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***Literature and Cultural Studies***

***Studije književnosti i kulture***



**PASSION AND PAIN IN THE VISUAL AND POETIC EXPRESSIONS  
OF MILENA PAVLOVIĆ BARILLI**

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**Abstract:** This study analyses the connection between Milena Pavlović Barilli's (1909-1945) painting and poetry and the harsh circumstances she encountered throughout her life.

Her childhood was difficult as her parents lived separately and in two countries. The unstable family environment significantly shaped her personality. Her education was intermittent and required travel to different countries. Barilli spoke three foreign languages before she completed primary school and wrote poetry in all three. However, in her native Serbian language, she wrote only her first and saddest poem. Her first lyrics resonate throughout her poetry.

Her work was deeply influenced by her nomadic lifestyle. The exposure to various national and artistic traditions led to an oeuvre which bears traces of several artistic styles. The most distinctive influences on Barilli's work were Metaphysical and Surrealist poetry and painting. Living far from home and her closest family, she often coped with feelings of nostalgia and the fear of rejection, which significantly influenced her poetry and her visual art. Apart from her lifestyle, Barilli's work was shaped by her encounters with poets and painters in places where she lived.

The paper examines how Barilli's life experience and artistic influences contributed to her distinctive artistic space, which is expressed in her multimedia work.

**Keywords:** Barilli, painting, poetry, nomadic life, Metaphysical art, Surrealism.

## 1. Introduction

The poet and painter Milena Pavlović Barilli wrote the above lines when she was only seven years old. Still, they foretold her whole oeuvre in which she would translate her inner turbulence, passion, and sadness into colours, lines, and words. Born into a world of Modernist fascination with travel, movement, experimentation, introspection, and the thirst for knowledge, Milena participated in almost all her age's intellectual trends, from Metaphysical painting to Surrealist art and poetry. From the start, Milena was drawn to the fantasies of otherness and the borderlines of existence. Her life was marked by the feeling of non-belonging: she was a stranger in her native country as she spent most of her life afar. Perhaps because of her style of living between two equally distant homelands, always on the run, her feelings of nostalgia and melancholy were incurable. However, her multimedia work reveals her connection with locations and people. One of the critics observes, "Milena was capable of 'living' simultaneously in all these worlds and freely hovering among them" (Denegri 2010, 206).

## 2. Life, Painting, and Poetry

"Life on the run" began for her family before she was born. Her parents, Danica Pavlović and Bruno Barilli, a Serb and an Italian, met in Munich at the beginning of the twentieth century where both studied music. In 1908 they married and a year later Milena was born in Požarevac, Serbia. After a couple of months, she and her mother went to Rome and back to Serbia. In subsequent years she would many times travel back and forth. Her schooling was divided among Italy, Serbia, and Austria. Her biographer and an expert on her work, Miodrag Protić, stated that "[h]er two worlds were sometimes united, while at other times they appeared quite different and in clash. When she was in one of them she felt nostalgia for the other..." (Protić 2021, 24). Distance and nostalgia for the Other stayed with Barilli during her short existence and behind all her creative work.

At the age of twelve Milena spoke four languages. After attending art school in Belgrade, she enrolled at The Art Academy in Munich. Later she would confess in an interview that "the first major effort that [she] had to make in order to feel my art as truly close to me was to get rid of the conventional forms that were imposed... in class of the Academy in Germany." (Protić 2021, 29-30). For all these, she remained in contact with her German teachers learning with time to live with the "inexplicable agony that painting inflicts in me" (Barilli quot. in Stanković 2009, 41).

After her first exhibition in Belgrade in 1928, and many futile attempts to find a job in Serbia, she left Serbia for good in the spring of 1930. In the next decade, she would exhibit in many European towns until 1939. when she would leave Europe for America forever.

In the 1930s she would travel, live, and work in many European countries - Italy, Spain, England, France. At first, she would travel with her mother, who was concerned about her ill health; later she would spend more time with her father, a renowned composer, writer, and journalist. Her relationship with her parents seemed to be tender and loving. However, she was always on the move as if chasing something. She longed for Serbia, her landscape, and people, stating, "the sky is never so blue elsewhere", as she would write to her mother (Stanković 2009, 56). Still, she would not return. "My art and my homelands have always been at odds", she would write on another occasion (Barilli quot. in Milenković 2012, 101). Her feeling of silent, almost unspeakable melancholy marked her deeply.

The French painter and poet, Andre Breton, who fathered surrealism claimed that Milena's work was surrealist (Stanković 2009, 63). On the other hand, her relationship with metaphysical art commented on at length by critics is distinct in both her painting and poetry. During her decade in Paris and various European capitals, she met many important artists and critics of the time. Her work finally gained general acclaim.

However, as if Europe had become too narrow for her to explore, she moved to America several days before the war broke out in 1939. After acute loneliness at the beginning, she started working and exhibiting again. Milena's creative work, regardless of the medium, exposes her feelings of solitude and yearning. Her Metaphysical and Surreal paintings and poetry thrive on her desire to go beyond the world of quotidian images and reveal the mystery of the Other (Waldberg 1971, 28-33).

### **2.1. Painting**

All phases of Milena Pavlović Barilli's painting career reflect her nomadic lifestyle and the general spirit of non-belonging. Her work cannot easily be placed under the banners of dominant artistic movements as it could be associated with many styles, poets, painters, and genres, ranging from High Modernism to commercial art. On the one hand, she originated in the Balkans, on the other, she was raised and educated in the West. The clash of those diverse powers defined her life and work. Throughout her life, she was trying to figure out how to unite her different personalities – her Balkan roots with her Western

education and upbringing, navigating the abiding struggle between „I“ and „You“. This constant tension both constructed and deconstructed her philosophy. Placing her work in a particular movement would be extremely challenging. Perhaps she considered non-belonging her special feature as if she did not want to belong anywhere. Her work is close to Art Nouveau, and metaphysical painting, yet she would always return to her personal space, full of tenderness and feminine sophistication.

During the first period of her career, we could define her artistic endeavour as the play of light and shade. She grappled with finding her creative expression in this period. Barilli has not yet fully grasped the precise tone and has not chosen the career path she would pursue. Following her time in Belgrade, Barilli continued her studies in Munich at the Akademie der Bildenden Künste. There, in „Munich School of Fine Arts“ she remained from 1926 to 1928 working with renowned professors of the time, such as Franz von Stuck and Hugo von Habermann. Although Milena later reports that for her Akademie in Munich was a suffocating experience in which her talent could not thrive (Stanković 2019, 41) the collaboration with German professors, especially Franz von Stuck, played a significant role in her later development. Irina Subotić writes that her inclination towards old masters of Renaissance and Antiquity stems from her Munich years (Subotić 2010, 31).

Barilli started drawing portraits, marking the early phase of her art. The faces on the portraits were the people from the immediate surroundings – family members, friends, and colleagues, but also film stars like Conrad Faith and Rudolph Valentino. Besides, the spirit of the age favoured the visual presentation of film stars and their lifestyles. Concurrently, Milena created a series of drawings featuring female figures where their styles in fashion dominated. (Frfulanović Šomađi; Savić, 2019, 200-206). Colour, detail, and Art Nouveau trends with intense decorative elements, along with mystery, prevail on her canvases in this phase. We could say that these works are close to the works of applied arts since they not only demonstrate Milena’s artistic identity but could be used as sketches for making female clothes. (*The Woman with the Monocle*, 1927).

She also painted a different kind of portrait where individuals appear as „neutral“ masks, even when they interact with viewers. It was as if she observed them from the outside. Perhaps this was the reason why these portraits were never traced to realistic representation. What she was after was just the purity of the visual experience (Jovičić; Bašić, 2015, 395-400)

When she left her country for good Barilli embarked on a new phase in her artistic development. She began to produce works of enigmatic titles and contents. Gestures, and ruptured sculptures, identified the unknown with the emptiness of feeling. In her paintings, she created an enigma without expecting an answer. Objects that give body to the spiritual intensity on her canvases were painted in cold colors, and marked by strong design as well as the precision of form. When in 1931 she settled in Paris she discovered new paths of creativity. ascended on a new road of creation and development. The majority of her paintings show bodies without hands, some of them growing wings instead – the image that she uses in her poetry. On canvases, she uses blue hues with soft pink and grey shades and a distinct drawing. The blue background stands for the infinity of the sky why characteristic winged clouds appear a lot in the time span from 1931 to 1939. The winged creatures of both human and inhuman origin that populate much of her landscapes in this period in both her painting and poetry indicate both a promise of protection and a warning of the inevitable, resembling pagan deities that impersonate the labyrinthine nature of the Universe. The same motive appears in De Chirico's paintings and surreal art in general. As if with the art of this period she confessed her feeling of reality and her dreams.

De Chirico's metaphysical landscape continued to be a strong influence on Milena's work in the third phase of her development as an artist. She was also deeply influenced by the philosophical work of Nietzsche and Schopenhauer. Along these lines of thought, her work of this period is full of melancholy and mysticism. It is also often dreamlike and symbolic. In her beautifully unreal artistic space, "real" life remains hidden among common objects.

In all the works of her metaphysical period, she creates a visual space where the floor, the wall, and the sky are horizontal compositions that bring in the feeling of tranquility. Buildings with classical facades, with statues and intense shades in the foreground, support the illusion of space while the gaze is led into the depth of the picture. Many times the architecture becomes the main topic of her pictures, while the composition serves as a complementary element to it. There, Barilli comes back to the perspective of the Renaissance that she had long abandoned as a practice. She becomes interested in emotions and the passage of time, in a certain dramatic setting, often accompanied by an atmosphere of gloom, chaos, and intense drama.

During this period, Barilli truly appeared as an artist beyond the scope of the age. She could be better placed in Florence of Uccello and Botticelli. At that time, Barilli lived in New York. As she earned her living,

she faced the influence of the market rules on her art. It became commercial. The majority of her work in that period was portraits of prominent members of New York society. These portraits were quite different in style from her previous art of portraits. They show idealized figures in fantastic surroundings that resemble Renaissance pictures, often with the background telling a story that refers to the portrayed figure. (Subotić 2000, 27).

It was because of the unfavourable conditions for women artists and intellectuals in Serbia between the two world wars that she was forced to leave Serbia for good. Her restless spirit led her to move to Paris, Rome, and finally to New York (Janković 2001, 111). Displacement and duplicity which define her life were also a source of freedom as Zoran Blažina rightly marks out, “when she was disguised as a stranger, she was able to make her own choices (2010, 292).

Final and the most colourful period of her painting is the one that takes place in the United States. During this period she mainly created portraits. She concentrates more on the form. The faces become recognizable by their distinct features: an oval and flat shape, cylindrical neck, large almond-shaped eyes, as if in a trance, a crooked nose like a spatula that divides the face in two, and a small mouth.

Her extremely steady line which supports the controlled design endows her work with harmony, tenderness, serene beauty, delicacy, and strength. The second layer comprises a new space, which makes the viewer believe that she/he is in the front of a new painting. Religious themes are now more frequent and described with the ever bigger passion in both colour and design.

Barilli showed an inclination towards a different aesthetic, as early as 1927. The approach of the new decade coincided with great changes in her life – moving, and changing places, schools, and people. She was drawn by *haute couture* and the “new-woman” look and produced her first illustrations of Hollywood stars. Her sudden turn to fashion appeared to be a revelation of a new artistic language. The illustrations she created in the cities where she lived in the thirties, like Paris, London, and Rome, balanced centuries of artistic tradition with the flavor for high-fashion and glamour (Silver 2008, 217-229).

In the essay titled “The Apatria Room” Zoran Blažina searches for the origins of her commercial art through her dramatic and unsettled life. “Europe was in Milena’s room from her earliest days” as she “had a burning desire to master the art of make-up and styling and copy and design garments in imitation of the models she had seen in illustrated magazines” (2010, 290).

Contemporary reviewers and critics recognized Barilli's extraordinary artistic style. Frank Crowninshield, an art and theatre critic, and the art editor of *Vogue* magazine, states in his preface to the catalogue of Milena's first exhibition in the United States in 1939 that Milena's work combines modern trends with European traditions (particularly the Italian Renaissance and De Chirico) contributing in a unique way to the world of fashion. Crowninshield deeply admired Milena's work. In his forward to the catalogue he claims that "wholly exceptional phenomenon in the world of American art" (in Žarić 2017, 67). He believed that fashion could be presented as "the true work of art", so Milena's work "strengthens his efforts to establish fashion as an art form" (Crowninshield in Žarić 2017, 55).

Barilli incorporated in her work the designs of many contemporary artists and designers like Paul Poiret, John Redfern, Jean Patou, Lucien Lelong, Edward Molyneux, Coco Chanel, Madeleine Vionnet, Jeanne Lanvin, Elsa Schiaparelli, and Cristóbal Balenciaga (Žarić 2017, 69). She also collaborated with fashion illustrators and photographers in the centres of high-fashion in Paris, London, and New York (Koga 2012, 323-327).

Although she was praised for her work by leading designers in Paris, London and New York, her glamorous new life concealed private grief. The emotions that surround her relations with her parents and her native land are fully expressed in her poetry.

## 2.2 Poetry

While Milena's visual art reflects her dual vision, vividness, curiosity, and passion for life, her poetry reflects her inner struggles, exploration of existential mysteries, and search for meaning in her unusual circumstances. Ultimately, her poetry appears to be a deeper, truer reflection of her painful journey.

Milena wrote her first poem when she was six years old.

When the sun rises  
and birds sing  
then, then the summer comes.  
But I will not, will not welcome it,  
I will not welcome it in this  
world. This world  
is just a dream,  
a nice dream!<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> All the poems in this paper were translated by A. Jovanović

Rome, Saturday, November 12<sup>th</sup>, 1916<sup>2</sup>

Here, she outlines her poetic world: the contemplation of human enigmas, the sense of finality that threatens happy moments - when "the sun rises" and "birds sing", announcing summer - and the eternal human quest for meaning. The contrast between opposite feelings – happiness and sadness, hope and knowledge, "I will not be here to welcome it" is resolved in the intellectual realization, smart acceptance of the inevitable, "this world is just a dream". This poem foretold Milena's poetic method in which the images and ideas will be juxtaposed and the unspeakable will resonate in the gaps between words and lines.

In search of the origins of Milena's poetics, critics explored Milena's early life in "an emotional provincial and folkloristic spirit and breath, in which memories... are wrapped in paper cones of spite and malice." (Milenković 2012, 100). Folktales and the objects from Barilli's immediate surroundings are often referred to by critics as a vital source of her imagery.

Her native land and the hungry villagers, Homolje and Zvižd with their dark legends and magics, the Danube with the winds of Europe that passed through provincial streets, the smell of milk and harsh cloth, the rich archeological sites of Roman Viminacium with their broken statues and sarcophagi... could leave the ... invisible traces on Milena's soul... (Milenković 2012, 100-101).

"Statues", "caryatids", and "columns", are placed in the wilderness, among the forests, amid even stranger landscapes, crisscrossed by "waters as mirrors" as if they are remnants of some other world emerging suddenly out of the depths of time and history.

Analyzing Barilli's work in the essay "Milena Pavlović Barilli's Pictorial Poetics and Viminacium Landscape." Jelena Anđelković Gašpar and Emilija Nikolić address "the possibility that the Viminacium landscape, the archaeological area near the Danube in Serbia, inspired [her] art." (2019, 77). The paper states that, in the metaphysical and surreal phase of her art, a disturbed relationship between objects is noticeable, and images are transferred from the realm of reality into the realm of dreams, hallucinations or enigmatic narratives... (Anđelković Gašpar; Nikolić 2019, 82).

Truly, the images invoked in Milena's lines, like "the children of the marble caryatids with black and silent profiles" hide "enigmatic

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<sup>2</sup> Barilli's first poem, written in Serbian.

narratives” contained in their eternal silence. A “disturbed relationship” with reality is shown in incongruous descriptions typical of a macabre vision or a nightmare. The children in the poem are “lost in abominable darkness which is more solid than lead, or iron” and “eternally small and dead” (Barili 2012, 11; it: III). Her agony presented as an eerie landscape shapes the lines:

My hands burn  
The face  
And the hair  
In the flag of fire.  
When will this torture end?  
Everything is empty  
The ash hovers in the air.

My last gaze fades in the quiet of the sky  
Which reflects waters of all seas. (Barili 2012, 25; it: X)

In many poems, as well as on canvases, Milena exploits the symbolism of hair. Feminine, sensual, and chthonic aspects of hair symbolism agree with the atmosphere of Barilli’s poetry. “Hair” is often juxtaposed with the image and symbolism of the forest with its mysterious undertones. In the first poem of the French cycle, Milena writes:

I untied the long hair with  
thousands of locks.  
That was a hard job  
That I could not complete  
Because the hair was intertwined  
With bows of the trees  
as I was running through. (Barili 2012, 43; fr: I)

Critics lengthily explored De Chirico’s traces in Milena’s work. Milena was “comfortable with the transcendental atmosphere where dreams are married with wakefulness, in search of the truth or a mystery behind the reality” (Subotić 2010, 28). This yearning for the knowledge of the mysteries of existence, which she “transposed into the idealized and the imagined, oneiric and extratemporal,” relates her work to De Chirico’s who also “invokes the inexplicable” (Ibid). In the same line Ljiljana Petrović claims that “Milena’s works search for the eternal, transcendental, divine...” (2010, 268).

Milena is a painter of long distances. With her everything is... scattered everywhere in the infinite Universe and such, too is Milena’s fate, said Antonio Annianta at the opening of her

exhibition at the Jeune Europe gallery in Paris in 1932. (Kragulj 2010, 88).

In his essay "Image and Silence" the Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben follows the ancient Greek poet Simonides, claiming that, "painting is silent poetry (poiēsis siōpōsa), while "poetry is painting that speaks". Images contain both what is said and what is muted about the depicted objects while words do not have this privilege to express silence - words are only the titles of things, writes Agamben (2012, 98).

In Milena's poetry, silences speak out loud. In her economic lines, the meaning often stays in the gaps of the discourse. Her poetry draws both from the metaphysical and the surrealist style - her metaphysical conceits paint the dream landscape of her poetic world. The intellectualism of metaphysical poetry shapes her lines - the incongruous images are juxtaposed one next to the other and the conspicuous gaps that readers are invited to fill.

Pavlović Barilli's poetry is an informal language of painting... in her poetry [she] paints with verses... Pavlović Barilli in her poetry looks more like herself than in her painting. Her verses are fragments of her authentic and uprooted soul. Devoid of the compromises characteristic of her painting (Blažina 2010, 306).

Blažina justly links Milena's poetic style to T.S. Eliot's, claiming "regardless of whether in T.S. Eliot's sense or not... her poetry is indeed a cipher... for decoding her personality" (Ibid)

On a corner of a white cloud  
The unclear sadness sleeps  
- in an eternal melody,  
silent and dreamed about in the shudder of the stars.  
Only a dark cry of forest  
Shakes her silver hair  
lost in the gaze of distance. (Barili 2012, 7; It: I)

In this poem, without the title, the surreal landscape with clouds and "sleeping sadness" is wrapped in an "eternal melody". Its unreality is underlined by the dark forest whose cries surprise the equally unreal viewer, already distant and lost. Emotions of nostalgia, sadness of non-belonging imbue much of her poetic world, and are often presented as distance and the distinct absence of the owner of the gaze, as if she or he has already receded from the picture. The same concept of a receding gaze can be found on her canvases.

Barilli wrote her poetry in three languages - French, Italian, and Spanish. In Serbian she did not write, apart from her first poem. Her

escape in other languages has the form of an escape from the language, that is an escape from the specific, fixed social obedience to words. As in her life, in her poetry she travelled through a multitudinous linguistic/cultural space. In that, Barilli resembles Samuel Beckett, who ceased writing in his native language as it was too painful to look back on his native land which alienated him as it did with Milena. Beckett thrived on the same suspicion with words as Milena did. As Samuel Beckett wrote:

Is there any reason why that terrible materiality of the word surface should not be capable of being dissolved, like for example the sound surface, torn by enormous pauses, of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony, so that through whole pages we can perceive nothing but a path of sounds suspended in giddy heights, linking unfathomable abysses of silence? (1983, 171–172)

In the same vein, Barilli states that,  
words are not what we care about. (Barilli 2012, 21; it: VIII)

Like Beckett Milena sought to “bore holes in language” until pure meaning should “seep through” (Beckett 1983, 171-172). She explored silence and absence. As many writers in the first decades of the twentieth century, Milena felt displaced and expelled from language, nation, and tradition - constantly on the move and sadly, never belonging. The words that named things were not enough to express “the terrible materiality of the world” in the wake of the Second World War, so that authors, painters, and poets searched for the “safe” land and explored “the unfathomable abysses of silence”.

Milena’s agony was obvious even in the “colours” of her poetry which are “black, white, silver, and grey” (Pešikan Ljuštanović 2020, 116). Barilli’s spectre is “subdued, and monochromatic... which underline the dream-like dimension of her poetic landscape” (Ibid). This insightful analysis, which interprets Milena’s poetry through its association with colours, highlights the pictorial nature of this poetry. However, her pale dream landscape implies sadness, while the prevailing emotional suggestion is the confusion of the dream world (2020, 117). It also underlines the unique origin of her art in her feelings of loneliness, alienation, and distance. These emotions produce also her frequent complaints of the futility of life, like in the lines:

when will this torture end? (Barilli 2012, 25; It: X)

to sing in silence so as that the life could end sooner.

(Barilli 2012, 65;sp: I)

Life is long like an unknown river. (Barilli 2012, 75; sp: V)

The lines invoke T. S. Eliot's impatience with life's emptiness from his poem "The Hollow Men": "Life is very long", says Eliot. Truly, the context of Barilli's poetry is the same as Eliot's, De Chirico's, and Beckett's – the poetry, which bears traces of the uncanny, antique, and Other. Barilli's poetic voice is always in its Otherness, as if of a gaze of a stranger implying the unattainable life:

But I could have been  
 a little blonde girl  
 in a flower garden,  
 ...  
 I could run, run  
 Faster than my heart... (Barili 2012, 45; fr: I).

