### NOUN + ADJECTIVE + NOUN + NOUN

	Annual Reports 2006	Findings	Annual Reports 2021	Findings
1.	family junior lien mortgage(s)	11	market comparable pricing techniques	4
2.	family first mortgage loan	2	trust preferred security vies	4
3.	employee stock-based compensation plans	2	multi-seller commercial paper conduits	4
4.	employee stock-based compensation expense	2	assets total impairment losses	3
5.	asset fair value adjustment	2	revenue net interest income	3
6.			company adopted accounting guidance	3
7.			government supported loan programs	2
8.			amount accumulated amortization net	2

9.			deposit net interest income	2
	TOTAL NANN CORPUS FINDINGS	25	TOTAL NANN CORPUS FINDINGS	29

Table 18.



Graph 16.

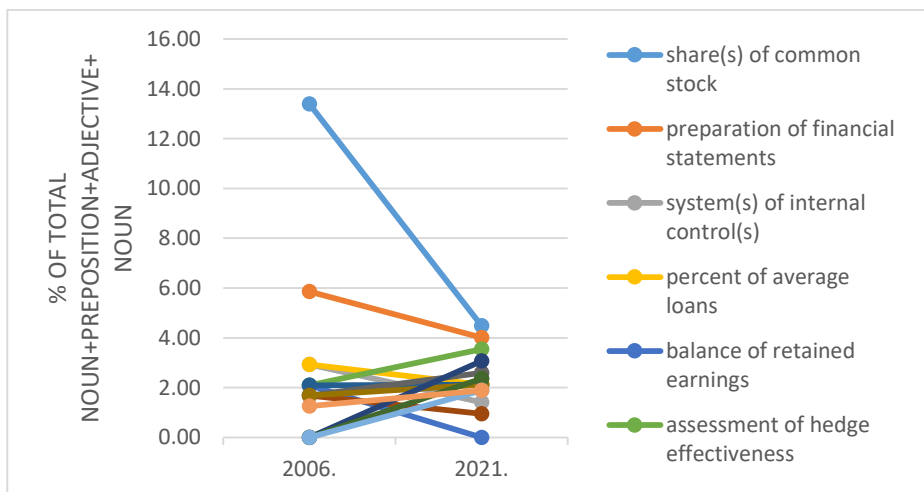
The syntactic category NOUN + ADJECTIVE + NOUN + NOUN is the third least productive among all analysed categories (totally 54 corpus findings in both corpora). There are 5 corpus findings with sharp diachronic fall ( $\geq 25\%$ ) in occurrence in the given category.

**NOUN + PREPOSITION + ADJECTIVE + NOUN**

	Annual Reports 2006	Findings	Annual Reports 2021	Findings
1.	share(s) of common stock	32	shares of common stock	19
2.	preparation of financial statements	14	preparation of financial statements	17
3.	system(s) of internal control(s)	7	assessment of hedge effectiveness	15
4.	percent of average loans	7	significance of unobservable inputs	13
5.	balance of retained earnings	5	issuance(s) of long-term debt	11

6.	assessment of hedge effectiveness	5	percent of risk-weighted assets	10
7.	redemption of preferred stock	5	percent of average loans	9
8.	issuance of common stock	4	redemption of preferred stock	9
9.	issuance(s) of long-term debt	4	determination of fair value	8
10.	percent of average loans	4	estimate(s) of fair value	8
	TOTAL NPAN CORPUS FINDINGS	239	TOTAL NPAN CORPUS FINDINGS	424

Table 19.



Graph 17.

The syntactic category NOUN + PREPOSITION + ADJECTIVE + NOUN is in the middle category regarding the frequency of its occurrence (the seventh most productive one). There are 4 MWEs of a type NOUN + PREPOSITION + ADJECTIVE + NOUN with sharp diachronic rise ( $\geq 25\%$ ) in their occurrence – *assessment of hedge effectiveness*, *issuance(s) of long-term debt*, *percent of average loans* and *estimate(s) of fair value*. There is 1 MWE with moderate diachronic rise ( $\leq 25\%$ ) in the occurrence in this category – *redemption of preferred stock*. There are 4 MWEs showing sharp diachronic fall ( $\geq 25\%$ ) in the occurrence in the given category – *share(s) of common stock*, *preparation of financial statements*, *issuance of common stock* and *system(s) of internal control(s)*. The most prototypical MWEs in the category are *share(s) of common stock* and *preparation of financial statements*.



At the beginning of the research two hypothesis were put forward:

1. The language in English for banking has experienced diachronic changes related to the frequency of the most frequent MWEs in 15 analysed syntactic categories. The Chi-square test was made for all 15 categories. Only in the category NOUN + PREPOSITION + 4 NOUNS the Chi-square test could not be made since there are not any MWEs in that category for 2021. There is a p-value < 0,0001 in each syntactic category proving high statistical significance that the occurrence of the most frequent MWEs has diachronically changed when comparing corpora from 2006 and 2021. That confirmed our first hypothesis.
2. The total share of 15 syntactic categories as a percentage of scope of the corpus (total number of words) has diachronically remained the same.

Category	Category share in 2006	Category share in 2021	2021/2006
NN	5.07	7.02	1.38
AN	4.90	6.63	1.35
AAN	0.19	3.61	19
AAAN	0.01	0.03	3
ANN	0.49	1.11	2.27
ANNN	0.05	0.13	2.6
3N	0.30	0.58	1.93
4N	0.03	0.05	1.66
5N	0.001	0.004	4
NPN	0.36	0.61	1.69
NPNN	0.02	0.05	2.5
NP4N	0.003	0	-
NAN	0.03	0.06	2
NANN	0.01	0.008	<b>0.8</b>
NPAN	0.09	0.13	1.44
			<b>Ø 1.90</b>

Table 20.

After two extreme values were sorted out that would substantially influence the statistics, we became 2021/2006 ratio of 1.90 which shows that there are 90 % more of the analysed categories represented in the Annual Reports in 2021. The set hypothesis proved false. The analysed texts have become more syntactically structured over 15 years which mirrors their higher grade of complexity. All syntactic categories have seen rise with an exception of two categories: NOUN + PREPOSITION + 4 NOUNS (a syntactic category not present in the corpus from 2021) and NOUN + ADJECTIVE + 2 NOUNS (2021/2006 ratio = 0.8). The 2021/2006 ratio of the category ADJECTIVE + ADJECTIVE + NOUN

was 19 and was sorted out from calculation as an extreme value. The percentage diachronic rise in syntactic categories is as follows: 5N – 300 %, AAAN – 200 %, ANNN – 160 %, NPNN – 150 %, ANN – 127 %, NAN – 100 %, 3N – 93 %, NPN – 69 %, 4N – 66 %, NPAN – 44 %, NN – 38 %, AN – 35 %.

### 5. Discussion

Due to shortage of authentic teaching materials, the BE lecturers are often doomed to create their own ones. The research was started with the awareness in mind that only words / phrases with confirmed frequency of occurrence are worth teaching / learning in LSP, in this case BE classes. Therefore, corpus analysis was chosen as an appropriate method for the extraction of authentic MWEs that can be analysed and transformed into valuable teaching material. If BE lecturers want to create such kind of teaching material, they must put emphasis on the most important, useful and frequent in language. The results of skillfully done corpus analysis enables precisely that. The diachronic component of the study enabled getting the up-to-date results, showing on the one hand changes in the language and on the other the newest vocabulary suitable for application in BE classes. Since the teaching hours are limited, the teaching should be as efficient as possible. Teaching students the most frequent vocabulary makes teaching more productive – there is no use in teaching general forms and made up (randomly constructed) MWEs.

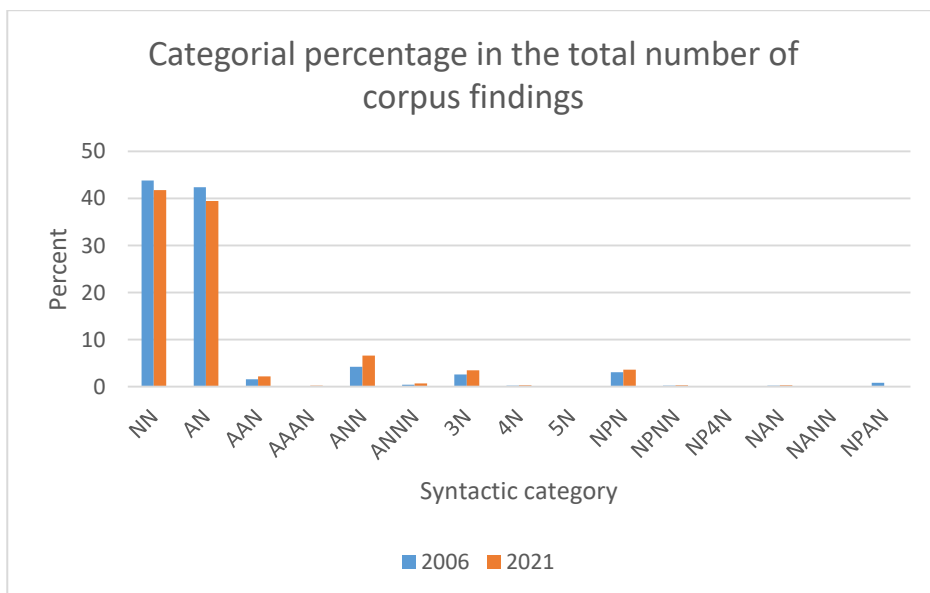
The diachronic corpus analysis of Annual Reports of biggest US banking corporations for fiscal years 2006 and 2021 – *JP Morgan Chase & Co.*, *Wells Fargo & Co.*, *Citigroup Inc.*, *U.S. Bancorp* with its  $p$ -value  $< 0,0001$  across all syntactic categories revealed diachronic changes in analysed language of high statistical significance. One of the characteristics of these financial documents diachronically regarded is that the annual reports have become more complex over the last 15 years. This applies both to their structure and their scope. The following table gives an overview of syntactic categories sorted by the number of corpus findings:

Category	Corpus findings 2006	Corpus findings 2021	Total number of findings in two corpora
NN	13.146	23.467	36.613
AN	12.728	22.181	34.909
AAN	492	1.206	1.698
AAAN	29	101	130
ANN	1.259	3.715	4.974
ANNN	120	420	540
3N	781	1.945	2.726

4N	68	153	221
5N	3	13	16
NPN	934	2.044	2.978
NPNN	60	164	224
NP4N	7	0	7
NAN	72	185	257
NANN	25	29	54
NPAN	239	424	663
	<b>29.963</b>	<b>56.047</b>	<b>86.010</b>

Table 21.

The syntactic categories with the most corpus findings are NOUN + NOUN – 36.613 corpus findings, ADJECTIVE + NOUN – 34.909, ADJECTIVE + NOUN + NOUN – 4.974, NOUN + PREPOSITION + NOUN – 2.978 and NOUN + NOUN + NOUN – 2.726. Graph 18. shows the percentage of each syntactic category in the total number of corpus findings in 15 categories:



Graph 18.

### 6. Conclusion

This research gives a diachronic insight into real English for banking in use, which is a part of BE curriculum at a tertiary level of education. The results have proved high statistical significance of changes in both frequency of the occurrence of MWEs across the 15 analysed categories and in their percentual relation to the scope of the corpus. The corpus analysis helps both BE lecturers

and their students to become more educated in both English and major they teach / learn – business. Research findings are relevant to BE lecturers in many ways: they enable them to follow recent vocabulary trends in this segment of BE. Moreover, they enable them to create their own working material based on the recently determined vocabulary and to improve the quality and efficiency of their teaching in this way. When it comes to students, the contribution to more effective learning is undoubtedly present too, as vocabulary is quite specific and an average BE student's time at disposal for their learning is limited, regarding the fact that precisely the time is actually the most expensive asset. The research can function as a driving force for further corpus analysis research in BE, which should result in optimizing and improving teaching techniques based on the results of the same. The prospective corpus analysis research could use either diachronic or contrastive approach to the categories of vocabulary and parts of speech. The corpus analysis research could include other segments of BE such as international trade, logistics, wholesale, retailing, industry, business media, leadership, management, marketing and investing.

#### **CORPUS AND STATISTICAL ANALYSIS TOOL**

TermoStat Web 3.0 <http://termostat.ling.umontreal.ca/index.php?lang=en> CA IBM SPSS 22 S (IBM SPSS Statistics for Windows, Version 22.0. Armonk, NY: IBM Corp.)

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### **ZUSAMMENFASSUNG: THE MOST FREQUENT MULTI-WORD EXPRESSIONS IN ENGLISH FOR BANKING: A CORPUS-BASED DIACHRONIC STUDY**

Das Ziel der Arbeit bestand darin, eine diachrone Untersuchung in einem Segment des Wirtschaftsendlichen – Englisch für Bankenwesen – durchzuführen, um die diachrone Stabilität seines Wortschatzes zu überprüfen. Daher wurde eine Analyse von Begriffen in 15 syntaktischen Kategorien in Geschäftsberichten der vier größten US-Banken für die Geschäftsjahre 2006 und 2021 durchgeführt. Genauer gesagt, wurden die diachronen Veränderungen, die sich über einen Zeitraum von 15 Jahren erstreckten, sowohl hinsichtlich der Häufigkeit des Auftretens der Begriffe in den 15 analysierten syntaktischen Kategorien als auch in ihrer prozentualen Beziehung zum Umfang der Korpora analysiert. Die Korpusanalyse ermöglichte es, die tatsächlich verwendete Sprache zu extrahieren, was es dem Autor ermöglichte, diachrone Veränderungen im Wortschatz über Kategorien hinweg zu bestimmen und so die Lücke zwischen den vorhandenen Kenntnissen des englischen Wortschatzes für Bankenwesen und dem neuesten Stand der Dinge zu schließen. Die Untersuchung zeigte, dass Änderungen sowohl in der Häufigkeit des Auftretens von Begriffen in den 15 analysierten Kategorien als auch in ihrem prozentualen Verhältnis zum Umfang des Korpus im Zeitraum von 15 Jahren eine hohe statistische Signifikanz aufweisen. Forschungsergebnisse können sowohl für Business-Englisch-Dozenten als auch für ihre Studierenden nützlich sein, da die Ergebnisse verschiedene mögliche pädagogische Implikationen haben. Die Forschung kann als Anregung für Linguisten dienen, die in der Korpuslinguistik forschen, weitere Forschungen in anderen Bereichen des Wirtschaftsendlichen durchzuführen, um mögliche Veränderungen in der Sprache zu ermitteln und zu beschreiben. Zu diesen Bereichen könnten gehören: internationaler Handel, Logistik, Großhandel, Einzelhandel, Industrie, Wirtschaftsmedien, Führung, Management, Marketing und Investieren.

**Schlüsselwörter:** Englisch für spezielle Zwecke, Wirtschaftsendlich, Englisch für Bankenwesen, Wortschatz, Unterrichten vom Wirtschaftsendlichen auf tertiärer Ebene

## **CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLES FROM THE WASHINGTON POST AND JUTARNJI LIST REPORTING ON THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC**

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**Abstract:** The COVID-19 pandemic has impacted every aspect of our lives and become the topic of scientific research in various fields. This paper analyses selected newspaper articles from *The Washington Post* and *Jutarnji list*, published from February to May of 2020, based on Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional framework of three stages: description, interpretation, and explanation. At the description level, pandemic-related vocabulary is analysed; at the interpretation level, newspaper discourse is analysed from the perspective of news sources and modes of discourse representation; and at the explanation level the discourse is analysed from the standpoints of the institutional and societal contexts. Analysis revealed a striking difference between *The Washington Post* and *Jutarnji list* in the total number of pandemic-related words. There are 315 pandemic-related words in *The Washington Post* and 707 in *Jutarnji list*. Furthermore, in *The Washington Post*, the focus is on the dangerous aspects of the pandemic, while *Jutarnji list* focuses on certain neutral aspects of the pandemic. At the interpretation level, the results show that *Jutarnji list* used a higher percentage of specified news sources. There are no major differences in the usage of modes of discourse representation. The differences in certain aspects of newspaper discourse at the explanation level reflect a range of ideological differences between the two countries.

**Keywords:** Critical Discourse Analysis, the COVID-19 Pandemic, *The Washington Post*, *Jutarnji List*

### **1. Introduction**

The health crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic has affected countries all over the world in the last couple of years. Dramatic changes have occurred in many countries which have been faced with multiple crises: health, economic, financial, political (Rogić Dumančić, Bogdan and Raguž Krištić 121). In order to slow down the spread of the coronavirus, various restrictive measures were introduced such as lockdown, stay at home orders, travel bans, social and physical distancing, masking, business closure, working from home, online

education etc. Mainstream media around the world, including *The Washington Post* and *Jutarnji list*, have reported on the pandemic, thus becoming a major source of information about the novel coronavirus. *The Washington Post* is an American daily, Pulitzer Prize winning newspaper, one of the greatest newspapers in the country. *Jutarnji list* is a Croatian daily newspaper, one of the leading newspapers in Croatia. Both newspapers report on the pandemic from various perspectives such as public health, economics, politics, international relations, online learning, travel, etc. Media discourse has long been a focus amongst various researchers. An important aspect of research into media discourse is critically evaluating its content. Qualitative research methods, such as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), have been applied to newspapers in particular, since one of the main features of this interdisciplinary approach is analysing the relationship between discourse and various social factors like power relations, ideology, social institutions, globalization. The CDA approach has been most frequently related to the media because they play crucial roles as “discourse-bearing institutions” (Garrett and Bell 6). According to Wodak and Busch (116):

in our more globalizing world, media have gained more power. The impact of media on political developments and decision making has yet to be fully explored. Moreover, the influence of media on the production and reproduction of beliefs, opinions, stereotypes, prejudices, and ideologies also has to be thoroughly investigated and compared throughout different countries worldwide.

According to Fairclough (1995: 47-48) media discourse should be considered as “the site of quite complex and often contradictory processes” since media function ideologically, but at the same time they entertain people, keep them informed about relevant political and social issues, and also reflect and contribute to “shifting cultural values and identities”.

## 2. Theoretical Background

Discourse analysis can be a challenging task because there are different approaches to defining discourse. Various authors have dealt with and contributed to the development of Critical Discourse Analysis. Norman Fairclough (2001: 10), who is considered a founder of this interdisciplinary approach, takes sociology, social semiotics, and systemic functional linguistics as the theoretical foundations of his studies. Critical discourse analysis is first mentioned in his *Language and Power* (2001), which lays the theoretical foundations for the development of this approach. According to Fairclough (2001: 14) CDA focuses on the relationship between discourse, ideology and power in sociocultural contexts. Generally accepted tenet that discourse is language in use is in accordance with the overall aim of CDA “to link linguistic



analysis to social analysis” (Wood and Kroger 2006). According to Wodak (1996: 17-20) CDA is concerned with the linguistic character of social and cultural process; it deals with both power in discourse and power over discourse; not only are society and culture shaped by discourse, at the same time they constitute it; language use may be ideological; discourses can only be understood in relation to their context; critical analysis focuses on a relationship between the text and its social conditions, ideologies and power-relations. The focus of CDA is the analysis of relations between language use and social-cultural structures. Fairclough (1995: 3) emphasizes that linguistic analysis of media, which particularly focuses on newspaper articles, or transcriptions of a radio or television programme, needs to be analysed as discourse because discourse analysis is concerned both with discourse practices as well as texts. For Fairclough (1995: 59) every discursive event has three dimensions: text, discursive practice and social practice. Discursive practice comprises the production and interpretation of texts.

### 2.1. Fairclough’s Three-Dimensional Framework

Fairclough (2001:16) describes language as “a form of social practice” and refers to discourse as a whole process of social interaction, as well as the process of interpretation, with the text being a resource. In this view of discourse text is just a part of it. Due to the fact that discourse is seen as social practice, Fairclough (2001: 21) stresses the importance of analysing not just texts, and processes of production and interpretation, but the relationship between texts, processes and their social conditions. For the purpose of conducting such complex analysis Fairclough (2010: 132) proposes a three-dimensional framework in which discourse involves text, discourse practice and social practice and three dimensions of discourse analysis: description, interpretation, and explanation.

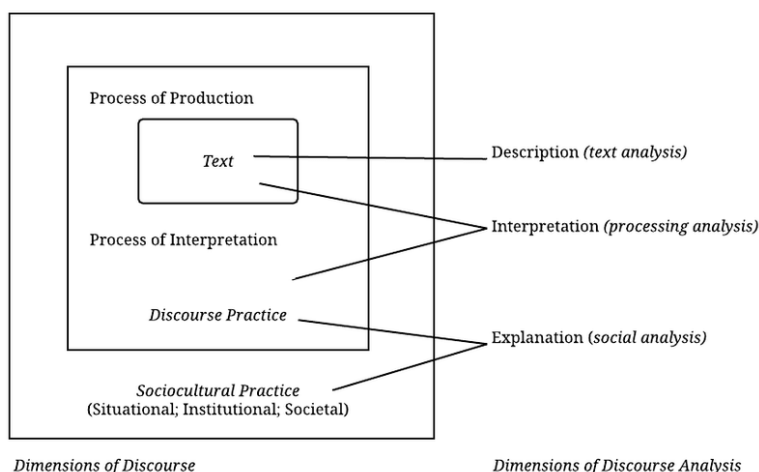


Figure 1 The three-dimensional conception of discourse (Fairclough, 2010: 133)

**Description**

Description deals with formal properties of text, such as vocabulary, grammar, textual structure, sentence types, modes, voice, modality and so forth. In analysing vocabulary, the method “is based upon the assumption that different ways of lexicalizing domains of meaning may include ideologically different systems of classification, so there is an interest in how areas of experience may come to be relexicalized on different classificatory principles” (Fairclough 1992a: 28). Experiential values focus on “the text producer’s experience of the natural or social world” (Fairclough, 2001: 93) and they are reflected by lexical choices. In this type of text analysis vocabulary items, grammatical features and so forth do not have direct significance in themselves, but the focus is on the function they serve at the time of their use especially in relation to their direct or indirect involvement in reproducing or resisting ideology and social power.

**Interpretation**

Interpretation analysis “is concerned with participants’ processes of text production as well as text interpretation” (Fairclough, 2001: 118). This means that the situational context and the intertextual context are central to the process of interpretation. According to Fairclough (1992b: 195), intertextuality refers to the productivity of texts- in which ways texts can transform previous texts and how new texts can be produced. In news reporting journalists rely on information from those who are treated by journalists as reliable sources, “prominent people in various domains of public life- politicians, police and lawyers, many categories of experts, and so forth” (Fairclough 1995: 79). Voices that are found in newspaper articles are considered as discourse representation. This type of discourse representation is “a form of intertextuality in which part of other texts are incorporated into a text and usually explicitly marked as such, with devices such as quotation marks and reporting clauses” (Fairclough, 1992a: 107). Newspaper articles are abundant with various examples of direct and indirect quotations.

**Explanation**

According to Fairclough (2001: 135), the aim of explanation is “to portray a discourse as part of a social process, as a social practice, showing how it is determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourses can cumulatively have on those structures, sustaining them or changing them.” In this view social structures refer to relations of power and social processes and practices refer to social struggle. There are two phases involved in the stage of explanation: social effects of discourse and social determinants of discourse.

Both should be investigated at three levels: in the immediate situation, in the wider institution or organization, and at a societal level.

### 3. Methodology

This paper makes a thorough analysis of newspaper articles reporting on the COVID-19 pandemic, based on Fairclough's three-dimensional framework of three stages: description, interpretation and explanation. Articles selected for the analysis were published in *The Washington Post* and *Jutarnji list* from February to May of 2020, in the early stages of the COVID-19 pandemic. We have selected ten articles from *The Washington Post*, and eighteen articles from *Jutarnji list*. More articles have been chosen from *Jutarnji list* because these articles are mostly shorter than the articles in *The Washington Post*. The total number of words in the articles from *The Washington Post* is 15497, and in the articles from *Jutarnji list* 15248.

At the level of description Fairclough (1992a:75) organizes text analysis under four main headings: 'vocabulary', 'grammar', 'cohesion', and 'text structure'. This paper focuses on vocabulary, with the aim of identifying which words closely related to the pandemic are most frequently used. The comparative study of the reporting on the same situation in two newspapers aims to discover to which extent the assumption that "linguistic codes do not reflect reality neutrally; they interpret, organize, and classify the subjects of discourse" (Fowler 27) is applicable to the chosen newspaper discourse. The aim of this analysis is to reveal the world-views or ideologies as well as try to determine if there are striking differences between an American and a Croatian newspaper in describing the same situation. At the level of interpretation, the paper analyses the production and interpretation processes of news discourse in terms of intertextuality. Since newspaper discourse relies on what people have said, this paper analyses news sources and reporting modes of discourse representation. There are three categories of news sources: specified, semi-specified and unspecified news sources (Zhou, Qin 93). Fairclough (1992a: 107) has classified mode of discourse representation broadly into two types: direct and indirect discourse. There are also examples of indirect speech being used together with direct speech in the same sentence, which is termed preset direct discourse by Vološinov (134). Thus, with the aim of examining how newspaper discourse is produced and interpreted, this paper analyses three reporting modes: direct speech, indirect speech and preset direct speech. According to Fairclough (2001: 135) "explanation is a matter of seeing a discourse as part of processes of social struggle, within a matrix of relations of power." The aim is to depict the mutual effect between discourse and social structure. A piece of discourse, embedded within sociocultural practice, can be investigated at three levels of social organization: the situational level, the institutional level and the societal level. This paper analyses the institutional and the societal level.

#### 4. An analysis of Newspaper Articles in *The Washington Post* and *Jutarnji list* based on CDA

This paragraph analyses newspaper articles reporting on the COVID-19 pandemic in *The Washington Post* and *Jutarnji list* based on Fairclough's three-dimensional framework.

##### 4.1. Description of Newspaper Articles

At the level of description textual analysis of newspaper discourse is conducted. Linguistic features of the text are examined through vocabulary analysis. The following table shows the occurrence and the number of pandemic-related words in the selected articles from *The Washington Post*.

Table 1. Pandemic-related words in *The Washington Post*

Pandemic-related words	Number	Percentage
<b>Virus and disease:</b> coronavirus (81), COVID-19 (18), pandemic (18), spread (17), symptoms (10), disease (9), infection (9), transmission (2), contagious (1), intensive-care unit (1).	166	52.7%
<b>Danger:</b> risk (16), outbreak (16), panic (5), threat (4), damage (2), attack rate (2), hazard (2), crazy (2), fatal (1), erosion (1), dramatic (1), irrational (1), anxiety (1), frenzy (1), pressure (1), frightening (1), calamity (1), destruction (1), carnage (1), suffering (1).	61	19.4%
<b>Prevention and control:</b> quarantine (11), measures (10), social distancing (8), hand sanitizer (7), protective equipment (5), face mask (3), taskforce (2), disinfectant (2), disinfecting wipe (1), protective gear (1).	50	15.8%
<b>Severe consequences:</b> crisis (14), death (12), shutdown (4), job loss (3), hardship (2), recession (2), travel bans (1),	38	12.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100%</b>

Pandemic-related words are grouped in four categories according to their meaning. The highest proportion of words (52.7%) refers to the virus and the disease. Words that evoke danger and have strongly negative meaning account for 19.4% of the total number of words. The third category, which includes words

that refer to the prevention and control of the disease, accounts for 15.8% of the total number of words. The final category, which includes words that evoke severe consequences that the pandemic causes, accounts for 12.1% of the total number of words. The following table shows the occurrence and the number of pandemic-related words in the selected articles from *Jutarnji list*.

Table 2. Pandemic-related words in *Jutarnji list*

Pandemic-related words	Number	Percentage
<b>Virus and disease:</b> koronavirus (coronavirus) (151), zaraza/ zaražen (infection/ infected)(84), slučaj (case) (62), COVID-19 (40), epidemija (epidemic) (31), bolest/ oboljeli (sickness/ the sick) (23), gen/ genska/ genetika (gene/ genetic/ genetics) (22), pandemija (pandemic) (7), simptomi (symptoms) (7), inficiran/ infekcija (infected/ infection) (7), respirator (respirator) (7), bolesnici (patients) (6), širenje (spreading) (5), epicentar/ izvorište (epicentre/ source) (3).	455	64.2%
<b>Prevention and control:</b> mjere (measures) (26), karantena (quarantine) (24), zaštita/ zaštitna oprema/ odijela/ samozaštita (protection/ protective equipment/ protective suits/ self-protection) (7), razmak/ distanciranje (distance/ distancing) (5), testiranje (testing) (5), cjepivo (vaccine) (4), propusnica (pass) (4), skener za mjerenje temperature (temperature scanner) (3), kontrola (control) (3), pregrada od pleksiglasa (plexiglass shield) (2), tunel za dezinfekciju (disinfection tunnel) (2), prijenos (transmission) (2), kontakt (contact) (2), rukavice (gloves) (2), higijena (hygiene) (2), restrikcije/ restriktivne (restriction/ restrictive) (2), zabrana (napuštanja mjesta prebivališta) (prohibiton ( to leave the place of residence)) (2), otvaranje (zemlje, granica) (opening (countries, borders)), (2), potvrda o imunitetu (immunity certificate) (2), pranje ruku (handwashing) (1),	103	14.6%

nuspojave (side effects) (1), samodisciplina (self-discipline) (1), odgovorno ponašanje (responsible behaviour) (1).		
<b>Severe consequences:</b> smrt/ smrtonosan/ smrtnost/ mortalitet/ letalitet ( death/ lethal/ mortality/ lethality), (51), umrli/ umiranje ( the dead/ dying) (26), kriza (crisis) (6), izvanredno stanje (state of emergency) (6), žrtva (victim) (2), posljedice (društveno-gospodarske) (consequences (social-economic)) (2), kontaminiran (contaminated) (1), kritično stanje (critical condition) (1), mrtvačnica (morgue) (1), stigmatizirani (stigmatized) (1), preopterećenost (zdravstvenog sustava) (overload (of the health care system)) (1), recesija (recession) (1).	99	14.1%
<b>Danger:</b> panika (panic) (12), rizik (risk) (10), ugrožen/ ugroza (endangered/ danger) (8), borba/ boriti se (fight/ to fight) (6), rat (war) (2), obrana (defense) (2), katastrofa (catastrophe) (2), nužda (necessity) (2), alarmantna situacija (alarming situation) (1), iracionalan (irrational) (1), prijetnja (threat) (1), zabrinutost (worry) (1), strah (fear) (1), zloglasna (tržnica) (infamous (market))(1).	50	7.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>707</b>	<b>100%</b>

The highest proportion of words (64.2%) refers to the virus and the disease. The second most frequent category includes words that refer to prevention and control of the pandemic (14.6%). The category which includes words that refer to severe consequences of the disease account for 14.1% of the total number. Words that evoke danger account for 7.1% of the total number of words.

#### 4.2. Interpretation of Newspaper Articles

In the second stage of Fairclough's framework, news sources and reporting modes of discourse representation are analysed.

#### 4.2.1. News Sources

News sources refer to individuals, documents, institutions which provide reporters with viewpoints and newsworthy information. Their influence is crucial in the process of news reporting. There are three categories of news sources: specified, semi-specified and unspecified news sources (Zhou, Qin 93). Specified sources refer to those whose name, position or status are explicitly stated in the news. Semi-specified sources are those whose detailed information is not included in the news, but some collective nouns that have general meaning are used instead, such as “scientists say...”. Unspecified sources are those whose information is quite vague and inexplicit such as “according to the report...”. The distribution of news sources is shown in the table below.

Table 3. News sources in *The Washington Post*

	Specified	Semi-specified	Unspecified	Total
Number	178	73	15	266
Percentage	66.9%	27.4%	5.6%	100%

Specified source accounts for the highest proportion among the three types of news sources, 66.9%. Semi-specified source accounts for the second largest proportion, 27.4%, and the unspecified one accounts for quite low proportion, 5.6% of the total percentage of news sources. Some examples of sentences that rely on semi-specified or unspecified source may express certain ideology. Edelman (31) employs the term “reference to mythical groups” or “fictional reference groups and benchmarks”, which are evoked when semi-specified or unspecified sources are used. Here are four examples.

(1) Tehran has come under criticism for its inept and secretive approach to the outbreak, which probably enabled its spread.

(2) Separately, senior U.S. health officials, including Health and Human Services Secretary Alex Azar, were reportedly “blindsided” by Trump’s decision to put Vice President Pence in charge of the country’s coronavirus task force.

(3) President Trump attempted to play down the scale of the threat, even as U.S. officials warned Americans to prepare for a crisis.

(4) Older students may suffer even more from social isolation, experts say, because friends play a far more important role in their lives.

The source in example (1) is unspecified, it is not mentioned who criticised Tehran for using inept and secretive approach in the fight against the pandemic. In this way reporters may attempt to convey their own ideas about the situation in Tehran, allowing for the possibility that they even enabled the virus to spread instead of stopping it. In example (2) source is also unspecified, what is more, the term reportedly is used in reporting on health officials not agreeing with Trump’s decision. This can lead to a conclusion that the reporter does not agree

with Trump's policy and does not support his decisions in the fight against the pandemic. Sentence (3) contains semi-specified source, it shows that U.S. officials, not specified which ones precisely, do not agree with Trump's evaluation of the current situation. In this way readers are guided to a great extent, since these judgments cannot be traced back. In example (4) the semi-specified source, "experts", is used, in the context of online learning during the pandemic. Experts in the field have great authority and readers may be guided to believe that all scientists share this opinion since no determiner before "experts" is used. The credibility of these judgments should be discussed further. The distribution of news sources in the selected articles from *Jutarnji list* is shown in the table below.

Table 4. News sources in *Jutarnji list*

	Specified	Semi-specified	Unspecified	Total
Number	160	13	11	184
Percentage	86.9%	7.1%	6%	100%

Specified source accounts for the highest proportion among the three types of news sources, which is 86,9%. Semi-specified source accounts for the second largest proportion, which is quite low, 7.1 %, and the unspecified one accounts for 6% of the total percentage of news sources. Here are four examples.

(5) Neslužbeno doznajemo da mlađi muškarac koji je pozitivan na koronavirus i nalazi se u klinici "Fran Mihaljević", radi u tvrtki Ericsson Nikola Tesla, a u Milanu je bio na utakmici Lige prvaka Atalanta- Valencia.

(Unofficially, we have found out that a younger man who tested positive for the coronavirus and is in the "Fran Mihaljević" clinic, works at the Ericsson Nikola Tesla company, and was in Milan at the Atalanta-Valencia Champions League match.)

(6) Prema neslužbenim informacijama Jutarnjeg lista, uskoro bi mogao biti potvrđen prvi slučaj koronavirusa u Hrvatskoj.

(According to unofficial information from Jutarnji List, the first case of coronavirus in Croatia could be confirmed soon.)

(7) Prema istraživačima, identifikacija HLA gena neke osobe, što se može učiniti brzo i jeftino, može pomoći u boljem predviđanju težine bolesti, pa čak i identificiranju onih koji će imati najviše koristi od cijepljenja.

(According to researchers, identifying a person's HLA gene, which can be done quickly and cheaply, can help in better prediction of the severity of the disease, and even in identifying those who will benefit most from vaccination.)

(8) Zrakoplovna industrija uvijek iznova naglašava da je zrak u avionima, zahvaljujući kvalitetnim filtrima za čestice, barem jednako čist kao u operacijskim salama.



(Aviation industry repeatedly emphasizes that the air in airplanes, thanks to high-quality particle filters, is at least as clean as in operating rooms.)

In examples (5) and (6) unspecified sources are used in reporting about the first case of the coronavirus in Croatia. At that time everybody was eager to find out about the first cases. Thus, journalists published unconfirmed information about the first victim. Example (7) contains semi-specified source, "istraživači" (researchers), whose opinion on the disease treatment is expressed, but cannot be verified. This suggests that the journalist's opinion may be conveyed in this piece of news discourse. Also, in example (8) semi-specified source is used, "zrakoplovna industrija" (aviation industry), in writing benevolently about the conditions in aeroplanes and safety for passengers during the pandemic comparing it to operating rooms.

#### 4.2.2. Modes of Discourse Representation

Since newspaper articles represent what people have said, reproduce their opinions, they contain different examples of direct and indirect quotations. Direct speech presents a speaker's exact words included in text with quotation marks, usually with a reporting clause. Indirect speech reports the speaker's words without directly quoting them, thus quotation marks are omitted and indirect discourse is realized by a subordinate clause. In Fairclough's opinion (1992a: 107), the boundary between the words of the reported and the words of the reporter is less explicit. Preset direct speech, the term introduced by Vološinov (134), combines both indirect and direct speech in the same sentence. The proportion of modes of discourse representation in selected articles from *The Washington Post* is presented in the table below.

Table 5. Reporting modes in *The Washington Post*

	Direct speech	Indirect speech	Preset direct speech	Total
Number	154	77	25	256
Percentage	60.2%	30.1%	9.7%	100%

Direct speech accounts for 60.2% among the three modes of discourse representation, followed by indirect speech (30.1%) and preset direct speech (9.7%). Indirect speech and preset direct speech together (39.8%) account for a considerable proportion of the reporting modes. In this way reporters can express their viewpoints and ideologies. Here are some examples.

(9) Separately, senior U.S. health officials, including Health and Human Services Secretary Alex Azar, were reportedly "blindsided" by Trump's decision to put Vice President Pence in charge of the country's coronavirus task force.

(10) He too had minimized the threat until just last week, at which point he stopped referring to the novel virus by its scientific name and instead switched to calling it the "Chinese virus".

(11) Painting a squalid if not shocking portrait of sickness behind bars, the inspectors- two veteran D.C. criminal justice experts- said inmates with the virus are isolated and prohibited from showering or cleaning their cells.

In example (9) discourse representation originates from an unspecified source, the word "blindsided" is specially marked with quotation marks, indicating that health officials were apparently caught unawares by Trump's decision. This word is negative, it suggests a harmful or detrimental action. In example (10) "Chinese virus" is marked with quotation marks. It is implied that the virus belongs to China. Both expressions in these two examples are particularly marked, which suggests that reporters disprove of the content of the speech or want to emphasize them. Example (11) represents the category of indirect speech. Initial part of the sentence "painting a squalid if not shocking portrait of sickness behind bars" introduces indirect discourse. Reporter adds his own opinion, uses extremely negative words when referring to the situation in prison, suggesting lack of care for prisoners during the pandemic. The proportion of modes of discourse representation in selected articles from *Jutarnji list* is presented in Table 6.

Table 6. Reporting modes in *Jutarnji list*

	Direct speech	Indirect speech	Preset direct speech	Total
Number	108	77	11	196
Percentage	62.1%	32.3%	5.6%	100%

Direct speech accounts for 62.1% among the three modes of discourse representation, followed by indirect speech (32.3%) and preset direct speech (5.61%). Indirect speech and preset direct speech together (37.9%) account for a considerable proportion of the reporting modes.

(12) Najdalje u tome otišla je Austrija, čiji je konzervativni premijer Sebastian Kurz predstavio "kalendar" postupnog izlaska iz karantene.

(Most unexpectedly acted Austria, whose conservative Prime Minister Sebastian Kurz presented a "calendar" for a gradual exit from quarantine.)

(13) Razloge takvog uspjeha, tvrdi, treba tražiti u tradicionalnoj neslozi pravne teorije, inertnosti i ravnodušnosti pravne i opće javnosti i izolacionističkoj politici Ustavnog suda koji se drži "visoko ko oblak il tron, da ne dopre do njegov niskog tornja zvon"...

(The reasons for such success, he claims, should be sought in the traditional discord of legal theory, the inertness and indifference of the legal and general

public, and the isolationist policy of the Constitutional Court, which is positioned "as high as a cloud or a throne, so that the bell of its lower tower cannot reach it" ...)

(14) Predsjednik Republike Zoran Milanović izjavio je u petak kako se suzdržava od davanja komenara o koronavirusu jer smatra da bi svojim intervencijama unio pomutnju, ali je uvjeren kako Vlada do sada nije napravila nijednu grešku. (The President of the Republic of Croatia, Zoran Milanović, said on Friday that he refrains from commenting on the coronavirus because he believes that his interventions would cause confusion, but he is convinced that the government has not made any mistakes so far.)

In example (12) word "kalendar" ("calendar") is specifically marked with quotation marks, indicating that it is Kurz's word. The reporter particularly marked it, probably to put an emphasis on it since it discusses a hot topic of relaxing COVID-19 control measures. Example (13) exemplifies the usage of both indirect and direct speech in the same sentence. The source of information is the Judge of the Constitutional Court, Andrej Abramović. The initial part of the sentence reports his words without directly quoting them, then continues with direct speech in quotation "...visoko ko oblak il tron, da ne dopre do njeg niskog tornja zvon" (as high as a cloud or a throne, so that the bell of its lower tower cannot reach it"). By employing these words, the judge criticizes the work of the Constitutional Court. Since quotation marks are used, in contrast to the previously used indirect speech, the reporter gives prominence to this statement. Example (14) represents the category of indirect speech. The final part of the sentence, "...ali je uvjeren kako Vlada do sada nije napravila nijednu grešku" ("but he is convinced that the government has not made any mistakes so far") may be understood as an extension or explanation of the previous words, and the reporter's voice can be comprehended as being blended with the news source.

### 4.3. Explanation stage

This part of the paper deals with the analysis of social determinants of discourse considering the institutional and societal contexts.

#### 4.3.1. Institutional and Societal Context

*The Washington Post*, founded in 1877, is an award-winning newspaper, ranked among top ten U.S. newspapers by circulation. While the role of the press is to serve the public by providing newsworthy information, it has also become a business which seeks ways of increasing its revenue, as well as attracting reader's attention. Most news media in the U.S., including newspapers, are market-oriented private companies financed through advertising, and subscriptions (Holcomb and Mitchell). Fairclough (1995: 42) states that the press and commercial broadcasting, being pre-eminently profit-making organizations,

make their profits by selling audiences to advertisers. The history of development of news media in Croatia, on the other hand, is turbulent and very interesting. Thus, in the midst of political, social and economic turmoil at the end of the 1980's, in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, news reporting has become critical to a certain extent, with reporters feeling free to express their own independent opinions, as an instance of resistance to official, somewhat authoritarian official politics. Despite their limited media freedom, newspapers slowly became an independent social factor that began to play a crucial role in creating positive, as well as negative social values (Nacionalni izvještaj o medijima 20). After core political changes at the beginning of the 1990's, new newspapers were founded, mostly as commercial private companies financed through advertising and circulation. One of the leading newspapers in Croatia, *Jutarnji list*, was founded in 1998. It is published by Hanza Media, which promotes it as newspaper of liberal and social democratic orientation.

The U.S. is a world superpower, with the third largest population in the world, and whose economic, military and cultural influence is unprecedented. The Republic of Croatia is a small European country that gained independence in 1991. When WHO proclaimed the COVID-19 pandemic on 11 March 2020, the whole world was caught unawares by the outbreak of this infectious disease. The atmosphere of fear, suffering and death has become a part of people's daily lives. The first case in the U.S. was reported on 21 January 2020 ([History](#)). American public health experts agree that many mistakes were made especially at the beginning of the pandemic. The Trump administration minimized the virus's threat, testing was slow. There was a lack of strong national strategy, authorities' activities in the fight against the virus were uncoordinated. Crisis management was not at the level that was expected from one of the global leaders, which resulted in a very high death rate, with around 1 million deaths (Worldometer). The first case in Croatia was registered on 25 February 2020 (Koronavirus.hr). The government formed a Science Council and National Crisis Headquarters for the COVID-19 pandemic. Very strict measures were introduced to prevent spread of the virus. Later on, measures were relaxed, and there were disagreements between some members of the Council and politicians, about dealing with the pandemic and relaxing measures, which all coincided with the start of the tourist season and the necessity to activate the economy. Statistics show that Croatia ranks seventh in Europe, as of October 2022, with very high incidence of coronavirus deaths per 100,000 population (Stewart).

The analysis of selected articles from *The Washington Post* shows that reporters can be quite critical, for example, of Trump and his administration in the article "China has blood on its hands: Fox News hosts join Trump in blame-shifting". Furthermore, reporters are quite critical towards differences between people related to working from home in the midst of the pandemic that are connected to race and education in the article "Working from home reveals

another fault line in America's racial and educational divide". In *Jutarnji list* reporters do not overtly show such criticism towards the authorities. What is more, they report quite positively on the Prime Minister's activities, which is presented in the article "Plenković s predstavnicima klubova, najavio paket ekonomskih mjera. U ratu smo protiv virusa, panike i društveno-gospodarskih posljedica epidemije" ("Plenković with club representatives announced a package of economic measures. We are at war against virus, panic and the socio-economic consequences of the epidemic"). There's one article which reports an opinion of a Judge of the Constitutional Court, who is openly very critical towards certain legal actions conducted by the government he does not agree with, and finds them unconstitutional, in "Oštro upozorenje Ustavnog suca. Stožer nije imao zakonsko pravo donijeti odluku o zabrani napuštanja mjesta prebivališta i stalnog boravišta" ("A sharp warning from the Constitutional Judge. The headquarters did not have the legal right to decide on the prohibition of leaving the place of residence and permanent residence").

### 5. Discussion and Conclusion

Through analysing newspaper articles from *The Washington Post* and *Jutarnji list*, from February to May of 2020, this paper focuses on the differences and similarities between newspaper discourse of these two respectable newspapers. A critical discourse analysis is conducted through three stages of description, interpretation and explanation. At the description stage the overall analysis shows that there is a noticeable difference in the frequency of occurrence of pandemic-related words. There are 315 words in *The Washington Post* and 707 in *Jutarnji list*. Words used by journalists communicate the messages of a text, in this case about the pandemic, and frame the story in direct ways. It seems as if the surge of the virus is reflected in the abundance of words that are closely related to the pandemic. Thus, articles from *Jutarnji list* are more densely filled with words which evoke this horrendous situation. Another noticeable difference is shown in the frequency of occurrence of words that evoke danger. Such words in *The Washington Post* account for 19.4 % of the total number of words, which is quite high in comparison to the occurrence in *Jutarnji list* (7.1%). There is no big difference in the usage of words that refer to the prevention and control of the disease, 15.8% in *The Washington Post* and 14.6% in *Jutarnji list*. Similarly, there is no big difference in the occurrence of words that evoke severe consequences, 12.1% in *The Washington Post*, and 14.1% in *Jutarnji list*, 14.1%. Journalists in *The Washington Post* put more focus on dangerous aspects of the pandemic, evoke that by using words such as *panic, threat, frenzy, hazard, calamity, anxiety* etc. These results imply that even such powerful country like the U.S. is overwhelmed by this extremely dangerous situation. Journalists in *Jutarnji list* focus more on neutral aspects of the pandemic, but they do evoke dangerous aspects of the pandemic by using words such as *panika*

(*panic*), *borba* (*fight*), *katastrofa* (*catastrophe*), *strah* (*fear*). This is particularly shown in the usage of words related to *death* (*smrt*), there are 51 such occurrences, while in *The Washington Post* word *death* is used 12 times. In Croatia, which is much smaller and less powerful than the U.S., the focus is on words that evoke severe consequences and the outcome of this horrible situation, possibly with the aim of making people more aware of the importance of their own responsibility in the fight against the virus.

At the interpretation level, by comparing the results of the analysis, we can conclude that there are certain differences between them in the usage of types of news sources. The newspaper industry in the U.S. has been in a steady decline, for a number of years, caused by a loss in readership and ad revenue (Adgate). The circulation of weekday newspapers, both print and digital, shows a sharp decline in the last twenty years (Pew Research Centre). Regarding Americans' trust in media, according to Gallup poll conducted in 2022, only 37% of Americans trust newspapers, and 63% say they do not have much confidence in the newspapers or have none at all (Brenan). In Croatia, just like in the U.S., the circulation of newspapers is falling significantly every year (Aztn). Regarding Croatians' trust in media, the results of the research conducted by Promocija Plus Agency show that Croatians trust more television or radio than daily newspapers (IndexHR). Only 22% trust newspapers, almost 33% do not trust them and 39.3% neither trust nor distrust them. Our results show that *The Washington Post* uses 66.9% of specified news sources, while *Jutarnji list* uses a significantly higher percentage, 86.9%. This may suggest that reports in *Jutarnji list* are, to a certain extent, more reliable, exert a higher degree of objectivity and authenticity. If we correlate these results to people trusting newspapers, we can see that far more Americans do not trust them (63%) as opposed to Croatians, with 33% not trusting newspapers. Furthermore, the difference between them is also conspicuous in the usage of semi-specified news sources. *The Washington Post* uses 27.4% of semi-specified sources, while the percentage in *Jutarnji list* is considerably lower, 7.1%. When comparing the usage of unspecified news sources, the difference between them is insignificant. *The Washington Post* has 5.6% of unspecified news sources, and *Jutarnji list* 6%, which confirms that both newspapers very rarely rely on unverified pieces of information. By comparing the results of the analysis related to the usage of reporting modes in news discourse of the two newspapers, we notice that there are insignificant differences between them. The biggest difference is in the usage of preset direct speech, *The Washington Post* has a higher percentage, 9.7%, as opposed to 5.6% in *Jutarnji list*. If we consider the occurrence of both indirect speech and preset direct speech together we come to the following proportions: 39.8% of the total number occurs in *the Washington Post*, 37.9% in *Jutarnji list*. The results show there is no big difference between the two newspapers in modes of representing discourse. We can conclude that by using indirect speech and preset direct

speech reporters are not completely unbiased in their reporting and their ideology is conveyed to a certain extent in the process of production. In this way the medium intervenes in the original voices. Thus, readers even may not be certain which pieces of information come from the news source, which from reporters. We must point out that not all examples of indirect speech as well as preset direct speech, in both newspapers, contain reporters' opinions or ideologies, but they do allow reporters to implicitly express their voices and in that way influence readers.

The analysis at the explanation level shows a noticeable difference between the two newspapers in the usage of semi-specified news sources. We can conclude that, by using more semi-specified sources, reporters from *The Washington Post* more frequently and openly express their own viewpoints, thus making these parts of news discourse ideologically significant. It should be emphasized that *The American Society of Newspaper Editors* has repeatedly been warning for the last ten years that trust in the media is declining, and that the public perceives newspapers as often being biased and leaning towards sensationalism (Malović 10). Fewer instances of semi-specified sources in *Jutarnji list* may indicate that reporters are not being that critical or openly expressing their viewpoints, which may be the result of the past authoritarian political system, the effect of which may still somewhat linger in news reporting when media freedom was quite limited, and politicians influenced media content to a great extent. Media independence should be an indisputable feature of all commercial media. Print media in Croatia are not completely independent, because the content is influenced by the owners whose goal is revenue increase, which points to dependence of editorial policies on advertisers and owners (Nacionalni izvještaj o medijima 12). By conducting a thorough analysis of articles reporting on the COVID-19 pandemic, this paper aspires to help readers to read relevant newspaper content critically and objectively and to enhance their critical awareness. Even though an elaborate analysis is conducted, there are some limitations. In order to obtain more objective results, more articles should be included in the analysis, which could be further analysed at the level of predication, transitivity, modality etc.

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**ANALISI CRITICA DEL DISCORSO DI ARTICOLI DI GIORNALI *WASHINGTON POST* E  
*JUTARNJI LIST* SULLA PANDEMIA DI COVID-19**

La pandemia di COVID-19 ha avuto impatto su ogni aspetto della nostra vita ed è diventata l'argomento di ricerca scientifica in vari campi. Vengono analizzati articoli scelti dal *Washington Post* e *Jutarnji list*, pubblicati da febbraio a maggio 2020, basati sull'analisi tridimensionale di Norman Fairclough, la quale include tre fasi: la descrizione, l'interpretazione e la spiegazione. In fase della descrizione viene analizzato il vocabolario relativo alla pandemia, poi al livello di interpretazione vengono analizzati le fonti di notizie e i modi di rappresentazioni di un discorso, ed al livello esplicativo il discorso è analizzato in contesti istituzionali e sociali. L'analisi ha rivelato notevole differenza tra il *Washington Post* e *Jutarnji list* nel totale numero di parole relative alla pandemia. Ci sono 315 parole relative alla pandemia in *Washington Post* e 707 in *Jutarnji list*. Inoltre, in *Washington Post*, l'attenzione si concentra sugli aspetti pericolosi della pandemia e in *Jutarnji list* si concentra sugli aspetti neutrali della pandemia. Al livello d'interpretazione i risultati mostrano che *Jutarnji list* utilizza una percentuale maggiore di fonti di notizie specificate. Non ci sono grandi differenze nell'uso delle modalità di rappresentazione del discorso. Le differenze degli aspetti del discorso quotidiano al livello esplicativo riflettono le ideologie diverse tra i due paesi.

**Parole chiave:** Analisi critica del discorso, la pandemia di COVID-19, *Washington Post*, *Jutarnji list*



## **JEZIK I PANDEMIJA KORONAVIRUSA: NEOLOGIZMI U ITALIJANSKOM JEZIKU ŠTAMPE**

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**Sažetak:** Pandemija kovida 19, proglašena od strane Svetske zdravstvene organizacije 11. marta 2020. godine, uslovlila je promene u različitim aspektima svakodnevnog života. U ovome radu bavili smo se jezičkim promenama u italijanskom jeziku koje su se manifestovale stvaranjem novih reči, poprimanjem novih značenja već postojećih reči i pozajmljivanjem stranih reči. Cilj nam je bio da predstavimo i istražimo italijanske neologizme povezane sa pandemijom novog koronavirusa prikupljane u periodu između marta 2020. godine i februara 2022. godine iz članaka italijanskih štampanih i onlajn dnevnih novina *Corriere della Sera* i *La Repubblica*. Sprovedeno istraživanje je pokazalo da su leksički neologizmi znatno brojniji od semantičkih neologizama, kao i da je najzastupljenije tvorbeno gnezdo obrazovano oko pozajmljenice *covid*.

**Ključne reči:** neologizmi, kovid 19, pandemija, italijanski jezik

### **1. Uvod**

Budući da jezik predstavlja sistem u neprekidnoj evoluciji koji odražava našu stvarnost, situacija uzrokovana pandemijom kovida 19 izazvala je, sasvim razumljivo, pored ostalih, i jezičke promene koje se ogledaju u nastanku novih reči, preuzimanju novih pozajmljenica i stvaranju novih značenja postojećih reči.

Predmet ovoga istraživanja su italijanski neologizmi povezani sa pandemijom kovida 19, te ćemo ih, u skladu sa odgovarajućom literaturom iz ove oblasti, posmatrati iz dva ugla – leksičkog i semantičkog. U okviru leksičkih neologizama predstavimo prikupljene pozajmljenice i skraćnice<sup>1</sup> ispitaćemo njihovu produktivnost u tvorbi novih reči, dok ćemo, baveći se semantičkim neologizmima, ukazati na njihova nova značenja nastala usled uticaja pandemije kovida 19. Glavni cilj našega rada jeste da, služeći se primerima preuzetim iz

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<sup>1</sup> Micheli (168, 172) među mehanizme za građenje novih reči ubraja i skraćivanje.

italijanske dnevne štampe<sup>2</sup>, prikažemo, opišemo i sistematizujemo neologizme nastale u okvirima italijanskih novinskih članaka čija je tema, u raznim okvirima, bila pandemija koronavirusa u Italiji i svetu. Palermo (165), Bonomi (195–196), Adamo i Della Valle (2017, 22) beleže da dnevna štampa, zahvaljujući svojoj informativnoj funkciji, učestvuje u bogaćanju leksičkog fonda kako tvorbom novih reči, tako i prodiranjem termina<sup>3</sup> u svakodnevni jezik i pozajmljivanjem stranih reči. Građu za ovo istraživanje prikupili smo iz štampanih i onlajn izdanja dnevnih novina *Corriere della Sera* i *La Repubblica*, objavljivanih od marta 2020. godine do februara 2022. godine.

Neologizmi se u literaturi definišu kao nove reči kojima se bogati leksički fond (Beccaria 530; Dardano 127; Piro 188; Serianni i Antonelli 201). Najčešće nastaju iz potrebe da se imenuje novi predmet ili pojam i predstavljaju, zapravo, sposobnost jednog jezika da se prilagodi istorijskim, kulturnim i društvenim promenama, kao i naučnim i tehnološkim inovacijama (Adamo i Della Valle 2017, 7).

Kao što smo već naveli, neologizmi mogu biti leksički ili semantički (Aprile 61). U leksičke neologizme Aprile (61) ubraja pozajmljenice i reči nastale posredstvom procesa tvorbe reči<sup>4</sup>, navodeći da se oni lako prepoznaju s obzirom na to da je reč o leksemama koje ranije nisu postojale, kao što su to, na primer, *gettonista*, *resettare*, *glocal*. S druge strane, semantički neologizmi<sup>5</sup> se odnose na promenu značenja ili stvaranje novih značenja postojećih reči (Aprile 61; Cardinale 35). Tako, na primer, Cardinale (58) navodi primer promene značenja reči *cabina* ('zatvorena prostorija na brodu ili plaži') koja postaje deo izraza *cabina di regia* u značenju „akustično izolovana prostorija iz koje režiser upravlja televizijskim programima“, koji je, pak, dobio i novo pravno-političko značenje ('telo koje rešava sporove i donosi odluke u krucijalnim momentima') u okviru Vlada italijanske Druge i Treće republike. Nastanak semantičkih neologizama vrlo često predstavlja prelazak reči iz jednog u drugi, uglavnom stručniji, domen upotrebe, kao što je slučaj sa rečju *campana* ('zvono'), čije je novo značenje „kontejner u obliku zvona koji služi za razvrstavanje otpada“ (Adamo i Della Valle

<sup>2</sup> U ovome radu, radi predstavljanja što većeg broja primera, a zbog nedostatka prostora, nećemo uvek navoditi cele rečenice u kojima se javljaju neologizmi, već ćemo u nekim slučajevima, kao npr. kod veoma zastupljenih tvorbenih gnezda obrazovanih oko pozajmljenica *Covid* i *Zoom*, samo izdvojiti prikupljene neologizme.

<sup>3</sup> Na primer, upravo je upotreba termina poput *anticorpi*, *incubazione*, *intubare*, *estubare* u jeziku dnevne štampe (i uopšte u jeziku medija) u doba pandemije kovida 19 doprinela širenju medicinskih termina u svakodnevnom jeziku.

<sup>4</sup> U italijanskoj literaturi neologizmi nastali prefiksacijom, sufiksacijom i slaganjem nazivaju se i *neologismi combinatori* (Dardano 127), *neologismi derivativi* (Serianni i Antonelli 201), *neologismi di combinazione* (Idem).

<sup>5</sup> Ovaj pojam se u italijanskom jeziku označava još i terminom *neosemie*, koji je uveo Tulio De Mauro (Adamo i Della Valle 2017, 7).

2017, 111–112). Adamo i Della Valle (2017, 112–124) navode da semantički neologizmi mogu imati svojstva metafore, metonimije, antonomazije, dijalektizama, leksičkog kalka ili pozajmljenica.

U centralnom delu ovoga rada bavićemo se najpre leksičkim neologizmima povezanim sa pandemijom novog koronavirusa. U prvom potpoglavlju posvećenom leksičkim neologizmima (2.1.1), naša pažnja biće usmerena na prikupljene pozajmljenice koje je italijanski jezik preuzeo u 21. veku<sup>6</sup>. S jedne strane, bavićemo se njihovim značenjem, a s druge strane analiziraćemo nove reči motivisane takvim pozajmljenicama. U 2.1.2. fokusiraćemo se na leksičke neologizme u čijem sastavu nema stranih leksema kojima se italijanski leksički fond bogatio u 21. veku. Potpoglavlje 2.1.3 posvećeno je skraćenicama povezanim sa pandemijom kovida 19. U 2.2 prikazaćemo prikupljene semantičke neologizme i ukazaćemo na njihova nova značenja nastala usled pandemije. U poslednjem poglavlju našega rada (3) iznećemo zaključna razmatranja.

## 2. Analiza korpusa

### 2.1. Leksički neologizmi

#### 2.1.1. Pozajmljenice preuzete u 21. veku

Pozajmljenice predstavljaju reči stranog porekla preuzete u originalnom ili prilagođenom obliku (Adamo i Della Valle 2008, 71; Cardinale 36). Mogu biti *prestiti di necessità* ('pozajmljenice iz nužde'), koje imenuju još uvek nepoznate pojmove stranog porekla, ili *prestiti di lusso* ('pozajmljenice iz luksuza'), čije je pozajmljivanje uslovljeno prestižom stranog jezika (Adamo i Della Valle 2008, 71; Dardano 132). U italijanskom jeziku pozajmljuju se najčešće imenice, koje ostaju nepromenljive. Posebna vrsta pozajmljenica je kalk, koji može biti semantički (*semantico*) ili prevodni (*di traduzione*) (Dardano 132). U prvom slučaju italijanska reč preuzima novo značenje, a u drugom italijanskim elementima se prevode elementi stranog porekla.

2.1.1.1. Najfrekventnija pozajmljenica u našem korpusu je internacionalizam *covid*. Svetska zdravstvena organizacija zaraznu respiratornu bolest izazvanu virusom *Sars-Cov-2* nazvala je 11. februara 2020. godine *covid 19*. *Covid* predstavlja akronim engleskih reči *Corona Virus Disease*, a broj 19 odnosi se na 2019. godinu u kojoj je ova bolest identifikovana u Kini. Italijanski jezik je pozajmio ovaj anglicizam, a oblik *covid / Covid* bez oznake godine ubrzo se proširio u italijanskoj štampi (Pietrini 13).

Naša analiza tekstova italijanskih dnevnih novina je pokazala da je frekventnost terminâ *SARS-CoV-2*, naziva za virus koji prouzrokuje kovid 19, i *coronavirus*, uobičajenog naziva virusa, manja od frekventnosti termina *covid*

<sup>6</sup> O hronološkom pregledu pozajmljenica u italijanskom jeziku v. npr. u Aprile 99–117, D'Achille 72–83 i Piro 204–216.

(19), što se može objasniti činjenicom da govornik teži da za imenovanje pojmova koristi što jednostavnije reči i izraze (Duarte 169).

Akronim *Covid* može imati imeničku ili pridevsku funkciju. Prilikom upotrebe ovog akronima sa imeničkom funkcijom javljaju se oscilacije u rodu (SgROI 2020<sup>7</sup>, Devoto i Oli 2022). U našem korpusu nalazimo primere i muškog (*il Covid*) (1) i ženskog (*la Covid*) roda (2). Marazzini (134–137) smatra da reč *Covid* treba upotrebljavati u ženskom rodu jer se ta reč odnosi na imenicu ženskog roda *malattia* ('bolest'). Međutim, SgROI (2020)<sup>8</sup> beleži da je frekventnija upotreba u muškom rodu, što naš korpus potvrđuje. Naime, imenica *la covid* upotrebljena je samo devedeset tri puta, dok se imenica muškog roda *il covid* javlja 5892 puta. Dodeljivanje muškog roda imenici *covid* objašnjava se činjenicom da je većina imenica sa završetkom na suglasnik u italijanskom jeziku muškoga roda (SgROI 2020<sup>9</sup>), kao i time što se *covid* može odnositi na imenicu muškog roda *virus* (Di Pace i Pannain 141).

U italijanskom jeziku leksema *Covid* ima nekoliko značenja (SgROI 51). Može označavati virus ili bolest izazvanu virusom, kao u (1) i (2), obolelu osobu (3) ili period pandemije kovida (4).

(1) Nonostante fosse positiva al Covid era uscita di casa. (Corriere della Sera, 20.1.2022)

(2) La Commissione Europea ha concluso i colloqui esplorativi con Biontech e Pfizer per l'acquisto di un potenziale vaccino contro la Covid-19. (La Repubblica, 5.9.2020)

(3) Entro domenica, aggiunge il direttore generale, vorrei raggruppare tutti i Covid nella nuova palazzina. (La Repubblica, 16.5.2020)

(4) Arriva il terzo anno di scuola Covid. (La Repubblica, 4.11.2021)

Akronim *Covid* ima pridevsku vrednost u brojnim dvočlanim imeničkim složenicama tipa imenica + *Covid*. *Covid* u tom slučaju predstavlja *determinante*, tj. član složenice koji bliže određuje upravni član (*determinato*), tj. imenicu iza koje stoji. Takve tvorenice svedoče o društvenim promenama izazvanim pandemijom i u zavisnosti od značenja leksema *Covid*, mogu se razvrstati u dve semantičke grupe. U prvu grupu svrstavamo složenice u kojima *Covid* ima značenje bolesti ili virusa. U takvim primerima ta leksema bliže određuje imenice koje označavaju: a) obolele osobe (npr. *malati covid*, *pazienti Covid-19*), b) osobe koje leče bolest (npr. *medico Covid*, *infermiera Covid*), c) mesto za lečenje bolesti (npr. *reparti Covid*, *ambulanza Covid*, *clinica Covid*), d) način dijagnostikovanja zaraze ovim virusom (npr. *test Covid*, *tampone Covid*), e) mere predviđene za suzbijanje kovida (npr. *quarantena Covid*, *vaccino Covid*, *passaporto Covid*,

<sup>7</sup>[https://www.treccani.it/magazine/lingua\\_italiana/articoli/scritto\\_e\\_parlato/Covid.html](https://www.treccani.it/magazine/lingua_italiana/articoli/scritto_e_parlato/Covid.html). 23.1.2022.

<sup>8</sup> Idem

<sup>9</sup> Idem

*decreto Covid*), f) posledice koje je izazvao kovid (npr. *morti Covid*, *vittime Covid*). Drugoj grupi pripadaju složenice u kojoj *Covid* ima značenje „u periodu pandemije kovida”. Ovu grupu čine složenice u kojima *Covid* bliže određuje imenice koje se odnose na vanredno stanje (npr. *emergenza Covid-19*), imenice koje se tiču skupa mera donetih radi oporavka od ekonomske krize prouzrokovane pandemijom (npr. *fondi Covid*, *sussidi Covid*, *rimborsi Covid*), kao i imenice koje se odnose na različite sfere života u novonastaloj situaciji (npr. *Natale Covid*, *scuola Covid*, *prof Covid*). Primeri u kojima upravni član sintagme stoji iza konstituenta koji ga bliže određuje pozajmljeni su iz engleskog jezika i nisu brojni u našoj građi (npr. *Covid hotel*, *Covid hospital*, *Covid party*, *Covid pass*, *Covid test*, *Covid time*).

U analiziranom korpusu srećemo i složenicu *Covid free* (*Covid-free*) pozajmljenu iz engleskog jezika. Rečnik *Nuovo Devoto–Oli 2022* beleži da ima značenje „bez kovida”. Ova pozajmljenica u italijanskom jeziku ima pridevsku vrednost, stoji iza imenica i označava da se na nekom mestu ili u nekoj sredini ne nalaze osobe zaražene kovidom 19 (Devoto i Oli 2022). Analiza našega korpusa je pokazala da se ova složenica najčešće koristi sa imenicama koje imenuju geografske pojmove, ustanove i ugostiteljske objekte (npr. *Basilicata Covid free*, *Grecia Covid free*, *isole Covid free*, *Liguria Covid free*, *ristoranti Covid free*, *ospedale Covid-free*, *scuola Covid free*, *regione Covid free*, *città Covid free*, *spiaggia Covid free*, *residenza Covid free*). Javlja se i sa imenicama sa značenjem događaja u kojima nema opasnosti od zaražavanja (npr. *fiesta Covid free*, *concerto Covid free*, *manifestazione Covid free*, *matrimonio Covid free*). Može stajati i iza imenica sa značenjem prevoznih sredstava (npr. *Frecciarossa Covid free*, *treno Covid free*, *aerei Covid free*). U Rečniku *Nuovo Devoto–Oli 2022* dalje se navodi da su neko mesto ili sredina *covid free* jer u njima nije zabeležen nijedan (novi) slučaj kovida (kao u primeru 5) ili da je to rezultat mera za suzbijanje pandemije, kao i kontrole sprovođenja tih mera (6), (7). Te mere mogu podrazumevati posedovanje negativnog testa na kovid (6) ili vakcinaciju (7).