Her whole work is marked by the feeling that her life is, in fact, somewhere else. The metaphysical eye gazes at the objects of "the quotidian" and produces poetry that is intellectual, picturesque, and concise as in the conceits, where the seemingly incongruous objects are brought together:

The hunter came from afar  
 He knew all the difficult books  
 And he did not carry a gun,  
 But only he could read the most difficult books.

On the golden plate which he carried on his chest, there was written:

THE LAW OF THE FORCE  
 THE LAW OF THE COMPASS OF FORCE  
 MATHEMATICAL LAW OF ACCURACY  
 VIBRATION OF FORCE  
 ENERGY OF FORCE  
 THE LAW OF PULSATION OF FORCE. (Barili 2012, 71; sp;

IV)

In a bizarre image of a "hunter" associated with the wisdom of "difficult books" and, at the same time, violence, or "force" in the least expected place: the "compass". The comment on the bitterness of the world is subtle and created by the incoherent elements of the trope. The unavoidable cruelty of hunting is inescapable as the inevitable force of natural laws, accurately "read" by the needle of the compass, and the methodologies of the exact sciences, such as mathematics. In this array of fragments, one perceives the Beckettian cacophony, which gives voice only to silence as an alternative reality.

Pešikan Ljuštanović calls this poetic plunge into geometry “the most striking and the most mysterious part of Milena’s poetic Cosmos” (2020, 130). Pešikan Ljuštanović claims that “like a demiurge [the artist] so defies the chaos, and imposes the order, but as a mortal being, he remains imprisoned in the centre of that abstract, and fragile sphere, crucified between the ‘eternal law of pulsating power’ and the inevitability of decay” (Ibid).

Barilli closes this poem with another conceit:

With the interior marked with dates  
And palms impregnated with knowledge,  
We travel. (Barilli 2012, 83; sp: VIII)

Although life is harsh and pointless, “we travel”. The surprising images “our interior marked” and “the knowledge imprinted on our palms” we succumb to the inevitable, and “travel”. Our body, our nature, marked with dates, the passing of time is “impregnated with knowledge”. Our interior knows what we are trying to forget – the dates, the merciless aging, and the transience.

In another Spanish poem Barilli states that,  
Only wise men understand my words  
For others  
time brings ashes. (Barilli 2012, 71; sp: IVa)

There are no residues of the past, no “remains” of the day, only “the indefinite unclear voices” echoing from the labyrinth of the past as the days navigate life, “like shadows” and “water”, devoid of significance and meaning.

Like indefinite unclear voices  
Days navigate my life  
Like shadows,  
Like water.  
But I stay there to dream beside you  
Because your breath is the only magnet  
That I encountered on the road.  
Now I rest. (Ibid)

In her Italian poems, Barilli speaks of metaphysical landscapes, like those that we encounter in De Chirico’s paintings.

Half-nude columns  
Sleep at the base of a stone.  
Everything else is a layer  
Of finest dust. (Barilli 2012, 31; it: XIII)

A clear indication of time as dust prompts the idea of some indefinite past in which the statue that now “sleeps” was erected, half-nude, in the style of the Ancients. The description of a dead world completes the image of silent arches, free from the long-dead echoes.

Amidst two warm rivers.  
The echoes of arches  
Are dead.  
A thousand-year-old women  
Spread linen nets  
Over sulfur forests. (Ibid)

The woman from the next lines who spread “linen nets” like doing some home chores, or a ritual, again and again, over centuries, to no avail. Since things are, like in most of Barilli’s poems, already receding like those “absent bodies” devoid of their own steps.

And there are steps  
But bodies are absent. (Ibid)

In the closing lines, this distance is confirmed by placing another image of “locked but distant arms”.

And between arm and arm,  
distance is unmeasurable. (Ibid)

The poem “ocean children” opens with a horrific image “children”:

Poor children  
Of the Ocean  
With watery hearts  
With icy fingers (Barili 2012; it: III)

Their “watery eyes” and “icy fingers” are lost “in the internal darkness”, which is “more stable than lead and Iron”. The terrible image of children who are “eternally young and dead” culminates with the idea of children carved in stone “with black and silent profiles” (Ibid).

A perfect example of Milena’s surreal world is:

Ten ladies in black  
In black up to their fingertips  
Dance  
In the light of ice  
Moving away with each step.  
On their burning lips  
The blood of childhood resides.

They disappear  
In crystal foam  
rising black and thin arms. (Barili 2012, 27; it: XI)

Ladies in black, although dancing underlines their unreality and spookiness. Besides, they are already receding, as “in the light of ice”. What is this light like? Cold as ice, unpleasant, as if illuminating darkness. Distancing themselves, they still carry marks of pain and deprivation (“blood”) on their lips, which are “burning” and painful. Fading away, they dance the last dance “black and thin arms” – unreal, starved, or unclear, dying.

In another Spanish poem, Barilli imposes her insatiable feeling of nostalgia onto some indefinite landscape.

With straight and ancient  
Wings,  
With huge black pupils,  
you were.  
There forever remained  
My roofs, my forests, my lighthouses under your spread  
wings  
And my gaze in such emptiness.  
The space has enhanced unbearably (Barili 2012, 69; sp:  
III)

### **3. Conclusion**

Barilli fully embraces the Modernist approach of transferring the inner landscape into art. By depicting her inner world, she captures the context, again a characteristic feature of Modernism and its various movements. Her numerous references to mythological beings and classical art resonate similarly to the High Modernist authors, inviting the more meaningful world of the Ancients into the present civilization.

The most direct reference to Eliot’s poem *The Waste Land*, an iconic work of Modernist poetry, appears in the lines:

The trembling witness of sacred silence  
Stepped out and said:  
I am sexless. (Barili 2012, 85; sp: IX)

Apart from the eternal gaze of a “trembling witness of sacred silence”, the liminality of Tiresias, always on the border of binary principles - male and female, silence and song, past and future, blindness and all-seeing - is invoked in many of Barilli’s lines. We encounter the recurring image of “a thousand years old” creature,

sometimes a man, sometimes a woman, or an eagle, unstable and volatile like Tiresias, constantly traveling between two contradictions. The same was the case with Milena Pavlović Barilli, continually gazing at some Otherness - other nation, culture, language, stranger, and parent. Melena's paintings and poems call the reader and audience to follow her gaze towards the Other, reflecting her unfinished struggle to relate to reality and her own self.

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### STRAST I BOL U LIKOVNOM I POETSKOM IZRAZU MILENE PAVLOVIĆ BARILI

Ova studija analizira vezu između slikarstvo i poeziju Milene Pavlović Barili (1909.1945) i surovih okolnosti koje su obeležile njen život. Imala je teško detinjstvo rastrzana između roditelja koji koji su živeli u odvojenim državama. Porodična nestabilnost doprinela je u velikoj meri formiranju njenog karaktera. Milenino školovanje je bilo sporadično i zahtevalo je neprestana putovanja i promene sredine. Barilijeva je govorila tri strana jezika do kraja osnovne škole i kasnije je pisala poeziju na sva tri jezika. Na svom maternjem srpskom napisala je samo svoju prvu, i ujedno najtuđniju pesmu. Tihovi te prve pesme odzvanjaju kroz čitavo poetsko stvaralaštvo Barilijeve.

Nomadski način života uticao je umnogome na njeno delo. Razne umetničke i nacionalne tradicije koje je upoznala i u kojima je stvarala ostavile su traga tako da njeno delo nosi obeležja raznih umetničkih stilova. Najupečatljiviji je uticaj metafizičkog i nadrealističkog slikarstva i poezije. Živeći daleko od doma i najbližih često su je mučila osećanja nostalgije i straha od odbacivanja, osećanja koja su u značajnoj meri obeležila kako njenu poeziju tako i likovnu umetnost. Osim načina života, na delu Barilijeve ostavili su traga

i susreti mnogobrojnim pesnicima i slikarima u sredinama u kojima je živela i stvarala.

U eseju se ispituje na koji način životno iskustvo i umetnički uticaju doprineli stvaranju specifičnog umetničkog prostora Barilijeve i kako su predstavljeni u njenom multimedijalnom opusu.

**Ključne reči:** Barilli, slikarstvo, poezija, nomadski život, metafizička umetnost, nadrealizam

## **IDENTITÉ DE GENRE DANS L'OEUVRE DE FRANÇOISE SAGAN**

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**Abstract:** Dans l'article, l'oeuvre de Françoise Sagan est considérée dans le contexte de l'interprétation postmoderne de l'identité de genre en lien avec la manière stylistique de l'écriture et de la pensée artistique féminines, le regard féminin sur la vie, l'expérience féminine, qui actualise les problèmes et l'univers artistique des femmes, lorsque les personnages féminins, leur monde intérieur, sont amenés au centre du système d'images. Le matériau de recherche est le roman "Bonjour Tristesse" de Françoise Sagan. Les concepts de l'existentialisme, les idées de la critique féministe, les pratiques communicatives de l'écriture féminine constituent la base théorique et méthodologique de la recherche. La particularité de l'écriture féminine de Françoise Sagan consiste en: auctorialité féminine consciente; sur-représentation du protagoniste féminin; spécificité sexiste du récit. La nouveauté du roman "Bonjour Tristesse" de Françoise Sagan réside dans le choix thématique et idéologique visant le plan multi-problématique du monde implicite, la destruction des stéréotypes traditionnels. Le problème du choix individuel devient central, le conflit artistique a un caractère universel – il reflète le problème de la solitude existentielle de l'homme moderne dans le monde global.

**Mots clés:** identité de genre, approche de genre, critique féministe, écriture féminine, narration, discours, sémantique, concept, Françoise Sagan.

## 1. Introduction

L'étude sexospécifique de la fiction est en corrélation avec le développement de la direction du genre dans les études littéraires modernes, dont l'objet est les stéréotypes socio-psychologiques de la féminité et de la masculinité enregistrés dans la littérature.

La théorie féministe occupe une place importante dans les études de genre, car le problème de la littérature féminine, ainsi que le statut des femmes dans le monde moderne, suscite un intérêt accru. Les discours masculin et féminin sont vus comme deux systèmes autonomes qui diffèrent significativement l'un de l'autre. L'écrivain, réalisant son idée créative, à travers le narrateur, implante une sorte d'implant dans le tissu de l'œuvre, dans lequel les modèles artistiques du monde de l'auteur, marqués par l'intentionnalité de genre, sont incarnés.

L'œuvre de Françoise Sagan a fait à plusieurs reprises l'objet d'études littéraires fondées sur des approches et des interprétations telles que l'existentialisme et la psychanalyse (Bieber, Miller, Morello, Onge), l'autobiographisme et le psychologisme (Giardini, Holmes, Mourgue Vandromme). Aujourd'hui, l'approche de genre de l'étude de la littérature prend la forme d'une lecture approfondie et est un phénomène largement instrumental, qui corrige la vision traditionnelle des œuvres littéraires: d'une part, elle articule le problème de l'auctorialité féminine, d'autre part, elle provoque une "relecture" idéologique des textes classiques.

L'analyse de l'originalité de l'œuvre de Françoise Sagan est menée en tenant compte des postulats de l'existentialisme, des concepts théoriques de la critique féministe de S. de Beauvoir, des pratiques communicatives de "l'écriture féminine" de H. Cixous et L. Irigaray, du concept féministe classique de la lecture du texte de S. Gubar et S. Gilbert, et de la perception féminine de la littérature par E. Showalter.

## 2. Le postféminisme de l'étude sur la prose féminine

Les études de genre de S. de Beauvoir, fondées sur l'existentialisme et la psychanalyse, ont ouvert de nouvelles opportunités pour révéler le potentiel textuel de la littérature féminine. Les théoriciens français du féminisme (Didier, Irigaray, et Leclerc) ont noté que les femmes et les hommes pensent différemment, et donc écrivent différemment. Il y a donc lieu d'affirmer l'existence d'une "écriture féminine" (terme introduit par H. Cixous dans *Le Rire de la Méduse*).

Dans la seconde moitié du XXe siècle, J. Kristeva a poursuivi les traditions de S. de Beauvoir, mettant l'accent sur le féminin comme "autre". S'appuyant sur les travaux de J. Lacan et J. Derrida, J. Kristeva rejette la hiérarchie traditionnelle établie entre le masculin et le féminin

dans la société, se débarrasse de la division et de l'opposition inhérentes à la culture, formant la différence par l'unicité: début symbolique et sémiotique chez l'homme (140-144).

L'analyse féministe des textes littéraires par des représentantes de l'école américaine se fait sur la base de l'expérience féminine psychologique, biologique et sociale et de la perception féminine de la littérature. Cette expérience appelle à comprendre les codes sexuels du texte, qui sont dotés d'un sens profond car ils font sens de la psyché féminine et masculine. E. Showalter a consacré son travail à l'étude de la littérature, à savoir une femme prête à écrire de manière indépendante, en se débarrassant de la censure ou du contrôle interne qui était présent chez les femmes écrivains sous la forme de stéréotypes culturels, religieux et sociaux: "[...] L'étude des femmes en tant qu'écrivains, et ses sujets sont l'histoire, les styles, les thèmes, les genres et les structures de l'écriture féminine; la psychodynamique de la créativité féminine, la trajectoire de carrière individuelle ou collective des femmes, l'évolution et les lois de la tradition littéraire féminine. Il n'y a pas de terme anglais pour un discours critique aussi spécial, et c'est pourquoi j'ai inventé le terme "la gynocritique" (186). La chercheuse distingue la critique féministe idéologique et gynocentrique. L'interprétation des textes patriarcaux du point de vue de la critique féministe comprend une nouvelle lecture, à savoir une révision des vues antérieures des écrivains masculins, la recherche de nouvelles formes d'argumentation. Cependant, une telle interprétation est limitée par la méthodologie masculine, "la révision restaure l'image, rend la critique féministe dépendante de modèles construits antérieurement, ce qui retarde nos progrès dans la résolution de problèmes théoriques" (Showalter 189). Selon E. Showalter, la "littérature féminine" connaît trois stades de développement: l'imitation de l'écriture masculine, la protestation contre la domination des normes masculines et la recherche de soi. La recherche de soi, c'est ce qui se passe aujourd'hui avec l'auteur féminin. Ce n'est qu'après avoir franchi les deux étapes précédentes qu'une femme peut revendiquer sa propre vision du monde, son propre style d'écriture et se concentrer sur des questions qui ne représenteront pas uniquement la vision du monde masculine. L'étape de la recherche de soi devrait placer l'auteur féminin aux côtés de l'auteur masculin dans l'histoire du monde. Mettant en évidence quatre modèles "d'écriture féminine", la chercheuse indique la nécessité de passer par les trois premières étapes (modèles biologiques, linguistiques et psychanalytiques) pour atteindre la quatrième (modèle culturel d'écriture). Ce n'est que plus tard, lorsqu'il y aura un changement de génération et que le style d'écriture masculin

généralement présenté ne sera pas perçu comme une expression unique de la culture, que l'écriture traditionnellement féminine pourra être réalisée comme un modèle culturel d'écriture. C'est alors que la culture féminine se constitue comme une expérience collective qui permettra de présenter la position d'une femme non pas à travers le prisme de l'expérience masculine historique, mais comme sa propre image du monde (Showalter 191-193).

Les chercheuses S. Gubar et S. Gilbert se sont intéressés au problème de la distinction du féminin dans les textes des écrivains masculins. En distinguant certains concepts, elles ont découvert tout un système de couches de principes féminins et masculins dans le texte créé par l'auteur masculin en discours direct, texte descriptif, série de synonymes, phrases exclamatives, représentation des personnages, représentation de la vie quotidienne, histoires morales, etc. Une analyse aussi approfondie du texte a permis de retrouver un concept féministe classique dans la lecture du texte, où l'opposition du féminin et du masculin se distingue, et l'imagerie inhérente au féminin et au masculin se forme (Gubar & Gilbert 15-17).

### **3. Les personnages féminins et masculins du roman *Bonjour Tristesse* de Françoise Sagan**

L'œuvre de Françoise Sagan se caractérise par une manière unique de reproduire habilement la profondeur et l'imprévisibilité des sentiments des femmes. Les personnages principaux des œuvres de Françoise Sagan sont des femmes fortes et indépendantes, parfois changeantes et frivoles, mais toujours dépendantes de leurs sentiments et des circonstances. Déjà dans le premier roman, *Bonjour Tristesse* (1954), une nouvelle héroïne littéraire apparaît – une jeune fille qui commence sa vie indépendante en protestant contre la morale traditionnelle. Pour le lecteur conservateur, le contenu du roman et l'âge de l'auteur étaient un scandale. Mais dans la littérature française, les vicissitudes amoureuses franches faisaient partie des intrigues des écrivains des époques antérieures (Marquis de Sade, Pierre Choderlos de Laclos, Guy de Maupassant, Émile Zola, Jean Cocteau, Jean Genet), qui étaient perçues par la société, parce qu'elles étaient racontées par des hommes. Le thème des relations extraconjugales, de l'effondrement des fondations familiales, de la morale a été assez souvent évoqué dans la littérature française du XXe siècle (*L'Âme enchantée* de Romain Rolland, *Famille Boussardel* de Philippe Hériat, *Le Désert de l'amour*, *Thérèse Desqueyroux* de François Mauriac). Cependant, Françoise Sagan n'adhère pas au concept traditionnel d'un roman familial, elle ne vise pas à montrer le processus de destruction de la famille, car le

mécanisme de destruction a commencé son compte à rebours bien avant les événements décrits dans le roman. Au lieu de cela, la “nouvelle femme” oppose sa position dans la vie non seulement à la société patriarcale masculine, mais aussi à la passivité féminine traditionnelle. L'auteur ne détruit pas la structure traditionnelle du roman, ce qui s'explique principalement par l'adressage de ses œuvres à un large éventail de lecteurs, confirmant la nature du postmodernisme, qui contribue à brouiller les frontières entre littérature “élitiste” et “de masse”.

Dans le roman *Bonjour Tristesse* de Françoise Sagan, “Les hédonistes déterminés incarnent à la fois la nouvelle idéologie consumériste de la gratification immédiate, et le désespoir existentialiste, et le sentiment d'insatisfaction des jeunes d'après-guerre à l'égard des structures familiales traditionnelles. En tant que héros féminins pour des lectrices (principalement), ils articulent également dans la pratique des revendications qui trouveront une voix politique collective avec le féminisme de la deuxième vague, y compris des revendications pour la liberté sexuelle et le droit de vivre une vie indépendante dans les mêmes conditions que les hommes” (Holmes 130). Pour les femmes auteurs, la représentation franche de la physicalité devient souvent un autre moyen d'acquérir le droit à l'expression de soi, de briser les tabous et d'affirmer sa propre identité. En pédalant consciemment sur la sensualité, Françoise Sagan acquiert le courage de parler d'un stéréotype différent, non patriarcal, du “monde des femmes”. La plupart du temps, les femmes cachent leur expérience personnelle, c'est-à-dire qu'elles font semblant, simulent, essayant de s'intégrer dans le modèle de comportement déjà créé par les hommes. Le personnage principal Cécile essaie de s'établir dans la société, subit une formation douloureuse, détermine ses propres priorités de vie. Elle représente ce type d'auto-identification, lorsque le processus de devenir une personne passe par une confrontation avec l'environnement. La structure spatiale de ce niveau d'organisation psychologique du “le moi” intérieur est limitée par les besoins de la vie personnelle, la philosophie d'obtenir le plaisir désiré ici et maintenant. Ce niveau se caractérise par la perte d'une vision holistique – une vision de l'interdépendance de tout-avec-tout.

“Cet été-là, j'avais dix-sept ans et j'étais parfaitement heureuse. Les “autres” étaient mon père et Elsa, sa maîtresse” (Sagan 5) – dit Cécile au début de son histoire. Il est intéressant qu'elle utilise la désignation “autres”, comme si elle délimite son propre espace et celui de quelqu'un d'autre, sa propre perception du monde et celle de quelqu'un d'autre, aux frontières desquels se forme l'expérience individuelle de l'héroïne.

Selon J.-P. Sartre, “Être autre que l'être, c'est être conscience (de) soi dans l'unité des ek-stases temporalisantes. Et que peut être, en effet, l'altérité, sinon le chassé-croisé de reflété et de reflétant que nous avons décrit au sein du pour-soi, car la seule façon dont l'autre puisse exister comme autre, c'est d'être conscience (d') être autre” (Sartre 663). Ainsi, l'“être-pour-soi” dans l'interprétation existentialiste renvoie à l'“être-pour-autrui”, lorsque, découvrant l'“autre”, le “le moi” se découvre. La conscience des défis de la vie et le manque de chances de les surmonter avec l'aide du bon sens font que Cécile se sent seule, déprimée, aliénée. Elle en vient à croire que le monde ne peut exister que pour elle. Cependant, l'“être-pour-soi” égoïste confine à l'“être-pour-autrui”, qui fait partie de l'existence humaine. En découvrant l'“autre”, le personnage principal expérimente la réalisation de soi par l'interaction avec des images masculines et féminines.

La triade des images féminines – Elsa, Anne, Cécile – représente une gamme assez typique de prototypes féminins. Ainsi, Elsa est une image généralisée d'une femme dépendante, l'image d'Anne correspond aux idées sociétales traditionnelles sur une femme qui réussit. Cette image de “femme d'affaires” combine les meilleurs traits d'une “femme-mère” et quelque chose de “Barbie”. Il lui manque donc, pour son statut idéal, des réponses positives au questionnaire “état civil” et “enfants”, qu'elle compte compléter en épousant Raymond, le père de Cécile, et en devenant “mère” du personnage principal. Cela nous rappelle le poids des stéréotypes culturels de la femme dans la société contemporaine. V. Ahejeva écrit à ce sujet: “La conscience patriarcale prétend qu'une femme ne peut pas créer, la transcendance et l'activité de changement du monde ne lui sont pas accessibles [...], mais elle inspire le créateur, sa perfection extérieure passive sert de rappel de quelque chose de secret, non soumis à la cognition rationnelle. Et dans le rôle d'une épouse soumise, d'une femme au foyer, et d'une Belle Dame, elle n'est qu'une donnée, une idole, parfois un objet de culte, mais totalement dépourvue d'activité, de capacité à s'affirmer” (12). Cependant, Cécile défend activement son espace de vie de ces rôles stéréotypés. Tentant d'éviter le rôle de “femme-amante” (Elsa) ou de “femme-mère” (Anne), Cécile reproduit le comportement de son père comme un moyen idéal d'“être-pour-soi” n'ayant pas besoin d'obtenir la permission de jouir la vie (Bigun & Yatskiv 90).

L'image du père Raymond incarne le meilleur modèle de vie pour Cécile, elle aime une vie insouciant, les fêtes, les plaisirs charnels sans obligations. La jeune fille tente d'imiter ces modèles de comportement masculins, révélant ainsi l'“invisibilité” de la position masculine, qui pendant des siècles a été considérée comme la “norme”, comme le

point de référence à partir duquel le système de coordonnées de la vision du monde accepté dans les sociétés patriarcales était construit. L'“invisibilité” de la position masculine est davantage révélée à travers l'image de Cyril. Selon toutes les idées patriarcales, il aurait dû devenir un “prince à cheval blanc” pour Cécile. En effet, Cyril est l'incarnation de la masculinité positive: un fils aimant, un étudiant doué, physiquement séduisant, un amant habile, finalement un jeune homme prometteur, pour qui l'idylle avec Cécile n'est pas une affaire de courte durée, il est prêt à prendre ses responsabilités pour son avenir.

La masculinité positive est franchement dissonante avec l'image du personnage principal. Pour Cécile, Cyril n'est qu'un moyen d'obtenir la première expérience sexuelle, un “découvreur” de la physicalité féminine, et toutes les tentatives ultérieures de Cyril pour poursuivre la relation avec Cécile selon les normes sociales (cohabitation, relations monogames, perspective de fonder une famille) provoquent chez la jeune fille des sentiments mitigés de dégoût/peur/tristesse, elle n'est pas prête à sacrifier sa liberté au nom de la morale traditionnelle, ce qui aboutit finalement à leur rupture. Ainsi, Françoise Sagan rejette le “chewing-gum trois fois mâché” des valeurs traditionnelles, le mythe du grand amour, chanté par les mélodrames, dépasse la littérature uniquement “pour les femmes” et “sur les femmes”, couvrant les problèmes sociaux actuels.

Dans la description des découvertes intimes de Cécile, l'auteur prend l'expérience de la vie dans le corps féminin comme “point de référence”.

#### **4. La corporéité comme composante du monde féminin**

L'expérience corporelle se transforme en champ d'expérimentation, de cognition individuelle et d'ordonnement du monde. Cette expérience individuelle, ainsi que les problèmes de la “nouvelle morale” et de la “nouvelle famille”, de l'indépendance des femmes et de l'inversion des rôles traditionnels de genre, sont une part importante de la compréhension des pratiques communicatives de “l'écriture féminine” explorées par H. Cixous. “L'écriture féminine” est comprise par H. Cixous comme un libre jeu de sens dans le cadre d'une structure grammaticale affaiblie: “Impossible de définir une pratique féminine de l'écriture, d'une impossibilité qui se maintiendra car on ne pourra jamais théoriser cette pratique, l'enfermer, la coder... [...] elle excédera toujours le discours que régit le système phallogénique; elle a et aura lieu ailleurs que dans les territoires subordonnés à la domination philosophique-théorique. Elle ne se laissera penser que par les sujets casseurs des automatismes, les coureurs de bords qu'aucune

autorité ne subjugué jamais” (50-51). H. Cixous récuse durement toute tentative d'extrapolation du positivisme aux études féministes et semble nous renvoyer à la spontanéité originelle de la création de sens, à l'intuitionnisme bergsonien et aux orientations philosophiques vitalistes du milieu du siècle dernier. Selon H. Cixous, “Il faut que la femme écrive par son corps, qu'elle invente la langue imprenable qui crève les cloisonnements, classes et rhétoriques, ordonnances et codes, qu'elle submerge, transperce, franchisse le discours-à-réserve ultime, y compris celui qui se rit d'avoir à dire le mot “silence”, celui qui visant l'impossible s'arrête pile devant le mot “impossible” et l'écrit comme “fin” (5).

Le code corporel dans le roman *Bonjour Tristesse* de Françoise Sagan apparaît comme un complexe original qui implique non seulement des signes morphiques, mais aussi une attention à la sphère corporo-sensuelle de l'individu. En ce sens, la question la plus pertinente est le problème de la sexualité féminine, le droit d'une femme en tant qu'être naturel à satisfaire ses besoins naturels, à vivre selon ses idées et ses croyances. La sémantique liée à la sphère sexuelle de l'individu est utilisée de manière plus intensive par Françoise Sagan dans le processus de conceptualisation de l'image d'une femme sexuellement libérée, qui, dans ses caractéristiques ontologiques, dépasse non seulement les limites de l'espace féminin traditionnel, mais détruit également activement la hiérarchie du monde masculin.

En règle générale, les moyens linguistiques de la prose féminine sont étroitement liés au discours autobiographique dominant. Ici, nous pouvons noter des caractéristiques telles que l'expression de soi et la présentation de soi à travers une description rétrospective de sa propre vie, la verbalisation d'expériences, de sentiments, de réflexions sur divers faits et événements de la vie personnelle ou sociale. En même temps, le discours autobiographique est un processus artistique, une création artistique immergée dans sa propre vie, c'est un acte créatif particulier dans lequel l'expérience individuelle est transformée à travers les souvenirs de son propre passé. Les marqueurs spécifiques de la présence de l'auteur dans le discours autobiographique sont: la présentation du “le moi” de l'auteur, le plus souvent le mode de narration homodiégétique en situation intradiégétique (rarement extradiégétique), une sorte de chronotope.

L. Irigaray estime que la base du mode d'expression des femmes réside dans l'expérience douloureuse de l'apprentissage de l'oppression des femmes dans la culture (174-181). Françoise Sagan, mettant l'accent sur l'expérience personnelle du genre, remet en cause le paradigme même de la vie “modèle”, fondée sur l'expérience masculine, proposée

par la littérature classique. Elle attire l'attention sur les différences entre les formes masculines et féminines d'auto-représentation, et propose un modèle représentatif, dont l'élément central est une femme qui comprend les impératifs de genre dans son développement personnel. D'où la différenciation sexuelle de l'auteur, centrée sur la conscience immanente et l'intentionnalité, qui se révèle au niveau du récit. À travers le cadrage compositionnel, le "le moi" du narrateur se révèle, sous lequel, selon la chercheuse polonaise E. Łoch, se camoufle la triple compréhension de ce "le moi", à savoir: "elle", "femme", "écrivaine" (96).

### 5. Le caractère du récit féminin

La manière narrative dans le roman *Bonjour Tristesse* de Françoise Sagan est un modèle sexué de présentation objectivée, constitué de monologues-réflexions sur soi de l'héroïne, dont est parsemée cette présentation objectivée. Un type de narration centré sur l'ego prévaut, la frontière entre un monologue et un dialogue dans un tel modèle de communication est presque effacée, et l'idée de dialogisme est remplacée par une focalisation accentuée sur le message et l'alogisme externe de l'énoncé. Le modèle communicatif "le moi - ils" est remplacé par le schéma "elle - elle", ou plutôt "le moi – le moi". Ce schéma provoque et consolide à son tour des schémas d'écriture non linéaires, souvent ludiques. Fondé sur l'opposition classique entre langage expressif et langage rationnel, le style de prose de Françoise Sagan peut être attribué aux stratégies du langage expressif: à la fois le dépassement des frontières des matrices linguistiques et la capacité à dépasser les stéréotypes culturels.

Actuellement, les moyens linguistiques d'auto-identification de l'auteur/du narrateur du roman, qui choisit généralement la confession à la première personne, sont plus que révélateurs. Pour le "le moi" du narrateur dans le roman *Bonjour Tristesse*, Françoise Sagan utilise la "vision de l'extérieur" (selon G. Genette). Voir de l'extérieur est un trait caractéristique d'un narrateur objectivé qui n'impose pas ses jugements, ne dicte pas de règles.

La composante cognitive de l'œuvre de Françoise Sagan est caractérisée par l'émotivité. L'affirmation selon laquelle les femmes sont plus émotives et ont une intuition plus développée que les hommes est déjà largement acceptée tant dans le discours scientifique que dans la communication quotidienne. Ainsi, R. Lakoff estime que le comportement langagier d'une femme est plus incertain, si on le compare à celui d'un homme, moins agressif, plus humain (174). Selon D. Tannen, les hommes et les femmes appartiennent à des

communautés de parole différentes, ils ont non seulement des styles de communication différents, mais aussi des objectifs de communication différents: les femmes communiquent pour se rapprocher, améliorer les relations personnelles, et les hommes – pour l'affirmation de soi et la consolidation de leur autorité (Githens 122). S. Romain a trouvé paradoxal que la parole des femmes, plus proche de la norme standard et prestigieuse, soit considérée comme secondaire, alors que la parole des hommes est beaucoup plus valorisée simplement parce que les hommes ont plus de pouvoir (112). La force des émotions chez les hommes et les femmes est la même, seul le degré de leur expression externe est différent, – affirme Sh. Burn (143).

#### 6. Les concepts émotionnels en tant que composantes de l'écriture féminine

Il est à noter que le titre du roman contient la nomination de l'émotion/l'humeur *tristesse*, qui devient l'idéologème de l'atmosphère émotionnelle de l'œuvre et reflète les principales tendances de la vision du monde de l'auteur. Les activateurs de cette émotion sont: la séparation, la mort, la déception, le fiasco de la vie.

La méthodologie de la recherche sur les concepts émotionnels est actuellement assez profondément développée (Bormann-Kischkel, Dirven, Kovences, Kryk-Kastovsky). Un concept émotionnel est compris comme une unité mentale globale codée dans l'esprit humain par des unités d'un code universel. Ce code peut être basé sur des images sensorielles individuelles et universelles. Une sorte de champ sémantique se crée autour du mot désignant le concept, dans lequel se révèlent de nombreux accompagnements connotatifs, des significations supplémentaires, des séries associatives-évaluatives.

L'incertitude, les sentiments de tristesse sans cause sont caractéristiques du personnage principal du roman *Bonjour Tristesse* de Françoise Sagan. L'émotion de la tristesse devient le fond sémantique du roman, Françoise Sagan l'inclut dans le titre et l'épigraphe, en utilisant le poème de Paul Éluard *Adieu tristesse, Bonjour tristesse*, et dans le premier paragraphe du roman: *Sur ce sentiment inconnu dont l'ennui, la douceur m'obsèdent, j'hésite à apposer le nom, le beau nom grave de tristesse. C'est un sentiment si complet, si égoïste que j'en ai presque honte alors que la tristesse m'a toujours paru honorable. Je ne la connaissais pas, elle, mais l'ennui, le regret, plus rarement le remords. Aujourd'hui, quelque chose se replie sur moi comme une soie, énervante et douce, et me sépare des autres* (6).

Les noms désignant l'émotion (*honte, ennui, regret, remords*), largement utilisés dans le roman *Bonjour Tristesse* de Françoise Sagan,

forment le canevas du concept "TRISTESSE". Il est significatif qu'en utilisant toute la série de noms pour désigner la tristesse, l'auteur ne fait en fait pas la distinction entre leurs nuances de sens et les traits sémantiques supplémentaires. Cette série n'est qu'un moyen de gradation, renforçant l'impact émotionnel et expressif sur le lecteur.

Les moyens lexicaux d'exprimer les émotions prévalent sur la dénomination lexico-sémantique directe de l'état émotionnel du personnage principal:

*Je passe vite sur cette période, car je crains, à force de chercher, de retomber dans des souvenirs qui m'accablent moi-même. Déjà, il me suffit de penser au rire heureux d'Anne, à sa gentillesse avec moi et quelque chose me frappe, d'un mauvais coup bas, me fait mal, je m'essouffle contre moi-même. Je me sens si près de ce qu'on appelle la mauvaise conscience que je suis obligée de recourir à des gestes: allumer une cigarette, mettre un disque, téléphoner à un ami (Sagan 105).*

La tristesse de Cécile n'est plus une légère mélancolie insouciante, mais une mauvaise conscience causée par la mort d'Anne; il y a une envie d'allumer une cigarette, de mettre un disque, de téléphoner à un ami.

L'émotion "TRISTESSE" se transforme en un sentiment d'anxiété, de peur et d'inconfort, qui ne disparaît pas pendant longtemps, déprime et affecte la vie. L'utilisation des verbes sert à exprimer l'état émotionnel de l'héroïne, ainsi qu'à décrire ses actions communicatives de retenue, de dissimulation et de masquage des émotions. On sait que de telles façons d'éprouver des émotions sont caractéristiques principalement des femmes, puisque les femmes sont plus émotives, leurs émotions sont généralement accompagnées de certaines actions, les hommes, au contraire, se comportent plus sobrement, ne montrent pas ouvertement leurs émotions.

Les descripteurs des idéogrammes, dominés par les associations féminines dans la compréhension figurative de la réalité, sont représentés par les domaines thématiques suivants: l'apparence des hommes et des femmes, les vêtements, la literie, la nourriture, les éléments de l'intérieur de la maison, les noms des bijoux. Il convient de noter que le portrait dans le roman *Bonjour Tristesse* est directement lié à l'apparence. V. Kosiak a souligné: "Le corps est la base première des forces essentielles d'une personne et domine parmi elles. Les conditions physiques déterminent en grande partie la qualité et le mode de vie d'un individu" (6). La première chose à laquelle nous prêtons attention dans les descriptions des personnages du roman, ce sont leurs données physiques. Pour Cécile, il est important que pour son père, l'attractivité physique soit presque déterminante pour la formation d'un cercle de

communication: *nous fréquentions des gens bruyants, assoiffés, auxquels mon père demandait simplement d'être beaux ou drôles.* Les portraits des personnages du roman regorgent de descriptions d'apparence et de qualités physiques. Exemple,

Elsa: *C'était une grande fille rousse, mi-créature, mi-mondaine, qui faisait de la figuration dans les studios et les bars des Champs-Élysées. [...] Elsa qui rougissait et pelait dans d'affreuses souffrances* (Sagan, 7).

Cyril: *Il avait un visage de Latin, très brun, très ouvert, avec quelque chose d'équilibré, de protecteur, qui me plut. [...] Il était grand et parfois beau, d'une beauté qui donnait confiance* (Sagan, 9).

Anne: [...] *Elle était légèrement, parfaitement maquillée. [...] La taille mince, les jambes parfaites, elle n'avait contre elle que de très légères flétrissures. Cela représentait sans doute des années de soins, d'attention...* (Sagan, 29)

Pour l'héroïne, les données physiques d'une femme/un homme sont extrêmement importantes, car elle estime que le désir de plaire aux autres est l'un des principaux dans la hiérarchie des valeurs de vie: *Car, que cherchions-nous, sinon plaire? Je ne sais pas encore aujourd'hui si ce goût de conquête cache une surabondance de vitalité, un goût d'emprise ou le besoin furtif, inavoué, d'être rassuré sur soi-même, soutenu* (Sagan, 34). Par conséquent, les personnes physiquement peu attrayantes sont déjà condamnées à rester en marge de la vie: [...] *j'éprouvais en face des gens dénués de tout charme physique une sorte de gêne, d'absence; leur résignation à ne pas plaire me semblait une infirmité indécente* (Sagan, 55). Le désir de plaire aux autres chez Cécile et Raymond se manifeste dans les modèles typologiques de genre de "poupée" et de "macho". Françoise Sagan met l'accent sur la nature infantile de l'héroïne, qui accepte volontiers le rôle d'une poupée jouet pour son père: *Et dans la voiture, son explosion de joie, subite, triomphante, parce que j'avais ses yeux, sa bouche et que j'allais être pour lui le plus cher, le plus merveilleux des jouets* (Sagan 31). Raymond incarne avec succès le modèle de genre "macho", en même temps qu'il évite les responsabilités parentales, car il est infantile et irresponsable. Alors, comparant son père à Cyril, Cécile hésite: *lequel des deux était l'adulte* (Sagan 39).

Françoise Sagan indique toujours le nom, l'âge exact, la profession/l'occupation, les liens et relations familiaux, le sexe, la description de la personnalité, la garde-robe et les caractéristiques d'apparence du personnage. Une attention accrue portée aux vêtements pour femmes démontre également une communication sensible au genre. La sémantique du mot "vêtements" dans le roman se lit dans le système des oppositions: à la mode/traditionnels,

sophistiqués/simples, propres/étrangers, clairs/sombres. Les héroïnes du roman *Bonjour Tristesse* de Françoise Sagan sont regroupées selon l'ampleur de ces oppositions, représentant leurs croyances et leurs attitudes socioculturelles à la fois directement (dans la discussion) et indirectement (à travers les détails des vêtements). Par exemple, le concept d'une robe pour femme est représenté à travers un ensemble de détails: style, texture, gamme de couleurs, qualité et état, manière de s'habiller et habitude de la porter. Les vêtements élégants et les manières raffinées d'Anne actualisent l'espace du "monde supérieur". Dans les scènes représentant l'héroïne, deux accents sont clairement définis: dans les vêtements – une robe élégante à la mode selon l'occasion, dans les manières – un comportement approprié:

(1) *Elle descendait l'escalier à sa rencontre, détendue, souriante, dans une robe qui ne semblait pas avoir voyagé* (Sagan 41).

(2) *Elle portait une robe grise, d'un gris extraordinaire, presque blanc, où la lumière s'accrochait, comme, à l'aube, certaines teintes de la mer. Tous les charmes de la maturité semblaient réunis en elle, ce soir-là* (Sagan 41).

(3) *Anne avait une robe mauve comme les cernes sous ses yeux, comme ses yeux mêmes* (Sagan 42).

Françoise Sagan met l'accent sur le contraste entre la noblesse raffinée et l'élégance d'Anne, qui personnifie la dignité, le respect de soi, le maximalisme éthique, et d'autres personnages féminins (Elsa & Cécile), dont l'apparence, la façon de s'habiller et le comportement est un prolongement logique de leur frivolité. Ici, une perception de soi objective se manifeste, ce qui motive des comportements tels que l'admiration de soi, le souci accru de l'apparence, inhérent au profil féminin (Shaf 73). La construction du texte artistique confirme la particularité du style de Françoise Sagan, le marquage genré-psychologique d'éléments de prose, qui modèlent dans l'espace du récit un rapport spécifiquement féminin à la réalité. F. Sagan crée délibérément une version féminine de l'autoreprésentation, tout comme elle tente de donner une voix aux femmes dans ses autres textes. La prose de Sagan se caractérise par les relations interpersonnelles, la représentation de l'expérience féminine dans un monde contemporain et en perpétuel changement, l'autobiographisme, une narration à la première personne (du point de vue d'une narratrice homodiégétique), ainsi qu'un style confessionnel marqué par une intrigue fortement subjectivée. Ainsi, un texte féminin qui se définit consciemment comme féminin, indépendamment du genre, de la forme ou du style, fait appel à l'expérience intérieure féminine. En outre, dans la prose féminine, le phénomène de la confession agit comme un

mécanisme fondamental, et le « le moi » exprimé devient la projection la plus directe de l'auteur, un véritable double textuel de la personne réelle, tout en étant une construction textuelle qui s'exprime d'elle-même. Une personne sélectionne dans son passé les éléments d'expérience qu'il/elle juge essentiels (constants) pour la formation de sa personnalité, de sa propre identité.

## 7. Conclusion

L'écriture de genre repose sur des stéréotypes socio-psychologiques de féminité/masculinité, incarnés dans une vision du monde particulière, un point de vue particulier de l'auteur et du héros, un système particulier de personnages, la spécificité de la conscience de l'auteur, etc. Dans le roman *Bonjour Tristesse* de Françoise Sagan, les modulations de genre de l'écriture se lisent clairement, formant ainsi un modèle féminin de créativité. Il ne s'agit pas tant du déterminisme biologique de l'auctorialité que du genre, c'est-à-dire des codes d'écriture culturellement construits, qui incluent: la reproduction d'une expérience féminine spécifique exprimée par l'auteur aux niveaux problématique, thématique et idéologique de l'œuvre, et la sonorité particulière de la "voix féminine" dans le texte, c'est-à-dire au niveau de l'écriture. La nouveauté du roman *Bonjour Tristesse* de Françoise Sagan réside dans le choix thématique et idéologique visant le plan multi-problématique du monde implicite, la destruction des stéréotypes traditionnels. Le problème du choix individuel devient central, le conflit artistique a un caractère universel – il reflète le problème de la solitude existentielle de l'homme moderne dans le monde global.

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### FRANÇOISE SAGAN'S GENDER IDENTITY

The paper introduces Françoise Sagan's early work in the context of postmodern gender identity interpretation around the ideas of a stylistic manner of women's writing and artistic thinking, a female perspective, feminine experience, which makes actual woman's issues and her artistic world, while the core of the imaginative system includes female characters and their inner world. The presented research is carried out on the novel "Bonjour tristesse" by Françoise Sagan. Sagan's novelty covers thematic and ideological search directed towards a poly-problematic form of the implicit world, to breaking traditional stereotypes. The matter of individual choice became central, and furthermore, the artistic conflict comes from a universal character and reflects the issue of existential loneliness as a contemporary personal problem in a global world.

A special place in gender studies is occupied by feminist theory, because the problem of women's literature, as well as the status of women in the modern world, is of great interest. It is believed that male and female discourse are two autonomous systems that differ significantly from each other. The writer, realizing his creative idea, through the narrator put a kind of implant in the fabric of the work, which embodies the individual-author's artistic models of the world, marked by gender intentionality.

Today, the gender approach to the study of literature takes the form of deep reading and is more an instrumental phenomenon, one that corrects the traditional view of literature: on the one hand, it articulates the problem of women's authorship, on the other hand, it provokes an ideological "rereading" of classical texts.