(5) Campofelice, paese Covid free “Pure il virus non trova la strada” (La Repubblica, 14.4.2021)

(6) È partito dalla stazione di Roma Termini alle 8.50, destinazione Milano Centrale, il primo treno alta velocità Frecciarossa covid-free. (La Repubblica, 16.4.2021)

(7) Nel giro di poche settimane, anche figli e nuore sono stati immunizzati e poco dopo anche è arrivata la bella notizia: il nostro nipote sedicenne, ha potuto accedere al vaccino. Quindi siamo una famiglia Covid-free, da nonno a nipote. (La Repubblica, 5.5.2021)

Druge složenice sa pridevskom vrednošću čiji je jedan od konstituenta *Covid* pozajmljene iz engleskog jezika nisu česte u ispitanom korpusu. Zabeležili smo samo primere sa pozajmljenicama *Covid-tested* i *Covid-like* (npr. *volo Covid-tested*, *vacanze Covid tested*, *passaggeri Covid tested*, *polmonite Covid-like*).

Italijanski jezik je pozajmio i anglicizam *Long Covid* koji označava posledice kovida 19 kod osoba koje su preležale akutnu fazu bolesti. Ova pozajmljenica može se upotrebljavati sa imeničkom vrednošću, kao u (8) ili sa pridevskom vrednošću, kao u sledećim primerima: *sindrome long Covid, incubo long Covid, pazienti long Covid, effetti long-Covid, ambulatorio Long Covid*.

(8) Anche i casi "leggeri" possono causare il long Covid. (Corriere della Sera, 17.1.2022)

Jedan od načina bogaćenja leksičkog fonda italijanskog jezika je i prefiksacija. Prefiks latinskog porekla *extra-* koristi se za prefiksaciju lekseme *Covid* sa značenjem „koji se ne odnose na bolest” (npr. *sanità extra Covid, malati di patologie extra Covid, interventi chirurgici e ambulatoriali extra-Covid*) ili „koji se ne odnosi na doba pandemije kovida” (npr. *esami extra Covid, notizie extra Covid, problemi extra Covid*). U istom značenju sa akronimom *Covid* koristi se odrični prilog *non*, koji, kao što navode Dardano (62–64), Micheli (50) i Piro (194), može imati funkciju prefiksa: *malati non Covid, patologie non-Covid, reparti non-Covid, pazienti non-Covid, ospedali non Covid, casi non Covid, sanità non Covid, malattie non Covid*.

*Covid* sa prefiksom *anti-* obrazuje prefiksale sa značenjem „koji je usmeren ka borbi protiv kovida”. Ti prefiksali koriste se u pridevskoj funkciji i mogu modifikovati imenice sa značenjem plana, pravila ili mera koje se donose radi suzbijanja širenja virusa (npr. *piano anti-Covid, programma anti-Covid, misure anti Covid, regole anti Covid, restrizioni anti-Covid, provvedimento anti-Covid*). Prefiks *anti-* može se koristiti i sa značenjem „koji pruža zaštitu od virusa”, npr.: *farmaco anti coronavirus, mascherine anti coronavirus, pastiglie anti-Covid, pillole anti Covid, siero anti Covid, spray nasale anti-Covid, vaccino anti Covid*. Prefiks *anti-* pojavljuje se i u prefiksima koji označavaju suprostavljanje sprovođenju mera donetih u cilju suzbijanja kovida, npr. *protesta anti lockdown, prof anti-AstraZeneca, sindaco anti Vax, proteste anti-Covid, vaccino anti Sars-CoV-2*.

U analiziranom korpusu beležimo i prefiksale sa prefiksima *pre-* i *post-* koji se odnose na vreme pre i posle pojave kovida. U korpusu uočavamo prefiksale sa *pre-* i sa imenicama *coronavirus* i *covid* sa imeničkom vrednošću (il *pre-coronavirus*) ili sa pridevskom vrednošću (npr. *periodo pre coronavirus, epoca pre coronavirus, era pre-corona, tempo precoronavirus, anno pre-Covid, epoca pre-Covid, era pre-Covid, traffico pre-coronavirus*).

Prefiks *post-* koristi se za obrazovanje prefiksala koji se odnose na period posle pandemije kovida 19. Ti prefiksali imaju pridevsku vrednost i modifikuju imenice koje pripadaju različitim sferama života, poput posla (npr. *lavoro post coronavirus, coworking post Covid*), transporta (npr. *mobilità post-coronavirus*), ugostiteljstva i turizma (npr. *ristorazione post-Covid, turismo post Covid, primo viaggio post Covid, mete estere post-Covid, vacanze post Covid*), sporta (npr. *calcio post Covid, scudetto post Covid*), oporavka (npr. *ripresa post corona*,



*rinascita post Covid, ripartenza post Covid*), škole (*scuola post-Covid*), pozorišta (npr. *teatri post Covid, prima post Covid*). Kao što se može i videti iz navedenih primera, u italijanskom jeziku nije usklađeno pisanje ovog prefiksala, te se mogu naći primeri i sa crticom i bez nje.

2.1.1.2. Ispitani italijanski dnevni listovi posvećuju veliku pažnju vakcinaciji i protivljenju vakcinaciji, pa je u novinskim tekstovima često zastupljen anglicizam *vax*, skraćenica engleskih imenica *vaccine* ili *vaccination*. Ovaj anglicizam sa prefiksom *no-* obrazuje pseudoanglicizam *no Vax*, koji se u italijanskom jeziku koristi od 1998. godine (Devoto i Oli 2022), ali je njegova upotreba postala frekventnija tokom pandemije kovida 19. Prefiks *no vax* može imati imeničku vrednost, kao što ilustruje primer (9) ili pridevsku vrednost, kao u sledećim primerima: *medici no Vax, genitori no Vax, arcivescovo no Vax, popolo no vax, deputata No Vax, lavoratori No Vax, studenti No Vax, tennista no Vax, calciatori no Vax, propaganda No Vax, campagna No Vax, protesta No Vax*.

(9) Salgono i positivi ma i no vax insistono “Non ci vaccineremo”. (La Repubblica, 16.7.2021)

Prema tvorbenom modelu *no vax* nastali su neologizmi *Ni vax* i *Boh vax* (10). Prefiks *Ni vax* označava osobu koja nije zauzela stav o neophodnosti ili koristi vakcinacije, iz čega proizilazi velika doza sumnjičavosti prema mogućnosti vakcinacije (Treccani 2021). Taj neologizam sastoji se od anglicizma *vax* i kovanice *ni*. Prilog *ni*, nastao ukrštanjem reči *no* i *sì*, iskazuje neodređeni odgovor na postavljeno pitanje (npr. *Ti è piaciuto il film? Ni.*<sup>10</sup>). Neologizam *Boh vax* iskazuje neodlučnost u pogledu vakcinacije. Čine ga uzvik *boh*, koji služi za iskazivanje nesigurnosti, i anglicizam *vax*.

(10) Si tratta dunque di aggredire lo zoccolo duro dei No Vax, Ni Vax e Boh Vax che, non vaccinandosi, mette a rischio non solo la salute collettiva ma anche la ripresa economica. (La Repubblica, 12.9.2021)

U našem korpusu javljaju se i antonimi prefiksala *no vax*. To su *pro vax* (11), pozajmljenica iz engleskog jezika preuzeta 2017. godine (Treccani 2021), i prefiks *sì vax* (12). Zapažamo da se u obrađenim novinskim člancima *pro vax* i *sì vax* upotrebljavaju u manjoj meri u odnosu na prefiks *no vax*, na osnovu čega se može zaključiti da novinari posvećuju veliku pažnju protivnicima vakcinacije.

(11) Padova, la storia di Tania, da No vax a testimonial Pro vax: “Si muore di Covid, non di vaccino”. (La Repubblica, 31.8.2021)

(12) I ragazzi “sì vax” in coda fino all’alba per l’iniezione. (La Repubblica, 7.6.2021)

U našoj građi srećemo i anglicizam *no mask* kojim se označava protivljenje nošenju maski (Treccani 2021). Ova pozajmljenica može imati imeničku (13) ili pridevsku funkciju. U pridevskoj funkciji koristi se sa imenicama koje označavaju osobe (npr. *maestra no mask, fruttivendolo no mask, genitori no mask*,

<sup>10</sup> Primer je preuzet iz *Nuovo Devoto–Oli 2022*.

*passenger no mask, attore no mask*) ili mesta (npr. *hotel no mask, convegni no mask, piazze no-mask*).

(13) Come se non bastassero i no mask, i no vax e i no Green Pass, ora abbiamo anche i no tamp. (La Repubblica, 31.7.2021)

U primeru (13) uočavamo još dva prefiksala nastala prema tvorbenom modelu *no + x*, preuzetom iz engleskog jezika, koji označavaju stav prema poštovanju mera za suzbijanje pandemije ili prema vakcinaciji. Navedeni primer (13), naime, sadrži prefiks *no tamp*, koji označava protivnike testiranja na kovid, kao i prefiks *no Green Pass*, kojim se iskazuju protivnici korišćenja sanitarnih propusnica. Uz tvorenice sa značenjem protivljenja upotrebi kovid-propusnica koriste se imenice koje označavaju proteste protiv njihove upotrebe (npr. *corteo no pass, manifestazione no-pass, scontri No Green pass, proteste No Pass*) ili nosioce zanimanja koji im se protive (npr. *prof No Green Pass, docenti no Green Pass*).

2.1.1.3. Pozajmljenica *green pass / Green Pass* označava potvrdu o vakcinaciji, preležanoj bolesti u poslednjih šest meseci ili negativan rezultat testa na kovid. Ta potvrda omogućuje korišćenje javnog prevoza, odlazak na posao, školu, fakultet, putovanja, učešće u brojnim kulturnim i sportskim aktivnostima. U italijanskom jeziku sintagma *green pass* najčešće označava kovid-propusnicu koju je Vlada Italije uvela 22.4.2021<sup>11</sup>, nazvavši je „certificazione verde COVID-19“. Međutim, u italijanskoj dnevnoj štampi, kao i na internetu brojni su primeri upravo sintagme *green pass*, što je dovelo do širenja njene upotrebe u svakodnevnom govoru. U početku je *green pass* u italijanskim medijima označavao sanitarnu propusnicu uvedenu u Izraelu, pa je italijanski jezik medija zajedno sa pojmom iz Izraela preuzeo i pozajmljenicu *green pass*. Kasnije je ta pozajmljenica označavala kovid-propusnice i u drugim državama, pa i u Italiji<sup>12</sup>.

Usled promenljivosti epidemiološke situacije odlukom Vlade Italije 6.12.2021. uvedena je nova vrsta sanitarne propusnice, sertifikat koji se dodeljuje osobama vakcinisanim sa dve doze vakcine ili osobama koje su preležale kovid u poslednjih šest meseci.<sup>13</sup> Novonastala situacija uslovlila je stvaranje novih reči. Pozajmljenici *green pass* je, radi označavanja nove vrste kovid-propusnice, dodat italijanski pridev *rafforzato* ili prefiks latinskog porekla *super-*, usled čega su nastale sintagme *Green Pass rafforzato* (14) i *super Green Pass* (15), dok je propusnica koja se može dobiti i nakon negativnog testa (a ne samo nakon vakcinacije ili preležane bolesti) nazvana *green pass base* (16).

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.normattiva.it/uri-res/N2Ls?urn:nir:stato:decreto.legge:2021;52~art9-com2-leta.28.2.2022>.

<sup>12</sup> Pored pozajmljenice *green pass* u italijanskom jeziku koriste se i *certificazione verde, certificato verde, passaporto verde*.

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.confcommercio.it/-/faq-super-green-pass.13.3.2022>.

(14) Solo i vaccinati e i guariti otterranno il nuovo Green Pass rafforzato che complica la vita dei No Vax. (La Repubblica, 24.11.2021)

(15) Il giorno del super Green Pass si avvicina, ma i no-vax non si vogliono arrendere. (La Repubblica, 25.9.2021)

(16) Scatta domani, il 20 gennaio 2022, l'obbligo di esibire il green pass base se si va dal parrucchiere, dal barbiere o nei centri estetici. (Corriere della Sera, 19.1.2022)

2.1.1.4. Novi načini rada i obrazovanja u uslovima pandemije i upotreba aplikacije Zoom doveli su do nastanka dvočlanih konstrukcija sa tvorbenim nizom oko jezgra *Zoom*. Pored složenica koje označavaju susrete posredstvom aplikacije *Zum* (npr. *incontro Zoom*, *riunione Zoom*, *conferenza Zoom*, *videochiamata Zoom*, *appuntamento Zoom*, *videoconferenza Zoom*), zabeležili smo i složenicu *saluto Zoom*, koja iskazuje način ponašanja na početku ili na kraju sastanka. U svim prikupljenim primerima pozajmljenica *Zoom* ima determinativnu funkciju i stoji iza imenica. Složenice sa konstituentom *Zoom* i sa drugim konstituentom engleskog porekla su retke (npr. *Zoom-generation*, *zoom-bombing*, *zoom-work*). U našem korpusu pojavljuje se i anglicizam *Zoom-free* upotrebljen sa pridevskom vrednošću sa značenjem „bez upotrebe Zuma”:

(17) I venerdì dovranno essere “Zoom-free”, senza videochiamate. (La Repubblica, 19.4.2021)

2.1.1.5. U našoj građi pojavljuju se i anglicizam *passenger locator form* i pseudoanglicizam *near working*. Prva navedena pozajmljenica predstavlja digitalni formular o podacima putovanja koji popunjavaju putnici pre nego što uđu u pojedine države. U ispitanim tekstovima koristi se i njena skraćena *Plf* (18).

(18) Tra i Paesi che richiedono il Plf ci sono ad esempio la Grecia, la Spagna, l'isola di Malta, Cipro, il Regno Unito [...] (La Repubblica, 20.6.2021)  
Pseudoanglicizam *near working* označava mogućnost za rad blizu mesta u kojem se stanuje (19).

(19) Una delle chiavi sarà il near working, fuori casa ma vicino all'abitazione, per ridurre al minimo gli spostamenti. (Corriere della Sera, 13.9.2021)

## 2.1.2. Neologizmi koji nisu motivisani pozajmljenicama preuzetim u 21. veku

U ovome potpoglavlju prikazaćemo italijansku složenicu uočenu u našem korpusu i prikupljene kolokacije koje ne sadrže lekseme pozajmljene u 21. veku.

U okviru neologizama nastalih slaganjem, zapažamo dvočlanu imeničku složenicu *nave quarantena*<sup>14</sup>, nastalu kombinovanjem elemenata *nave*, imenice

<sup>14</sup> Premda složenicu *nave quarantena* nismo uočili u ispitanoj literaturi, valja napomenuti da su se brodovi kao mesta za izolaciju koristili i u srednjem veku. Kenny (38) naime beleži

latinskog porekla, i *quarantena*, imenice koja potiče iz venecijanskog dijalekta. Ta složenica imenuje kruzere koji se, prema Dekretu Civilne zaštite<sup>15</sup> od 12. aprila 2020. godine, koriste kao karantin za migrante pristigle u Italiju, kao u (20). Iako zakon predviđa desetodnevnu izolaciju, trajanje izolacije se može produžiti, npr. usled nedostatka slobodnih mesta u prihvatnim centrima (Anderlini i Di Meo 2021<sup>16</sup>).

(20) I migranti saranno trasferiti sulla nave quarantena. (La Repubblica, 29.12.2021)

U našem korpusu uočavamo i kolokacije sačinjene od imenica i prideva, kao npr. *nuova normalità*. Ova kolokacija iskazuje novu situaciju u svakodnevnom životu kojem se ljudi vraćaju nakon karantina, ali u kojoj se moraju primenjivati mere zaštite od kovida.

(21) La nuova normalità dovrà essere ricostruita sulle macerie della vita di una volta. (La Repubblica, 13.1.2022)

Kolokacije sačinjene od imenice *zona* i prideva koji označavaju boje (*zona rossa*, *zona arancione*, *zona gialla*, *zona bianca*) odnose se na rasprostranjenost zaraženih osoba kovidom u italijanskim regijama i na mere koje se, u skladu sa odlukama Vlade Italije, preduzimaju radi sprečavanja širenja virusa. Valja napomenuti da *zona rossa* i *zona gialla* predstavljaju semantičke neologizme, budući da su označavale zone na koje je bila podeljena Đenova tokom sastanka grupe G8 2001. godine (Treccani 2008).

### 2.1.3. Skraćenice

Jedan od mehanizama bogaćenja leksike jeste i stvaranje novih skraćenica. U okviru novinskih tekstova u vezi sa pandemijom koronavirusa i promenama u načinu života nastale su skraćenice kao npr. *PNRR*, *dad*, *Usca*.

Skraćenica *PNRR* (*Piano Nazionale di Ripresa e Resilienza*) odnosi se na program investicija koji su u aprilu 2021. godine predstavile zemlje članice Evropske unije unutar programa ekonomskog oporavka osnovanog u julu 2020. godine kako bi sa podržala ekonomija država Evropske unije.

(22) Lazio, firmato protocollo per allontanare le mafie dai fondi del Pnrr. (Corriere della Sera, 23.12.2021)

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da je Venecija 1348. godine propisala zabranu pristajanja brodova u periodu od trideset dana kako bi se videlo da li će oni koji su doputovali brodom oboleti od kuge. Kasnije je period izolacije produžen na četrdeset dana.

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.protezionecivile.gov.it/it/normativa/decreto-del-capo-dipartimento-n-1287-del-12-aprile-2020--nomina-del-soggetto-attuatore-per-le-attiviti-emergenziali-connesse-all-assistenza-e-alla-so>. 26.7.2022.

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.rivistailmulino.it/a/approccio-hotspot-e-navi-quarantena>. 26.7.2022.

Skraćenica *dad* (*didattica a distanza*) označava izvođenje nastave na daljinu putem telematskog sistema.

(23) Il ministro prevede la Dad solo per le superiori. (La Repubblica, 26.6.2020)

U korpusu smo zabeležili i prefiksale sa značenjem „koji je protivan nastavi na daljinu“. U njihovom sastavu se, pored akronima *dad*, nalaze prefiksi *no-* ili *anti-*. Mogu imati imeničku vrednost (24) ili pridevsku vrednost (25) i (26).

(24) Dal Gioberti al Pellico i "No Dad" si moltiplicano. (La Repubblica, 14.11.2020)

(25) Dopo gli studenti No-Dad ecco i professori che si ribellano alla chiusura delle superiori. (La Repubblica, 17.11.2020)

(26) Con questo slogan anche di domenica la protesta anti Dad affollerà piazza Castello. (La Repubblica, 6.12.2020)

U našem korpusu javlja se i prefiks *pro Dad*, antonim prefiksala *no Dad* i *anti Dad*, kao u primeru (27).

(27) I genitori Pro Dad hanno diffuso ieri l'invito a disertare le aule da domani fino a mercoledì. (La Repubblica, 10.1.2021)

Skraćenica *Usca* (*Unità speciali di continuità assistenziale*) upotrebljava se sa značenjem specijalnih zdravstvenih jedinica koje čine zdravstveni radnici i koje u svakoj regiji kod kuće leče pacijente sa blagim simptomima kovida.

(28) In caso di complicità rivolgersi alle Usca o correre in ospedale. (Corriere della Sera, 4.12.2021)

## 2.2. Semantički neologizmi

Jedan broj neologizama povezanih sa pandemijom kovida 19 nastao je stvaranjem novih značenja. U našem korpusu novih reči uočili smo sledeće semantičke neologizme: *hub*, *Open day*, *positivo*, *recovery fund*, *last minute* i *tamponare*.

Anglicizam *hub* označava najprometniji međunarodni aerodrom u državi (Treccani 2021). Nakon početka pandemije kovida 19 poprimio je još jedno značenje. Koristi se i sa značenjem velike prostorije u kojoj se obavlja testiranje na kovid (29) ili vakcinacija (30).

(29) Serve un unico grande hub per i tamponi nella zona Nord di Torino. (La Repubblica, 15.1.2022)

(30) Nei prossimi tre venerdì l'hub di Sesto San Giovanni aperto 24 ore su 24 per spingere gli over 50 all'immunizzazione. (La Repubblica, 10.1.2022)

Pozajmljenica *Open day* ranije se koristila u značenju dana u kojem ustanove primaju posetioce zainteresovane za dobijanje informacija. Tokom pandemije dobila je značenje dana u kojem se vrši vakcinacija<sup>17</sup> (31).

(31) Domenica 16 gennaio sarà Open Day in tutta l'Emilia-Romagna, per bambini e ragazzi dai 5 ai 19 anni. (Corriere della Sera, 15.1.2022)

Novo značenje ima i pridev *positivo*. Bonomi i Piotti (5) beleže da se koristi i sa značenjem „koji je, nakon preležane bolesti, razvio antitela koja ga čine (delimično) imunim na virus”.

Anglicizam *recovery fund* u italijanskom jeziku preuzet je 2009. godine i označava finansijsko sredstvo za davanje pomoći ekonomskom sistemu (regionalnom, nacionalnom, međunarodnom) pogođenom krizom ili vanrednom situacijom. Rečnik *Nuovo Devoto–Oli 2022* navodi da je u jeziku medija ova sintagma dobila novo značenje. *Recovery fund* se odnosi i na fond koji je ustanovila Evropska unija kao podršku zemljama članicama za ekonomski oporavak nakon krize izazvane pandemijom.

Anglicizam *last minute* u italijanski jezik je ušao 1994. godine i označava „formulu koja omogućava dobijanje velikih popusta na avionske karte ili putovanja uplaćena neposredno pre polaska“ (Nuovo Devoto–Oli 2022). U našem korpusu javlja se uz leksemu *vaccino*, odnosno *vaccinazione*, kako bi se označilo primanje vakcine protiv kovida 19 neposredno pre stupanja na snagu određenog dekreta ili mere o obaveznoj vakcinaciji radi odlaska na posao, školu i sl.

(32) Open hub al Valentino, tutti in coda per il vaccino last-minute. Ecco come funziona. (La Repubblica, 04.06.2021)

Glagol *tamponare* prvi put se javlja 1886. godine u rečniku *I neologismi buoni e cattivi più cattivi nell'uso odierno* Đ. Rigutinija sa značenjem „začepiti (vatom)”. Kasnije je dobio značenje „udariti automobilom” (Migliorini 1950) i „naći privremeno rešenje” (Zingarelli 1970). Sada može označavati i podvrgavanje testu na kovid, kao u primeru (33).

(33) Continuare a tamponare è importante, anche i sospetti perché questo permette di tracciare i positivi e i loro contatti. (La Repubblica, 27.6.2021)

### 3. Zaključak

Istraživanje koje smo sproveli na korpusu koji obuhvata dve godine pandemije koronavirusa pokazuje da su leksički neologizmi daleko brojniji od semantičkih neologizama, te da je među njima jezik pokazivao mnogo više kreativnosti i produktivnosti. U okviru leksičkih neologizama primat zauzimaju, sasvim očekivano, pozajmljenice i to, naravno, iz engleskog jezika, odnosno

<sup>17</sup> Kada se vakcinacija obavlja noću, javlja se pozajmljenica *Open night*, kao u primeru *Vaccini, venerdì nuova Open night all'hub Lavazza* (Corriere della Sera, 24.6.2021).

anglicizmi. Budući da je koronavirus zahvatio ceo svet i postao tema broj jedan u svim svetskim medijima, među kojima su glavni iz anglosaksonskog sveta, bilo je više nego očekivano da će se i jezičke slike menjati i kretati u tom smeru, odnosno bogatati preuzimanjem novih kovanica iz engleskog jezika.

Kao što smo imali prilike da vidimo u toku centralnog istraživanja, glavnu novinu predstavlja anglicizam *covid*, koji, zbog svoje dvojake imeničke i pridevske funkcije, pokazuje vrlo širok spektar upotrebe. Iako za ovaj virus i bolest koju on izaziva postoje i drugi termini (*coronavirus*, *Sars-CoV-2*, *Covid-19*), na osnovu sprovedenog istraživanja zaključujemo da je italijanski jezik dnevne štampe primat dao terminu *covid*, koji je korišćen kao naziv za bolest (*la covid*), ali, pre svega, kao naziv za virus, što proizilazi iz njegove upotrebe u muškom rodu (*il covid*), a što je medicinski gledano pogrešno, budući da je kovid bolest izazvana novim virusom koji je dobio zvaničan naziv *Sars-CoV-2*.

Kada je reč o pozajmljenicama koje se javljaju u novinskim člancima na temu pandemije koronavirusa, treba napraviti razliku među pozajmljenicama koje su ovom prilikom preuzete iz engleskog jezika, a nove su i u engleskom jeziku budući da su povezane sa novonastalom situacijom, kao što je *covid*, ali i *no mask* i među onima koje nisu nove ni u engleskom, niti u italijanskom jeziku, kao što je slučaj sa leksemama *vax* odnosno *no vax*, koje postoje već nekoliko godina u istom značenju, ali se njihova upotreba sa pandemijom koronavirusa znatno proširila. S druge strane, zanimljiv je slučaj neologizma *Zoom* koji je, kako se iz naša analize može zaključiti, pokazao prilično veliki stepen produktivnosti. Ovaj neologizam je drugačiji od ostalih budući da zapravo predstavlja vlastito ime platforme, koja je tek sa početkom pandemije postala svetski poznata<sup>18</sup>, i još uvek ga ne beleže najpoznatiji italijanski rečnici (Treccani, Devoto i Oli, Zingarelli).

Iz sprovedenog istraživanja takođe zaključujemo da su daleko manje prisutni leksički neologizmi na italijanskom jeziku od onih preuzetih iz engleskog jezika, te da jezik u tom pogledu nije pokazao posebnu kreativnost. Ovaj podatak samo potvrđuje tendenciju preuzimanja anglicizama u italijanskom jeziku štampe, koja je prilično izražena poslednjih decenija (De Benedetti 85–86; Bonomi 195), a pogotovo kada je reč o opisivanju događaja globalnih razmera kakav je, svakako, aktuelna pandemija. Takođe, kada je reč o frekventnosti neologizama u obrađivanju ove teme, korpus koji smo analizirali pokazao je da su semantički neologizmi mnogo manje zastupljeni od leksičkih, te smo zabeležili svega nekoliko primera, od kojih su, kao i u slučaju leksičkih neologizama, brojniji oni koji su preuzeti iz engleskog jezika.

<sup>18</sup> Pre pandemije koronavirusa platforma Zoom dnevno je imala 10 miliona korisnika širom sveta, dok je u martu 2020. godine taj broj iznosio 200 miliona (<https://tg24.sky.it/tecnologia/appfondimenti/app-zoom-meeting-storia>. 12.3.2022).

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*La Repubblica*. Roma: GEDI Gruppo Editoriale, 2020, 2021, 2022.

### **THE LANGUAGE AND THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC: NEOLOGISMS IN THE ITALIAN LANGUAGE OF THE PRESS**

The COVID-19 pandemic, announced by the World Health Organization on 11 March 2020, brought about changes in different aspects of everyday life. This paper deals with the language change in Italian caused by creating new words, attributing new meanings to already existing words and borrowing loanwords. For this research, the material was collected from the printed and online versions of the daily newspapers *Corriere della Sera* and *La Repubblica*, published from March 2020 to February 2022. The aim of this paper is to present, describe and systematize the neologisms coined in the Italian newspaper articles covering the topic of the COVID-19 pandemic, both in Italy and worldwide.

Regarding lexical neologisms, the collected loanwords borrowed by the Italian language in the 21st century are presented. On the one hand, their meaning is explored while, on the other hand, new words motivated by such loanwords are also analysed. Additionally, attention has been directed to the neologisms not comprising the borrowed lexemes that enriched Italian vocabulary in the 21st century, whereas the abbreviations related to the COVID-19 pandemic have been presented in the last subchapter dedicated to lexical neologisms. In terms of semantic neologisms, the new meanings caused by the coronavirus pandemic were pinpointed. The conducted research has revealed that lexical neologisms are far more numerous than semantic neologisms and that the language of the lexical neologisms displayed greater creativity and productivity. Concerning lexical neologisms, loanwords, as expected, prevail, particularly from English. Since the coronavirus affected the whole world and has become the number one topic in the media worldwide, the leading media outlets being from the Anglo-Saxon world, it was fully expected that the language would be enriched by borrowing newly coined words from the English language. The most frequently used loanword in the corpus is the internationalism *covid* which, due to its twofold nominal and adjectival function, shows a wide range of usage. Although there are other terms for this virus and the disease it causes (the *coronavirus*, *Sars-CoV-2*, *Covid-19*), it can be concluded, based on the

conducted research, that the Italian of the daily press preferred the term *covid*, which was used not only as the name for the disease (*la covid*), but also primarily as the name for the virus, due to its masculine gender usage (*il covid*), which is wrong medically speaking since covid is a disease caused by the new virus officially called *Sars-CoV-2*. SgROI (2020) notes that the masculine gender usage is more frequent, which the corpus confirms. The acronym *Covid* has an adjectival value in many two-part noun compounds of the noun + *Covid* type. Such compounds are indicative of the social changes caused by the pandemic and, depending on the meaning of the lexeme *Covid*, they can be divided into two semantic groups. The first group includes the compounds in which *Covid* means the disease or the virus (e.g., *malati covid*, *tampone Covid*). In such examples, that lexeme determines the nouns standing for: a) the people affected by the disease (e.g., *malati covid*, *pazienti Covid-19*), b) the people treating the disease (e.g., *medico Covid*, *infermiera Covid*), c) the place for treating the disease (e.g., *reparti Covid*, *ambulanza Covid*, *clinica Covid*), d) the means of diagnosing the viral infection (e.g., *test Covid*, *tampone Covid*), e) the measures adopted to combat Covid (e.g., *quarantena Covid*, *vaccino Covid*), f) the consequences caused by Covid (e.g., *morti Covid*, *vittime Covid*). The second group includes the compounds in which *Covid* has the meaning “during the covid pandemic”. This group consists of the compounds in which *Covid* determines the nouns referring to the state of emergency (e.g., *emergenza Covid-19*), the nouns related to a set of measures introduced for the sake of recovery from the economic crisis caused by the pandemic (e.g., *fondi Covid*, *sussidi Covid*), as well as the nouns concerning different spheres of life in the newly developed situation (e.g., *Natale Covid*, *scuola Covid*). The examples in which the head of the syntagm is preceded by the constituent determining it more closely are borrowed from the English language and there are not many of them in the corpus. The corpus also contains the compound *Covid free* (*Covid-free*) borrowed from English. According to the Nuovo Devoto–Oli 2022 dictionary, this compound means “without Covid”. In Italian, this loanword has an adjectival value, it is preceded by nouns and it indicates that there are no people affected by the COVID-19 in a particular place or in a certain environment (Devoto and Oli 2022). The analysis of the corpus has revealed that this compound is most frequently used with nouns denoting geographical terms, institutions and catering facilities (e.g., *Basilicata Covid free*, *ristoranti Covid free*, *ospedale Covid-free*, or *scuola Covid free*). It is also used with nouns standing for the events in which there is no risk from the viral infection (e.g.,  *festa Covid free*). This compound can be preceded by nouns as well denoting means of transportation (e.g. *Frecciarossa Covid free*). Italian has also borrowed the anglicism *Long Covid* which accounts for the consequences of the COVID-19 concerning those people who have gone through the acute phase of the disease. This loanword can be used with a nominal or an adjectival value, for instance: *sindrome long Covid*, *incubo long Covid*, *pazienti long Covid*, *effetti long-Covid*, or *ambulatorio Long Covid*.

As regards the neologisms created by means of prefixes, the conducted research has revealed that the prefixes *extra-*, *non-*, *anti-*, *pre-* and *post-* are very productive in the Italian language of the daily press. The prefixes *extra-* and *non-* are used as prefixes for the lexeme *Covid*. The resulting prefixed words mean “not related to the disease or the virus” (e.g., *casi non Covid*) or “not related to the covid pandemic period” (e.g., *esami extra Covid*). Based on the examined corpus, it can be noticed that the prefix *anti-* showed a high degree of productivity in the Italian of the daily press, which is fully expected since

in the newspaper articles a lot of attention was dedicated to the measures introduced to prevent the coronavirus from spreading (e.g., *piano anti-Covid*), as well as to opposing the implementation of the measures adopted to combat Covid-19 (e.g., *protesta anti lockdown*). The prefixed words containing the prefixes *pre-* and *post-*, referring to the period before and after the Covid-19 pandemic, are also found in the corpus. Based on the conducted research, it can be noticed that the prefix *post-* is more productive than the prefix *pre-* and that the prefixed words containing the prefix *post-* modify nouns referring to different spheres of life, such as work, transport, restaurant and food service industry, tourism, recovery (e.g., *lavoro post pandemia*, *vacanze post Covid*). As for the loanwords that can be found in the newspaper articles about the coronavirus pandemic, a distinction should be made between the loanwords borrowed for this very purpose from the English language – such as *covid* but also *no mask* – which are new in English as well due to their relation to the current situation, and the loanwords that are not new either in English or Italian – such as the lexeme *vax* i.e., *no vax* – which have already been used for several years denoting the same meaning, but their usage has increased significantly due to the coronavirus pandemic. Vaccination against Covid-19 has led to the creation of *Ni vax* and *Boh vax*, based on the *no vax* formation model. Interestingly enough, the neologism *Zoom* showed a high degree of productivity. This one differs from other neologisms because it actually represents the very name of the platform, which became world famous only when the pandemic began, and it has not been recorded yet in the most popular Italian dictionaries (Treccani, Devoto and Oli, Zingarelli). The introduction of Covid passes in Israel, as one of the measures adopted to combat Covid-19, has led to the Italian media borrowing the loanword *green pass* / *Green Pass*. It was only later that this loanword stood for Covid passes in other countries as well, including Italy, and due to the unstable epidemiological situation the Italian government introduced a new type of sanitary pass in December 2021; thus, the Italian adjective *rafforzato* i.e., the prefix *super-* of Latin origin was added to the loanword *green pass*, resulting in the syntagms *Green Pass rafforzato* and *Super Green Pass*.

The corpus includes the anglicism *passenger locator form*, as well as the pseudo-anglicism *near working*. The former loanword represents a digital travel data form completed by travelers prior to entering certain countries. Its abbreviation *Plf* is also used in the examined texts. The pseudo-anglicism *near working* stands for the possibility of working near the place where one lives.

As the analysis shows, only a few examples have been noted regarding the compounds and the collocations not comprising the loanwords borrowed in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In particular, the two-part noun compound *nave quarantena*, as well as the collocations consisting of nouns and adjectives, such as *nuova normalità*, *zona rossa*, *zona arancione*, *zona gialla* and *zona bianca*. The compound *nave quarantena* stands for the cruisers which, pursuant to the Civil Protection Code of April 12, 2020, are used as quarantine for migrants arriving in Italy. Even though a ten-day isolation was stipulated by the law, the duration of the isolation period could be prolonged e.g., due to the insufficient number of vacancies in reception centres. The collocation *nuova normalità* accounts for a new situation in everyday life people return to after quarantine, but in which Covid protection measures have to be implemented. The collocations consisting of the noun *zona* and adjectives denoting colours refer to the distribution of COVID-19 cases in Italian regions and to the measures introduced, in compliance with the decisions of

the Italian government, to prevent the coronavirus from spreading. It should be mentioned that *zona rossa* and *zona gialla* represent semantic neologisms since they stood for the zones Genoa was divided into during the G8 meeting in 2001.

Based on the analysed corpus, it can be noticed that Italian vocabulary connected with the COVID-19 pandemic has been enriched by the creation of new abbreviations as well. The newspaper articles about the coronavirus pandemic and the resulting changes in everyday life include the abbreviations such as *PNRR*, *Usca*, or *dad*. The abbreviation *PNRR* (*Piano Nazionale di Ripresa e Resilienza*) refers to the investment program introduced by the EU member states in April 2021 within the economic recovery program established in July 2020 in order to support the economy of the EU countries, whereas the abbreviation *Usca* (*Unità speciali di continuità assistenziale*) was used with the meaning of special health units comprising health professionals and treating the patients with mild Covid symptoms at home in every region. The examined corpus also contains the formation nucleus based on the abbreviation *dad*. Here, the prefixed words meaning “opposing distance learning” have been noticed in the corpus. Apart from the acronym *dad*, such prefixed words comprise the prefixes *no-* or *anti-* (e.g., *studenti No-Dad*, *protesta anti Dad*). The prefixed word *pro Dad*, the antonym of the prefixed words *no Dad* and *anti Dad*, was noticed as well (e.g., *genitori Pro Dad*).

As far as the frequency of neologisms related to this topic is concerned, the analysed corpus has revealed that semantic neologisms are far less numerous than lexical neologisms; thus, only a few examples have been noted, those borrowed from English – such as the semantic neologisms *hub*, *open day* and *last minute* – being more numerous, as is the case with lexical neologisms. The anglicism *hub* means the busiest international airport in the country. Once the COVID-19 pandemic started, it assumed another meaning as well. It is also used with the meaning of a big room in which Covid testing or vaccination is carried out. The loanword *Open day* was previously used to denote the day when institutions admit visitors interested in obtaining some information. During the pandemic, it assumed the meaning of the day when vaccination is supposed to be carried out. The adjective *positivo* has a new meaning as well. Bonomi and Piotti (5) note that this adjective also stands for the person who has developed antibodies in response to the COVID-19 infection becoming (partly) immune to the virus. The anglicism *recovery fund* in the Italian language was borrowed in 2009 and it denotes the financial means for providing assistance to the economic system (regional, national, international) affected by a crisis or emergency situation. It is noted in the Nuovo Devoto–Oli 2022 dictionary that this syntagm has assumed a new meaning in the language of the media. *Recovery fund* also refers to the fund established by the European Union in order to support the economic recovery of the member states after the crisis caused by the pandemic. The anglicism *last minute* occurs in the corpus along with the lexeme *vaccino*, thus *vaccinazione*, so as to account for receiving a vaccine against the COVID-19 immediately prior to the entry into force of a certain decree or measure regarding obligatory vaccination for the purposes of going to work, school and so on.

**Keywords:** neologisms, COVID-19, pandemic, Italian

## **VERWENDUNG DER WERTENDEN SUBSTANTIVE IN DEN PLENARSITZUNGEN DES BUNDESTAGES**

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**Abstrakt:** In der vorliegenden Arbeit wird die Verwendung von wertenden Substantiven in den Plenarsitzungen des Bundestages in den Jahren 2015 und 2018 analysiert. Es handelt sich um die Plenarsitzungen, bei denen über den Haushalt für das kommende Jahr diskutiert wurde. In der Arbeit wird im ersten Teil gezeigt, wie man mit Simplizia, Derivaten und Komposita eine Wertung ausdrücken kann. Die expliziten und impliziten Bewertungen werden dabei separat betrachtet. Bei allen Gruppen der Substantive wird auch auf die umgangssprachlichen Substantive aufmerksam gemacht, die für den politischen Diskurs nicht typisch sind. Unterstützt mit den Beispielen aus dem Korpus wird dann gezeigt, wie oft solche Substantive im Korpus benutzt werden, wer sie öfter verwendet (Regierung oder Opposition). Im letzten Teil der Arbeit werden die pragma-semantischen Funktionen der wertenden Substantive dargestellt. Es wird gezeigt, was im analysierten Korpus das Bewertungsobjekt sein kann (Person, Handeln und Situation) und welcher Aspekt des bewerteten Objekts mit den wertenden Substantiven ausgedrückt wird.

**Schlüsselwörter:** Bewertung, wertende Substantive, Bundestag, Regierung, Opposition

### **1. Einleitung – Zum Begriff der Wertung und des wertenden Substantivs**

Werten ist eine wesentliche Konstituente unseres kognitiven, affektiven und emotionalen Seins (Klotz, 2019: 9). Bewertungen spielen eine fundamentale Rolle in der Art und Weise, wie wir die Welt, andere Menschen und uns selbst wahrnehmen. In der sprachwissenschaftlichen Literatur wird allgemein davon ausgegangen, dass die Bewertung (als sprachliche Handlung, durch die bewertet wird) die Hervorhebung der Personen, gegenständlicher Wirklichkeit, Erscheinungen, Eigenschaften und Beziehungen auf einer Einordnungsskala und jeweils unter der Voraussetzung eines Kriteriums ist (Blachut, 2014: 13,14).

Bewertungen bestehen also darin, dass man den Sein-Zustand eines Gegenstandes, Prozesses etc., mit dem Soll-Zustand vergleicht (vgl. Miller 2014: 94). Man vergleicht also den Istwert mit dem Sollwert.

Je nach dem wie sich die Sprachwissenschaftler mit diesem Thema auseinandergesetzt haben, kann man drei Bewertungsperspektiven vorschlagen: semantisch-lexikalische, kommunikativ-pragmatische und auf Emotionen orientierte Perspektive (vgl. Blachut 2014: 65). An dieser Stelle muss aber noch betont werden, dass diese drei Perspektiven voneinander nicht streng abgegrenzt werden können. Blachut (148) führt weiter an, dass jeder Sprecher

über ein eigenes Inventar sprachlicher Mittel verfügt, das er zur Äußerung von Bewertungen benutzt.

Klotz (2019: 12) zieht eine Parallele zwischen den Begriffen Einschätzen, Werten und Urteilen. Er behauptet, dass Werten nicht für sich selbst steht, weder mental, noch pragmatisch noch sprachlich. Einschätzen sei eine schwächere, oft dem Werten vorausgehende Sichtweise. Stabiler als das Werten und mehr oder weniger Normen setzend ist das Urteilen. Klotz gibt weiter an, dass Einschätzungen und Wertungen neue Denk- und Handlungsräume eröffnen, wenn sie denn nicht als abschließend akzeptiert werden wie Urteile.

Als eine akzeptable Definition des Begriffs Bewerten kann eine der Definitionen von Blachut (2014: 18) dienen: „Bewerten heißt einen positiven oder negativen Wert zusprechen in Verfolgung eines konkreten pragmatischen Ziels.“

Die meist verbreitete und genannte Definition der Substantive lautet: Nomina sind genuskonstante Wörter, die Sachen benennen (vgl. Engel 9: 2014). Betrachtet man den zweiten Teil der Definition, könnte man feststellen, dass er nur teilweise richtig ist, weil, wie wir später sehen werden, die Aufgabe von Nomina nicht nur die Benennung der Sachen ist. Analysiert man Gespräche und andere Textsorten pragmatisch, könnte man feststellen, dass Nomina nicht nur Benennungsfunktion haben, sondern auch andere. So kann man z. B. mit einem Nomen eine Aufforderung ausdrücken: *Die Tür!* (Bedeutung: *Mach bitte die Tür zu!*), man kann eine Person bewerten: *Du bist ein Idiot!* usw. Die Theorie der Sprechakte hat uns schon früher gezeigt, dass wir, wenn wir sprechen, auch handeln. Die Funktion der Sprache ist, nicht nur zu benennen und eine Information zu vermitteln, sondern auch richtig zu handeln, indem wir mit dem Gesagten z.B. jemanden oder etwas beeinflussen können oder eine Reaktion bei unserem Gesprächspartner auslösen.

Als Substantiv, das jemanden oder etwas explizit bewertet, wird ein Substantiv bezeichnet, das laut seiner Definition eine klare positive oder negative Bedeutung hat.

(1) Die Steuerzahler wurden für die Kasinokosten der Banken zur Kasse gebeten, und die Staatsverschuldung schoss in die Höhe. Das war ein echter Notstand.

(2) Wir haben die ODA-Quote gehalten. Wir haben das auch noch zusammen mit der Union erreicht. Ich meine: Das ist doch ein echter Erfolg.

Die zwei genannten Beispiele zeigen, wie man mit einem Substantiv jemanden oder etwas bewerten kann. Im Beispiel (1) handelt es sich um eine explizite negative Bewertung einer Situation. Das Wort Notstand beinhaltet auch in seiner Definition Wörter/Phrasen mit einer negativen Konnotation. Laut Duden Universalwörterbuch wird Notstand wie folgt definiert:

a) politischer Notstand (Situation, in der ein oberstes Staatsorgan nicht funktioniert)

b) (Staatsrecht) Situation, in der ein Staat in Gefahr ist.

Im Beispiel (2) wird der Politiker bzw. die Handlung seiner Partei positiv bewertet, indem er das Wort Erfolg benutzt. Der Duden definiert dieses Wort folgendermaßen: positives Ergebnis einer Bemühung; Eintreten einer beabsichtigten, erstrebten Wirkung

Die zwei genannten Beispiele unterscheiden sich auch dadurch, was ihr Bewertungsobjekt ist. Im Beispiel (1) ist ganz klar, dass das Bewertungsobjekt die im vorigen Satz beschriebene Situation ist, während im Beispiel (2) direkt eine Handlung positiv bewertet wird, indirekt aber auch ganz Deutschland, das in diesem Beispiel mit dem inklusiven WIR dargestellt wird.

## **2. Korpus und Methodologie**

Als Korpus für diese Arbeit werden die Aussagen der Abgeordneten genommen, in denen eine Bewertung explizit oder implizit ausgedrückt wird. Die Beispiele werden den zwei Plenarprotokollen bzw. ihren stenografischen Berichten der Sitzungen vom Bundestag entnommen.

Die erste Sitzung fand am Dienstag, den 24. November 2015 statt. Es handelte sich um die 138. Sitzung der 18. Wahlperiode. Die teilnehmenden Parteien waren: CDU/CSU und die SPD als Regierungsparteien und DIE LINKE, BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN als Oppositionsparteien.

Die zweite Sitzung fand am Dienstag, den 20. November 2018 statt. Das war die 63. Sitzung der 19. Wahlperiode. Die teilnehmenden Parteien im Bundestag in dieser Wahlperiode waren folgende: CDU/CSU und SPD als Regierungsparteien und als Oppositionsparteien DIE LINKE, BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN, FDP und AfD. Damit der Vergleich und die Analyse dieser zwei Korpora Relevanz hat, werden zwei Sitzungen mit den (fast) gleichen Themen, bzw. mit der gleichen Tagesordnung ausgewählt – Haushaltsdebatten für das kommende Jahr.

Bei der Analyse der bewertenden Substantive werde ich folgendermaßen vorgehen: Die Substantive werden zuerst in zwei große Gruppen geteilt: einfache Substantive (darunter verstehe ich Simplizia und Derivate) und Komposita (von zwei oder mehr Wörtern zusammengesetzte Substantive). In beiden Gruppen werden dann explizite und implizite Bewertungen analysiert, wobei bei den impliziten Bewertungen noch eine Erklärung gegeben wird. Im zweiten Teil dieses Artikels wird zuerst auf die Häufigkeit der oben genannten Gruppen der Substantive in den zwei Teilkorpora eingegangen und dann werden die pragmasemantischen Merkmale der wertenden Substantive und die Häufigkeit ihrer Verwendung dargestellt.

## 2.1. Simplizia und Derivate

### 2.1.1 Explizite Bewertung

Einfache Substantive, die explizit bewertenden Charakter ausdrücken, sind diejenigen Substantive, deren Seme auch eine positive oder negative Bedeutung haben. Sie drücken eine positive oder negative Eigenschaft aus, die bei Angehörigen einer Sprachgemeinschaft als solche in jedem Kontext so verstanden werden. Solche Beispiele im analysierten Korpus sind u.a. die folgenden Substantive: *Murks, Versagen, Unsinn, Verlust, Fehler, Versäumnisse, Unfug, Unwucht, Vertrauen* usw.

(3) Das ist ein Versagen vor den Herausforderungen unserer Zeit, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen

(4) Das flößt Vertrauen ein, auch bei der Bevölkerung. Das spürt man.

Noch einige weitere einfache Substantive aus dem Korpus, die explizit eine Bewertung ausdrücken, sind: *Kapitulation, Ignoranz, Defizit, Problem, Vorbild, Mahnung, Hinterhältigkeit, Hass und Hetze, Mörder, Lob, Ernstes, Quisquillien, Ungerechtigkeit, Auslassungen, Wahnsinn, Hybris, Rumgepöbel, Quark, Kokolores, Zinnober, Katastrophe, (Was für eine) Posse, Popanz, Abzocke, Verrücktheit, Schlampigkeit, Ketzer, Skandal, Quatsch, Erfolg, Freunde, Gut, Kappes, Hetzer.*

Wenn man diese Substantive betrachtet, kann man feststellen, dass einige von diesen Substantiven zum umgangssprachlichen Gebrauch der Sprache gehören, was für die Sprache im Parlament nicht spezifisch ist. Die Verwendung der umgangssprachlichen Wörter intensiviert den bewertenden Charakter eines Ausdrucks und zeigt nicht selten, dass man seine Gesprächspartner nicht genug respektiert, indem man ihre Persönlichkeit oder ihre Handlung mit diesen Wörtern bewertet. In diesem Korpus haben die umgangssprachlichen Wörter immer nur negative Bedeutung, es werden also keine mit positiver Bedeutung verwendet, was bedeutet, dass diese Wörter hauptsächlich für die Fremdbewertung oder für die Beschreibung der Situation im Land verwendet werden. Der Gebrauch umgangssprachlicher Wörter ist typischer für das zweite Korpus (2018), was auch viel über die Veränderung der Gesprächskultur im Bundestag aussagt. Zu diesen Wörtern gehören folgende: *Murks, Wahnsinn, Rumgepöbel, Quark, Kokolores, Zinnober, Popanz, Abzocke, Schlampigkeit, Quatsch, BlaBla*. Die genannten Substantive haben im Duden Universalwörterbuch die Bezeichnung umgangssprachlich oder salopp (abwertend).

Wie schon gesagt wurde, werden die umgangssprachlichen Ausdrücke vor allem bei der Fremdbewertung verwendet und in diesem Korpus haben sie ohne Ausnahme negative Bedeutung. Mit diesen Wörtern kann direkt die Handlung oder die Rede einer Person bewertet werden:



(5) Nein, die CDU und die CSU machen all diesen Zinnober wirklich mit. Sie wollen Jamaika. Sie regieren bereits auf Landesebene mit diesen grünen Panikmachern.

(6) ...doch dann kam Herr Kahrs mit seinem Rumgepöbel von hier vorn, sodass ich leider noch was dazu sagen muss, obwohl Herr Kahrs sich in letzter Zeit unbelehrbar gezeigt hat und immer wieder die gleichen Ausfälle von hier vorn produziert.

Dass diese Wörter unüblich im parlamentarischen und allgemein im politischen Diskurs sind, wird auch durch die Tatsache unterstützt, dass sie nur einmal im Korpus vorkommen und dass sie wahrscheinlich nur okkasionelle Bewertungen sind, d.h. der Sprecher hat vielleicht nicht geplant, diese Wörter zu benutzen, aber er fand sie in dem Moment richtig oder er war von der anderen Seite provoziert, sodass er solche Wörter im Parlament benutzte.

### 2.1.2 Implizite Bewertung

Substantive, die implizit eine Bewertung ausdrücken, sind Substantive, bei denen der bewertende Charakter nicht ihre primäre Bedeutung und Eigenschaft ist, sondern diese bewertende Eigenschaft erst aus dem Kontext zu erschließen ist. Die Substantive *Dirigentin* und *Bremse* sehen nicht so aus, als ob man mit ihnen jemanden oder etwas bewerten könnte. In einem bestimmten Kontext ist das aber möglich:

(7) Die Dirigentin Merkel wird vom Orchester ignoriert, und der CSU-Vorsitzende Seehofer gibt unaufgefordert ein schräges Solo nach dem anderen.

(8) Deswegen kann man nur sagen: Das, was hier gerade wieder stattfindet, ist eine reflexhafte ideologische Bremse.

Im Beispiel (7) erscheint das Wort *Dirigentin* als NOMEN INVARIANS, das normalerweise einen Vornamen, Titel, eine Berufs- oder Funktionsbezeichnung benennt. In diesem Beispiel ist klar, dass das in diesem Kontext nicht der Fall ist. Bei den indirekten Bewertungen sind die Vor- und Allgemeinkenntnisse sehr wichtig, weil nur mit Hilfe derer man etwas als Bewertung (positive oder negative), als Ironie oder Vorwurf verstehen kann. Der Begriff *Dirigentin*, der aus dem Wortfeld der Musik übernommen wurde, bezeichnet hier wirklich eine Person, die dirigiert, aber kein Orchester, sondern die Leute aus ihrer Partei bzw. aus der Koalition. Die *Dirigentin* hat in diesem Kontext aber eine negative Konnotation: Diese Person lässt die anderen nicht allein handeln, sie sagt ihnen, wie und was sie machen müssen. Man kann sehen, dass in der ganzen Aussage die Metaphern aus dem Bereich Musik verwendet werden: *Dirigentin*, *Orchester*, *ein schräges Solo* geben.

Das Wort *Bremse*, das aus dem Wortfeld „Auto“ übernommen wurde, bezeichnet hier kein Autoteil, sondern das Wort wird hier als ein Abstraktum verwendet, das auf das Anhalten einer von dem Sprecher als positiv bewerteten Handlung hindeutet.

Im Folgenden werden noch ein paar interessante Substantive dargestellt, die implizit eine Bewertung ausdrücken: *Unwucht*, *Lokomotive*, *Wüste* und *Truppe*.

*Unwucht* ist das Wort, das normalerweise in der Fachsprache verwendet wird. Laut Duden Universal Wörterbuch hat das Wort folgende Bedeutung: *unsymmetrische Verteilung der Massen eines rotierenden Körpers*. Weitere Bedeutungen dieses Wortes werden im Wörterbuch nicht genannt. Im Korpus wird der Begriff folgendermaßen verwendet:

(9) Wir müssen aber auch vorsichtig sein, weil – der Bundesrechnungshof hat es uns schriftlich gegeben – mittlerweile eine große Unwucht bei den Bund-Länder-Finanzbeziehungen entstanden ist.

Die Beziehungen werden in diesem Kontext als unregelmäßig verteilt dargestellt, sodass kein Gleichgewicht besteht. Die negative Bedeutung wird auch durch das Präfix un- ausgedrückt, aber es handelt sich nicht um eine Negation des positiv konnotierten Wortes *Wucht*. *Unwucht* in übertragenem Sinne ist mit dem Wort *Wucht* überhaupt nicht verbunden.

(10) Das ist dann nicht nur euer Problem, sondern das ist auch unser Problem, weil ihr mit eurer Wirtschaft die Lokomotive in Europa seid. Ihr zieht den Karren in Europa.

Das Wort Lokomotive könnte hier durch das Adjektiv *führend* ersetzt werden und damit die Tatsache betont, dass Deutschland die beste Wirtschaft in Europa hat.

(11) Nur, was nutzen die Erkenntnis und das Engagement, wenn so viele ländliche Gegenden in Deutschland immer noch eine digitale Wüste sind?

Die Wüste mit der Bedeutung *ödes, verlassenes Gebiet* weist auf die Mängel der Digitalisierung in den ländlichen Gegenden hin. Also werden mit dem Wort Wüste die ländlichen Gegenden negativ bewertet und das Adjektiv *digital* spezifiziert, um was für einen Mangel es sich bei dieser Bewertung handelt.

Im folgenden Beispiel ist die Interpretation der Bewertung ein bisschen komplexer:

(12) (Beifall bei der AfD – Michael Grosse-Brömer [CDU/CSU]: Die sind mit den Nerven am Ende, die Truppe!)

Die stärksten negativen Bewertungen kommen in den Zwischenrufen vor. Vielleicht auch deswegen wurde in der Vergangenheit oft darüber diskutiert, ob Zwischenrufe Bestandteile des Plenarprotokolls sein sollten (vgl. Burkhardt 2003). Während die offiziellen Reden der Abgeordneten in der Regel schon im Voraus vorbereitete Texte sind, sind die Zwischenrufe eine momentane und meistens nicht geplante Reaktion auf das Gesagte.

Im Universalwörterbuch DUDEN und im online Wörterbuch DWDS ist keine abwertende Bedeutung des Wortes *Truppe* zu finden. In diesem Kontext lässt sich aber feststellen, dass auch dieses Wort eine negative Bewertung darstellt. Was mit dem Wort genau ausgedrückt werden sollte, ist nicht ganz klar. Meiner Meinung nach gibt es zwei mögliche Interpretationen: *Truppe* als Begriff der Militärsprache (als Vorwurf für die aggressive Politik der AfD), oder als Ausdruck zusammen auftretender Schauspieler, Künstler und Artisten, womit sie die Ernsthaftigkeit ihrer Politik in Frage stellen möchten.

## 2.2 Zusammengesetzte Substantive (Komposita)

Bei der Analyse des Korpus ließ sich feststellen, dass die Anzahl der bewertenden zusammengesetzten Substantive höher ist als die Anzahl der einfachen Substantive. Das könnte durch die Verwendung der Fachwörter begründet werden, die nicht selten eine komplexere Struktur haben. Der politische Wortschatz besteht aus verschiedenen Wortfeldern, da Politik sich auch mit unterschiedlichen Bereichen befasst: Wirtschaft, Diplomatie, Bildung, Umwelt usw.

### 2.2.1 Explizite Bewertung

Da im Korpus vom Haushalt für das folgende Jahr die Rede ist, sind dort ebenso verschiedene zusammengesetzte Nomen zu finden, die aus dem Bereich Wirtschaft stammen: *Investitionsstau*, *Langzeitarbeitslose*, *Niedriglöhner*, *Hartz-IV-Niveau*, *Konjunkturprogramm auf Pump*, *Pfennigbeträge*, *Geldverschwendung*...

Bei diesen Ausdrücken lassen sich vier Bewertungsmodelle feststellen:

- Die Grundkonstituente ist die bewertungstragende Konstituente und das Bestimmungswort spezifiziert das Bewertungsobjekt: *Investitionsstau* (*Stau* ist das bewertende Element in diesem Kompositum, *Investition* bestimmt das Bewertungsobjekt: Es gibt einen Stau von Investitionen, es gibt keine Investitionen im Moment)
- Die Grundkonstituente ist das bewertungstragende Element, das Bestimmungswort intensiviert die Bewertung: *Langzeitarbeitslose* (Die Grundkonstituente *Arbeitslose* ist das bewertende Element – die Bewertung wird bei diesem Wort mithilfe des Suffixes *-los* realisiert; das Bestimmungswort *Langzeit* intensiviert die negative Bedeutung des Wortes *Arbeitslose*.)

- Das bewertungstragende Element ist das Bestimmungswort und das bewertende Element wird mit der Grundkonstituente ausgedrückt: *Niedriglöhner*. *Löhner* ist die Grundkonstituente und gleichzeitig das Bewertungsobjekt; mit dem Adjektiv *niedrig* als Bestimmungskonstituente wird die Bewertung ausgedrückt.
- Weder die Grundkonstituente noch das Bestimmungswort haben bewertenden Charakter, aber das Kompositum in einem bestimmten Kontext drückt eine Bewertung aus: *Hartz-IV-Niveau*, *Pfennigbeträge*. Damit wir den bewertenden Charakter dieser zwei Wörter verstehen können, müssen wir die Beispiele aus dem Korpus betrachten:

(13) Ein Lehrbeauftragter, der sechs Veranstaltungen inklusive Vor- und Nachbereitung schafft, ist echt spitze und bekommt dafür 3 000 Euro – im Halbjahr. Das ist Hartz-IV-Niveau. Diese Zustände sind menschengemacht und kein Naturgesetz.

(14) Ein Beispiel möchte ich nennen, weil die SPD sich hierfür eigentlich im Koalitionsvertrag starkgemacht hat: die unabhängige Asylverfahrensberatung. Liebe Frau Dr. Högl, da haben Sie sich wirklich über den Tisch ziehen lassen. Im Haushalt ist dazu nichts zu finden, nur Pfennigbeträge.

In beiden Beispielen wird mit den unterstrichenen Ausdrücken darauf hingewiesen, dass das vorgesehene Geld nicht ausreicht, bzw. die vorgesehene Summe ist für die bestimmte Tätigkeit bzw. für die Realisierung einer Aktion zu gering.

Neben diesen Wörtern sind auch solche Wörter zu finden, bei denen eine Konstituente aus dem Wortfeld Wirtschaft/Finanzen kommt und die andere, die normalerweise einen bewertenden Charakter trägt, kommt aus anderen Wortfeldern oder einfach aus der alltäglichen Sprache: *Dividendenkönigin*, *Pfennigfuchser*, *Dummensteuer*, *Steuerdiebe*, *Finanztricksereien*, *Wirtschaftsflüchtling*...

Die bewertungstragenden Elemente können entweder die Grundkonstituente (*Pfennigfuchser*, *Wirtschaftsflüchtling*, *Steuerdiebe*) oder das Bestimmungswort (*Dummensteuer*) sein. Die Substantive *Fuchser*, *Flüchtling*, *Diebe* und das Adjektiv *dumm* als Konstituente von obengenannten Komposita haben bewertenden Charakter, während die zweite Konstituente (in diesen Fällen: *Pfennig*, *Wirtschaft* und *Steuer*) die Bewertung spezifizieren bzw. das Bewertungsobjekt bestimmen.

Das bewertende Präfixoid kann bei der Bildung von Komposita auch als Bewertungsmittel dienen:

(15) Herr Minister Seehofer, ich war sehr gespannt auf Ihren Beitrag; denn Sie haben sich ein Mammutministerium des Innern, für Bau und

Heimat bauen lassen, und in Anbetracht der Größe der Aufgabe wäre vielleicht etwas mehr Demut angemessen, erst recht in Anbetracht Ihrer bescheidenen Amtsbilanz, die Sie bis heute aufzuweisen haben.

*Mammut-*, hier als Präfixoid, drückt in Bildung mit Substantiven aus, dass etwas von gewaltiger Anzahl, Menge, räumlich oder zeitlich von besonders großer Ausdehnung ist (Duden Wörterbuch).

Ein ähnlich negativ bewertendes Präfixoid ist auch in dem folgenden Beispiel zu finden:

(16) Ihre SPD, Ihre Spezialdemokraten, Herr Kahrs, haben es nötig, dass Sie sich darum kümmern; denn diese SPD braucht in Deutschland kein Mensch, und das ist es auch, was diese SPD mit Frau Merkel verbindet: Die braucht nämlich in Deutschland auch kein Mensch.

Das Präfixoid *Spezial-* wird als Bestimmungswort in Zusammensetzungen mit der Bedeutung speziell, Sonder- verwendet. Der Begriff *Spezialdemokraten* könnte hier aber auch als ein Ad-hoc-Kompositum verstanden werden. Das Bestimmungswort *Spezial* ist phonetisch dem offiziellen Bestimmungswort *Sozial-* ähnlich, was den Redner vielleicht dazu gebracht hat, dieses Wort zu benutzen. Das Präfixoid *Spezial-* hat in diesem Kontext nicht nur einen bewertenden, sondern noch intensivierter einen beleidigenden und ironischen Charakter.

### 2.2.2 Implizite Bewertung

Bei den folgenden Komposita kann man die Bewertung erst dann feststellen, wenn man das ganze Kompositum analysiert: Seine Konstituenten haben allein keinen bewertenden Charakter, aber das ganze Kompositum hat, weil es als solches schon eine feste Bedeutung hat (man kann das Wort im Wörterbuch finden), das Wort bekommt den bewertenden Charakter erst im Kontext oder die Bedeutung des Kompositums muss erklärt werden, d.h. um die Bedeutung eines Wortes zu verstehen, muss man die Vorgeschichte kennen oder man musste den ganzen Verlauf des Gesprächs verfolgt haben.

Betrachten wir zuerst folgende Komposita: *Schenkelklopfer*, *Wermutstropfen*, *Ohnmacht*, *Hickhack*, *Hammelherde*, *Sonntagsrede*. Diese Wörter haben eindeutig eine negative Bedeutung bzw. eine der im Wörterbuch genannten Bedeutungen kann als negative Bewertung verstanden werden.

Das Wort *Schenkelklopfer* ist im Duden Universalwörterbuch nicht zu finden. Dieses Wort, zusammen mit den Komposita *Hickhack* und *Hammelherde*, gehört zu den umgangssprachlichen Begriffen, mit denen die Bewertung einen höheren Intensitätsgrad hat, als wenn man ein neutrales oder gehobenes Wort benutzt. Mit einem gehobenen Begriff wirkt eine negative Bewertung ein bisschen milder:

(17) Ein Wermutstropfen dabei: Aktien werden möglicherweise nur mit 80 Prozent, Derivate nur mit 90 Prozent, und Anleihen nur mit null Prozent berücksichtigt.

Bei den weiteren Komposita ist der bewertende Charakter erst aus dem Kontext zu erschließen. Die Wörterbucheinträge geben keine Auskunft darüber, ob das Wort einen bewertenden Charakter hat oder nicht oder der bewertende Charakter bezieht sich auf einen anderen Bereich und nicht auf die Bewertung einer Person oder auf die Bewertung der Handlung von einer Person. Die folgenden Beispiele zeigen uns, wie sich solche Wörter in einem bestimmten Kontext benehmen. Wir betrachten jetzt die Beispiele, in denen sich die Begriffe die *Nebelkerze* und der *Tiefflug* befinden:

(18) Wir dürfen uns aber von solchen abwegigen Debatten nicht ablenken lassen, etwa von Debatten über Stickoxidausstöße von Kerzen auf Adventskränzen. Das sind politische Nebelkerzen, die nicht aufklären, sondern verunklaren sollen.

(19) Lieber Kollege Brandner, nach Ihrem parlamentarischen Tiefflug eben fällt mir folgendes Zitat ein: Als der liebe Gott den Menschen erschaffen hat, war er schon müde; das entschuldigt manches.

Der Begriff *Nebelkerze* wird im Universalwörterbuch Duden und bei dem online Wörterbuch DWDS nur als „*Wurfgeschoss, mit dem künstlicher Nebel erzeugt werden kann*“ erklärt. In beiden Wörterbüchern wird dazu noch angemerkt, dass der Begriff besonders in der Militärsprache benutzt wird. Die „militärische“ Bedeutung wird auf die Sprache übertragen und bei einem anderen online Wörterbuch (Wiktionary) ist folgende Bedeutung zu finden: übertragen: „*sprachliches Mittel, um etwas zu verschleiern*“ (<https://de.wiktionary.org/wiki/Nebelkerze>).

Der zweite Begriff zusammen mit seinem Attribut *der parlamentarische Tiefflug* ist in seiner metaphorischen Bedeutung nicht verbreitet. Die Wörterbücher erklären das Wort nicht in seinem übertragenen Sinn. Ein *Tiefflug* wird aber oft in der Öffentlichkeit negativ empfunden, da durch den Tiefflug sehr oft Natur und Tiere, indirekt aber auch der Mensch geschädigt werden. Also wird hier *der parlamentarische Tiefflug* als schlechtes, gefährliches parlamentarisches Handeln der Opposition verstanden.