The work of Françoise Sagan is distinguished by a unique manner that skillfully reproduces the depth and unpredictability of women's feelings. The main characters of her works are strong and independent women, sometimes changeable and frivolous, but still dependent on their feelings and circumstances. Even in the first novel "Bonjour tristesse" (1954), a new literary heroine appears – a young girl who begins her independent life with a protest against traditional morality. For the conservative public, both the content of the novel and the author's age were a scandal.

Sagan does not adhere to the traditional concept of the family novel, she does not aim to show the process of destruction of the family, because the mechanism of destruction began its countdown long before the events

depicted in the novel. Instead, the image of the "new woman" of the French writer opposes her life position not only to the male patriarchal society, but also to the traditional female passivity. The author does not destroy the traditional novel structure, which is explained primarily by the addressing of her works to a wide range of readers, confirming the nature of postmodernism, which contributes to the blurring of boundaries between "elite" and "mass" literature. Sagan's artistic thinking still tends to the second of these definitions: the emphasized "readability" of texts, operating with certain universal images close to social types in realistic writing, etc. Thus, one of the leading guidelines is the fundamental "recognizability" of the novel form, which meets the expectations of the implicit reader, who relies on the experience of the classical novel with clearly defined structural laws.

It is known that for women authors, a frank depiction of corporeality often becomes another way to gain the right to vote, break taboos and declare their own identity. In consciously pedaling sensuality, Sagan gains the courage to talk about a different, not patriarchal stereotype of the "female world". Mostly women hide their private experience, which means they are pretending, simulating, trying by all means to fit into the pattern of behavior already created by men. The protagonist Cecile is trying to establish herself in the society, going through a painful formation, defining her own life priorities. She represents the type of self-identification when the process of becoming a person goes through the self-confrontation with the environment.

The triad of female characters – Elsa, Anne, Cecile - represents a range of female prototypes. Thus, Elsa is a generalized image of a woman-dependent, Anne corresponds to traditional social ideas about a successful woman. Her image of a "business woman" combines the best features of a "keeper" and something from "Barbie". Therefore, for the ideal status, she lacks positive answers in the questionnaire "marital status" and "children", which she plans to replenish through marriage with Raymond, Cecile's father, and become a "mother" for the main character. This reminds us of the weight of cultural stereotypes of women in the society of that time.

Instead, Cécile actively defends her living space from these stenciled roles of women. Trying to avoid the role of a "woman-lover" (Elsa) or a "woman-mother" (Anne), Cecile reproduces her father's behavior as an ideal way of "being-for-herself", not feeling a need to get permission to enjoy her life.

The image of Raymond's father embodies the best model of being for Cecile, she likes carefree life, parties, sexual pleasures without obligations. The girl tries to imitate these male behavioral models, thereby revealing the "invisibility" of the male position, which was accepted as the "norm" for centuries, the point of reference from which the worldview coordinate system adopted in patriarchal societies was built. The "invisibility" of the male position is further revealed through the image of Cyril. According to all the rules of patriarchal ideas, he should have become a "prince on a white horse" for Cecile. Indeed, Cyril is the embodiment of positive masculinity: a loving son, an excellent student, a physically attractive, skillful lover, and finally a promising man for whom the relationship with Cecile is not a short-term affair, he is ready

to take responsibility for her future. Positive masculinity is openly at odds with the image of the protagonist, for whom Cyril is only a means of gaining her first sexual experience, a "discoverer" of female corporeality, and all further attempts by Cyril to continue his relationship with Cecile according to social norms (cohabitation, monogamous relationship, the prospect of creating a family) cause mixed feelings of disgust/fear/sadness in the young girl, she is not ready to sacrifice her freedom for the sake of traditional morality, which eventually leads to the breakup of the relationship between young people. Thus, Sagan rejects three times chewed bubblegum of traditional values, the myth of great love, sung by melodramas, goes beyond the literature only "for women" and "about women", covering actual social issues.

In describing Cecile's intimate discoveries, the author takes the experience of living in a woman's body as a "starting point". The bodily experience becomes rather a field of experiment, individual cognition and ordering of the world. This individual experience, as well as the problems of "new morality" and "new family", women's independence and inversion of traditional gender roles are an important part of understanding the communicative practices of "écriture féminine".

The body code in the novel "Bonjour tristesse" by Françoise Sagan is manifested as a complicated complex, which involves not only morphic features, but also attention to the bodily and sensual sphere of the individual. In this sense, the most relevant is the problem of female sexuality, the right of a woman as a natural being to satisfy her natural needs, to live according to her ideas and beliefs. Semantics related to the sexual sphere of the individual is most intensively used by Sagan in the process of conceptualizing the image of a sexually liberated woman, who in her ontological characteristics not only goes beyond the traditional female space, but also actively destroys the hierarchy of the masculine world.

Usually, the linguistic means of women's prose are closely related to the dominant discourse of autobiography. Here we can note such features as self-expression and self-presentation of the author through a retrospective description of her own life, verbalization of experience, feelings, worries, reflections on various facts and events of personal or social life. At the same time, autobiographical discourse is an artistic process, artistic creativity immersed in one's own life, it is a special creative act in which the transformation of individual experience takes place through the memory of one's own past.

The narrative style in the novel "Bonjour tristesse" is a gender-inverted model of objective narration, consisting of monologues – self-reflections of the heroine, which are interspersed with this objective narration. The ego-oriented type of narration prevails, the boundary between monologue and dialogue in such a communication model is almost blurred, and the idea of novel dialogism is replaced by an emphasized focus on the message plus the external alogism of the statement as action.

By removing herself from the text, the writer rids it of moralizing and the author's supervising figure in it, which gives rise to such characteristics of the

text as subjective chronotope and personally colored word. Thus, the freedom in understanding the text specially granted by the author leaves the reader the right to individual shades of perception without imposing her own opinion. This position corresponds to the specifics of female verbal behavior, which is not known to be authoritarian.

The cognitive component of Sagan's gender poetics is distinguished by emotionality. It is noteworthy that the title of the novel contains the nomination of the emotion/mood *tristesse*, which becomes the ideologeme of the emotional atmosphere of the text and reflects the main trends of the author's vision of the world. The activators of this emotion include separation, death, disappointment, life fiasco. Sadness is characterized by communication, motivational functions, slowing down the pace of life of an individual. It is worth mentioning that depending on the situation, sadness interacts with a number of other emotions, such as anger or fear.

Emotions affect a person's perception of the world, so a person sees the world in the context of these emotions. A long series of nominations for the emotion "*tristesse*" (sadness, melancholy, sorrow, longing, regret, pity, boredom, sorrow, etc.) – a cheerful, heavy mood caused by loneliness, grief, failure - testify to the importance of this feeling in human life.

The definition of the concept "TRISTESSE" in the novel is dominated by substantive verbalizers of emotional state, which form the most numerous group: shame, boredom, regret, etc. The emotion is accompanied by a set of attributes, mostly with elements of melancholy, quiet sadness, thoughtfulness. It is significant that, using the entire long series of nouns to denote sadness, including in the same contextual environment (regret, sadness, longing, shame), the author does not actually distinguish between their semantic shades, additional semantic features of each of them. For her, this series is only a means of gradation, strengthening the emotional and expressive impact on the reader.

The emotion "TRISTESSE" turns into a feeling of anxiety, fear and discomfort, which do not go away for a long time, oppress and affect life. The list of verbs in the indefinite form serves to express the emotional state in which the heroine is, as well as to describe her communicative actions to restrain, conceal and mask emotions. It is known that such ways of "experiencing" emotions are inherent mainly to women, as women are more emotional, their emotions are usually accompanied by some actions, men, on the contrary, behave more restrained, do not demonstrate their emotions openly.

Gender coloring of the conceptsphere of the emotional state of an artistic character in Sagan's novel is manifested in the peculiarities of verbal representation of emotional concepts as components of the conceptual system. The peculiarity of the ideologeme "TRISTESSE" is its entry into the conceptual fields denoting fear, desire, hope, aspiration, freedom, sin. The nominative means of direct lexical-semantic, indirect stylistic and indirect lexical-semantic nomination represent gender-based differences in the communicative behavior of artistic characters who are in an emotional state.

Obvious gender marking is characterized by the use of a female vision of the world. Accordingly, the descriptors of ideologemes in which female associations dominate in the figurative comprehension of reality are represented by the following thematic areas: the appearance of men and women, clothing items, bedding, food, elements of home interior, names of jewelry and valuables. Sagan pays great attention to the portrait of the character, which focuses on the relationship between the format (description of appearance) and the mental reflection in the minds of people (the author, recipients, contemporaries of the hero) of objects and phenomena of reality in its most diverse manifestations.

Gender poetics is based on the socio-psychological stereotypes of femininity/masculinity embodied in a special worldview, a special point of view of the author and the hero, a special system of characters, the specificity of the author's consciousness, subjective-objective system, speech behavior, etc. The novel "Bonjour tristesse" clearly shows gender modulations of writing, thus creating a feminine model of creativity. It is not so much about the biological determinism of authorship as about gender, that is, culturally constructed codes of writing, which include: the reproduction of specific female experience expressed by the author at the level of problems, themes and ideological direction of the work, and the special sound of the "female voice" in the text, that is, at the level of writing. The innovation of Sagan's novel is the thematic and ideological search aimed at the poly-problematic plane of the implicit world, the destruction of traditional stereotypes. The central problem is the problem of individual choice, the artistic conflict is of a universal nature – it reflects the problem of existential loneliness of the modern human in the global world.

**Keywords:** gender identity, gender perspective, feminist criticism, women's writing, narration, discourse, semantics, concept, Françoise Sagan.

## **POETIQUE DE L'ESPACE INTIME DANS LE ROMAN FÉMININ AFRICAIN**

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**Résumé:** L'espace intime féminin revêt une importance significative dans la littérature africaine. Il est associé à la fécondité, aux stades de vie d'une femme, à la liberté, à l'identité, à la sexualité, etc. Les interprétations de cet espace avec ses objets et leurs dispositions sont multiples et complexes et dépendent fortement du projet d'écriture et des aspirations des auteurs. Afin de mieux cerner la thématique de la représentation de l'univers intime à travers la chambre en particulier dans la littérature africaine, nous avons jugé utile de choisir pour notre étude trois romans féminins maghrébins et subsahariens qui seront traités dans une approche comparée. Il s'agit de *Cérémonie* (2005) de l'auteure marocaine Yasmine Chami Kettani, de *Fureurs et cris de femmes* (1989) de l'auteure gabonaise Angèle Rawiri et de *C'est le soleil qui m'a brûlée* (1999) de l'auteure camerounaise Calixthe Beyala. Nous verrons comment la chambre et le corps féminin entretiennent une relation analogique qui se reflète en particulier à travers le miroir. Nous expliquerons par ailleurs comment la chambre constitue un espace castrateur ou sécurisant pour la femme. Les objets de la chambre, rangés dans l'armoire ou dispersés sont également des éléments significatifs qui traduisent les aspirations de la femme et la recherche de l'identité. Nous verrons alors comment ces objets trahissent l'ancrage dans la culture et le désir de trouver ses racines.

**Mots-clés:** représentation, chambre, femme, roman, africain.

### **1. Introduction**

La chambre est un lieu hautement significatif en rapport avec le corps féminin. Elle fonctionne comme un univers en miniature dans lequel on peut lire la lutte de la femme à travers son corps, ce qui explique sa relation avec la société sur un plan plus élargi. L'espace de la chambre comme lieu d'intimité peut être lu comme un lieu d'enfermement et de claustration, un lieu mortifère, mais aussi un espace où se lisent le

succès ou l'échec d'une relation conjugale. Les objets de la chambre sont aussi des éléments symboliques qui participent à la mise en relief de l'identité féminine enracinée ou perdue. A titre d'exemple, l'étude du miroir ouvre la voie vers une lecture symbolique. Cet objet représente une mise en abyme de la réalité qui se dédouble. Il nous permet de réfléchir sur les notions de soi et de l'altérité. Le miroir est un instrument incontestable de la psychanalyse, car il met l'accent sur ce qui est obscur dans l'âme et joue aussi un rôle symbolique sur le plan social. C'est un médiateur qui permet à la société de se reconnaître. Le miroir représente un élément d'intimité fort attaché à l'univers féminin. Il apparaît dans les romans de notre corpus comme un élément indissociable et indispensable à toute femme, dans le processus de façonnement de soi et dans son rapport à la société.

Notre article propose d'étudier la chambre comme espace représentatif de la femme dans le roman féminin africain à travers une approche comparée de trois romans, à savoir, *Cérémonie* (2005) de l'auteure marocaine Yasmine Chami Kettani, de *Fureurs et cris de femmes* (1989) de l'auteure gabonaise Angèle Rawiri et de *C'est le soleil qui m'a brûlée* (1999) de l'auteure camerounaise Calixthe Beyala. Le choix de ces romans se fonde sur plusieurs critères. Premièrement, ces œuvres représentent une diversité géographique et culturelle qui englobe des perspectives marocaines, gabonaises, et camerounaises. Écrites par des auteures féminines, ces œuvres offrent un regard authentique sur la condition féminine en Afrique. De plus, publiées à des époques différentes, elles permettent une analyse diachronique des évolutions dans la représentation de l'espace privé. Enfin, leur reconnaissance littéraire et leur représentativité de la littérature africaine justifient leur inclusion dans cette étude.

*Fureurs et cris de femmes* (1989) d'Angèle Rawiri décrit un corps féminin auquel la société attribue une fonction reproductrice dont l'échec aboutit à la négation de l'être féminin. L'échec de la fonction procréatrice chez Émilienne déstabilise l'équilibre affectif et sentimental avec son époux et la conduit à une perte de repères. Victimisée par les structures sociales patriarcales qui éternisent l'avalissement de la femme, Émilienne prend son destin en main et s'affranchit du regard critique de la société phallocratique. Dans *Cérémonie* (2005) de Yasmine Chami Kettani, Khadija a vécu l'échec dans sa relation conjugale au même titre qu'Émilienne malgré avoir donné naissance à deux filles. Khadija a perdu son mari faute de ne pas être conforme aux canons de beauté de la femme désirée par l'homme maghrébin et de ne pas pouvoir donner naissance à un enfant mâle. Dans *C'est le soleil qui m'a brûlée* (1999), un univers où les femmes jouent le rôle de personnages

principaux, l'auteure met l'accent sur la marginalisation de la femme par l'homme et sa chosification qui aboutissent inéluctablement à la prostitution. Notons que cette situation est bien héritée de l'ère coloniale, notamment de la sixa « un lieu de servage, d'esclavage et de servitude. [...] de prostitution, de transmission et de diffusion de maladies vénériennes. » (Brija, 2023 : 33).

Dans toutes ces œuvres, la topique de l'espace intime occupé par la femme reflète la position de la femme dans la société, ses aspirations et son état psychologique. Joseph Dossou Atchad déclare que « dans l'univers traditionnel africain, la chambre, la concession ou la cour restent des espaces clos où les personnages construisent leur intimité personnelle, conjugale, familiale, patriarcale. » (Joseph Dossou Atchad, 2010 : 261).

## 2. La chambre, reflet de l'état du corps

« Nous disons notre corps et notre corps nous fait dire nos rapports avec la vie sociale » (Ismaili Alaoui, 2023 : 116), ainsi, dans *Fureurs et cris de femmes* de Rawiri, la chambre n'est pas représentée comme un simple espace immobile, c'est un lieu où l'on réalise une personnification flagrante : « Son regard mélancolique effleure lentement la chambre avant de s'arrêter sur le miroir triptyque qui couvre tout un pan de mur et reflète, accrochées au mur d'en face, deux grandes photographies de leur mariage... » (Rawiri, 1989 : 11). Le regard d'Émilienne « effleure » la chambre comme il l'aurait fait avec une personne, et les murs de la chambre parlent le langage du passé avec les deux photographies pendues. Les murs réveillent ainsi chez le personnage des souvenirs qui stimulent ses émotions réveillées par les désastres corporels et sentimentaux subis par Émilienne : « Accablée, dénigrée et vomie par les murs et objets de sa chambre, témoins de son échec sentimental et du délabrement de son corps, elle a le sentiment de ne plus s'appartenir et plus encore de sortir d'un autre monde ». (Rawiri, 1989 : 87). La chambre donne à voir une femme « fragilisée par les traumatismes du milieu familial et social », « touché » profondément dans son corps et sa sensibilité. » (Marfouq, 2024 : 46).

Nous remarquons à partir de ce passage comment les murs personnifiés « vomissent » le corps d'Émilienne en un geste de refus. Émilienne a échoué dans la mission assignée à toute femme, celle d'habiter un espace conjugal. Cette posture nous rappelle à de multiples égards celle de Khadija dans *Cérémonie* de Chami Kettani qui a échoué d'habiter sa maison tout en étant architecte de métier. Nous réalisons pour les deux femmes que le lieu conjugal ne devient habitable que si la femme rassemble beauté et fertilité et est capable de donner naissance

à un mâle, car « la femme a une représentation négative dans la société arabo-musulmane. Les enfants nés filles sont un lourd fardeau pour la famille. Elles déshonorent la mère et sont une source de honte et de malheur pour le père » (Marfouq, 2023 : 297). Pour la femme, « C'est cet amour maternel qui permet à [la femme] de supporter son amertume, de transcender sa faiblesse. » (Eddahbi, 2024 : 58). Il est à noter aussi que dans un foyer maghrébin, « Toute opposition au patriarcat est une sorte de guerre déclarée contre toute la société et donnera probablement suite à un bannissement total. » (Marfouq, 2023 : 83).

La chambre se révèle comme un espace violateur de l'intimité féminine blessée et bafouée. À la manière du miroir qui reflète la vérité de l'être et le met face à sa condition délabrée, la chambre accomplit également la mission de révéler ce qu'expriment les profondeurs de la femme, ses blessures et sa fragilité intérieure. La chambre contribue fortement à l'effritement du personnage femme et à accentuer ses douleurs. Cet espace est alors à la fois un observateur, un témoin et un bourreau.

L'univers de la chambre emprunte également les attributs d'une morgue et devient un lieu mortifère et froid. C'est un lieu à connotation négative où se dessine une dénonciation violente de la fonction sexuelle assignée à toute femme et avec elle la dénonciation de la mort du corps féminin et la société. Dans *Fureurs et cris de femmes*, on remarque que la chambre est un espace qui tourmente la femme et trahit le martyre imposé au corps de la femme : « Avec les yeux grand ouverts tournés vers le plafond comme si elle [Émilienne] fixait un lieu hanté, elle fait glisser sa main sur le côté du lit où dort habituellement son époux. Un froid mortifiant lui parcourt le bras qu'elle retire avec effroi. » (Rawiri, 1989 : 161).

L'allusion au « froid mortifiant » et l'évocation du lexème « effroi » en assonance expriment le châtement psychique infligé à la femme. L'atmosphère froide de la chambre rappelle aussi une situation de solitude et d'abandon, un espace en somme sans chaleur humaine. La solitude et l'absence de chaleur font référence directement à l'aspect mortifère de la chambre, car ils sont une forme de suicide moral, des variantes et des simulacres de la mort. On assiste en effet dans ce passage à la mort du corps féminin qui agonise en raison du manque d'affectivité et de tendresse. La chambre porte le personnage féminin avec son malheur et trahit son état maladif dans une posture pathétique et compatissante :

Les yeux fermés, elle [Émilienne] se cramponne au bord du lit quand tout à coup, elle est secouée par les

vomissements qui remontent à la poitrine et s'engouffrent dans la gorge avant d'envahir la bouche. Elle s'efforce d'ouvrir les yeux pour bondir vers la salle de bains. Elle n'a pas le temps. Le liquide acide gicle de la bouche et s'éparpille sur les draps. Le vomi, coloré de débris de croissant et mélangé au sang sur les draps devient marron foncé. (Rawiri, 1989 : 26).

La mort est perçue dans la chambre de biais. L'état maladif d'Émilienne est un témoin de la dégradation physique qu'elle a connue à cause de son mari qui exige d'elle de mettre au monde des enfants pour pouvoir préserver sa relation conjugale.

Émilienne se montre à disposition de son époux. Elle est décrite comme innocente, pure et en quête d'un amour sincère ; contrairement à Joseph qui symbolise la perversion et la trahison. Par ce fait, la chambre devient comme un outil qui réprime la femme et l'invite à la débauche sexuelle. C'est dans la chambre également que la femme revendique son respect par l'homme. Par la mort du corps féminin dans cet espace intime, Ateba revendique son désir d'être valorisée par l'homme :

Les yeux desséchés par l'enfer des autres, elle [Ateba] délire lentement son corps et s'allonge par terre. Elle se dit qu'elle vit son deuil dans la chambre que Jean va occuper. Bientôt, elle sera cadavre dans sa chambre d'homme. Chaque tôle, chaque planche, chaque grain de sable empreint d'elle, de son corps sans vie. Elle se dit qu'à défaut de respecter, il survivra à sa mort, il regardera son corps, il l'accueillera dans sa mémoire malgré lui, en dépit de lui. (Beyala, 1999 : 18).

La mort physique du personnage féminin dans l'espace intime qui sera occupé ultérieurement par Jean Zepp exprime l'amour intense éprouvé par la femme pour l'homme. Ateba emprunte le caractère archétypal de toute femme que Beyala invite de sortir de son conformisme. Par cette attitude, l'auteure soutient que le respect de la femme par l'homme est avant tout d'ordre intime.

L'état de la chambre dit beaucoup sur le personnage féminin et donne même des signes de son intimité. C'est une certification de la nature du corps de la femme qui l'occupe. Ainsi, la chambre d'Irène dans *C'est le soleil qui m'a brûlée* offre-t-elle une image fidèle sur son statut. Femme libertine qui joue le rôle de prostituée, Irène trouve le reflet de son statut imprimé dans sa chambre qui empreinte l'aspect d'une

poubelle : « La chambre d'Irène ressemble à un bazar. Par terre, il y a des magazines féminins, des bandes dessinées, des rideaux qui dégringolent partout sauf sur les deux petites fenêtres qui ouvrent leurs gueules ferrillées comme des pièges à rats. » (Beyala, 1999 : 97). L'aspect non ordonné de la chambre, avec tous les objets inutiles qui traînent, est la métaphore d'un corps féminin chosifié et sans valeur dans la société.

La chambre dans *C'est le soleil qui m'a brûlée* est un lieu libérateur. Car c'est dans ses heures de solitude passées dans l'intimité de ce lieu qu'Ateba se réfugie dans l'écriture et l'imagination. Loin de l'autorité et du despotisme imposés par la tante Ada, Ateba parvient à se retrouver dans la chambre qu'on peut assimiler à une coquille protectrice pour ce personnage. Dans la chambre intime, Ateba écrit ses lettres qu'elle adresse aux femmes inconnues, se voit maîtresse de son corps et pratique même la masturbation, moyen secret lui permettant de décharger dans le vide ses envies et pulsions sexuelles afin de se passer de l'homme.

### 3. Miroir et corps : une relation analogique

La lecture des textes de notre corpus nous fait comprendre que le miroir est un élément parmi d'autres qui reflète l'intimité de la femme et projette sa beauté physique et son pouvoir d'attraction et de séduction. Le miroir aide ordinairement la femme et lui permet d'apprécier ou de déprécier son maquillage ou ses habits. Aussi, permet-il à la femme d'accéder, par la vue, à certaines parties cachées de son corps. Il remplit aussi une fonction de motivation psychologique du personnage féminin, car il sert à éveiller la confiance en soi et en la beauté de la femme, et met en relief les parties de séduction morphologiques. Le miroir est un outil qui confirme à la femme sa beauté et dissipe le doute quant à l'érotisme du corps. Le miroir agit comme un arbitre neutre et un médiateur entre la femme et sa beauté morale et physique. Dans notre corpus, le miroir dépasse toutes ces fonctions pour entrer dans un processus d'identification féminine et de prise de conscience des femmes devant le miroir.

Dans *C'est le soleil qui m'a brûlée*, le miroir apparaît comme un véritable dissipateur de doute, un adjuvant pour Ateba qui lui montre le chemin de la quiétude et du soulagement. C'est un révélateur de vérité qui ne trahit pas :

Elle a terriblement envie de dormir. Mais le corps conserve comme une meurtrissure l'empreinte de celui qui s'est appuyé contre elle quelques instants plus tôt. Inutile d'insister puisque la mémoire s'ouvre. Ateba se relève. Elle

court vers la chambre d'Ada. Elle dénoue son pagne. Elle se plante devant la glace. Elle écarte ses cuisses. Elle ausculte l'intérieur de son sexe. Elle introduit un doigt. Pas de sang. Elle se rhabille. (Beyala, 1999 :20).

Le passage cité plus haut montre comment le miroir agit en véritable adjutant chargé d'élucider une vérité intime que personne ne sera en mesure d'accomplir, vu son aspect secret et périlleux. Le miroir permet à Ateba d'accéder aux régions les plus reculées de son corps et de les faire paraître dans la glace. On réalise ainsi une certaine fusion, même une confusion entre le miroir et le corps d'Ateba. Le miroir joue le rôle d'un confident d'Ateba qui garde ses secrets les plus intimes, notamment le secret de sa virginité. Le miroir qui reflète un secret lourd est un objet dépourvu de mémoire. C'est pourquoi le miroir est un élément où se lit la liberté de la femme sans retenue. À ce propos, Luce Irigaray soutient l'idée que : « le miroir est bien ce qui, sans mémoire, sans souvenir d'aucune trace, empreinte, représente l'image de ce qui se présenterait devant lui. » (Irigaray, 1974 : 384). Dans le miroir, le corps d'Ateba est l'image symbolique de la femme qui désire oublier son passé que l'homme a souillé, la femme qui fait table rase et qui aspire à une nouvelle vie en enterrant son secret dans un miroir qui ne se souvient de rien. Le miroir, quand il est clair et propre arrive à matérialiser, comme il le faut, le souci de refléter et de représenter la femme sans mensonge.

Le miroir se présente aussi comme un outil qui permet au personnage féminin de mettre à nu ses émotions en rapport avec son apparence physique. Il ne sert pas uniquement à refléter le corps, mais à dévoiler également les conséquences de l'écoulement du temps sur l'aspect physiologique. C'est un moyen qui permet à la femme de reconnaître le motif derrière le mauvais usage de son corps et de restituer le passé devant un corps où se lisent les ravages du temps et de la vie. Dans *Fureurs et cris de femmes*, Émilienne s'expose devant son miroir pour exprimer son dégoût et son regret vis-à-vis de son corps. Cette relation entre miroir et corps paraît conflictuelle et laisse entendre à quel degré le moral du personnage féminin se trouve abîmé. Le miroir joue alors le rôle d'accusateur par son témoignage révélateur de la dure réalité et de la vérité amère :

Relevant lentement la tête pour retenir cette image piteuse d'elle [Émilienne], elle est saisie d'une grande panique. Elle ne se voit pas à travers le miroir. Elle se frotte les yeux avec rigueur, les écarquille. Non ! Les contours de

son corps recroquevillé ne se dessinent pas en face d'elle. Att-elle encore une image, un reflet ? (Rawiri, 1989 :20).

Le miroir se révèle dans le cas d'Émilienne comme un outil qui dépasse une simple fonction d'œil ou de regard. En plus de son objectivité, le miroir permet de jeter un regard aussi sur l'ampleur des conséquences du mariage qui ont conduit Émilienne à cet état physique. Il sonde l'aspect corporel d'Émilienne et reflète le non visible, l'abstrait, à savoir la désintégration du personnage et sa dégradation morale. L'image d'Émilienne reflétée dans le miroir agit comme un véritable tremplin dans le processus de prise de conscience chez elle et sa connaissance exhaustive de soi.

Par ailleurs, le miroir est un objet qui permet à la femme d'être à l'écoute de l'appel à la sexualité. La nudité reflétée dans le miroir invite la femme à observer ses rondeurs, ses organes de séduction et de se rendre compte de sa beauté et de sa jeunesse. Dans *C'est le soleil qui m'a brûlée*, le miroir paraît comme un vrai révélateur des organes sexuels féminins :

Et là, devant la glace, avec l'image de la vieille, elle [Ateba] recherche le visage, le sort qui lui sera réservé. Il ne se déclare pas, il ne veut pas se déclarer. Il n'y a devant elle que la femme, rien que la femme. Son front lisse, ses lèvres, ses épaules aiguës, son ventre durci par l'effort, ses cuisses longues, fines, son sexe. Son sexe de femme au début, rouge du cadeau de lune, cloîtré dans la crainte du devenir. (Beyala, 1999 : 16).

Le miroir se présente comme un identificateur qui permet de réveiller la séduction féminine. Tous les organes énumérés dans l'extrait et remarqués par le personnage d'Ateba invitent la jeune fille à l'accomplissement de l'acte sexuel. En outre, le miroir apparaît comme un procédé qui suit et scrute le comportement sexuel de la femme. Il agit même parfois comme un outil de torture où la femme refuse de voir ses organes sexuels devant l'homme qui l'intimide :

Qu'elle [une maîtresse de Jean] regarde donc l'intérieur de son sexe. Tout poisseux (...) Il [Jean] l'avait traîné devant une glace murale. Il l'avait obligée à écarter les jambes. Il voulait qu'elle se regarde, elle regardait les yeux fermés, il tirait ses cheveux en arrière, il lui faisait mal, elle pleurait. (Beyala, 1999 : 59).

Le refus de se mirer est une manifestation du refus de se remettre en question. Le regard dans le miroir pour la maîtresse de Jean lui rappelle sa situation précaire de prostituée et de femme déchue. Ce refus exprimé par la maîtresse de Jean est le même que manifeste Ateba avant la perte de sa virginité : « Oh ! excuse mon impolitesse, viens donc t'asseoir près de moi [l'homme]. Elle [Ateba] traverse lentement la chambre, la tête basse, fuyant les reflets dans la glace, prisonnière d'un vertige de pensées qu'elle ne peut maîtriser ». (Beyala, 1999 : 129). Dans ce passage, on remarque la volonté d'Ateba de ne garder aucun souvenir de cet épisode négatif de sa vie. L'image d'Ateba reflétée par le miroir pourrait être gravée dans sa mémoire à vie, raison pour laquelle Ateba fuit la glace. Le miroir dans le cas d'Ateba apparaît comme porteur d'un salut auquel il invite la femme. Cette dernière le rejette en le considérant comme un salut d'hypocrisie. Durant le rendez-vous d'Ateba avec Jean, celle-ci refuse de se mirer, car la glace miroite l'image d'une femme qui accomplit des actes contraires à ses prises de position et ses principes. Les actes que compte commettre Ateba à l'égard de son corps sont des actes de vengeance qu'elle est obligée d'accomplir afin de retrouver sa dignité de femme. Suite à cela, le miroir devient un élément qui trahit la vérité et la révèle clairement à Ateba. C'est une source de peur et d'agression morale insupportable qu'Ateba doit absolument fuir. Ceci est aussi remarqué dans le cas d'Émilienne dans *Fureurs et cris de femmes* où le miroir qui présente la vérité du corps telle qu'elle devient un objet qui effraie la femme et amplifie son malheur :

Devant la glace encadrée de spots lumineux, qu'elle affronte avec dépit, elle triture la chair ramollie et adipeuse des bras, du ventre et des cuisses. Elle ne peut cependant soutenir longtemps la vue d'une autre elle-même, à laquelle elle ne s'identifie pas. [...] Tournant le dos au miroir mural, elle défait ses tresses et ramène les cheveux peignés vers la nuque, les enroule et les maintient à l'aide de petites épingles. [...], Elle ne veut plus pour la journée se revoir dans un miroir. (Rawiri, 1989 : 19).

Le miroir dans ce cas n'est plus un élément qui met l'accent sur la beauté de la femme et lui procure la confiance en soi. Il est vu dans le cas d'Émilienne comme un objet réducteur de la femme qui ne reflète que ses laideurs et ses perversions et la réduit en femme-objet. Le miroir confirme donc la métamorphose subie par Émilienne à cause de ses fausses couches successives. L'état maladif physique et intérieur du personnage se trouve intensément projeté dans le miroir. Ce dernier

permet de saisir les traits de ressemblance entre l'aspect physique et psychique du personnage. En fait, le miroir dépasse toute superficialité et creuse dans les profondeurs du corps pour mettre à nu les tourments du cœur, véritable siège des émotions et des états d'âme. Le miroir apparaît aussi comme un témoin qui accompagne la femme dans les moments les plus pénibles de sa vie. Ateba a perdu sa virginité dans une chambre toute murée de miroirs : « des dizaines de miroirs divisent les murs et reflètent le haut lit couvert de damas. » (Beyala, 1999 : 129).

Ateba, la jeune fille âgée de dix-neuf ans, cherche son identité et tente de se comprendre sans cesse en se regardant dans le miroir. Le miroir joue un rôle primordial dans la prise de conscience des personnages féminins. En effet, dans son ouvrage *Corps féminin, corps textuel*, Yannick Resch met l'accent sur l'intérêt du miroir en littérature : « Devant le miroir, le personnage féminin s'interroge, s'admire, et se critique. Il n'a plus à porter le masque protecteur qu'il présente sous le regard d'autrui et peut chercher, dans l'image qui le reflète, sa véritable identité » (Resch, 1973 : 111).

Ainsi, à travers l'image que lui retourne le miroir, Ateba se contemple les détails de son corps, celui d'une jeune femme séductrice, avec ses rondeurs et ses ondulations. Cette image admirable renvoyée par le miroir aide Ateba à s'assurer de son identité en prenant conscience que son corps lui appartient avant tout et peut s'en servir pour combattre sa situation d'aliénée et crier haut son existence et sa dignité. Resch déclare en outre que le miroir a un caractère double, car il est :

[...] à la fois lui-même et autre, surface lisse de verre étamé et reflet d'une chose ou d'un être, le miroir est, pour la femme, l'instrument qui révèle sa dualité. Il est le témoin de la lutte intérieure d'un corps qui se forge, mais qui n'offre au regard d'autrui qu'une image rassurante et sereine. (Resch, 1973 : 111)

Pour Ateba, le miroir agit comme le témoin de sa révolte intérieure et de son corps qui semble changer et s'épanouir grâce au regard d'autrui.

L'image du corps féminin reflétée dans le miroir peut être lue comme une « contemplation réflexive » d'elle-même, un « retour sur soi ». Selon Suzanne Wilson : « Cette contemplation réflexive mène à quelques images [...] [en dehors de celle du miroir], celle du corps comme sujet ; et celle du sujet comme corps, condition féminine. » (Wilson, 2017 : 67). Le corps de la femme prend conscience de son existence, de ses points forts et ses faiblesses lues dans les épreuves de

la vie imprimées dans la peau. La femme, devant l'image de son corps reflétée dans le miroir, semble tenir son destin en main.

#### **4. Fonctions de l'objet dans la chambre**

Les objets de la chambre sont des identifiants pour le statut de la femme et sa capacité de bien habiter sa demeure et préserver sa relation conjugale. Bachelard nous parle de « la maison des objets » pour faire référence aux meubles de rangement dont le contenu dénote clairement de quel type de femme on a affaire. Selon Bachelard, ces objets sont

de véritables organes de la vie psychologique secrète.

Sans ces « objets » et quelques autres aussi valorisés, notre vie intime manquerait de modèle d'intimité. Ce sont des objets mixtes, des objets sujets. Ils sont comme nous, par nous, pour nous. (Bachelard, 2012 : 83)

Dans une chambre se cachent des objets intimes qui sont d'une valeur symbolique importante. La valeur de ces objets précieux et secrets est liée avant tout à l'intimité et la manière avec laquelle ces objets sont ordonnés dans leur contenant, ce qui dit beaucoup sur la femme et son histoire dans la famille. Bachelard nous dit davantage sur cet aspect des objets intimes :

Dans une armoire, seule une pauvre d'âme pourrait mettre n'importe quoi. Mettre n'importe quoi, n'importe comment, dans n'importe quel meuble, marque une faiblesse insigne de la fonction d'habiter. Dans l'armoire vit un centre d'ordre qui protège toute la maison contre un désordre sans borne. Là règne l'ordre ou plutôt, là l'ordre est un règne. L'ordre n'est pas simplement géométrique. L'ordre s'y souvient de l'histoire de la famille. (Bachelard, 2012 : 83)

L'armoire dans le récit kettanien est un meuble emblématique de l'espace intime. L'armoire de Lalla Rita reflète beaucoup la responsabilité de sa propriétaire :

[La] mère de [Khadija] entrebâillait l'immense armoire de bois sombre d'où émergèrent les trésors à profusion, caftans de soie brochée, djellabas de flanelle aux couleurs froides, larges étoiles de mousseline éclatantes. (Kettani, 2005 :10)

L'armoire citée dans le passage est faite d'une matière noble : le bois qui permet de mieux protéger les tenues de la femme contre l'humidité et son odeur. Les objets de l'armoire sont qualifiés par l'adjectif « les trésors » pour faire référence à leur valeur précieuse ou rare. Les tissus choisis par Rita pour ses caftans et djellabas sont des étoffes fines et raffinées en « soie », en « flanelle » et en « mousseline ». Cela nous fait savoir à travers le langage des objets que Lalla Rita est une femme qui prête beaucoup d'attention à son aspect vestimentaire et qui se soucie de son pouvoir de séduction, ce que nous révèlent ses habits soyeux. La description de l'armoire de Khadija diffère beaucoup de celle de sa mère Lalla Rita :

L'armoire de [Khadija] ne ressemble pas à celle si profonde et si massive de Lalla Rita, elle est encastrée dans le mur, il s'agit en fait d'un placard un peu vaste que Khadija a baptisé du nom soleil d'armoire depuis son retour dans la maison paternelle. (Chami Kettani, 2005 : 74).

La chambre de Rita reflète sa satisfaction conjugale, c'est une partie de son être. C'est le corps de la femme qui occupe la chambre et l'organise. Les objets inanimés de la chambre métaphore du corps de leur propriétaire, comme le souligne Galina Kabakova : « Les métaphores créent les liens entre le corps et l'espace, entre le corps et le temps, entre le corps et le monde et le monde environnant, afin d'assurer la cohérence de l'univers. L'échange mutuel des métaphores entre les divers mondes permet de relayer l'homme avec l'univers » (Kabakova, 2000 : 288)

Lalla Khadija revient à sa chambre de jeune fille après la rupture conjugale. Cette chambre n'est pas dotée d'une armoire, mais juste d'un placard encastré dans le mur. L'aspect de ce meuble suggère que les habits de Khadija manquent de fraîcheur et sont constamment en contact avec l'humidité dégagée par le contact avec le mur froid. Les objets contenus dans cette armoire amplifient l'idée selon laquelle Khadija est une femme qui, contrairement à sa mère, prête peu attention à sa beauté et son intimité. Dans son placard, on remarque les « larges culottes de coton blanc empilées, les disques à démaquiller [...], les flacons de parfum [...], quelques tubes de rouge à lèvres [...] » (Chami Kettani, 2005 : 76). D'abord la matière évoquée dans ce passage est le « coton », une matière faite pour le confort plutôt que pour un souci de beauté et de séduction recherchées dans la « soie », le « satin » ou la « mousseline ». Les « culottes », habits intérieurs d'intimité, sont qualifiées par leur largeur qui renvoie encore une fois au confort, mais aussi à la négligence de cet habit dont la matière s'étire par les lavages

répétitifs. L'adverbe « quelques » a une valeur restrictive qui signifie que Khadija est peu importée par l'entretien de son corps et sa beauté physique.

Le parfum et les arômes font signe à l'entretien de la femme de son corps dans le souci de séduire l'homme et de rendre son corps physiquement désiré. Par ce moyen, la femme célèbre son pouvoir érotique et matérialise sa coquetterie. Dans *Cérémonie* de Chami Kettani, l'univers féminin est peuplé d'odeurs et de parfums, les armoires trahissent les secrets de beauté féminine contenus dans les flacons de parfum. Dans l'armoire de Lalla Rita, « Malika regarde les nombreux flacons qui parsèment la coiffeuse, il y a cinq ou six parfums différents [...] de coûteux parfums français dont les fioles aux teintes chaudes luisent dans le demi-jour. » (Yasmine Chami Kettani, 2005 : 27). Lalla Rita « a toujours adoré choisir une étoffe ou un parfum, même aux premiers temps de sa vie conjugale. » (Chami Kettani, 2005 : 52). Khadija ouvre son armoire à Malika qui y perçoit « un poudrier de chez Helena Rubinstein [...] un flacon de l'Air du temps, une grande bouteille d'eau de lavande... Trésors de jeune fille en attente. » (Chami Kettani, 2005 : 85). Le moment de bain se montre un loisir privilégié pour les femmes qui entretiennent leurs corps et les subliment avec des parfums et des produits aromatisés où

chacune y faisait l'étalage de ses trésors [...] savons parfumés, shampooings [...] savon noir [...] huile d'amande douce. [...] Le précieux flacon contenant l'Heure bleue traînait sur sa couchette [...]. Les servantes apportaient le rassoul pilé, mélangé à l'eau de fleur d'oranger [...] cherchant avec impatience un flacon d'eau de Cologne. (Chami Kettani, 2005 : 96-97).

Chez ces personnages femmes, le parfum et les produits aromatiques dont elles enveloppent et enduisent leurs corps deviennent des signes de prise de conscience, de magnétisme et d'attraction qu'elles exercent sur le sujet masculin. Le parfum est pour ces femmes un canal de communication érotique. Il appelle à la fusion du corps féminin avec le corps masculin. L'association du parfum avec le corps de la femme vise l'éborgnement de l'homme et sa transportation dans un univers sentimental paradisiaque, envoûtant et enivrant. Le parfum devient une source de pouvoir au féminin. Les arômes sont porteurs de sens, car ils dévoilent le continent africain dans sa pureté, sa vivacité, son authenticité et sa virginité. Les odeurs du « savon noir », de « l'huile d'amande », du « rassoul », et de « fleur d'oranger » font directement référence au Maroc authentique.

Dans *C'est le soleil qui m'a brûlée* de Beyala, on assiste à un environnement défavorable dont l'odeur nauséabonde dit beaucoup sur les conditions de vie de ses habitants. A l'extérieur, Betty « respire son souffle de tabac bon marché. » (Beyala, 1999 : 16), Ateba « sent l'odeur de safran. » (Beyala, 1999) que dégage le corps d'un homme inconnu chez Mama Modo, la Sadaka d'Ekassi était une occasion pour des scènes de danse où les corps des danseurs dégagent des « odeurs de sueur, d'eau de Cologne, de brillantine, d'urine, de sexe. » (Beyala, 1999 : 119). Les odeurs de l'extérieur où les femmes se mélangent aux hommes dans les lieux publics trouvent leur prolongement également dans l'espace intime de la femme : Ateba ouvre la porte de sa chambre, « l'odeur de renfermé, d'urine et de moisissure la prend au nez. » (Beyala, 1999 : 82). Ces séquences montrent que personnages femmes évoluent dans un univers pourri, marginalisant et anéantissant, car dévalorisées dans leur société.

Dans *C'est le soleil qui m'a brûlée*, la chambre est un lieu qui porte l'histoire de son propriétaire et sa mémoire. La mère d'Ateba n'est évoquée dans le récit qu'à travers des souvenirs et des rétrospections disséminées. C'est dans la chambre d'Ada, tante maternelle, qu'Ateba essaie de trouver les traces du passé de sa mère :

Debout dans la chambre qu'Ada vient de déserté,  
Ateba fouille. Armoires. Tiroirs. Malles. Briser le mur du  
passé. Déchirer la mémoire. Retrouver son présent confus et  
fragmenté par les dire. Retrouver Betty. ...Betty. [...] Tressaillir à la vue d'un papier...Retrouver des indices. Retracer les chapitres d'une vie. Retrouver Betty. Ses odeurs. Ses goûts. Ses envies. Cataloguer la femme pour se retrouver [...] Au fond d'une malle. Ceintures. Colliers. Clefs. Photos. Poses et attitudes. Le passé raconte. Sur l'une d'elle, Betty, de blanc vêtue [...]. (Beyala, 1999 : 88).