Die folgenden Beispiele gehören laut Fleischer/Barz (2012: 84) zu den Sonderfällen in Bezug auf die Struktur der unmittelbaren Konstituenten. Zu den Sonderfällen zählen die Autoren diejenigen Komposita, deren Erstglied ein Satz (*Ich-nehme-ab-Programm*) oder ein Buchstabe (*V-Ausschnitt*) bildet. Im untersuchten Korpus wurden auch Komposita einer anderen Struktur gefunden, die ich trotzdem zu den Sonderfällen zähle. Der bewertende Charakter von diesen Komposita ist meistens erst aus dem Kontext zu erschließen. Wir

betrachten nun folgende Komposita: *Auf-Sicht-Fahren*, *Wünsch-dir-Was*, *Ein-Thema-Politik*, *Science-Fiction*, „*Mamüma*“-*Ministerium*, *Trump-Rede*.

Das Kompositum *Auf-Sicht-Fahren* ist aus einer Verbalphrase entstanden und damit wird die Handlung der Regierungspolitiker beschrieben. Bei diesem bewertenden Begriff ist interessant, dass eine Seite (Regierung) eine solche Handlung als etwas Positives auffasst, während die andere Seite (Opposition) diese Handlung als etwas Negatives versteht:

(20a) Dieses Auf-Sicht-Fahren ist ein Blindflug. Hier brauchen wir eine ehrliche Weitsicht.

(20b) Auch deswegen müssen wir ein bisschen auf Sicht fahren. Daran ist nichts Schlechtes.

Das Kompositum *Wünsch-dir-Was* ist aus einem Imperativsatz entstanden und bezeichnet einen Sachverhalt, der negativ bewertet wird. Damit wird eine Situation oder eine Sache bezeichnet, die der Realität nicht entspricht und die als Sammlung verschiedener unrealistischer Wünsche zu verstehen ist.

(21) Gleichzeitig glaube ich, dass das, was wir vorgelegt haben, ein guter Haushalt ist. Es ist ein Haushalt, der die Realitäten und nicht jedes „Wünsch-dir-was“ abbildet.

Das Kompositum *Ein-Thema-Politik* ist ein Begriff, der aus einer Nominalphrase entstanden ist und dessen Bedeutung man erst im weiteren Kontext verstehen kann:

(22) Wir müssen vorsichtig sein, weil es in der Politik eine ungünstige Entwicklung gibt. Natürlich ist es wichtig, dass wir im Moment sehr viel über Migration reden. Wir haben aber die Tendenz – das gilt auch für die Medien –, eine serielle Ein-Thema-Politik zu betreiben. Im August haben wir nur über Griechenland gesprochen, jetzt sprechen wir nur über Migration und demnächst vielleicht – leider – nur über innere Sicherheit.

Auf die negative Bedeutung vom Kompositum Ein-Thema-Politik weisen auch andere Begriffe und sprachliche Mittel in diesem Beispiel hin: Zunächst ist das die Nominalphrase *eine ungünstige Entwicklung*, in der das Adjektiv *ungünstig* das bewertungstragende Element ist, dann wird die negative Bedeutung mithilfe der Konjunktion *aber* ausgedrückt, weil der *aber*-Satz als Opposition zum positiv bewertenden Inhalt (*Natürlich ist es wichtig...*) steht. Und am Ende wird die Tendenz von *Ein-Thema-Politik* mit dem Adverb *leider* auch noch negativ bewertet. Dieses Beispiel beweist auch die Tatsache, dass ein Bewertungselement selten allein vorkommt und dass wir häufig die sprachlichen Mittel vor und nach einem Begriff in Betracht ziehen müssen, wenn wir seine Bedeutung richtig verstehen und interpretieren wollen.

Mit dem Begriff *Science-Fiction* wird etwas als unrealistisch, als etwas, wovon man nur träumen kann, dargestellt:

(23) Wenn Sie, je nach Ziel Ihrer Reise, in einen Zug der Deutschen Bahn einsteigen, sich freuen, dass er pünktlich ist,  
(Sven-Christian Kindler [BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN]: Der ist nie pünktlich! Das ist doch Science-Fiction!)

Als Erstglied in einem Kompositum bzw. als Bestimmungswort gibt die Abkürzung *Mamüma* (man müsste mal) dem Kompositum eine negative Bedeutung. Im Korpus wird diese Abkürzung mit drei verschiedenen Substantiven verbunden. Damit wird zunächst ein Sachverhalt bewertet (Liste und Ministerium). Später wird dann auch eine Person bewertet. Als die Abkürzung *Mamüma* zum ersten Mal benutzt wurde, wurde ihre Bedeutung erklärt:

(24a) Frau Ministerin, ich zucke jedes Mal zusammen, wenn Sie hier an diesem Redepult sagen: „Wir müssen“ oder „Wir müssten mal“, statt zu sagen: „Ich habe entschieden“, „Wir haben gemacht“, „Die Koalition hat umgesetzt“. „Wir müssen“ erinnert mich immer an meinen Sportverein zu Hause. Der hat eine Zeit lang eine „Mamüma“-Liste geführt: eine „Man müsste mal“-Liste, wo all die Dinge draufgeschrieben wurden, zu denen man immer nicht kommt, weil Ressourcen fehlen, weil man keine Zeit hat, weil einem die Willenskraft fehlt, es umzusetzen. Ich möchte Sie wirklich warnen und bitten, aufzupassen, dass Sie dieses Umweltministerium nicht zu einem „Mamüma“-Ministerium machen.

Wie bereits erwähnt, kann man mit dieser Abkürzung auch eine Person bewerten:

(24b) Zu Ihren Zwischenrufen, Herr Nüßlein: Sie müssten aufpassen, dass Sie nicht ein „Mamüma“-Nüßlein werden, weil Sie hier auch immer stehen und sagen: „Man müsste mal dieses und jenes tun“, aber nicht vorweisen können, was die Koalition beim Artenschutz gemacht hat.

Das letzte Kompositum aus dieser Gruppe, mit dem die Worte der Opposition bewertet werden, ist das Kompositum *Trump-Rede*:

(ZWISCHENRUF)

(25) (Stefan Müller [Erlangen] [CDU/CSU]: Ihre Rede würde auch als Trump-Rede durchgehen!)

Die Reden der Oppositionspolitiker werden mit den Reden von Donald Trump verglichen und damit wird eigentlich gesagt, dass sie gleich seien oder dass sie Trump gefallen würden, weil sie gleich sind. Damit man die negative Bewertung verstehen kann, muss man sowohl den politischen Hintergrund der



Weltpolitik kennen, aber auch das Verhältnis der deutschen Regierung gegenüber der Politik Donald Trumps. In diesem Regierungskreis wird Trump als unfähiger und wenn man es ganz stark ausdrücken möchte, als nicht so intelligenter Politiker verstanden, dessen Reden nicht ganz vernünftig und daher manchmal auch gefährlich sein können.

### 3. Verwendung der wertenden Substantive (Simplizia/Derivate und Komposita) in zwei Teilkorpora

Wenn man den Gebrauch von wertenden Substantiven zwischen Opposition und Regierung und deren Verwendung dann auch zwischen den zwei analysierten Korpora vergleicht (2015 und 2018), dann sehen die Ergebnisse so aus:

Tabelle 1: Die Verwendung von Substantiven als wertendes Mittel

	2015	2018	insgesamt
<b>Regierung</b>	44,1%	23,3%	33,3%
<b>Opposition</b>	55,9%	76,7%	66,7%

Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass die Verwendung von Äußerungen, in denen das Substantiv das bewertende Mittel ist, wesentlich häufiger bei der Opposition zu finden ist als bei den Abgeordneten der Regierungspartei. Insgesamt kann man feststellen, dass die Opposition solche Äußerungen doppelt so viel verwendet als die Regierung und im Teilkorpus aus dem Jahr 2018 ist das mehr als doppelt so viel. Der Zweck der meisten wertenden Äußerungen der Regierung besteht eigentlich darin, sich selbst positiv darzustellen, und daher ist die wesentlich geringere Verwendung von wertenden Substantiven bei der Regierung zu erwarten. Dass die Regierung im Korpus aus dem Jahr 2018 weniger Äußerungen mit wertenden Substantiven und die Opposition viel mehr im Vergleich zu dem Jahr 2015 verwendet, kann man auch durch die Änderung des Gesprächsklimas begründen: Die Opposition ist direkter geworden und „attackiert“ häufiger und heftiger als früher. Infolgedessen muss sich die Regierung „verteidigen“, indem sie das Gesagte negiert und ihre eigene Position durch positive Beispiele ihrer Regierung verfestigen möchte.

Von allen Äußerungen mit wertenden Substantiven ist bei den Oppositionspolitikern keine Äußerung mit positiver Bedeutung zu finden, es werden also ausschließlich negativ konnotierte Substantive verwendet. Bei den Regierungspolitikern wird in 31,9% solcher Äußerungen eine positive Eigenschaft ausgedrückt. Es handelt sich dabei meistens nicht um Selbstbewertung, sondern um eine Bewertung der allgemeinen Situation im Land oder um eine Bewertung

Deutschlands. Die Abgeordneten der Regierungsparteien verwenden dann ihre restlichen 68,1% der Äußerungen genauso wie die Opposition, um die andere Seite negativ zu bewerten (Fremdbewertung).

Betrachtet man die Verwendung von umgangssprachlichen wertenden Substantiven in den Äußerungen der Abgeordneten in den beiden Korpora, so bin ich zu dem Ergebnis gekommen, dass von allen wertenden Äußerungen, in denen mit einem Substantiv bewertet wird, 19,85% ein wertendes umgangssprachliches Substantiv enthalten. Wenn man bedenkt, dass die analysierten Beispiele Äußerungen von Politikern in einem Parlament sind, dann ist diese Prozentzahl an sich nicht niedrig. Es überrascht die häufige Verwendung von saloppen Ausdrücken. Wenn man jetzt die Äußerungen der Opposition und der Regierung getrennt betrachtet, dann sehen die Zahlen so aus: Von allen wertenden Äußerungen, in denen mit einem umgangssprachlichen Substantiv bewertet wird, entfallen 85,7% auf wertende Äußerungen der Opposition und nur 14,3% auf Äußerungen der Regierungspolitiker. Diese Ergebnisse zeigen, dass Oppositionspolitiker häufiger als Regierungspolitiker die Regeln einer politischen Rede brechen und dass ihre Kommunikation in manchen Fällen der alltäglichen Kommunikation ähnlich ist. Auf der anderen Seite benutzen Regierungspolitiker bei der Bewertung mehr standardisierte oder in manchen Fällen auch Fachausdrücke.

Vergleicht man die zwei Teilkorpora getrennt, dann kommt man zu einem interessanten, aber erwartbaren Ergebnis: Umgangssprachliche Substantive werden im Teilkorpus aus dem Jahr 2015 in nur 10,3% der durch ein Substantiv wertenden Äußerungen verwendet, während im Jahr 2018 diese Prozentzahl 28,8% beträgt. Dieses Ergebnis ist auch ein Beweis dafür, dass sich das Gesprächsklima bis zum Jahr 2018 verändert hat, weil man mit negativ konnotierten umgangssprachlichen Substantiven häufiger „proviziert“, aber auch häufiger reagiert.

#### **4. Pragma-semantische Funktion der wertenden Substantive**

Die Analyse hat gezeigt, dass sich wertende Substantive hauptsächlich auf drei Objekte beziehen: zum einen werden Personen bewertet (ihr Charakter), dann die Handlung/Tätigkeit der Politiker und am Ende werden auch unterschiedliche Sachverhalte bewertet (u. a. die allgemeine Situation in Deutschland, der Haushalt, Institutionen usw.)

Betrachtet man die drei Referenzobjekte, die mit einem Substantiv bewertet werden, dann sieht die Anzahl der wertenden Substantive so aus:

- Personenbezogene wertende Substantive: 18,7 %
- Handlungsbezogene wertende Substantive: 39,1%
- Situationsbezogene wertende Substantive: 42,2%

Die personenbezogenen wertenden Substantive aus dem Korpus haben meistens eine negative Konnotation (ca. 80%). Das was sich bei der Verwendung

von Substantiven generell gezeigt hat, zeigt sich auch hier bei dieser kleinen Gruppe der Substantive: Substantive als wertendes Mittel werden häufiger von den Oppositionspolitikern verwendet als von der Regierung. Die kleine Anzahl an positiv wertenden personenbezogenen Substantiven ist hauptsächlich bei den Regierungspolitikern zu finden (*Vorbild, Lotse, Stimme der Vernunft*) und interessanterweise nur im Teilkorpus aus dem Jahr 2015, in dem auch kein negativ konnotiertes personenbezogenes Nomen zu finden ist. Im Korpus aus dem Jahr 2018 ist in den Aussagen der Regierungspolitiker kein positiv konnotiertes Nomen zu finden, mit dem man eine Person (sich selbst) bewertet, sondern nur die negativ konnotierten, mit denen man „die andere Seite“ bewertet (*Truppe, Wirtschaftsflüchtling, Hetzer*). Das zeigt, dass die Regierung im Jahr 2018 die Strategie der Opposition übernimmt und so eine bestimmte Person oder Partei direkt bewertet.

Die personenbezogenen wertenden Substantive lassen sich weiter in drei semantische Untergruppen teilen:

- a) Substantive, mit denen ethische und moralische Eigenschaften einer Person ausgedrückt werden
- b) Substantive, mit denen die (Un-)Fähigkeit einer Person ausgedrückt wird
- c) Substantive, mit denen der gesellschaftliche Status einer Person ausgedrückt wird

a) Auf die moralischen und ethischen Eigenschaften der Politiker wird hauptsächlich seitens der Oppositionspolitiker hingewiesen und zwar meistens im Teilkorpus aus dem Jahr 2018. Im Teilkorpus aus dem Jahr 2015 gibt es mit dieser Bedeutung nur Belege, mit denen die Oppositionspolitiker die Regierungspolitiker bezeichnet haben, wie z. B. *Panikorchester, Pfennigfuchser*, die *Neinsager*, während im Jahr 2018 neben Substantiven mit ähnlichen Bedeutungen wie im Jahr 2015 (*Spezialdemokraten, Panikmacher, Ketzer*) auch solche Substantive vorkommen, mit denen die Politiker als Verbrecher dargestellt werden, z. B. *Steuerdiebe* oder implizit auch das Nomen *Angstmacher*. Im Jahr 2018 sind ebenfalls einige Belege zu finden, mit denen die Regierungspolitiker die Opposition bezeichnen, und so kann man im Korpus finden, dass die Oppositionspolitiker *Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge* oder *Hetzer* sind.

b) Sehr wenige Beispiele, mit denen die Unfähigkeit der Politiker zum Ausdruck gebracht wird, sind im Korpus zu finden. Diese Beispiele sind alle aus dem Teilkorpus 2018 und sie haben alle eine negative Bedeutung: *Messidioten, Totalausfall* (Opposition 2018), die *Truppe* (Regierung 2018).

c) Die meisten Beispiele für personenbezogene wertende Substantive sind in dieser Untergruppe zu finden – Substantive, mit denen der gesellschaftliche Status einer Person ausgedrückt wird. Im Vergleich zu den anderen zwei Untergruppen, bei denen mit den Substantiven hauptsächlich Politiker und

politische Akteure bezeichnet wurden, gibt es in dieser Untergruppe Belege, mit denen man auch andere Leute bezeichnet, z. B. die Bürger (*Langzeitarbeitslose, Niedriglöhner*). Aber die meisten Beispiele beziehen sich auf Politiker und sind ohne Ausnahme negativ konnotiert, wenn sie von den Oppositionspolitikern benutzt werden: *die Dirigentin Merkel, Schattenkanzler, Dividendenkönigin, Genosse der Bosse*. Oder sie sind ohne Ausnahme positiv konnotiert, wenn sie die Regierungspolitiker benutzen: *Lokomotive, die Stimme der Vernunft, Vorbild, unser Lotse*.

Die handlungsbezogenen wertenden Substantive – Bei diesen Substantiven geht es darum, dass mit dem Substantiv die Handlung der Politiker bezeichnet wird. Je nachdem, was mit diesem Substantiv ausgedrückt werden soll, habe ich in dem analysierten Korpus folgende Untergruppen unterschieden:

- a) (un-) geschickte Handlung
- b) gescheiterte / gelungene Handlung
- c) (un-) ethische / (un-) moralische Handlung

a) Zu dieser Untergruppe gibt es am meisten Belege im analysierten Korpus. Bei den Beispielen handelt es sich hauptsächlich um negative Bewertungen, auch in den Reden der Regierungspolitiker: *Unsinn, Handlungsunfähigkeit* (Regierung 2015), während im Jahr 2018 die Regierung am häufigsten die Worte bzw. die Rede der Oppositionspolitiker bewertet: *Pflichtrhetorik, Trump-Rede, Sonntagsreden, totaler Kappes*, in seltenen Fällen auch das politische Engagement: *parlamentarischer Tiefflug*.

Vergleicht man die Substantive dieser Untergruppe aus den zwei Teilkorpora, die die Opposition verwendet hat, dann lässt sich feststellen, dass die Opposition im Jahr 2018 sehr oft auf umgangssprachliche Ausdrücke zurückgreift, was zur Intensität der negativen Bewertung beiträgt:

*Lebensmittelverschwendung, Unsinn, Fehler, Bremse, Auf-Sicht-Fahren, Blindflug, Das Kuriose, Ihr Ernst, Ignoranz, Murks, Schenkelklopfer* (Opposition 2015); *Auslassungen, Wahnsinn, Machbarkeitswahn, Fehlanzeige, Schlampigkeit, Geldverschwendung, die Quadratur des Kreises, Rumgepöbel, Zinnober, Ihr politisches, Hickhack, Was für eine Posse* (Opposition 2018)

b) Für diese und für die nächste Untergruppe gibt es weniger Beispiele im Vergleich zur Gruppe, in der eine ungeschickte Handlung ausgedrückt wird. In dieser Untergruppe geht es um Beispiele, mit denen eine abgeschlossene Handlung als gescheitert oder gelungen gekennzeichnet wird. Im Unterschied zur ersten Gruppe gibt es hier Beispiele für eine positive Bewertung und diese stammen, wie zu erwarten, aus den Reden der Regierungspolitiker: *Erfolg, Errungenschaft*. Die beiden positiv konnotierten Beispiele sind aus dem Teilkorpus 2018. Alle anderen Belege aus dieser Untergruppe sind in den Reden

der Opposition zu finden und sie sind alle mit negativer Konnotation: *Versagen, Versäumnisse, Katastrophe, Nichts ...*

c) Mit den Substantiven aus dieser Untergruppe werden Handlungen bezeichnet, die unethisch und unmoralisch sind. Bei unethischen Handlungen handelt es sich grob gesehen um die Bezeichnung von gesetzwidrigen Handlungen, während bei unmoralischen Handlungen mehr das subjektive Rechtsempfinden im Vordergrund steht. Für unethische Handlungen werden im Korpus z. B. folgende Belege gefunden: *Vertragsverletzungsverfahren, Schwarzmalerei, Finanztricksereien*; während unmoralische Handlungen von Politikern beispielsweise mit folgenden Substantiven bezeichnet werden: *Selbsthypnose, Weltbeglückung...*

Die situationsbezogenen wertenden Substantive – Unter Situationsbezogenheit verstehe ich hier nicht nur die Situation (Atmosphäre / Lage) im engeren Sinne, sondern auch die Bewertung von einigen Produkten (z. B. Haushalt) oder von einigen Institutionen. Auch hier unterscheide ich drei weitere semantische Untergruppen, die die Bewertungsrichtung und die Bewertungsabsicht näher bestimmen. So können die Situationen, die mit den wertenden Substantiven bewertet werden, folgendermaßen bezeichnet werden:

- a) allgemein gesellschaftlich (un-)geeignet
- b) politisch (un-)geeignet
- c) wirtschaftlich (un-)geeignet

a) Die meisten Beispiele wurden für diese Untergruppe gefunden, mit denen man eine allgemeine Situation als gut oder schlecht bewertet. Indirekt könnte es auch darum gehen, dass sich diese Substantive auf die politische oder wirtschaftliche Situation beziehen, aber in dieser Analyse habe ich mich bei den wertenden Substantiven darauf fokussiert, ob sie mit ihrer Semantik explizit auf Politik bzw. Wirtschaft hinweisen, oder ob man diese Substantive dafür verwenden könnte, eine allgemeine Situation im Land zu bewerten.

Es sind hier sowohl Belege aus den Regierungs- als auch den Oppositionsreden zu finden, wobei wieder mehr bei den Oppositionspolitikern (negativ konnotiert), aber auch bei den Regierungspolitikern, bei denen diese wertenden Substantive sowohl positive als auch negative Bedeutung haben.

Typische Beispiele für diese Gruppe sind *Notstand, Blabla, ein schlechter Scherz, Schattendasein* (Opposition 2015), *Unwucht, Erfolgsstory, Zukunftsrisiken, Problem, Wermutstropfen, Eckpfeiler, Vorreiterrolle, Pioniere* (Regierung 2015), *Wahnsinn, Quark, Kokolores, Irrsinn, Ohnmacht, Science-Fiction, diese Abzocke, Verrücktheiten, Staus, Verspätungen, Funklöcher, Fantasie, Skandal* (Opposition 2018). Auch hier kann man feststellen, dass die

Verwendung der umgangssprachlichen Substantive häufiger bei der Opposition vorkommt und dass ihre Verwendung öfter im Jahr 2018 zu verzeichnen ist.

Bei den Untergruppen b) und c) handelt es sich um die Substantive, die explizit auf das Thema Politik bzw. Wirtschaft hinweisen und die einen wertenden Charakter haben. Obwohl es sich hier um parlamentarische Reden (politischer Bezug) und das Thema Haushalt (wirtschaftlicher Bezug) handelt, ist die Anzahl der wertenden Substantive aus diesen Gruppen wesentlich geringer als von den Substantiven, mit denen man eine allgemeine Situation bewertet. Es ist natürlich selbstverständlich, dass in solchen Reden sehr viele Lexeme aus dem Bereich Politik und Wirtschaft verwendet werden, aber diese Substantive haben keinen wertenden Charakter. Möchte man etwas bewerten, greift man öfter auf Wörter aus dem allgemeinen Gebrauch zurück.

Die Substantive aus der Gruppe b) und c) sind meistens Komposita, bei denen ein Wort zum Thema Politik oder Wirtschaft gehört und die zweite Konstituente dann einen wertenden Charakter hat. Beispiele zur Untergruppe b): *Sicherheitsrisiko*, *Friedenspolitik* (Regierung 2015), *Verschuldungspolitik*, *Abmahnverein* (Opposition 2018), *Stabilitätsanker*, *ein Signal für Stabilität und Zukunft* (Regierung 2015). Es lässt sich feststellen, dass nur bei der Regierung positiv wertende Substantive gefunden werden können und dass sie dann in der Regel immer ein Hochwertwort beinhalten: *Frieden*, *Sicherheit*. Weniger Beispiele gibt es für Simplizia, mit denen man eine Bewertung ausdrücken kann, z. B. das Wort *Kapitulation* (Opposition 2018), mit dem man eigentlich im Kontext implizit eine Situation bewertet.

Zu c) lässt sich eine ähnliche Tendenz feststellen wie bei der Untergruppe b). Da die Begriffe aus der Wortfamilie Wirtschaft sehr selten einen wertenden Charakter haben, werden sie dann mit einem anderen Nomen verbunden, das den wertenden Charakter trägt, z. B. *Investitionsstau*, *Dummensteuer*, *Rekordhaushalt*. Es gibt aber auch hier einige wenige Beispiele, mit denen man mit einem Simplex diesen wertenden Charakter ausdrücken kann: *Defizite*, *Verlust*.

#### 2.4 Zusammenfassung und Zwischenfazit

Mit Substantiven kann sowohl explizit als auch implizit bewertet werden. Bei Simplizia, mit denen explizit bewertet wird, handelt es sich um Substantive, die per Definition zu einem Wertwort gehören, die auch außerhalb des Kontexts als wertend gelten und innerhalb einer Gesellschaft als solche akzeptiert werden (*Vorbild*, *Vertrauen*, *Lob*, *Freunde oder Versagen*, *Unsinn*, *Hass*). Die implizite Bewertung durch Substantive kommt dann vor, wenn ein Nomen erst in einem bestimmten Kontext einen wertenden Charakter bekommt (z. B. *Dirigentin*, *Lokomotive*, *Truppe*). Die Analyse hat auch gezeigt, dass man unter Komposita auch Sonderfälle (nach Barz/Fleischer 2012) finden kann: *Auf-Sicht-Fahren*,

*Wünsch-dir-Was, Ein-Thema-Politik, Science-Fiction, Mamüma-Ministerium, Trump-Rede.*

Die Analyse hat gezeigt, dass die Verwendung von wertenden Substantiven häufiger in den Aussagen der Oppositionspolitiker vorkommt als in den Aussagen der Regierungspolitiker. Alle wertenden Substantive, die die Opposition verwendet, haben eine negative Bedeutung. Mit ihnen wird also die Regierung negativ bewertet, während bei der Regierung sowohl positive als auch negative Substantive zu finden sind. Da Substantive nicht so oft für die Selbstbewertung verwendet werden (was auch ein Ergebnis der Analyse ist), werden in den Aussagen der Regierungspolitiker mehr negativ konnotierte Substantive benutzt (68,1%). Was die umgangssprachlichen wertenden Substantive betrifft, so sieht die Verwendung dieser Substantive so aus: Von allen Aussagen, in denen mit einem umgangssprachlichen Substantiv bewertet wird, entfallen 85,7% auf die wertenden Äußerungen der Opposition und nur 14,3% auf die Äußerungen der Regierungspolitiker. Wenn man die beiden Teilkorpora vergleicht, dann ist das Ergebnis der Analyse folgendes: Umgangssprachliche Substantive werden im Teilkorpus aus dem Jahr 2015 in nur 10,3% der durch ein Substantiv wertenden Äußerungen verwendet, während im Jahr 2015 diese Prozentzahl 28,8% beträgt. Diese beiden Ergebnisse führen zu dem folgenden Schluss: Im analysierten Korpus wird seitens der Opposition häufiger mit einem umgangssprachlichen Substantiv bewertet, während die Regierungspolitiker dies weniger tun, was bedeutet, dass sie in ihren Reden häufiger standardsprachliche Ausdrücke verwenden. Die umgangssprachlichen Substantive im analysierten Korpus haben immer eine negative Bewertung und deswegen war auch zu erwarten, dass sie häufiger von der Opposition verwendet werden. Die höhere Anzahl an Aussagen mit umgangssprachlichen Substantiven im Jahr 2018 sagt außerdem etwas über die Änderung des politischen Klimas im Bundestag aus. Solche Ausdrücke sind in der Regel expressiver und damit wird die andere Seite stärker provoziert.

Bei der pragma-semantischen Analyse wurde festgestellt, dass hauptsächlich drei Referenzobjekte bewertet werden: die Persönlichkeit der Politiker, ihr Handeln und die allgemeine Situation in Deutschland. Die Analyse hat gezeigt, dass die Bewertung der letzten zwei Referenzobjekte wesentlich häufiger vertreten ist. Bei der Bewertung der Persönlichkeit wurden folgende drei semantische Gruppen der wertenden Substantive festgestellt: Substantive, mit denen ethische und moralische Eigenschaften von einer Person ausgedrückt werden, dann Substantive, mit denen die (Un-)Fähigkeit einer Person beschrieben wird, und Substantive, mit denen der gesellschaftliche Status einer Person ausgedrückt wird.

Am meisten Beispiele, in denen durch Substantive bewertet wird, gibt es in der Gruppe, in der das Handeln der Politiker bewertet wird. Hinsichtlich der Frage, wie genau das Handeln bewertet wird, ist festzustellen, dass das Handeln auf drei Arten und Weisen bewertet wurde: Das Handeln wurde entweder als

ungeschickt bezeichnet, oder als ungelungen/gelungen und unethisch bzw. unmoralisch. In den meisten Beispielen wird das Handeln als ungeschickt bezeichnet (z. B. *Handlungsunfähigkeit*). Für die anderen zwei Bezeichnungen des Handelns gibt es weniger Belege: z. B. *Erfolg* für gelungenes Handeln, *Versagen* für ungelungenes Handeln, *Vertragsverletzungsverfahren* für unethisches und *Selbsthypnose* für unmoralisches Handeln.

Möchte man mit einem Substantiv eine Situation bewerten, dann kann man diese Situation als allgemein, politisch oder wirtschaftlich (un)geeignet bezeichnen. In den meisten Beispielen werden Substantive verwendet, mit denen eine allgemeine Situation bewertet wird. Implizit kann es sein, dass die Substantive auch einen wirtschaftlichen oder politischen Bezug in einem bestimmten Kontext haben, aber die Substantive allein haben dies nicht in ihrer Grundbedeutung (*Unwucht, Fantasie, Skandal* usw.). Im Vergleich zu dieser Gruppe gibt es weniger Beispiele an Aussagen, in denen ein Handeln als politisch oder wirtschaftlich ungeeignet bezeichnet wird. Die Analyse hat gezeigt, dass es sich bei diesen Beispielen am häufigsten um Komposita handelt, bei denen eine Konstituente aus der Wortfamilie Politik oder Wirtschaft stammt, während die zweite Konstituente den wertenden Charakter trägt: *Friedenspolitik, Rekordhaushalt*.

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#### USE OF EVALUATIVE NOUNS IN THE PLENARY SESSIONS OF THE BUNDESTAG

This work analyzes the use of evaluative nouns in the plenary sessions of the Bundestag in 2015 and 2018. These are the plenary sessions at which the budget for the coming year was discussed. The first part of the work shows how you can express an evaluation using simplices, derivatives and compounds. The explicit and implicit evaluations are considered separately. For all groups of nouns, attention is also drawn to colloquial nouns



that are not typical of political discourse. Supported by examples from the corpus, it is then shown how often such nouns are used in the corpus and who uses them more often (the government or the opposition). In the last part of the work, the pragma-semantic functions of evaluative nouns are presented. It is shown what the object of evaluation can be in the analyzed corpus (the person, action or situation) and which aspect of the object being evaluated is expressed with the evaluative nouns.

Evaluations play a fundamental role in how we perceive the world, other people, and ourselves. Depending on how linguists have engaged with this topic, three perspectives on evaluation can be proposed: the semantic-lexical perspective, the communicative-pragmatic perspective, and the emotion-oriented perspective (cf. Blachut 2014: 65). However, it must be emphasized that these three perspectives cannot be strictly delineated from each other. Blachut (148) further argues that each speaker possesses their own inventory of linguistic means that they use to express evaluations.

The most widespread and commonly cited definition of nouns is: Nouns are gender-consistent words that name things (cf. Engel 9: 2014). When considering the second part of the definition, one might observe that it is only partially correct because, as we will see later, the task of nouns is not solely the naming of things. Pragmatic analysis of conversations and other text types could reveal that nouns not only have a naming function but also serve other purposes. For example, with a noun, one can express a command: "Die Tür!" (Meaning: Please close the door!), or evaluate a person: "Du bist ein Idiot!" (You are an idiot!), and so on. The theory of speech acts has previously shown us that when we speak, we also act. The function of language is not only to name and convey information but also to act correctly by influencing someone or something with what is said or triggering a reaction in our conversation partner.

A noun that explicitly evaluates someone or something is referred to as a noun that, by its definition, has a clear positive or negative meaning.

Nouns can evaluate both explicitly and implicitly. Explicitly evaluating nouns fall into the category of simplices and derivatives, which are nouns that, by definition, belong to a value word, are considered evaluative even outside the context, and are accepted as such within a society e.g., *Vorbild*, *Vertrauen*, *Lob*, *Freunde* or *Versagen*, *Unsinn*, *Hass* (role model, trust, praise, friends, or failure, nonsense, hatred). Implicit evaluation through nouns occurs when a noun acquires an evaluative character only in a specific context e.g. *Dirigentin*, *Lokomotive*, *Truppe* (conductor, locomotive, troop).

In compound nouns, I have identified four models of evaluation:

- 1) The base constituent is the evaluative element, and the modifier specifies the object of evaluation: "*Investitionsstau*" (investment backlog).
- 2) The base constituent is the evaluative element, and the modifier intensifies the evaluation: "*Langzeitarbeitslose*" (long-term unemployed).
- 3) The evaluative element is the modifier, and the evaluated element is expressed with the base constituent: "*Niedriglöhner*" (low-wage earners).
- 4) Neither the base constituent nor the modifier has an inherently evaluative character, but the compound noun expresses an evaluation in a specific context: "*Hartz-IV-Niveau*"

(Hartz IV level), "*Pfennigbeträge*" (penny amounts).

The analysis has also revealed that among compounds, one can find special cases (according to Barz/Fleischer 2012): "*Auf-Sicht-Fahren*" (drive on sight), "*Wünsch-dir-Was*" (make a wish), "*Ein-Thema-Politik*" (single-issue politics), "Science-Fiction," "Mamüma-Ministerium," "Trump-Rede" (Trump speech).

The analysis has shown that the use of evaluative nouns is more frequent in the statements of opposition politicians than in the statements of government politicians. All evaluative nouns used by the opposition have a negative meaning. They are used to negatively assess the government, while in the government's statements, both positive and negative nouns can be found. Since nouns are not used as often for self-assessment (which is also a result of the analysis), government politicians use more negatively connotated nouns in their statements (68.1%). In terms of colloquial evaluative nouns, the usage is as follows: Of all statements where colloquial nouns are used for evaluation, 85.7% belong to evaluative expressions of the opposition, and only 14.3% belong to the statements of government politicians.

When comparing the two sub-corpora, the results of the analysis are as follows: Colloquial nouns are used in the sub-corpus from the year 2015 in only 10.3% of evaluative statements using nouns, while in the year 2018, this percentage is 28.8%. These two results lead to the following conclusions:

In the analyzed corpus, the opposition tends to use colloquial nouns more frequently for evaluation, while government politicians do so less often. This suggests that government politicians use more standard language expressions in their speeches. The colloquial nouns in the analyzed corpus always have a negative evaluation, so it was expected that they would be used more frequently by the opposition.

The higher number of statements with colloquial nouns in the year 2018 also indicates something about the change in the political climate in the Bundestag. Such expressions are generally more expressive, thus provoking the other side more strongly. In the pragma-semantic analysis, it was found that primarily three reference objects are evaluated: the personality of politicians, their actions, and the general situation in Germany. The analysis has shown that the evaluation of the last two reference objects is significantly more prevalent. In the evaluation of personality, the following three semantic groups of evaluative nouns were identified: nouns expressing ethical and moral qualities of a person, nouns describing the (in)ability of a person, and nouns expressing the societal status of a person.

Ethical and moral qualities are expressed more frequently in 2018, with only opposition politicians doing so in 2015. In 2018, surprisingly, the government also negatively evaluates the opposition in this regard (e.g., "*Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge*" – economic refugees). Interestingly, there are only a few examples where nouns point to the incompetence of politicians, and these examples were found only in the statements of opposition politicians from the year 2018. The societal status of politicians is most frequently evaluated through nouns. Examples include cases where people outside of politics are evaluated (e.g., "*Niedriglöhner*" – low-wage earners) but, of course,

politicians are also evaluated, which is more common (e.g., "Schattenkanzler" – shadow chancellor).

The group evaluating the actions of politicians provides the most examples where evaluations are expressed through nouns. Concerning how actions are precisely evaluated, it is observed that actions were evaluated in three ways: actions were either labeled as clumsy or unsuccessful/successful and unethical or immoral. In most examples, actions are labeled as clumsy (e.g., "Handlungsunfähigkeit" – inability to act). In this context, the opposition often uses colloquial vocabulary, especially in the sub-corpus from 2018, e.g., "Rumgepöbel" (rowdy behavior), "Zinnober" (hullabaloo). There is less evidence for the other two categories of action evaluation: for example, "Erfolg" (success) for successful actions, "Versagen" (failure) for unsuccessful actions, "Vertragsverletzungsverfahren" (breach of contract procedure) for unethical actions, and "Selbsthypnose" (self-hypnosis) for immoral actions.

If we want to evaluate a situation using a noun, it can be described as generally, politically, or economically (un)suitable. In most examples, nouns are used to evaluate a general situation. Implicitly, these nouns may also have an economic or political reference in a specific context, but the nouns alone do not carry this in their basic meaning (e.g., "Unwucht" – imbalance, "Fantasie" – fantasy, "Skandal" – scandal, and so on). In comparison to this group, there are fewer examples of statements where an action is described as politically or economically unsuitable. The analysis has shown that in these examples, they most often involve compounds where one constituent comes from the word family of politics or economics, while the second constituent carries the evaluative character (e.g., "Friedenspolitik" – peace politics, "Rekordhaushalt" – record budget).

**Keywords:** evaluation, evaluative nouns, Bundestag, government, opposition



## **GAME-BASED LEARNING AND ITS APPLICATION TO FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING IN MONTENEGRO**

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**Abstract:** This paper deals with some practical aspects of game-based learning (GBL) in terms of foreign language acquisition. The main premise of this paper is that game-based learning is inherently more suitable for language learning than a traditional classroom, since it is based on the concept of playfulness, which is an integral part of the personalities of virtually all learners and especially young learners. Therefore game-based learning can be used to remove the linearity and negative predictability of the traditional classroom paradigm and introduce a novel way of teaching students in Montenegro. Another benefit of game-based learning is that it can be applied to just about any subject in our schools and faculties with the caveat of first implementing appropriate adjustments to the curriculum design depending on the specific nature of the subject in question. First, we will introduce the concept of GBL, then provide an overview of the overall theories this paper is based on and introduce the outcomes of our GBL study with a game called Portal 2 and show how game-based learning can be practically applied to foreign language teaching and learning. Our study was designed to function as longitudinal research containing the Target and two Control groups with the aim of investigating whether game-based learning can be an effective tool for foreign language learning. We found that GBL may provide an interactive and engaging environment that encourages active participation and immersion in the language, which helps learners develop their communication, vocabulary, grammar, and cultural awareness skills in a fun and motivating way.

**Keywords:** game-based learning, digital classroom, scaffolding, foreign language learning, new teaching methodology

### **1. Introduction**

Game-based learning (GBL) is an immensely popular technology-based type of learning which has led to a change in basic assumptions in terms of education in the 21st century. GBL can be defined as the utilisation of games and the pertaining features to achieve more or less specific learning outcomes. A game can be defined as a structured form of play that contains goals, rules, feedback system and is based on voluntary participation (McGonigal 2011). In this paper, we will focus on digital games, even though GBL also includes “physical” or

traditional games. In addition to the definition of GBL, it is noteworthy to differentiate it from gamification. Gamification involves the use of game elements to achieve a task which players would otherwise not find appealing. So, in a sense, GBL is an all-inclusive approach to learning using games, both as a learning environment and its substrate, whereas, gamification is about using a specific part of a game, for instance, game incentive system, in order to embellish tasks pertaining to, for example, traditional classroom. This all-inclusive aspect is a particularly important feature of GBL since it involves multiple sources of stimulation (audio, visual, olfactory, etc.) which is of the essence in terms of child development since various kinds of appropriate and controlled stimuli positively affect almost all learners and especially young children's brains. Those children very early on also learn that games can go beyond simple entertainment and can be used for educational and/or training purposes. GBL also promotes critical, creative, or unconventional thinking, which is especially important for young learners due to their increased neuroplasticity. Additionally, GBL incorporates simulation-based learning, the development of games for educational purposes, enhances students' motivation which makes them primed and better suited to understand complex concepts via feedback, trial and error, or independent learning (Squire 2006). GBL is not only limited to schools and academia, but it can also be used for incidental or recreational learning, where the learners do not acquire new knowledge in a formal environment. Furthermore, GBL can be used to promote open learning, i.e., learning that is open to everyone, through location flexibility, learning on demand and ready-to-use education via smart devices. This can be done, for instance, through MOOCs (Massive Open Online Courses) which could be attended by anyone and could incorporate several distinct aspects of GBL. An additional benefit of GBL is that it is almost equally appealing to both boys and girls, with a slight difference in terms of which gender prefers which game genre (Homer et al. 2012). Moreover, GBL can be used to bridge the generation gap in learning (sometimes there is more than a 20/30/40-year age difference between teachers and students). What is more important for our paper is that numerous studies (Kwah et al. 2014; McGonigal 2011; Plass and Kaplan 2015) found no significant gender difference concerning the motivational and learning outcomes, which makes GBL fully educationally compatible with both genders. Since GBL provides such an engaging environment suitable for a wide spectrum of individuals, it should become an inextricable part of the Montenegrin educational system because of all the above-mentioned benefits. This paper is, hopefully, one small step towards that.

“Additionally, gaming represents a domain of interest-driven learning that has low barriers to initial entry, and where kids can move along a trajectory of casual social gaming, to exploration and knowledge seeking, to more intensive forms of knowledge exchange and

production. We found many instances in our case studies where gaming became an entry point for a wider range of technical and interest-driven practices such as hardware hacking, video production, design, and coding” (Ito et al. 2009).

## **2. Theoretical background**

GBL is usually perceived through two competing theories or approaches: psychological perspective and sociocultural perspective. The cognitive perspective as the name suggests, focuses on psychological and cognitive aspects of GBL, whereas the sociocultural approach pays more attention to social and cultural features of GBL. Despite this theoretical dichotomy, we passionately believe that a successful approach to this topic needs to combine both these aspects since GBL definitively affects both the cognitive and sociocultural aspects of learners’ personalities. Thus, this paper will be based on a modified integrated design framework which views GBL through four types of equally important learner’s engagement: affective, behavioural, cognitive and sociocultural. The supporting theoretical stance this paper is based on can be found within the realm of Theory of mind. We opted for this theory as our theoretical cornerstone since it incorporates and ties our paper to all four afore-mentioned aspects. According to Theory of mind, ability to play digital games develops in earnest when child’s mind becomes capable of symbolic thinking and holding in his/her mind multiple mental constructs of the same object. Once this precondition is satisfied, a digital game becomes a mental being the child is ready to play with. It is worth pointing out that this cognitive development occurs within a social context (hence our rejection of the afore-mentioned dichotomy) exemplified by affective elements of reciprocity, empathy, and identification. For example, in a bidirectional and interactive relationship between a parent and his/her child smiling back is one of the first innate social and affective patterns expressed by that child, yet this pattern is supported by a developing neural mechanism tasked with processing social cues. This interplay of neurodevelopmental and affective/social elements is a clear indicator of why many, if not all, learning strategies, GBL included, should be viewed through this multifold prism. Furthermore, GBL also affects the affective/behavioural/social/cognitive side of learners’ personalities through affective/behavioural/social/cognitive changes brought about by digital devices, new means of communication and digital games as well. According to William D. Winn, the director of the Learning Centre at the University of Washington’s Human Interface Technology Laboratory, children raised with the computer “think differently from the rest of us. They develop hypertext minds. They leap around. It is as though their cognitive structures were parallel, not sequential.” (Prensky 2001). This unique way of thinking, caused by a generational switch from print-based generation to computer or game-based generation was such a profound leap as the different

cognitive paradigm brought about the changes in sociocultural perspective as well. This is part of the answer as to why GBL is popular with all learners and especially young learners. It mimics their lifestyles and follows their ways of thinking. Therefore, GBL is such a powerful educational tool since learners feel almost no resistance to adopting GBL, its methodology and tools. GBL is also a social tool since the very essence of gaming is social. This is another strength of GBL since it is excellent at recreating out-of-school settings. This means GBL can combine both formal and informal elements of a learning environment, which is especially important for young learners. Apart from that, GBL is very successful at recreating “peer culture” pertaining to gameplay. This peer culture is developed among peers and usually encompasses collaboration, joint attentional frame, joint problem-solving and even a healthy dose of peer-generated competition. In this manner, learners can both individually and collectively solve a problem, which is a significant educational asset for all learners. They learn how to be team players and that success is maybe easier to reach if they collaborate with their “network peers, game teammates or digital peers”.

### **3. Study groups**

Our theoretical approach will be based on the above-mentioned concepts of GBL, combining its affective, behavioural, cognitive and sociocultural aspects. Our study was designed to consider all four aspects by using what we call “interactive cycles”. An interactive cycle is a phase in learning/playing a digital game that promotes, in practical terms, all the components of GBL and we were encouraging our students to go through all those cycles while learning and/or playing a video game. The main aim of an interactive cycle is to allow students to reach a satisfactory academic outcome. Our study design implements five interactive cycles. The first cycle is related to gathering all relevant data and its main aim is to allow students to make an informed decision to complete a task at hand. Within this cycle, students learn about the challenge and try to get a rough idea regarding possible solutions. The second cycle is related to the analysis of the initially gathered data, the third one is problem-solving based on the analysis of the data, the fourth one is “trial and error” in terms of finding a solution and the fifth one is the formulation of a final solution or several solutions, if feasible. Our target group students, most of the time, went through all the above-mentioned cycles. We deliberately emphasise the phrase “most of the time” because we wanted to allow for some flexibility in our classes and allow students to skip some of the cycles if they felt ready to do so. But, in the absence of any other extraneous circumstances, all five cycles were present and utilised.

These cycles and the pertaining tasks that students needed to complete during/after the classes were structured in such a manner as to respect the



Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development and Scaffolding. For the sake of clarification, the zone of proximal development (ZPD) has been defined as: "The distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem-solving under adult guidance, or in collaboration with more capable peers" (Vygotsky 1978, p. 86). Wood et al. (1976, p. 90) define scaffolding as a process "that enables a child or novice to solve a task or achieve a goal that would be beyond his/her unassisted efforts." As the authors noted, scaffolds require the adult's "controlling those elements of the task that are initially beyond the learner's capability, thus permitting him/her to concentrate upon and complete only those elements that are within his/her range of competence" (Ibid, p. 90).

To evaluate our hypothesis that GBL is intrinsically more conducive to foreign language learning than the traditional classroom, we designed a study that involved three groups of students where we tried to be as gender balanced, and representative as possible. We managed to include as many students as possible from all three years of their undergraduate studies. In total, 85 % of all students, 56% male and 44% female, from the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering participated in this study. The groups were as follows: Target group (TG) with eighteen students (six from the first, second and third year) from the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering who achieved an average result (grade C, 70-80 points out of 100 on their last exam from English) in the previous semester. This group was chosen to represent students with an average knowledge of English. Control group 1 (CG 1) contained fifteen students (six from the first, six from the second and three from the third year) who earned either an E or D as their final grade in the previous semester and Control group 2 (CG 2) contained ten students (three from the first, four from the second and three from the third year) who earned either an A or B as their final grade in the previous semester. These two control groups were chosen as two extremes. Hence, this study is modelled after what is known in statistics as a modified extreme groups design. CG1 and CG2 scores are situated in the sample outer tertiles and serve as a lower and an upper boundary to the score distribution. What does this mean for our study? We wanted to see if TG would make any progress and whether another variable (GBL) would stimulate them to be closer to the upper boundary (CG 2) or discourage them and "push" them closer to the lower boundary (CG 1) in terms of their result, after the completion of the study and application of the GBL methodology.

Our hypothesis is composed of two claims. The first one is that GBL will prove to be a positive academic stimulus which will increase the TG's intrinsic satisfaction. Second, because of the afore-mentioned positive stimulus, we believe their academic results will be higher than their average and closer to the upper boundary, defined as CG 2. If both claims turn out to be true, this will be

proof that GBL has its merits and place in our educational system and must be more tightly integrated into such a system together with some technological and other improvements (better equipment in our schools such as more computers, tablets, smartboards, smart tables, better training of our teachers in terms of how to utilise this technology, etc.). If the results show that GBL made no impact on the results of the students, this would be an interesting starting point for a new study which would analyse as to why GBL made no impact.

The TG was tasked with learning how to: build a simple chamber inside a game called Portal 2, use the weighted companion cube, create an entry, and exit portal in order to build a simple harmonic oscillator. Apart from that, the TG group needed to explain in English how to plan and conduct investigations, analyse, and interpret data and design solutions. The same task was given to the CG 1 & 2. The only difference between these groups was that the TG would have to learn how to build a simple oscillator using the game (Portal 2), whereas the CG 1 & 2 would learn the same thing using traditional classroom methods (lecture, homework, presentation and a written test to evaluate their knowledge). All groups received detailed instructions of what was to be done and expected from them, but they were not informed about the main aim of this research ((dis)proving the hypothesis) in order not to skew the results, even though we were fully aware that the observer effect could not be eliminated. All three groups had ten weeks to complete these tasks and they would meet each week with an instructor who would observe their progress and support their activities. The initial GBL class was designed as an orientation course for the target group students, providing them with essential training on how to use/play Portal 2 and explaining the rules for completing their assignments. During this initial phase, the TG students learnt how their performance would be graded, how to orient themselves within the game, use the weighted companion cubes, portal gun and other items of interest. Speaking of the companion cubes and portal gun, a short description of the game would be in order here.

Portal 2 is a puzzle-platform game developed by an American video game developer Valve. The game received universal acclaim for its originality, design, music, and creativity. The main premise of the game is that players need to navigate through different puzzle-chambers and find their way out. Players are allowed to use a portal gun which creates an inter-spatial portal between two flat planes represented as visual and spatial connexion between two points within the game's three-dimensional space. If a player enters one portal it will exit through another one. An important concept of this game is the conservation of momentum which is used to successfully navigate through the above-mentioned puzzle-chambers. Precisely this conservation of momentum will be heavily utilised to observe oscillations. This game was chosen because it fulfilled several very important criteria: gameplay and mechanics are suitable for our learning goals; this game is flexible in terms of its difficulty settings and allows

for dynamic difficulty adjustments to be made during the gameplay, which allows for (when necessary) graceful failure; the game can be sufficiently personalised, which allows for personalised learning experience (different students may reach several different solutions, each equally valid); it helps in problem-solving because it heavily depends on causation and self-consistent logic and it can be played in solo or co-op mode. Since this is a language learning project, we will skip the majority of data pertaining to physics and focus on the findings related to language acquisition.

Thus, to summarise, the TG students needed to complete the following tasks:

- Build one chamber, with three walls, a ceiling and a floor, within which the oscillator will be constructed,
- One side of the chamber needs to be slightly elevated in order to gain a vantage point from which a portal gun will be used to open two portals and, later on, a cube will be dropped to evaluate the oscillator,
- Both portals should be on a flat surface at the same level,
- Import the portal gun from the library of items,
- Import the weighted companion cube from the library of items<sup>1</sup>,
- Observe the behaviour of the weighted companion cube.

After the chamber and its elements have been created and properly placed, students need to place the weighted companion cube so that it can enter one portal and exit through another one. Due to gravity, the companion cube returns through the second portal and the entire process is reversed. So, the students need to determine the relationship between the height of a fall, the mass of an object, and periodicity of motion, friction, air resistance and consider the implications of different physical processes on game design<sup>2</sup>. At each class, all the aforementioned elements needed to be explained in English, both to the instructor and the rest of the group. The overall outcome of this study is the following: the TG students need to explain to their peers how they solved the problem and what were the challenges. After each class, the TG and CG1/2 students needed to complete a quick test and a questionnaire. The test served as proof that students understood the task at a deeper level and the questionnaire measured the level of enjoyment while completing this task. If the TG students can complete this task faster, with more quality and enjoyment, this will be an interesting proof of concept that GBL has a place in our classrooms and should be implemented as soon as practicable, with appropriate preparations. Thus, we also measured the results of the two control groups to see if they were in a “less advantageous” situation since they were only exposed to traditional teaching methods.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.foundry10.org/programs/games-and-learning/portal-2>

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

Although belonging to the same group (TG), students had the freedom to individually manipulate the test chambers and create their own or mini-group solutions. For the sake of clarity, “mini group” in this paper is to be understood as a smaller group within a larger one (TG) brought about due to group dynamics (Ivanović 2019). Thus, it was interesting to observe that, almost invariably, on each class there would be a mini group within the TG who would produce a slightly different solution from each other although the initial conditions and requirements were identical to all of them. This is one of the exceptionally practical and useful benefits of GBL. Even though students were given the same tools, same instructions, same conditions, almost as a rule, some of them would be more creative and produce something novel, more interesting, unusual and ingenious. This “building” phase was followed by a “look-back” phase, where the students needed to explain the intricacies of their individual solution(s). The students were given ample time to explain their concrete design and the strategies used. They were asked if they were satisfied with their solution, if they would change anything, or if they would adhere to their original solution. After that, there was a “peer engineering phase” in which students would try to recreate each other’s solutions based on each other’s instructions, since by explaining something to somebody else, both sides learn, by sharing and acquiring knowledge, respectively. This was followed by a “discussion” phase, where the students discussed among themselves the pros and cons of different solutions. It is particularly important to mention that advantages and disadvantages related to somebody’s solution are relative since what is a drawback for someone (for example, not strictly adhering to the initial instructions) may be an advantage for someone else (for instance, broader interpretation of instructions may be a sign of advanced lateral thinking). During the whole discussion, students used English and were almost always able to convey their messages and exchange ideas. If they did not know a word or some phrase, they were instructed to ask their peers or to use descriptive language/mother tongue. At the end of each session, students would vote for the best design, providing arguments for their decision.

#### **4. Results and discussion**

After ten weeks of learning with Portal 2 and as many weeks of observation/data collection/analysis, we obtained the results which proved GBL is a very convenient, efficient, and effective method of supplementing or even replacing traditional classrooms with this kind of teaching methodology. Let us first begin with a more subjective side of the obtained results. Overall, it is positive to notice that a considerable number of students are satisfied with both traditional and non-traditional classrooms. With regard to students’ satisfaction in terms of methodology, teaching, problem-solving and critical thinking, the TG showed a higher level of satisfaction. Students’ satisfaction in the TG is by some

12 and 15% higher than in the CG 1 and CG 2, respectively. For our study, the first and the last column (of the chart below) are a telling example of the benefit of implementing GBL into our classrooms. Just a relatively simple change in methodology can increase students' satisfaction and almost eliminate dissatisfaction among students. Another interesting set of data, which cannot be seen in this chart, is related to the reasons why students responded the way they did. In terms of the TG, the two main reasons were that this was something new and interesting for our students, which allowed them to show a more creative side while solving a problem. In terms of the CG 1 and CG 2, the students responded that their satisfaction level almost invariably correlated to the manner in which the teacher presented this task to them. This goes to show that in a traditional classroom, teacher is the main protagonist and the success and/or failure of a subject in students' eyes largely depends on the teacher and his/her knowledge and the manner of presentation (Lin et al. 2013). In GBL, teacher is mainly "removed" from the teaching process and serves as a "steering authority" which helps students achieve the goal, but aims at being "invisible", which allows for greater autonomy of students, which is usually beneficial in terms of critical thinking (Mayer and Johnson 2010). An additional element that increased students' satisfaction in the TG was the process of getting closer to the solution or solutions. Almost all students highly praised this trial-and-error method since it allowed them to show and express creativity because the solution was not served to them, but they needed to invest more or less effort to find the solution(s).

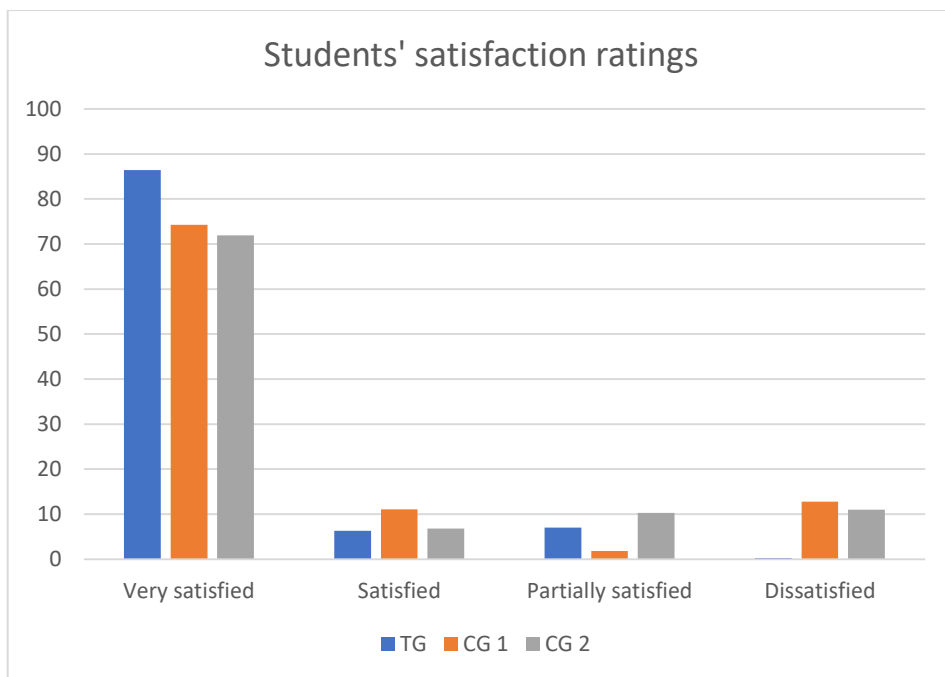


Chart 1: Students' satisfaction ratings

The more objective set of data was related to the three variables that we tested for. The first was related to the time and number of attempts needed to find a solution or solutions and the second one was the overall grade obtained for all the effort invested into the completion of all tasks. Interestingly enough, the TG, on average, needed more attempts to find a solution. Nevertheless, they were able to complete the task more quickly than the CG 2 and, especially than the CG 1. This was due to several reasons. The reason for the existence of more attempts in TG was due to the psychological effect of GBL. One of the numerous benefits of GBL is that it allows for “graceful failure”, i.e., it enables the students to attempt a solution much more quickly and easily than in a traditional classroom. The affective cost for these students is not too high, which is partially due to the flexible game mechanics. Game mechanics are rule-based systems/simulations that facilitate and encourage a user to explore and learn the properties of their gaming space through the use of feedback mechanisms<sup>3</sup>. This encouragement, combined with a lower affective cost, are responsible for more attempts, since students become less afraid of failure, knowing that, if they do not succeed, they will need to tweak some elements next time, but there is nothing to be ashamed of (Watson et al. 2011, Young et al. 2012). Another reason is the visual nature of GBL, since all the mistakes made by the students

<sup>3</sup> <https://lostgarden.home.blog/2006/10/24/what-are-game-mechanics/>

belonging to the TG would be almost instantly visible to them because, companion cubes or other elements would not behave the way it was expected of them to behave. For instance, poorly constructed or positioned portals would transfer the game assets to a wrong location, thus preventing the students from completing the assignment. Students would tweak the faulty element and add some fine-tuning if necessary. Feedback was almost instantaneous and more interesting. Mistakes created funny results because the game elements behaved awkwardly. Contrary to them, the CG 1 and CG 2 would have to go through the whole process “manually” and the mistake may not be so obvious or may be more difficult to spot until the teacher would point it out and then, more often than not, they would have to return “back to the drawing board”, which may be somewhat discouraging for students.

Finally, the graph below also answers one of the most pertinent questions of this paper. Are the TG students going to be closer to the CG 2 in terms of their academic achievement i.e., grade, or they will slip behind and be closer to the CG 1? The graph answers that, while the TG was unable to be academically better than the CG 2 group, which consists of the best students (the academic gap was too wide to close), the TG was able to partially close the gap and perform admirably, especially taking into consideration that this project lasted only for ten weeks and more time would most probably level the playing field.

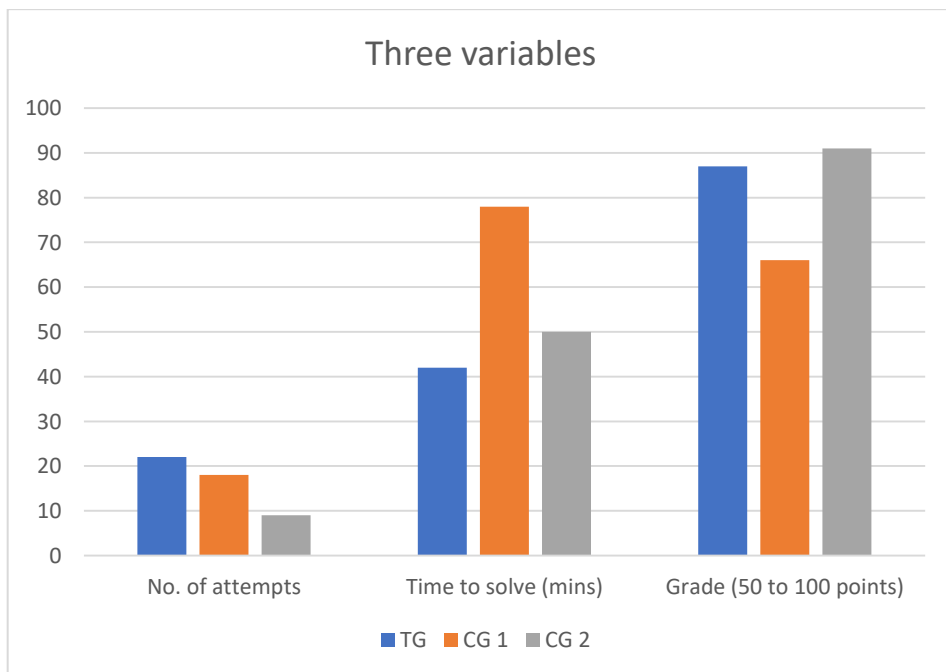


Chart 2: Three research variables

## 5. Conclusion

From our semester-long study, we can safely conclude that GBL should earn its place in almost all schools and faculties of different degree programmes. It is not too difficult to implement, expenses are not too high, and the results are easily measured. Almost all students from TG mentioned this was a remarkably interesting project for them and they would definitely apply to participate in the next one. This means it is possible to connect fun and academia without losing quality. It is necessary to point out this study lasted only for ten weeks, which is one of the main limitations of this research, so all the results have to be taken with a grain of academic salt and interpreted very carefully. Our interpretation is that these results are encouraging and show that GBL can be relatively easily implemented into our schools, but any more detailed and longer study would be more than welcome. In terms of its practical implementation, schools need computers, the number of which should, ideally, correspond to the number of pupils/students in that school. Minimally, this number should not be below one computer per three students. Additionally, schools also need a game or games adapted to the educational environment. Luckily, we have an abundance of choices with multiplayer online games, puzzle games, point and click games, etc. Finally, schools need an instructor trained in game-based learning and its application in schools and academia.

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#### SAŽETAK: UČENJE POMOĆU VIDEO IGARA PRIMJENA NA UČENJE STRANIH JEZIKA U CRNOJ GORI

Ovaj rad se bavi praktičnom primjenom digitalnih igara u domenu obrazovanja i učenja stranih jezika u Crnoj Gori. Digitalne igre moraju da postanu sastavni dio našeg obrazovnog sistema, jer predstavljaju odličan način za izučavanje i usvajanje stranih jezika. Razlog za ovo se krije u tome što digitalne igre koriste urođenu ljudsku potrebu za igranjem i ta potreba, kroz digitalne igre, postaje sredstvo da se dođe do akademski zadovoljavajućih rezultata u pogledu izučavanja i usvajanja stranih jezika. Naša kratka studija sa ciljnom i kontrolnim grupama je pokazala da učenje pomoću digitalnih igara može da bude održiva dopuna tradicionalnog načina usvajanja stranih jezika, uz postepeno smanjivanje tradicionalne komponente učenja i srazmjerno povećavanje udjela učenja preko digitalnih igara. Važno je napomenuti da digitalna igra, koja se bira kao metodološko-praktični način obrade nastavnih jedinica, mora da bude usklađena sa nastavnim i akademskim potrebama studenata. Ciljevi digitalne igre moraju da budu unaprijed jasni studentima i oni moraju da vide jasnu vezi između napretka u video igri i napretka u usvajanju stranog jezika. Upravo iz ovog razloga smo odabrali video igru „Portal 2“, jer omogućava studentima smisljeno putovanje kroz igru koje je neposredno povezano sa usvajanjem propisanih nastavnih sadržaja. Drugi razlog je što je pomenuta igra dovoljno prilagodljiva našim potrebama i dinamici koja vlada u učionici, što je jako bitno, jer nastavnički posao uvijek podrazumijeva i nepredviđene okolnosti, na koja igra mora da odgovori svojom prilagodljivošću.

**Ključne riječi:** učenje pomoću video igara, digitalna učionica, metodološka „skela“, učenje stranih jezika, nova metodologija



## **STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF LEXICAL BUNDLES IN GRADUATE STUDENTS' RESEARCH PAPER ABSTRACTS**

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**Abstract:** Lexical bundles, as a recurrent sequence of words, are an important component of both spoken and written academic corpora, used both by professional academics and student writers in order to contribute to better structural organization, efficient communication, and well-established credibility. These expressions are formulaic and highly frequent, with rather clear discourse function and communicative purpose. The most frequently used structures of lexical bundles include NP-based, VP-based, and clause-based bundles. The aim of the paper is to explore the lexical bundles on a learner corpus of 448 abstracts written by non-native English speakers in English during their Masters studies. Structural analysis is performed in order to observe which structures students prefer and utilize while writing abstracts. The corpus was subdivided into two sub-corpora, depending on whether graduate students received any formal instruction on academic writing before publishing their abstracts, to explore whether instructions influence the use of lexical bundles with novice writers. The results offer the most common structures of lexical bundles that graduate students use, as well as the analysis of the types and diversity of lexical bundles used based on whether or not students had academic writing instructions.

**Keywords:** abstract, academic writing, lexical bundles, structures of lexical bundles

### **1. Introduction**

Over the past decades, lexical bundles (a term first introduced by Biber & Conrad, 1999) or formulaic sequences (Wray, 2002) have been treated as an umbrella term referring to idioms, phrases, collocations, or multi-word units/expressions (Wang, 2018: 13; Buerki, 2016: 17; Durrant & Mathews-Aydinli, 2011: 59; Wray, 2002: 8; Pan, et al., 2016: 60; Liu, 2012: 25). Consequently, the interest into lexical bundles has grown into one of the rapidly growing areas in applied

linguistics and academic writing (Bestgen, 2017: 65, Wray, 2002; Hyland, 2008; Wang, 2018: 12). Researchers emphasize that formulaic sequences have 'an especially strong relationship with each other in creating their meaning' (Wang, 2018) and view lexical bundles (LBs) to be recurrent lexical sequences which are identified through corpus analysis that includes specific frequency thresholds and dispersion requirements (Hyland, 2008: 4; Pan, et al., 2016: 60). LBs in academic writing have been explored from different perspectives: their use in different genres (e.g. abstracts, introductions, articles, dissertations, textbooks), their frequencies and length, their structures and functions, position in sentences (Li, et al, 2020: 86).

In the academic context, research article abstracts have become an increasingly important genre in all knowledge fields (Jiang & Hyland, 2017: 1) because of their unique communicative purpose. They represent "mini-texts" and "screening devices", giving a brief summary of the whole article (Huckin, 2001: 93; Lorés, 2004: 281; Bhatia 1993: 82) without developing a detailed argument (Jiang & Hyland, 2017: 3). It is widely-accepted that abstracts frequently represent readers' first and only encounter with a research article (Jiang & Hyland, 2017: 3), after which the reader decides whether or not to take the time to go further into the paper itself (Jiang & Hyland, 2017: 1; Hyland, 2000; Lorés, 2004: 281). Therefore, acceptance or rejection of the paper may depend on how well the abstracts are written (Huckin 2001).