Ainsi, les objets trouvés dans la chambre d'Ada constituent « des indices » du passé qui « raconte » la vie de Betty et ce qu'elle était avant d'abandonner sa famille. Ces objets enfouis dans des contenants personnels : « armoires. Tiroirs. Malles » s'adressent à tous les sens : « photos », « odeurs », « goûts », « clefs », « attitudes » et portent le secret d'une femme absente mais présente à travers ses objets qui ont permis à Ateba de « retrouver Betty » et de « retracer les chapitres » de sa vie pour enfin « se retrouver ».

Dans le roman beyalien, l'espace intime masculin est représenté comme un véritable piège pour la femme. C'est un espace périlleux et labyrinthique que l'auteure assimile au labyrinthe du Minotaure où

beaucoup allusions rapides, mais symboliques connectent le lecteur à ce mythe. La chambre de l'homme semble mieux l'aider à dominer la femme et la maîtriser. Ateba Leocadie évoque la « faible clarté » lorsqu'elle entre dans la chambre de Jean Zepp, le locataire de sa tante. Par ailleurs, elle décrit de manière semblable la chambre de l'homme qui la viole en évoquant « le plafond bas tapissé de rouge » (Beyala, 1999 : 129) et « les dizaines de miroirs qui divisent les murs » (Beyala, 1999 : 129), ce qui reflète une situation d'étourdissement et d'affaiblissement de la victime au même titre que le Minotaure perdu dans son labyrinthe. Un autre espace faisant référence au labyrinthe est la chambre d'un autre homme que Léocadie a accompagné un soir et qu'elle qualifie d' « appartement aux murs froids, où les meubles, les bibelots jetés à la hâte occupent une place provisoire » (Beyala, 1999 : 149). Tous ces éléments descriptifs de l'espace où l'homme fait de la femme sa proie reflètent une atmosphère de castration et de captivité où règnent l'aléatoire et l'inconfort.

## 5. Conclusion

En somme, cet article s'est attaché à analyser les modalités d'inscription de l'espace intime dans les écritures féminines maghrébines. Nous avons observé comment cet espace se construit à travers les figures de la chambre, du corps et de la voix, tout en révélant une dynamique d'appropriation, de résistance et de recomposition identitaire. Les analyses des œuvres de Bouraoui, Chami Kettani et Rawiri ont permis de confirmer que l'espace intime, loin d'être un simple repli sur soi, constitue une scène d'expression critique, de mémoire et de subjectivation au féminin.

Ainsi, la chambre et tous les objets qui s'y trouvent sont de véritables sujets qui reflètent la réalité de la femme et la condition qu'elle vit dans sa société. L'espace de la chambre traduit l'effort de la femme pour se conformer aux canons de beauté tracés par la société patriarcale et son combat pour préserver sa famille à travers la procréation. C'est un espace qui dit beaucoup sur le statut de la femme et sa dévalorisation dans la société. L'aspect désordonné et l'odeur des chambres des personnages femmes dans *C'est le soleil qui m'a brûlée* traduit comment la femme n'a aucune valeur dans la société mis à part son corps qui donne plaisir à l'homme. Nous remarquons que l'espace intime participe au processus de prise de conscience par la femme. Émilienne s'est rendu compte graduellement de sa condition féminine à travers le miroir. Tombée enceinte vers la fin du roman de l'enfant tant désirée pour préserver sa relation conjugale avec Joseph, Émilienne abandonne la maternité désirée dans le cadre du mariage pour une

maternité pour soi. Elle abandonne Joseph aussi et réalise qu'elle est femme et le restera pour toujours malgré les épreuves de la vie et le destin imposé par la société patriarcale. Dans *Cérémonie* de Yasmine Chami Kettani, la chambre de la femme nous apprend qu'une relation conjugale dans la société maghrébine est réussie grâce à une femme qui se soucie de sa beauté et qui privilégie les moments d'intimité dans sa vie, et non une femme qui donne plus d'importance à son statut intellectuel et social au détriment de sa beauté.

L'originalité de cette contribution réside dans l'articulation entre poétique de l'espace et enjeux sociopolitiques du corps féminin, montrant que l'intime, dans ces écritures, se pense comme un espace dialectique : à la fois refuge et tremplin, silence et parole, repli et ouverture.

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### REPRESENTATION OF THE UNIVERSE OF BEDROOM IN THE AFRICAN FEMALE NOVEL

The bedroom is a highly symbolic space, especially in relation to the female body. As a place of intimacy, it can be perceived in various ways, notably as a space of confinement, restriction, even death, but also as a place where the successes or failures of marital relationships are played out. The objects present in the bedroom contribute to this symbolism, reflecting the feminine identity, whether it is rooted or lost. Among these objects, the mirror holds a special place, representing a mise en abyme of reality and allowing for a reflection on the self and the other. This article proposes to examine the bedroom as a representative space for women in African women's novels, focusing on three works: *Cérémonie* (2005) by Yasmine Chami Kettani, *Fureurs et cris de femmes* (1989) by Angèle Rawiri, and *C'est le soleil qui m'a brûlée* (1999) by Calixthe Beyala. The selection of these novels is based on their geographical and cultural diversity, their authentic feminine perspective on the condition of women in Africa, and their literary relevance and representativeness of African literature.

The bedroom, as a space of intimacy, can also be perceived as a place of confinement for women. It is often the setting for internal struggles and conflicts with patriarchal social norms. In *Fureurs et cris de femmes*, Angèle Rawiri describes Émilienne's bedroom as a space where the woman must confront a society that reduces her existence to her reproductive capacity. Émilienne's failure to fulfill this function leads to a deep identity crisis, reflected in the state of her bedroom, which becomes a place of despair and confusion. The bedroom here symbolizes confinement and the inability to escape societal expectations.

Similarly, in *Cérémonie*, Yasmine Chami Kettani depicts Khadija's bedroom as a place of marital disillusionment. Despite giving birth to two daughters, Khadija loses her husband because she fails to meet Maghreb beauty ideals and cannot give birth to a son. The bedroom becomes a space where the woman is judged and rejected for her physical appearance, symbolizing imprisonment in patriarchal expectations.

In *C'est le soleil qui m'a brûlée*, Calixthe Beyala uses the bedroom to illustrate the marginalization and objectification of women. Irène's bedroom, described as a chaotic bazaar, reflects her status as a libertine woman and

prostitute, emphasizing the devaluation of women in society. The scattered and useless objects in her room symbolize a commodified female body, valued only for the pleasure it can provide men.

The mirror, as a bedroom object, plays a central role in the symbolism of the intimate female space. It allows the woman to see and judge herself, reflecting both her physical beauty and her power of seduction. However, the mirror goes beyond this superficial function. In the studied novels, it becomes a tool of introspection and self-awareness.

In *Fureurs et cris de femmes*, Émilienne uses the mirror to examine her body and beauty, seeking to understand her role and value as a woman in a society that judges her primarily on her appearance and reproductive capacity. The mirror thus becomes a mediator between her and her image, helping to reinforce or question her self-confidence.

In *Cérémonie*, the mirror is also a tool of introspection for Khadija, who must face her reflection and the reality of her failure to meet patriarchal expectations. The mirror becomes a space where she can confront her fears and desires, seeking to find a balance between her inner and outer image.

In *C'est le soleil qui m'a brûlée*, the mirror plays a crucial role in the development of Ateba's identity. Isolated in her bedroom, she uses the mirror to write, imagine, and masturbate, creating a space of freedom where she can escape her aunt Ada's authority. The mirror becomes a tool of emancipation, allowing Ateba to reclaim her body and identity.

The bedroom, as an intimate space, is also a place of memory and narration. The objects present in the bedroom tell the story of the woman who occupies it, reflecting her past, experiences, and aspirations. In *C'est le soleil qui m'a brûlée*, the objects in Ada's bedroom are clues to the past, allowing Ateba to reconstruct the story of her mother Betty. The objects buried in wardrobes, drawers, and trunks become silent witnesses to Betty's life, helping Ateba understand and connect to her own past.

In Rawiri and Kettani's novels, bedroom objects play a similar role. They are witnesses to the struggles and aspirations of the female characters, reflecting their attempts to conform to societal expectations or to break free from them. The bedroom thus becomes a space where women can reconnect with their history and identity, finding meaning and purpose in a world often hostile.

The bedroom, as an intimate space, is also a place of transformation and awareness for the female characters. In *Fureurs et cris de femmes*, Émilienne evolves from a victim of societal expectations to a woman who takes control of her destiny. The bedroom becomes a space where she can reflect on her condition, free herself from patriarchal constraints, and redefine her identity outside the framework imposed by society.

Similarly, in *Cérémonie*, Khadija uses her bedroom to reconsider her life and choices. The bedroom becomes a place of reflection and self-redefinition, where she can detach herself from patriarchal norms and find a new balance between her personal and social identity.

In *C'est le soleil qui m'a brûlée*, Ateba finds in her bedroom a space of liberation and emancipation. Away from her aunt's authority, she can explore her identity, desires, and aspirations, using writing and imagination to create a space of freedom and transformation. The bedroom becomes a sanctuary where she can reclaim her body and mind, finding meaning and purpose in an often oppressive world.

The bedroom and the objects within it play a crucial role in representing women in African women's novels. The bedroom space reflects women's struggles and aspirations, their social condition, and their psychological state. Whether as a place of confinement or intimacy, memory or transformation, the bedroom becomes a mirror of the female condition, a space where power and identity relationships are played out.

In the works of Rawiri, Kettani, and Beyala, the bedroom is both a space of confinement and liberation, despair and hope. It is the stage for women's internal struggles against patriarchal norms, but also a place where they can find the strength to reinvent themselves and break free from societal expectations. The objects present in the bedroom, particularly the mirror, play a central role in this process, reflecting the identities and aspirations of the female characters.

In conclusion, the study of the bedroom in African women's novels reveals the complexity of the female condition and the richness of literary representations of intimacy and identity. The bedroom becomes a space where the personal and the political, the body and the mind, intersect, offering a profound and nuanced view of women's lives in diverse social and cultural contexts.

**Keywords:** representation, bedroom, woman, novel, African





## **TO THE THEORIES ABOUT TUTEISHASTS IN BELARUSIAN LITERARY HISTORY: BETWEEN EAST AND WEST**

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**Abstract:** The formation of the cultural identity of individual nations did not follow the same pattern because the broad spectrum of events and stimuli that determine culture and identity ensures that cultural diversity is shaped not only by geographical, political, and social conditions but also by accepting these conditions and accepting oneself in these conditions. This aspect allows us to address the multi-layered cultural features of the Belarusian cultural complex based on literary texts reflecting the defining periods of the constitution of Belarusian individuality. The starting point is the phenomenon of the so-called *tuteishasts* (local affiliation), which appears in Belarusian literature (and culture in a broader sense) as an attitude guaranteeing a safe position between foreign ideologies and their influence. Existing and own interpretative findings are confronted with theories about the importance of ethnicity and the national identity of modern nations. We perceive self-identification as the specific essence of national identity. The awareness of belonging to a particular culture and accepting the environment's expectations is part of the group identity, a combination of personality and group. Its feature is the sharing of specific social and cultural characteristics. It is gradually being built, developed, and best identified in contact with foreign culture, which allows us to use literary texts as a basis for interpretative explanations of the foundations of national identity in the Belarusian context.

**Keywords:** Belarusian culture, cultural identity, *tuteishasts*

### **1. Introduction**

Vasyl Bykav, in his essay *Rozhovory o Bielorusku (Conversations on Belarus, 2005)*, among others, wrote that the patriotism of a large nation would inevitably turn into chauvinism or imperialism, and the patriotism of small nations is typical of the focus on survival among other nations. The question of the survival of Belarusians *between East and West* is constantly being updated in many forms – in science, art, and journalism. However, older and newer publications show that the

individual processes leading to this state are often evaluated intuitively and purposefully. At the same time, their conceptual grasp and critical evaluation based on existing knowledge are absent. Speaking of Belarus, we are willing to accept the long-standing cultural struggle as a fact without trying to find objective information that we can interpret (albeit subjectively) to form an opinion – *ours and not that of others* – distorted by stereotypical images.

In stereotypes, Belarus can be described with a few questions: “Is it true that the Poles invented you? (...) Didn’t the Communists invent you? (...) Who invented you?”<sup>1</sup> (Vasiučenka 2005: 71). In the history of Belarusian literature, we find several examples of opposition cultural relations on the axis of *us – they* (not us, foreigners) – especially the delimitation of the so-called *tuteishiya* from other ethnic groups, especially from Russians and Poles. The roots of cultural tradition’s bipolarity and Belarusian cultural features’ bipolarity are related to geographical or linguistic affiliation and several aspects of social status. This topic is found in Belarusian literature of national revival and, for example, in the formation of postmodern Belarusian literature<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> “Je to pravda, že si vás vymysleli Poláci? (...) Copak vás nevymysleli komunisté? (...) A kdo vás vlastně vůbec vymyslel?”

<sup>2</sup> A unique position in the history of Belarusian literature and the cultural identification process was held by Janko Kupala (1882-1942), who, in his works, filled the concept of *tuteishasts* with content understandable to the masses. Kupala’s drama *Tuteishiya (The Locals, 1922)* tells about the roots of the Belarusian national character, the contradictory conditions, and the complexity of the soul of an ordinary man, one of many *tuteishiya* inhabitants, “about the journey from *tuteishiya* to nationhood”, when people tried to overcome their narrow-mindedness, petty bourgeoisie, closed-mindedness, and come to terms with themselves, becoming a nation. The *tuteishasts* of the heroes of Kupala’s drama take two forms: on the one hand, it is the extreme adaptability and “realness of soul” of Mikita Znosak, who can *bear everything*, and on the other hand, it is the simple village righteousness of Janko Zdołnikav, who *handles everything* in his way, albeit naively. The *tuteishasts* of Kupala’s heroes is also critically reassessed as an inability to act, passivity, and negatively perceived over-adaptability. The symbol of *tuteishasts* also appears in Kupala’s lyrics; the use of the term *tuteishiya* in the poem of the same name can be traced in the sense of determining social status and national belonging, but also as an expression of religious affiliation and the relationship of locals to their faith, and last but not least, language is referred to as *tuteishiya*. All of these features are characterised based on comparison to opposition to elements of foreign nationalities. Kupala forms the axiological system of Belarusians based on cultural-identifying elements such as national belonging, religion, language, and all these elements are characterized based on local belonging to a fluidly

We perceive self-identification as the specific essence of national identity. The awareness of belonging to a particular culture and accepting the environment's expectations is part of the group identity, which is a combination of personality and group (sharing specific social and cultural characteristics). It is built gradually, develops, and is best identified in contact with foreign culture. Even today, in the form of a cultural stereotype, the question of the position of the Belarusian language as a second literary language is spread and the image of the dictatorial president is constantly updated. The public is poorly informed about the country:

Belarus is today in a similar situation as described so aptly in his famous essay Milan Kundera concerning the countries of Central Europe after World War II – as if it did not exist, it is “absent” in European political and cultural thinking. One could almost say that if it were not for the Belarusian dictator and his excesses, we would not know about this country and its ten million inhabitants, who, after the enlargement of the European Union, became our neighbours, perhaps nothing at all.<sup>3</sup> (Havel 2005:8),

which leads us to consider the need to uncover the essence of the theories of the cultural feature of *tuteishasts*. The aim of our considerations is to summarize the knowledge about the theory of *tuteishasts* in the existing research. At the same time, we focus our attention on the Central European interpretative field, suggesting the perspective of comparing these contexts, or the overlap of research to other literary contexts that reflect similar issues. Within the framework of the paper's conception, a theoretical method is used to reevaluate existing research, interpret the features of *tuteishasts* in these researches, and present a perspective on the reception of these features in other texts reflecting the cultural code.

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delimited geographical area, the boundaries of which have changed based on historical, political, and social changes.

<sup>3</sup> “Bělorusko je dnes tak v podobné situaci, jakou popsal tak výstižně ve svém známém eseji Milan Kundera ve vztahu k zemím střední Evropy po druhé světové válce – jako by neexistovalo, je “nepřítomné” v evropském politickém i kulturním myšlení. Skoro by se dalo říct, že nebyť běloruského diktátora a jeho výstřelků, nevěděli bychom o této zemi a jejích deseti milionech obyvatel, kteří se po rozšíření Evropské unie stali i našimi sousedy, snad vůbec nic.”

## 2. *Tuteishasts* as a cultural feature

The formation of the cultural identity of individual nations did not follow the same pattern because the broad spectrum of events and stimuli that determine culture and identity ensures that cultural diversity is shaped not only by geographical, political, and social conditions but also by accepting these conditions and accepting oneself in these conditions. For us, the starting point is the phenomenon of the so-called *tuteishasts* – “a mythical localness” which appears in Belarusian culture as a central (safe) attitude guaranteeing “protection” from foreign ideologies and their influence. Following this motif, we have come to texts known, but also those that cover the mask of secrecy or censorship<sup>4</sup>. The issue of literary opposition, *our – foreign* in self-identification efforts, thus gains a third degree – *local* (neither our nor foreign). The monitored opposition is subsequently extended to the

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<sup>4</sup> The symbol of *tuteishiya* belongs to the specifics of the Belarusian literature of the national revival. However, it does not disappear from Belarusian culture with Kupala, just as the transitional position between the Slavic East and West does not disappear. In addition to Kupala's *Tuteishiya*, the text *Адвечны шлях* (1921, The Eternal Road) by Ihnat Abdziralovič played a significant role in the identification process of Belarusian nationality. It was republished in Belarus just in the free period in 1993 as a highly topical work, which brought the tradition of literary-philosophical weeping to Belarusian literature, but also a different view and explanation of national revivalist thinking and the possibility of the development of the nation compared to the contemporary “village” works. Because of naming the causes of the problems with the national consciousness of Belarusians, Abdziralovič's work remained on the periphery of the interest of the representatives of Belarusian culture. In the text, Abdziralovič thematizes the Belarusian hesitation between East and West and cites several examples, including, for example, F. Skaryna, thus declaring the long tradition of this bipolar thinking, as it is already connected with the first Belarusian intellectuals. Compared to Kupala, Abdziralovič went further in his East and West cultural-identifying characteristics. A direct link to Kupala's work and Abdziralovič's essay is represented by the association of young writers *Tuteishiya*, which was founded in response to the need to intellectualize the Russified Belarusian society at the end of 20<sup>th</sup> century, but also as a reaction to the awareness of cultural belonging to the national literature, whose texts are the result of linguistic practice and the source of the ideological base of the Belarusian culture. The ideological basis of the association was expressed in the Manifesto of the *tuteishiya* (1987), which, however, was not officially published. Scholars who have delved deeper into the conception of the Manifesto have recalled its ideological connection with Abdziralovič. (Read more about a comparison of Kupala - Abdziralovič and the activities of the *Tuteishiya* association in the article Slivková 2022).

relationship of general national symbolism to authorial (subjectively interpreted) symbolism.

The search for the forms of the *tuteishasts* as a cultural feature between East and West was based on cultural-historical and literary interpretations of selected works of Belarusian literature with an emphasis on the depiction of cultural self-identification, as well as identification with the cultural environment and cultural boundaries. The result is the identification of other cultural contexts, which are recorded in the form of national stereotypes, historical, geographical, and geopolitical boundaries, and other similarities and differences in neighbouring cultural areas. Literary texts, the causes of their origin, and their functions co-create the image of national culture. They are evidence of the stratification of social phenomena leading to the interpretation of cultural specificities. Understanding of nation and nationality are initially articulated not in terms of ideology or politics, but in terms of cultural artefacts and symbols. Moreover, it has already been proven that the so-called problematic history of literature is a productive methodological approach to the examination of literary-historical material, which can provide answers to many other questions of contemporary literary thinking (Taneski 2021:33). The historical experience of the individual reflected in the experience of the community initiates changes in the understanding of specific elements of culture. It is similar to the effort to create non-traditional features of national identity and their image in literary works, the function of which is not only appellative but also provocative and polemical. These functions “replace” coping with this “problematic”, e.g., attempts to define the position of Belarusian literature between the Slavic East and West, which is cyclically repeated in the assessment of Belarusian literature<sup>5</sup>.

It reflects the country’s geopolitical status, functioning in multinational units that have long corrected the linguistic or religious question of the nation. It reveals the multilayer and multidirectional nature of the cultural history of Belarus. According to Škvarna (2004),

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<sup>5</sup> In the Belarusian literature, a national canon with patriotic overtones, whose central idea is the service of the nation and the centre of attention are important personalities – classics J. Kupala, J. Kolas, M. Bahdanovič in the first place, and which is also transferred to other and further literary periods – U. Karatkevič, I. Melež, V. Bykav, A. Razanav (20<sup>th</sup> century) to the present I. Babkov, E. Vežnavec, A. Brava, A. Bacharevič, etc. The question of language – use or non-use of the Belarusian language is one of the most stable motifs in the history of Belarusian literature and is one of the most frequent symbols.

the set of national symbols includes various objects, persons, events, and phenomena that are symptomatic and identifying for a given nation. The degree of importance, attractiveness, and frequency of their use varied, as did the means of spreading and cultivating them. They could also be supported and hampered by socio-political conditions, and they could find their image in art or take a public form, such as meetings, events, and demonstrations. In the case of nations formed in the conditions of absent independent statehood, symbols were created more complicated, and their literary image, as well as its interpretation, also seem to be a more demanding process. The typology and attention to such identification of symbolic elements and their interconnection were aptly summarized by Ivan Novik (2021: 93)<sup>6</sup>

Intellectual historians – to whom I am counting – have their peculiar guilty pleasure: to see in the past peculiar “rhymes” that, despite the linear syntax of causal development, combine characters and events that have no connection and are scattered in centuries or space,

thus he supported considerations on the possible adaptation of interpretations in particular historical periods, but at the same time he is emphasizing the stability of symbolic elements in the historical memory of the community.

### 2.1. Theories about *tuteishasts*

Based on a sociological survey conducted in August 2016 by the *Centre for European Transformation*,<sup>7</sup> attitudes were published calling on the Belarusian population to choose between *Western and Eastern* identification. When asked whether Belarusian culture is closer to Russian or European (meaning Western), 73.7% of respondents answered that it is closer to Russian culture. 7.4% of respondents associated it with European culture, and 17.8% claimed that Belarusian culture *is unique* and cannot be associated with either option. The Belarusian nation is considered independent by 71.4% of respondents, 10% had a problem with the question, and 5% categorically disagreed with this opinion. Those who said that the nation does not *yet* exist were

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<sup>6</sup> “Intelektuální historici – k nimž se počítám – mají svou zvláštní guilty pleasure: spatřovat v minulosti svérázne „rýmy“, které navzdory lineární syntaxi kauzálního vývoje spojují do jednoho duchovního rejstříku postavy a události, jež nemají žádnou souvislost a jsou rozptýlené ve stoletích nebo v prostoru.”

<sup>7</sup> The results of the survey were published in an article on tut.by online: <https://news.tut.by/society/537324.html>

further asked what it lacks to call itself a nation – 63.9% of respondents answered that *everything*, and 12.7% of respondents stressed that economic independence is lacking. In the next block, respondents were offered the opportunity to identify themselves with different *social groups* (e.g., Belarusians, locals, Orthodox, etc.). Almost 67% of respondents identified with Belarusians often, and 17.4% only sometimes. Practically never felt as Belarusians, 2% of respondents. As many as 53% identified with *locals* (my town, my village) often and 26.6% sometimes. Based on these results, four types of identification were determined – East Slavic, local, universal, and unidentified/indeterminate. *Localness*<sup>8</sup> connects people who are rooted in place. According to tut.by, the specific features of these people include a greater trust in the East than in the West. Most people (up to 86%) identified with localness in the Hrodna region, while the least number of people identified with localness in the Mohilev region – 10.5%. Multicultural, and thus universally self-identified, is predominantly the Belarusian metropolis of Minsk.

The question of localness exists in multiple contexts, whether in national literatures or interdisciplinary research. Radoslav Passia (2014) speaks of so-called *moving geography*, which results in the mixing elements of different cultures, mainly in border areas. Writing about the cultural specificities of eastern Slovakia, he identifies local identity as

(...) a meeting point and a place of the encounter and adoption of different cultural influences in the broadest sense of the word. It mixes westward and eastward-oriented populations, ethnicities, religions, and political interests (Passia 2014:7)<sup>9</sup>.

A similar scheme can be applied to characterizing the Belarusian area, whether in its historical form, e.g., in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania or even within its current borders. The oscillation between East and West manifests itself in several directions, while in the cultural identification process, it takes precisely the form of *tuteishasts*, rooted in linguistic awareness but also in literary reflection. Simplistically, it can be said that it is a derivative of the word *mym* (*here*) and is applied as an adjective referring to people, language, culture, etc.

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<sup>8</sup> It can be identified with the observed concept of *tuteishasts*.

<sup>9</sup> “(...) miesto stretu a preberania rôznych kultúrnych vplyvov v najširšom zmysle slova. Mieša sa obyvateľstvo orientované na západ aj na východ, tiež etniká, náboženstvá a politické záujmy”.

According to Kapranova (2020), the spiritual richness of the Belarusian nation was formed in the context of the East Slavic mentality at the crossroads of Western and Eastern culture. Among the most distinctive features of the self-identification of Belarusians is their connection with their native land, which also organically entered the process of national consciousness. According to Aleňkova (2017), the features of Belarusian culture include moderation, self-irony, Christianity, and reserve towards change. She comments more cautiously on the linguistic issue because the Belarusian language went through the codification process relatively late compared to other European languages and consequently was under Soviet influence for 70 years, in which Russian was not only the language of communication but also a symbol of Sovietness. This is also why the current identifying features of Belarusian nationality do not include ethnicity or language but culture in the broadest sense. She also emphasizes the modern influence of so-called hybrid identities, which can be individual based on the different experiential complexes of an individual, including belonging to two cultures, but also at the nation's level. For example, the cosmopolitan identity of the world citizen is a frequent phenomenon. *Tuteishasts* Aleňkova (2017:42), defines it as

a peculiar form of identity, characterising the attachment of Belarusians to their “small motherland”, “native land”, to their local culture. The *tuteishasts* complex is assessed contradictorily, from the cause of national tragedy to a form of cultural resistance.<sup>10</sup>

In 1995 in the magazine *Kultura (Culture)*, Rychor Hrudnicki<sup>11</sup> stated:

The *tuteishasts* of a Belarusian is a tacit self-identification, a peculiar coordinate system that determines the form of connection between Belarusians and the world. In this coordinate system, a Belarusian does not exist without the world, and the world does not find its name without a Belarusian. This coordinate network is a space created by Belarusians and created by Belarusians. Through this

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<sup>10</sup> “своеобразная форма идентичности, характеризующая привязанность белоруса к „малой родине”, „родному куту”, к локальной культуре. Комплекс тутэйшасці оценивается противоречиво – от причины национальной трагедии до формы культурного сопротивления.”

<sup>11</sup> Quoted from the text by Zmicr Padbiarecky from the section *Cytaty minulaha* (Quotes from the past), available: online: <https://www.svaboda.org/a/797419.html>

“subjectivization”, the objective space of life acquires a soul, a living aspiration, and through it, the Belarusian rises above every day, creating the heavenly from the earthly on earth.<sup>12</sup>

Thus, according to Hrudnicki, *tuteishasts* is not only a local belonging but also a kind of connection of Belarusians with the world, their subjective interpretation of the world, i.e., it takes on the contours of a worldview element in Belarusian self-identification, expressing the notion of an ideal coexistence of being.

Valer Bulhakav (1998, see Peršaj 2012) explains that *tuteishasts* can be seen as a transitional (middle) stage in the gradual cultural transformation along the axis *Litvin* (inhabitant of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) – *Tuteishiya* – Belarusians, i.e., a period when there were no more Litvin, but there were no more Belarusians either. According to contemporary sources, *tuteishasts* is evaluated from two sides, e.g., in Janko Kupala, it is “вялікае нішто” (big fat nothing) in the sense that this neutral (non-conflicting) attitude does not help the development of the nation, but Kanstancyja Skirmut, on the contrary, speaks of *tuteishasts* in a positive sense as a local patriotism – “связь з роднай зямлёй, гэта патрыятызм” (connection with the native land, that is patriotism). Ales Smaľančuk notes that the concept of *krajovasc* evolved from *tuteishasts*, which were associated in the noble milieu with the idea of independence of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania. And “*krajovasc*<sup>13</sup> and *tuteishasts* were, in their essence, special cancellers of “Lithuanianness”: each with its own status and defining “sign” – noble and peasant, respectively.”

Thus, Smaľančuk sees the difference between *tuteishasts* and *krajovasc* in social status, but identification with locality is the basis of

<sup>12</sup> “Тутэйшасць” беларуса – гэта маўклівая самаідэнтыфікацыя, своеасаблівая сістэма каардынат, якая вызначае форму злучнасці беларуса і свету. У гэтай каардынатнай сістэме беларус не існуе без свету, а свет не знаходзіць свойго наймення без беларуса. Гэтая каардынатная сетка ёсць прасторай, якую стварае беларус і якая стварае беларуса. Праз гэтую „суб’ектывацыю” аб’ектыўная прастора бытавання набывае душу, жывое памкненне, і праз яе ж беларус узнімаецца над побытавым, будзённым, ствараючы нябеснае з зямнога на зямлі.”

<sup>13</sup> “Краёвасць і тутэйшасць былі ў сваёй істоце адмысловымі адменнікамі “літоўскасці”: кожная са сваім станавым “знакам” – шляхецкім і сялянскім адпаведна.” For details about *krajovasc* see Ales Smaľančuk – *Krajovasc o belaruskaj i litovskaj historyi 1905 – 1940*. online: [https://portalus.ru/modules/belarus/print.php?subaction=showfull&id=1045747648&archive=refcul1126090284&start\\_from=&ucat=4&](https://portalus.ru/modules/belarus/print.php?subaction=showfull&id=1045747648&archive=refcul1126090284&start_from=&ucat=4&)

both concepts. Similar attitudes are preserved in the ethnographic and linguistic research of Javchim Karski, who fixed the mode of cultural identification as the answer to the question *Who are you?* The common people answered this question a *Russian* if they were not a Catholic; if they were a Catholic, they answered a *Pole*, but sometimes they also sometimes called their native land Lithuania or answered that they were a *tuteishiya* – “local, of course, contrasting himself with those who speak Great Russian, as immigrants from the western region” (Karskij 1992: 29).<sup>14</sup> Based on these characteristics, one of the characteristics of the *tuteishasts*, along with their religion and social status, was the use of a language other than Russian or a modified language, as the case may be. In contemporary texts, e.g., in the newspaper *Litwa*, which was published in the early 20th century, the editor Miačyslav Davojna-Syŭvestrovič reacted to efforts to Belarussianise the newspaper by saying that *tuteishiya* speakers of “на-просты” (simply) did not consider themselves to be Belarusians, but rather Litvins.<sup>15</sup>

Inna Kalita (2010) looks at *tuteishasts* as a psychological subtext of the emergence of a linguistic mix – *trasianka*. It is based on the opinion of V. Kavalenka (1989), who writes in the preface to Kupala’s *Tuteishiya* (*The Locals*) about the main feature of *tuteishasts*, expressed in the feeling of helplessness, “I do not know what to do”. To this, she adds the opinion of Piotro Vasiučenka that in the case of *tuteishasts*, it is a social grief or a syndrome of national immunodeficiency. She finds the opinion of culturologist Julia Čarňavska more acceptable, according to whom it is about the impossibility of identifying with the state due to historic conditions. She speaks of so-called bi-psychologism – a double standard of linguistic and axiological thinking (Kalita, 2010: 122). Čarňavska (2010) highlights the connection to the land and its cultivation and the distrust that stems from this towards the lords and anyone who does not cultivate the land, e.g., the townspeople. Kalita stresses that *tuteishasts* is not only a defensive stance, but it is also a state of the border, a borderness/transitivity, i.e., the ability to receive and sell information in different directions on both sides of the border. Among the features of the *tuteishasts* Kalita, according to Čarňavska, are tolerance and polyconfessionality. Kalita defines *tuteishasts* as a contradictory

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<sup>14</sup> “мясцовы, канечне процістаўляючы сябе таму, хто гаворыць па-вялікаруску, як прыхадноў заходнім краі”

<sup>15</sup> Available online: <https://issuu.com/dziejaslou/docs/dz-67/274> according to Historyja filasofskaj i hramadska-palityčnaj dumki Belarusi, Tom 1, Minsk, 2008, NAN Belarusi, Instytut filasofii.

phenomenon combining reconciliation and defiance at the same time as the psychological subtext of the emergence of the *trasiianka*:

Trasiianka is not a language, it is a trans-communication channel, a “channel of tolerance”, which serves to absorb and exchange foreign and domestic elements, it is a way to preserve one’s endosphere through conflict-free resistance. (Kalita, 2010: 125)<sup>16</sup>

Aleksandr Peršaj (2012) speaks of the absent homogeneity of Belarusians, the reasons for which are visible in the historical context and led Belarusians in the period of the 18<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> centuries to a strong sense of awareness of “отчуждения и различения между “нами” и “ими”” (alienation and differentiation between “us” and “them”) and further between Catholics and Orthodox, between Belarusians, Poles, and Russians. At the same time, this attitude makes it possible to see the multiplicity of the opposition of friends – enemies, ours – not ours, ours – foreign and therefore understands *tuteishasts* as not an individual characteristic but as a way of socio-cultural organization of space in these complex conditions (p. 254), emphasizing the plural “they” in contrast to the Belarusian “we”. *Tuteishasts* is an essential element for Belarusian national discourse in conceptualizing and interpreting Belarusian mentality, national identity, the crisis of national revival, etc. However, it also reminds us that the Belarusian national revivalist intelligentsia attaches more importance to this concept than the Belarusian population. Peršaj views *tuteishasts* as a possibility of social mobility, i.e., by not choosing one of the parties (national, religious, linguistic), the population was allowed to move between social statuses – e.g., to get another job, etc. because, in that period of time “in that system of social relations, nationality was not just an “ethnonym”, a “name” – it regulated the right to access certain social resources. As soon as a person could be “named” Belarusian, Jew, Pole, Russian, etc., he or she became “visible” in the system of social stratification.” The polylingualism of the *tuteishiya* reasons similarly. Only the Belarusian national project – the revivalist efforts of the early 20th century, tried to present Belarusians as an independent nation, opposing the existing structure of “half-Russians” or “defective Poles”.

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<sup>16</sup> “Трасянка – не язык, это транскомуникационный канал, „канал толерантности”, служащий для поглощения и взаимообмена чужих и своих элементов, это способ сохранять свою эндосферу посредством бесконфликтного сопротивления”

Peršaj sees the silence and passivity of the *tuteishiya* as a form of cultural resistance that allowed this social group to remain “unaligned” and mobile; he speaks of the tactics of cultural resistance. The *tuteishasts* ignored the politics of national identification that gripped Europe in the modernist period because it allowed for differentiation, enabled change, expressed local belonging and patriotism, was uncontrollable, allowed for social mobility, and represented an alternative character of Belarusian national identity. The depoliticized “here” is explained by Peršaj as a possible way of expressing autonomy. In the history of Belarusian cultural transformation, he considers the more important question to be not who they were but how they dealt with the conditions. Moreover, at the same time, like Passia, he stresses the connection of localness with the geographical territory (p. 268), which is always a unique composition/mix of historical, socio-cultural, and political conditions, which in turn determines the arrangement of things in a particular region.

Aleh Latyšonak (2012) attempts to demythicize the *tuteishasts* by developing its idea in various forms, relying on contemporary sources such as *Dziennik Poznański* of 1887, which refers to the Belarusian nation as good and peaceful, but also lazy and non-conflicted, i.e., one that any reasonable government could use for its ends. He also refers to the Belarusian ethnographer Adam Bahdanovič (1895), whose opinion is similar to that of Javchim Karski; when you ask them who they are, they answer – *tuteishiya*. Both views are united by the idea that they are a sign of Slavic culture. The idea of the *tuteishiya* in the interpretation of the writer Francišek Bahuševič is close to the “double consciousness” (Belarusian/Lithuanian and Polish at the same time), i.e., to the later extended form of the so-called *krajovasc* (from the idea of “Kraj” – Grand Duchy of Lithuania). In the sense of the union of the three nationalities, it would be possible to understand *krajovasc* as an idealized form of *tuteishasts*. The common element of the individual characteristics of the *tuteishasts* is that it is primarily about Belarusian-speaking peasants. According to both Smaľančuk and Peršaj, the *tuteishiya* expressed their attitude towards belonging by choosing not to choose. According to these views, Latyšonak (2012: 227) summarizes

The designation “*tuteishiya*” originally meant only the inability of Belarusian peasants to name their nationality. The very term “*tuteishiya*” is apparently of Polish origin and probably was not characteristic of the population not only as a whole but even at least only of Western Belarus. (...) Fyodor Klimčuk, among the authors known to me, took the most extensive look at the existential essence of “*tuteishasts*”,

writing to me that the self-definition of people as local/*tuteishiya* means only that they and their ancestors were born here, and *tuteishiya* people prevail in the whole world!<sup>17</sup>

At the same time, he does not perceive *tuteishasts* as a specific character trait, adding that localness or connection to the environment (land, family, ancestors) is a standard part of human identity.

Michal Anempadystav, in the lectures of the so-called *Łatučaha universitetu* (Flying University, 2015<sup>18</sup>), among others, spoke about the ways of forming the Belarusian nation. In this lecture, he highlighted the functioning of the Belarusian nationality within the framework of two cultural models. One model is a natural evolution based on the continuous transmission of cultural traits from generation to generation, albeit without awareness of the origin. The second model is post-Soviet and consists of a mix of Soviet and Russian ideology with elements of Belarusian culture, which appears to be very unstable and, if threatened, breaks down into several identities, such as Russki mir, Orthodoxy, etc. These models coexist and thus create two ideas of the Belarusian nation that are incompatible or only marginally compatible. The Kupala perception of the *tuteishasts* is being abandoned in the 21st century, and an interpretation based on regional patriotism is being adopted. In this context, the positives of such patriotism are discussed, for example, by Łavon Tarasevič, who compares it to similar activities in Finland, Germany, or France. At the same time, he adds that *tuteishasts* can be perceived as a negative feature if it is a nation-building aspect. Anempadystav draws attention to the constant need for self-identification, which is also actualized in modern times as a reaction to

<sup>17</sup>“(…) тутэйшасць на злome XIX і XX стагоддзяў характарызавала не толькі беларускіх, але і польскіх сялян, яна з часам стала польскім „крэсовым” міфам адсутнасці нацыянальнай свядомасці ў беларусаў.” (At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, *tuteishasts* characterized not only Belarusian, but also Polish peasants; over time, it became a Polish “kresy (borderlands)” myth of the lack of national consciousness among Belarusians.) (Latyšonak 2012: 228)

“акрэсленне „тутэйшы” першапачаткова азначала толькі няздольнасць беларускіх сялян назваць сваю нацыянальнасць. Сам тэрмін „тутэйшы, відаць, польскага паходжання і, верагодна, не быў уласцівы насельніцтву не толькі цэлай, але і хоць бы толькі Заходняй Беларусі. (...) Фёдар Клімчук найшырэй з вядомых мне аўтараў глянуў на экзістэнцыяльную сутнасць „тутэйшасці”, пішучы мне, што самаакрэсленне людзей як мясцовых/тутэйшых абазначае толькі тое, што яны і іх продкі тут нарадзіліся, і тутэйшыя пераважаюць ва ўсім свеце!”

<sup>18</sup> Available online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NTZVI6rdFOU>

unfavourable conditions, giving as an example the regional “Novorussian” or “Luhansk patriotism” shaping in Ukraine.<sup>19</sup>

Historically, the Polish environment, which was influenced by the Belarusian one, significantly impacted the formation of the Belarusian nationality, but in the end, all cultural manifestations were eventually labelled as Polish. Local patriotism later emerged within this model as so-called Litvinism, which the author considers Belarusians’ first self-identification. As an example of the development of this perception, he cites the works of writers U. Syrakom’fa or V. Karatynsky, who developed the concept of the “younger brothers” of Polish culture; he is also critical of F. Bahuševič (originally Polish), who, according to him, looked down on Belarusian culture, perceiving it as weak and neglected. Anempadystav sees a real awareness of Belarusianness only in the so-called *Nasha Niva* period, but in subsequent historical conditions, the administration of the state changes hands until finally, the society becomes Sovietized. Perhaps the most interesting part of the author’s reflection is the identification of the so-called dominants of Belarusian culture (fundamental values), which “keep the culture”. Among the pillars of Belarusian culture, Anempadystav includes also *tuteishasts*, which he explains as a deep-rooted way of colonization of the Belarusian territories by Slavic tribes and which, in turn, is related to the natural forest cover, in which there is no notion of distance and remoteness<sup>20</sup>. Here we seem to find an overlap between the views presented so far – moving away from Kupala’s assessment of *tuteishasts* as undecided and passive but emphasising the importance of pacifist, democratic and centralist positions. This model is also consistent with a typology of perceptions of stereotypical traits of nations, in which the individual tends to evaluate his or her group in an overwhelmingly positive way in auto stereotypes.

The writer Siarhej Zakonnikav in his reflection *Razdvoenasc* (Bifurcation, 2016)<sup>21</sup>, on the contrary, thematizes *tuteishasts* as a

<sup>19</sup> According to Jana Zapofskaj, available online: <https://www.racyja.com/sumezhza/belaruski-tryyalog-u-krynkhakh>

<sup>20</sup> “Тутэйшасць, зацыкленасць на сабе вынікае з закрытай прасторы – далей свайго двара не глянеш. Гэта праблема для паўстання нацыі, бо „тутэйшыя” не могуць ўявіць тэрыторыю сваёй краіны і свайго народа.” (*Tuteishasts* loop up in a closed space – you can’t look beyond your yard. This is a problem for the nation’s rise because the *tuteishiya* cannot imagine the territory of their country and their people.) online <http://journalby.com/news/belarus-dzve-roznyya-kulturnyya-madeli-498>

<sup>21</sup> Available online <https://sn-plus.com/2016/08/10/razdvoenascz>

weakness because although to be *tuteishiya* means to be neither Polish nor Russian, it does not mean to be Belarusian either. According to the author, this attitude may be historically acceptable in revolutionary or war times because then *tuteishasts* symbolized a protected status, but in the 21st century, it is not. He assesses it as alibism. He gives examples of Kupala's *Tuteishiya* heroes – the adaptable Mikita Znosak “with a real soul” and the prototypical Belarusian Janko Zdołnikav, who characterized the Belarusian situation as follows „overturning from nothing to nothing”. Neither of these heroes in their pure form, according to Zakonnikav, has a place in contemporary Belarusian identity.

Philosopher Ales Ancipenka considers the long-lasting presence of the *tuteishasts* in Belarusian culture as a kind of relapse reminding Belarusians of the need to clarify their cultural identity, i.e., the *tuteishasts* is

a relapse that reminds us that we must finally decide as a nation, who we are, with whom and where we are going, what is our choice – to the West, to the East, or stay here? *Tuteishasts* always reminds us that we have not yet made the final choice”, (...) “*tuteishasts* and language are the first foundations of Belarusian nationalism.<sup>22</sup>

He deals with the question of cultural-identifying elements in a rather radical way by stating that alongside language, it is *tuteishasts* language as a historical experience that should be the basis of Belarusian national consciousness.