In general, L2 students may find academic writing quite challenging and even intimidating (Shin, 2020: 45). In addition to the disciplinary content, non-native-speaking students need to pay attention to structural organization and linguistic features, as well as to be able to choose appropriate lexical features (LBs included) to make their abstracts understandable to the target discourse community (Kanoksilapatham, 2013: 2).

The adequate use of LBs is one of the signals that students have mastered academic writing. According to Hyland (2008), LBs are an important component of fluent linguistic production (Hyland, 2008: 4) and one of the most noticeable features of academic written texts (Hyland, 2019: 383). LBs are familiar to text users and have customary pragmatic and discursual functions (Hyland, 2019: 383). They are seen as a way of assisting communication to facilitate pragmatically efficient communication and a way to make the language more predictable to the reader (Wang, 2018: 357), signaling the appropriate use of a disciplinary code (Cortes, 2006; Li et al., 2020).

The majority of literature published on LBs in academic discourse focuses on longer pieces of writing, e.g., research articles (Hyland 2008), bachelor theses (Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2012), and Ph.D. dissertations (Yakut et al., 2021), or literature reviews (Wright, 2019). However, to the author's best knowledge, very few studies have been undertaken to investigate LBs in students' abstracts, especially in Serbia. The lack of academic writing courses available to Serbian

students creates confusion about academic writing conventions and feeling of insecurity (Blagojević, 2014: 77).

In an attempt to fill this gap, we compared lexical bundles used in two groups of abstracts produced by graduate students. One sub-corpus consists of research paper abstracts written by graduate students who had academic writing (AW) instructions and the other sub-corpus of abstracts by graduate students who did not have any formal instructions in abstract writing or academic writing in general. These abstracts were written by non-native L2 English students at the end of their Master's studies. Given the high-stake nature of abstracts, this study aims at identifying and investigating the lexical bundles students most frequently use, focusing on their structural diversities. More specifically, the study poses the following research questions:

- What are the most frequent structures of LBs used by Master students in the discourse organization of their abstracts in English?
- What differences, if any, are there in the structure of the lexical bundle used in Master students' abstracts between the two analyzed groups – students who had AW instruction and students who had no AW instruction?

## **2. Literature review – LBs in academic writing**

Corpus studies conducted have demonstrated that LBs are pervasive in natural language use (Wang, 2018: 5; Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad, & Finegan, 1999; Erman & Warren, 2000; Buerki, 2016: 15). They are seen as a marker of proficiency and an important component of fluent linguistic production. As a result, they are critical to the success of communicative acts and key to rapid language processing (Buerki, 2016: 15; Hyland, 2008: 4; Bestgen, 2017: 65; Laufer & Waldman, 2011: 648).

A significant body of research shows that LBs are widely used in academic writing and are known to be an important aspect of EAP writing development (Staples, et al., 2013: 214; Biber, 2006; Biber, 2009; Biber & Barbieri, 2007; Biber, Conrad & Cortes, 2004). Furthermore, research demonstrates that bundles are central to the creation of academic discourse since they provide the basic building blocks for coherent discourse (Hyland, 2008: 4), and represent a large stock of prefabricated phrases (Hyland, 2019: 354). Consequently, professional academics and student writers alike draw on formulaic resources to 'develop their argument, establish their credibility and persuade their readers' (Hyland, 2008: 59; Wang, 2018: 12).

The predominant trend in research studies is to take a frequency-based approach, relying on the computer to identify frequent recurrent uninterrupted linguistic forms in a given corpus (Wang, 2018: 12-13; Bestgen, 2017: 66). Some researchers claim that frequency is "the ultimate characteristic that defines lexical bundles" (Cortes, 2013: 34). From a methodological point of view, the

frequency-based approach has the advantage of being straightforward and consistent and can be scaled up to extensive datasets (Wang, 2018: 13).

However, frequency is not by itself a sufficient guide to how strongly a word is associated with its context, and it is also not a satisfactory guide to how well a phrase is associated with its communicative function (Durrant & Mathews-Aydinli, 2011). It is important to note that most of the lexical bundles identified by frequency alone are structurally/semantically incomplete (Carter & McCarthy, 2006: 828), and therefore, to determine relevant and pedagogically compelling lists of LBs additional analyses are required. To address this issue, Simpson-Vlach and Ellis (2010) developed an instrument for identifying useful LBs. Their target corpora consisted of an academic speech corpus (1.7 million words) plus BNC files of academic speech (431,000 words) (British National Corpus 2006), and the academic writing corpus consisting of Hyland's (2004) research article corpus (1.2 million words), plus selected BNC files (931,000 words) sampled across academic disciplines using Lee's (2001) genre categories for the BNC. Firstly, they looked for the most frequent LBs and determined a Mutual Information (MI) score. By doing this, they came up with two sets of data, one with the most frequent LBs but less functional LBs, and the other one with more functional and structurally complete LBs. This was followed by further analysis by experienced ESL instructors to get additional insight into whether a LB is a fixed phrase or expression and whether it is worth teaching. After applying these analyses, the authors were able to compile a list of the top 200 LBs in spoken academic English and a list of the top 200 LBs in written academic English.

One of the major characteristics of LBs is the fact that they do not represent a complete structural unit (Biber and Barbieri, 2007: 270). There are LBs that are complete phrases or clauses (e.g., *I want to know, as well as*); however, most LBs bridge two structural units (e.g., *the fact that the, the aim of the*). Structure-wise LBs in academic writing most frequently are prepositional phrases with -of fragments (*as a result of*), noun phrase + of fragments (*the nature of the*) or anticipatory *it* fragments (*it is argued that*) (Pan et al., 2016: 61). Together, these three forms comprise over 70% of 4-word patterns in research journals spaced at three periods over the past 50 years: 1965, 1985 and 2015 in four disciplines: applied linguistics, sociology, electrical engineering and biology (Hyland and Jiang, 2018: 391).

Chen and Baker (2010: 35) propose three broad structural categories: NP-based bundles, containing a noun phrase with a post-modifier fragment (*the role of the*), PP-based bundles, which begin with a preposition followed by a noun phrase fragment (*at the end of*), and VP-based bundles as word combinations with a verb component (*was one of the*). They also included a number of subcategories in their taxonomy. The same taxonomy was used in the research

by Pan et al. (2016), as well as Hyland and Juang (2018), though the latter had more subcategories to make a clearer division.

Drawing on previous research, Hyland (2018: 391) proposes the classification of 4-word LBs structures, also focusing on three main categories: verb phrase-related bundles (passives, copular be, and imperatives), clause-related bundles (revolving around: anticipatory it, abstract subject, human subject, as-fragments, if-fragments, wh-fragments, that-fragments), and noun/preposition-related bundles (combinations of a noun phrase with of-phrase fragments, noun phrase with other post-modifier fragments, prepositional phrase expressions, and comparative expressions).

In one of the most recent studies, Yakut et al. (2021) decided to incorporate all separate bundle groups into their research and the three-category criticism by Lu and Deng (2019), who argued that PP and NP bundles should be distinct categories in order to observe all distinctive patterns. They suggest four major categories, namely noun-phrase bundles, prepositional-phrase bundles, verb-phrase bundles, and clause-related bundles, each of them classifying the most frequent sub-structures. The same taxonomy was adopted in this research.

An important contribution to the analysis of LBs used in the academic writing of Serbian researchers is a Ph.D. thesis by Lazić (2017) compiling and examining three corpora of research papers in the field of biotechnology: the first consisting of papers written by native speakers of English, the second written in English by speakers of the Serbian language and the third written in the Serbian language. Apart from specifying the most frequent LBs and analyzing their functions, structure, and frequency, this thesis examines the influence of the Serbian language on the use of LBs when writing in English, providing insights into the use of English LBs used by native Serbian speakers. The findings show that these LBs mainly correspond to the LBs the native Serbian speakers use when writing in the Serbian language. Furthermore, Lazić (2017) compiled a list of biotechnical LBs and exercises to be used in writing courses.

### **3. Methodology**

#### **3.1. Data collection**

The research was conducted on a learner corpus (Table 1) made of 448 abstracts (total of 29,558 words) written by Master students at the Faculty of Technical Sciences, University of Novi Sad, Serbia, who were required to write a research paper before defending their Master theses with an abstract in both L1 Serbian and L2 English, and after a review process, it was published in the open-access Proceedings of the Faculty of Technical Sciences. The abstracts written in English and published in the Proceedings between 2016 and 2021 (four issues per year) were compiled to form a research corpus. These student-produced

abstracts were not written for the purpose of this or any other similar research and therefore represent an authentic use of the language. It is also important to notice that not all abstracts followed the word limitation, and some students wrote shorter abstracts than requested. The authors were aware of this, but regardless of that, included these abstracts since this analysis targeted the use of lexical bundles, not the structure of the entire abstracts.

Table 1 – Corpora word count

Students' abstracts	No. of abstracts	Word count	Average word no. per abstract
Sub-corpus 1 With AW instructions	219	16,841	76.89
Sub-corpus 2 Without AW instructions	229	12,717	55.53
Total	448	29,558	65.98

Students who wrote the abstracts analyzed in this paper took between 2 and 4 obligatory English language courses (each with four teaching hours per week) during undergraduate studies. For students having only two language courses, both courses are in general English language, the first being at the B1 level and the second one at the B2 level. Apart from two general English courses, students with 3 or 4 semesters of English have 1 or 2 courses focusing primarily on profession-related topics and vocabulary. None of these courses include explicit instructions in academic writing. After finishing undergraduate studies, it is expected that the students can understand the main ideas of complex texts, communicate fluently and clearly and explain a viewpoint on a topic (CERF, 2020: 48), and the students who had profession-related language course(s) are knowledgeable of the variety of topics relevant for the field the major in.

Since all students were majoring in engineering or related disciplines, the authors divided them into two groups based on whether or not they had any course in academic writing during their master's studies. The first sub-corpus of 219 abstracts was produced by students who had instruction in academic writing. These graduate students enrolled in the fields of architecture, graphic engineering and design, and electrical and computer engineering. For students who had a course in academic English, this was a one-semester course in the Master studies, two-hour classes per week, covering topics such as abstract writing, research paper writing, IMRAD structure, CARS model, transitions, metadiscourse markers, formal and academic vocabulary. During the course,



students needed to submit two practical tasks: an abstract and an introduction to a research paper. However, the course description does not include information on instructions on lexical bundles. We can only assume that they were mentioned while dealing with transitions, metadiscourse, and structures of abstracts and research introductions.

The second sub-corpus included 229 abstracts written by students without academic writing instruction while studying mechanical engineering, civil engineering, surveying, industrial engineering and management, safety at work engineering, traffic engineering, and software engineering. Since all abstracts belong to engineering sciences, and students have a number of interdisciplinary courses, the assumption is that all students have similar general knowledge, and hence abstracts cannot be divided according to disciplines.

As can be observed, the abstracts were written by novice L2 English writers. Hence, the authors did not focus on grammatical forms and errors but strictly on general patterns and structures of lexical bundles found in the corpus. As for the expertise lexical bundles, these students, during their third and fourth year of undergraduate studies, as well as their master studies, are obliged to read in both Serbian and English; hence, their professional knowledge is bilingual in the typical topics of their field of study.

### 3.2 Identification of lexical bundles

Having created the corpus, the abstracts were analyzed for lexical bundles used. Since it could not be readily determined whether students would use longer or shorter lexical bundles, all 3-, 4- and 5-word lexical bundles were collected using the corpus analysis software AntConc version 3.5.8 (Anthony 2019). It automatically retrieved multi-word units with frequency and distribution criteria specified, after which the bundle-driven approach (Li et al., 2017) could be used for the structural analysis.

Two-word bundles were not included in the research due to the fact that they are very common, and analyzing them would not be very beneficial (Kopaczyk, 2015). On the other hand, very long lexical bundles (more than 5 words) are rather rare, and they often contain shorter ones; thus, they were not included in the analysis. According to previous research (Hyland, 2019; Cortes, 2004; Li, 2020), the most frequently studied lexical bundles are 4-word bundles, and they are 10 times more frequent than 5-word sequences, offering more structures to analyze. Furthermore, there is a number of 3-word bundles (e.g. *on the other, it can be*), which frequently expand into the 5-word bundles (*on the other hand the, it can be seen that*), supporting Cortes (2004) observation that many four and five word strings 'hold 3-word bundles in their structure'. This research explored the word sequences as the frequent combinations used together and includes 3-word lexical bundles when they make a structural and

functional unit (e.g., *the paper concludes*), but counts them as 4-word or 5-word bundles if that is the whole structure used as such (e.g., *if and only if, it can be concluded that*).

Since the corpus is rather small (Table 1), the frequency per million words could not be applied. Thus, raw frequency count (Chen and Baker 2010) was used to identify the type (T), i.e., the number of structures utilized at least once, and tokens (N), i.e., the number of all occurrences of lexical bundles used in the corpus. Then, the authors decided to set the range threshold at three texts, and thus examples occurring once or twice are not listed in the paper. Range threshold is set to make sure that the variety of lexical bundles is used in a variety of texts rather than by individual authors in a text. Most research studies adopt the Hyland's threshold of at least 10% of texts; however, this cannot be applied to small-scale research. The overlapping lexical bundles constituting the complete overlap (Chen and Baker 2010: 33), meaning that 3-word and 4-word bundles are a part of the 5-word bundles identified, were manually looked for in the AntConc final bundle lists and removed in order not to influence the quantitative results (following the solution by Chen and Baker, 2010).

An extensive body of research on lexical bundles deals with the structures of lexical bundles (Biber et al., 2004; Hyland, 2008, 2019; Chen & Baker, 2010, Li et al., 2020). Although they investigated different corpora, they mainly concluded that the most frequently used structures are: NP-based, PP-based, VP-based, and clause-based bundles. That taxonomy was used in this research.

#### 4. Findings and discussion

Following research by Chan and Baker (2010), Hyland and Jiang (2018), and Yakut et al. (2021), the results are presented in Table 2. Lexical bundle structures and sub-structures were listed, with the types (T) that have been found, as well as their row frequency (N) and individual frequency (No). Only bundles occurring three or more than three times in the corpus were listed. Structures occurring only once or twice are not listed in Table 2.

Table 2. Structural distribution of LB in two sub-corpora and LBs used

Major structures	Sub-structures	Sub-corpus 1				Sub-corpus 2			
		T	N	Bundles	No.	T	N	Bundles	No
Noun-phrase	with of-phrase fragment	44	91	<i>the development of the</i>	15	31	74	<i>the part of the</i>	7
				<i>the research of the</i>	13				

				<i>the analysis of the</i>	11			<i>the development of the</i>	6
				<i>the use of the</i>	9			<i>the use of the</i>	5
				<i>the part of the</i>	8			<i>the result of the</i>	3
				<i>the design of the</i>	7			<i>the search of the</i>	3
				<i>the description of the</i>	6				
				<i>the result of the</i>	4				
				<i>the design of the</i>	4				
				<i>the basis of the</i>	3				
Prepositional-phrase	with embedded of-phrase	7	18	<i>as a result of</i>		4	11	<i>as a result of</i>	
				<i>for the purpose of</i>				<i>for the purpose of</i>	
				<i>with the aim of</i>				<i>with the aim of</i>	
				<i>in terms of the</i>				<i>at/in the end of</i>	
				<i>at the end of</i>					
				<i>on the basis of</i>					
				<i>in the context of</i>					
	other prepositional phrases	4	7	<i>on the other hand</i>		2	6	<i>at the same time</i>	
				<i>at the same time</i>				<i>in the present study</i>	
				<i>in the present study</i>					
				<i>with the aim of</i>					

	comparative expressions	1	62	<i>as well as</i>	62	1	56	<i>as well as</i>	56
Verb-phrase	with passive verb forms		363				298		
	be+ Noun/Adjective phrase		29	<i>is the same as</i>			18	<i>is the same as</i>	
				<i>is a matter of</i>				<i>is a matter of</i>	
				<i>is due to the</i>				<i>is due to the</i>	
				<i>is/was the result of</i>				<i>is/was the result of</i>	
	modal verb forms		24	<i>could be initiated</i>			16	<i>can be planned</i>	
				<i>can be considered</i>				<i>can be discussed</i>	
				<i>can be analyzed</i>				<i>can be analyzed</i>	
				<i>should be equipped</i>				<i>should be located</i>	
				<i>can be achieved</i>					
<i>should be demolished</i>									
Clause-related	Abstract subject	24	96	<i>this paper presents the</i>	37	22	64	<i>this paper presents the</i>	19
				<i>this paper describes the</i>	17			<i>this paper describes the</i>	11
				<i>this paper deals with</i>	14			<i>this paper analyzes the</i>	6
				<i>this paper analyzes the</i>	11			<i>this paper deals with</i>	3
				<i>this paper examines</i>	7				
				<i>this paper contains the</i>	4				
				human subject	3			20	we

				I	4				
	anticipatory <i>it</i>	7	11	<i>it is possible to</i>	4	4	7	<i>it is necessary to</i>	4
	that + fragments		124			59			
	there + fragments		19				10		
	wh- + fragments		104				62		
	in order to + fragment		18	<i>in order to determine</i>	4		14	<i>in order to improve</i>	3

As can be observed from Table 2, students' use of LBs is rather limited and primarily includes *that + fragments* and *wh- + fragments*, together with *VP with passive verb form*, *NP with of-phrase fragment*, and *abstract subjects* are lexical bundles being used in abstracts. It is also clear that students in the group without AW instructions (sub-corpus 2) wrote shorter abstracts and used even fewer LBs. This was to be expected since the absence of formulaic sequences in language production signals the "lack of mastery of a novice writer in a specific disciplinary community" (Pérez-Llantada, 2014: 85).

The results also concur with the research arguing that L2 learners have a more limited repertoire of lexical bundles that they tend to repeat often (Adel & Erman, 2012; Chen & Baker, 2010). This can, for example, be observed in the use of only one comparative expression found in the corpus, *as well as*. Learners, such as graduate students, tend to have a small inventory of formulaic sequences that they overuse (Wray, 2012: 235). The reason why there are more different LB types in the sub-corpus 1 is related to the fact that only very advanced learners (or in this case, learners with the appropriate course and learning material) can be expected to use bundles similar to that of native speakers (Boers & Lindstromberg, 2012; Bestgen, 2017: 66). More detailed analysis of the LBs used by the students is provided in the following sections.

#### 4.1 Noun phrases with of-phrase bundles

In academic writing, noun phrases with of-phrase fragments are frequently used to specify the attributes of what is being discussed, identify quantity, place, and size; mark existence, or highlight qualities (Hyland and Jiang 2018). Hyland (2008) and Yakut et al. (2021) found NPs with of-phrase to be the most dominant LBs.

In this study, both groups of graduate students used NPs, especially ones *with the of-phrase fragment*. Since research paper abstracts include introducing background or a problem, presenting current research, describing methodology, and reporting results, it was no surprise that the most frequent NPs with of-phrase fragments used by the students were *the development of the, the research of the, the analysis of the, the design of the, the description of the, the results of the, etc.*

The use of these NPs can be seen in both corpora:

- (1) After a short introduction, the steps of *the development of the applications* are described, as well as the end results. (aw24)
- (2) The research is based on sample scanning, and *the analysis of the obtained results* shows the resistance of the print to rubbing, depending on the substrate. (aw188)
- (3) The task of this research is to analyze *the development of the postal sector*. (no aw216)
- (4) This paper presents *the part of the building* in Zrenjanin which was assessed and reconstructed. (no aw73)

The results show that in sub-corpus 1, students with academic writing courses used significantly more of these bundles in comparison to students without these lectures. Bearing in mind that these courses focused on the abstract structure, the function of key abstract elements (moves), and on the essential vocabulary utilized for introducing the research problem, describing methodology and results, it was expected to find a larger number of NPs and more diverse NPs in abstracts written by students who had instructions in academic writing.

In sub-corpus 2, there are only several LBs used three or more times, with the most common being *the part of the* and *the development of the* (3, 4), used to identify quantities and processes. The lack of LBs in sub-corpus 2 clearly underlines the fact that academic writing courses are essential, even for short pieces of writing such as abstracts.

#### 4.2 Prepositional phrase bundles

After noun phrases with of-phrase fragments, prepositional phrase expressions present the largest share of bundles in academic writing. Bundles containing PPs can make up to 40% of all bundles (Hyland and Jiang 2018:393). These bundles are especially used to facilitate the exploration of possibilities and identify logical relationships in an argument. Gil and Caro (2019: 79) state that the most common structures in the graduate theses' corpus include *of this paper*, *according to*, *in this study* and *of the most*.

However, our research presented completely different results. As it seems students did not prefer using bundles with prepositions. There were several examples of bundles with embedded of-phrase related to the purpose of their writing (e.g., *as a result of*, *for the purpose of*, *with the aim of*) (5, 6), and only a few with other prepositional phrases. In sub-corpus 2, the number of diverse types is really small, almost to be neglected.

- (5) This paper presents the application of reinforcement learning *for the purpose of* training an agent capable of playing the video game Road Fighter. (aw134)
- (6) *For the purpose of* this application the results of measurements obtained by the Festo Air Box portable laboratory are collected. (no aw113)

The authors of this research believe that students avoiding using PPs can be contributed to several factors. PPs, such as *for the purpose of*, *in the context of*, *in terms of the*, etc., are used to emphasize a logical relation or give further details about a problem, study, or results. Students in sub-corpora 1, although they had academic writing instructions, focused more on the essential moves in abstracts and not on providing further details in their abstracts. Furthermore, students in both sub-corpora tend to write short abstracts and did not include explanations of logical relations and additional details. Further reasons for the lack of PP bundles may lie in the fact that students tend to translate directly from Serbian. In those cases, NP bundles or PP bundles do not occur in the Serbian text.

Interestingly, the only bundle beginning with a preposition that students used often was a comparative expression *as well as* which was used more than 50 times in both sub-corpora. This may indicate that the students used it as a phrase they previously acquired in undergraduate English language courses, not necessarily as a PP lexical bundle.

### 4.3 Verb phrase-related bundles

Although present in academic writing, VP bundles are not the most frequently used type of bundles (e.g. in the research by Yakut et al. (2021: 485) with the exception of passives helping the writer to facilitate the presentation of propositional content, distance the author, and still make the basis of claims clear for readers (Hyland 2008).

However, this research demonstrates that Serbian students follow the traditional aspects of academic writing and overuse passive voice. Most abstracts contain at least one bundle with passive verb forms.

- (7) The research *was based* on the measurement of the spectro-photometric values of prints for single classic and CFL bulb. (aw136)
- (8) A proposal *was made* for measures to improve traffic conditions by variants, the results obtained were evaluated, and the best solution was proposed. (no aw228)

This shows that students in both sub-corpora continue to believe that by shifting the focus from the researcher to the object of the action, they are utilizing a more formal and more appropriate formulation. This result is surprising, especially for sub-corpus 1, since they had clear instructions emphasizing an apparent decline in the use of passive structures due to the increase in the use of self-mentions.

Verb-based LBs with modal verbs are also very rare, with only three modals: can, could, and should. Interestingly all modal verb forms are passives, such as: *could be considered, can be analyzed, should be located, can be achieved*, etc. All the modal verb examples help students express the ability or necessity of an action. Since modal verbs are taught in all general English courses, this leads to the conclusion that these were, again, pre-learned structures.

### 4.4 Clause-related bundles

The clause-related bundles are frequently used category of bundles in the corpus, including *that-* and *wh-* fragments, abstract subjects, anticipatory *it*, and *in order to-* fragment.

The most dominant subcategories are bundles with *that-fragments* and *wh-fragments*. Students' use of these bundles implies that they tend to use longer sentences with subordinate clauses to explain the research segments in more detail or provide clarification (9-12).



- (9) A prediction technique *that produces sufficiently accurate predictive models* was selected. (aw48)
- (10) There are a number of preventive measures *that can prevent illness and injury* while working on a computer. (no aw123)
- (11) The output of a dynamic system is frequently estimated using learning-based algorithms *which are trained on some previous data*. (aw38)
- (12) The first part consists of the standard introductory part, *which describes the problems of the subject of the research*, the goals of the work, and the methods used in the development of the work. (no aw117).

*That + fragment* bundle is the only type of bundle where students with academic writing instructions actually use a category twice more than those without the instructions. The frequency counts reveal that there are 124 *that-clauses* in the sub-corpus 1 and 59 bundles in the sub-corpus 2. Students having instructions utilized it more since they were instructed to elaborate their explanations and write longer sentences.

In addition to *that-* and *wh-* fragments, students also use abstract subjects. This sub-group of clause-related bundles is mainly found in the initial positions in sentences as a part of the purpose bundles. Although students with academic writing instructions utilized abstract subjects more, Table 2 demonstrates that similar types were used by both groups. Dominant abstract subject bundles in both sub-corpora are *this paper presents the* (13), and *this paper describes the* (14). This suggests that both groups of students are familiar with these particular structures and that they associate them with research paper abstract writing.

- (13) *This paper presents the* role of the SCADA system in the Smart Grid. (aw160)
- (14) *This paper describes the* production and assembly supporting structure of the bridge crane laboratory model, located in the Laboratory for mechanical structures. (no aw206)

Anticipatory *it* is a common clause-related bundle subcategory used for the purpose of disguising authorial interpretation (Hyland, 2008: 11) and focusing on the evaluation of the propositional content (Yakut et al., 2021: 486). As for two sub-corpora, it is evident that students do not write using anticipatory *it* bundles. There are only a few instances in both sub-corpora, and only one is used by more than four graduate students (15, 16).

- (15) *It is possible to* select component of some type, and handle its data. (aw33)
- (16) In order to achieve optimal organization and uniformity of workload of delivery areas, *it is necessary to* respect the general criteria and data available in application solutions and fieldwork. (no aw227)

Although anticipatory *it* is frequently seen in longer academic texts, such as research papers and theses, this limited usage of anticipatory *it* in abstracts suggests that it may not be typical for short and structurally pre-determined texts to include disguised authorial interpretations.

Finally, students in both sub-corpora rarely used one more clause-related bundle - *in order to* + fragment.

- (17) Some of them are applied to data set *in order to determine* soil moisture behavioural regimes and patterns. (aw49).
- (18) The problems encountered by the company and potential solutions were identified *in order to improve* the business and the transport itself. (no aw187).

In this study, students with academic writing instruction preferred *in order to determine* and *in order to create*, while the second group used *in order to improve* and *in order to increase*. In all examples, students used it to explain the selection of research methods and to present results. This shows that this clause-related bundle is not mentioned in the academic writing course.

### 5. Conclusions and pedagogical implications

This research was designed to investigate the most frequently used LBs by Master students when writing research paper abstracts and to attempt to determine whether the number of LBs used, their structures, and diversity differ based on the formal academic writing instructions they had. Contrary to the authors' expectations, there were few significant differences in the use of LBs in both sub-corpora.

Abstracts written by students who had courses in academic writing demonstrated a more diverse use of noun phrases with of-phrase fragments. Students used them mainly to introduce the research background, explain the method, discuss results, or point out conclusions. This confirms that these LBs were discussed in detail while covering the abstract structure. Furthermore, this group of students used more prepositional phrase bundles and therefore were more able to provide explanations for logical relations. Also, more clause-related LBs with *that*-fragments were found in the abstracts by students in sub-corpus

1. The explanation for this may lie in their instructions to write sentences with specific explanations and clarifications.

Although the students who attended academic writing courses wrote better abstracts, this research also shows that these courses insufficiently focus on structures such as lexical bundles and consequently give students very little insight into the importance of using LBs properly.

The authors are also aware of the limitations of this research. Research paper abstracts written by students may not follow the requirements regarding word limitation, leading to writing shorter abstracts missing key moves. It is also difficult to prove whether or not they had expert help or used a translation application to write these abstracts. However, the authors believe that all the same, it is important to examine these abstracts in an attempt to be beneficial in identifying the most relevant and frequent LBs and in designing materials and activities to be covered in academic writing courses.

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### STRUKTURANALYSE LEXIKALISCHER BÜNDEL IN ABSTRACT VON DIPLOMSTUDENTEN DES MASTERSTUDIUMS

Lexikalische Bündel als wiederkehrende Wortfolgen sind ein wichtiger Bestandteil sowohl mündlicher als auch schriftlicher wissenschaftlicher Korpora, die sowohl von professionellen Wissenschaftlern als auch von studentischen Schriftstellern verwendet werden, um einer besseren strukturellen Organisation, einer effizienten Kommunikation und einer etablierten Glaubwürdigkeit beizutragen. Diese Ausdrücke sind formelhaft und sehr häufig, haben sowohl eine ziemlich klare Diskursfunktion als auch einen kommunikativen Zweck. Die am häufigsten verwendeten Strukturen lexikalischer Bündel umfassen NP-basierte, VP-basierte und Satz-basierte Bündel. Das Ziel der Arbeit ist es, die lexikalischen Bündel auf einem Lernerkorpus von 448 Abstracts zu untersuchen, die von englischen Nicht-Muttersprachlern während ihres Masterstudiums auf Englisch geschrieben wurden. Es wird eine Strukturanalyse durchgeführt, um zu sehen, welche Strukturen die Studierenden beim Verfassen von Abstracts bevorzugen und verwenden. Das Korpus wurde in zwei Teilen unterteilt, je nachdem, ob Diplomstudenten des Masterstudiums vor der Veröffentlichung ihrer Abstracts formale Anweisungen zum wissenschaftlichen Schreiben erhalten haben, dass man untersuchen könnte, ob Anweisungen die Verwendung von Lexik bei Anfängern beeinflussen. Die Ergebnisse

zeigen die häufigsten Strukturen von lexikalischen Bündeln, die Diplomstudenten des Masterstudiums verwenden, sowie abschließende Bemerkungen, dass Diplomstudenten unabhängig von den gegebenen Schreibanweisungen dieselben Strukturen verwenden und ähnliche Fehler machen.

**Schlüsselwörter:** Abstrakt, wissenschaftliches Schreiben, lexikalische Bündel, lexikalische Bündelstrukturen.

***Literature and Cultural Studies***

***Studije književnosti i kulture***





## **TOWARD AN EMBODIED THEORY OF UNDERSTANDING**

### **LITERARY TEXT**

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**Abstract:** In this article, I aim to theorize and formulate the understanding of literary text within an Embodied Cognitive Approach. After sketching out the analyses of literary text understanding conducted within the framework of the so-called Common Cognitive Approach, I will proceed to point out their shortcomings. I will then lay the scientific foundations of the Embodied Theory of Understanding Literary Text (ETULT) by referring to direct and indirect evidence from neurology, psychology and so on. I will introduce ETULT in detail, with the help of evidence from fiction, Dante's *Divine Comedy*. I will also delineate the outlines of some field studies for the future, through developing questionnaires and brain scans (fMIR and EEG). In short, ETULT asserts that understanding literary texts is an embodied act, occurring processually on two levels of representation: Schematic and Embodied (The Two-Layered Representation Hypothesis or TLRH). Upon encountering a literary text, the reader forms a Blended Mediated World which is a fusion of the Text World and the Readerly World (The Blended Mediated World Hypothesis or BMWH). Within this mixed world, while those projected parts from the Text World which correspond with sensorimotor experiences of the reader are understood in an embodied way, the parts that lack embodied equivalence in the reader's sensorimotor experience function as Perceian Representamens, setting the reader in search of relevant Objects of Signs, which occur in the form of sensorimotor experiences (The Object-Search Hypothesis or OSH). The reader then becomes involved in a cycle of coming and going movements between the literary text and the socio-physical environment, demonstrating thus the processual nature of embodied understanding.

**Keywords:** Embodied Theory of Understanding Literary Text; Two-Layered Representation Hypothesis; Object-Search Hypothesis; Blended Mediated World Hypothesis

### **1. Introduction**

Embodied Cognition is an approach within Cognitive Science that attaches causal, constitutive importance in cognitive processes to the *body* and the *environment* this body *interacts with*. This approach has been proposed as a challenge to Standard or Conventional Cognitive Science, which limited cognitive

activity to the *mind/brain* (Shapiro 2019, 1; Wilson & Foglia, 2017). Embodied Cognition is not a uniform, consistent approach, however, and there are various sub-approaches to it. Thus, depending on which element in the Embodiment Thesis is highlighted, from *cognition* (in the sense of the *mind/brain*) through *environment* to *body/action* (which are inseparably interrelated), there emerge rather different approaches (Wilson & Foglia, 2017).

Within the realm of literature, the approach which has so far been almost exclusively applied to the analysis of literary texts places its emphasis mainly on the *cognition (mind/brain)* side of the Embodiment Thesis. While it does not ignore the other elements altogether, it does not pay them due attention either. It seems that the great emphasis on *cognition* (or conceptual system), and the inadequate treatment of the *environment* and the *body/action*, cause the approach practically to not be able to distance itself from Standard or Conventional Cognitive Science. Hereafter, for the sake of analysis, this approach will be referred to as the Common Cognitive Approach, so as to be distinguished from the so-called Embodied Cognitive Approach, within which ETULT is proposed. Taking into account all three elements of *cognition (mind/brain)*, *environment* and *body/action* to the fullest, my aim in this article is to theorize and formulate how readers in real life situations come to understand literary texts, in a way which is psychologically (and, hopefully in the near future, also neurophysiologically) more real. The especial emphasis in this paper on a full treatment of the *environment* and *body/action* sides of the Embodiment Thesis, as we shall see, is what makes all the difference between ETULT and the current work conducted within the Common Cognitive Approach.

The analyses carried out within the Common Cognitive Approach (including Cognitive Poetics/Stylistics) tend to use theories in Cognitive Psychology and especially Cognitive Linguistics. Drawing upon such theories, these analyses try to examine various aspects of literature, including how readers come to make sense of literary texts. What characterizes the analyses of literary text understanding within the Common Cognitive Approach is their inadequacy in treating the crucial role played by the elements of *environment* and *body/action* in the process of literary understanding. In fact, both the *environment* and the *body/action* have recently received some attention within the Common Cognitive Approach; as we will see, this attention is of a limited nature though. Furthermore, there is also the important issue (closely associated with the *body/action*) of the role of human *personal interest* in motivating individuals to engage with texts, literary or otherwise, which calls for address, and which has not received appropriate treatment by analyses within the Common Cognitive Approach. In the present paper, I will try to consider these issues through proposing a unified theory which brings all the above elements together, with a claim as to psychological reality, both intuitively and empirically.

## 2. Review of Literary Text Analyses within the Common Cognitive Approach

In accordance with the three elements of the Embodiment Thesis mentioned above, that is, *cognition* (or *mind/brain*), *environment* and *body/action*, the review of the relevant literature is divided into two parts: the first will refer to the shortcomings of those analyses conducted within the Common Cognitive Approach that seem to be solely restricted to the *mind/brain*, and mainly date back to the earlier stages of the development of the Common Cognitive Approach; and the second will indicate the failings of more recent works that have tried to integrate the *environment* and *body/action* elements within their theoretical frameworks, and reveal the latest developments in the field.

### 2.1. Early Works

For the first part, two chapters have been selected, one by Gibbs and another by Steen, from *Cognitive Poetics in Practice* (2003). In his article, Gibbs first rejects theories that consider text understanding as the activation of pre-existing, fixed structures pre-stored in the long-term memory, claiming that "understanding literary texts [...] is a dynamic activity that relies on concrete, often embodied information, which people creatively compose in the moment of reading" (2003: 29). This view of meaning construction, he says, "allows for the flexibility needed to interpret novel events and language" (Ibid.). He chooses a passage from the novel *Catch-22* in order to demonstrate the notion of dynamic understanding. In the passage, there is something that, as Gibbs explains, cannot be understood merely by the activation of pre-existing, fixed and static conceptual structures; instead, it requires that the reader come to understand it in a dynamic, reflexive way. The passage describes an American soldier who feels proud of himself not helping build the officers' club. As Gibbs says, this situation contradicts usual expectations, since one normally feels proud of something they have done, not something they haven't participated in. Here, Gibbs says, through a manipulation in the pre-existing conceptual structures stored in the mind at the moment of reading and making a parallelism between "higher officers" and "the enemy," the reader manages to construct meaning dynamically and, consequently, comes to understand the passage.

Steen too moves along the same lines. At the beginning of his chapter, he points out that, in order to understand literary texts dealing with love, readers need some "world knowledge" about this concept. By choosing the Cognitive Scenarios for his analysis, he then proceeds to provide a cognitive model that could represent this world knowledge. According to him, "A more dynamic way of looking at love is to see it as a scenario" (2003: 68). He then goes on to present the basic structure of the love scenario, a structure which "explains almost any love story" (Ibid.: 69), and which has a few stages. Then, he goes further to

complement his proposed scenario by adding a couple of motivations and results to each stage. He then goes on to provide some support for his proposed model by analyzing a poem by George Crabbe, "a marriage ring," showing that the concepts employed in the poem are somehow included in his model.

These two analyses suffer from the same defects. First, they restrict understanding literary texts to the *mind/brain*, reducing it to the activation of pre-existing ("dynamic," though) conceptual structures, and does not indicate the role of the *environment* or *body/action* in the process of understanding literary texts at all. Second, they limit dynamicity of understanding literary texts to a kind of selectional activation of conceptual structure content (here, that of love) on the part of the reader, depending on the text he/she is reading. Thus, dynamicity of understanding literary texts in these analyses remains in the narrow sense of the contents of the *mind/brain*, overlooking the dynamic relationship between *mind/brain*, *environment* and *body/action*.

## 2.2. Recent Developments

As for the second part of the review section, two other articles have been chosen, one by Canning (2017) and another by Lahey (2019), both conducted within Text World Theory (TWT). Admitting the unidirectional nature of TWT up to date, in that it has been solely limited to the text-driven construction of Text World Networks by the reader through their existing knowledge (or rather to the *mind/brain* of the reader), Lahey tries to incorporate the *environment* and *body/action* elements (or, to use her own terminologies, the knowledge derived from the Text World fed back into the Discourse World and vice versa) in her analysis through suggesting a cognitive feedback loop, which allows for a bidirectional or circular movement between the reader's *mind/brain* (Discourse World) and the text (Text World). She examines a real-life place and all the events related to it (Cape Breton Miners' Museum in Glace Bay) and its representation in a literary work named *The Glace Bay Miners' Museum* by Sheldon Currie, claiming that "readers familiar with the Cape Breton Miners' Museum in Glace Bay will also be likely to map in a bi-directional (or, more accurately, circular) way, using their pre-existing knowledge of the real-life miners' museum (and all it represents) in their construction of a text-world for Currie's narrative, and applying Currie's narrative toward a fresh understanding of the real-life monument" (2019: 68).

In this work, although Lahey takes a step forward and considers the *environment* and *body/action* seriously within the Common Cognitive Approach, in that she, through a cognitive loop, presupposes a dynamic relationship between the text and the reader in the process of understanding, nevertheless her treatment of these crucial elements is limited: it is restricted to the previous *embodied interactions* of the reader with the *environment* up to the point of encountering the text; beyond that, there is no mention of the text motivating

the reader to move around and seek out new experiences through *bodily action*. (Although Lahey does not use such terminologies as *environment*, *body/action* or *embodied interaction* in the exact sense employed here, they are taken to be implying almost the same concepts.) This means that, *a fortiori*, there is no mechanism which might account for such a crucial phenomenon. What we see is a dynamic relationship between the existing knowledge of the reader and the information provided by the text writer. We are still far from a full treatment of the elements of *environment* and *body/action*.

The study that Canning (2017) conducted before Lahey also reveals similar shortcomings. Within the same theoretical framework (TWT), Whiteley examines the role of the *environment* and *body/action* elements in the form of a shared on-line reading group in Northern Ireland's only female prison in the process of understanding a literary text named *The Story of an Hour* by Kate Chopin. One woman in the group who has first-hand, "visceral" experience about a central theme of the story (death of a partner) explains it to the other women in the group who cannot properly make sense of it, as they lack such experience, thus bringing them vicariously to an understanding of the story. "During the shared reading situation of the prison reading group, text-worlds are jointly negotiated by multiple discourse-world participants, and those co-constructed text-worlds feed back into the discourse situation" (2017: 178). Here again, there occurs a limited treatment of the *environment* and *body/action*, as the focus of the study lies on how discourse participants draw on their existing knowledge to understand literary texts, not on how a literary text might motivate them toward *embodied action* within the *environment* for gaining new "visceral" experience.

It is worth noting that these two studies (alongside other works conducted in a similar vein) implicitly confirm one of the central claims of ETULT: that is, one cannot understand a literary text (or any text in general) unless they have already experienced the situations represented in it. For other similar studies within the Common Cognitive Approach, see Stockwell 2002, 2019, 2020; Nuttall 2017 (which is conducted almost in the same way as the two explained above, only it differs in terms of the social context within which the literary reading occurs, that is, an online book review site); Whiteley 2011; Whiteley & Canning 2017; Norledge 2019; and Giovanelli 2019 (both similar to the studies above, only one deals with a social context of school children and the other with university students).

Finally, I shall note the pioneering, insightful and well-documented book by Gerrig on the psychology of reading (1998) which explores salient aspects of experiencing narrative worlds mainly from a cognitive-psychological point of view. It is very inspirational in all of its six chapters, especially the first one, which expands on the metaphors of transportation and performance for reading literary texts, and the final one, which investigates the effects of literary texts on

readers, two themes which touch upon what is the main concern in this paper. What it lacks, however, is a treatment of the issue which uses the latest developments undertaken in the field of Cognitive Science, gathering around all the related material under one unified theory.

### **3. Cognitive-Scientific Underpinnings of the Embodied Cognitive Approach**

According to the Embodied Cognitive Approach adopted here, *cognition* is assumed to have evolved in human beings from a need to *interact with the environment*. In other words, *cognition* has an adaptive function, and that is facilitation of *action* in the *environment* for the sake of survival (Hostetter & Alibali 2008; Wilson 2002). Therefore, according to this evolutionary view, *cognition* (*mind/brain*) and *action* – which necessarily takes place through a *body* with certain anatomical and physiological characteristics within a *socio-physical environment* – are closely associated, to the point of forming a causal, constitutive link (perception/cognition FOR action, cf. Riener & Stefanucci 2014). This means that each of these components depend on the other for their existence and constitution: on the one hand, there will be no *action* (through a *body* within a *socio-physical environment*) without *cognition*; on the other hand, *cognition* is not possible without *bodily action* within a *socio-physical environment*. Furthermore, this link is mutual, and it operates in a cyclic fashion: *cognition* helps the individual *act* better in a *bodily* manner within a *socio-physical environment*, and in turn, *bodily action* causes the individual to acquire better *cognition* of the *socio-physical environment*. Various empirical evidence, from behavioral through neurological to developmental, supports what is claimed here.

#### **3.1. Behavioral Evidence**

Behavioral evidence refers to the experiments that empirically demonstrate that sensory perception of objects causes the potential actions associated with them to be activated in people's minds. For instance, Tucker and Ellis (1998) found that participants respond more quickly to the question whether an object is upright or inverted if the hand they respond with is the same one they actually grasp the object with in real situations. For example, if there is an inverted teapot with its handle on the right, then participants will respond more quickly with their right hand than their left. The same thing happens when participants are asked to respond either with a squeezing hand shape or with a pinching one. When they are shown objects graspable by squeezing (e.g. a hammer), then their response with a squeezing hand shape is quicker, and vice versa (Ellis & Tucker 2000).

### 3.2. Neurological Evidence

Neurological evidence refers to research conducted into the so-called *mirror neurons* in monkeys (di Pellegrino, Fadiga, Fogassi, Gallese & Rizzolati 1992), and probably humans as well (Rizzolati, Fadiga, Gallese & Fogassi 1996). Mirror neurons, which are located in the premotor cortex, get activated both when one is doing something themselves and when they watch someone else doing it. For example, it is found that when people see familiar tools their left ventral premotor cortex becomes activated (Grafton, Fadiga, Arbib & Rizzolati 1997). Indeed, easily manipulatable objects such as an apple or a shirt activate the premotor cortex more strongly than do objects that cannot be easily manipulated such as a traffic light (Gerlach, Law & Paulson 2002).

### 3.3. Developmental Evidence

Developmental evidence refers to the experiments that show children's motor development stages and perceptual (cognitive) development are correlated. When infants learn to crawl, their perceptual skills change in many ways (Campos *et al.* 2000), and the same is true when they learn to walk, so that crawling and walking infants see the world differently (Kretch, Franchak & Adolph 2013). For example, when pushed toward the deep side of a *visual cliff*, infants who have experience of crawling or controlling a walker, show cardiac accelerations (a sign of fear), while infants without any crawling or walker experience do not show any significant heart rate change. On the other hand, walking provides infants with access to distal parts of the environment, and this consequently increases engagement with distal objects and people, thus accelerating language development, as opposed to crawlers who interact with proximal objects and people.

In light of such evidence, it is asserted that, for a better grasp of the process of understanding literary text, the same assumption that there is a mutually causal, constitutive relationship between *cognition* and *body/action* within a *socio-physical environment* should also be taken into account for analyzing literature. According to this approach, the reader's *action* is influenced by the literary text he/she engages with, so that their behavior is motivated by the potential for action the text provides. The *bodily action* that ensues, in turn, produces a more exact understanding of the text. This mutual influence goes on and on, only to end up in a cycle of movements between action and understanding, which gets the individual closer and closer to a satisfactory grasp of what the text intends to say. But how may this process be captured and integrated into a unified theory?

## 4. The Embodied Theory of Understanding Literary Text (ETULT)

The Embodied Theory of Understanding Literary Text (ETULT) is composed of three main parts, for which the empirical support remains to be provided, as

will be explained at the end of the paper: (1) The Two-Layered Representation Hypothesis (or TLRH); (2) The Object-Search Hypothesis (or OSH); and (3) The Blended Mediated World Hypothesis (or BMWH).

#### **4.1. The Two-Layered Representation Hypothesis (TLRH)**

The first hypothesis or TLRH has roots in Glenberg's work on language comprehension (Glenberg & Kaschak 2002). Glenberg's theory called Indexical Hypothesis proposes that language comprehension occurs in three stages: (1) mapping words onto real objects or their perceptual symbols (or concepts); (2) activation of affordances (or sensorimotor experiences) associated with objects or perceptual symbols stored in memory; (3) and finally, meshing the affordances according to the syntax of the sentence. What matters for us in Glenberg's theory of embodied language comprehension is that he considers language comprehension to take place not conceptually and abstractly but perceptually and concretely: the meaning of a sentence is not understood until the sensorimotor experiences associated with the situation it represents are activated in the individual's mind/brain. Thus, when an individual reads a sentence which describes a particular situation, the sensorimotor simulations associated with a specific, concrete experience of that situation get activated in his/her mind/brain, helping him/her comprehend the meaning of the sentence (Scorilli 2014).

While Glenberg's theory is limited to sentence comprehension, nevertheless it may be generalized and extended beyond the sentence level to include textual understanding in general, and understanding literary text in particular. According to this extended theory, understanding a literary text requires that the reader activate his/her sensorimotor experience associated with situations represented in it. Here too, these sensorimotor experiences are not general, abstract concepts, but they are specific and concrete perceptual structures. However, it is not always the case that the reader already possesses all the sensorimotor experiences described in the literary text he/she engages with: he/she might lack them. What happens in such cases? For this issue to be addressed, the process of literary text understanding should be considered to occur on two levels: Embodied and Schematic. This means that, while reading a literary text, the reader develops two layers of representation in his/her mind/brain, one which includes his/her embodied experiences and which activates sensorimotor structures associated with situations, and the other which is abstract and which gets created when the reader lacks the sensorimotor experiences correspondent with situations represented in the literary text. In the latter case, a ghostly, skeletal representation is created in the reader's mind, one that has been vaguely constructed, and lacks in specific, concrete flesh and blood details. This Schematic Representational Layer serves to keep going the



flow of reading, producing a superficial understanding of the text (cf. Barsalou, Santos, Simmons and Wilson 2008; Borghi and Cimatti 2009 & 2012).

However, one cannot genuinely speak of an individual really understanding a literary text until his/her Schematic Representational Layer is filled up with relevant sensorimotor experience. To fill up his/her Schematic Representational Layer, the reader needs to acquire the relevant sensorimotor experience associated with the situation represented in the literary text. The acquisition of these sensorimotor experiences comes about through *bodily action* in a *socio-physical environment*. When the reader comes upon a situation in a literary text for which he/she lacks corresponding sensorimotor experience, he/she has to turn to the *environment* in order to fill up the empty structures in his/her Schematic Representational Layer with the relevant perceptions and actions. Having thus filled up his/her Schematic Representational Layer, partially or totally, with the relevant sensorimotor experience, the reader now returns to the literary text to continue with his/her reading, only to turn to the *environment* upon encountering new situations in the literary text.

#### 4.2. The Object-Search Hypothesis (OSH)

Here, as we can see, a dynamic, tripartite relationship is formed between the reader (or his/her *mind/brain*), the literary text (more precisely, his/her Schematic Representational Layer) and the *environment* (or sensorimotor experience). This is the second hypothesis of ETULT, or OSH. According to it, in order to understand a literary text, the reader goes to the *environment* (physical and social) and, upon gaining the relevant sensorimotor experience there, comes back again to the text, only to repeat the cycle again. This tripartite relationship and its dynamic nature can best be captured in terms of Peirce's Semiotics in the form of Representamen, Object and Interpretant. Situations the reader finds him/herself lacking corresponding sensorimotor experience for play the role of Representamens in Peirce's Semiotics, which by definition stand for or point to something beyond themselves, unknown to the individual. Objects are what Representamens point to, or those same unknown things. These are, in fact, sensorimotor experiences associated with situations, which are at the moment unknown to the individual, but are possible to be arrived at through relevant perceptions and actions. This constitutes Peirce's definition of Interpretant (deledalle 2001, 18-21).

What brings the individual to Objects of Signs in Peirce's thought is called Diagrammatic Reasoning. In his logic, Peirce distinguishes between three types of inference: *abduction*, *deduction* and *induction*. When encountered with a Representamen whose Object is not immediately known to them, individuals try to find it out through Diagrammatic Reasoning. Thus, they first form an abduction (educated guess) to the best of their knowledge about the most probable thing which could act as the Object of Representamen in question;

then, they provide deductively the typical conditions needed for such a guess to come true; and finally they go on to test those conditions against the Representamen in question (Bundgaard & Stjenfelt 2001).

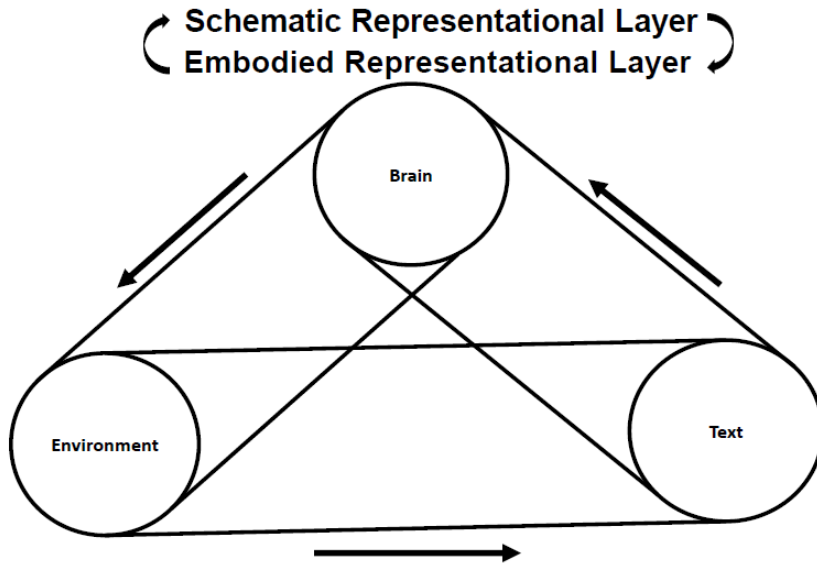


Fig.1. Two-Layered Representation Hypothesis

#### 4.3. The Blended Mediated World Hypothesis (BMWH)

But how do these two hypothesized cognitive mechanisms (TLRH and OSH) come into effect in real-life reading situations? It is here that Conceptual Blending Theory (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002; Turner, 2014) comes into play. Contrary to the Common Cognitive Approach analyses conducted within TWT which assume two separate worlds, Text World and Discourse World, that are later connected via some kind of cognitive feedback loop, I suggest the mechanism of a Blended Mediated World at the very beginning of a reader's encounter with a literary text. This mechanism is the very precondition for the reader to get involved in the fictional universe in the first place, and to construct and maintain a trace of the events represented in the literary text later on, in whatsoever form that mental representation might occur, Text Worlds, Mental Spaces or any other terminologies. The storyline unfolds within this Blended Mediated World.

Reading, literary or general, is an encounter between two Worlds, each having its own similar or different system of, to borrow a term from

Glenberg and Kaschak, perceptual symbols (or, traditionally speaking, concepts): Readerly World and Text World. Upon (or even prior to) encountering a literary text, the reader makes correspondences between the contents of his/her World (stored in his/her mind/brain in the form of perceptual symbols or schemata) and those of the World represented in the text. The more the reader is able to find correspondences between his/her own World and the World of the Text, in terms of such attributes as the protagonist's age, gender, education, as well as the kinds of situation and event represented in the text, the more he/she is likely to be absorbed into the Blended Mediated World, or, to use the Blending Theory terminology, "to live in the blend" (Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 83). In this case, where the reader, upon some *personal* basis, has been drawn into the Blended Mediated World and urged to "live in the blend," he/she is also more motivated to get involved in the Object-Searching process, that is, to look for experiences associated with situations represented in the text for which he/she lacks sensorimotor simulations in his/her system of perceptual symbols or schemata. These sensorimotor experiences found within the Text World but missing within the Readerly World act as empty Schematic Layers (or Representamens) and drive the reader toward trying to fill them with Embodied Layers of experience, thus setting him/her in search of relevant Objects of Signs, possibly in a cyclic manner.

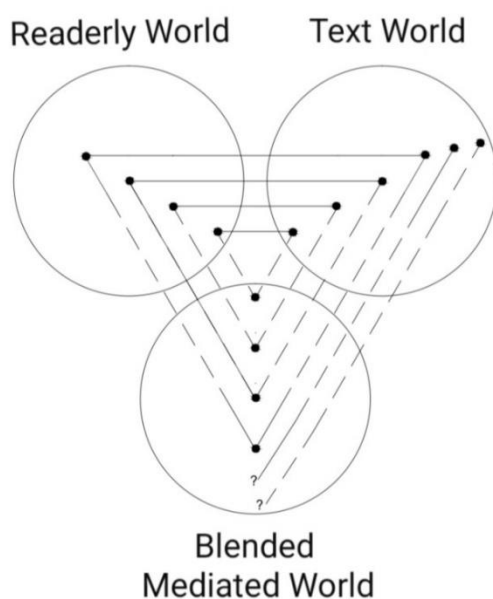


Fig.2. Blended Mediated World Hypothesis

The key point here is the Blended Mediated World built through the cognitive mechanism of Blending, which allows and ensures the effect of the text to go well beyond the on-line moment and the immediate context of reading onto the *environment* through the *bodily action* of the reader. Therefore, as long as the reader "lives" within the mentally constructed Blended Mediated World, the text is able to exert its influence over him/her, providing the necessary motivation for off-line *embodied interaction* with a *socio-physical environment*. The assertion made here is very much in line with the philosophical view which emphasizes the importance of *personal interest* in what motivates individuals to engage with texts, literary or otherwise. An appropriate treatment of this, however, goes well beyond the scope, and the space constraints, of the present paper. See, for example, the notion of *application* in Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics (Gadamer, 1975; Zimmermann, 2015). I will try elsewhere to address this issue in more detail and more fully.

In the next section, I will go on to make the abstract, theoretical picture presented here more understandable through a concrete, practical analysis of a literary piece of evidence.

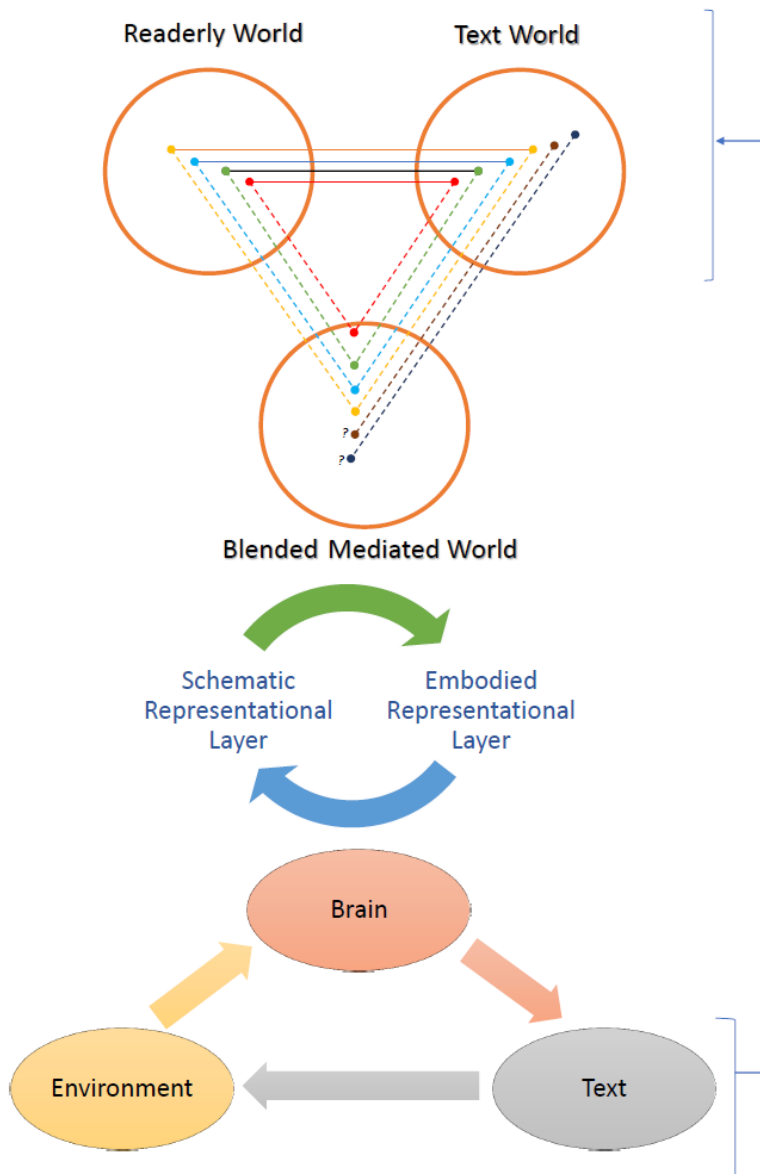


Fig.3. ETULT in full

**5. Discussion**

While I recognize that such claims require empirical support, nevertheless what has been at stake here is above all provision of a precise, adequate conceptual description of the overall structure of ETULT. Therefore, in this section, I will show how what was explained in the previous section works in practice as applied in the case of a literary text.

As for empirical data, I will provide at the end of the paper an outline of some prospective field studies which remain to be conducted in the near future, hoping that it will excuse lack of empirical data right now.

The instance chosen for analysis from among numerous other possible cases of fictional evidence is Dante's *Divine Comedy*. In Canto V of *Inferno*, Dante describes the fate of the souls who in the world were guilty of carnal lust. Among the souls he sees in this second circle of Hell are a couple named Paolo Malatesta and Francesca da Rimini. Their sin has been a forbidden love they have enacted, and thereupon have lost their lives:

I began: "Poet, I would like, with all my heart,  
to speak to those two there who move together  
and seem to be so light upon the winds."

[...]

When the winds bent their course in our direction  
I raised my voice to them, "O wearied souls,  
Come speak with us if it not be forbidden."

[...]

"Love led us straight to sudden death together.

Caina awaits the one who quenched our lives."

These were the words that came from them to us.

What strikes us as interesting here is the way Dante represents the love affair between Paolo and Francesca: in Dante's view, what leads them to such an action is the book they are reading on a similar situation between Lancelot, a Knight of the Round Table, and Guinevere, Queen to King Arthur, king of England in the Arthurian legend. This way of portraying Paolo and Francesca starting a love affair may be a figment of Dante's imagination, since there is no historical record as to how they actually became amorously engaged for the first time. Perhaps Dante intended to highlight the importance of literary texts influencing and orienting people's minds and lives. In *The Divine Comedy*, after Dante asks Francesca how their relationship started, Francesca replies:

one day we read, to pass the time away,  
of Lancelot, how he had fallen in love;  
we were alone, innocent of suspicion.

Time and again our eyes were brought together  
By the book we read; our faces flushed and paled.  
To the moment of one line alone we yielded:

It was when we read about those longed-for lips  
Now being kissed by such a famous lover,

That this one (who shall never leave my side)

Then kissed my mouth, and trembled as he did.

Our Galehot was that book and he who wrote it.

That day we read no further." (Musa 1984,112-113)

The romance *Lancelot du Lac*, resembles Paolo and Francesca's situation in many respects, from a forbidden love and hesitation in its expression through the knights to the rulers and the like. Paolo and Francesca recognize this. In terms of ETULT, upon encountering the the romance book, Paolo and Francesca, by drawing on the content of the Text World and that of their own Readerly World, form, so to speak, a joint Blended Mediated World, making a set of correspondences between their actual situation and the situation represented in the literary text. For instance, Paolo and Francesca identify themselves respectively with Knight Lancelot and Queen Guinevere; Giovanni is likened to King Arthur, and the book they are reading to Prince Galehaut, as is referred to in Dante's text, "Our Galehot was that book and he who wrote it." Once the Blended Mediated World is set up, the Text World (or the book) continues to exert its influence, even when they are no longer reading the book in an on-line fashion.

After setting up the joint Blended Mediated World, Paolo and Francesca form two Representational Layers, one Embodied, and the other Schematic. Located in their Embodied Representational Layer are those same correspondences they made between themselves and the characters of the book (similar pre-existing sensorimotor experiences). In fact, this Embodied Representational Layer serves as the personal basis on which they can form the Blended Mediated World and "live in it." Their Schematic Representational Layer concerns LOVE, since Paolo and Francesca lack sensorimotor experience concerning the situation of loving and being loved, "innocent of suspicion," as Dante points out. To put it another way, for Paolo and Francesca, this empty Schematic Representational Layer about LOVE plays the role of a Representamen pointing to an Object beyond it, an Object that equals those same sensorimotor experiences represented in the literary text they are reading. The process of leading to these sensorimotor experience (Object of Sign) constitutes the Interpretant, which comes about through Diagrammatic Reasoning. At this point, Paolo and Francesca, "living" within the joint Blended Mediated World, turn away from the text and direct their attention to the immediate *socio-physical environment* around them, which is made up of the very place they are reading in, together with their very presence by each other's side. Then, they start to *act* in an *embodied* manner in the form of looking

at each other, "time and again our eyes were brought together by the book we read."

This *embodied action* of looking at each other may be considered as an interpretive attempt aimed at coming to the Object of Representamen: Paolo and Francesca exchange looks in order to figure out whether what they read about the amorous feelings of Lancelot and Guinevere applies to their own case; and the subsequent blushing serves as a signal that confirms their conjecture. This is Peirce's Diagrammatic Reasoning. Thus, although the whole thing happens so briefly, by turning away from the text to the *environment* and through the *bodily action* of looking at each other, Paolo and Francesca acquire their first sensorimotor experience associated with the love situation, filling up partly their Schematic Representational Layer concerning the perceptual schema of LOVE. On the one hand, this shift from the text to the *socio-physical environment* and the subsequent *bodily action* cause them to get a more precise understanding of the literary text by discovering new things in it; on the other hand, the very newly acquired understanding of the literary text allows them, in turn, more skillful action within the *environment*.

Paolo and Francesca's shift from the *environment* to the text and their persistence to understand the romance, which is a result of "living" within the Blended Mediated World, leads them once more to *bodily action* within their *socio-physical environment*: "It was when we read about those longed-for lips, now being kissed by such a famous lover, that this one [...] then kissed my mouth, and trembled as he did." Here, there are smiles and kisses instead of looks. (In the original Italian text, "riso" is used, "Quando leggemmo il disiato 'riso', esser basciato da contanto amante" (Alighieri 2013: 159), which means "laughter," and which is more of an action than smile.) In this case too, there occurs the same interpretive process as described above about the looks: that is, they once more use Diagrammatic Reasoning in order to acquire more sensorimotor experience (Object of Sign) associated with the love situation (Representamen). The whole process is likely to go like this: after reading the relevant part of the romance, Paolo and Francesca, who by now have already filled up partly their Schematic Representational Layer of love with the sensorimotor experience of looking and blushing, decide to acquire the remaining sensorimotor experience associated with LOVE and, as is suggested in the romance, smiles and kisses constitute the next step in this path. Following what they have been reading, and considering the circumstances surrounding their actual situation such as facial expressions, signals of physical distance, posture, and the like, Paolo and Francesca form the abduction that they both desire love making in full. Then, they consider that smiles and kisses will possibly provide the conditions that help them reach



this goal, and that, if they both really want consummation, they won't respond negatively to such conditions (the deduction part). As for the induction part of their Diagrammatic Reasoning, after Paolo sees Francesca smile, he too gets down to work and returns her smiles with kisses, without confronting any resistance on her part, and thus confirming their abduction. Thereafter, they set aside the book altogether and, while still under the influence of the Blended Mediated World, get fully engaged in the *bodily action* of love making in the immediate *socio-physical environment*, acquiring more and more of sensorimotor experiences associated with a love situation. This way, they flesh out their Schematic Representational Layer of love more fully.

### 5. Conclusion

In this article, I tried to point out the true nature of reading and understanding literary texts in real-life situations, and to pinpoint the shortcomings of the current theories within the Common Cognitive Approach to capture this. Then I presented the Embodied Theory of Understanding Literary Text (ETULT), and explained its three hypotheses, showing how it works in practice. The results confirm the central claim of the present paper that understanding literary text is a dynamic, processual activity that, usually, comes about through recurrent shifts between the text and the *environment*. While the example we examined was a dramatic, fast and brief one, with the whole event taking place over a very short period of time and within one place only, nevertheless other instances of literary text understanding, fictional or real, may last longer (even one's whole life), and involve more places and spaces (cf. *Madame Bovary* and *Don Quixote*). Understanding literary text does not merely take place within the narrow limits of the *mind/brain* or some particular social context; rather, it goes beyond and extends onto the *body* and the *environment*, keeping the reader in a state of shifts between *reading* and *acting*.

### 6. Suggestions for Empirically Supporting Studies

As for the first hypothesis of ETULT, that is The Two-Layered Representation Hypothesis (TLRH), I have thought out an EEG experiment. I consider these two hypothesized layers to be associated with *difficulty degree* of texts: thus, easy texts create Embodied Representational Layers (because they readily correspond with our pre-existing embodied experiences), while difficult ones generate Schematic Representational Layers (because whatever mental effort we exert, we cannot find anything matching them). Now, if we consider the fact that mentally difficult tasks, like problem solving, show high activity in the Beta wave frequency band, and the mentally easy tasks (automatic ones) reveal high activity in the

Alpha wave frequency band, then, through an examination of the results of some devised reading tasks, we can make conclusions about the psychological and neurophysiological reality of the hypothesis.

The second and third hypotheses of ETULT, that is The Object-Search Hypothesis (OSH) and The Blended Mediated World Hypothesis (BMW), can simply be put to the test through developing a questionnaire, which will ask participants to what extent the claims made above apply in the case of them as well. Here too, of course, it is possible to devise some EEG or fMRI experiments, but I have not yet thought out what shape it might take.

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#### HIN ZU EINER VERKÖRPERTEN THEORIE DES VERSTÄNDNIS LITERARISCHER TEXTE

Dieser Artikel untersucht die Anwendung eines verkörperten kognitiven Ansatzes zum Verständnis literarischer Texte. Es schlägt eine vollwertige Theorie vor (Verkörperter Theorie des Verstehens literarischer Texte oder The Embodied Theory of Understanding Literary Texts (ETULT)), um zu formulieren, was passiert, wenn sich Leser mit dem Verständnis literarischer Werke beschäftigen. Die Theorie setzt sich aus drei miteinander verbundenen Hypothesen zusammen: Hypothese der zweischichtigen Darstellung oder The Two-Layered Representation Hypothesis (TLRH), Hypothese der Objektssucht oder The Object-Search Hypothesis (OSH) und Hypothese der Gemischten vermittelten Welt oder The Blended Mediated World Hypothesis (BMW), die zusammen das Verhalten von Lesern bei der Begegnung mit literarischen Texten erklären.

Was diese Arbeit charakterisiert und was sie von anderen in der kognitiven Poetik auszeichnet, ist die prozesshaft dynamische Betonung, die sie einnimmt die Rolle, die Text, Körper und Umwelt zusammen spielen, um ein Verständnis des literarischen Texten zu erreichen, indem alle diese drei Elemente in einer einheitlichen Theorie zusammengefasst werden.

Kurz gesagt, behauptet ETULT, dass das Verstehen literarischer Texte ein verkörperter Akt ist, der prozessual auf zwei Repräsentationsebenen stattfindet: schematisch und verkörpert (The Two-Layered Representation Hypothesis oder TLRH). Bei der Begegnung mit einem literarischen Text bietet der Leser eine Blended Mediated World, die eine Verschmelzung von der Textwelt und der Leserwelt ist (The Blended

Mediated World oder BMWH). Innerhalb dieser Mischwelt die projizierten Teile aus der Textwelt, die sensomotorische Erfahrungen des Lesers korrespondieren dabei, werden auf eine verkörperte Weise verstanden. Aber die Teile, die fehlen verkörperte Äquivalenz in der sensomotorischen Erfahrung des Lesers, fungieren als Perces Representames, den Leser auf die Suche nach relevanten Zeichenobjekten versetzen, die in Form sensorimotorischen Erfahrungen sind (The Object-Search Hypothesis oder OSH). Der Leser wird dann in einen Bewegungszyklus zwischen dem literarischen Text und der sozio-physischen Umgebung verwickelt, was somit die prozessuale Natur des verkörperten Verstehens demonstriert.

**Keywords:** Verkörperte Theorie des Verstehens literarischer Texte, Hypothese der zweischichtigen Darstellung, Hypothese der Objektssucht, Hypothese der Gemischten vermittelten Welt



## RATNI OMLADINSKI ROMANI DUŠANA KOSTIĆA U JUGOSLOVENSKOM I CRNOGORSKOM KONTEKSTU

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**Apstrakt:** Ratna književnost za djecu i mlade, naročito ona koja tematizuje Drugi svjetski rat, tokom pola vijeka predstavljala je važan dio jugoslovenskog književnog kanona. U radu ću pokušati da osvijetlim njene specifičnosti, širi društveni kontekst u okviru kog se pojavljuje, njenu ulogu u procesu politizacije i konkretnu pojavnost u okviru crnogorske omladinske književnosti, na primjerima dva ratna romana čuvenog pisca Dušana Kostića. Kostićeви ratni romani (*Gluva pećina*, 1956, i *Sutjeska*, 1958) po atmosferi, tematici i načinu obrade teme – spadaju u omladinsku a ne u dječju književnost – pisac ne šteti mlade čitaoce, ne uprošćava psihologiju junaka i složenu pripovjednu materiju vodeći ih put naivnih sfera, ne piše tendenciozno i jednostrano, zbog čega ga podjednako mogu čitati godištem vrlo različiti pripadnici čitalačke publike. Iako završetak njegovih romana ne karakteriše happy end, kroz njih zapravo provijava ontološki optimizam – mladi čitaoci svjesni kompleksnosti života u ratnim okolnostima ipak ne ostaju bez nade, kao jedne od ključnih odlika omladinske književnosti.

**Ključne riječi:** ratni roman, omladina, jugoslovenska književnost, crnogorska književnost, Dušan Kostić

### 1. Uvod

U knjizi *Treba braniti društvo* (1998) Mišel Fuko tvrdi da su sve moderne društvene institucije zasnovane na ratu. Po njegovom mišljenju, rat nije izolovana pojava koja s vremena na vrijeme „spopada“ istoriju, već je u pitanju trajno stanje koje utiče na dinamiku moći unutar društvenih institucija. U skladu s ovom tezom ni djetinjstvo – od romantizma naovamo jedan od najprivilegovanijih koncepata u modernom zapadnom društvu – nije izuzeto od procesa i posljedica rata. Iako bi se djeca pojedinačno gledano i mogla smatrati nevinim – samo djetinjstvo nikada nije nevino u ratu. Za značajan procenat globalne populacije, iskustvo detinjstva je i iskustvo rata, a čak ni najzaštićenija djeca koja žive u bogatim i naizgled miroljubivim zemljama nisu van domašaja

ratnih pipaka: ne samo da su i subjekti i objekti propagande (Jurčak 2005), već ih, prema logici Fukoovog argumenta, i sama činjenica državljanstva svrstava u strukture moći zasnovane na ratu.

Ratna književnost za djecu i mlade, naročito ona koja tematizuje Drugi svjetski rat, tokom pola vijeka predstavljala je važan dio jugoslovenskog književnog kanona (Kalezić-Radonjić 2023). U radu ću pokušati da osvjetlim njene specifičnosti, širi društveni kontekst u okviru kog se pojavljuje, njenu ulogu u procesu politizacije i konkretnu pojavnost u okviru crnogorske omladinske književnosti na primjerima dva ratna romana čuvenog crnogorskog pisca Dušana Kostića.

## 2. Specifičnosti ratnog romana za djecu i omladinu

Tematikom i ukupnom koncepcijom ratni roman za djecu i omladinu uklapa se u postojeći kontekst ratne proze, ali po brojnim specifičnostima čini zasebnu cjelinu. Te posebnosti najviše se tiču izrazite dinamičnosti koja predstavlja bitno obilježje ovog tematskog specifikuma, ali u domenu književnosti za djecu i omladinu – dobija još intenzivniju pojavnost. Generalno gledano, u romanima za djecu i omladinu sve vrvi od naglašene smjene događaja, čemu ratni temat pogoduje i svojom avanturističkom notom. Kako je riječ o zasebnoj vrsti čitalačke publike, podrazumijeva se udovoljavanje njenom horizontu očekivanja, zbog čega dolazi do brojnih kompromisa u kojima najčešće bivaju problematizovane kategorije *realističnosti* i *objektivnosti*. Budući da se radi o recipijentima mladog uzrasta, ove dvije kategorije nisu ispunjene istim sadržajem kao u književnosti za odrasle – često se dešava blagi „zaokret“ ka naivnom poimanju svijeta prikazanih predmetnosti, u kojima djeca kao glavni junaci bivaju zaodjenuta velom svemoći. Time se, naravno, plaća danak realističnom i objektivnom modelovanju literarnog svijeta koji bi u okviru ovih kategorija trebalo da posjeduje elementarnu sličnost sa svojim vanliterarnim predloškom.<sup>1</sup>

Ipak, postoje autori koji temu rata tretiraju s ozbiljnošću te se oblikovanje književne stvarnosti donekle približava onoj prisutnoj u književnosti za odrasle. Takav pristup nužno podrazumijeva kompleksnije viđenje fenomena rata, a u

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<sup>1</sup> Razmatrajući problem ratne proze za djecu Slobodan Ž. Marković je na izvjestan način „opravdao“ obilje likova djece u literaturi o NOB-u: „U svenarodnoj borbi, kao što je bila jugoslovenska narodna revolucija, prisustvo dece u ratnim zbivanjima bilo je drastično. Ona su svakodnevno osećala nedaće rata, bila njegove žrtve ali i aktivni učesnici u toj nehumanoj igri, sa manje ili više svesti o njenom karakteru. Otuda, u književnoj obradi tematke i motiva o narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi dete nije moglo biti zaobiđeno. Ono je postalo akter zbivanja u umetničkoj predstavi, nametnulo se kao književni junak, jer je dečja sudbina bila podsticaj stvaraocima za sagledavanje čovekove budućnosti, inspiracija za umetničku konkretizaciju opštih sudbina i saznanja“ (Marković 1975, 153).



skladu s tim slojevitiji doživljaj i tretman date tematike, složeniji književni postupak i zahtjevniju romanesknu tehniku. Stoga se upravo romani iz ove grupacije javljaju kao „osvježanje“ u moru brojnih ostvarenja koja su se najčešće rukovodila samo spoljašnjim, ratnim okvirom, dok je sve unutar tog okvira odisalo naivnim avanturizmom. Takođe, data ostvarenja obiluju uvjerljivim likovima djece, „od krvi i mesa“, čija je bitna odlika – u skladu sa poetikom realističnosti – *transformativnost*. Njihovo odrastanje suštinski određuje rat, a njegova grubost, surovost i nehumanost razbijaju obrise djetinjstva kao romantičarski percipiranog doba nevinosti, gurajući junake u prijevremeno odrastanje.

Premda neki autori, poput Nova Vukovića, primjećuju razliku u tretmanu ratne tematike pripisujući je umjetničkoj snazi autora, smatram da se pored te, nesumnjivo tačne opaske, ovdje radi o još nečemu. Naime, kategorije objektivnosti i realističnosti dospijevanjem u ovakav književni kontekst prilagođavaju se trećem članu komunikacionog dijagrama koji čine pisac, knjiga i čitalac, te u zavisnosti od toga koga smatraju za svoju ciljnu grupu u čitalačkom smislu – predškolski, školski, pubertetski ili adolescentski uzrast – pisci u velikoj mjeri prema toj činjenici oblikuju i svoj stvaralački postupak. Po mišljenju Zorice Turjačanin većina pisaca za djecu i mlade u pogledu romanesknog modelovanja zadržava tradicionalno-realistički koncept, stepenastu fabulu, omniprezentnog naratora i hronološku kompoziciju (Turjačanin 1978, 32), dok je u prozi za odrasle rijedak slučaj da fabula teče jednostavnim hronološkim slijedom (Flaker 1986, 341). U ovom kontekstu kompleksnost se javlja kao ključna distinktivna crta između proze za djecu i proze za odrasle – dok su se u književnosti za odrasle „odomaćili“ složeniji literarni postupci, književnost za djecu i omladinu uglavnom ne obiluje primjerima modernijeg književnog tretmana. Uzrok tome može se pronaći u formi i kompoziciji književnog djela za djecu:

Događaji u književnom delu za decu obično se nižu pravolinijski, jedan za drugim, odnosno slika za slikom, situacija za situacijom po logičkom redu. Ovo je važno zbog toga što dete svoju pažnju uvek usredsređuje na glavni događaj i nestrpljivo čeka da vidi kako se taj događaj završava. Ali ovo ne znači da se tok radnje može menjati filmskom brzinom. Naprotiv, svaka slika i situacija treba da bude upečatljiva i da sazri u dečjoj svesti, a zatim prirodno da ustupi mesto narednom, novom sadržaju, koji je opet u najtešnjoj vezi sa glavnim tokom radnje. Veća udaljavanja od osnovne zamisli, od osnovne radnje, pogotovo ona verbalna, mogu da zbune dete, da mu prekinu kontinuitet misli i učine priču ili pesmu nezanimljivom. Dobar dečji pisac uvek izlaže tok radnje tako da detetu odmah u početku snažno istakne njen uzrok, a zatim ga u toku priče na razne načine ponavlja održavajući stalno dečju pažnju i interesovanje za ono što će doći na kraju događaja. On, naime, vrlo slikovito ističe ekspoziciju radnje, prenosi njenu suštinu u tok

priče, snažno ističe njenu kulminaciju i u raspletu vodi malog čitaoca do kraja, koji se najčešće jednim krugom spaja sa početkom radnje, odnosno priče. Zato dečji pisac naročito vodi računa da se događaj u priči odvija u strogoj uzročno-posledičnoj vezi, jer najmanja nejasnoća u tom pogledu slabi dečju pažnju, tim više ako ga pojedini detalji, kao manje celine, ne mogu da zainteresuju. Jednom rečju, dete voli razložen početak priče, njen jasan tok i sasvim određen rezultat na njenom kraju (Čalenić 1975, 152).

Treba naglasiti da je Čalenić prilikom promišljanja ovog fenomena u prvom redu imao na umu ostvarenja koja se odnose na mlađu recipijentsku skupinu. Međutim, brojni proučavaoci književnosti za djecu, poput Hrista Georgijevskog, kao glavni nedostatak ove literarne oblasti ističe izostanak modernizacije umjetničkog postupka (2005). Jasno je da su oba kritičara imala na umu dijametralno različita djela – opravdavajući jednostavno pričanje i poštovanje hronologije događaja Čalenić je mislio na ostvarenja tipa *Ježeva kućica* Branka Ćopića upućenih predškolskom uzrastu djeteta, a zalažući se za novitete u pripovjedačkoj tehnici Georgijevski je imao u vidu prvenstveno djela koja se odnose na starije čitaoce mlade populacije, tinejdžerskog i omladinskog uzrasta. Stoga je bitno istaći činjenicu da postoje značajne razlike između dječje i omladinske književnosti, te su u pravu oni proučavaoci koji zanemarivanje periodizacije književnosti po uzrastima čitalaca ističu kao veliki propust (Bošković 1975, 158).

Ratni romani u ovom kontekstu dodiruju se s istorijskim romanima<sup>2</sup> i romanima o djetinjstvu. Razmatrajući datu problematiku priličan broj istraživača ističe da su uspjeliji oni romani „koji su pisani sa ublaženim strahotama rata, sa manje ubistava i smrti, a s jednom izrazitom humanom porukom“ (Čalenić 1975, 159), kao što su na primjer Ćopićevi i Diklićevi romani. Takođe, treba naglasiti da ratni roman spada u podvrstu akcionog romana, i da je kao takav, bitno obilježen uobičajenom tehnikom koja karakteriše ovaj tip proze podrazumijevajući ustaljenu strukturu i unaprijed određen model književnog junaka, te mu kao

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<sup>2</sup> Hristo Georgijevski smatra da se većina romana sa ratnom tematikom ne može smatrati istorijskim zbog umjetničkog postupka u kojem ključnu ulogu igra odnos autora prema vremenu, koji se ili bazira „na folklornom i spoljašnjem doživljaju vremena i isto takvom konstituisanju vremena priče ili je podređen strukturi društveno-političkih stavova i ideja. Takav odnos prema vremenu kao presudnom faktoru romana, negativno se odražava na žanr romana sa ratnom tematikom. Kao savest svog vremena pisci teže da obuhvatnije iskažu određena zbivanja iz rata. Uglavnom se zahvataju manji, presudni segmenti iz života junaka i manji vremenski segmenti. Zato se najveći deo ovih romana ne može prihvatiti za istorijske. Oni se mogu shvatiti kao određeni podžanr istorijskog romana“ (2005, 112).

takvom nisu strani shematizam<sup>3</sup> i stereotipizacija nacionalnih i individualnih karakteristika.

Romani za djecu sa tematikom NOB-a spadaju u podvrstu akcionog romana, ali ipak posjeduju i neke specifičnosti koje ih izdvajaju iz te grupacije. U klasičnom akcionom romanu akcionost najčešće nastaje kao posljedica nekog unutrašnjeg impulsa ili izvjesnog spleta slučajnih okolnosti, dok se ovdje aktivira uglavnom motivisana preživljavanjem – preplitanje akcionih i psiholoških elemenata doprinosi kompleksnijem romanesknom tkanju. Ako je u akciono-avanturističkom dječjem romanu postojala crno-bijela polarizacija likova, pri čemu su negativnim tonovima najčešće bili oslikani pripadnici svijeta odraslih, ovdje data konfrontacija doživljava metamorfozu u vidu podjele na pozitivne i negativne junake u skladu sa njihovim djelovanjem, bez obzira na to da li pripadaju svijetu djece ili odraslih. Iako se avanturistički romani gotovo po pravilu završavaju happy-endom, ovdje se srećni završetak ne obezbjeđuje po svaku cijenu – upravo suprotno, čak i u onim slučajevima koji se završavaju srećno junaci romana plaćaju danak ratnoj stihiji, najčešće u vidu neizbrisivih ožiljaka koji apostrofiraju intimnu dramu opustošenog djetinjstva, u čemu se uočava još jedna razlika u odnosu na avanturistički roman čiji likovi, uslovno rečeno, neokrznuti prolaze kroz nesvakidašnja dešavanja.

Društveno-istorijske okolnosti druge polovine XX vijeka uticale su na izdavačko i proizvodno polje dječje književnosti, ali istovremeno i na književnu produkciju. Od završetka Drugog svjetskog rata uspostavlja se takav društveni poredak koji radikalno normira i disciplinuje ne samo proces književne komunikacije, već i njegov sadržaj u kojem se dijete vidi kao dio društvene zajednice, a ne kao njoj suprotstavljeno ili iz nje izdvojeno (Hameršak, Zima 2015, 217-218).

## **2. Opšte odlike jugoslovenske ratne književnosti za djecu i mlade i njena uloga u procesu politizacije**

NOB se pokazao kao bogat izvor književne inspiracije u tradiciji već obilježenoj mnogobrojnim ratovima, zbog čega se nametnuo kao važan tematsko-motivski kompleks. Pored poezije, kao dominantne književne vrste u doba ratnih meteža,<sup>4</sup> nakon Drugog svjetskog rata bili su zastupljeni svi prozni

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<sup>3</sup> U vezi sa tim Milan Crnković navodi: „Mnogobrojni romani dadu se svesti na svega nekoliko tema – dječaci sakrivaju ranjenog borca, pomažu mu i poslije zajedno s njim izvode velike podvige; djeca izgube roditelje, lutaju šumom i priključuju se borcima; dječak i djed bore se u pozadini dok na kraju dječak ne ode u odred, dječaci i mladići u okupiranim gradovima izvršavaju opasne zadatke; djeca su prebačena na selo i tu dolaze u vezu sa borcima itd.“ (1977, 153).

<sup>4</sup> Kako je ratna književnost nastajala i tokom borbi, u vrijeme meteža, to je književnost ovog perioda bitno obilježena kraćim formama: pjesmama (koračnicama, rodoljubivim

žanrovi – romani, pripovijetke, crtice i zapisi o temama, motivima i sadržajima NOB-a i revolucije. Još u toku rata 1944. godine čuveni bosansko-hercegovački pisac Branko Ćopić objavljuje *Priče partizanke*, a svega godinu dana kasnije zbirke patriotskih pjesama *Pjesme pionirke* i *Bojna lira pionira*, kao i zbirku pripovjedaka *Družina junaka*. Nedugo nakon oslobođenja 1946. godine slovenački pisac Tone Seliškar objavljuje roman *Drugovi*, hrvatsko-srpski pisac Petar S. Petrović – roman *Mali Milkin*, srpski pisac Kosta Stepanović – roman *Sin nepokorenog grada* 1948. godine, Arsen Diklić – *Salaš u Malom Ritu* 1953, te se u vrlo kratkom vremenskom razmaku pojavljuje čitav niz autora koji je u okviru dječije književnosti tematizovao Drugi svjetski rat (Aleksa Mikić, Dušan Kostić, Branko Ćopić, Milorad Gočin, Branko Ćulibrk, Živorad Mihailović, Nikola Trajković, Dušan Simić, Mirko Vujačić, Berislav Kosier, Dragan Božić, Mitar Milošević, Mirko Petrović, Danko Oblak, Milivoj Matošec, Milenko Ratković, Anđelka Martić, France Bevk, Prežihov Voranc, Slavko Janevski, Vidoe Podgorec, Olivera Nikolova i mnogi drugi). Uzrok ovolikoj brojnosti djela i autora može se, između ostalog, pronaći i u činjenici da se jugoslovenska proza za djecu i mlade, naročito roman koji se konstituiše tek u periodu poslije Prvog svjetskog rata, sada dobija priliku da procvjeta u skladu s opštom klimom „obnove i izgradnje“.

Od teme rata se nije moglo pobjeći budući da se nametala iz psiholoških razloga (rat je ostavio izuzetno dubok trag i u mladima i u odraslima), ali i iz pragmatičko-političkih pobuda koje su dovodile do čitavog niza estetskih „propusta“. Tema rata je po svojoj prirodi dinamička tema koja obećava uzbuđljivost i avanturu, ali s druge strane nosi svoj tamni potencijal (teški prizori, krv, stradanja, razrušena djetinjstva). Budući da se mladi čitalac identifikuje s glavnim junakom, iz psiho-emotivnih razloga njegova smrt je često bila neprihvatljiva što je dovodilo do mnogih „nasilnih“ umjetničkih kompromisa

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pjesmama, poemama) i novelističkom prozom. Tako će Miloš Bandić u promišljanju književnosti NOB-a istaći: „Fragment je gotovo jedina mogućnost (književne) konstrukcije u vremenima destrukcije ili nemogućnosti širih konstruisanja. On je deo nedovršenih, ili nedovršivih, mozaika, zapis, tekst, užurbani odjek imaginarne celine u njenom zaustavljenom ostvarivanju. (...) Otuda u književnosti narodnooslobodilačke borbe dominiraju manji žanrovi, koji najspontanije reflektuju ubrzani puls vremena i njegovih problema, pre svega (politička) lirika, kao uzbuđeno entuzijastički oblik i jezik. (...) Tako se, u ovom slučaju, poema javlja kao mogućnost kompleksnije celine, sinteze, vizionarne prostornosti i dubine. Poema je, između ostalog, tranzitivni lirsko-epski oblik, između pesme (ili poetskog ciklusa, neupadljivo povezanih ili raščlanjenih delova, fragmenata) i romana, odnosno jedinstvo trenutne lirske sugestije i atmosfere, i razvijenog kazivanja, fabule, trajanja“ (Bandić 1975, 25). Takođe ovaj autor i eksplicitno nabraja koje se književne vrste i žanrovi javljaju kao dominantni u pomenutom periodu: lirska poezija, politička publicistika, književna publicistika, pripovjedačka proza, dnevnici, hronike, dramski tekstovi, recitacije itd. (69)

između onoga što bi čitaocu odgovaralo i onoga što je moguće. U skladu s tim osnovni umjetnički nedostatak, pored podignutog patosa i vidljive tendencioznosti, bili su likovi djece čije su snage i realne mogućnosti često bile dovedene u pitanje budući da su se kosile sa svim zakonima vjerovatnosti. Veliki broj pisaca je išao linijom prenaplašene akcionosti, preeksponiranog dječijeg heroizma, crno-bijele tehnike u modelovanju likova, odnosno literature koja je slikala rata, prije svega, kao veliku avanturu potpuno gubeći iz vida njegovu nehumanu stanju i sudbinske posljedice po osjetljivu dječiju psihu.<sup>5</sup>

Mnoga djela toga perioda karakterisala je izuzetna sličnost, gotovo uniformnost – bila su građena po manje-više istom modelu, s mnoštvom elemenata koji bi taj tip proze označio kao šund. U slabijim djelima djeca potpuno zaklanjaju svijet odraslih, kao da samo ona vode rat, a eventualni akteri iz toga svijeta svedeni su na ulogu statista. U kvalitetnijim djelima ovog temata pokazano je više povjerenja u mlade čitaoce i njihove mogućnosti razumijevanja rata kao kompleksnog fenomena. Apostrofiranje tamne strane rata, a posebno njegovog uticaja na mijenjanje svijesti ljudi i nasilnog brisanja granica između djece i odraslih, predstavljaju elemente po kojima se ovaj tip proze u pojedinim segmentima izjednačavao sa prozom za odrasle. Glavni pomak tiče se činjenice da starmali junaci ustupaju mjesto djeci „od krvi i mesa“ koje rat nepredvidljivo oblikuje nanoseći im ožiljke. Nastojanje da se tema rata sagleda kompleksnije, za sobom povlači prirodnije postavljanje pozicije djetinjstva u kontekstu opštih ratnih zbivanja, pri čemu njihovo učešće u ratnoj drami djeluje logično i uvjerljivo. Umjesto idealizovanog junaka sa kristalno čistim moralnim i ideološkim profilom sve češće se pojavljuje junak sa svim atributima svoje ljudske prosječnosti i nesavršenosti – biće na koje nalijeću sumnje i iskušenja.

U ratnoj prozi sasvim izostaje jedan aspekt veoma čest u djelima dječije književnosti – sukob generacija. Ovdje je suprotno tome prikazano sadejstvo generacija koje se afirmiše na putu ka istom cilju, što je jedna od značajnih revoucionarnih tema. Stoga, pisci memoara i dnevničkih zapisa često posmatraju mlade ljude „kao sastavni i neodvojivi deo naroda, dajući im, kao i drugim borcima, opšte odlike kolektiva kome pripadaju. Prema tome, u ovim vrstama proznog stvaralaštva vrlo su retke izrazitije konkretizacije i individualizacije likova“ (Bošković 1975, 158).<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Iako je ratna proza, gledano sveukupno, isprepletena s avanturističkim i borbenim pričama, po mišljenju Mitzi Myers (2008, 19–20) ona je u suštini didaktička (zato što pokreće pitanja patriotskog morala ili ratnog morala uopšte), predvidljiva (jer je očigledno ko će na kraju biti pobjednik u dihotomiji „dobri i zli“) i često služi „kao kanal za nacionalne ideologije“ (20).

<sup>6</sup> Primjera radi, čuveni hrvatski pisac Vladimir Nazor posvetio je dosta prostora borcu-omladincu u svom dnevniku *S partizanima* (1945). Mada nije jasno izdiferenciran niti izdvojen iz mase kao izrazita individualnost, ipak mu je u najopštijem moguće odrediti

Od ratne proze za djecu očekivalo se da bude svojom strukturom bliska djetetu, po riječima Slobodana Ž. Markovića „da posleratne generacije u njenoj poetskoj predstavi nalaze zadovoljavanje radoznalosti, podsticaj za intenziviranje osećanja i proživljavanje sudbine literarnih junaka i povod za razmišljanje o čoveku i životu“ (151), pri čemu je kao ključna odlika morala postojati – umjetnička vrijednost. S druge strane postojali su mnogi svjedoci ratnih zbivanja koji su tražili da poetska vizija ne iznevjeri njihovu predstavu o prošlosti. U skladu s tim zahtjevom nastavljajući se na prethodnike u domenu umjetničkog postupka – u ovim djelima preovlađuje realistička naracija, dinamična i na momente zahuktala, pripovijedanje se više oslanja na vjerovatne istorijske činjenice, zbog čega istoričnost i dokumentarnost približavaju ovaj vid stvaralaštva istorijskom romanu i pripovijeci. Malo je djela u kojima je piščeva mašta nadgradila polaznu ratnu inspiraciju i izdigla poetsku predstavu do bajke.<sup>7</sup> U poratnoj prozi nešto je izrazitija ljudska angažovanost u razrješavanju životnih zbivanja. Kao komponenta to je svojevrsan nastavak idejne usmjerenosti (kolektivistički duh, akcionost i opredijeljenost junaka za određena progresivna načela) međuratne proze za djecu sa socijalnom tematikom koju su pisali Mato Lovrak, Tone Seliškar ili Branko Ćopić. U djelima s ratnim motivima socijalna tematika se transformiše u borbu za opstanak i borbu za ostvarenje humanističkih ideala.

Diskrepanca između kvantiteta i kvaliteta predstavlja ključno obilježje perioda u kojem je dominirala ratna proza zato što su brojna djela ponavljala „već viđeno“ – nisu donijeli bogaćenje ni u romanesknoj tehnici, ni u idejnom promišljanju rata kao pojave. Uzrok tome, između ostalog, može se tražiti i svojevrsnom fenomenu duhovne inercije koja prati tzv. velike teme – jedna okamenjena predstava rata, izgrađivana i literaturom i drugim sredstvima duhovnog uticaja, kao da je postala dio kolektivnog viđenja od kojeg je teško bilo pobjeći (Vuković 1984). Sve što bi predstavljalo odstupanje od pomenute okamenjene predstave bilo bi velikom broju slučajeva podvrgnuto sumnji i kritici.

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portret. To je čovjek koji shvata zakone revolucije i oslobodilačke borbe; hrabar je, gotovo neustrašiv, izdržljiv, uporan, disciplinovan, s ponekom primjesom i drugačijih osobina što likove čini stvarnijim i životnijim. Međutim, bilo je i pisaca koji su se opredjeljivali za drugačiji postupak kreirajući likove kao izrazite individualnosti, s osobenim karakternim crtama, koji su dobijali tipična svojstva naroda. Ovi likovi su nosili u sebi pečat specifične atmosfere sazdane na snažnim društvenim potresima, ratnim zbivanjima koja su ostavila traga gotovo u svemu: u psihi ljudi, u načinu njihovog ponašanja, jednostavno u svim vidljivim manifestacijama doživljenog i proživljenog, pri čemu je borba u čovjeku i oko njega bila – dominantna.

<sup>7</sup> Na samom početku ovog perioda stoje već pomenute Ćopićeve *Priče partizanke* pripovijedane kao bajke, dok su kasnije samo neki tekstovi za najmlađu djecu, prvenstveno predškolskog uzrasta, sadržali ovakve karakteristike.

U svenarodnoj borbi, kao što je bila jugoslovenska, prisustvo djece u ratnim zbivanjima bilo je drastično. Po riječima Slobodana Ž. Markovića ona su svakodnevno osećala nedaće rata, bila njegove žrtve ali i aktivni učesnici u toj nehumanoj igri, sa manje ili više svesti o njenom karakteru. Otuda u književnoj obradi tematike i motiva o narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi dete nije moglo biti zaobiđeno. Ono je postalo akter zbivanja u umetničkoj predstavi, nametnulo se kao književni junak, jer je dečja sudbina bila podsticaj stvaraočima za sagledavanje čovekove budućnosti, inspiracija za umetničku konkretizaciju opštih sudbina i saznanja. (153)

Stoga mnoga djela ovog kruga govore o dječijim akcijama koje su vođene protiv okupatora, sjedinjujući uglavnom dječake (i odrasle) koji zajednički učestvuju u podvizima (romani Mirka Vujačića *Pod krovom neba* i *Morski jastreb*, *Zelena reka – Crvena reka* Berislava Kosiera, *Salaš u Malom Ritu* Arsena Diklića,<sup>8</sup> *Sutjeska* i *Gluva pećina* Dušana Kostića, *Rasprodane novine* Anđelke Martić...), ili su pak ocrтана djeca koja nisu neposredno učestvovala u opasnim diverzijama, ali su pomagala partizanima, čuvala ranjenike ili obavljala kurirske zadatke, pri čemu je uloga „pasivnih pomagača“ uglavnom bila dodijeljena rijetkim likovima djevojčica (Mikićev roman *Djevojčica sa plakata*, Seliškareva *Djevojčica sa junačkim srcem...*) što predstavlja zanimljivu, ali posebnu temu koja izlazi iz okvira ovog rada. Kada se ovakvim djelima dodaju i tematske publikacije usko vezane za pojam *pionir*, kao prvoj razini u uspostavljanju socijalističkog građanina, koje su zajedno sa raznim pionirskim priručnicima i bogatom pionirskom periodikom (pionirski i dječiji listovi *Pionir*, *Pionirski list*, *Ciciban*, *Modra lasta*, *Radost*, *Poletarac*, *Kekec*, *Titov pionir*, *Bukuria*, *Drugarče*, *Razvigorče*, *Dečje novine*, *Vesela sveska*, *Plavi vjesnik*, *Zmaj*, *Oto*, *Male novine...*) (Ognjanović, Prelić 1982, 78)), štampane u stotinama hiljada primjeraka, jasan je obim ideološkog okvira društva koji je vrlo ozbiljno shvatio koncept državne „brige o djetetu“. To dijete je već od malih nogu trebalo da pokaže određene društveno korisne osobine, pri čemu je aktivizam bio jedna od najviše rangiranih budućih da je podjednako doprinosila i transformaciji društva i slavljenju te transformacije.

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<sup>8</sup> Ovaj roman Arsena Diklića po mnogo čemu predstavlja izuzetak – i po umjetničkoj vrijednosti i po činjenici da je nastao na osnovu stvarnog događaja (u pitanju je akcija paljevine žita koju su izvela djeca nekog vojvođanskog sela). Glavnog učesnika, dječaka Milana Maljevića, pisac je mnogo puta nagonio da mu pripovijeda, ne toliko zbog same akcije, koliko zbog načina na koji je to pripovijedao – smireno, jednostavno, obično, „kao da se radi o pecanju ribe“ (Hromadžić 1966, 76). Diklić je potom upravo jednostavnost i prirodnost prihvatio kao svoj stvaralački imperativ u oblikovanju ovog romana.

Pored aktivizma koji je posredno trebalo da doprinese smislu za kolektivni život i socijalističkom vaspitanju, razvijanju ljubavi prema svojoj zemlji, njegovanju tekovina revolucije među najmlađima i njihove pripreme za kasnije učešće u KPJ, od pionira su se očekivale i neke univerzalne, vanvremenske osobine – iskrenost, poštenje, vrjednoća, odvažnost, naprednost, istrajnost, otvorenost, ponos, samostalna inicijativa, kreativnost itd. Tokom pedesetih i ranih šezdesetih godina XX vijeka pojam *omladina* dobija nove semantičke slojeve povezane sa socijalističkim društvenim uređenjem čime se djelimično politizuje.

### 3. Ratni omladinski romani Dušana Kostića

Ratni roman za djecu i omladinu u Crnoj Gori ne javlja se odmah nakon završetka rata, već cijelu deceniju kasnije – kao da je postojala potreba da se slegnu utisci, da zacijele rane da bi se o njima moglo progovoriti. Nakon pomenutog perioda, jedan za drugim, pojavljuje se petnaestak romana,<sup>9</sup> a prva dva od čuvenog pisca Dušana Kostića (1917-1997), namijenjena omladini, čime se ovaj autor javlja na samom početku konstituisanja omladinske literature u Crnoj Gori. Svega tri godine nakon *Svemoćnog oka* Čeda Vukovića, kojim se 1953. godine otvaraju vrata ove književne oblasti, Dušan Kostić objavljuje *Gluvu pećinu* započinjući u okviru nje na taj način i novu vrstu romana – ratni roman. „Kostić svakako spada u one pisce srpskohrvatskog jezika – primijetiće Novo Vuković u osvrtu na romaneskni opus ovog stvaraoca – za koje je rat bio i ostao jedno od konstantnih izvorišta tema i inspiracija. Nije nimalo čudno onda da je svoje prve romane posvetio toj velikoj temi“ (Vuković 1984, 120). Treba naglasiti da je poratna literatura bila pod snažnim uticajem sovjetske književnosti, te se formiranje ove romaneskne vrste na južnoslovenskom području ne može smatrati samoniklom pojavom. U svakom slučaju, prije navedenog Kostićevog djela, u okviru crnogorske književnosti za djecu i omladinu, nije postojalo ni jedno djelo ove vrste, te se s punim pravom može reći da ovog autora smatramo začetnikom ratnog romana. Dvije godine kasnije, Kostić objavljuje i roman *Sutjeska* nastavljajući nit već naznačene žanrovske profilacije.

Važno je naglasiti da Kostićevi ratni romani po atmosferi, tematici i načinu obrade teme – gotovo u cjelosti spadaju u omladinsku, a ne u književnost

<sup>9</sup> Radi se o sljedećim romanima: Dušan Kostić: *Gluva pećina* (1956), Dušan Kostić: *Sutjeska* (1958), Mirko Vujačić: *Morski jastreb* (1960), Mirko Vujačić: *Tužni cirkusanti* (1960), Mirko Vujačić: *Pod krovom neba* (1961), Dušan Dostinić: *Veliki raspust* (1963), Mitar Milošević: *Tajanstveni starac* (1963), Mirko Vujačić: *Mali zvonari* (1965), Mirko Vujačić: *Kad zvezde postanu igračke* (1969), Draško Ščekić: *Zlatne legende* (1970), Mirko Vujačić: *Deda Štukina družina* (1973), Svetislav Bošnjaković: *Pod zelenim svodom* (1975), Mitar Milošević: *Raspukla ledena kora* (1978), Stevan Bulajić: *Dom u divljoj travi* (1978), Milenko Ratković: *Ratne igre* (1980).



za djecu. Gotovo u svim kritičkim osvrtima na Kostićeva ostvarenja iz ove oblasti<sup>10</sup> insistira se na odnosu pisca prema mladim čitaocima – on ih ne štedi, ne umiljava im se, ne uproščava složenu materiju vodeći je put naivnih sfera, ne piše tendenciozno za njih, zbog čega ga podjednako mogu čitati godištem vrlo različiti pripadnici čitalačke publike.<sup>11</sup> S obzirom na činjenicu da se u dječjoj književnosti djeca tradicionalno štite od teških dešavanja, ovakav Kostićev stav u skladu je s težnjom da se pred djecom i mladima ne čuti o surovim životnim činjenicama. Takvo mišljenje zastupao je i Edvard Ardizon, čuveni britanski slikar, ratni umjetnik i ilustrator dječjih knjiga, smatrajući da tuga, gubitak, siromaštvo, neuspjeh, pa čak i smrt, ako su umjetnički realizovani na pravi način, mogu bez traume upoznati mladu publiku sa punoćom svijeta u kojem živimo – u protivnom se djeca i mladi zadržavaju u uskom i jednodimenzionalnom prikazu svijeta koji ne odgovara pravom stanju stvari (1980, 293). Sam Kostić bio je svjestan izvjesnih umjetnički neadekvatnih rješenja u svojim romaneskim ostvarenjima, ali i toga da dinamizam zbivanja i kumulativno nizanje događaja obezbjeđuju zanimljivost za kojom žudi mlada čitalačka publika koja, po pravilu, spada u nestrpljive čitaoce žedne fabulativnosti.<sup>12</sup>

Napet zaplet u dramskom smislu podrazumijeva i sukob. U *Gluvoj pećini* čiji se tematsko-motivski sklop tiče propasti stare Jugoslavije, dizanja ustanka u Crnoj Gori i uništenja jedne grupe komunista, glavni sukob izveden je na liniji domaće stanovništvo-okupator, ali i partizani-četnici. Drugi Kostićev roman, iako tematski vezan za čuvenu bitku na Sutjesci, koja se i pored motivskog fokusa datog u naslovu više osjeća kao događaj u pozadini a ne u središtu, u suštini

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<sup>10</sup> O Kostićevom stvaralaštvu za djecu i omladinu pisali su Mirko Banjević, Dušan Baranin, Voja Marjanović, Dragoljub Jeknić, Radojica Tautović, Miodrag Tripković, Dragan Lakićević i drugi.

<sup>11</sup> Zanimljivo je da se na svjetskoj književnoj sceni krajem XX vijeka pojavio veliki broj knjiga za djecu i mlade o Drugom svjetskom ratu – istraživači to ne vide kao slučajnost smatrajući da se razlog može pronaći u svojevrsnom istorijskom revizionizmu, po kojem treba „ispraviti“ dokumente i zapise iz Drugog svjetskog rata, i prenijeti ih generaciji XXI vijeka sa snažnim osjećajem da nikada nije kasno edukovati djecu o ratu i njegovim posljedicama. Pomenuti trend „korigovanja istorije“ prije svega se odnosi na postepenu smjenu od kulturnih izvjesnosti 1914. do pluralizma i ambigviteta 2000. (Fox, 2001).

<sup>12</sup> U razgovoru s Milošem Jevtićem, Kostić je ponudio određena (auto)poetička shvatanja pisanja za djecu: „Mislim da je veoma odgovorno pisati za djecu, i nimalo nije lako – kako se nekome čini. Zbog toga sam dugo oklijevao da se otisnem u oblast dječje mašte, čak nisam ni namjeravao da to uopšte činim(...) Po mom mišljenju kudikamo je teže pisati poeziju za djecu, jer pjesma mora da bude čitka, maštovita u opsegu dječjih mogućnosti, da se spusti na nivo uzrasta kojem je posvećena – a od početka do kraja da izdrži ljepotu i čisto estetsku sugestivnost. Prozi je kudikamo lakše: tamo se padovi manje vide. Nije teško uvidjeti da djeca najviše vole romane, uzbudljive, sa napetim zapletima(...)“ (Jevtić 1981, 83).

karakterišu identični konflikti. Međutim, ono po čemu se ova dva romana veoma razlikuju jesu unutrašnji sukobi kojima u prvom Kostićevom ostvarenju nije posvećeno toliko mjesta koliko u narednom.<sup>13</sup> Unutrašnjim previranjima glavnog junaka *Gluve pećine*, dječaka Joleta, posvećene su tek dvije epizode – kada mu Živalj Perišić, lokalna štetočina, koja je po riječima jednog od likova „i iz manastira ispod sveca pare dizao“ (Kostić 1969, 59), na prevaru otima pištolj, dječakov prvi ratni „trofej“ koji je pošteno zaradio, i epizoda kada ga isti lik, u tom trenutku već četnik, uzima za pisara ucjenjujući njegovog oca dok dječak u sebi proživljava pravu dramu. Znatno više mjesta zauzimaju kolektivna previranja stanovništva koje, u želji za opstankom, ne zna kome da se prikloni, jednoj ili drugoj strani. Može se reći da ta etička dilema, zapravo, predstavlja glavnu okosnicu romana, čiji je konačni odgovor nedvosmislen. Premda bi se u ovoj finalnoj decizivnosti mogli vidjeti tragovi ideološkog usmjerenja (ipak, treba uzeti u obzir cjelokupni kontekst društveno-istorijske klime koja je uspostavljanjem cenzorskih komisija oblikovala izdavaštvo tog perioda!) Dušan Kostić je predstavljanjem kompleksne slike stvarnosti ublažio trend simplifikacije i udovoljavanja duhu vremena. Konačno, kako je i sam bio učesnik Drugog svjetskog rata, utkao je i svoja lična uvjerenja i nedoumice u ideološki sloj djela.

Unutrašnjim sukobima i psihološkim poniranjima u svijest junaka mnogo je više mjesta posvećeno u *Sutjesci* – Kostić otvoreno legitimiše ratom intenziviranu povredivost statusa djetinjstva i sljedeći pasus bi se zbog svoje univerzalnosti mogao primijeniti na ratni roman u cjelosti:

Baćen je evo bio u kovitlac ratni ne shvatajući otkud i zašto, i nit spokojnog i radosnog dječastva grubo se prekinula ostajući samo u oštrom sjećanju. Ožiljci su tupo udarali u mladu zbunjenu dušu i činili da ona počne sazrijevati daleko prije vremena, pokušavali da ogrube lice i nametnu ozbiljne kretnje odraslih. Banuo je odnekud surov i opak život, gramziv i opasan, i naturao želju kod malog i nejačkog da bude odmah snažan i otporan, sasvim odrastao čovjek, kako bi mogao odoljeti svemu što ga sada snalazi. Stvorila se, malo-pomalo, neprimjetna skrampa oporosti i tvrdoće u dječaku. Ali ispod te skrame

<sup>13</sup> To je istovremeno i jedan od razloga zbog kojih Joletov lik ima određenih umjetničkih propusta, u vezi sa čim je Dragoljub Jeknić pisao: „Ulogu dječaka Jole Kostić nije prostudirao dovoljno, to jest onoliko koliko uloge odraslih u ovom djelu. Jole ne djeluje upečatljivo, knjiški je lik... Pisac je htio da njegov roman bude dječji i mladalački, a Jole mora biti izuzetan da bi se mladi čitaoci divili njegovoj izuzetnosti i podvizima. To ipak ne može da ukloni izvjesne sumnje u neke Joline podvige i zadatke koje mu povjeravaju. Na primjer, u to da se Joli povjeravaju važni planovi o ustanku. Kostić je daleko uvjerljiviji na stranama na kojima opisuje Jolin strah pred prvu borbu“ (Jeknić 1971, 133). U još jedan negativan aspekt ide činjenica da je „način izražavanja junaka donekle podređen jeziku komunističke ideologije“ (Kalezić-Đuričković 2014, 65).

ključala je bezazlena i vedra dječaka duša, netaknuta i pored ožiljaka.

Ožiljci su je samo zbunjivali i odvodili, zakratko, u predjele sasvim nesigurne i tuđe u kojima se nije lako snalazio. (Kostić 1971, 37-38)

U većini knjiga za djecu autori daju neki vid moći obesnaženim, najslabijim članovima društva, bilo da je u pitanju fantastička ili realistička književnost. Međutim, u slučaju ratne književnosti i likovi odraslih često bivaju obesnaženi. Postavlja se pitanje – da li za mladu publiku postoji bilo kakvo obećanje moći ili nade ako se djeci dâ priča u kojoj su i odrasli podjednako oslabljeni? U vezi s ovim postoji još jedan problem: događaji u kojima se prikazuju masovna stradanja zaokupljaju imaginaciju izazivajući empatiju čitalaca na prilično nepotpun i apstraktan način. Međutim, kada se ponudi konkretan primjer reakcija recipijenta značajno biva intenzivirana. Upravo zbog ubjedljivosti konkretnog primjera, čuveni francuski novinar i akademik Žozef Kesel tvrdio je da nas lice uplakanog djeteta dira snažnije nego saznanje da je cijela provincija umrla od gladi. Šta je sa slučajevima u kojima se djeca zaodijevaju velom omnipotentnosti? S obzirom na to da se zasnivanje pripovjednog tkanja na motivima NOB-a, zbog mogućnosti banalizacije i upadanja u kliše, smatra za „trusno područje“ – teško je ponuditi vrijedna ostvarenja, a ne upasti u zamku predstavljanja djece kao svemogućih junaka. U vezi sa tim Novo Vuković piše:

Rat kao fenomen zgusnutog događanja i u prosječnoj umjetničkoj obradi zaslužuje pažnju potencijalnih mladih čitalaca, jer odgovara određenim dinamičkim silama djeteta određenih uzrasnih faza. Istini za volju, ta činjenica je često bila uzrok književnih promašaja i skliznuća u puko jednodimenzionalno fabuliranje i avanturizam. Pred poplavom pogibeljnih događaja kroz koje dijete-junak čudesno prolazi, stvarnost ratne zbilje se gubila u impresiji mladog čitaoca i pretvarala se u ružičasti vestern. (Vuković 1984, 121)

Upravo u svjetlu ovog Vukovićevog zapažanja evidentno je da Kostić više pripada drugoj struji ratnog romana koja djecu slika u trenutku ratnog vihora, najčešće nemoćne da se stihiji odupru, ali i snažno obilježene nagonom samoodržanja. Autor je uspio da vješto izbjegne manufakturu teorizma fokusirajući se na psihološke aspekte atipične za ovaj tip dječje proze.

Za razliku od *Gluve pećine* koju gotovo u cjelosti karakteriše prevlast događajnosti nad deskripcijom, u *Sutjeski* su ova dva načela dovedena u skladan odnos – postoje čak cijela poglavlja (poput npr. osmog poglavlja) koja su u potpunosti izvedena u znaku preplitanja psihološkog i deskriptivnog, čime se ovaj Kostićev roman izdvaja po modernosti umjetničkog postupka. Tako saznajemo kako se osjeća glavni junak, dječak Dragiša i kako doživljava predio oko sebe, kada ga usljed „srećnog“ sticaja okolnosti zaobilazi neprijatelj i u gustoj šumi, sasvim samog, zatiče mrak:

Prema njemu stajala je tajanstvena nepojamna gora, probuđena tek kad noć podavi svu onu strašnu tutnjavu od nedaleke Sutjeske i

Zelengore(...) Disala je, rogušila se kao da se sprema na iznenadan silovit skok, kandžama da rastrgne dobjeglicu. Nešto hladno, neprijatno poče da struji od nje, leden vjetar nekakav, i jeza prođe niz dječakovu kičmu mreškajući mu kožu. Pokrenuše se stabla, oživješe mračno i prijeteći(...) Na mahove dopiralo je uporno nekakvo tajanstveno šaptanje, ćeretanje, podmuklo dogovaranje nekoga s nekim – negdje u blizini, negdje sa dna livadice. Pa bi to došaptavanje opet pretilo novo potmulo hujanje šume, sasvim pretilo zaškripale bi teško grane, povile se, izvile pred onim što je taj nemušti glas jednolično pričao(...). (Kostić, 1971, 46)<sup>14</sup>

Zanimljivo je da i pripadnici četničke strane bivaju psihološki osvjetljeni što u velikoj mjeri doprinosi razbijanju crno-bijele tehnike u slikanju likova, kao jednog od klišea ratnog romana uopšte.<sup>15</sup> Dvojnomo perspektivom, koja i jedne i druge sa različitih strana barikada predstavlja kao tragične junake, dodatno se usložnjava pripovjedno tkanje koje zajedno sa stilom svjedoči da su u pitanju romani za omladinski uzrast.

Naglašeno prisustvo psiholoških elemenata u romanu *Sutjeska*, pored već apostrofiranog fokusiranja na unutrašnji život likova čime se dodatno približavaju čitaocima, u direktnoj je vezi s preplitanjem vremenskih planova. Naime, u ovom Kostićevom ostvarenju nije rijedak slučaj pomjeranja na vremenskoj osi, u smislu reminiscencija, i to posebno na mjestima kada junaci sanjaju ili se povlače u sebe vršeći povezivanje na liniji sadašnjost-prošlost sistemom asocijacija, što stvara utisak filmske tehnike doprinoseći obogaćivanju kompozicione sheme. Cijelo jedanaesto poglavlje posvećeno je Dragišinom sjećanju u vidu sna, čime se sugeriše da je u ratnom vihoru san jedino mjesto na

<sup>14</sup> Treba napomenuti da se data kombinacija psihološko-deskriptivno često javlja i u okviru postupka lirizacije koji je našao više mjesta na stranicama ovog ostvarenja. Veliki broj kritičara u vezi sa datim postupkom često je bezrezervno preuzimao i ponavljao konstataciju kako i *Glava pećina* obiluje njime, te kao glavni argument navodio epizodu sa lisičom od koje se, zapravo, lirizmom izdvaja tek jedan jedini pasus u kojem dominira opis ove životinje.

<sup>15</sup> Navodimo odlomak koji govori upravo o tome: „U dubini sebe, ipak htjeli su time da uguše nemir i nezadovoljstvo, lično uniženje u stvari i sramotu na koju su bili spali. Vjerno su pomagali okupatoru i s partizanima se krvili evo već više od godinu i po dana, međutim u posljednje vrijeme njemu to kao da nije bilo dovoljno, naročito od onog strašnog četničkog poraza kod Kalinovika – sredinom proljeća. Podozriv i inače zbog njihovog namigivanja i šurovanja s kraljevskim izbjeglicama (na šta je gledao kroz prste dok su mu pomagali kako treba i dok su bili bar neka sila) – okupator odlučio da im malo poprিতেgne uzde, da ga bolje slušaju. Tako i ova trojica stigoše do komornih ulara i kazana, pošto su im se čete bile raspršile i istopile u mnogobrojnim sudarima s brigadama. Sebi nisu htjeli da priznaju svu tu čemernost svoga položaja, ni duboku svoju bijedu na koju su bili srozani“ (Kostić 1971, 57).

kojem se može pronaći kratkotrajni smiraj u vidu bijega iz svakodnevice. Možda još značajnije i zanimljivije u kompozicionom i značenjskom smislu jeste Peroševu sjećanje na jednu epizodu iz njegovog života. Riječ je o ratnom vremenu austrougarske vladavine, koje se izvodi iz nulte pozicije sadašnjeg trenutka i ponovo uvodi u njega, čineći s ostalim elementima integralni dio dvadeset drugog poglavlja. Data reminiscencija potcrtava nečovještvo koje je izrodio Drugi svjetski rat:

Eto vidiš, okupacija je i onda bila, pa ipak... mogla se progovoriti i ljudska riječ kadikad u onom jadu. A gledaj sad šta se radi: žderemo jedni druge gore od svake zvijeri, i život ljudski ama baš ništa ne znači, kao da je zla ura došla. Ali drugo je kad se braniš, kad moraš da ubijaš da tebe ne bi ubili, i tvoju djecu, i tvoju braću! Moraš, moraš!...

Zaboraviš da si čovjek, jer su to i drugi zaboravili... (Kostić 1971, 138)

Romanom *Gluva pećina* Kostić razotkriva mnoge iluzije mladog čitaoca, između ostalog i odnose među ljudima koji djeluju zajedno iako se ne podnose, jer ih je ratni vihor uputio jedne na druge (Markan i Čauš); razotkriva društvo koje otrovano kolektivnom paranojom ne zna kojoj strani da se prikloni, te stoga veliki broj njih figurira kao ljudi-amebe (naročito Čauš i Četko), dok pripadnici crkve prvenstveno brane svoje egzistencijalne interese, čak i po cijenu čovječnosti. Pisac baca osobito svjetlo na jaz nastao u kontrastu između epskih ideala davno minulih vremena i stvarnog stanja stvari koje ih potire do nevidjela, čime se označavaju osnovni problemski punktovi koji ova ostvarenja čine omladinskim. Upravo ovaj aspekt Kostićevih romana biće razlog zbog kojeg će Novo Vuković izreći sljedeću tvrdnju: „Po prisustvu tragičnog u sebi, oni imaju ponešto od antibajke. Njihovi junaci i kad preživljavaju, čine to sa puno emotivnih i psiholoških ožiljaka“ (1984, 121).

I pored dominantnog načela hronološkog nizanja događaja, Dušan Kostić u *Sutjesci* vrši „odstupanja“ koja govore u prilog autorovoj brižljivosti prilikom sklapanja djelova u cjelinu višeg reda. Tako se, na primjer, tek u šestom poglavlju objašnjava Lijaćevo ime, mada je mali junak prisutan od prvih stranica romana. Sličan princip, u smislu povezivanja udaljenih detalja ili epizoda prisutan je i u *Glujvoj pećini*. Na samom početku ovog romana pojavljuju se dva lika, crnpuurasti Italijan i partizan Radan, koji se kasnije gube sa romaneskne pozornice, da bi se pri sredini, odnosno samom kraju, ponovo pojavili odigravši ključne uloge – Italijan kao novi nadređeni s kojim četnici „druguju“, a Radan kao Joletov spasilac iz *Glujve pećine*.

Kako je jedno od ključnih određenja dječje književnosti dominantno prisustvo dječjih junaka, kao logičan nameće se zaključak da su upravo djeca glavni akteri zbivanja u romanu, dok su odrasli više ili manje važni epizodisti. Međutim, u Kostićevim romanima to nije slučaj. Zahvatajući široki presjek događajne panorame, uz značajan uvid u sociokulturni kontekst, piscu je gotovo bilo nemoguće da odrasle „podredi“ djeci, stavljajući ih u drugi plan. Jedna od

konvencija romana za djecu i omladinu podrazumijeva i suprotstavljanje djece i odraslih – to može biti slučaj u ratnom romanu samo pod uslovom da odrasli pripadaju neprijateljskoj strani. Stoga se u Kostićevim ratnim romanima djeca i odrasli javljaju rame uz rame, jednako djelaju i jednaka im je pažnja posvećena, jer su strahotom haosa u kojem se nalaze, više nego bilo kada do tada – upućeni jedni na druge.<sup>16</sup>

Naročito je zanimljiv Kostićev odnos prema stvarnosti u smislu romaneskne građe. Kako je i sam učestvovao u zbivanjima Drugog svjetskog rata, rijetki su segmenti koji bi se mogli svrstati van kategorije realnog, na šta upućuje Mirko Banjević u svom osvrtu na *Glavu pećinu* (Banjević 1957, 260-264). Banjević, između ostalog, navodeći imenom i prezimenom sve prototipove iz realnog života koji su poslužili za građenje likova ovog romana skreće pažnju na Kostićevo preoblikovanje stvarnosti u skladu s umjetničkim zahtjevima djela. Ovaj osvrt je zanimljiv i zbog toga što se njime zaviruje u piščevu radionicu i otkriva na koji način je gradio likove, šta je koristio, a šta izostavljao, funkcionalnost selekcionog principa pri odabiru jednih i odbacivanju drugih detalja i tome slično. U prilog datoj tezi idu i neobično uvjerljivi dijalozi kojima se Kostić predstavlja kao pisac istančanog sluha za sve govorne varijante.

Kada je riječ o literaturi nastaloj po motivima NOB-a prilično je teško izbjeći determinizam i pratiti neočekivanu upotrebu naglih obrta. Ipak, može se reći da su epilozi Kostićevih ratnih romana uspjelo umjetnički definisani, jer se ne završavaju happy-endom, a opet kroz njih provijava svojevrsni ontološki optimizam, bez kojeg je književnost za djecu i mlade nezamisliva. Generalno gledano, to jeste ključni problem ratne proze za djecu i mlade – vjerodostojnost često uvodi surovost, a surovost oduzima prostor nadi kao jednoj od, tradicionalno gledanih, glavnih animirajućih sila literature namijenjene mladoj čitalačkoj publici.

Ako bi u najkraćem trebalo sumirati glavna obilježja ratnih omladinskih romana Dušana Kostića, onda bi to bila sljedeća: uvođenje u svijet predmetnosti po principu *in medias res*, kompleksan zaplet, primjereno ubrzan tempo nizanja kompozicionih djelova, likovi od početka čvrsto koncipirani, zanimljivo pripovijedanje, kompleksan literarni tretman pojedinih tematsko-motivskih punktova. Vrlo je simptomatično što crnogorska ratna proza i u domenu ovog temata svoje prve korake pravi „zrelijim“ ostvarenjima, u ovom slučaju namijenjim omladini, nakon čega slijedi čitav niz djela namijenjenih djeci.

<sup>16</sup> Uopšte uzev, upućenost čovjeka na nekog, naročito u burnim vremenima, preduslov je njegovog opstanka. Pri tome nije rijedak slučaj da su čovjek i životinja upućeni jedno na drugo. Tako, na primjer, glavni akter *Sutjeske*, dječak Dragiša, lutajući šumom sasvim sam jedini spas vidi u kravi Mrkulji: „Postade mu sada neobično bliska, stvarno najbliži i jedini prijatelj u ovoj ponornoj šumetini, na nju se još jedino može osloniti: s njom jedino razgovarati, razbiti strah koji počinje da se šunja u njemu“ (Kostić 1971, 44).

#### 4. Zaključak

Iako brojni proučavaoci ratnog romana ističu njegov edukativni potencijal (u pojedinim slučajevima i činjenicu da predstavlja „moralno-ideološku didaktiku realizovanu u fikcionalnoj formi“ (Georgijevski 2005, 111), važno je istaći da ovaj tip proze, u njegovom najboljem vidu oslobođenom ideološke miopije, ne treba vidjeti samo kao važan izvor informacija za istoričare, sociologe ili politikologe. Ratni omladinski romani, prije svega, poučavaju svojom moralnom prirodom težeći da mlade ljude učine boljim nego što jesu, dok njihov tragizam govori o ljudskim težnjama, patnjama i dubokoj ozbiljnosti sa kojom se ispituje mjesto pojedinca u univerzumu. Takođe, djela ove grupacije pozivaju čitaoce na preispitivanje nasilja i patnje, mržnje i odanosti, sebičnosti i žrtve, progona i izdržljivosti, sa ciljem da se osude bilo koji rat i uvjerenja koja dovode do konflikta, a u krajnjem, da se osjeti saosjećanje zbog patnje kojoj su izloženi mnogi nevini od strane nekolicine moćnika. Zajednička crta djela ovog kruga u jugoslovenskom i crnogorskom kontekstu odnosila se na prikaz rata koji je prekinuo bezbrižno djetinjstvo, zbog čega su djeca i mladi, suočivši se s nasiljem okupatora i dramatičnim događajima, pod uticajem surove zbilje, prerano sazrijevali. Inspirisani stvarnošću, pisci su ih gradili kao diverzante, kurire, izviđače, strijelce, puškomitraljesce, bombaše – kao borce koji su hrabro, uporno, požrtvovano, dovtljivo, samopouzdana vojevali za ličnu i kolektivnu slobodu. Djela koja govore o „ognjenom rađanju domovine“ izražavaju posebnu vrstu samosvijesti koja se stvarala u surovim životnim okolnostima. Preplitanje lirskih i dramskih elemenata, kao i vremenskih planova, introspekcija, osvajanje modernijeg romanesknog izraza, naglašeno emocionalna boja kazivanja, samo su neki segmenti kojim se ratnim omladinskim romanom oblikuje gušća životna materija od one koja se nudi uobičajenom akcionom prozom. Fikcija se i u ovom slučaju javlja kao instrument u službi dobra, kojim se dijeli uvjerenje da djeca moraju biti svjesna zala prošlosti i hrabrosti koja se tom zlu često suprotstavljala. Ovakva dihotomija nužna je da bi se u narastajućoj opštoj indiferentnosti mladih podstakla smislenost svijeta koji nasljeđuju, ali i smislenost budućnosti sa kojom tek treba da se suoče.

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**SUMMARY: WAR NOVELS FOR YOUNG ADULTS IN YUGOSLAV AND MONTENEGRIN CONTEXT**

War literature for children and young adults, especially books which thematizes the World War II, has been an important part of the Yugoslav literary canon for half a century. In my paper, I will try to shed light on its specifics, the wider social context in which it appears, its role in the process of politicization and its particular appearance within Montenegrin youth literature, using the examples of two war novels by the famous Montenegrin writer Dušan Kostić.

The theme and overall concept of the war novel for children and young adults fits into the existing context of war prose, but due to its numerous specificities, it forms a separate entity. As it is intended for a special type of readership, it is understood that this type of prose satisfies its horizon of expectations, which is why there are numerous compromises in which the categories of realism and objectivity are most often problematized, while children as the main characters are often clothed in a veil of omnipotence. Most of the writers of this topic for children and young people retain the traditional-realist concept, the step-by-step plot, the omnipresent narrator and the chronological composition in terms of the structure and procedure of the novel. In this context, complexity emerges as a key distinguishing feature between prose for children and prose for adults - while more complex literary procedures have become "domesticated" in literature for adults, literature for children and young adults generally does not abound with examples of more modern literary treatment.

Although novels for children with the theme of the National War of Liberation belong to the subgenre of action novels, they nevertheless have some specificities that set them apart from that group to some extent - action and psychological elements are largely interwoven here, which contributes to a more complex novel weaving. The National War of Liberation proved to be a rich source of literary inspiration in Yugoslav literature, which could not be avoided since the topic was imposed based on psychological, but also pragmatic-political, ideological motives. Since the young reader identifies with the main character, for psycho-emotional reasons his death was often unacceptable, which led to many "violent" artistic compromises between what would suit the reader and what was probable. A large number of writers followed the line of overemphasized action, overexposed children's heroism, or black-and-white techniques in character modeling, thus creating literature that painted the war first of all as one big adventure, completely losing sight of its inhuman condition and the dimension of destiny for the sensitive children's psyche. Therefore, most of the works of that period were characterized by an extraordinary similarity, almost a uniformity - they were built according to more or less the same model, with many elements that would mark that type of prose. In works of lower literary quality, children completely obscure the world of adults, as if only they are fighting a war, and any actors from that world are reduced to the role of extras. In the higher quality works on this topic, more trust is shown in young readers and in their ability to understand war as a complex phenomenon. Instead of an idealized hero with a crystal clear moral and ideological profile, a hero with all the attributes of his human mediocrity and imperfection appears more and more often - a being who is beset by doubts and temptations.

The discrepancy between quantity and quality is the key feature of the period

in which war prose dominated, simply because a large number of works repeated the "already seen" - they did not enhance the novelistic technique, nor the conceptual reflection of war as a phenomenon. One of the purposes of this prose was to establish the young socialist citizen.

Kostić's war novels (*Gluva pećina*, 1956, and *Sutjeska*, 1958) are distinguished by their quality, and by their atmosphere, subject matter, and how the subject is treated, they belong to young adults', and not children's literature. Dušan Kostić does not spare his readers, nor does he pander to them, simplify the complex matter by leading them down the path of naive spheres, or write tendentially for them; instead, he uses numerous psychological elements, which is why he can be read equally by various age groups. Kostić most often shows children caught in the whirlwind of war, powerless to resist the storm, but with a strong drive for self-preservation. The author managed to skillfully avoid the manufacture of heroism by focusing on psychological aspects, atypical for this type of children's prose. The epilogues of Kostić's war novels are artistically defined, because even though they do not have happy endings, an ontological optimism shines through them, without which literature for children and young people is unimaginable.

**Keywords:** war novel, young adults, Yugoslav literature, Montenegrin literature, Dusan Kostic

## **МИТОПОЕТИКА БУДУЋНОСТИ КОД ЈЕНСКИХ РОМАНТИЧАРА**

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**Abstract:** Рад настоји да утврди темеље за потоњу духовноповесну и филолошку анализу јенског романтизма као једне од средишњих појава у историји европске културе. Есеј се превасходно усредсређује на сарадњу Шлајермахера, Новалиса и Фридриха Шлегела током последњих година 18. века. Оса око које се романтичари и идеалисти групишу јесте часопис *Атенеум* (1898–1800), који излази у Берлину, но чији сарадници махом (изузетак је Шлајермахер) дејствују из Јене као епицентра окупљања који генерише дух романтичне уметности у Немачкој. Ова се, у оквиру књижевне културе Гетеовог доба, издваја тежњом за религијским употпуњењем људског бића, мисаоно се формира кроз Шлајермахерове *Говоре о религији*, поетички се учвршћује кроз Шлегелово промишљање идеалне романтичне књижевности као оне која ће бити заснована на новој митологији, а поетски се остварује кроз еротско-религијску синтезу тоталне хуманости у Новалисовом делу.

**Keywords:** Јена, романтизам, идеализам, *Атенеум*, Шлајермахер, Новалис, Ф. Шлегел, религија, нова митологија

Тројица сарадника при часопису *Атенеум* – Фридрих Даниел Ернст Шлајермахер (Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher, 1768–1834), Фридрих Шлегел (Friedrich Schlegel, 1772–1829) и Фридрих фон Харденберг Новалис (Friedrich von Hardenberg Novalis, 1772–1801) – исте, 1799. године пишу дела која су по жанровским својствима и припадајућим областима битно различита, но која оваплоћују и изражавају оно језгро романтичне духовности чије су поетичке особености у *Атенеуму* промовисане. Шлајермахер објављује спис под пуним насловом: *О религији – говори образованима међу њеним презирачима (Über die Religion. Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern*; текст је познатији под скраћеним називом *Говори о религији*), Шлегел штампа роман *Луцинде*, а Новалис пише, али не објављује свој, како га је одредио, „говор“,<sup>1</sup> који је првобитно назвао *Европа*, а који су Л. Тик и Ф. Шлегел уредили након Новалисове смрти под

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<sup>1</sup> У писму Ф. Шлегелу из 1800. године (Schulz 802).

насловом: *Хришћанство или Европа*; при томе остаје нејасно чији је уопште додатак којим је Новалисов текст формално дефинисан као фрагмент.<sup>2</sup>

Наредне, 1800. године излази из штампе дело које сублимира романтичну уметност и представља један од песничких врхунаца немачког романтичног идеализма – Новалисове *Химне ноћи*. Те године млађи Шлегел публикује спис којим заокружује своју романтичну поетику и који спада у најзначајније радове о књижевности уопште – *Разговор о поезији*, а такође се појавио и анонимни текст под називом *Поверљива писма о Луцинде Фридриха Шлегела (Vertraute Briefe über Friedrich Schlegels Lucinde)*, чији је аутор заправо Шлајермахер.

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Шлегелов роман изашао је у Берлину 1799. године, и то као први део замишљене а никада остварене целине. Реч је о години од важности за разумевање Шлегелове делатности, будући да овај мислилац упоредо с радом на роману има и водећу улогу у часопису *Атенеум*, који програмски заснива саму поетику романтизма, а престаје да излази 1800. године, када Шлегел објављује *Разговор о поезији*, односно своје водеће и исходно дело из корпуса текстова у којима заступа и креира смерове немачке романтичне књижевности. Година 1799. драгоцен је и у ширем духовноповесном и културолошком контексту зато што је тада, у дому Фридриховог старијег брата Аугуста Вилхелма у Јени, дошло до сусрета готово свих истакнутих представника оне генерације младих људи која је изнедрила уметнички и филозофски романтизам у Немачкој. Поред брачног пара Аугуста и Каролине Шлегел и тада још увек љубавничког пара Фридриха Шлегела и Доротеје Фајт, скупу су присуствовали и Тик, Новалис и Шелинг. Недуго након тог окупљања, Новалис и Тик су у Вајмару, током посете Жану Паулу, срели и педесетогодишњег Гетеа.<sup>3</sup> Јенски сусрет романтичара не помињемо као куриозитет, већ као сведочанство доба и назнаку за начин на који су, око две деценије млађи од Гетеа као већ тада живог класика и судије свег укуса, млади романтичари, упућени једни на друге, подстичући се и допуњавајући се, стремили да себи обезбеде духовне и стваралачке просторе различите у односу на мирну и сазрелу класичност Гетеовог и Шилеровог делања у Вајмару.

Један од одраза времена везан је и за ондашњу рецепцију *Луцинде* као романа који је тежио скандалу, писан је с циљем да провоцира и махом је

<sup>2</sup> У прва издања Новалисових дела након његове смрти Шлегел и Тик укључују само исечке есеја о хришћанству; у целини је есеј, и то с поднасловом „фрагмент“, први пут објавио Рајмер у Берлину 1826. године, али је неизвесно да ли је за тај додатак одговоран издавач или је он само користио претходни предлогак (Schulz 802).

<sup>3</sup> О јенском окупљању романтичара говори више извора, нпр. Schulz 800; Ritter 172–174.

изазвао зазор, презир, оспоравање.<sup>4</sup> Премда је у питању еротски роман који настоји да спиритуализује и сакрализује љубав као залог тоталног јединства две људске индивидуе у коме се остварује највиша хуманост, Шлегелово дело углавном је било осуђено и одбачено, и то како са естетског тако и са моралног и идејног становишта. Својим романом Шлегел је, у ствари, и желео да изврши естетску и етичку револуцију, услед чега је природно наишао на борбене и радикалне реакције. *Луцинде* је Аугуст Вилхелм одредио као Unroman (Наум 495), а Шилер као Unnatur и Unform (Наум 518).<sup>5</sup> Иако активни део кружока јенских романтичара, старији Шлегел је превасходно историчар књижевности чија су естетичка мерила умногоме била изведена из канона хеленске класике. За разлику од Фридриха, он се није одликовао поетичком и критичком револуционарношћу, али је био кадар да систематизује и на равни литерарноисторијске анализе примени Фридрихове теоријско-естетичке искораке. Стога и не чуди да је Аугустов суд о *Луцинде* могао бити сродан оценама Шилера као класичара који је показивао мање разумевања за шлегеловско-новалисовски романтизам чак и од Гетеа и ограђивао се од стваралачких тенденција млађе генерације немачких аутора.

И старији Шлегел и Шилер осудили су, дакле, *Луцинде* као естетски феномен: у питању је дело које негира саме постулате уметности као изражајне форме. *Луцинде* деформише поетску форму као такву, сходно чему је дело означено као безоблично, аморфно. Оно урушава форму романа и претвара је у његову негацију, и изневерава сврху књижевне уметности да у начелном смислу одрази законе природе или природу људског постојања, па се изопачује и у противприродну артифицијелност. На плану садржине и теме, Шлегелов роман је доживљаван као неморално, дрско и непристојно дело зато што у егзибиционистичком и фриволном маниру иступа против буржоаске институције брака, коју аутор разуме као непријатељску према истинској љубави, а зарад слободне експресије љубави, коју социјални узуси гуше. Одбојан став је потицао из неразумевања или неодобравања самих циљева с којима је Шлегел роман написао: писац је настојао да разори и превреднује лажни и окоштали укус,

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<sup>4</sup> Ајхнер расправља о Хегеловом игнорантском обрачунавању са Шлегеловом иронијом и његовом критиком брака као социјалне церемоније (Eichner 1962, VIII); такође и о Кјеркегоровом погрешном свођењу *Луцинде* на „ голу чулност“ и „суспензију све моралности“ (VIV). Ондашњу рецепцију романа коментарише нпр. и Хајм (Наум 518ff). О Шилеровом пријему романа в. следећу напомену.

<sup>5</sup> Шилер се о *Луцинде* изјашњава у писму Гетеу од 19. јула 1799. године, које је доступно у преводу на српски језик (Гете, Шилер, 653–654). Између осталог, Шилер се жали како му се од романа „завртело у глави“, те како „човека спападне мука од празног брбљања“ (653).

вредносни и етички систем образованог грађанског друштва у западној Европи на крају епохе просвећености, да прослави чулне односе као темељ међуљудског духовног спајања, да наступи као еманципатор жена и да бескомпромисно проговори о рђавости културе која спутава женско интелектуално и егзистенцијално ослобађање, те да одбрани женско и општељудско право на слободну љубав која синтетизује чулне и духовне тежње и која не мари за моралне стеге већ превазиђеног нараштаја. Мада је роман критикован као промашај или преступ и из формалног и из идејног угла, Шлегел је у *Луцинде* остварио оно јединство облика и мисли које је роман засновало као превратничко и на плану романескне форме и на пољу идеја. *Луцинде* одиста одступа од дотадашње прозне традиције и представља један од првих и најистакнутијих, премда не обавезно и најбољих, примера саме Шлегелове визије новог романа као узорне романтичне форме. Исто тако, овај роман хотимично уздрмава читаочев хоризонт очекивања и иступа против учмалог буржоаског морала као неодговарајућег хуманости, која треба да се испуни у чулној, емотивној и духовној слободи кроз љубав с другим и за другог.

Претходно увођење у тему извршили смо са намером да укажемо на наизглед необичну околност да је први апологета Шлегеловог романа био протестантски теолог потекао из хернхутерске пијетистичке заједнице – Шлајермахер, који је већ 1800. године објавио *Поверљива писма о Луцинде Фридриха Шлегела*. Шлајермахер није био физички део јенског кружока и у време окупљања романтичара живео је у Берлину, где је делио дом са Ф. Шлегелом током његовог боравка у пруској престоници и где ће, заједно с В. фон Хумболтом, бити један од идејних твораца Берлинског универзитета, који је основан 1809. године, али је био интелектуални инспиратор групацији која се окупила у Шлегеловом дому. Овај мислилац је, што се каткад превиђа ван немачке научне сфере или чему се не придаје довољно пажње – покретач и стожер романтичне идеологије која се изоштравала кроз поетско-религијске тенденције Ф. Шлегела, Новалиса, а такође и Хелдерлина. Један од сарадника у часопису *Атенеум*, а свега четири године старији од Новалиса и Ф. Шлегела, Шлајермахер устаје у одбрану управо еротске – а то и за Шлајермахера, као и за самог Шлегела значи: романтичне – природе *Луцинде*. Теолог, проповедник и аутор *Говора о религији* – списа који је од формативне важности за јенске романтичаре – артикулише и тиме фундира нове романтичне, ка мистичким и религијским сферама апсолутне духовности усмерене тежње чије исходиште треба да буде човекова тотална спиритуална и осећајна слобода, те отуд потреба за одбраном *Луцинде*. Шлајермахера на овом месту, а поводом *Луцинде*, издвајамо као интелектуалног предводника генерације на размеђу векова и епоха, генерације која није делила заједнички укусу с вајмарским корифејима Гетеом и Шилером, те која је наилазила на неразумевање:

примера ради, Новалисов есеј *Хришћанство или Европа*, који је надахнут Шлајермахеровом мишљу, а написан је такође 1799. године, одбијен је за штампу захваљујући Гетеу.

Шлајермахерова важност немерљива је на равни како немачке тако и европске духовне историје. Осим тога што је реформатор теолошке науке, утемељитељ модерне херменеутике као уметности тумачења људских језичких споменика, посленик на пољу општег образовања као модела који је заступан на новооснованом Берлинском универзитету, преводилац и интерпретатор Платоновог дела, инспиратор читавог уметничког и мисаоног покрета – Шлајермахер је индивидуа која практично подсећана то шта значи делатно заступати хуманистику у најбољем смислу речи. Он је своје интелектуалне моћи ангажовао и племениту интерпретативну вољу показао како би начинио продор ка аспирацијама романтичне модерности у тренуцима у којима се ове тек развијају и на тај начин одбранио хуману слободу као свеколику суштину нове поетско-идејне епохе. Симптоматично за дух доба јесте то што је апологију *Луцинде* Шлајермахер изнео у наглашено поетској форми фингиране преписке, која се усредсређује и на мисао и на облик и поступак Шлегеловог романа, па тако потврдно говори и о Шлегеловој романсираној критици „лажног морала“ (Schleiermacher 1800, 34) и о иронији, уз помоћ које аутор приказује процес међуљудског сазревања за љубав као „мистичну целину“ (106). Одбрану – како је назива – „најгрешније књиге“ (10) Шлајермахер заснива на спреси форме и садржине (3) у Шлегеловом роману која омогућава прославу љубави као истовремено „најдуховније и најчулније“ (15), као „најприсније мистерије“ (9) и као „бесконечног предмета рефлексије“ (32). Корф уверљиво доказује идејну и моралну нужност Шлајермахерове апологије *Луцинде*: роман фундира идеал романтичног брака као хијерогамију (Korff, 89), а – разумевши ваљано духовну есенцију текста – Шлајермахер брани саму идеализацију брака као тоталног јединства двоје људи (90).

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Појам „јенски романтизам“ употребљавамо из практичних разлога, ради лакше прегледности, како бисмо једним одређењем обухватили стваралачку активност конкретних личности окупљених око *Атенеума* у специфичном просторно-временском пресеку, те како бисмо ту делатност раздвојили од сродних појава у Европи, као и у самој Немачкој. Пошто је у периоду просвећености покретљивост широм Европе била на високом ступњу, људи нису били ексклузивно везани за један центар (изузев Канта, који је слободном вољом себе ограничио на ондашњи Кенигзберг). Док су у Француској и Русији интелектуална окупљања била оријентисана око престонице, односно двеју престоница, у Немачкој су се груписања одвијала преваходно око универзитетских средишта, а једно од најважнијих је оно у Јени, у којој је као професор на Универзитету Фихте

припремао идеалистички поглед на свет младих романтичара (Фихтеово епохално *Учење о науци* проистекло је из његових предавања у Јени 1794. године). Под јенским романтичарима подразумевамо побројану групу песника, мислилаца и филозофа чији се путеви, већим делом, мада не искључиво, у Јени, и то код Шлегелових, укрштају у последњим годинама 18. века и чија у битноме заједничка делатност материјализована у часопису *Атенеум* (који пак излази у Берлину) спада у најчудесније појаве укупне европске културе, али је заправо била кратковечна и омеђена младалачким полетима људи који су убрзо потом сазрели и наставили током 19. века своје активности различитим смеровима. Шлајермахер се посвећује професорском и пасторском раду у Берлину, а Ф. Шлегел под утицајем своје супруге јеврејског порекла (Доротеа Шлегел је, подсећамо, кћи значајног просветитеља и Лесинговог сарадника Мозеса Менделсона) прима католичанство 1808. године, прелази у Беч и тамо, након Наполеоновог пораза, постаје један од Метернихових сабораца у обнови конзервативног политичког поретка у Европи; раздвајању је допринео и Каролинин развод од Аугуста Вилхелма Шлегела и њено ступање у брак са Шелингом 1803. Ипак, у суштинском погледу, дезинтеграцију јенско-атенеумског круга свакако да је условила Новалисова смрт 1801. године.

Немачка наука о књижевности склона је томе да, при помишљању на генерацију о којој говоримо, употребљава одредницу „рани романтизам“ (како је Корф именовao трећи том своје студије о духовној повести гетеовског периода). Премда се таквим одређењем жели успоставити дистинкција у односу на период раног Гетеовог и, делимично, Шилеровог стваралаштва, ми га избегавамо из следећих разлога. Придев „рани“ претпоставља фазу сазревања, то јест недозрелост, о чему, међутим, не може бити говора у контексту немачке књижевности с краја 18. века. Тачно је то да су јенски романтичари на прелазу векова веома млади у односу на Гетеа, као и то да се на њихову рану (а, у случају Новалиса, и финалну) делатност надовезује наредна, млађа генерација аутора чијим се стваралаштвом заправо заокружује немачки романтизам (примера ради, Хофман, Клајст, Брентано, Ајхендорф рођени су крајем седамдесетих или током осамдесетих година). Но јенски романтизам је временски средишња<sup>6</sup> појава у оквиру немачке књижевности Гетеовог доба, чија је рана и, управо, раноромантична фаза проживљена кроз *Sturm und Drang*. Док се у штурмундранговском периоду, а на крилима Лесинговог зрелог просветитељског труда, немачка књижевност еманципује од француског

<sup>6</sup> На почетку своје капиталне студије *Живот Шлајермахера* Дилтај говори о три нараштаја немачког духовног покрета од просвећености до зрелог романтизма: прву представљају Лесинг и Кант, другу Гете, а трећу управо Шлајермахер (*Dilthey IX*), који „стоји у средишту свих стремљења своје генерације“ (X).



културно-поетичког утицаја, национално се освешћује и постепено осваја себи место на пољу прворазредних европских литература, у доба јенског романтизма она је предводничка у Европи, а своју зрелост показује тиме што њени утицаји извиру из неколико различитих корена, од којих су најзначајнији рани Гете, зрели Гете и вајмарска класика, те романтични идеализам. Наравно, не губимо из вида чињеницу да се, истовремено с делима насталим око *Атенеума*, у Енглеској појављују *Лирске баладе* (1798/1800.) као епохално дело које утврђује кретања европских романтизма. Рани енглески романтизам (а, с обзиром на транснационални утицај Бајрона, исто важи и за наредну генерацију енглеских романтичних песника) ван сваке сумње је предводнички и по важности упоредив с немачким за европску књижевну модерност: јасан пример је руска књижевност, коју ка романтичној савремености усмерава понајвише В. Жуковски, чији опус израста доминантно из препева и прерада енглеских и немачких дела створених у последњим деценијама 18. века. Осим тога, *Лирске баладе* плод су Вордсвортовог и Колриџовог заједничког подухвата, који је аналоган сарадњи при *Атенеуму* (а на том трагу ће се 1815. године формирати кружок Арзамас у Русији, чији ће чланови бити, између осталих, Жуковски, као и изузетно млади Пушкин). Ипак, с друге стране, без обзира на смисао удруженог рада, Колриџова индивидуа се издваја као централна фигура саме енглеске песничке уметности. Гениј<sup>7</sup> његовог дела представља један од врхунаца европског романтизма, а, иако је подразумевајуће да за тај гениј Колриџ има да захвали себи самоме и свом дару и раду, његову поетику уобличава и његове мисаоне тенденције до самосвести изоштрава умногоме дејство немачког идеализма, с чијим се носиоцима упознао током свог боравка у Гетингену индикативне – 1799. године.

Ако је синтагма „рани романтизам“ непрецизна при темпоралном одређивању јенског романтизма у оквиру Гетеове епохе, ми се опредељујемо за просторну одредницу иако смо свесни да она доводи до сужења. Било би тачније говорити о јенско-берлинском романтизму из

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<sup>7</sup> И то у смислу у ком овај појам такорећи лајтмотивски промишља традиција немачког идеализма, на челу с Кантовим објашњењем генија у *Критици моћи суђења* (1790) као „талента (природног дара) који уметности даје правила“ (Kant 1092). Пригоднија пак за ову тему и ток нашег даљег излагања јесте старија Лаватерова мисао (из *Физиогномијских фрагмената за унапређење људског знања и људске љубави; Physiognomische Fragmente, zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntniß und Menschenliebe*, 1775– 1778) о генију као моћи коју „човек не може научити и о којој се не може поучити [nicht gelernt und nicht gelehrt werden kann]“ (Lavater 127) и чије је порекло мистично, будући да „није дато од човека, већ од Бога или од Сатане“ (130). Помињемо на овом месту Лаватера због сродности његових исказа с романтично-мистичким духом Колриџове поезије, што је најснажније истакнуто у последњим стиховима *Кублај-кана*.

више разлога: Берлин је издавачки центар (на пример, за *Атенеум*) оних који делују из Јене; у том граду је развијена култура интелектуалних салона који су космополитски и либерално оријентисани, а међу којима се издваја салон еманциповане Јеврејке Хенријете Херц, с којом је Шлајермахер имао развијен платонски однос и код које се млађи Шлегел упознао с Доротејом (тада удатом Фајт); пре него што се пресели код брата у Јену, Ф. Шлегел, дакле, живи у Берлину, тамо сарађује са Шлајермахером и Тиком и пише *Луцинде*; Шлајермахер подстиче јенске пријатеље, али то чини из Берлина, Тик наизменично живи у оба града, а А. В. Шлегел такође борави спорадично у Берлину пре него што из Јене пређе у пруску престоницу почетком 19. века. Међутим, након распада јенске групе берлинска „струја“ се, више но са песничким романтизмом, може повезати са филозофско-педагошким, универзитетским и, шире гледано, научним догађањима у првим деценијама 19. века.<sup>8</sup> Сходно изреченом, придев „јенски“ користимо у темпоралном кудикамо више неголи у топографском смислу, а превасходно мислимо на поетске, поетичке и идејне тенденције које су се најјасније пројавиле код мислилаца везаних за јенски кружок и *Атенеум*, независно од тога да ли су непосредно живели у Јени на размеђу векова. Тим поводом ваља нам да се узредно изјаснимо и о Хелдерлину.

Иако је и овај, потенцијално највећи лиричар европске модерности боравио на Универзитету у Јени 1794. године и имао прилике да се упозна и са вајмарским класицима, и са идеалистима, и са стасавајућим романтичарима – Хелдерлин је принципијелно блистави усамљеник и изопштеник који неће учествовати у котеријама на прелазу векова и који ће се почетком 19. века повући у своју болест. Хелдерлиново дело, ипак, није изоловано од песнику савремених литерарних токова, оно настаје на фону Шилеровог естетичког идеализма, а расте из идентичне тежње која развија и Новалисову поетску делатност и коју је на спекулативном плану формулисао Шлајермахер у *Говорима о религији* помоћу сложенице *Kunstreligion* – уметничка религија или религија уметности.

Разуме се, за Хелдерлина и Новалиса важи исто што и за Колрица: као што Шелингова мисао није непосредно кокреирала књижевну теорију енглеског песника, тако ни Шлајермахер није догматски директно и једносмерно утицао на отварање нових стваралачких поља код Хелдерлина или Новалиса, али су у свим поменутих случајевима подстицаји активирали и ка уметничком и мисаоном сазревању и испуњењу приближили оне потенцијале који су код тројице песника већ постојали. Када је реч о немачким ствараоцима, они су – будући другачијих духовних аспирација у односу на вајмарску књижевност – трагали за формулом уметничког и

<sup>8</sup> У виду имамо водећа имена Берлинског универзитета у зрелим фазама њихових живота: браћу фон Хумболт, Фихтеа, Шлајермахера, Хегела, Золгера.

идејног јединства, за тачком спиритуалне и поетске свеобухватности коју је Шлајермахер прецизирао на плану филозофске самосвести. Иако је, наравно, метафизичка спекулација код Немаца крајем 18. века већ етабиларана и веома развијена, она – то је уочљиво на примеру Шилерових естетичких радова – није доминантно религијски конотирана, а у сваком случају није христијанизована.<sup>9</sup> Срж Шлајермахерове ране мисли уписана је у рефлексију и песничку уметност јенских романтичара и њихових сродника попут Хелдерлина, а ради се о идеји да се максимум хуманог бића постиже стваралачком, песничком синтезом религијског доживљаја и поетског израза. При томе, Шлајермахер се у *Говорима* одваја од кантовско-шилеровског идеализма инсистирајући на пресудности духовне разлике између етичких идеала (који су највиша тачка надлежности Кантовог практичног ума и чијом се естетизацијом, према Шилеровом мишљењу, испуњава бит уметности) и религијског осећања за сакралну бесконачност (Schleiermacher 1868, 32).

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Јенски романтизам разумемо као највише испољење и саму есенцију романтичног. За разлику од штурмундранговског, јенски романтизам је идеалистички, а, другачије од вајмарског идеализма, који је изграђен на тековинама класичног хеленства, те чији је хуманизам етичке провенијенције и чија уметност треба да се испуни образовним унапређењем људског света, као и од Шелинговог естетског идеализма, чија се универзалистичка и синтетичка тенденција конкретизује идентитетом између природе и човека, чула и духа, форме и садржине, идентитетом који се довршава у уметности – идеализам јенске романтике тежи синтезама највишег метафизичког реда и идентитету који ће обухватити све аспекте људског бића и постојања. У питању је естетско-религијски и поетско-филозофски романтични идеализам, чији је духовни предводник Шлајермахер.

Илустративно је то што је епохалну сложеницу *Kunstreligion* Шлајермахер употребио само у првом издању *Говора о религији* (из 1799. године), конкретно: на крају „Трећег говора – О образовању за религију“

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<sup>9</sup> Анализирајући основ на ком настају *Говори о религији*, Дилтај подвлачи то да се Шлајермахерова идеализација религије и хришћанства остварује кроз разлику у односу на класичност вајмарског идеализма (Dilthey 379). Слично томе, Корф, рецимо, сматра да је за вајмарске класичаре хришћанство превазиђена форма, а да га романтичари препознају као праформу властитог духа, чиме покрећу обнављање хришћанске свести (Korff 332). Такође напомињемо да (лајтмотивске) 1799. године Фихте напушта Јену због оптужби за атеизам: мисао овог филозофа од изузетне је важности за младе романтичаре, али они фихтеовски идеалистички темељ попуњавају хришћанском супстанцом.

(Schleiermacher 1799, 45). Изостављање сложенице из каснијих издања не проистиче из Шлајермахеровог опозивања саме тежишне мисли о стваралачком јединству религије с уметношћу, али сведочи о процесу ауторовог сазревања и његовој, по свему судећи, потреби да се дистанцира од радикалности свог јенског дејства на младе песнике и екстремизма с којим су Новалис и млађи Шлегел приступали реализацији уметности религије као идеала. Сâм Шлајермахер остаје и касније веран суштини властите мисли, те, уз мање измене, и у потоњим издањима наглашава: „Религија и уметност стоје једно уз друго као два спријатељена бића, чија унутрашња сродност, иако узајамно није спозната и једва се наслућује, ипак избија на различите начине“ (Schleiermacher 1868, 129); такође подвлачи и да је „уједно циљ ваших данашњих највиших напора васкрсење религије“ (130), у чему ће водич бити „смисао за уметност“ (128).

Полет с којим су се, у последњим годинама 18. века, Ф. Шлегел и Новалис напајали сневаним идеалима подарује донекле њиховој сарадњи карактер секташтва, које је појачано апостолским начином на који су и мистичком снагом с којом су пригрлили раног Шлајермахера као свог водича (том секташтву и осећању мисионарског братства вероватно је доприносила и хернутерска нарав Шлајермахеровог и Новалисовог одгоја). Пре него што се вратимо фанатизму двојице пријатеља, потребно је да прокоментаришемо значење духовног заједништва у контексту јенског романтизма. Наиме, један изходни идеал романтичне духовности јесте универзалност, коју сâм Шлегел програмски постулира као поетичко начело романтичне поезије у свом фрагменту бр. 116 из *Атенеума*, објашњавајући је као прогресивну, дакле као идејно бескрајно ширећу универзалност (Schlegel 1967, 182). Други је пак идеал – индивидуализам. Намеће се питање о каквом се индивидуализму ради и у каквој је та категорија спрези с универзализмом, а нарочито у светлу околности да су атенеумски сарадници до те мере били занети заједништвом да изворно нису ауторизовали све објављиване фрагменте у часопису,<sup>10</sup> већ су их износили као плод општег труда, не обазирјући се на своја списатељска јаства и власништво над мишљу, услед чега је критика накнадно испитивала чијег је порекла који фрагмент (то јест, да ли припада браћи Шлегел, Новалису или Шлајермахеру), а у појединим случајевима оно остаје спорно.

<sup>10</sup> Нпр. у првом издању *Атенеума* из 1798. Новалис је (први пут под тим именом) ауторизовао своје фрагменте под називом *Полен (Blüthenstaub)*, чему је Ф. Шлегел придодao и четири своја фрагмента. Шлегел је пак у сегменту *Фрагменти* измешао братовљеве, Новалисове и Шлајермахерове записе са својима (Schulz 741; у: Schlegel 1967, 165–255 – дати су сви фрагменти сходно утврђеном или вероватном ауторству).

Сажето речено, романтични индивидуализам и сâм је идеалистички, те нема ничег заједничког с вулгарним и опскурним индивидуализмом саможивог и опортунистичког егоцентризма коме је једина и искључива мера и сврха властита самосвојност наспрам остатка света. Мисаоно упориште јенским романтичарима обезбедио је Фихтеов субјективни идеализам, конкретно: филозофов принцип трансценденталног јаства, односно уверење да је апсолутно Ја једнако апсолутном јединству. Сâм романтични култ индивидуализма пак извире из стремљења ка образовању потпуног људског бића, те ка испуњењу универзалне хуманости у јединки. Појединац није и не постоји за себе, већ се употпуњава кроз стварање јединства с другом целовитом јединком, па тако и индивидуа сама и читав међуљудски спој активирају потенцијале апсолутног у човеку. У том смислу, нису индивидуализам и универзализам напросто две испуњавајуће вредности романтичног светоназора, него је универзалност сврха и циљ освојене хуманости у индивидуи.

Док је, начелно гледано, промишљање универзалне хуманости својствено и Шилеру, романтична духовност доноси проширење на два нивоа мистичко-религијског доживљаја: међуљудска веза је сагледана као мистичко јединство из ког извире светост у човеку, а човеково постојање на земљи не одражава било какву апсолутност апстрактног идеала, већ есхатолошку концепцију вечности. На понешто различите начине, управо Шлегелова и Новалисова мисао изоштравају супстанцу романтичног идеализма, а за шта је обојици као ослонац послужио Шлајермахер.

Новалисово интензивно стварање на пољу поезије, прозе, мистичке филозофије и филозофије природе – ограничено је на тек неколико година, односно на период од смрти његове веренице Софи фон Кин до саме његове смрти и подудара се с растућом важношћу Шлајермахерове религијске мисли за њега, што је, свакако, било условљено потребом да се спасоносно преосмисли неутешно преминуће петнаестогодишње девојке, те да се осећање губитка артикулише на стваралачки начин. Истовремено, од 1797. године, Шлегел се посвећује раду на *Луцинде*, то јест на роману који је наизглед, због раскалашне и чулне материје, далеко од тежине Шлајермахеровог и Новалисовог доживљаја света, али заправо у једнакој мери представља Фридрихов индивидуални допринос стваралачком братству колико и Новалисов, условно речено, зрели опус.

И Новалис, најизразитије у *Химнама ноћи* и роману *Хајнрих фон Офтердинген*, знатно у *Духовним песмама*,<sup>11</sup> а делимично и у филозофско-

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<sup>11</sup> Што се тиче *Духовних песама*, оне су нарочито деловале на Шлајермахера, који је неке од њих унео у црквену песмарицу у Берлину (Schulz 644; Ritter 151). Но, поред несумњивог теолошког утицаја на песника (нпр. у седмој песми употребљена је Шлајермахерова синтагма „heilige Wehmut“, тј. „света сета“, из

поетском фрагменту *Ученици у Саусу*, као и Шлегел у свом роману – конкретизују шлајермахеровски идеал религије уметности кроз синтезу еротског са мистичким. Новалис и експлицитно у једном фрагменту тумачи појам *Kunstreligion* као јединство религије, љубави и уметности и као спој лепоте и идеала (Novalis 526; фр. бр. 48). И код Шлегела и код Новалиса поетски свет се уобличава сходно еротолошком идеалу као смисаоној норми човековог земаљског постојања. У оба случаја поетски свет је симболички романтизован кроз потрагу бића за апсолутним упориштем у оностраној чулној реалности. Да би се егзистенцијално трагање за сврхом романтизовало као испуњавање човекове највише духовне могућности, појединац мора сâм бити кадар да својим фантазијским моћима преобрази и поетизује збиљу, те да се, другим речима, транспонује из пукe емпирије у сферу идеала.

Идејна тежња која повезује Шлајермахера, Новалиса и Ф. Шлегела уједно је и она која их фундаментално одваја од епицентра вајмарске класике – егзистенцијалног модела средњег пута који репрезентује Вилхелм Мајстер у Гетеовим *Годинама учења*,<sup>12</sup> а који се у романтизму преокреће у императив есенцијалног модела највишег духовног пута за човека као уметника. Ако класична зрелост испуњавање препознаје у прожимању појединца са емпиријским и – што је, са становишта уметничких законитости важније – прозним светом, сходно чему се јунакова потрага одвија у оквиру оностраних реалија, романтизам радикализује дужност пред којом стоји човеков живот: јединка се не прикључује реалитету света, већ генерише нову, поетску, романтичну, највишу стварност како би кроз њу и из ње могла да додирне или наслути сакралне и трансцендентне вредности постојања. Да би се интегрисао у материјални свет, Мајстер се мора одрећи свог романтизма, то јест своје позоришне уметности у име грађанског идентитета који га практично опрема за егзистенцијалну будућност. Гете пише образовни роман уместо напуштеног романа о уметнику (*Позоришно послање Вилхелма Мајстера*), а романтичари креирају нову форму романа као синтезу образовног и

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*Говора о религији*; Schulz 651; Ritter 158; Ритер, додуше, инсистира на неизвесности по питању тога ко је преузео чију синтагму), Новалис се у *Духовним песмама* враћа старијој евангелистичкој традицији црквеног појања, као и баштини католичке црквене лирике (Beese 174–175).

<sup>12</sup> У раду се усредсређујемо на Новалиса и Ф. Шлегела, али истичемо и то да, заједно с њима, романтичну уметност духовног, религијског, хришћанског бескраја, и то на Шлајермахеров подстицај, уобличава такође Л. Тик, између осталог својим образовним романом о уметнику. Реч је о *Путовањима Франца Штернбалда* (1798), роману о сликару и Диреровом ученику. На Тикову саображеност јенском духовно-уметничком заносу указује и биографски податак да се Новалис с њим побратимио 1799. године (Beese 172).

романа о уметнику. Та форма је реализована и у *Луцинде* и у *Хајнриху фон Офтердингену* и у Тиковим *Путовањима Франца Штернбалда*, те суштински и у Хелдерлиновом *Хипериону*.

Истини за вољу, Шилеров вајмарски – дилтајевски речено – идеализам слободе никада није заинтересован за буржоаске компромисе мајстеровског типа између појединца и света, али инсистира на достизању класичне равнотеже бића науштрб једностране духовне пренапрегнутости, коју романтика препознаје као људски императив. Дискрепанцију између шилеровског идеализма мере и романтичног идеализма безмерја јасно показује позната<sup>13</sup> духовна разлика у моделима по којима Шилер, односно Новалис – обрађују мотив Изидине копрене. Обојица мотив симболизују као предворје апсолутне спиритуалности за којом чезне смртник. Но док Шилер своју баладу *Велом прекривени лик у Саусу* (*Das verschleierte Bild zu Saïs*, 1795) уобличава као песничку приповест о људском хибрису, услед чега романтичној форми поставља класичне идејне норме, Новалис у бајци из фрагментарног текста *Ученици у Саусу* (коју можемо превести као „Зумбул и Ружица“; у оригиналу: „Hyazinth und Rosenblütchen“) афирмише смртникову преступност као предуслов досезања апсолутног извора. Откривање Изидиног вела код Шилера повлачи казну за човекову дрскост која заборавља властиту меру као дужност, а код Новалиса преступање људског као дужност води афирмацији:<sup>14</sup> кроз искуство љубави с другим смртник трансцендира ограничења и спознаје божанско, будући да трагач (Зумбул) под Изидином копреном проналази вољену (Ружицу).

Шлајермахерови *Говори о религији* успостављају идентитет романтизма и хришћанства утемељен на њима заједничкој жудњи за „бескрајном светошћу“ (Schleiermacher 1868, 226) која се снажи кроз човекову „борбу против све стварности“ (225–226) и отпор према задовољењу доступним. У том спису Шлајермахер се критички односи према грађанској култури просвећеног рационализма која гуши и умртвљује човекове унутрашње моралне и фантазијске аспирације.<sup>15</sup> Познати Новалисов увређени презир пред утопистичким разрешењем

<sup>13</sup> В. нпр. Schulz 676; Blackall 116.

<sup>14</sup> Са Новалисовим романтичним категоричким императивом као човековом обавезом да продре у метафизичку истину света сагласан је и Ф. Шлегел. Подстакнут спиритуалном разменом са Шлајермахером и Новалисом, Шлегел објављује своје религијске фрагменте као *Идеје у Атенеуму* 1800. године, а средишњи исказ из фр. бр. 1 гласи: „Време је да се поцепа Изидина копрена и разоткрије тајна“ (Schlegel 1967, 256). У контексту овог фрагмента, о пресеку односа између Шлајермахера, Новалиса, Тика и Шлегела око 1799. године говори се у: Ritter 158.

<sup>15</sup> То је једна од преовлађујућих Шлајермахерових тема, а посебно је обрађена у „Трећем говору: О образовању за религију“ (Schleiermacher 1868, 117–119).

*Година учења Вилхелма Мајстера* као прозом атеизма која побеђује поезију,<sup>16</sup> те као, дакле, издајом према поетској индивидуи обиља коју замењује грађанин примирја – подстиче аутора да напише *Хајнриха фон Офтердингена* као романтични пандан Гетеовом образовном роману.<sup>17</sup> Новалисов роман елиминише свеколику прозу света из свог видокруга, хвали и награђује јунаково прогресивно одбацивање грађанског идентитета зарад песничког послања (каквог се одриче Мајстер), те ширеће преображавање текстуалне стварности у бајку која је према реалијама индиферентна и чија је сврха освајање идеала златног века као космичке хармоније (која замењује егзистенцијални склад брака у грађанском свету као финале *Година учења*). Један од лајтмотива Шлегеловог образовног романа *Луцинде* јесте раскидање веза с грађанским светом зарад слободе тоталне међуљудске љубави (Јулијуса и насловне јунакиње) као романтичног одраза златног века, у чијем се предосећању текст и завршава.

Шлајермахеров позив ученом и на тековинама разумске просвећености образованом грађанину 18. века да пробуди фантазијско чуло за осећање сакралног и апсолутног – реартикулисан је у Новалисовој мисли као „магијски идеализам“,<sup>18</sup> то јест као она имагинацијска моћ

<sup>16</sup> У записима с почетка 1800. Новалис оптужује *Године учења* као „прозаично“ дело написано у духу „уметничког атеизма“, „препуно економије“ (Novalis 544); у питању је „фатална и будаласта књига“ која је, „што се духа тиче, у највишој мери непесничка“, те „сатира против поезије, религије“ (545). Вилхелм Мајстер је „заправо један Кандид усмерен против поезије“ (546).

<sup>17</sup> Док се према Гетеовом образовном роману Новалис опходи радикално критички, Шлегел га и у огледу *О Гетеовом Мајстеру* (изашлом 1798. у *Атенеуму*) и у фрагментима и у *Разговору о поезији* издваја као један од најважнијих догађаја епохе, те као епицентар нове књижевне уметности. Ипак, скепсу према прозном смислу *Година учења* истицао је и сâм Шлегел (Ајхнер детаљно извештава о Шлегеловим белешкама које су сасвим у духу Новалисове критике и оцењују Гетеов роман као „пропаст поезије“ и неромантично дело нерелигиозног аутора; Eichner 1962, LXXIV–LXXV) пре него што се определио за похвални тон, а, обрнуто од тога, Новалис је најпре био усхићен Гетеовим делом пре него што га је подвргао негативној критици. Но, премда су им различити смерови, интенције су идентичне код Шлегела и Новалиса: обојицу *Године учења* подстичу на мисаоне и стваралачке искорак, Гетеов роман Шлегелу служи као парадигма за поетичко учвршћивање романа као средишње форме надолазеће романтичне уметности, а Новалис се од *Мајстера* дистанцира како би се посветио раду на роману који ће у поетској пракси реализовати Шлегелов поетички идеал. Другим речима, класични дух *Година учења* разбуђује и провоцира романтично иступање и у случају Новалиса и у случају млађег Шлегела.

<sup>18</sup> У више фрагмената Новалис говори о магијском стваралаштву, а у фр. бр. 49 из тзв. *Општег нацрта* (*Das allgemeine Brouillon*) именује индивидуу која је у



човекове трансфигурације стварности која је уписана у основе и Шлегеловог романа и самог Новалисовог опуса. Стваралачку снагу човековог духа који рекреира постојећу и ствара нову, идеалну реалност Новалис, дакле, именује као магијску, а Ф. Шлегел разуме као митопоијетичку. Новалисовом појмовном одређењу магијског идеализма аналогна је категорија нове романтичне митологије, коју Шлегел формулише у *Разговору о поезији*. Оба аутора мисаоно се надовезују, али преваходно стваралачки одговарају на Шлајермахерову спекулацију, и то тако што синтезу уметности и религије материјализују зазивањем и стварањем особених поетских светова као митолошких система заснованих на апсолутном одуховљењу чулне реалности.

Уметнички изражена духовна жудња за сакралним различито се манифестује код Новалиса и Шлегела, али им је заједничка поетска форма симбола и мита, као и значењски опсег самог идеала. Новалисова уметност врхуни митом о ноћи као вечности која рађа бескрајни живот из смрти, као и симболима умрле веренице (Софије)<sup>19</sup> и Матилде, то јест оним пројављењима вечне женствености у *Химнама ноћи* и *Хајнриху фон Офтердингену* која поучавају мушке субјекте о идентитету поезије, љубави, смрти и вечности, о смрти као извору апсолутног живота, те о поезији као изразу вечности у људском духу и начину да смртник на земљи идеализује стварност и измести је ка хармонији златног века. Новалисова поезија је наглашено мистички оријентисана, при чему је његов мит о ноћи натопљен Бемеовим теозофским и мистичким учењем о хијератској Мудрости, односно Софији као женственом корену светости, а такође је и есхатолошки и сотериолошки усмерена ка испуњавајућем освајању вечности кроз искуство смрти. Шлегелов роман не стреми тајни трансценденције надилажењем земаљског живота, већ апсолутизацији самог земаљског постојања, но квалитет човекове потраге у коју се улива читаво његово постојање – код обојице је суштински исти. Наиме, Луцинде је пандан новалисовској Мудрости и ноћи: Шлегелова вечна женственост симболизује светлост која искуством љубави употпуњава људски живот.

Погрешно би било претпоставити контрастну природу односа између Новалисових и Шлегелових симболичко-митских поетских система, по чему

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потпуности овладао два операцијама – да претвори мисли у непосредно опазиве ствари и ствари у мисли – као „магијског идеалисту“ (Novalis 460).

<sup>19</sup> Ради јаснијег рашчлањивања, овим именом означавамо фигуру преминуле драге из *Химни ноћи*. Премда ознака Софија није употребљена у химнама, оне одражавају песников однос према умрлој вереници, као и утицај Бемеове теозофије, чија је средишња категорија сакрална Мудрост. Значајан податак је пак тај да је ка Бемеу и ка наслеђу хришћанског мистицизма Новалиса упутио побратим – Тик (Beese 173).

би изгледало као да су новалисовска ноћ, смрт и оностраност супротстављене шлегеловској чулној оностраности, светлости и животу. Космички принцип апсолутног смисла на оба плана јесте љубав која јемчи свепотврдну извесност вечности за смртника и идеализује сâм његов земаљски живот. Ноћ је код Новалиса истинска светлост вечности, а смрт корен, извор и сврха живота. С друге стране, Шлегелову Луцинде протагониста Јулијус именује као „свештеницу ноћи“ (Schlegel 1962, 79), а тема и исходна тачка романтичног смисла тог романа јесте низ „мистерија“ (7) и „религија љубави“ (12) чији су носиоци – мистагози. Свој роман Шлегел је замислио као својеврсно „јеванђеље љубави“ (Eichner 1962, XXIX), чији је циљ „реформа морала“ (XXXV), а сâм је тврдио да је „Луцинде религиозна књига“ (XXXV). Својеврсно мистагошко тројство с Новалисовим и Шлегеловим фигурама женствености које посвећују у идеал гради и Хиперионова, то јест Хелдерлинова Диотима, „свештеница“ (Hölderlin 110) која јунаку снажи и чији гроб за њега чува сан о „златном миру“ (исто; оба навода припадају б. писму из друге свеске романа); паралеле нису само семантичке но и темпоралне, те је и други део *Хипериона* објављен 1799. године, с тим што је један детаљ довољан да осветли различитост Хелдерлиновог идеалистичког сензибилитета наспрам јенско-романтичног: и у Хелдерлиновом роману поетизован је мотив Изидиног вела, али на изразито негативан начин, као знак оријенталног деспотизма, неслободе и несклада, те као симбол „тамне“ и „празне бескрајности“ (92; наводи су из последњег писма прве свеске), која је на супротном полу вредности у односу на ауторову љубав према хуманистичком духу класичног хеленства.

Карактер Шлегелове и Новалисове уметности – романтичан је и на поетском и на смисаоном плану. Шлајермахер романтизује хришћанство као чежњу за вечношћу по цену одрицања од датости, а та се чежња у реалном људском искуству активира као поетска, фантазијска снага обистињавања апсолутности путем слике у људском духу. Шлајермахер не анализира појам религије по себи, већ, на трагу Кантове епистемологије, испитује трансцендентална својства религијског доживљаја у човеку, а као фундаменте религиозности препознаје „непосредно осећање бесконачног и светог“ (Schleiermacher 1868, 15), „љубав према духу света“ (59), побожно „посматрање [...] све временитости у вечном“, „откривење бесконачности у коначности“ (34). На крају „Другог говора – О бићу религије“ одређује Шлајермахер на веома поетичан начин трајну вредност религијског духа следећим речима: „Усред коначности једно постати с бесконачним и вечан бити у сваком тренутку – то је бесмртност религије“ (91). Романтични песници су митотворци и образују своје уметничке светове као симболичке системе који кроз реалност рефлектују апсолутне идеале. Романтични идеал слободе за највиши, спасоносни смисао не осваја се напосто

садржином коју аутор намеће читаоцу, већ темељно романтичном – трансценденталном формом. Романтичну поезију као трансценденталну поезију поезије Шлегел поетички формулише у фр. бр. 238 (Schlegel 1967, 204) у *Атенеуму*, а поетски је и он и Новалис реализују позивима својих романескних субјеката и протагониста: Јулијус и Хајнрих су уметници. Шлајермахерову идеју о религији као духовном органу за вечност, којој се човек приближава естетски – уметници транспонују на раван форме и поступка. Сама апсолутна тајна осваја се уметношћу, па се поетска структура и код Шлегела и код Новалиса мотивише и уобличава као симбол, то јест као естетски одраз идеала. Јунаци трансформишу збиљу у идеал вечности и златног века онако како писци заснивају своје уметничке светове као магијске регистре који се не односе миметички према емпиријској стварности, већ њима врше митско преображење реалности.

У периоду најинтензивније сарадње и заједничког надахнућа Шлајермахеровим учењем о религији Новалис и Ф. Шлегел<sup>20</sup> жуде за романтизацијом света као духовном револуцијом која ће заменити политичку прозу реалне, француске револуције. Нове поетске форме (нпр. романтични роман, химна у ритмичкој прози) утемељене на новој митологији која рефигурише прозну реалност представљају уметничке одговоре на тековине научне и рационалне просвећености чији је епилог повесна деструктивност. Обновљање религије, што проповеда Шлајермахер, а ка чему своје снаге усмеравају Новалис и Шлегел, није ексцесни реликт прошлости у време наполеонске модерности, већ, напротив, апел за будућност и позив на спиритуалну обнову која ће, за разлику од револуционарних девијација у политичкој историји, човеку донети аутентичну слободу за фантазијску изградњу златног века и мира (будући да се материјална изградња претворила у терор). Идеали, по природи ствари, припадају духу, а не материји, али се могу обистинити кроз светост као крајњи смисао међуљудске љубави која враћа хуманости веру у вечност, за разлику од материјалне производње утопије, која међуљудско јединство у љубави замењује међуљудским уништењем. Младачка неумереност при потрази за формулом која ће спиритуално и вредносно преокренути стварност ка другачијој будућности – заводи романтичаре у ексцентрично метафизичко сањарење, па тако Шлегел и Новалис сневају о писању „нове Библије” (Eichner V: XXXV, Veese 144) и образовању нове религије (Veese 144). У таквом подухвату, јереси особеној за онај вид протестантског индивидуалистичког слободарства који је допустио Шлајермахеру да покуша да реартикулише традиционалне теолошке појмове, Новалис би – тако су сарадници замишљали – био нови Христос, а

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<sup>20</sup> Шлегел је у последњем издању *Атенеума*, 1800. године, објавио и свој сонет под називом: *Говори о религији (Reden über die Religion)*.

Шлегел нови Павле (Ritter 163; Beese 144). Смисао стваралачке делатности није само и уско уметнички, већ је мисионарски<sup>21</sup> и има за циљ да обзнани и да преобрати; у том духу, а говорећи о Шлајермахеру и Новалису, Корф разуме романтичну активност као крсташки рат (Korff 343), пророштво (344), објаву новог царства духа (345).

Инспирисан *Говорима о религији* као спиритуалном обзнаном,<sup>22</sup> услед чега се и сâм опредељује за проповедну форму говора као објаве која се саопштава свеколикој јавности, Новалис покушава да изрази свој религијски идеализам пишући есеј *Хришћанство или Европа* као спекулативни пандан петој *Химни ноћи* и *Хајнриху фон Офтердингену*. У роману и есеју Новалис спроводи радикалну идеализацију, то јест романтизацију средњег века као епохе европског религијског јединства које још увек није корумпирано шизмама и научним утилитаризмом нововековља. У химни и есеју аутор полази од европске историје, коју сажима на повест религијских погледа на свет, те развија визију утопистичке хармоније будућности у којој ће се обновити повесно раскинуте везе међу људима и народима, а срж сва три списа јесте митологема златног века који није закључан у прошлости, већ се путем љубави отвара свем човечанству у христијанизованој будућности. Такође, и пета химна и есеј о хришћанству полазе од првог издања Шилерових *Богова Грчке* (1788)<sup>23</sup> и радикално преокрећу и романтизују шилеровску поетизацију историје религијских осећања света: док Шилер хеленску антику надређује хришћанству, Новалис разуме хришћанство као финале и испуњење све људске повести, будући да тек оно открива плодносни смисао смрти и побеђује је откривењем онострани вечности као истинског хуманог завичаја. На културно-политичком плану пак Новалис интерпретира европски идентитет као фундаментално хришћански, јер само највиша спиритуална вредност може народе ујединити у цивилизацију, а ова ће опстајати онолико дуго колико буде била кадра да

<sup>21</sup> Ритер, рецимо, објашњава Харденбергов одабир имена „Новалис“ као ауторову свесну објаву „нове епохе његовог живота“, у којој „геније“ следи „своју мисију“ (Ritter 73).

<sup>22</sup> Корф тврди да Новалис егзалтирано прима Шлајермахерове *Говоре* као објаву „зоре новог доба“ (Korff 345); у предговору за *Говоре* Шварц истиче да романтичари доживљавају Шлајермахерово дело као „јеванђеље новог века“ (Schwarz XII).

<sup>23</sup> О овим паралелама в. Schulz 634; Beese 213; Naywood 69; Korff 346 (Корф релације проширује и на Хелдерлиново дело). Како Хелдерлин није основни предмет наше анализе, на овом месту подсећамо да његова елегија *Хлеб и вино* настаје истовремено кад и *Химне ноћи*, да такође митопоијетички осмишљава мотив ноћи, те да, као и Шилерова и Новалисова песма, настоји да људску повест поетски и профетски интерпретира као свету историју с обзиром на божанска откривења човеку.

поднесе терет и тежину свог трансматеријалног темеља. Разуме се да Новалисова мисао служи као опомена европској историјској реалности која од ауторовог доба до данас – да употребимо одговарајући појам – деромантизује свој идеални основ, а, како је цивилизација схваћена као баштиник самог идеала, онда прогресивно и уништава свој идентитет.

Осим тога, у спису *Хришћанство или Европа* Новалис се поиграва мотивом копрене алудирајући на Шлајермахера као „брата“ који је „светици направио нову копрену“ („Er hat einen neuen Schleier für die Heilige gemacht“, Novalis 514), а за шта му погодан повод даје теологово презиме. „Schleier“ је именица чије је значење „вео“, а глагол „machen“ значи „радити, правити“ и у цитираном исказу Новалис га користи у облику перфекта. Карактеристично је то што у истој текстуалној секвенци – пре него што нагласи нову копрену, која не чува више лице Изиде, него Богородице – Харденберг каже у вези са Шлајермахером следеће: „У овом брату куца срце новог доба – ко га је осетио више не сумња у његов долазак, те са слатким поносом према својој савремености искорачује и изван гомиле ка новој чети младића“ (исто). Шлајермахер се одужује Новалису након песникове смрти тако што га експлицитно помиње у другом и наредним издањима *Говора о религији*, издавајући га, заједно са Спинозом, као репрезентанта религијског осећања за бесконачност (у „Другом говору“, Schleiermacher 1868, 37).

Шлајермахерово, Новалисово и Шлегелово романтично тројство уједињава транспозиција идеала у будућност. Шлајермахер размишља о метафизичким основама људске душевности, али у домену реалне историје, која треба да се преусмери од нагона за стицањем добара, чиме се гуши и умртвљује човечност – ка настојању да се, кроз духовну жудњу за највишим и бескрајним, обнови сама човечност у људском субјекту који историји припада и ствара је. Новалисова спиритуализација уметности шири се пак до апокалиптичких размера утолико што се призива идеална, безвремена будућност која ће испунити људску повест. Шлегел ублажава новалисовску духовност ограничавајући је мерама реалне људске праксе, конкретно: будућношћу хуманог стваралаштва. Ако се код Шлајермахера романтично односи на историјску потребу за препородом религије, а код Новалиса на преображење историје у вечност, Шлегел своју утопистичку мисао смешта у домен поезике и књижевних кретања која су дужна да се у реалној а романтичној будућности устреме ка обнови уметности као свепотврдног одраза универзалне човечности.

Колико год се чинило да су јенски романтичари, на челу с Новалисом, склони искључивости која одбацује потребу за компромисом и мером као својство малограђанштине из које извире пакосна, умртвљујућа, ситничава, прозаична и злобна нарав доба, реч је о индивидуама које су, без обзира на тежину својих идеја, истовремено биле свесне игротворне природе

самих својих размишљања. С једне стране, они су искрени у свом радикализму као нужном начину да се до крајњих консеквенци изоштре недостаци епохе, те да се мисао пренапегне до идеала који ће можда моћи да подстакне преумљење човечанства: прекорачење мере је, дакле, предуслов за остваривање по себи прекомерних духовних циљева. С друге стране, утицајни члан кружока крајем 18. века био је и Шелинг, који је с подсмехом и скептично реаговао на Шлајермахерове и Новалисове религијске опсесије пишући пародијску сатиру, а на шта су сами религијски занесењаци начелно одговарали – толеранцијом. Шелингова сатира зове се *Епикурејско исповедање вере Хајнца Видерпорста* (*Epi kurisch Glaubensbekenntnis Heinz Widerporstens*),<sup>24</sup> а сачињена је у кнителферсу и замишљена је као напад на „религијско одушевљење јенског круга, на Шлајермахерове *Говоре* и нарочито на Харденбергово *Хришћанство*“ (Schulz 801). Аутор се одлучио на стих који је традиционално сатиричког тона и интенционалности, а којим се служио млади Гете у првом делу *Фауста* модернизујући антикласични, фолклорни стих и манир Ханса Закса, што је код Шелинга одражено у опозиционом дуктусу текста (епикурејство) и протагонисте. Саму фигуру Хајнца Видерпорста Шелинг је преузео од Ханса Закса, а семантички је важно презиме овог лика којим је сугерисан свађалачки, пркосни карактер. Дух романтичне толеранције огледа се у околности да су се јенски сарадници водили мишљу да у *Атенеуму* објаве и Новалисов есеј *Хришћанство или Европа* и Шелингове стихове, а да су се на крају одлучили да као судију позову – Гетеа, који је иступио против објављивања и једног и другог списка (Schulz 801), чиме је одговарајућом мером стварности узвратио на романтично-идеалистичко безмерје, које је са своје стране ипак признавало гетеовску мудрост као норму при свакој арбитражи.

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Снага индивидуалног богатства унутар јенско-атенеумског кружока видљива је и из специфичног статуса и дејства више пута помињаног – Шелинга. Паралелно с писањем дела која ће реализовати романтични идеал уметности религије, Новалис изучава филозофију природе и те студије, у пуном складу са својом нутрином, изводи до мистичких консеквенци. Плод Новалисовог парадоксалног натуралистичког мистицизма, који треба да продре у духовну тајну природе, јесте апострофирани спис *Ученици у Саусу*, који је настајао уз двојаки подстрек:

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<sup>24</sup> О Шелинговом делу извештава Ф. Шлегел у писму Шлајермахеру, што се све збива крајем 1799. године, то јест непосредно након помињаног сусрета романтичара, на ком је једна од тема била везана за Новалисов рад о хришћанству (Schulz 800–801) и на ком је Шелинг очигледно добио повод за своју иронизаторску реакцију. О Шелинговој пародији в. и: Ritter 174; Beese 199.

један је опклада са Ф. Шлегелом која се тицала могућности да се развије форма романтичног фрагмента, а други је зближавање управо са Шелингом (Schulz 675). Овај филозоф, чија мисао настоји да синтетизује дух и природу у уметности као апсолутном идеалу, држи се по страни у односу на религијска стремљења својих познаника и сарадника, но његово дело на прелазу векова један је од носећих стубова романтичног идеализма и у битноме допуњава и довршава како идејне тако и поетичке тежње јенских романтичара. Осим из раније навођених разлога, година 1800. важна је и као она у којој је објављен тежишни спис немачке идеалистичке филозофије – Шелингов *Систем трансценденталног идеализма*. На филозофском плану, Шелингова трансцендентална мисао утврђује оне највише људске креативне могућности о којима у исто време спекулише Шлајермахер у сфери религије, Шлегел у равни поетике и које активира Новалис на пољу саме уметности. Како овде нисмо у прилици да разлажемо Шелингов идејни систем, сажимамо га једним начелним и једним конкретним својством. Упркос томе то што је био скептичан према мистичким духовним склоностима својих колега, Шелинг је подједнако колико и они романтизовао своју мисао, што, опште узев, значи: обожио је уметност као врхунац и сврху хуманог постојања. Новалисова намера да у *Хајнриху фон Офтердингену* изрази и прослави „апотеозу уметности“<sup>25</sup> потиче из истих духовних побуда као и Шелингово промишљање које је заглавано ка тоталној уметности као свесном и симболичком идентитету чулног и бесконачног, те као споменику стваралачке слободе духа која изграђује тоталну хуманост. Конкретније, скрећемо пажњу на појединост краја *Система трансценденталног идеализма* која, додуше, нема нужно призвук новалисовске апокалипсе, али се и по тенденцији и по садржини и по обухвату стапа и са Шлајермахеровим и са Шлегеловим и са Новалисовим речима. Шелинг размишља: „Како пак може настати нова митологија, која неће бити проналазак појединачног песника, већ новог рода такорећи представљеног једним песником – то је проблем чије разрешење ваља очекивати само од будуће судбине света и даљег тока историје“ (Schelling 302).

Романтично-идеалистичка апотеоза уметности далеко је изнад александријског култа артизма у ком се огледа интелектуална вештина аутора. Романтичари промишљају идеално јединство човечности и уметности, идентитет који симболички може оваплотити апсолутна тежишта људског духа. Пошто је стваралаштво највиша мера вредности, романтичари су склони томе да преосмисле све значајне аспекте људске умне делатности као уметност, па тако, примера ради, Шлајермахер и

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<sup>25</sup> Наведене речи, које сажимају укупни телос Новалисовог романтизма, припадају писму које је песник упутио Тику 23. фебруара 1799. године.

дијалектичко мишљење и преводилачки рад разуме као креативну, поетску активност (Шлајермахер 1999, 8, 9; Šlajermaher 2003, 21; 25; 27). Разуме се да је Шилеров естетички идеализам од средишње важности за романтичну мисаону надградњу. Шилер над уметношћу рефлектује као над самим свепотврдним испољењем и оличењем највишег хуманог идеала, а то је слобода. Следећи координате Шилерове мисли о уметности, сарадници при *Атенеуму* пак – отуд наше застајање и на Шелингу – издвајају нову митологију као поијетичку срж оне уметности којом ће у будућности човек као индивидуа и људски род као целина испунити своје могућности и кроз креацију апсолутизовати своје постојање. Стога не изненађује да и Шлајермахер, у напоменама уз „Други говор“, укључује митологију у систем фантазијског, то јест песничког изражавања религијског доживљаја.

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Препород човечанства за будућност и у будућности мишљен је у сфери племените, а не пуке политичке делатности, па се зато у јенском кружоку као његов покретачки основ разуме мит, који укршта форму чулног израза с метафизичким предметом мисли. Резултат поетског поступања не треба, ипак, да буде партикуларност мита, већ универзалност митологије као читавог духовно створеног новог света. Романтичне митске фигуре постају интрапоетским мистагозима и посвећују субјекта у симболички поредак и откривају му светост света који се не одржава на материјалним но на законима вечности. Носиоци овакве мистагошке делатности јесу Новалисова Матилда, као и вољена из *Химни ноћи*, Шлегелова Луцинде, те Хелдерлинова Диотима: у свим овим поетским системима смртников пробој ка бесмртној суштини ствари мотивише се сакрализацијом љубави коју за јунака јемчи симбол вечне женствености. Ако је сневани плави цвет из *Хајнриха фон Офтердингена* вероватно најпрепознатљивији симбол апсолутности у уметничком свету јенских романтичара, несумњиво је да се романтична супстанца Гетеовог доба и сневање самих романтичара о новој митологији употпуњава и довршава управо у последњој речи тог доба. Романтичну жудњу за остварењем поијетичких идеала хуманости реализује, наравно, позни Гете заокружењем своје божанствене комедије спасења у другом делу *Фауста*, чију највишу мисаону норму опредељује синтеза уметности и религије, те митологизација хришћанске духовности коју заступа и иза које стоји – и у ранијем Новалисовом наводу апострофирана – Богородица као симбол вечне женствености.

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## THE MYTHOPOETICS OF THE FUTURE AMONG THE JENA ROMANTICS

This essay aims to lay the groundwork for a subsequent spiritual-historical and philological analysis of Jena Romanticism as one of the central phenomena in the history of European culture. It primarily focuses on the collaboration between Schleiermacher, Novalis, and Friedrich Schlegel during the late 18th century. The nucleus around which the Romantics and idealists gather is the journal *Athenaeum* (1798–1800), published in Berlin, but whose contributors mostly (with Schleiermacher being an exception) operated from Jena. Within the literary culture of Goethe's era, this period stands out due to its pursuit of religious fulfillment in humanity. Conceptually, this pursuit is articulated through Schleiermacher's *Speeches on Religion*, finds poetic consolidation in Schlegel's contemplation of ideal romantic literature grounded in a new mythology, and poetically manifests itself through the erotic-religious synthesis of total humanity in Novalis's work.

The article traces the years 1799 and 1800 as pivotal moments of interaction among the Jena Romantics and Idealists. In 1799, a gathering of Romantics (August and Caroline Schlegel, Friedrich Schlegel and Dorothea Veit, Tieck, Novalis and Schelling) takes place in Jena. During this period, Schleiermacher publishes his *Speeches on Religion*, Schlegel writes the novel *Lucinde*, and Novalis crafts the „speech“ *Christianity or Europe*. Meanwhile, Coleridge visits Germany, Fichte leaves Jena, Tieck forms a close relationship with Novalis, later becoming the publisher of the poet's works, and Schelling writes a satire in Knittelvers *Heinz Widerporst's Epicurean Confession of Faith*, mocking the religious ecstasy of Novalis and Schlegel, fueled by Schleiermacher. The following year witnesses the publication of Schlegel's *Dialogue on Poetry*, Novalis's *Hymns to the Night*, Schleiermacher's initially anonymous defense of Schlegel's novel – *Confidential Letters about Lucinde by F. Schlegel*, and also Schelling's *System of Transcendental Idealism*.

The paper analyzes key ideas of Schleiermacher's *Speeches on Religion* and their impact on establishing Jena Romanticism as an art form inclined towards religious, Christian idealism. The central concept in Schleiermacher's *Speeches*, present mainly in the first edition, is Kunstreligion. This concept formulates the desired and anticipated ideal of humanity – a synthesis of art with religion, or religion within art. In *Speeches*, Christianity is elaborated from the viewpoint of romantic idealism, as a spiritual aspiration and love for infinity that should be embodied through art. Schleiermacher romanticizes Christianity as an aspiration for eternity at the cost of renouncing temporality, activating this longing in real human experience as a poetic, imaginative force of realizing the absolute through images in the human spirit. Schleiermacher doesn't analyze the concept of religion per se but, following Kant, explores the transcendental properties of religious experience within humans. He recognizes „the direct feeling of the infinite and holy“ and the „discovery of infinity within finitude“ as the foundations of religiosity. This philosopher and theologian extend an invitation to the educated citizens of the 18th century, steeped in the currents of rational enlightenment, to awaken the imaginative sense for the sacred and absolute.

Schleiermacher's *Speeches on Religion* establish the identity of Romanticism and Christianity rooted in their shared longing for „infinite divinity“, intensified through humanity's „struggle against all reality“. In this context, Schleiermacher critically addresses the bourgeois culture of enlightened rationalism that stifles and deadens

human inner moral and imaginative aspirations. Following this, Schlegel in *Lucinde* and Novalis in *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* create mythical worlds, embodying the Schleiermacherian ideal of religion in art through a synthesis of the erotic and the mystical. Novalis explicitly interprets the concept of Kunstreligion as the unity of religion, love, and art, a fusion of beauty and ideals. In both Schlegel and Novalis, the poetic world takes shape in line with the erotic ideal as a meaningful norm of human terrestrial existence. In both cases, the poetic world is symbolically romanticized through the pursuit of being anchored in an otherworldly sensual reality. To romantically transform the existential quest for purpose into the fulfillment of humanity's highest spiritual potential, individuals must themselves be capable of transforming and poeticizing reality with their imaginative powers. In other words, they must transpose themselves from mere empiricism into the realm of ideals.

Similar to Schleiermacher, who calls for an ideal of humanity, Schlegel discusses romantic poetry as the ideal and total art of the future, founded on a new, romantic mythology. Schlegel understands romantic poetry as a transcendental synthesis of spiritual idealism and poetic realism, as well as the unity of poetry and philosophy. The need for renewing mythology as a means through which the religious experience can be poetically shaped is debated by Schleiermacher in his *Speeches*, and a call to create a new mythology is also voiced by Schelling in the aforementioned book where he presents his transcendental idealism. Schelling's contemplation is directed toward total art as a conscious and symbolic identity of the sensory and the infinite, a monument to the creative freedom of the spirit that constructs total humanity.

Quality of Schleiermacher's thoughts on religion in general, on the fusion between religious experience and poetic form, on Christianity – Schlegel transposes into the field of poetics, and with his novel *Lucinde* he strives to achieve the ideal of Kunstreligion and to realize the novel as a paradigmatic form of transcendental romantic poetry. *Lucinde* is an erotic novel that motivates subjects as initiates into the religion of love, viewing love as a sacred value that, through the union of two individuals, achieves complete humanity. Although the novel received negative reactions, including from Schiller, Schlegel's novel is not merely the frivolous audacity of an art theorist briefly and inadequately trying his hand at literature. Instead, it seeks to articulate an apology for interpersonal freedom in love, attainable through transcending the bourgeois model of life. Schlegel aimed to dismantle and reevaluate the false and ossified taste, the value and ethical system of educated civil society in Western Europe at the end of the Enlightenment era. He aimed to celebrate sensual relationships as the foundation of spiritual connection between individuals, to act as an emancipator of women, and to address the faults of a culture that hinder women's intellectual and existential liberation. He defended the right of women and humanity to free love that synthesizes sensory and spiritual aspirations. Although criticized as a failure or transgression from both formal and conceptual perspectives, in *Lucinde*, Schlegel achieved a unity of form and thought that revolutionized the novel both in terms of its narrative form and its ideas. In *Confidential Letters about Lucinde*, Schleiermacher rises in defense of the erotic – meaning the romantic – nature of *Lucinde*, thereby laying the foundation for new romantic aspirations directed towards mystical and religious realms of absolute spirituality, whose culmination should be humanity's total spiritual and emotional freedom.

However, while *Lucinde* illustrates the nature of spiritual aspirations among

romantic idealists, Novalis's *Hymns to the Night* and the novel *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* fully embody not only Schleiermacher's ideal of art in religion but also Schlegel's ideal of romantic mythology. The trajectory of Novalis's poetic and religious insight is visible in his essay *Christianity or Europe*, which was not published during the poet's lifetime, due to Goethe's judgment. The essay represents a speculative counterpart to the fifth *Hymn to the Night* and romanticizes the Middle Ages as an era of European religious unity that has not yet been corrupted by schisms and the scientific utilitarianism of modern times. Within both texts, Novalis compresses European history into the narrative of religious worldviews and develops a vision of utopian harmony in the future, where the broken connections among people and nations will be renewed. The climax of Novalis's depiction of a Christianized future is the myth of a golden age, an era that, through love, extends its embrace to encompass all of humanity.

Exceptionally regarding Novalis, the paper discusses the Romantics' attitudes towards the Weimar Classicists, namely Goethe and Schiller. *Christianity or Europe* and the fifth *Hymn to the Night* radically overturn and romanticize Schiller's history of religious sentiments in *Gods of Greece*: whereas Schiller places Hellenic antiquity above Christianity, Novalis understands Christianity as the culmination and fulfillment of all human history. To him, it alone unveils the fruitful meaning of death and triumphs by revealing the eternity as humanity's true spiritual heritage.

Particular attention is dedicated to the Romantic reaction to Goethe's educational novel *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*. Notably, through his novel, Novalis aims to write an „Anti-Meister“ and express the „apotheosis of art“. The conceptual aspiration linking Schleiermacher, Novalis, and F. Schlegel is also what sets them apart from the center of Weimar Classicism – the existential model of the middle path represented by Wilhelm Meister, which, in Romanticism, turns into the imperative of the essential model, the highest spiritual path for man as an artist.

If classical maturity recognizes fulfillment in the immersion of the individual within the empirical and prosaic world, Romanticism radicalizes the duty confronting human life: the individual does not assimilate into the reality of the world but generates a new, poetic, romantic, highest reality to reach out to or glimpse sacred and transcendent values of existence through it and from it. For Meister to integrate into the material world, he must renounce his romanticism, his theatrical artistry, in favor of a civic identity that practically equips him for an existential future. Goethe writes an educational novel instead of the abandoned novel about an artist (*Wilhelm Meister's Theatrical Mission*), while the Romantics create a new form of the novel as a synthesis of the educational and the novel about an artist. This form is realized in both *Lucinde* and *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, and in both cases culminates with the mythical ideal of a golden age.

The artistic and spiritual distinction between German Classicism and Romanticism is clearly discernible through the treatment of the common symbol of Isis's veil. Novalis references the motif of the veil („Schleier“) in his essay *Christianity or Europe*, connecting it to Schleiermacher's call for the renewal of religious self-awareness, but poetically elaborates it in the fairy tale of „Hyacinth und Rosenblüthe“ within the poetic-philosophical fragment *The Novices at Sais*. This fragment was written as a romantic counterpart to Schiller's ballad *The Veiled Image at Sais*. The relationship between Novalis's fairy tale and Schiller's ballad illustrates the disparity between Schiller's idealism of measure and the romantic idealism of immeasurability. Both motifs

symbolize the threshold of absolute spirituality sought by mortals. However, while Schiller shapes his ballad as a poetic narrative about human hubris, thereby establishing classical ideational norms within the romantic form, Novalis affirms the mortal's transgression as a prerequisite for reaching the absolute source. Schiller's unveiling of Isis's veil leads to punishment for human audacity that forgets its own limits, whereas for Novalis, the transgression of human boundaries leads to affirmation: through the experience of love with another mortal, one transcends limitations and perceives the divine. The seeker (Hyacinth) beneath Isis's veil finds the beloved (Rosenblüthe).

Schleiermacher, Novalis, and Schlegel, as the Romantic trio, embody the projection of ideals into the future. Schleiermacher contemplates the metaphysical roots of human spirituality within the sphere of concrete history, steering it away from the pursuit of material gain that stifles humanity. He advocates for the rejuvenation of humanity itself, emphasizing a spiritual longing for the highest and boundless, inherent within the human subject who is both a part of and shapes history. Novalis's spiritualization of art expands to apocalyptic dimensions by invoking an ideal, timeless future that will fulfill human history. Schlegel moderates Novalis's spirituality by confining it within the bounds of real human practice, specifically, the future of human creativity. If, for Schleiermacher, the Romantic pertains to the historical need for the revival of religion, and for Novalis, it concerns the transformation of history into eternity, Schlegel places his utopian thought in the domain of poetics and literary movements that are obliged to strive, both in the real and romantic future, towards the renewal of art as a comprehensive reflection of universal humanity.

During their most intense collaborative period and inspired by Schleiermacher's teachings on religion, Novalis and F. Schlegel yearn for a romanticized world as a spiritual revolution that would supersede the political prose of the real, French Revolution. New poetic forms (romantic novel, hymns in rhythmic prose), founded upon a new mythology that reconfigures prosaic reality, represent artistic responses to the advancements of rational Enlightenment. The revival of religion, advocated by Schleiermacher and channeled by Novalis and Schlegel, isn't an excessive relic of the past in the time of Napoleonic modernity. Instead, it's an invitation to spiritual renewal. In contrast to revolutionary deviations in political history, it offers genuine freedom for individuals to fantasize about constructing a golden age and peace. These ideals find fruition through holiness as the ultimate essence of interhuman love, restoring humanity's faith in eternity, unlike material production's utopianism, which substitutes interhuman unity in love with destruction.

The youthful excess in the pursuit of a formula that would spiritually and morally transform reality towards a different future entices the Romantics into eccentric metaphysical dreaming. Thus, Schlegel and Novalis dream of writing a "new Bible" and establishing a new religion. The essence of creative activity isn't solely and narrowly artistic; it's missionary, aiming to enlighten and convert. Romantic activity unfolds as a crusade, a prophecy, heralding the arrival of a new kingdom of the spirit.

The rebirth of humanity for the future is conceived within the noble sphere, not mere political activity. Hence, within the Jena Circle, myth is understood as its driving force. However, the result of poetic action shouldn't be the particularity of the myth but the universality of mythology as an entirely spiritually created new world. Romantic mythical figures dedicate the subject to a symbolic order and reveal the sanctity of a

world sustained not on material but on the laws of eternity. The bearers of such mystical activity are Novalis's Matilda, the beloved from the *Hymns to the Night*, Schlegel's Lucinde, and Hölderlin's Diotima: in all these poetic systems, the mortal's breakthrough to immortal essence is motivated by the sanctification of love, guaranteed for the hero by the symbol of eternal femininity. While the blue flower from *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* might stand as the most recognizable symbol of absoluteness in the artistic world of the Jena Romantics, unquestionably, the romantic substance of Goethe's era and the dreams of the romantics about a new mythology culminate and conclude precisely in the final discourse of that era. The romantic yearning to achieve poetic ideals of humanity is realized, of course, by the late Goethe, with the completion of his divine comedy of salvation in the second part of *Faust*. Its highest meaningful norm is determined by the synthesis of art and religion, as well as the mythologization of Christian spirituality represented and backed by the symbol of eternal femininity – the Virgin Mary, as also highlighted by Novalis.

**Keywords:** Jena, romanticism, idealism, *Athenaeum*, Schleiermacher, Novalis, F. Schlegel, religion, new mythology

**CHALLENGING THE OTHER TRANSLATION: FREDERICK  
BURNABY'S ON HORSEBACK THROUGH ASIA MINOR'S  
ADVENTURE IN TURKISH**

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**Abstract:** This article sets out to scrutinize two different Turkish translations of the English writer Frederick Burnaby's travel writing *On Horseback through Asia Minor* (1878/1996). *On Horseback through Asia Minor*'s adventure in Turkish is an interesting case because the first translation was published in 1998 by *Sabah Kitapları* but just one year after this publication, another translation appeared on the Turkish book market, which was published by *İletişim Yayınları*. However, what is more interesting than these translations, which were published almost simultaneously, is the discourses of the publisher regarding the first translation on the cover of the presentation of the second translation. The publisher claims that the text is a "meticulous", "uncensored" and "complete" translation, which points out that the previous translation included "censored" and "incomplete" parts. Therefore, this study questions the publisher's claims by conducting a paratextual and textual analysis of the source text and target texts and also seeks to understand whether the causality created by the publisher led to the second translation or a retranslation. In its theoretical framework, it uses the concept "paratext" put forward by the French scholar Gérard Genette and "operational norms" introduced by the translation scholar Gideon Toury. The findings suggest that the second target text, rather than a "rettranslation", is a simultaneous translation that emerged incidentally almost in the same period, addressed the same target readers, and tried to bring out its difference from the other translation. It is also seen that the claims of the publisher in the second target text on the grounds of "censorship" and "incompleteness" are valid and this causes a rivalry between translations in the translated book market by not only strongly challenging the other translation but also forming market negativity towards it.

**Keywords:** translation, travel writing, operational norms, paratext, rivalry

### 1. Introduction

The widespread publication of (re)translations worldwide and in Turkey, in particular, is prone to further intensive research. Being a translational phenomenon, simultaneous and diachronic (re)translation has its social, historical, and economic characteristics, which do not significantly differ from the causalities of the book publishing. In this context, *On Horseback through Asia*

*Minor*, the travel writing of the British soldier and writer Fred Burnaby is of particular interest since it was translated two times into Turkish almost simultaneously. The adventure of Burnaby in the eastern part of Turkey began in 1876 from Constantinople and had the purpose of assessing whether the Sultan's army could resist an imminent war against Russia or not. In five months, riding a 1,000 mile with his single servant, Burnaby experienced hostile conditions of the tumultuous region in this winter journey, but he had the chance of observing the Turks away from European influences. In this travel writing published in 1878, he shares his observations and cultural insights, including conversations, customs, landscape, and encounters with Turks, Kurds, Circassians, Armenians, and Persians. This courageous equestrian journey was first translated into Turkish by Meral Gaspıralı in 1998 with the title of *Küçük Asya Seyahatnamesi Anadolu'da Bir İngiliz Subayı, 1876*. Just one year later, the same text was translated into Turkish by Fatma Taşkent with the title of *At Sirtında Anadolu*. However, on the back cover of this text, it was claimed that the first translation was an “unelaborate” translation, which included “censorship” and “incompleteness”. Therefore, this study intends to examine the validity of the publisher's claims by conducting a comparative analysis of the source text and target texts. The study aims to answer the following questions:

- Why was the text translated again? Was the second target text a “retranslation” or a “simultaneous translation”?
- Were the claims of the publisher on the basis that the previous translation included “censorship” and “incompleteness” valid? If they are, in what contexts were censorships and incompleteness involved?

To find answers to above-mentioned questions, the first part of this study focuses on Frederick Burnaby's *On Horseback through Asia Minor* and its two different translations in Turkish. Dwelling on the claims of the second publisher, the second part first explores theoretical remarks of the study which cover “paratext” put forward by the French scholar Gérard Genette and “operational norms” introduced by the translation scholar Gideon Toury. Then, this part conducts a descriptive paratextual and textual analysis of the source and target texts. The last part presents conclusions.

## **2. Asia Minor through the eyes of an Englishman**

Frederick Burnaby (1842-1885) was a British army officer, politician, and traveler who joined the Royal Horse Guards, the Blues, in 1859. He spoke German, Italian, and French. He had also knowledge of Russian, Turkish, and Arabic, which he learned to understand foreign affairs better. Having an adventurous character, he ballooned across the English Channel, traveled to Russia and Spain, and witnessed the civil war (1874). He visited Khiva, in Turkestan on horseback and then wrote his experiences in Russian Asia in his



book *A Ride to Khiva* (1876) which brought him instant fame because of his success in narrating the power struggle of the British and Russian Empires in the Russian territory. Burnaby then traveled to Asia Minor (Anatolia) in order to understand whether the powers of the Ottoman Empire could resist a probable war against Russia or not. His other purpose in this dangerous travel was to see whether Christians were treated inhumanly in the Ottoman Empire, as claimed.

Starting from Constantinople, Burnaby headed to the eastern end of Turkey when Russia was threatening to attack the Ottoman Empire. It was just before the beginning of the Russian-Turkish war of 1877-1878 when Burnaby set out across unknown territory on horseback together with his loyal servant Radford and traveled for five months in harsh conditions of the winter and the region. He faced many obstacles and hazards such as getting stuck in the waist or high mud, snow along the way, passing through narrow rock paths, staying in filthy huts with fleas, having trouble in finding food, losing horses, cheating local guides, experiencing several horse accidents and frequently being hard up due to lack of adequate roads. During this grueling journey in the savage wintertime, both he and his servant got ill due to malnutrition, lack of rest, and climate harshness. However, they succeeded in riding a 1,000 miles in this tumultuous region, and, upon his return to England, he published his account of this adventure in his book *On Horseback through Asia Minor* (1878).

As a traveler, Burnaby observes the diversity of the population in the region to assess with his own eyes the Turks away from European influences and to understand whether there is any truth in the allegations about the Turks mistreating Christians. There were rumors that the Turks committed many murders in the eastern part of the country and even impaled the Christians living in Asia Minor, which caused unease among the British. Thus, the English writer visits many places in Asia Minor to see with his eyes the atrocities described in the media.

He often writes about his encounter with cultural diversity in the region, including Turks, Armenians, Kurds, Circassians, Greeks, Hungarians, and Italians in his book. He provides an account of their way of life and relationship with each other, religions, beliefs, and even conversations. In a way, he presents a vivid portrait of the Muslim and Christian worlds. Moreover, he gives information about the geographical features of the region, its military equipment, or management because he had a mission to determine whether the Turks had the power to resist a probable war against Russia. Apart from depicting vivid landscapes, he draws the map of the places he traveled. In other words, he not only does what his adventurous spirit drives him to do, but he also completes his mission as a covert intelligence officer with this journey and travel writing.

### 3. Translation adventure of Burnaby's travel writing in Turkish

The source text reporting the fluctuant tension among different subjects of the Ottoman Empire in a tumultuous region met with its Turkish readers for the first time thanks to its Turkish translation made in 1998 by the translator Meral Gaspıralı. The translator Gaspıralı brought the works of many writers into Turkish in years. Some of these writers are Colleen McCullough, Wilbur Smith, Agatha Christie, Stephen King, John Dickson Carr, and Lee Martin. However, it is not possible to get detailed information about this prolific translator other than her published translations. Her translation from Burnaby titled *Küçük Asya Seyahatnamesi Anadolu'da Bir İngiliz Subayı, 1876* (*Travelogue of Asia Minor: A British Officer in Anatolia, 1876*<sup>1</sup>) had 69 chapters and 17 appendices as the source text and was published by *Sabah Kitapları*. In 2007, it was republished by *Merkez Kitapları*. The title of the translation was changed into *At Sirtında Anadolu* (*Anatolia on Horseback*) in this republication.

The second target text with the same title of *At Sirtında Anadolu* (1999) was released to the Turkish book market a year later by *İletişim Yayınları*. Fatma Taşkent, who is both a productive translator, and an academic did this translation. Among the writers she translated from there are the works of Tom Robbins, Stanislaw Lem, Adam Phillips, and Robert A. Heinlein. This translation might be described as a simultaneous (re)translation since it was presented to the same target audience in almost the same years. However, as it is understood from the correspondence with the translator via e-mail, although the second translation was made at the same time as the first translation, it was published a year later due to the delay in the printing process. In this context, rather than a retranslation, it is a case of a translation made in the same period by chance<sup>2</sup>. Therefore, it is obvious that the causality created by the publisher on the grounds of "censorship" and "incompleteness" did not lead to a retranslation, but they were just simultaneous translations in the book market.

On the back cover of this simultaneous translation, the publishing house states that it differs from the other translation because it is a "meticulous", "uncensored" and "complete" translation. Therefore, it might be asserted that the publisher's claims spark a discussion on the validity of the first translation. Based on these statements, this study questions whether the publisher's claims that there were "censorship" and "incompleteness" in the previous translation reflect the truth and if they are true, in what context the "censorship" and "incompleteness" occurred. In the comparative analysis of the source text and the target texts, first the paratexts and then textual elements will be taken into consideration to answer these questions.

<sup>1</sup> Translation belongs to the writer of this study.

<sup>2</sup> The translator gave permission for the information she provided in the correspondence to be used in this article.

## 4. Analysis

### 4.1. Theoretical Remarks

This study benefits from the French scholar Gérard Genette's (1997) notion of paratext and translation scholar Gideon Toury's (1995) operational norms in its theoretical framework to provide a descriptive and target-oriented analysis. According to Genette, paratexts are the elements surrounding the main body of the text, such as covers, prefaces, introductions, epigraphs, illustrations, and footnotes. Paratextual elements supplied by the writers, translators, editors, and publishers function as helpful tools in presenting a text to a target audience, but at the same time, they are effective in guiding the reception or interpretation of the texts by translation readers<sup>3</sup>. Therefore, what the paratexts of the source text and target texts tell to the readers of the text under the discussion of this study will be focused on in the paratextual analysis part.

Within the "Descriptive Translation Studies", Toury's translation norms are often used as a tool of analysis in order to describe and explore translated texts. Toury's norms (1995, 56-61) introduced in the late 1970s involve "initial norms", "preliminary norms" and "operational norms". Operational norms refer to the decisions taken in the process of translation by the translator and are related to the presentation and linguistic aspects of target texts. They are divided into two types as "matricial norms" and "textual-linguistic norms". Matricial norms are related to the integrity and the distribution of the text. These norms are concerned with additions, omissions, changes, or relocations made in the target texts. On the other hand, textual-linguistic norms appertain to the selection of lexical and syntactic material by the translator in the decision-making process. This category implies the choice and the use of words in the target text. Therefore, it seems appropriate to examine the corpus of this study in the light of operational norms.

### 4.2. Paratextual Analysis

The source text, first published in 1878, was issued by *Oxford University Press* in 1996. The source text used in the corpus of this study is the one reissued by the same publisher in 2002. Being 366 pages, the source text comprises a preface, an introduction, 69 chapters, and 17 appendices. The front cover of the book has a picture of the writer in the middle and a map in the background. The book starts with the preface of Peter Hopkirk, who introduces the journey of Burnaby by focusing on the hardships of traveling eastwards across Turkey in 1876 and his characteristics as a British officer. Being a British writer, historian, and journalist, Hopkirk lived in İstanbul for a while and visited many parts of eastern Turkey several times. In his four pages of preface, after providing the

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<sup>3</sup> For further studies on paratexts, see. Tahir Gürçağlar and Taş İlmeç.

insights into the adventure of Burnaby, he explains the purpose of Burnaby's journey:

His object was to try to discover precisely what the Russians were up to in this wild and mountainous corner of the Great Game battlefield, and also gauge the capacity of the Turks to resist a vigorous Tsarist thrust towards Constantinople, the warm-water outlet to the West so long coveted by the Russians. (Burnaby vii)

As understood, Hopkirk clarifies that Burnaby's journey's aim is to understand whether the Turks can defend the region in the face of a war opened by Russia. Similar emphasis on the Russian threat was made by the publisher on the back cover of the book.

Apart from such emphasis, another remarkable point is that Hopkirk specifically mentions the tension between the minorities in the Anatolian lands. Hopkirk finishes his introduction with a warning for the other travelers who intend to follow Burnaby's footsteps for first seeking advice from the Foreign Office in London or the embassy in Ankara because "At the time of writing this, in large parts of south-eastern Turkey a bitter struggle is raging between the Turkish Army and Kurdish guerillas, a war in which some 12.000 people have died over the past decade" (Burnaby viii).

When it comes to the paratexts of the first target text (TT-1), it is seen that the translation has the same number of chapters and appendices. It also has the preface of the writer, but not the map the writer had drawn. The front cover of the book resembles the cover of the source text with its choice of color, a map, and a compass on it. On the back cover of the book, the text is presented to Turkish readers with statements indicating that the writer displays the cultural diversity of the Ottoman Empire in that era and particularly highlights the fact that the object of the writer in that journey is to understand whether or not the Muslims behaved inhumanly to Christians or not.

Burnaby, who investigated the relationship between the peoples living in the Ottoman Empire on the eve of the Russo-Ottoman War, and the origin of the rumors that Muslims persecuted Christians, wrote a book about the life, ideas, and relations of Turks, Armenians, Circassians, Kurds, and Yezidis after witnessing these himself [...]. (Burnaby/Trans. Gaspıralı)

This description of the book, while emphasizing the writer's impartiality, also highlights a British officer's investigation of whether Christians were maltreated or not in the eastern part of the country. In this context, it can be said that the emphasis on the writer's research for the "possible Ottoman-Russian war" in the source text has shifted to the emphasis on reflecting "tension between Muslim-Christian worlds" in TT-1.

The second target text (TT-2) published one year after the first one has a front cover design that depicts Anatolia with charcoal work. On its back cover, it is stated that the subject of the text is a British writer's research on whether minorities were treated badly in the Ottoman Empire, rather than the research for a threat of war:

A British officer, who wanted to understand the reality of the claims made in European public opinion regarding the situation of minorities in the Ottoman Empire and to see what was going on in Anatolia with his own eyes, traveled throughout Anatolia [...] (Burnaby/Trans. Taşkent)

In this presentation of the book, the observations of a Western writer on the "Orient" were also stated, and it was brought to the attention that this translation was delivered to its Turkish reader with no omission, addition or censorship. The publisher's statement is as follows: "Exhibiting the typical themes of European travel literature, the book aims to capture the essence of the 'Orient'. [...] We present a meticulous, uncensored and complete translation of the work". (Burnaby/Trans. Taşkent)

In a previous edition of this translation, the last statement of the publisher included an implication of competition by emphasizing that the translation is unlike a similar one that has recently been published by a "publishing house". Pointing to another publisher specifically on the back cover of the translation directly affects the reader's reception of the text and also, it seems to create an active rivalry between different versions of the text. Therefore, it requires questioning the translation action of the other publisher or shortly examining the other translation. In this context, the following section will try to determine the validity of the claims of the publisher by making a comparative textual analysis in the light of operational norms.

#### **4.3. Textual analysis**

From the point of view of matricial norms, the source text (ST) has 366 pages in total, a preface written by Hopkirk, the introduction of the writer, a map drawn by the writer, 69 chapters, and 17 appendices. While TT-1 has 339 pages with the same number of chapters and appendices and the introduction, it lacks the preface of Hopkirk and the map. On the other hand, TT-2 which claims to be a complete translation of the source text has a total of 452 pages with a page with Burnaby's picture and signature, the map drawn by Burnaby, the writer's tribute to his servant Radford (10 pages), the writer's preface to the 7th edition (8 pages), the writer's first preface (2 pages), 69 chapters and 17 appendices. When evaluated with these features, both TT-1 and TT-2 reflect the integrity of ST but as TT-2 includes more paratexts that will inform the reader and put the text in context, it might be asserted that the second publisher carried extratextual elements to target culture because it tries to provide a more

elaborate translation. However, an analysis in the context of textual-linguistic norms helps to better understand if this is true. When examined from this perspective, the selection of lexical and syntactic material of the translators or publishers for reproducing target texts was categorized as “censorship”, “omission” and “different interpretation”.

#### 4.3.1. Censorship in translation

While censorship, aimed at restricting the spread of certain ideas, is a restrictive factor for freedom of thought that has been frequently studied in various fields from the past to the present, it is a relatively current issue that has been started to be discussed in the field of translation studies since the 2000s<sup>4</sup>. When censorship is enforced, its practitioners, reasons for resorting to censorship and methods of censorship vary greatly according to the period, nation, or even language. Censorship as a phenomenon occurring often in social, historical, cultural, economic, and political contexts ultimately causes readers to be deprived of certain thoughts. In this study, rather than the possible causes of censorship, it is tried to be explained with the following examples of whether it took place and which thoughts were prevented from reaching the target culture or readers.

##### Example 1

**ST:** I had experienced the cold of Kirghiz steppes in December and January, 1876, and was of opinion that the clothes which would keep a man alive in the deserts of Tarary would more than protect him *aganist the climate of Kurdistan*<sup>5</sup>. (Burnaby x)

**TT-1:** [...] Bir insanı, Tataristan'ın çöllerinde hayatta tutan giysilerin, onu *Doğu Anadolu yaylasının iklimine* karşı koruyacağı kanısındayım. (Burnaby/Trans. Gaspıralı 6)

**TT-2:** Tatar çöllerinden sağ salim dönmemi sağlamış olan giysilerin *Kürdistan'ın iklimine karşı* beni rahatlıkla koruyacağını düşünüyordum. (Burnaby/Trans. Taşkent 31).

The above example is from a section where the writer describes the difficulties of his journey in Anatolia. The writer uses the word “Kurdistan” (meaning “the land of Kurds”) which broadly refers to a geo-cultural region of Kurdish settlement that includes eastern Turkey, northern Iraq, western Iran, and smaller parts of northern Syria and Armenia. The writer implies the geographical regions in eastern Turkey where Kurds lived intensely by using this word. However, it was translated into Turkish as “eastern Anatolian

<sup>4</sup> Several studies point to censorship in translation. See. Billiani; Brownlie; Ben-Ari; Somló; Üstünsöz; Taş; Parlak and Denissova.

<sup>5</sup> The emphasis throughout the examples belong the writer of this article.

plateau" ("Doğu Anadolu yaylası") in TT-1 while it was rendered as it is in TT-2. Therefore, instead of using the word directly as used by the writer, using another word or translating by explication strategy to express the region in Turkish creates the impression of censorship in TT-1.

### Example 2

**ST:** Indeed it would sometimes be impossible, as the *natives in certain parts of Kurdistan* make use of buffaloes as a means of locomotion. (Burnaby 10)

**TT-1:** Hatta *doğudaki birçok bölgenin yerlileri*, yolculuk için mandalardan yararlandıklarından at bulmam bazen olanaksız bile olabilirdi. (Burnaby/Trans. Gaspıralı 15)

**TT-2:** Hatta *Kürdistan'ın kimi yerlerinde* köylüler binek hayvanı olarak manda kullandığından imkânsız olacaktı. (Burnaby/Trans. Taşkent 45)

Similarly, it can be seen from the second example that the difficulties of the geographical conditions of the region referred to as "Kurdistan" in the ST are described. While the writer mentions the regions inhabited mainly by Kurds with the word "certain parts of Kurdistan", it was expressed as "many regions in the east" ("doğudaki birçok bölge") in TT-1. This choice of translation shows that the word "Kurdistan" was not used specifically in translation and that censorship was used. On the other hand, in TT-2, it is seen that the word was transferred as it is with the translation of "some parts of Kurdistan" ("Kürdistan'ın kimi yerleri").

### Example 3

**ST:** Major-General Macintosh, when *writing about Kurdistan* during the time of Crimean War, [...]. There is another exceedingly strong pass at Bayazid, [...] from the side of Erzeroum, *except through the roads of central Kurdistan*. It may also be looked upon *as a key to Kurdistan* [...] (Burnaby 252)

**TT-1:** Kırım Savaşı sırasında *Kürtler hakkında bir yazı yazan* Tümgeneral Macintosh, [...] Ama *Kürt bölgesinin ortasında* bir geçiş olabilir. Sözü geçen vadi, *Kürt bölgesinin*, [...] *yolunun anahtarı* olarak görülebilir. (Burnaby/Trans. Gaspıralı 227-228)

**TT-2:** Tümgeneral Macintosh, Kırım Savaşı sırasında *Kürdistan hakkında yazarken* [...]. Beyazıt'ta, İran tarafında, çok küçük bir düzenli kuvvetin, *orta Kürdistan yolları dışında*, [...]. Geçit *Kürdistan'a*, [...] *bir kapı* olarak düşünülebilir" (Burnaby/Trans. Taşkent 315-316)

The quotations above exemplify how the word "Kurdistan", which is frequently used in the ST, is censored in TT-1. "Writing about Kurdistan" was rendered as "writing about the Kurds" ("Kürtler hakkında yazı yazmak") in TT-1 whereas it was translated word for word in TT-2. Instead of denoting a region, this translation decision expresses the Kurds as a community or group. In the continuation of the paragraph, it can also be said that the word "Kurdistan" was

avoided in TT-1 because “the roads of central Kurdistan” written in ST was translated into Turkish as “the road of Kurdish region” (“Kürt bölgesinin yolu”) in TT-1 whereas it was translated word for word in TT-2. Thus, it can be observed that an indirect expression is preferred for this word, which points out the fact that censorship was applied in TT-1.

From a historical perspective, the Kurds have remained as groups, individuals or groups in western Asia rather than being a people. As the Kurds have not enjoyed a political unit, the word “Kurdistan” in ST is only used as a word referring to a geographical region of Kurdish settlement. However, the thought that the word might evoke different political and historical meanings might have caused the word to be censored frequently in translations throughout history. Recently, as in the examples above, news about the censorship of the word “Kurdistan” in various translated texts has been found in the Turkish press and media. For instance, the news that *Yapı Kredi Yayınları* censored the word “Kurdistan” in *The Travelogue of Evliya Çelebi (Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi)*, or that *Can Yayınları* censored this word in the Turkish translation of Paulo Coelho’s book titled *Eleven Minutes (11 Dakika)* and Salman Rushdie’s *The Enchantress of Florence (Floransa Büyücüsü)* have caught the attention of Turkish readers (“Yapı Kredi Yayınları'ndan”, “Can Yayınları”, “Bu Bir Şaka”). Therefore, *Can Yayınları* even apologized to its Turkish readers, collected the books from the market, and reprinted them after correcting this word. In the example shown above, a censorship was observed by translating with explication strategy.

#### **Example 4**

**ST:** *Sivas, the capital of Armenia Minor*, is situated at the head of the valley of the Halys of the ancients. (Burnaby 138)

**TT-1:** *Sivas*, antik Halis Vadisi'nin başında bulunuyor. (Burnaby/Trans. Gaspıralı 127)

**TT-2:** *Küçük Ermenistan'ın başkenti Sivas*, eski zamanların Halys Vadisi'nin başında yer alıyor. (Burnaby/Trans. Taşkent 185)

Another example of censorship appears in the definition of Sivas, one of the eastern cities of Turkey, as seen in the example given above. Sivas was a region where the Armenian population was concentrated in the period Burnaby visited this Ottoman territory. In the eyes of the English writer, it is “the capital of little Armenia” and for this reason, he uses the word “Armenia Minor.” From a historical perspective, “Armenia Minor” known as “Lesser Armenia” refers to the eastern portion of historic Armenia and was used for the Armenian-populated regions. The writer prefers to use this description for Sivas. However, in TT-1, it is observed that such usage was censored in the translation process by omitting, while it was rendered as it is in TT-2. Therefore, depriving the target reader of



the writer's point of view by omitting an expression can also be considered an example of censorship.

In short, the fact that some words related to the regions where minorities live in ST were omitted or they were translated implicitly with indirect expressions reveals that censorship was applied in TT-1. Although it is difficult to determine whether the publisher or the translator implemented the censorship, it appears that censorship took place in the context of social, political, and historical sensitivities. However, such a justification for censorship cannot make it a necessary practice because censorship ultimately limits the target reader's right to obtain information about what Anatolia or its habitants looked like from the eyes of a foreign writer at a particular time. Thus, in the light of the examples provided above, the claim made in TT-2 that "a recent translation of the same text from a publishing house included censorship" has been proven to be true.

#### 4.3.2. Incompleteness of translation

When a comparative textual analysis was made within the framework of the publisher's claims that the previous translation was not fully translated, it was observed that certain sentences or expressions were omitted in TT-1. Examples of omission are presented below:

##### Example 5

**ST:** *A Christian*' he continued, 'even if he had the medicine, would have let me die like a dog. (Burnaby 51)

**TT1:** --- (Burnaby/Trans. Gaspıralı 50)

**TT2:** *Bir Hıristiyan*', diye devam etti, 'ilacı olsa bile köpek gibi ölmeye terk ederdi beni. (Burnaby/Trans. Taşkent 90)

In the above sentence in ST, it is harshly stated that a Christian will not help a Muslim even if he has the chance. While this sentence comparing Christian and Muslim behavior was omitted in TT-1, it was translated in TT-2.

##### Example 6

**ST:** The Armenian in whose house I stopped, complained about of his Circassian neighbours. According to him, *they had hazy ideas as to the difference between meum and tuum*. (Burnaby 136)

**TT-1:**--- (Burnaby/Trans. Gaspıralı 126)

**TT-2:** Evine uğradığım Ermeni, Çerkez komşularından yakındı. Söylediğine göre *Çerkezlerin mülkiyet hakkına ilişkin tuhaf fikirleri vardı*. (Burnaby/Trans. Taşkent 184)

Similar to the previous example, the italic words, which shows that the Turks and Circassians mentioned by the writer in ST have different opinions on property rights, was not translated in TT-1 either. Failure to understand the

expression of “meum and tuum” which implies the distinction of private property, or not wanting to emphasize or underestimating this distinction between the understanding of Circassians and Turks may have caused such an omission in TT-1. However, whatever the reason, it seems that this exclusion ultimately restricts Turkish readers from learning about the different perspectives of Turks and minorities on a particular issue.

#### **Example 7**

**ST:** *‘They are very clever, these Russian diplomats’*, continued the Pacha. (Burnaby 201)

**TT-1:** --- (Burnaby/ Trans. Gaspıralı 185)

**TT-2:** *‘Rus diplomatlar çok zekiler’* diye devam etti paşa. (Burnaby/Trans. Taşkent 259)

It has been observed that certain comparisons of Turks with other nations living outside the Ottoman lands were also not translated in TT-1, apart from removing sentences about comparisons such as Turks and minorities or Muslims and Christians. An interesting example of this is the sentence above in ST, which emphasizes that Russian diplomats are very smart compared to the Turkish diplomats. It was not translated in TT-1 while it was fully translated in TT-2.

#### **Example 8**

**ST:** Then begins a series of dances and fascinating gestures *in the style of those performed by the maids at the Lupercalian games*, [...]. (Burnaby 347)

**TT-1:** Bundan sonra *bir dizi dans* [...] başlamaktadır. (Burnaby/Trans. Gaspıralı 322)

**TT-2:** Ardından, *Tanrı Lupercus şenliğine katılan kızlarınkiyle aynı tarzda danslar ve büyüleyici el kol hareketleri yapılır* [...]. (Burnaby/Trans. Taşkent 436)

The appendix titled “Female Brigandage” tells how young Kurdish women attracted and deceived the men they met on the road, using their charm and sexuality. Male victims, fascinated by the dances performed by women’s bodies and responding to them, were criminalized and fined. In ST, these women’s dances are linked to the dances at Lupercalia, which is known as a pastoral festival of Ancient Roma. However, this analogy of dance was translated as “a series of dances” (“bir dizi dans”) in TT-1 because either it was not understood or seen as unnecessary, but as a result, the target reader was deprived of a cultural image that enriches the text.

### **4.3.3. Different interpretation**

A meticulous translation requires taking into account the many meanings of each word in ST during the translation process, as well as having a good grasp of the period in which the text was written, the language uses in that period, the style used by the writer and the subject of the text among many other issues. In

other words, it is a challenging process that requires not only a large vocabulary in a foreign language and mother tongue but also translation skills that can capture contextual clues in the text to be translated and a carefulness coming from the awareness that the translation is a complex process. Such a perspective toward the translation act can only prevent omissions and misinterpretations in translation. Several examples in this context are presented below and discussed.

#### Example 9

**ST:** Give the Turks a good government, and *Turkey* would soon take her place amidst civilized nations. (Burnaby 323)

**TT-1:** Türklere iyi bir hükümet vererseniz, *Türkiye* kısa zamanda uygar uluslararası yerini alırdı. (Burnaby/Trans. Gaspıralı 290)

**TT-2:** Türkler iyi bir yönetime sahip olsalar, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu* çok geçmeden uygar ülkeler arasında yerini alır. (Burnaby/Trans. Taşkent 398)

In the above example, there are differences at the word level in the two translations made almost simultaneously. Before evaluating word preferences in these translations, it is useful to examine contextual clues. With the proclamation of the Republic under the leadership of Atatürk in 1923, the Ottoman Empire came to an end and the name of the newly established state became the Republic of Turkey. However, since the people living in the lands under the rule of the Ottoman Empire for centuries were Turks, the word “Turkey”, which means the settlement area of the Turks, was sometimes used by foreigners to refer to the lands and the people under the Ottoman Empire’s rule. For this reason, it is possible that the English writer preferred to use this word. However, although conceptually referred to as Turkey in this period, these regions belonged to the Ottoman. In this context, the expression “Turkey” used in ST was translated literally as “Türkiye” (“Turkey”), while it was translated as “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu” (“Ottoman Empire”) considering the historical context. In other words, one translation choice reflects the writer’s point of view, whereas the other reflects historical reality. Thus, it can be claimed that there is a difference in interpretation or point of view, rather than negligence or carelessness in translation. In addition, in the correspondence with the translator of TT-2, it was revealed that this differentiation occurred as a result of the decision taken by the publishing house in consultation with a historian.

#### Example 10

**ST:** His august master [...] wishes to destroy *the Turkish Empire* [...]. England, allied with *Turkey*, and before the latter power is crippled, could easily apply it. (Burnaby 326)

**TT-1:** [...] yüce efendisi, *Türk İmparatorluğu’nu* yok etmek istiyor. [...] *Türkiye’yle*, bu ülke devre dışı bırakılmadan ittifak kuracak bir İngiltere, bu cezayı verebilir. (Burnaby/Trans. Gaspıralı 293)

**TT-2:** Haşmetbeab efendisi, [...] *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu* yok etmeyi istemektedir. [...] İngiltere, *Osmanlı Devleti* kötürüm olmadan önce bu devlet ile ittifak kurarak falaka yöntemini rahatlıkla uygulamaya koyabilir. (Burnaby/Trans. Taşkent 401)

Words such as “Turkey”, “Turkish Empire” or “Turkish Parliament” in ST were directly translated in TT-1 while they were rendered as the “Ottoman State”, the “Ottoman Empire”, or “Ottoman Parliament or Assembly” in TT-2, as seen in example 10. It is clear that such translation choices throughout TT-2 are related to the historical context, as explained in the previous example above. For this reason, it would be appropriate not to consider them as a deficiency or negligence in translation but a different interpretation for contextualizing the text.

In short, considering the paratextual elements, it can be said that TT-2 offers more enlightening information to Turkish readers for contextualizing ST as it contains more paratextual elements. However, both translations create a different representation of ST by emphasizing the tension between Muslims and Christians in their paratexts while the ST concentrates more on the writer’s research for the possibility of a war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire. When considered in terms of operational norms, it can be argued that both TT-1 and TT-2 have the textual integrity of the ST. On the other hand, in the context of textual-linguistic norms, the range of differences between two translated texts is quite wide due to the issues of “censorship”, “incompleteness” and “different interpretation”. In this sense, as claimed by the second publisher, it was observed that censorship was occasionally resorted to in TT-1 by omitting the words or expressing them implicitly. Also, it can be said that some sentences or phrases related to various historical references and comparisons of minorities or other nations and Turks were omitted from the text causing incompleteness in TT-1. In addition to these, although a very few examples of negligence or loose translation are encountered in some parts of TT-1, it is usually diverging perspectives and interpretations of word choices that make the differentiation. In conclusion, the decisions on the micro-structure of the text demonstrate the validity of the second publisher’s claims, which results in a rivalry between the publishers or translations.

## 5. Conclusions

This study aimed to examine two different Turkish translations of the English writer Fred Burnaby’s travel writing, *On Horseback through Asia Minor* by using the concept “paratext” and “operational norms” in its theoretical framework. As TT-2 tries to challenge the other translation, this study questioned the validity of the claims of the second publisher based on “censorship” and “incompleteness”. It was found that TT-2 was not a

retranslation, but a simultaneous translation presented to the same target culture by chance. As a result of descriptive paratextual and textual analysis of the source text and target texts, it was found that the paratexts of both target texts direct the reader's reception towards the writer's purpose as to "the research of the tension between Muslim and Christian worlds" while ST puts high emphasis on the writer's research of "threat of a possible Ottoman-Russian war". Although both target texts have textual integrity in terms of matricial norms, TT-2 steps forth with the addition of abundant paratextual elements, which help readers to contextualize the text better.

For the validity of the claims of the second publisher, "censorship" and "incompleteness" were observed in TT-1 when textual-linguistic norms were examined because some words related to regions minorities lived were censored by omitting or translating implicitly. Also, omissions led to incompleteness in some parts of TT-1 where comparisons between some minorities and Turks or Muslims and Christians were made by the writer. Moreover, different interpretations occurred between the two translations due to translating as it is or considering the historical context. This reveals that TT-2 tries to provide a more meticulous translation for its target readers. Consequently, it was revealed that TT-2 challenged the other translation, which resulted in producing market negativity towards it through the aforementioned claims and created an active rivalry in the translated book market.

Further studies could conduct such translation analysis by utilizing the benefits of technology to gain further insights as suggested by Bozan (2021) with a text mining approach.

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#### DEFI A L'AUTRE TRADUCTION : L'AVEVENTURE DE LA TRADUCTION EN TURC DE L'ANATOLIE A CHEVAL DE FREDERICK BURNABY

Cet article se propose d'examiner deux traductions turques différentes du récit de voyage de *l'Anatolie à Cheval* (1878/1996) de l'écrivain anglais Frederick Burnaby. L'aventure de *l'Anatolie à Cheval* en turc est un cas intéressant car la première traduction a été publiée en 1998 par *Livres de Sabah*, mais juste un an après cette publication, une autre traduction est apparue sur le marché du livre turc, publiée par *Publications de l'İletişim*. Cependant, ce qui est plus intéressant que ces traductions,

publiées presque simultanément, c'est le discours de l'éditeur concernant la première traduction sur la couverture de la présentation de la deuxième traduction. L'éditeur affirme que le texte est une traduction "méticuleuse", "non censurée" et "complète", ce qui souligne que la traduction précédente comprenait des parties "censurées" et "incomplètes". Par conséquent, cette étude remet en question les affirmations de l'éditeur en procédant à une analyse paratextuelle et textuelle du texte source et des textes cibles et cherche également à comprendre si la causalité créée par l'éditeur a conduit à la deuxième traduction ou à une retraduction. Dans son cadre théorique, il utilise le concept de "paratexte" mis en avant par le chercheur français Gérard Genette et les "normes opérationnelles" introduites par le spécialiste de la traduction Gideon Toury. Les résultats suggèrent que le second texte cible, plutôt qu'une "retraduction", est une traduction simultanée apparue incidemment presque à la même période, s'est adressée aux mêmes lecteurs cibles et a essayé de faire ressortir sa différence par rapport à l'autre traduction. On constate également que les revendications de l'éditeur du second texte cible pour cause de "censure" et d'"incomplétude" sont valables, ce qui provoque une rivalité entre les traductions sur le marché du livre traduit, non seulement en remettant fortement en question l'autre traduction, mais aussi en suscitant la négativité du marché à son égard.

**Mots-clés :** traduction, récits de voyage, normes opérationnelles, paratexte, rivalité





## **AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CAPITAL IN DON DELILLO'S WHITE NOISE: A BOURDEUSIAN PERSPECTIVE**

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**Abstract:** *White Noise* is Don DeLillo's eighth novel which was published in 1985. The novel has been scrutinized by many scholars from different schools of thought. In this article, we try to read *White Noise* in light of Pierre Bourdieu's concept of different types of capital and make an effort to take note of representations of each of these types. Nevertheless, since the biggest contribution Bourdieu makes to discussions regarding capital is his explanations of social capital and cultural capital, this article uses Bourdieu's explanations of these categories of capital together with those of other Bourdeusian scholars in order to identify representations of social capital and cultural capital in the forms of the embodied state, the objectified state and the institutionalized state in the novel. In regards to social capital, the article argues that the efforts people make in *White Noise* to become members of various social groups are a strategy they devise in order to advance their overall capital. Furthermore, in terms of cultural capital, it is argued that its possession can help individuals gain benefits such as better chances of academic education and higher social ranks. Moreover, the findings suggest that access to the subcategories of cultural capital can elevate individuals' social position.

**Keywords:** Don DeLillo, *White Noise*, Pierre Bourdieu, social capital, cultural capital.

### **1. Introduction**

Harold Bloom in the introduction of the book *Bloom's Modern Critical Interpretations; Don DeLillo's White Noise* has considered *White Noise* a novel which is "much more than a period piece" (1). This is why after all these years, the book has not stopped appearing in various literary journals and discussions. DeLillo's *White Noise* is the story of Jack Gladney, the chairman of Hitler studies at the College-on-the-Hill, who lives in a small American town called Blacksmith (4). Jack is the narrator of the novel too; thus, everything we read is presented to us by Jack. He lives with his fourth wife Babette and their four children from previous marriages who are called Heinrich, Steffie, Denise, and Wilder. Jack's academic career is a matter of great significance to him. However, in spite of

having invented “Hitler studies” he does not speak the German language (31). Things seem stable and quiet in Jack’s life till one day Denise finds a vial of pills whose label reads “Dylar” which she had acquired from a company called “Gray Research” (61-62, 200). Meanwhile, their other child Heinrich informs them of a train accident which has caused the release of a poisonous substance (110). After deciding to evacuate their home, on their way to the camp, Jack gets in contact with the toxic chemical called Nyodene D. (138). Jack’s fear of death makes him panic throughout the rest of the novel. At the end of the novel, Jack, under the influence of his colleague Murray, decides to take revenge from Mink, the man who had given Babette Dylar, but fails in his plan and instead of killing the man he injures him and himself. He then decides to save themselves and thus drives to a near facility which is run by nuns (316). Jack returns home after the incident and carries on with his routine life (320).

By having a close reading of the novel one could realize that it has stood the test of time and is still relevant to the complexities of our contemporary life. This is why many scholars have tried to read the novel from their own points of view and thus offer new insights to this great work of fiction. Nevertheless, economic readings of the novel and their attention to its consumerist notions have always been areas of interest for scholars such as Haidar Eid and Karen Weekes who have analyzed notions of consumerism and capitalism in their works. This article intends to add to the previous discussions of the novel by offering a reading of it which relies on Bourdieu’s concept of capital and his two famous classifications of this concept which are social capital and cultural capital. We argue that access to these types of capital can result in higher chances of success for characters in the novel who make an effort to possess them or are already in possession of them.

Bourdieu, in his article “The Forms of Capital” offers a full account of its definition, classifications, and function. First, he considers capital “accumulated labor” whose seeking is the most significant stimuli which causes practices from the side of individuals (241). In other words, he considers capital as “the principle underlying the immanent regularities of the social world” and thus seeking capital is what regulates the society and the “games” in which individuals participate (241). Moreover, Bourdieu clarifies his breaking point with the Marxist understanding of the concept and condemns economic theory for limiting the term capital to only “mercantile exchange” and by doing that it “has implicitly defined the other forms of exchange as noneconomic, and therefore disinterested” (242). As a result, Bourdieu’s purpose is to offer an explanation of capital that “reintroduces capital in all its forms” (242).

Bourdieu categorizes capital into three forms: “economic capital” which he defines as the type of capital “which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights”, “cultural capital, which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may

be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications”, and ultimately “social capital” which he considers to be “made up of social obligations (‘connections’), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility” (243). He categorizes cultural capital into three subcategories: “the embodied state” which is traceable “in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body”, “the objectified state” or possession of capital “in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc.” and “the institutionalized state” which he considers as “a form of objectification” of capital as can be seen in “the case of educational qualifications” which functions as “a certificate of cultural competence” (243, 248).

Regarding Bourdieu’s understanding of cultural capital, Weininger and Lareau explain that its main difference with previous conceptualizations is that he “maintained that culture shares many of the properties that are characteristic of economic capital” (1). What they mean is that in exactly the same way that economic capital is almost never distributed equally in most of the social fields, access to forms of cultural capital is also unequal. Thus, only a minority of individuals will have access to it, which creates a monopoly which will ultimately help them accrue its benefits and thus deprive others from such advantages.

Similar to cultural capital, social capital receives enough attention from Bourdieu as well. In a thorough explanation in “The Forms of Capital”, Bourdieu maintains that the most important factor regarding social capital is the quantity of the “durable network of ... relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” an individual can manage to establish (248). Thus, we may reason that a bigger size of such networks results in a higher amount of social capital. Furthermore, “membership in a group” can lead to the fact that the group members can have access to various types of capital which is “collectively owned” within the group (248-249). In other words, it can be argued that individuals form such networks in the pursuit of profits and thus such profits are what bonds the individuals together. As Bourdieu writes, in spite of the fact that not always does profit seeking occur consciously, such profits “are the basis of the solidarity” within groups (249).

As mentioned earlier, the biggest contribution Bourdieu makes to the discussion of capital is the fact that he steers away from rigid economic views which results in his explanations of social and cultural capital. Due to this, this article focuses on the presence of these forms of capital in *White Noise* and tries to evaluate them from a Bourdeusian standpoint.

## 2. Social Capital in *White Noise*

The first type of capital which is analyzed in this article is social capital. Interestingly, we encounter a manifestation of social capital in the first chapter

of the novel where Jack offers a description of students' parents who accompany their children to the college on the first day by mentioning that "They feel a sense of ... communal recognition" and that he considers them to be "a collection of the like-minded and the spiritually akin, a people, a nation" (3,4). The article suggests the phrase "communal recognition" refers directly to what Bourdieu considers "relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" ("The Forms of Capital" 21). Here in the novel, a perfect manifestation of this description is the fact that parents recognize each other and the most significant factor which binds them as the possessors of similar social capital is the fact that Jack considers them "a collection of the like-minded and the spiritually akin, a people, a nation". In this regard, Wouter Pinxten and John Lievens build on Bourdieu's explanation and contend that individuals who possess "similar amount and composition of the different forms of capital are closer together in social space, and this group of people consequently has the potential to become a social class" (1097). To put it simply, being called a nation is the result of owning similar types of capital such as "station wagons" or "massive insurance coverage" which brings them closer and binds them in a network of relationships (3). Thus, owning such forms of capital helps them authenticate their membership in that network.

Moreover, as was previously explained, the reason why individuals in the social field seek membership in such networks of connections is that by gaining such connections, they try to advance their position in the field and accumulate more capital. A perfect example of this effort is apparent in the relationship between Jack and his colleague Murray Jay Siskind who is new at the college and wants to invent Elvis studies (12). In a conversation between them we read:

"What kind of lectures do you plan giving?"

"That's exactly what I want to talk to you about," ...

"You've established a wonderful thing here with Hitler. You created it, you nurtured it, you made it your own. ... It's what I want to do with Elvis." (11-12)

It is argued that the only reason Murray seeks Jack's friendship is to enter himself in the network of connections already established from the side of Jack and also to do something similar to what Jack has done. Nan Lin thusly explains this process: "social capital is an investment in social relationships through which resources of other actors can be accessed and borrowed" (*Social Capital* 24). Here it can be seen that through receiving help from his colleague, Murray will ultimately be able to benefit in his own academic status in the college. Of course, such a connection is not beneficial to one side only. Later on, Jack is able to find a teacher for his German language through his connection with Murray (32). As Lin rightly observes, "individuals engage in interactions and networking in order to produce profits" (19). The result of establishing such connections is finding new opportunities to advance one's position in the social field. In Jack's case, his

friendship with Murray helped him find a German language teacher whose lessons might help Jack accrue more institutionalized capital and elevate his status as a professor.

Another representation of complexities of social capital in the novel might be found in Jack's description of an incident when he enters his office and realizes Murray was waiting for him because "He'd been having trouble ... establishing an Elvis Presley power base in the department of American environments" due to the fact that "The chairman, Alfonse Stompanato, seemed to feel that one of the other instructors ... named Dimitrios Cotsakis, had established prior right" to create an academic subject about Elvis Presley (64-65). The question which arises here is why Murray asks Jack to help him with this problem especially when we know that Jack and Murray's areas of study are different. According to Bourdieu in his article "The Forms of Capital" when new people want to be added as members to social groups, "the whole definition of the group, i.e., its fines, its boundaries, and its identity, is put at stake" (250). Thus, in order to protect the status of the group, the members of every social group have a mechanism called "forms of delegation" which offers a group member the right "to represent the group, to speak and act in its name" and consequently guarantee "the concentration of social capital" within the group and thus "shield the group as a whole from discredit by expelling or excommunicating the embarrassing individuals" (251). In this instance, since Murray is only a "visiting lecturer" and new at the college, Alfonse Stompanato who acts as the head or delegate of the group, tries to hinder his membership within their intellectual group (10). As a result, in order to facilitate his membership, Murray starts building a friendship with Jack, who is an accepted and prominent member, through requesting him "to have lunch with him in the dining room" or even offering a dinner invitation to Jack and his wife (9-10, 39).

In fact, Murray's efforts at socializing with Jack fall in line with Bourdieu's explanation that "the network of relationships is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term" ("The Forms of Capital" 249). At this point, Jack offers to help Murray and mentions that "I suggested that I might drop by his next lecture, ... to give him the benefit of whatever influence and prestige might reside in my office, my subject, my physical person" (65). In spite of all the benefits gained by Murray, such an honorary presence by Jack has its risks too. In other words, unlike purely economic situations where objects similar in value get exchanged without any reduction or addition of value to them, in Bourdieu's understanding of capital, the act of exchange, especially exchanging favors for the sake of personal gain, can maintain risks for people involved. Simply put, the people involved in the act of exchanging are unconsciously aware that this act has the potential to add to their capital or put it at risk and thus it can change the group

definitions and boundaries by affecting its shared total capital. In this example, what is being exchanged is not the mere educational criteria in hand but in fact the significance of the presence of a prominent member of faculty bestowed upon a lower grade colleague and thus elevating his status. As a matter of fact, Jack's description of the event sheds light on how he is unconsciously aware of this proposition:

His [Murray's] eyes showed a deep gratitude. I had been generous with the power and madness at my disposal, allowing my subject to be associated with an infinitely lesser figure, ... . It was not a small matter. We all had an aura to maintain, and in sharing mine with a friend I was risking the very things that made me untouchable" (73-74).

Jack's use of the words and phrases like "generous", "the power and madness at my disposal", "lesser figure" and Murray's "deep gratitude" all stand witness to his structured knowledge of how his presence might ultimately lead to accumulation of cultural capital by Murray.

All in all, we encounter a multi-layered process here. By establishing a network of connections, Murray gains a benefit and can elevate his status among his colleagues and thus facilitate his own membership. However, with the knowledge of the fact that Jack occupies a higher educational status than Murray and thus owns more cultural capital, they are both aware that it is risky for Jack since in this exchange of capital, Murray is the side who benefits more. Nonetheless, by helping out his colleague, Jack has indebted him and is ultimately able to cash this favor by getting help from Murray in finding a German tutor for himself (32).

### 3. Cultural Capital in *White Noise*

The second type of capital which is traced in *White Noise* is cultural capital. In this section, the article aims to point to illustrations of the three types of cultural capital, the "embodied state", the "objectified state", and the "institutionalized state" in the novel.

#### 3.1 The Embodied State

The first type of cultural capital analyzed in this article is the embodied state. The most significant point regarding this state from Bourdieu's perspective is that achieving the embodied state of cultural capital is a time-consuming process which necessitates involvement of an individual in the social games and conventions present in the society ("The Forms of Capital" 18). In other words, unlike economic capital which can be gained independently of the social conventions, like in the instance of being born in a wealthy family where the child can inherit the money without any personal cost or effort, the embodied state of cultural capital requires one's integration in the regularities of a society.

Furthermore, another differentiating factor between economic capital and the embodied state of cultural capital is the fact that unlike the previous one, the latter cannot be exchanged at will (18).

As mentioned earlier, Bourdieu considers the embodied state of cultural capital what we generally call “culture” (18). One example of this cultural aspect which can be seen in *White Noise* is capitalism, consumerism it entails and the appreciation of wealth. According to Haidar Eid, one of the main observable incidents in the novel “is a greedy desire for shopping, a desire that expresses a system of values” (216). Similarly, Karen Weekes considers consumerism a key element in the novel and argues that *White Noise* represents a society in which many important themes have lost meaning but “capitalism and consumerism are on hand to fill the void” (289). As we start reading the novel, we first come across Jack’s appreciation of the wealthy families whose children are attending the college. For instance, Jack’s view of these parents is telling: “They’ve grown comfortable with their money” (3) and there is “something about them suggesting massive insurance coverage” (6). Then, he refers to their cars by calling the gathering of these families “assembly of station wagons” (4). Nevertheless, the significance of this passage goes beyond the mere ownership of instances of economic capital such as “station wagons”, families’ level of income or their “insurance coverage”. As a matter of fact, the important point here is the people who own these things share some similar attributes, characteristics and behaviors.

Susan A. Dumais illustrates this point in Bourdieu’s definition of embodied cultural capital by stating that “embodied cultural capital referred to one’s tastes, ways of speaking and carrying oneself, and general knowledge of the culture valued by the dominant classes” (375). We witness instances of these attributes in parents’ description by Jack:

The parents stand sun-dazed near their automobiles, seeing images of themselves in every direction. The conscientious suntans. The well-made faces and wry looks. They feel a sense of renewal, of communal recognition. The women crisp and alert, in diet trim, knowing people’s names. Their husbands content to measure out the time, distant but ungrudging, accomplished in parenthood, something about them suggesting massive insurance coverage. (3)

The explanation Jack offers from these parents all refer to their embodied cultural capital. Bourdieu maintains that the most important aspect of embodied cultural capital manifests itself through body (*Distinction* 190). It is argued that the “conscientious suntans”, being “crisp and alert”, “in diet trim” or even being “distant but ungrudging” are all instances of embodiment which have been acquired through time. As mentioned earlier, based upon Jack’s description, all the attending students come from similar families sharing similar monetary and

economic possession. As a result, the possession of this type of economic capital has differentiated its possessors from the other members of the society. This so-called nation of parents who can afford college education for their children have specific ways of appearance or behavior, or a specific embodied capital.

Nonetheless, this is not only these families who have incorporated such cultural values. As was mentioned earlier, another significant cultural value in the novel is consumerism. *White Noise* is filled with characters who spend much of their time shopping and even attributing value to it. For instance, we read a passage in the novel where Jack is describing going shopping with his family and meets Murray for “the fourth or fifth time ... in the supermarket, which was roughly the number of times I’d [Jack had] seen him on campus” (35). One might wonder about the number of times Jack meets his colleague in the supermarket and ask about the reason behind this number. Furthermore, in another one of Jack’s visits to the supermarkets we read him saying that “the supermarket is full of elderly people ...” (167). The importance of the supermarket becomes clearer when we read Jack saying that: “everything was fine, would continue to be fine, would eventually get even better as long as the supermarket did not slip” (170). Consequently, the act of shopping and going to the supermarket is not a mere routine activity for the individuals in the novel. In this regard Karen Weekes believes that the supermarket signifies a “promise of abundance” which “provides community” (299). In other words, in Weekes’s perspective, the supermarket is not a mere place of shopping but in fact an area for socializing. This article argues that the importance of shopping and going to supermarket goes even one step further than what Weekes says: it is in fact a kind of cultural activity bearing codes of cultural worth.

However, how can shopping be viewed as an example of the embodied state of cultural capital? Bourdieu suggests that the acquisition of cultural capital occurs without “deliberate inculcation” and “quite unconsciously” (“The Forms of Capital” 18). This form of unconscious integration in the act of shopping can be seen in Jack’s own account of the pleasures he receives from it: “It seemed to me that Babette and I, in the mass and variety of our purchases, in the sheer plenitude those crowded bags suggested, the weight and size and number, the familiar package designs and vivid lettering, the giant sizes ... it seemed we had achieved a fullness of being ....” (20). Jack’s specific satisfaction achieved by shopping can be explained by Bourdieu’s idea which maintains that the “incorporation of the fundamental structures of a society”, as can be seen in Jack’s case who has internalized the social convention of shopping and consumerism, results in “the production of a common, meaningful world, a common-sense world” (*Distinction* 468). In other words, the reason Jack believes shopping gives them such a level of satisfaction is that spending economic capital for acquiring objects bought from shops and the supermarket involves them in a routine action among the other individuals in the novel who need and buy a lot



and this involvement gives them a sense of belonging to a group. Ciaran Burke reiterates this aspect of the Bourdieusian perspective of cultural capital by saying that “it is a sense of understanding and belonging to situations connected to a social class group” (14). For Jack and his family, spending economic capital gives them a chance to indulge in consumerism, which is only indulged in by wealthy families who can afford to fill their bags in shops and supermarkets, and thus share a similar cultural activity, inclination and value with a specific social class.

Another significant point regarding Jack’s shopping experiences is the fact that Jack tries to distinguish himself and the feeling that shopping gives him from “people who need less, expect less, who plan their lives around lonely walks in the evening” (20). This is due to the fact that capital regulates the “practical knowledge of the social world” which “implements classificatory schemes ... of perception and appreciation which are the product of the objective division into classes (age groups, genders, social classes) and which function below the level of consciousness and discourse” (Bourdieu *Distinction* 468). In other words, the embodied cultural capital has a twofold importance: first, the possessors of this type of capital try to distinguish themselves from others. Second, those who lack this form of capital recognize the value of its possession by others. In Jack’s case, this practical knowledge of the social world, which in Bourdieu’s theoretical framework operates as “a self-regulating device programmed to redefine courses of action” to comply with society’s values, divides the society Jack lives in into various groups (*Outline* 10-11). In this instance, we may see the class of the possessors of embodied capital and the class of those who do not possess it.

### 3.2. The Objectified State

After having a glimpse at some examples of embodied state of cultural capital, the article tries to elaborate on the presence of the second type of cultural capital in the novel: the objectified state. Bourdieu, in his article “The Forms of Capital”, uses the objectified state of cultural capital to refer to “cultural goods” and objects whose value is twofold: “cultural goods can be appropriated both materially—which presupposes economic capital—and symbolically—which presupposes cultural capital” (247). Thus, a cultural good like a painting has a twofold significance: first in its materiality as an object, the acquisition of which only requires economic capital, and in its symbolic value which offers the possessor a form of status or prestige. Weininger and Lareau in their article “Cultural Capital” explain the concept of the objectified state by saying that certain objects can have cultural value “insofar as their use or consumption presupposes a certain amount of embodied cultural capital. For example, a philosophy text is an ‘objectified’ form of cultural capital since it requires prior training in philosophy to understand” (1). Thus, it can be realized that in the same way that access to a specific college degree can be considered

a form of capital helping to elevate one's social status, access to a specific object or a property can have a similar function.

References to this type of capital start as early as the ninth page of the novel in which Jack describes the dress code observed by department heads at the college:

Department heads wear academic robes at the College-on-the-Hill. Not grand sweeping full-length affairs but sleeveless tunics puckered at the shoulders. ... I like clearing my arm from the folds of the garment to look at my watch. The simple act of checking the time is transformed by this flourish. Decorative gestures add romance to a life. (9)

From the way Jack describes academic robes, one might realize that they go beyond a mere formality. They are worn to send messages. One such example of these messages is found when Jack mentions the symbolic effect of the dress on "checking the time" (9). This short sentence illustrates the transformative power of the robe which adds a cultural value to the act of looking at the watch and results in regarding it as something marvelous from the perspective of the students. Thus, the professor who wears the robe gains a high status as well. In addition, as was mentioned earlier, understanding how to make use of the robe presupposes that Jack has already acquired the necessary embodied cultural capital and knowledge of how to behave with the object and knows its symbolic value.

Another instance of the objectified state of cultural capital is a pipe which is used by Jack's colleague, Murray, and signifies a cultural value: "'You're smoking a pipe,' I said. Murray smiled sneakily. 'It looks good. I like it. It works.' He lowered his eyes, smiling. ... . A tradition of stem virtue seemed to hover about his gestures and expressions" (282). In fact, in this conversation which is recited by Jack to the reader, Jack's mentioning "a tradition of stem virtue" and Murray's smile both suggest that they have embodied the cultural premises of their society which enables them to see and use the pipe as an object with cultural value. One more example of how this process works might be found in the passage where Jack tells his wife about the memory of his discussion with the chancellor regarding changing his name and the changes he made in his appearance in order to become a more prominent professor:

On one such night I got into bed next to Babette and told her how the chancellor had advised me, back in 1968, to do something about my name and appearance if I wanted to be taken seriously as a Hitler innovator. Jack Gladney would not do, he said, ... . We finally agreed that I should invent an extra initial and call myself J. A. K. Gladney, a tag I wore like a borrowed suit. ... The glasses with thick black heavy frames and dark lenses were my own idea, an alternative to the bushy beard that my wife of the period didn't want me to grow. Babette said

she liked the series J. A. K. and didn't think it was attention-getting in a cheap sense. To her it intimated dignity, significance and prestige. (16-17)

This long but illustrative passage indicates how the most basic things can gain the status of capital in the objectified state, whose possession in their own turn can help their possessors to accumulate more capitals. In other words, we can observe that the most rudimentary things like Jack's name tag and his glasses gain the status of objectified form of cultural capital, whose accumulation helps him raise his status in the college. Bourdieu and Wacquant in their article "Symbolic Capital and Social Classes" mention that the objectified cultural capital "function[s] as a kind of primordial language, through which we are spoken more than we speak it, in spite of all strategies of presentation of self" (298). Thus, the name tag Jack uses, the "glasses" he owns and the "robe" he wears are used by him to send a message beyond their physical importance.

However, the question which might be asked here is how such basic and rudimentary objects can send messages of high significance. Bourdieu and Wacquant in the same article indicate that the significance such as "intrinsic charm" or "charisma" carried by such objects signifying the embodied state of cultural capital is nothing but the mere product of "adhesion" to all the cultural values which are accepted in society and are "materialized in officially recognized and guaranteed symbols, signs of distinction, ... certificates of charisma such as titles of nobility or school credentials, objectified marks of respect calling for tokens of respect" (299). What it means is that in order for an object to be accepted as a form of objectified state of cultural capital in a field, the members should see it as valuable. As can be seen in this particular example, the dress code in the college acts as a symbol not only for Jack but also for the other members of that field. This is why Murray tries the pipe. In fact, he is trying to be distinctive and consequently build prominence and status for himself in the college.

Concerning the objectified state of cultural capital, it should be stated that different objects can have different cultural values within different societies. Tony Schirato and Mary Roberts further explain Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital and maintain that "anything can go through a phase where it is associated with or can constitute cultural capital" (179). The name Jack chooses for his son is a telling example of the objectified state of cultural capital in the novel. He explains the reason why he named his son "Heinrich" to his daughter Denise thus:

"I thought it was a forceful name, a strong name. It has a kind of authority."

"Is he named after anyone?"

“No. He was born shortly after I started the department and I guess I wanted to acknowledge my good fortune. I wanted to do something German. I felt a gesture was called for.”

“Heinrich Gerhardt Gladney?”

“I thought it had an authority that might cling to him. I thought it was forceful and impressive and I still do. I wanted to shield him, make him unafraid. People were naming their children Kim, Kelly and Tracy.” (63)

In an article called “Cultural capital in educational research: A critical assessment”, Lareau and Weininger write that cultural capital “allows culture to be used as a resource that provides access to scarce rewards” (587). In this instance, Jack has tried to use the name “Heinrich” as an instance of objectified cultural capital which can benefit himself since he is “chairman of the department of Hitler studies” and can also protect his son and empower him (4, 63).

### 3.3. The Institutionalized State

The last type of cultural capital discussed in this article is what Bourdieu refers to as the “institutionalized state”. In simple terms, the example Bourdieu uses to define this type of capital is the certificates one receives from academic institutions like colleges (“The Forms of Capital” 247). In the previous sections it was explained that seeking capital, in whatever form it might be, is always a strategy adopted by an individual in an effort to elevate his position among the other members of the society. In *White Noise*, “College-on-the-Hill” can be viewed as an academic institution in which institutionalized state of cultural capital is granted to the students.

For Bourdieu, the educational system and specifically the higher educational system is a means for the dominant group within the society to yield their desired cultural values upon students since he considers it “an institutionalized classifier” whose function is “reproducing the hierarchies of the social world ...” (*Distinction* 387). Richard Harker builds on Bourdieu’s idea and maintains: “Just as our dominant economic institutions are structured to favour those who already possess economic capital, so our educational institutions are structured to favour those who already possess cultural capital” (87). In *White Noise*, where Jack describes the students, we can realize that they all come from families with access to high economic and cultural capital. It was suggested that the parents’ ownership of “station wagons” could be read as owning an example of objectified cultural capital. In a similar way, we see the students’ ownership of similar objects such as “the junk food still in shopping bags” or “onion-and-garlic chips, nacho thins, peanut creme patties, Waffelos and Kabooms, fruit chews and toffee popcorn; the DumDum pops, the Mystic mints” signify consumerist values and other items like “the stereo sets”, “personal computers”

and “phonograph records and cassettes” (3) signify cultural values and can be read as cultural goods whose possession and use entails having embodied cultural capital. It can be seen that the college students possess forms of economic and cultural capital similar to the ones possessed by their parents. The children possess “limited-edition T-shirts” and “easy-care knits” as their parents possess “station wagons” and “massive insurance coverage” (3).

Furthermore, according to Bourdieu in his article “The Forms of Capital”, “the educational qualification, invested with the specific force of the official, becomes the condition for legitimate access to a growing number of positions, particularly the dominant ones ... .” (254). Thus, the families with economic and cultural capital at their disposal try to invest in their children’s chance of gaining such “access” and thus send them to academic institutions like College-on-the-Hill. An illuminating part of the novel which can support this claim might be found where Jack explains some details about this institution and those who enter it: “Tuition at the College-on-the-Hill is fourteen thousand dollars, Sunday brunch included. I sense there is a connection between this powerful number and the way the students arrange themselves physically in the reading areas of the library” (41). Jack goes on to explain some of these ways of arrangement:

They sit on broad cushioned seats in various kinds of ungainly posture, clearly calculated to be the identifying signs of some kinship group or secret organization. There is an element of overrefinement and inbreeding. But it is only the language of economic class they are speaking, in one of its allowable outward forms, like the convocation of station wagons at the start of the year. (41)

As a matter of fact, the reason these children have been able to attend the college, the reason they show such gestures and “outward forms” is that their families have access to specific types of economic and cultural capital. Previously, it was mentioned that parents’ bodily properties and appearance are suggestions of their embodied cultural capital. In this case, “the way the students arrange themselves physically in the reading areas of the library” and their “overrefinement and inbreeding” refer to the embodied capital of the children of these families (41).

In fact, what differentiates the level of academic achievement between students from various social classes is not based upon their inherent talent but in fact stems from the regulating power of cultural and economic capital (“The Forms of Capital” 17). Concerning this point, Susan A. Dumais explains that cultural capital can help the children of families who own economic capital throughout their “educational process” (375-376). In the case of the students at college-on-the-Hill, the similarities between the behaviors seen in the students and their parents stem from the fact that these students have grown up in

families sharing similar values and capitals and access to these capitals gives them the chance of entering the college.

#### 4. Conclusion

The Bourdeusian explanations of cultural capital and social capital makes it possible to differentiate these types of capital from the mainly economic form. The application of these explanations enables us to identify the representations of cultural and social capital in the novel. As a result of this application, the article suggests that the possession of these types of capital can lead to the enhancement of social or professional position among the characters. Consequently, these characters try to achieve this goal by broadening their circles of friendship and establishing new connections which result in higher social capital. Furthermore, the characters follow the cultural values of their society for the same purpose. In the case of the embodied state of cultural capital, it is shown that characters follow consumerist patterns since they signify an elevated cultural significance. In the case of the objectified state, it is illuminated that the possession of items which signify cultural value, is used by the characters as signs of taste and distinction. Ultimately, regarding the institutionalized state, the article suggests that families with access to economic and cultural capital invest in their children's education since it helps them in their future.

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### تحلیلی از سرمایه اجتماعی و فرهنگی در رمان سر و صدای سفید اثر دان دللیو: دیدگاه بوردیویی

عرفان بندان، دانشگاه ارومیه، ایران

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**چکیده:** سر و صدای سفید هشتمین رمان دان دللیو است که در سال 1985 منتشر شد. این رمان توسط بسیاری از محققان از مکاتب مختلف فکری مورد بررسی قرار گرفته است. در این مقاله سعی بر این است که با توجه به مفاهیم ارائه شده توسط پیر بوردیو از انواع مختلف سرمایه، خوانشی از این رمان ارائه دهیم و سعی کنیم به بازنمایی هر یک از این انواع سرمایه در آن توجه کنیم. با این وجود، از آنجایی که بزرگترین سهمی که بوردیو در بحث سرمایه دارد، تبیین او از سرمایه اجتماعی و سرمایه فرهنگی است، این مقاله از توضیحات بوردیو به همراه سایر محققان بوردیویی در مورد این دسته از سرمایه ها استفاده می کند تا بازنمایی سرمایه اجتماعی و سرمایه فرهنگی را در قالب های حالت تجسم یافته، حالت عینیت یافته و حالت نهادینه شده در رمان شناسایی کند. در رابطه با سرمایه اجتماعی، مقاله استدلال می کند که تلاش هایی که شخصیت های رمان برای عضویت در گروه های اجتماعی مختلف انجام می دهند، استراتژی ای است که آنها برای پیشبرد سرمایه کلی خود طراحی می کنند. علاوه بر این، در مورد سرمایه فرهنگی، این استدلال وجود دارد که برخورداری از آن می تواند به افراد کمک کند تا مزایایی مانند شانس بیشتر در برخورداری از تحصیلات آکادمیک و رتبه های اجتماعی بالاتر کسب کنند. علاوه بر این، یافته ها نشان می دهد که دسترسی به زیرمجموعه های سرمایه فرهنگی می تواند موقعیت اجتماعی افراد را ارتقا دهد.

**کلیدواژه ها:** دان دللیو، سر و صدای سفید، پیر بوردیو، سرمایه اجتماعی، سرمایه فرهنگی





## **PROVINCIJSKI MOTIVI I TEME U DRAMAMA GOGOLJA I ČEHOVA (REVIZOR, GALEB, TRI SESTRE)**

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**Apstrakt:** Kao jedna od centralnih u ruskoj književnosti, svakako je i tema ruske provincije, preko koje su veliki ruski pisci, poput Čehova i Gogolja, zaobilazili uticaje cenzure, i uspijevali, uz književne prikaze malograđanske sredine i provincijskog načina razmišljanja, da u prijemčivijoj formi žigošu društvene anomalije, i oslikaju socijalnu atmosferu carske Rusije u cjelini, nezavisno od provincijskog ili velegradskog miljea. Kulturološka identifikacija fenomena prostora sa konceptom ličnosti utemeljuje novi pravac naučnog istraživanja slike provincije u ruskoj književnosti. Stoga, ćemo u ovom radu rasvijetliti problematiku opisa provincije sa njenim pozitivnim i negativnim konotacijama, njenu simboliku, strukturu slike, uključujući provincijski grad, selo, plemićki posjed, rusku prirodu, u funkciji formiranja suda o konceptu ličnosti. U svjetlu tumačenja slike ruske provincije polazimo od stanovišta da njenu vječitu ulogu sekundarnog kulturnog prostora, lišenog dinamike, vrijednosti i kreativnosti, ne treba jednostrano posmatrati. Mit o provinciji, kao isključivo o mjestu gdje vladaju dosada i jednoličnost, poprima relativne odlike, jer prostorna, to jest, geografska pozicija udaljenosti od velikih kulturnih centara, može, ali i ne mora predstavljati polazište za cjelovitu karakterizaciju ličnosti.

**Ključne riječi:** Čehov, Gogolj, drame, provincijske slike, satirični prikazi ruskog društva, palanka

### **1. Introduction (use this style for level one headings - Font: Calibri 11)**

Ruska književnost 19. i 20. v. prožeta je i temama ruske provincije kao sastavnim dijelom pogleda na aktuelno vrijeme, tim prije što je stvarnost bila izdijeljena na zbivanja u metropolama, Sankt Peterburgu i Moskvi, a dio ruskog "bita" su činile i gubernije, u znaku kulturnog i društvenog zastoja.

Fokusiranost jednog broja pisaca i na teme o ruskoj provinciji višestruke je prirode. Za čitalačku publiku velikih urbanih sredina ruska provincija bila je egzotični prostor i, dijelom, "terra incognita". Pritom, u šekspirovskom maniru izmještanja negativnih zbivanja iz engleske kraljevine u državu Dansku, ruski pisci su, praveći svojevrsni literarni štit od državne cenzure, svoje kritičke stavove su

usmjeravali na satirične opise provincije, metaforično ukazujući na potencijalnu sličnost provincije i velegrada. Provincijske skice su tako predstavljale jasne aluzije na stanje ruskog društva u cjelini, nezavisno od gubernijskog ili velegradskog miljea.

Tako je Gogolj u "Revizoru" sakupio cio spektar društvenih anomalija u jedno provincijsko mjesto aludirajući na Rusiju u cjelini, ali je smještanjem radnje u provincijski atar i ovaj pisac obezbijedio svom dramskom štivu svojevrsni zaštitni omotač od cenzure.

U dramama Čehova "Galeb" i "Tri sestre" prisutan je svojevrsni eho *weltschmerz*-a, epohe njemačkih romantičara, ali se u Čehovljevoj lirskoj drami ovaj osjećaj pretače u svojevrsni "ruski bol" dramskih likova (Trepljev, Nina Zarječna), osuđenih na anonimnost i vječno tavorenje u provinciji, pritom uz jalovu čežnju za velegradom i svjetlima velikih pozornica. A u drami "Tri sestre" kao lajtmotiv odzvanja čežnja gubernijskih likova za velegradom kao vječnim ciljem i mjestom izbavljenja, žal za Moskvom, kao "zemljom obećanom", za prostorom prema kojem su putevi iz provincije najčešće zatvoreni. Stoga Irinina čežnja kroz svojevrsni vapaj („U Moskvu!“) govori o kolektivnom osjećaju provincijske sredine, izgubljene u ruskim širinama, osuđene na vječito prozaično bitisanje na marginama društvenih zbivanja.

U svojoj knjizi "O romanu", Mihail Bahtin se bavi i hronotopom prostora u posebnoj poglavlju "Oblici vremena i hronotopa u romanu", ističući: "Provincijski malograđanski gradić sa njegovim memljivim životom – veoma je često mesto zbivanja događaja u romanima XIX veka." (Bahtin 377)

Fenomenološkim konceptom prostora iscrpno se bavi i Vladimir Toporov, smatrajući da se sam prostor može tumačiti kao svojevrsna poruka, to jest, kao relevantna književna odrednica, koja anticipira posljedične efekte na čovjekovu ličnost: "Prvo, prostor je inferioran u odnosu na nešto. On dozvoljava da zavlada otvorenost, dopuštajući, između ostalog, pojavu i prisutnost stvari o kojima ovisi ljudska egzistencija." (Toporov 447) (prevod M. Koprivica)

Upravo zato pozicija provincijskog gradića, kao mjesta radnje u ruskoj književnosti, posebno u djelima Gogolja i Čehova, određuje i sižeju liniju, ali i ponašanje junaka i njihove karaktere. Stoga prostorno značenje na fonu radnje, kao suštinski momenat odabrane stvarnosti, utiče na razvoj sižea. Odabir provincijskog mjesta i njegovih junaka, neraskidivo vezanih za ambijent u kojem bitišu, daje mogućnost piscu da stvori tekst sa karakterističnim obilježjima i pečatom malih urbanih sredina. Provincija i provincijalac su u stalnoj korelaciji, jer se likovi, sa jedne strane, prirodno spajaju sa svojom sredinom, utemeljeni u njoj, dok drugi osjećaju prokletstvo malih sredina i želju za odlaskom u gradove kao središta kulturnih i društvenih zbivanja.

Upravo na ovakvom fonu Gogoljevi junaci u "Revizoru" osjećaju apsolutnu pripadnost palanačkom načinu života, dok Čehovljevi dramski likovi, poput Zarječne i Trepljeva, žele napraviti iskorak ka gradskoj sredini, uz želju za bijegom

prema svjetlima velegrada koja obećavaju izlazak iz anonimnosti i provincijskog tavorenja. Nesklad između želja i mogućnosti, spoznaja likova da im je život osuđen na začarani provincijski krug bez izlaza, dovodi do tragičnih dramskih razrješenja, to jest, do samoubistva Trepljeva, kao odraza spoznaje o promašenosti i beznađu palanačkog bitisanja.

I prostor, kao takav, u funkciji aktivnog činioca u "Galebu" (1896) doživljava se kao svojevrsni zamajac dramske radnje. Mjesto zbivanja je imanje Sorina koje se, kako sam autor ukazuje, nalazi "bogu iza leđa". Sorin ističe i da rado odlazi iz sela, ali, kako je u penziji, prinuđen je da živi u seoskom miljeu. Njegov san je da postane književnik i dobar govornik, mada je to neuporedivo u odnosu na želju da živi u gradu, pri čemu će život ipak završiti na selu.

Sorin kroz opasku o Trepljevu takođe ističe prokletstvo palanačkog života: "Razumljiva stvar – mladić, pametan, živi u selu, bogu iza leđa, bez novaca, bez situacije, bez budućnosti." (Čehov 37)

Prostornoj slici Čehov daje smisao i simboliku ističući kako do sela učitelja Medvedenka ima više kilometara, pri čemu je grad sa željezničkom stanicom još udaljeniji, a Moskva sa svojim sjajem negdje u imaginarnoj daljini.

Irina Arkadina predlaže Nini Zarječnoj, na koju je ljubomorna, da treba da ide iz sela u kojem samo propada, a, kao poznata glumica pri zalasku karijere, žali se na "simpatičnu seosku dosadu" kao vrhunac čamotinje. Kad govori o talentu svog sina, kaže da je "palančanin", a kad Trigorinu govori o svojoj suparnici postavlja vrijednosni kriterijum o mentalitetima iz provincije pitajući zar mu je potrebna ljubav "palanačke djevojke".

Nina Zarječna ostvaruje svoj san i odlazi u veliki grad, ali ipak ostaje trećerazredna glumica, jer njen provincijalizam nije ostao u okviru palanačkih granica, te ni u velegradu ne postiže veći uspjeh shvatajući da su njeni snovi o slavi i sjaju velikog grada isprazni, i da je smisao života u podnošenju patnje i nošenju svog krsta prosječnosti pod pečatom ruske palanke.

Gradirajući sudbine manje ili više ostvarenih umjetnika, jer i sam Trigorin biva svjestan svog mjesta na literarnoj skali vrijednosti, Čehov osvjetljava njihova nadanja, uspjehe i padove, i suočavanje s limitiranim mogućnostima na ograničenom prostoru, u palanci, i uz sve to prikazuje vječitu težnju ka savršenstvu, uz potragu junaka za ličnom srećom, ali i uz poimanje promašenosti u maloj sredini.

Provincija u "Galebu" oblikuje psihologiju likova, i javlja se kao izvor dramskog konflikta pod pečatom čežnje i spoznaje o marginalnom značaju i dometima lokalnih dramskih talenata. Trepljev je predstavnik dekadentnih pravaca devedesetih godina XIX vijeka, protivnik tradicije klasične drame, pa stoga i scenu iz svoje drame prenosi iz enterijera u prirodu, te, umjesto kulisa, pozadinu čine jezero i pejzaž. Trepljev ruši tradicionalnu pozicioniranost scene premještajući je u prirodu, dajući joj neograničenu slobodu prostora.

Njegov antipod je afirmisani pisac Trigorin, kojem Trepljev zavidi kao poznatom autoru, koji ga ohrabruje govoreći mu da ga navodno čitaju u Moskvi i Petrogradu, što je samo po sebi veliki uspjeh da je njegovo stvaralaštvo, navodno, dospjelo do "velikog grada", nedosanjane "obećane zemlje".

U drami "Tri sestre" takođe su prisutne provincijske teme i motivi, uz lajtmotiv, iskazan kroz čežnju da se ode u Moskvu, koja za junake ostaje nedosanjani san. Oni su svjesni neostvarivosti tog čina zbog nesposobnosti da se izbore za ostvarenje vlastite sreće i mjesta u društvu. U provincijskom gradiću Olga i Maša sanjaju o odlasku u Moskvu želeći da sve, po Olginim riječima "likvidiraju" i što prije odu u veliki grad.

Radnja drame se oblikovala tokom Čehovljevih brojnih putovanja po Rusiji 1889. godine, a u pismu M. Gorkom on bilježi da se: "radnja odvija u provincijskom gradu kao što je Perm", u kojem je takođe boravio. Položaj i ponašanje provincijske inteligencije bili su karakteristični za Rusiju na prelazu 19. u 20. vijek, a rad na drami je za Čehova bio naporan, te se u pismima Gorkom žalio da vrlo često mijenja već napisano, i da mu je vrlo teško dočarati tri različita ženska lika iz iste sredine.

U drami "Tri sestre" Čehov prikazuje provincijsku stvarnost u cilju pravljenja atmosfere besmisla i apsurdna u ruskoj učmaloj provinciji gdje je život dosadan i monoton. Ovaj opsesivni momenat prenosi se kroz repliku, svojevrsni lajtmotiv drame i tzv. primalni krik: "u Moskvu!", koji se pretvara u eho, ali i sliku praznine palanačkog vegetiranja i neostvarenih ciljeva. Likovi stoga vode dijalog i sami sa sobom u traganju za odgovorima.

O sveprisutnom motivu dosade u provincijskoj sredini piše i T. S. Zlotnjikova ističući da:

Motiv dosade kao posljedica i oznaka duha provincijalnosti bio je svojstven mnogim predstavnicima ruske kulture. Motiv dosade čas aktivno napada, čas treperi na pozadini mnogih književnih tekstova (M. Saltikov-Ščedrin, I. Turgenjev, N. Njekrasov, I. Gončarov, A. Ostrovski, L. Tolstoj, N. Ljeskov, ranije A. Puškin, M. Ljermontov, N. Gogolj, kasnije – A. Čehov, M. Gorki), naglašava apsurdni diskurs ruske klasične kulture, koja je, u principu, sva izgrađena oko provincijske svakodnevice i provincijskog života. (Zlotnjikova 21) (prevod M. Koprivica).

I Čehovljevi junaci su, pored nezadovoljstva životom u provinciji, u potrazi za svojom ličnom srećom, pa Dragan Nedeljković u ovom kontekstu zaključuje: "Zato se Čehovljevi junaci, za razliku od nekih Balzakovih naprimer, ne mogu da zadovolje ličnom srećom: oni se lome između težnje čovekove da bude bolji i želje da bolje živi". (Nedeljković 309)

U vezi s ovakvim splinom, kao vrstom hipohondrije, karakteristična je pogrešna ocjena ruske kritike kroz zamjerke piscu na nedostatku dramatičnih

zbivanja i monotonoj radnji, a što je, u stvari, i bio Čehovljev cilj, da slikom učmale provincije dočara u svojim dramama monotoniju ruske stvarnosti i vremena u kojem je živio.

Posebna odlika "Tri sestre" je u tome što se kroz sliku inertne sredine dramski sukob ne temelji na međusobnom sukobu likova, već na sukobu junaka drame s provincijskom sredinom, njenim načinom života. Radnja se odvija u palanci gdje žive intelektualac Prozorov i njegove tri sestre, Olga, Marija i Irina. Olga je učiteljica i ne voli školu u kojoj radi, Marija je nesretna u braku, a Irina ne vidi smisao života i želi samo raditi kako bi prevladala osjećaj beznađa. Ali, jedno je kod njih zajedničko – sve tri sestre žele napustiti provincijsku sredinu i otići u Moskvu, uvjerene da će u velegradu svi njihovi problemi i osjećaj palanačkog beznađa biti riješeni, a smisao života napokon ispunjen na pravi način.

Provincijalizam palančana Čehov ističe i kroz sliku njihovog neobrazovanja, jer, kako Maša ističe: "U ovoj varoši znati tri jezika – to je suvišan luksuz. Čak nije ni luksuz, nego nepotrebnii dodatak, tako nešto kao šesti prst..." (Čehov 81)

A brat Andrej redovno sanja da je profesor Moskovskog univerziteta, čuveni naučnik kojim se ponosi ruska zemlja, a i sam priželjkuje život u Moskvi, odlaske u restorane, gdje ga niko ne zna, a da se ipak osjeća građaninom velikog grada, za razliku od toga što u svom gradiću svakog poznaje, i svima je stran uz lični osjećaj usamljenosti. Ali, njegovi snovi vremenom postaju sve skromniji; uz san da bude profesor Moskovskog univerziteta, život uz primitivnu ženu Nataliju smanjuje i njegove snove pa je sretan i zbog titule člana zemske uprave.

U svjetlu dočaravanja atmosfere provincijalizma Čehov formira i lik doktora Čebutikina, koji je zaboravio sve u svojoj struci, i nikog ne može izliječiti, pri čemu je čak i sam svjestan toga. A, kad se vodi razgovor o književnosti, on se, kao i drugi, pretvara da je čitao Šekspira i Voltera, ali zapaža koliko je to sve "nisko" i "trivijalno". Nizak kulturni nivo palanačke sredine Čehov ističe i preko lika Tuzenbaha, koji zaključuje da se u gradu niko ne razumije u muziku, uz opasku da je divno svirati, a znati da te baš niko ne razumije.

San o Moskvi poprima negativne efekte i preko Irininih snova; ona sanja da njen brat Andrej gubi sve na kartama kako bi makar zbog toga morali otići iz palanke, da bi se bar preko nevolje ostvarila njena čežnja za Moskvom. Takođe, zbog stanja produžene frustracije, kod Irine je prisutno i praznovjerje: igrajući pasijans, ona u otvorenim kartama vidi da će biti u Moskvi, ali je Fedotik razočarava govoreći joj da nije dobro otvorio karte i da ipak neće otići u Moskvu. Drugi čin se slikovito i završava Irininim vapajem, lajtmotivom drame: "U Moskvu!"

Palanačko mjesto i plemićka gnijezda najčešća su mjesta odvijanja radnje velike ruske proze, romana, pripovijedaka, kratkih priča, drama. Takve su "Priče Bjelkina", "Dubrovski" i "Kapetanova kći" Puškina, Gogoljev roman "Mrtve duše" i drama "Revizor", roman Hercena "Ko je kriv"; takođe i brojni romani

Turgenjeva, osim roman "Dim", kao i gotovo sva dramaturgija A. N. Ostrovskog, N. Ljeskova, G. I. Uspenskog, zatim "Zli dusi" i "Braća Karamazovi" Dostojevskog, navedene drame Čehova... Sva ova djela imaju zajednički imenitelj, sadržan u opisu palanačkog mentaliteta i sudbina frustriranih junaka, osuđenih da beznadežno ostanu zarobljeni u provinciji.

O uticaju prostora u Gogoljevoj poetici piše i Jurij Man, ističući da Gogolj nije pisac gradske svakodnevice. Provincijski gradić u kojem se odvija radnja "Revizora" Man definiše kao: "mali, relativno autonoman i zatvoren društveni svijet koji oponaša životnu aktivnost drugih svjetova i, takoreći, predstavlja se u njihovo ime." (Манн <http://sobolev.franklang.ru/index.php/pushkin-i-ego-vremya/340-yurij-mann-smyslovoe-prostranstvo-gogolevskogo-goroda>) (prevod M. Koprivica). S druge strane, provincijalci prema prestonici imaju gotovo inferioran stav usmjeravajući sve svoje nade i očekivanja upravo prema velikom gradu: "Prestonica nije samo viši autoritet, to je drugačiji, transcendentni svijet. Šta se od njega očekuje? Pravda, prijetnje, odmazde, dobročinstva?.." (Манн <http://sobolev.franklang.ru/index.php/pushkin-i-ego-vremya/340-yurij-mann-smyslovoe-prostranstvo-gogolevskogo-goroda>) (prevod M. Koprivica)

Od značaja je navesti da se Josip Užarević u svojoj monografiji, povodom iste teme i mjesta radnje, poziva na sljedeći stav Aleksandra Flakera: "Jedna je od osnovnih osobina Gogoljeva stila antiteza između uzvišenoga i patetičnog jezika i prozaičnosti motiva o kojima je riječ." (Užarević 338)

A upravo disonanca između uzvišenog i patetičnog, ne samo na planu jezika, nego i sveukupne provincijske atmosfere, predstavlja jednu od odrednica našega rada i analize datog pitanja...

Geografski prostor provincijskog grada koincidira sa psihološkim tipovima junaka, njihovim ponašanjem, pa likove različitih društvenih statusa i stremljenja spaja isti zajednički imenitelj: učmala provincijska stvarnost i ograničenost vidokruga. Gotovo svi junaci imaju istovjetnu čežnju za sjajem velegrada, te tako, na primjer, Petar Ivanovič Bobčinski tokom davanja mita ponizno govori Hljestakovu:

Najlepše vas molim, kad dođete u Petrograd, recite svim tamošnjim raznim velikašima: senatorima i admiralima, da eto, vaša svetlosti, ili prevashodstvo, u tom i tom gradu živi Petar Ivanovič Bobčinski. Tako recite: živi Petar Ivanovič Bobčinski. (Gogolj 76)

"Revizor" je prvenstveno socijalna drama u kojoj autor iznosi složenu viziju društva tog doba opisujući upečatljive karaktere, prototipove iz perioda carske Rusije. Riječ je o satiričnoj drami, svojevrsnoj simbiozi društvenog i psihološkog, sa prisutnim elementima komedije naravi, karaktera i intrige. Gogolj je kroz lik Hljestakova izrazio uticaj provincijske sredine na pojedinca. U pitanju je groteskno opisana galerija negativnih likova uz postojeću ocjenu da je u

“Revizoru” jedini pozitivni junak: smijeh. Glavni lik, Hljestakov, nije odrastao u takvoj sredini, ali se vješto uklapa u njene palanačke okvire i uspijeva nadmudriti činovnike prihvatajući ulogu revizora u svojevrsnoj komediji zabune. Radnja se odvija u palanačkom gubernijskom mjestu, uz literarnu poentu da je preko slike provincijskog gradića, u stvari, spisateljskim manirom, na mikroplanu data vjerna metafora Rusije na makroplanu, u cjelini.

U početku pisac daje opise junaka, ističući njihove malograđanske crte. Kroz sliku gradonačelnika saznajemo da je na nivou osrednjosti, da govori u skladu s okolnostima, “ni glasno, ni polako; ni mnogo ni malo”. Njegovo stanje duha se kreće “od straha ka radosti, od poniznosti ka naduvenosti”. Njegova žena naziva sebe “palanačkom koketom”, koja je vaspitavana na romanima i albumima, po prirodi sujetna, a nekad u odnosu na muža dominantna, najčešće kada mu se podsmijava.

I kod glavnog junaka, Hljestakova, pisac dovoljno određuje njegov karakter nazivajući ga “praznoglavcem”, jer govori bez razmišljanja, nesposoban da zadrži pažnju na nekoj misli; pritom govori isprekidano, a, po savjetu Gogolja, svaki glumac koji bude igrao tog junaka, treba da prikaže dovoljno prostakluka da bi što bolje ostvario ulogu. I samim davanjem prezimena glavnom liku (Hljestakov) Gogolj u semantičkoj ravni pravi jasnu aluziju da ovaj junak, makar i nehotično, kao bičem šiba palanačke satirično oslikane kreature. Pisac posredno upućuje i dodatnu sugestiju da Hljestakov čak i nema intelektualni nivo da razobliči čitavu galeriju malograđana u vertikali vlasti, nego se oni sami hvataju u zamku zabune i straha od birokratskog aparata i nadređenih kontrolora, poslatih iz viših društvenih sredina, čime se farsa i dodatno groteskno pojačava.

Provincijalizam ostalih junaka Gogolj oslikava i preko opisa sluge Osipa, koji je s gospodarem grub i nadmen, i drži mu lekcije. A varošku vlastelu pisac prikazuje kao naivnu, nesposobnu i dvoličnu; Bobčinski i Dobčinski imaju ista imena i patronim, pri čemu se aludira na tipske junake, na kliše bezličnih likova, predstavnike provincijskog grada, uz to sa prepoznatljivim primitivnim odlikama palančana.

O provincijalizmu sudije Ljapkina-Tjapkina govori podatak da je pročitao pet-šest knjiga, dok je upravnik dobrotvornih ustanova, Zemljanika, varalica, servilan i manipulator. Gotovo u svakoj sceni pisac ističe primitivizam koji vlada u svakoj instituciji; pa i bolnici i sudnici, gdje bi trebalo, a priori, da vladaju higijena i red, što upravo nedostaje. U bolnici vlada nečistoća, a sudija odluke donosi uz simbolično prisustvo korbača u sudnici. Za mito i korupciju pronalazi se opravdanje da svaki mito treba drugačije cijiniti i mjeriti, pri čemu gradonačelnik svoje podmićivanje “opravdava” odlaskom svake nedjelje u crkvu, jer je, kako sam kaže, “bar u vjeri čist”.

Ni prosvjeta nije lišena primitivizma u raznim formama, pa je vrlo ilustrativan lik profesora, koji u malograđanskom žaru predavanja lomi stolice, što gradonačelnik tretira kao “štetu za državnu kasu”. Među takvim palanačkim

psihologijama u "Revizoru" svoje mjesto ima i poštar koji, po preporuci gradonačelnika, i "zarad opšte koristi", treba da otvara svako pismo prije odašiljanja. A to čini ne iz opreznosti, već zbog radoznalosti, uvjeren da je riječ o zanimljivoj lektiri. Njegov primitivizam i malograđanska psihologija palanke kulminiraju na kraju drame kad svoje postupanje objašnjava "natprirodnom silom", koja ga vuče da tako nešto čini.

Gogolj na osoben način predstavlja provincijalizam Bobčinskog i Dobčinskog, koji u govorenju nepotrebno, iscrpno detaljišu, prekidaju jedan drugog pokazujući svoju intelektualnu ograničenost, a njihovo poimanje visine mita je da i njega treba primati prema visini čina.

Gradonačelnikova žena neumjesno je opčinjena glavnim junakom, stavljajući sebe ispred kćerke i ponižavajući je riječima da se Hljestakov, navodno, u nju nikad ne bi zagledao, iako on to i čini uz izvjesna pretjerivanja, dok ga Marija Antonovna opominje da je on smatra za "palanačku prostakušu". Međutim, Hljestakov pronicljivo prosuđuje da se i majka i kćerka zbog svoje ograničenosti mogu lako obmanuti, pa se naizmjenično udvara, i prosi i jednu i drugu, a, na prosidbu Hljestakova, žena gradonačelnika odgovara da je ona: "na neki način udata".

Hljestakov u razgovoru sa poštarom Špekinim izražava divljenje prema ovoj varošici, u kojoj nema mnogo svijeta, tvrdeći kako to nije prestonica, kako samo u prestonici postoji "bonton i nema palanačkih gusaka", dodajući da se ipak i u palanci može živjeti. Gogolj vrlo često apostrofira provincijalizam u djelu, koristeći u dijalogu pridjev "palanački", kao, na primjer, kad gradonačelnik i sam u nevjerici pita svoju ženu da li je mogla i sanjati da će se njihova kćerka – "palanačka načelnikovicica" udati za tako visoku ličnost. Njihove ambicije se razvijaju sve do dugo željenog sna – odlaska iz provincije u Petrograd, gdje će gradonačelnik dobiti veliki čin. A žena, nakon čestitke vjeridbe kćerke, varošanima saopštava da će živjeti u Petrogradu i da je "ovdašnji vazduh i suviše palanački". Upravo na ovim i ovakvim motivima prepoznamo i atmosferu satiričnih drama Jovana Sterije Popovića: "Pokondirena tikva", "Ženidba i udadba", "Rodoljupci", "Laža i paralaža" i dr.

Provincijalizam glavnog junaka pisac posredno saopštava i preko sluge Osipa. On svog gospodara opisuje kao rasipnika, koji pati od sindroma malograđanštine, jer Hljestakov traži najbolju gostionicu, najbolji ručak, iako za to nema novaca, živi kao gotovan jer mu otac šalje pare koje on troši na raskalašan život i kartanje. Međutim, kada su mu ugodnosti besplatnog stanovanja i ručka uskraćene, on zaključuje da je riječ o "poganoj palanci", smatrajući da su svi podli i prosti. Malograđanska crta se prepoznaje i time što Hljestakov preuveličava svoj značaj, hvališe se govoreći laži o sebi kako poznaje Puškina i da je autor nekih već poznatih naslova, prosuđujući da za njih stanovnici provincije nikada nijesu ni čuli.



Takođe je moguće govoriti na identične teme u velikim gradskim sredinama, jer je, po Gogolju, malograđanština prisutna u Rusiji njegovog doba na svim društvenim adresama, te pisac tako ismijava cjelovitu birokratsku i korupcionašku Rusiju tridesetih godina 19. vijeka. Stoga u "Revizoru" daje univerzalnu sliku društvenih tokova, mana i poroka Rusije svog doba, ali i na svim meridijanima i u svim vremenima, zbog čega ova njegova satirična komedija i ima svezvremeni značaj i svjetsku popularnost, i izvodi se u najznačajnijim kulturnim centrima svijeta i danas.

U literaturi 19. i ranog 20. vijeka, kako smo već istakli, dominiraju slike dva velegrada, Sankt Peterburga i Moskve, i ruske palanke, preko koje su pisci slobodnije iskazivali svoje kritičke vizije savremene Rusije tog doba, stvarajući pritom svezvremene dramske karaktere. Kulturološki koncept provincije, odnosno hronotop prostora proširuje tradicionalni pristup tumačenja književnog teksta i istovremeno artikuliše samobitnost ruske kulture i njene identifikacije. U ovom kontekstu N. Berđajev zaključuje:

S vanjskog, pozitivno-naučnog gledišta, ogromna ruska prostranstva prikazana su kao geografska činjenica ruske istorije. Ali iz dublje, unutarajne perspektive sami ti prostori se mogu posmatrati kao unutrašnja, duhovna činjenica u ruskoj sudbini. To je geografija ruske duše." (Berđajev <https://predanie.ru/book/69716-sudba-rossii/>) (prevod M. Koprivica)

Fokusiranost jednog broja pisaca na teme o ruskoj provinciji, na groteskne slike uspavane palanke i malograđanskog mentaliteta, na bujanje malograđanskih manira, ispunjenih društvenim porocima i osjećajem izgubljenosti u ruskim geografskim širinama, višestruke je prirode. Treba naglasiti i činjenicu da su palanačake teme i motivi bili atraktivni za rusku čitalačku publiku iz velikih urbanih sredina u navedenom periodu, kojima je ruska provincija predstavljala egzotični prostor kao svojevrsna "terra incognita".

Teme ruske provincije sa svim njenim grotesknim slikama i devijacijama, sa društvenim anomalijama i porocima, predstavljale su za pisce i svojevrsni vrlo podoban literarni štiti od represivne državne cenzure. Oni su na taj način svoje globalne kritičke poglede, usmjerene na rusko društvo u cjelini, usmjeravali na satirične opise provincije, metaforično jasno ukazujući na sličnost provincije i velegrada. Zato su provincijske skice predstavljale jasne aluzije na stanje ruskog društva u cjelini, nezavisno od gubernijskog ili velegradskog miljea.

Nikolaj Vasiljevič Gogolj je u svojoj moćnoj satiričnoj komediji "Revizoru" sakupio cio spektar društvenih anomalija u jedno provincijsko mjesto, kao Rusiju u malom, ali je smještanjem radnje u provincijski atar obezbijedio svom dramskom štivu i svojevrsni zaštitni omotač od cenzure. A istovremeno su prisutne jasne aluzije da je malograđanština prisutna kao obilježje ruskog

društva 19. vijeka na svim društvenim adresama i nivoima. Tako je Gogolj u satiričnom tonu uspio da, u stvari, prikaže cjelovitu birokratsku i korupcionašku Rusiju tridesetih godina 19. vijeka.

U dramama Antona Pavloviča Čehova nije dominantan satirični ton kao u "Revizoru" N. V. Gogolja. U Čehovljevom "Galebu" kao i melodramski obojenoj drami "Tri sestre", uz sve oznake provincije, prisutan je svojevrsni eho *weltschmerz*-a epohe njemačkih romantičara. Upravo zato se ovaj globalni osjećaj izgubljenosti i promašenosti pretače u Čehovljevoj lirskoj drami u svojevrsni "ruski bol" dramskih likova. Takvi junaci u "Galebu" su posebno Trepļev i Nina Zarječna, koji su osuđeni na anonimnost i prozaične slike provincije. Oni pritom imaju snažan osjećaj besplodne čežnje za velegradom i svjetlima velikih pozornica, bivajući svjesni da nikad neće ostvariti svoje želje utopijskog karaktera. U drami "Tri sestre", kao lajtmotiv, odzvanja čežnja gubernijskih likova za velegradom kao vječnim ciljem i mjestom izbavljenja. Patnja za Moskvom, kao "zemljom obećanom", za prostorom prema kojem su putevi iz provincije najčešće zatvoreni, ostaje kao čežnjivi eho, bez nade da će doći do ostvarenja sna o životu u velikim metropolama. Stoga Irinina patnja kroz svojevrsni vapaj („U Moskvu!") govori o sveprisutnom, kolektivnom osjećanju prokletstva provincijske sredine, u kojoj su junaci navedene drame osuđeni na vječito prozaično bitisanje na marginama društvenih zbivanja. Svojim ponašanjem oni pokazuju jedino to da osjećaju lični bunt, ali onu vrstu besplodnog bunta, koji se nikad neće pretvoriti u konkretnu akciju i definitivan bijeg od malograđanske sredine, koja okiva sve njihove najveće želje i očekivanja. Na taj način palanka postaje drugo ime za lavirint iz kojeg se čuju glasovi protesta koji se nikad neće rezultirati uspjehom.

Pozicija provincijskog gradića, kao mjesta radnje u ruskoj književnosti, posebno u djelima Nikolaja Vasiljeviča Gogolja i Antona Pavloviča Čehova, određuje kako sižejne linije tako i oblike ponašanja brojnih junaka, mentalitetske manire i karaktere likova. Stoga prostorno značenje na fonu radnje, kao suštinski momenat odabrane stvarnosti, utiče na razvoj cjelokupnog sižea. Odabir provincijskog mjesta i njegovih junaka, neraskidivo vezanih za ambijent u kojem bitišu, daje mogućnost piscu da stvori tekst sa karakterističnim obilježjima i pečatom malih urbanih sredina. Provincija i provincijalac, u ravni tipa, tipološkog obrasca, u stalnoj su korelaciji, nadopunjujući se kao odraz u ogledalu. Neki likovi se, sa jedne strane, prirodno spajaju sa svojom društvenom sredinom, jer su utemeljeni u palanačkom miljeu, i proističu iz njega sa njegovim društvenim obrascima ponašanja, a drugi, koji su na višem nivou, osjećaju prokletstvo malih sredina i želju za odlaskom u gradove kao središta kulturnih i društvenih zbivanja. Oni su pritom svjesni da se takav kopernikanski zaokret, u stvari, nikad neće desiti, jer za tako nešto nemaju dovoljno snage. Ali makar, kao srednje rješenje, imaju negativan, odbojan stav prema palanačkom načinu života, pritom uz želju da lamentiraju nad svojim sudbinama i bezizlazom do kraja svog postojanja.

Koncept percepcije "mjesta", to jest, interakcije prostora i čovjeka, postao je jedan od pristupa u procesu izučavanja književnog teksta. U estetskom doživljaju čovjeka i njegove okoline, kao procesa identifikacije, u nauci o književnosti sve više se utemeljuje metodološki pristup istraživanja slike provincije u ruskoj kulturi. Na taj način slika provincije je definisana kao predmet sociološkog, kulturološkog i književnog proučavanja. Osim toga, posebno je značajno tumačenje pojma provincije i književnog lika provincijalca u odnosu na geografsku pripadnost prostoru same provincije, kao i u odnosu na status provincijske svijesti, koja u praksi rezultira malograđanskim normama i oblicima ponašanja imajući u vidu ne samo provincijsku nego i veće urbane sredine, uključujući i one velegradske. O uticaju prostora, odnosno provincijske sredine i mentaliteta u poetici Gogolja ("Revizor") i Čehova ("Tri sestre" i "Galeb") apostrofirali smo činjenicu u kojoj mjeri i na koje sve načine sociološki i kulturološki ograničeni prostor može uticati na čovjekovu psihologiju i njegovo ponašanje. Na njegov inferioran položaj u odnosu na velegradsku sredinu, koja za njega poprima dimenzije "nedosanjanog sna", iako, kako smo već naveli, recidivi malograđanske svijesti i postupanja bivaju prepoznatljivi i u visoko urbanim sredinama kao nasljeđe prošlosti i života u provinciji. Riječ je o arhetipskim slikama provincijske svijesti svih onih koji su, došavši u velike centre, zadržali prvobitne poglede na stvarnost pod pečatom malograđanske svijesti i ustaljenih navika.

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#### **PROVINCIAL MOTIFS AND THEMES IN THE DRAMAS OF GOGOL AND CHEKHOV (THE GOVERNMENT INSPECTOR, THE SEAGULL, THREE SISTERS)**

A provincial place, far from cultural centres, where the flashes of culture and its flows in large urban centres hardly even reach, as well as aristocratic nests, are the most common locations where great Russian prose, novels, stories, short stories, dramas take place. This is true of works such as "Stories of Bielkin", "Dubrovsky" and "The Captain's Daughter" by Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin, the novel "Dead Souls" by Nikolai Vasilievich Gogol, as well as his famous play "The Government Inspector", and the novel "Who is to blame?" by Alexander Ivanovich Herzen. Provincial motifs and events are also described through presentations of the so-called noble nests, which were mostly depicted as places of stagnation of Russian society with the slow passage of time. A similar example is represented by numerous novels by Turgenev, with the exception of the novel "Smoke", as well as almost all the dramatic works of Alexander Nikolayevich Ostrovsky, Nikolai Semyonovich Leskov, and Gleb Ivanovich Uspensky. The locations of Fyodor Mihajlovich Dostoyevsky's novels "Evil Souls" and "The Brothers Karamazov", Anton Pavlovich Chekhov's plays "The Seagull" and "Three Sisters" are based on the same spatial

coordinates. All these works have a common denominator, contained in the description of the palanquin mentality and fate of frustrated heroes. They are condemned to a kind of social slavery on the palanquin borders, remaining hopelessly trapped in the province outside the current social trends. Therefore, these works represented a kind of literary version of the question: "Where is Russian society going with such slowed-down forms of palanquin consciousness and life in general?". And thus, at the global level, a crucial question was raised, which was only reflected over the image of the Russian palanquin: "Where is Russian society as a whole going?".

Thus, the Russian literature of the 19th and 20th centuries is imbued with the themes of the Russian provinces as an integral part of the view of the current time and the life of the Russian people far from the cultural centres, with a distant echo of events in the metropolises, Saint Petersburg and Moscow. Therefore, these achievements were a sign of clear warnings about the cultural and social backwardness of Russia in the 19th and 20th centuries.

The focus of a number of writers on topics about the Russian province, on grotesque images of a sleeping palanquin and petty-bourgeois mentality, on the flourishing of petty-bourgeois manners, filled with social vices and a feeling of being lost in the Russian latitudes, is of a multiple nature. It should also be emphasized the fact that provincial themes and motifs were attractive to Russian readers from large urban areas in the period, for whom the Russian province represented an exotic space as a kind of "terra incognita".

At the same time, the themes of the Russian province with all its grotesque images and deviations, with social anomalies and vices, represented for writers a kind of very suitable literary shield from repressive state censorship. In this way, they focused their global critical views, aimed at Russian society as a whole, on satirical descriptions of the provinces, metaphorically clearly pointing out the similarity between the provinces and the metropolis. That is why the provincial sketches represented clear allusions to the state of Russian society as a whole, independent of the provincial or metropolitan milieu. Nikolai Vasilievich Gogol in his powerful satirical comedy "The Government Inspector" collected the entire spectrum of social anomalies in one provincial place, like Russia in miniature, but by setting the action in a provincial atar, he provided his dramatic reading with a kind of protective cover from censorship. At the same time, there are clear allusions that the petty bourgeoisie is present as a feature of Russian society in the 19th century at all social addresses and levels. Thus, in a satirical tone, Gogol succeeded in portraying, in fact, the complete bureaucratic and corrupt Russia of the 1830s.

In the plays of Anton Pavlovich Chekhov, the satirical tone is not dominant, as in "The Government Inspector" by N. V. Gogol. In Chekhov's "The Seagull" as well as in the melodramatically colored drama "Three Sisters", with all the signs of the province, there is a kind of echo of the *Weltschmerz* of the era of the German Romantics. This is precisely why this global feeling of loss and failure is transformed in Chekhov's lyrical drama into a kind of "Russian pain" of the dramatic characters. Such heroes in "The Seagull" are especially Treplev and Nina Zarechna, who are condemned to anonymity and prosaic pictures of the province. At the same time, they have a strong sense of fruitless longing for the big city and the lights of the big stages, being aware that they will never realize their utopian wishes. In the drama "Three Sisters", as a leitmotif, the longing of the provincial characters for the great city as an eternal goal and a place of salvation echoes.

The suffering for Moscow, as the "promised land", for the area towards which the roads from the provinces are most often closed, remains as a yearning echo, with no hope that the dream of living in a big metropolis will come true. Therefore, Irina's suffering through a kind of cry ("To Moscow!") speaks of the omnipresent, collective feeling of the curse of the provincial environment, in which the heroes of the aforementioned drama are condemned to an eternal prosaic existence on the margins of social events. By their behaviour, they only show that they feel a personal rebellion, but that kind of fruitless rebellion, which will never turn into a concrete action and a definitive escape from the petty-bourgeois environment, which shackles all their greatest desires and expectations. In this way, the palanquin becomes another name for the labyrinth from which the voices of protest can be heard, which will never result in success.

The position of a provincial town as a setting in Russian literature, especially in the works of Nikolai Vasilievich Gogol and Anton Pavlovich Chekhov, determines both the plot lines and the forms of behaviour of numerous heroes, the mental mannerisms and characters of the characters. Therefore, the spatial meaning in the background of the action, as an essential moment of the selected reality, affects the development of the entire plot. The selection of a provincial place and its heroes, inextricably linked to the environment in which they exist, gives the writer the opportunity to create a text with the characteristic features and stamp of small urban environments. Province and provincial, at the level of type, typological pattern, are in constant correlation, complementing each other like a reflection in a mirror. Some characters, of course, naturally merge with their social environment, because they are based in the palanquin milieu, and derive from it with its social patterns of behaviour, while others, who are at a higher level, feel the curse of small environments and the desire to go to cities as centres of cultural and social events. At the same time, they are aware that such a Copernican turn will, in fact, never happen, because they do not have enough strength for such a thing. But at least, as an intermediate solution, they have a negative, repulsive attitude towards the palanquin way of life, at the same time with the desire to lament their fates and hopelessness until the end of their existence.

The cultural identification of the phenomenon of space with the concept of personality gives the possibility to establish a whole new direction of scientific research of the image of the province in Russian literature. Therefore, in this paper, we tried to shed light on the issue of the complex description of the province, both with its positive and negative connotations. And this means that we shed light on the symbolism of the province as a concept, on the structure of its multi-layered, often grotesque image. At the same time, we focused our attention on small provincial towns, villages, noble estates and Russian nature in order to form a judgment about the concept of personality at the centre of dramatic and prose plots and events. That is why, in the light of the interpretation of the image of the Russian province, we started from the point of view that its eternal role as a secondary cultural space, devoid of dynamics, true value criteria and creative advances, should not be viewed unilaterally. This is precisely why we came to a certain number of conclusions, according to which the myth of a distant province, as exclusively a place where boredom and monotony reign, becomes relative, because the spatial, that is, the geographical position of distance from large cultural centres, may or may not it must represent a starting point for a complex picture of apathetic social environments, as well as for a complete characterization of personality.

In any case, the concept of the perception of "place", that is, the interaction of space and man, has become one of the approaches in the process of studying the literary text and in the case of the interaction of the province and its inhabitants as psychological profiles of small places. In the aesthetic experience of man and his environment, as a process of identification, the methodological approach of researching the image of the province in Russian culture is increasingly being established in the science of literature. In this way, the image of the province is defined as an object of sociological, cultural and literary study. In addition, the interpretation of the term province and the literary character of the provincial is particularly significant in relation to the geographical belonging to the area of the province itself, as well as in relation to the status of provincial consciousness, which in practice results in petty-bourgeois norms and forms of behaviour, bearing in mind not only provincial but also larger urban environments, including metropolitan ones. In relation to the influence of space, i.e. the provincial environment and mentality in the poetics of Gogol ("The Auditor") and Chekhov ("Three Sisters" and "The Seagull"), we highlighted the fact to what extent and in what ways a sociologically and culturally limited space can influence human psychology and his behaviour. So, to his inferior position in relation to the metropolitan environment, which for him takes on the dimensions of an "unrealized dream", although, as we have already stated, relapses of petty-bourgeois consciousness and behaviour are recognizable even in highly urban environments as a legacy of the past and life in the provinces. It is about the archetypal images of the provincial consciousness of all those who, having come to the major centres, kept their original views on reality under the seal of petty-bourgeois consciousness and established habits.

At the end of this comprehensive overview of the issue we are dealing with, it is worth highlighting certain differences in terms of describing the atmosphere of the province in the works of Gogol and Chekhov. Although there is already a well-known opinion that all realists "came out of Gogol's Overcoat", the descriptions of the province in "The Government Inspector" by N.V. Gogol and A.P. Chekhov are given from three angles. The satirical images in "The Government Inspector" have a corresponding echo in Chekhov's satirical novellas and short stories, which clearly reflect the aforementioned attitude that Chekhov himself "came out of Gogol's overcoat". The curse of the provincial way of life, in which low passions, vanity, conformism, primitivism, race for armchairs, poltergeistism, duplicity and other negative determinants of the petty-bourgeois environment, represent satirical tracts and images of human flaws and vices, certainly characteristic of the entire Russian society of that era vertically. However, Gogol created archetypal images and a gallery of universal characters, recognizable not only at every time in Russia, but at all times and in all countries of the world. It is precisely for this reason that Gogol's work ranks high on the qualitative scale of the entire history of Russian literature, and reflections of his satirical approach are also noticeable in other literatures, up to the works of B. Nushic. Gogol collected all the ugly sides of the social milieu in the provincial environment, and under the shield, as we have already mentioned, of stories about the middle-class environment, he created eternal pictures of every human society as a whole in the synchronic and diachronic plane, both of the province and of all large urban environments.

Bearing in mind the three different dramatic images in Gogol's "The Government Inspector" and Chekhov's dramas "The Seagull" and "Three Sisters", we can conclude that

there are three crucial approaches when describing everyday life in small environments: either in the satirical mosaic of Gogol's scenes, or through Chekhov's melodramatically coloured tragic destinies of his characters in a state of prolonged frustration, which coloured their lives bounded by the borders of the province as a kind of seal as a sign of insurmountable obstacles towards large social environments as symbols of civic affirmation or as a sign of tragically missed desires in the sphere of art.

**Keywords:** Chekhov, Gogol, plays, provincial paintings, satirical depictions of Russian society, palanquin



***Reviews***

***RECENZIJE***



## **MARIA ANASTASOVA. STEPHEN KING: NEW REFLECTIONS AND REFRACTIONS**

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Review

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The book reviewed here, *Stephen King: New Reflections and Refractions*, is the second monograph by Maria Anastasova, literary scholar and assistant professor at the Department of Germanic and Romance Studies in the Faculty of Philology, South West University "Neofit Rilski" (Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria). At 141 pages in length, in a succinct manner it outlines and evaluates trends in Stephen King's oeuvre over the course of a decade (2011-2021). Accordingly, it offers insights on King's recent works and builds on Anastasova's expertise and previous publications on the world-famous author (see e.g. Anastasova 2016, 2019, 2021 etc.). Globally renowned as the master of suspense, Stephen King is one of the leading figures in contemporary American popular culture and the quality and quantity of his output is legendary, spanning multiple genres. In addition, the various screen adaptations of his seminal works have cemented his wide popularity across generations.

The volume opens with an Introduction (pp. 5-9), which briefly situates the novelty of the research study within the expansive literature on Stephen King and his works. Indeed, Anastasova correctly notes that the vast majority of scholarship to date has centred on aspects relating to King's most well-known books (the reader may scarcely need reminding, but these include *The Shining*, *Carrie*, *It*, *The Green Mile* etc.), the lion's share of which were typically written earlier in his literary career. In focussing squarely on ten of King's recently published novels (*11.22.63*, *Joyland*, *Doctor Sleep*, *Mr Mercedes*, *Revival*, *Finders Keepers*, *End of Watch*, *The Outsider*, *The Institute*, and *Later*), Anastasova draws attention to the creative output of what she terms as King's "fifth decade" (p. 6).

With the title of "The Literary Discussion of Stephen King", Chapter 1 (pp. 11-20) sets the scene for deeper analysis by delving into more detail regarding critical responses to King's works. It charts some trends within scholarly research which, in referring to notable influences from illustrious predecessors such as Edgar Allan Poe and H.P. Lovecraft among others, have sought to place the writer

within a broader American literary tradition. In this chapter, Anastasova provides a comprehensive analysis of the many different areas where research on Stephen King's works has been conducted. In addition to studies on the author's own personal life, these also include interpretations of specific historical events, feminist critiques, explorations of religious aspects, as well as the influence of contemporary issues such as the COVID-19 pandemic and King's own political beliefs.

"The New Protagonists" is the title of the book's second chapter (pp. 21-70), where Anastasova observes several trends among the men, women, and children who feature in King's most recent works. The first subsection focuses on the male characters, and highlights that the principal protagonists are usually men who "are down-to-earth and realistic" (p. 25) and when compared "surely reveal certain similarities" in their social classes, marital status, family situations, and even the "problematic presence/absence of the[ir] father[s]" (p. 40). Anastasova performs detailed literary analysis of these "Average Joe[s]" (p. 22) in the analysed novels, observing that despite these specific commonalities each remains "unique and authentic" (p. 45). This presentation of the male characters is counterpointed by a subsequent discussion of female protagonists in the selected works, an aspect which Anastasova notes has "always been a debatable subject among academics and fans" (p. 48). Here, she presents the main female characters in the novels individually, observing their "predominantly supporting role" (p. 61) yet drawing specific attention to the memorable Holly Gibney in the *Mr Mercedes*, *Finders Keepers*, and *End of Watch* trilogy. In the final subsection, the focus is on to the depiction of children in the novels. Frequently endowed with supernatural beliefs or talents, Anastasova states that because of this they have traditionally appeared "as exceptional creatures that are considered superior to adults" (p. 63), an observation which still holds true in King's latest works.

The third section of the monograph (pp. 71-122) analyses the portrayals of the villains in Stephen King's recent prose. Under the chapter title of "Monsters are Real", Anastasova profiles each of the main antagonists in the selected novels, interpreting these monstrous creations through detailed literary and psychological analysis. Additionally, she situates these characters within theoretical discussions of the Gothic, noting that King typically "combine[s] reality with the supernatural and thus create[s] a unique fictional space in which to explore the different dimensions of evil" (p. 71). To this analysis are also appended some observations on the role of substance abuse in King's recent works. Here Anastasova underlines that themes relating to drug addiction and alcohol dependency still "permeate his prose" (p. 119) as the latter remains "a demon that haunts people and leads to their self-destruction" (p. 121). The monograph closes with a short Conclusion (pp. 123-131) which presents the work's findings in a concise manner and draws together the principal themes

analysed and discussed. This is followed by a full Bibliography (pp. 133-141), which complements the footnote referencing used throughout the volume.

In breaking new ground in the study and analysis of the American author's contemporary works, *Stephen King: New Reflections and Refraction* is a key asset for the scholarly community. In addition, it is also important to note that the precision, clarity, and eloquence of the text makes it an accessible read for non-academic audiences (such as interested aficionados of Stephen King and his work). Given that King's output continues to grow (at least three further novels have come out in the meantime), this study will additionally be valuable as a springboard for further investigations into the portrayal and development of the relevant topics and themes in the writer's future works. Consequently, in advancing new perspectives on the analysis of Stephen King's recent literary production, Maria Anastasova's monograph represents a clear and much-needed contribution to the research literature.

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## **ПРИКАЗ СТУДИЈЕ ПОЕТИКА ХУМОРА КОД КАФКЕ ВУКА**

### **ПЕТРОВИЋА**

ПОЕТИКА ХУМОРА КОД КАФКЕ, 2 ТОМА, ЗАДУЖБИНА АНДРЕЈЕВИЋ И ФИЛОЛОШКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ, БЕОГРАД, 2022.

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Review

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Вук Петровић студијом *Поетика хумора код Кафке* првостепено „обрађује хумор као доминантни поетски принцип Кафкиног текста“ (7), при том симултано лоцирајући и дешифрујући дијалоге овог двадесетовијековног аутора с књижевноисторијским комплексом који му претходи, као и са сложеним питањима и проблемима модерности с почетка прошлог вијека. Творац поменуте монографије за предворје кафкијанског свијета бира поглавље у ком књижевну умјетност прије свега објашњава кроз поетске принципе (симбол, параболо, иронија, хумор) и већ на уводним страницама књиге изједначава хумор с фигурацијом „поетског света као људске реалности с обзиром на апсолутни идеал који је из ње одсутан“ (7). Кафкина употреба хумора усложњава се ослањањем на традицију јудаистичке параболо и симболике њемачког романтичног идеализма, а кафкијанска интелектуална бравура не почива на пуком ефекту подражавања, већ на очувању форме параболо која се накнадно актуализује трајном удаљеношћу од идеала. Пресликано на Кафкине текстове, латинско одређење хумора као односа различитих течности које гарантују еквилибријум људског организма или проузрокују нескладзахтјевало би објашњење хумора као умјетничке неусклађености на релацији материја – метафизички идеал.

Аутор квалитативно разграничава поетске и прозне текстове, а њихово раздвајање оправдава способношћу поетске форме да изазове проширење „позитивне стварности текстуалног света“ (18), док прозна остварења остају прикована за сферу материјалних датости и тако миметички одређена. Као кључни поетски принцип издваја се симболика, чије манифестације Петровић разврстава у две категорије, а то су: класично–романтичне и модернистичке. Некадашња извјесност апсолутног идеала који се чулно разоткривао на нивоу текстуалног остварења еволуирала је у дезоријентисаност која води у „интелектуалистичку субјективност прозног

света као позитивитета“ (25) или у релативизовање апсолутних домета поетског космоса. Кафкијанске умјетничке намјере у дослуху су с другим случајем, у ком се урушава извјесност идеала, а хумор користи како би се подвукла несразмјерност између људских слабости и највишег смисла. Кафкин поетски свијет формира хуморни низ са Аристофановим и Гогољевим текстовима и аутор студије ову тријаду препознаје као парадигматску за идентификовање „хуморне текстуре“ (42) уопште.

Сакрална парабола наглашавала је земаљско и метафизичко сагласје, романтични идеал је потенцирао преплетеност живота и умјетности, а кафкијански текстови кокетирају с елементима некадашњих хармонија не признајући њихову остваривост, већ додатно поткопавајући спону између оностраности и ононостраности. Рефигурисање библијских и њемачких романтично–идеалистичких вриједности и наглашавање немогућности да се освоји „узвишен извор идеала“ омогућавају детектовање „трансцеденталног јаза између човека и апсолутне норме“ (61). Петровић овакву неусаглашеност између човјекских ограничења и највиших вриједности третира као централни проблем у цјелокупном Кафкином дјелу. Постепено удаљавање од сакралног средишта подједнако атрофира и домете језика, који губи пређашњу „моћ превођења апсолутног на језик чулности“ (65), тј. у кафкијанском књижевном свијету парадокс „исказује немогућност да се спутаност, ограничење, ускраћеност преобразе у плодотворну могућност језика да успостави везу између разбијених елемената света“ (66).

У другом дијелу студије фокус се преусмјерава на конкретне Кафкине приче и романе, а као први полигон за препознавање хуморне фигурације изабране су три приповијетке: *О параболама*, *Градски грб* и *При градњи кинеског зида*. У првом од наведених остварења прецизно се испољава расцјеп између умјетности и свијета и хуморно реорганизује параболичко–симболичко наслијеђе сугерисано и самом насловном одредницом (*das Gleichnis*). Петровић се задржава на Гетеовој употреби истог термина, која је упућивала на способност језика да преведе надљудску раван на ниво чулности, док код Кафке свеобухватна ерозија вриједности онеспособљава продирање идеала у границе иманенције. У таквим околностима човјек добија улогу „субјекта окруженог надљудском тоталношћу“ (71), али удаљеног од спознања суштинске истине. *Градски грб* почива на вавилонској проблематици и подразумева хуморно преобликовање старозавјетног мита. Прича о вавилонској кули расвјетљава корјене језичке хетерогености човјечанства и показује границе човјекских могућности, чије прекорачење неминовно изазива казну. Библијско санкционисање људске уображене величине код Кафке метаморфозира у одсуство преступа јер кафкијанско човјечанство добровољно напушта неоствариво дјело и тако вавилонску кулу из домена преступа уздиже до „идеала надљудске мере“



(87), а човјека враћа границама редовности. У *Градском грбу* „хумор осведочава вавилонску збрку материјалне стварности као последицу човековог одрицања од жудње за небом“ (92). Фрагментарност приповијетке *При градњи кинеског зида* једнака је садржинском проблематизовању разбијености реда на „неопозиве одломке света“ (93), а смисаоно тежиште приче гравитира ка преиспитивању „социополитичких и историјских проблема односа између појединца и власти“ (113). Хумор је, у овом случају, изазван раздором између завичајне прошлости и човјекове неинтегрисаности у садашњост, а свеопшта „фантазијска слабост компензује се – парадоксално – слободом за робовање традицији и њеним законима“ (115).

Хуморна фигурација кафкијанског свијета најобимнију разраду добија тумачењима *Замка* и *Процеса*, којима је и посвећен централни дио студије. Петровић роман *Замак* одређује као фантазијско остварење, а фантазију објашњава као способност преобликовања чулне стварности. Земљомјер се дистанцира од своје прошлости и узалудно покушава да се имплементира у заједницу неспремну да придошлог појединца третира као свог равноправног члана. К. нетачно тумачи село и његово становништво као праву спону са замком и тако себе осуђује на цикличну немогућност продирања до идеала, не схватајући да је „нутарњи живот замка несагледив са стране смртника који посматра у складу с материјалним, а замку неподобним мерама“ (191). Земљомјерово напуштање завичајне и личне прошлости претвара га у нецјеловиту личност, при чему „пораз не патетизује човекову слабост пред апсолутношћу, већ хуморизује немоћ да се на трен идеализује сопствено постојање, а неуспех у преступању не води божанској казни, већ новом изгнању у свет духовне оскудице која кажњава“ (232–233). Ноћно саслушање у ком би К. потенцијално могао спознати истину бива изјаловљено управо земљомјеровом унутрашњом распоућеношћу и везаношћу за фрагментарност материјалног свијета.

Јозеф К. у *Процесу* изневјерава сопствене животне капацитете, а атоми његове разбијене свијести се на стваралачком плану групишу око лајтмотива стида, који се односи на „закаснило буђење савести“ (287). К. не успјева да сломи границе сопственог незнања које онеспособљава јасно сагледавање праве природе кривице и узалудно вјерује у то да може чињенично доказати своју невиност и поново постати „слободан“. *Процес* предочава јаловост настојања да се морална кривица поништи категоријама позитивне реалности, јер „слобода проистиче из моралног права, не јуридикског, а како се судија не води правом, већ узусима који ограничавају, право на слободу не може бити обезбеђено споља, судијиним одлуком, већ само изнутра, човековим духовним и моралним завређивањем слободе за живот изван окова матријалних форми и усмерен ка светлости закона“ (319). Издајом сопствене људскости и занемаривањем

људских вриједности појединаца с којима се сусреће тражећи ослобођење, Јозеф К. завређује смрт која се у овом случају издваја као једина преостала могућност за прелазак у сферу човјечности. К. се не предаје ужасу предсмртног часа и на крају животног пута „постаје морални владалац над својим телом и издваја се из аморфне, нечовечне масе међусобно сраслих целата“ (330), а до тада успавана савијест се активира тек у часу егзекуције.

Претпоследње поглавље монографије обрађује категорије жртве, спасења и умјетности, препознатих у причама *Ловац Грахус*, *Укрштање* и *У кажњеничкој колонији*. Више пута наглашена немогућност човјековог продирања до апсолутног смисла заоштрава се судбином ловца Грахуса, који је осуђен на „проклетство загробне безавичајности“ (332) и заробљен између два свијета, само како би својим положајем потврдио јаз између људске свијести и метафизичких закона. Смисаони елементи *Укрштања* орбитирају око посебности кафкијанског створа чије главне карактеристике призивају усамљеништво, а „опште узев, хумор извире из судара смисаоне пуноће са духовном оскудицом“ (340). Петровић приповиједи *У кажњеничкој колонији* приступа као простору на ком обитавају све кључне кафкијанске теме, мотиви и поступци. Официр погубљења изједначава с приношењем живота као жртве зарад спасења, док се у реалности овај чин извршава и тумачи као свирепост убиство. Природа машине којом се реализују егзекуције, попут Гетеовог Мефиста, промашује људску суштину и умјесто усмјеравања на човјекову душу, своју активност везује за пропадљиви дио људскости, тј. за саму тјелесност. Иако поистовјећен са спасењем, обред заправо подразумијева то да се „уништење ништавила зарад идеалног обиља“ претвара у „ништавност самог злочина који производи ужас и за собом оставља – кржаве мрље“ (350).

Завршница студије испитује „трансцедентални јаз између уметности и живота“, тј. објашњава Кафкину фигурацију традиционалне теме, наглашавајући разобличавање романтично–идеалистичких вриједности. Аутор студије указује на некадашњуромантичну потребу да се очува овоземаљска веза са „далеком истином идеала“, која је осигурана умјетничком активношћу. Романтично величање умјетности као споне између човјека и апсолутности код Кафке се испољава као „развод уметности од живота на земљи“ (355). Прецизније говорећи, Кафка признаје преплитање живота и умјетности, али природа њихове повезаности више није афирмативна, већ је умјетност покорила и сломила живот. Прича *Уметник у гладовању* указује на то да „сâм уметник хуморизује своје дело тако што привидом духовног обиља одева оскудицу свог неделања“ (365), односно тјелесна биједа не уздиже дух, а гладовање, и поред свих напора, „не остварује никакав искорак од чулне материје ка формом означеном идеалу, већ се затвара у натуралистички идентитет материјалне форме и значења“ (366).

Вук Петровић страницама ове студије потврђује своју филолошку професионалност, стварајући дјело с прецизним изборима релевантних одредница из домена свјетске књижевности. *Поетика хумора код Кафке* на преко четири стотине страница плете херменеутичку мрежу око кафкијанског свијета у ком и даље одзвања „вапај за апсолутним идеалом“ (331) и подједнако се обраћа како онима који тек треба да се оспособе за кретање кафкијанским просторима, тако и свим проучаваоцима који су професионалним радом везани за Кафкин књижевни корпус.



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