### 3. Conclusion

A broad-spectrum view of the concept of *tuteishasts* leads to clearly identifiable elements of connection to land and place, while there is also agreement on the understanding of the social status of the *tuteishasts* – the peasant who primarily cultivated the land (Bulhakav, Kapranova, Aleŭkova, Čarŭavska, Kalita, Latyšonak, Peršaj). The difference is visible in the views on the core of social stratification. When

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<sup>22</sup> “рэцыдывам, які нагадвае нам, што мы ўрэшце мусім вызначыцца як нацыя, хто мы, з кім і куды ідзем, які наш выбар – на Захад, на Ўсход, ці застаемся тут? Тутэйшасць заўсёды нагадвае нам, што мы яшчэ не зрабілі да канца выбару”, (...) “тутэйшасць і мова – першыя падваліны беларускага нацыяналізму.” Available online:

<http://www.svaboda.org/content/transcript/1328704.html>

one evaluates the *tuteishiya* of earlier periods, one speaks precisely of the exclusion of others, including Russians; even Karski writes about any language except Russian; in the current sociological research, the room is declared as an identity close to the Eastern (post-Soviet, Russian). More or less constant is also the view that accentuates the impossibility of identifying with the state structure, which has translated into a “comfortable” position in which there is no need to choose sides. Speaking of sides, mixing cultural elements in the border environment in a broader sense, i.e., not only within the state border but also seems to be an appropriate definition. The mixing takes different forms on the chronological axis, combining national elements and registering penetration within social stratification. Blending is also characteristic of the plasticity of religion (Anempadystav) and the emergence of the modified linguistic phenomenon of *trasianka* (Kalita). The *Kupala tuteishasts* phenomenon is rather critically evaluated as an overcome phenomenon, which, however, as mentioned above, may also be related to the degree of auto stereotyping, when culture bearers tend to have a positive self-assessment. Interesting suggestions include those speaking of *tuteishasts* as a form of cultural autonomy and resistance (the option not to choose) or as a form of dual or alternative identity.

Looking in more detail, the concept is expanded by linking *tuteishasts* with other cultural features – language, literature, and art – but also with identification within the historical and modern Belarus population’s religious affiliation and social stratification. The most common interpretation we encountered concerning *tuteishasts* was that it is related to the impossibility of identification with a particular state due to the unstable Belarusian historical statehood, resulting in the so-called bi-psychologism as a notion of a double standard of linguistic and axiological thinking. The connection with the land and its cultivation and the distrust stemming from that place towards the lords and anyone who does not cultivate the land is also strongly emphasized. It follows that the linguistic competence of peasants, or people who live in areas where the land is traditionally cultivated, i.e., villagers, is also a feature of *tuteishasts*. The definition of the *tuteishasts* language is also varied – either it is the language of the peasants, or it is a language whose basis is to distinguish oneself from Russians or Poles, but not by choosing another foreign language, but by modifying one’s language. There is also a definition of “other than Russian”, a “trans-communication channel or tolerance channel”, which is supported by the existence of *trasianka* as a modified language mix that tolerantly accepts the choice of language elements used based on the personal preference of the language user.

The *tuteishasts* also has the contours of the worldview element of the Belarusians, as it is related to a certain Belarusian-centrism, to their subjective perception of the world from the place they are in, whereby in contrast to the Belarusian “we” is a multiple and diverse “they”. Therefore, too, a possible interpretation of the *tuteishasts* is not passivity but a form of cultural resistance that allowed them to remain unclassified and thus mobile within the country’s social structure. *Tuteishasts* ignored the politics of national identification that gripped Europe in the modernist period because it allowed for distinction and change, expressed local belonging and patriotism, was uncontrollable, allowed for social mobility, and represented an alternative character of Belarusian national identity.

In existing research, it appears that *tuteishasts* is a vital element for the Belarusian national discourse in conceptualising and interpreting the Belarusian mentality, national identity, the crisis of national revival, etc. It can be assessed as a complex cause of national tragedy but equally as a manifestation of strength and cultural resistance.

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### К ТЕОРИЯМ О „ТУТЕЙШАСЦІ“ В ИСТОРИИ БЕЛОРУССКОЙ ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ: МЕЖДУ ВОСТОКОМ И ЗАПАДОМ

В истории белорусской литературы можно найти множество примеров оппозиционных культурных отношений на оси *мы – они* (не мы, чужие) – особенно обособление так называемых *tuteishyh* от остальных этнических групп, прежде всего от русских и поляков. Корни биполярности культурной традиции и белорусских культурных признаков связаны не только с географической или языковой принадлежностью, но также со многими аспектами социального статуса. *tuteishasts* является для белорусского национального дискурса важным элементом концептуализации и интерпретации белорусского менталитета, национальной идентичности, кризиса национального возрождения и т.д. Ее можно оценивать как комплекс, как причину национальной трагедии, но в то же время, как проявление силы и культурного сопротивления. Анализированные теории и примеры из белорусской культуры указывают на положение культурной идентичности на перекрестке западной и восточной культуры. Интерпретация этих признаков и их частое и продолжительное присутствие в литературных текстах показывает, что эти явления в процессе национальной идентификации нельзя маргинализировать, поскольку они являются важной и стабильной частью представлений белорусов о самих себе и о других.

**Ключавыя словы:** Белорусская культура, культурная идентичность, *tuteishasts*

## **KNOWLEDGE OF HISTORICAL-CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE TRANSMITTED BY ARMENIAN SCRIBES OF HAMSHEN (XV-XVII CENTURIES)**

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**Abstract:** The present article focuses on the XV-XVII century scribes of the District of Hamshen, whose service to future generations cannot be overestimated. Founding their own centers of writing, they conveyed invaluable historical and cultural information, keeping to the traditions of Armenian writing, and demonstrating their profound knowledge of the spiritual and religious conventions of the time. The colophons they left in the manuscripts fill the gaps in the history of the District, proving that Hamshen was a spiritual diocese and sacred place for Armenians. They avail future scholars of an opportunity for interdisciplinary insights into the region in question. The thematic coverage of the reviewed colophons by Hamshen scribes, the miniature details and illumination irrefutably evidence that Hamshen was a unique center of Armenian spiritual life and Armenian writing.

**Keywords:** manuscript, colophon, medieval Armenia, Armenian scribes, Khakhtiq (Chaldia), Hamshen, historiographic genre, spiritual center

### **1. Introduction**

It is well known, that education is a major factor for preserving the identity of a nation. Thus it was in medieval Armenia, where even under complicated historical and political conditions, Armenian spiritual centers spared no efforts to continue educating, adhering to the teaching methodology that had come down from ancestors. In medieval Armenia, after the fall of the Armenian statehood in the XI century and the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia in the XIV century, monasteries took over the task of education. Some of them were treated as institutions of higher learning, were called *universities* or

*seminaries*, and had specially developed education programs. Upon completion, the students received the rank of Archimandrite and carried out spiritual-preaching and teaching activities, passing on their knowledge to future generations in Armenia and beyond. Armenian monasteries were centers of writing (Sahakyan 2020; cf. also Gasparyan, Sahakyan 2023) where, in keeping with the requirements of the time, the art of copying manuscripts and entering colophons was mastered.

As trustworthy historical documents, the colophons filled up the gaps in historiographic sources while concurrently reflecting the then existing artistic style and thinking. On the whole, the creators of colophons should be regarded as disseminators of knowledge rather than mere copyists. That is what makes the colophons of the manuscripts copied in Hamshen particularly valuable. They reveal facts about the history of the region in general and Hamshen District in particular, like, for instance, the information regarding the tax and ethnic policies pursued by the Ottoman rulers.

## **2. Objectives and Methodology**

The research aims to study the content coverage of the colophons, and the role of Armenian scribes of Hamshen in the development and dissemination of medieval spiritual knowledge. The main goal of the research is achieved through the employment of the historical-philological approach. Implementation of the comparative and restorative methods helps us study these important sources and reveal the valuable historical-cultural information imbedded in the colophons created by Hamshen scribes in the XV-XVII centuries. The research has been carried out on the basis of our observations made in a variety of valuable manuscripts stored in the Matenadaran in Yerevan, in the manuscript depositories of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem, the Mekhitarist Congregations in Venice and Vienna.

It is pertinent to note that in Armenian historiography information regarding Hamshen is far from being consistent. The gaps are filled with the colophons of the manuscripts from the XV-XVII centuries, copied by Armenian scribes of Hamshen in the scriptoria of Hamshen monasteries. The information they provide enables the scholars to conduct interdisciplinary research and restore the panorama of the Armenian District of Hamshen back in those days. Some of the colophons entered in these codices were described and analyzed fragmentarily or cursorily by various scholars (Archim. Tashian 1980, pp. 65-73; Edwards 1988, pp. 403-422; Voskian 1951, pp. 183-187; Cowe 2005, pp. 151-152; Khachikyan 2017, pp. 171-182).

### 3. Notes on the District of Hamshen and the Hamshen Scribes

The District of Hamshen<sup>23</sup> was part of Armenian statehood and played a key role in Armenian history. In the Graeco-Roman and Armenian primary sources reliable facts are documented which confirm that various tribes and ethnicities had left their historical and cultural traces in the basins and gorges of the Kajkar range of the Parkhar (Pontic) mountains<sup>24</sup>. The part Armenians played in the military, political and cultural life of the region is considerable. This set the stage for the formation of the Armenian Principality of Hamshen in the north-eastern outskirts of the region. The Greeks called the region *Chalib*, or *Armenochalib*; the inhabitants were called *Armenochalibs*. The Roman historian Pliny the Elder called the District of Khakhtiq *Country of Armenians* (Pliny the Elder 1938, p. 350; Cf. also Adonts 1971, p. 72). In reality, the Khakhtiq people were widely known iron manufacturers. Greek historians characterized them as discoverers of iron, and used the word *Khakhtiq* (*Chalib*) not as an ethnonym, but to designate the occupation of the people whose source of subsistence was iron processing (Ksenophont 2011, p. 124).

Because of the burdensome taxation in Eastern Armenia, back then under the Arab rule (end of VIII c.), Armenian princes Hamam and Shapuh fled Eastern Armenia with their families and 12 thousand of population and resettled in the inaccessible mountainous Tayk Province of Greater Armenia and the neighboring Khakhtiq District in 788-789 (Ghevond 1887, pp. 168-169). In the north-east of the Khakhtiq (Chaldia) theme of the Byzantine Empire Hamam Amatuni founded a semi-independent Armenian Principality and named it after himself – Hamamashen, i.e. created by Hamam (Mamikonyan 1989, p. 113). The Principality of Hamshen existed seven hundred years and only from the year 1489, due to the raids of Turkmen tribes and the invasive policy of the Ottoman Empire ceased to be Armenian (Avetaran 1489, p. 314b, p. 315ab).

The colophons in the Hamshen copied manuscripts shed light on the historical and political events taking place during that period. All the facts provided by the scribes, including the personal names and

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<sup>23</sup> Today Hamshen District is incorporated into Rize Province of Turkey.

<sup>24</sup> The Parkhar, or Pontic mountains run along the Black Sea coastline, beginning in the lower Chorokh (Akamsis) River in the east, and stretching as far as the valley of the Iris River. Different parts of the range are named differently. Thus, the eastern part with the Kajkar summit (3,937 m.) is called variably East-Pontic, Khakhtiq, Parkhar.

toponyms, are documentary confirmation about the existence of the Armenian Principality of Hamshen, and that even under oppression, Hamshen did not cease to be Armenian in spirit, and remained faithful to Armenian traditions.

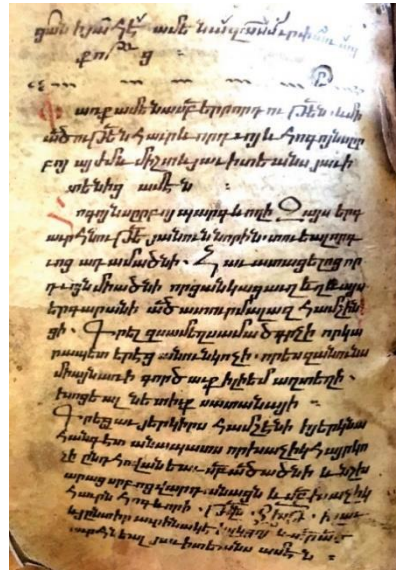
#### **4. Hamshen Scribes and the Thematic Coverage of the Colophons Created by Them**

The manuscripts and colophons copied in Hamshen reveal that until the forcible mass Islamization of the Armenian population in the XVIII century (Inchichian 1806, p. 397; Haykuni 1895, pp. 239-24) Hamshen was closely connected with Armenian spiritual and cultural centers and preserved Armenian identity. The role Armenian nobility of Hamshen played in it is of major importance. They commissioned local scribes to copy manuscripts, which were of applied relevance to spiritual life. No less significant for those who ordered – princes, members of the higher clergy, well-to-do families and common villagers was that the codices would pass down to their descendants. The scribes of Hamshen were clerics. Through copying manuscripts, they retained for generations the centuries-long traditions of Armenian writing and spiritual values. They were thereby disseminators of knowledge, since the colophons they added to the manuscripts also reflected immediate historical and linguistic realities.

The unique evidence, contained in the manuscripts and colophons copied by Hamshen scribes, indubitably proves that in the Diocese of Hamshen, the art of copying followed the principles of unity of Armenian spiritual culture, tradition of creating colophons, preservation of the Armenian language. The Hamshen scribes had a clear, beautiful handwriting, knew well the nuances of the medieval art of copying, the linguistic and grammatical rules of the Armenian language. In summary, they possessed all the necessary knowledge and skills that had been perfected and refined for centuries by the masters of Armenian illuminated book (Khacherian 1998, pp. 397-448).



Mashtots Matenadaran. Manuscript N° 7056, “Hymn”, Koloneia (Shabin Karahisar), Scribe and Miniaturist – Monastic Hayrapet from Hamamashen region.



Venice. Manuscript N° 2062, “Hymn”, Hamshen, village Eghnovit, Surb Khachik Hor Monastery, Colophon created by Scribe Priest Karapet in 1500.

Colophons in Hamshen manuscripts cover more than two hundred years – from 1422 through 1630 – a period rich in serious geopolitical developments in Armenia and the adjacent regions. These included the formation of the Ottoman Empire, occasional Turkmen inter-tribal clashes and Turko-Persian wars, just to name those that had left the most tragic imprint on the destiny of the Armenian people. From the colophons of Hamshen scribes it becomes obvious that the invasions of the Turkmen tribes of Kara Koyunlu and Kizilbashs and the aggressive policy of the Ottomans did not bypass the District of Hamshen (Khachikyan 2017, p. 172; Hay zhoghovrdi ... 1972, p. 35). Thanks to the information gathered from the scribes’ notes, it is possible to make the chronology of the reign of Armenian princes in Hamshen in the XV century, to find evidence that Hamshen Armenians were and remained loyal to their faith and the Armenian Apostolic Church.

It is hard to overestimate the significance of historical-cultural facts and household details found in the colophons. We learn that in the Surb Khachik Hor Monastery kept were the relics of the Saint Vardanants Martyrs (Sharakan 1512, p. 325b) – those who had gone to history for their boundless valor at the V century liberation war against

Persians (Yeghishe 2003, p. 114), and that several other sacred relics lay in the Khuzhka Monastery, a fragment of the Lord's Cross being one of them (Mashtots 1440, p. 228ab).

These scribes, wholeheartedly devoted to their cause, stood out for their zeal and humbleness. As it was accepted in the Armenian medieval writing tradition, they accompanied their names with words of self-humiliation, in spite of the fact that the manuscripts, copied or illuminated by them (Maranci 2007), were and still are examples of craftsmanship of the highest value.

In the XV century, among the spiritual figures of Hamshen particularly revered was the Supreme Mentor Hovhannes Hamshentsi. The son of a Hamshen baron, descendant of a "royal family" (Archim. Tashian 1980, pp. 42-49) he enjoyed boundless love and authority and occupied a leading position in the ranks of Armenian Archimandrites. Within the period from the 1440s to the 1490s he was able to establish two schools by the type of medieval higher educational institutions: in Avag Monastery of Daranaghyats District and, later, in Kapos Monastery in Yerznka District (Voskian 1951, p. 13-18; Qristonya Hayastan ... 2002, p. 122). This Mentor educated dozens of students, passed on to them his own vast knowledge and instilled high spiritual values (Karozgirk ... 1422-1425, p. 161a; ZZH dari hayeren dzeragreri hishatakaranner 1967, p. LXXXVI). His students named those educational institutions Universities and were proud to be taught by Hovhannes Hamshentsi whom they described as an enlightened, adamant, courageous and invincible orator.

Manuscripts and colophons, created in the period from 1499 to 1528 by another outstanding religious figure, the prolific Hamshen scribe priest Karapet, have also come down to us. The information gleaned from them sheds light on the events the scribe witnessed during the mentioned time span.

There is a noteworthy detail about the District of Hamshen in the large "Book of Psalms" impeccably executed by Bishop Karapet Jughaetsi in the Surb Khachik Hor Monastery of Hamshen in 1630. In his colophon, he calls the district "Khacheqar Diocese" (Saghmosaran 1630) which is yet another proof of the fact that, after falling under Ottoman domain, Hamshen still retained its status of a diocese in 1630 and continued to operate as a center of writing. However, following the Islamization of the population of Hamshen in the XVIII century, the scriptoria stopped functioning. The last manuscript known to us was copied in 1812.

Having first appeared in Armenian manuscripts in the V century, further on the colophons included in them developed into a

historiographic genre of great source-study value which flourished in the XIII-XV centuries and lasted up until the XVIII century.

In accordance to the style, established throughout centuries, the scribes traditionally noted in the colophon the time and place of copying the manuscript, the names of the customer and receiver and the persons immediately involved in the process of copying and illuminating the manuscript. Yet the necessity to adhere to these norms restricted the scribes and led to uniformity of the narration. However, the renowned scribes deviated from the rules to provide various unforeseen pieces of information, to give an account of the circumstances in which the copies were created. Thereby, they expounded the frames of the notes and delivered inestimable source material to future researchers (Papazyan 1956, pp. 115-120).

Typically Armenian in Hamshen colophons can be considered the listing of quite a few personal names of men and women representing the copyist's extended family and those who in this way or another participated in the creation of the given manuscript. The note normally ended with a request to the reader to remember in their prayers all the mentioned persons' names. As a result of this, a vast list of male and female personal names (*David, Stepanos, Yohannes (Hovhannes), Astvatzatur, Norlusin, Shahanush, Yasimin, Yeghisabet, Marem (Mariam)*, etc.), popular in Medieval Armenia, has come down to us and presents interest from a linguistic perspective. It is important that, judging by the number of female names, in the Armenian society of the historical period at issue women were not disrespected. Valuable are also the toponyms (*Kushiva, Koshtents, Khuzhka*, etc.), especially with the root *khach* ("cross" in Armenian): *Khachivanq, Khachapit, Khachovid*, etc.

The colophon as a historiographic genre is a written monument on its own, its content does not relate to the content of the manuscript in any way. As was mentioned, there were scribes who did not keep to the accepted norms and patterns of writing colophons. So, they added their own prayers, occasionally in a poetic form, thereby approximating their writing to Christian hymns. This certainly enriched the expressive means of colophon writing.

Hamshen scribe Hovannes Malaz in one of his colophons seemed to have foreseen the calamities that awaited Armenians of Hamshen and urged his people to be dedicated to their faith: steadfastness – to *believers*, coming to faith and orthodoxy – to *doubters*, readiness to defend themselves – to those *in danger of assault*, and – *may Christ the Lord grant peace and safety to Christians* (Avetaran 1523, p. 286b). The scribe's call was justified as in the 1520s-1530s, a census (*tahrir*) was

conducted in Hamshen, which was under the total administrative and political domination of the Ottoman Empire. The villages and taxable population were registered (387 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Karaman ve Rûm Defteri (937/1530)... 1997). From the remembrance note made in 1531, only 11 years after the census taking, we learn that neither had Hamshen escaped the Ottoman practice of *devshirme* – forcible recruitment of young adolescents from Christian families to replenish the ranks of *yanychars* (Zulalyan 1980, p. 330).

Tadeos Sebastatsi, a contemporary of those events, wrote in 1531 a poem, *Lament for the boys sent to Istanbul as captives*, truthfully describing the disaster that befell upon Armenians:

Tears poured down the mournful faces  
Of parents and brothers and sisters,  
Days of sorrow and sobbing set in,  
Words are unable to relate this.

Dressed in greyish sackcloth rags ,  
Sprinkled with ashes they sat,  
Weeping stricken with dread,  
Envyng those long ago dead.

When like lambs from their nursing ewes  
Torn were they from dear and loved ones,  
Wail and howl deafened the skies,  
Those were times of woe and cries (Zulalyan 1980, p. 331).

In the added prayers the scribes asked the Lord for the fertility of the soil, safety of the forests and pastures, sheep and cattle, barns and hives, thereby giving us some idea about the occupations in Hamshen in the period in question: they did farming, sheep and cattle breeding, bee keeping, etc. (Akhtarakan bshkaran 1499, pp. 106b-108a).

Curious are the prayers and spell-formulas intended to ward off demoniacism and evil spirits, diabolical forces, witchcraft and illnesses. The scribes believed that only through the Lord's power, through prayers and fasting is it possible to get rid of evil obsessions. An example of incantation against fever is the following, where the scribe addresses the demonic soul that caused the illness, in the meantime showing his respectful attitude to other religions:

If you are Armenian, I conjure you by the name of Jesus Christ,  
if you are Turkish – by the names of Ali and Muhammad, if  
Jewish, I conjure you by the names of Moses and Aaron, if any

other, I frighten you by the name of your king... (Akhtarakan bjskaran 1499, p. 64b).

The language of folk prayers is specific. It notably deviates from grammatical norms and is rhymed with the use of repetitions and puns, which often cause difficulty to understanding. Here is an example:

Azi, Mazi, Zarekhi, Zmrukhi, went to the valley tzirani<sup>25</sup>, herded in the valley, took out cheese hankhakhats<sup>26</sup>, those who saw – marveled, those who ate – burst into the air, so will all with an evil eye before God's servant (Akhtarakan bjskaran 1499, p. 68ab).

From times immemorable, various beliefs and spells are firmly instilled in everyday life of Hamshenians. The scribes, by including folk prayers into their colophons, sought to entwine them with Christian canonical prayers.

## 5. Conclusion

The results of the conducted study of the colophons by Hamshen scribes confirm that the Armenian Principality of Hamshen and the eponymous District were a spiritual and cultural center with a status of a Diocese. The Hamshen colophons are of great historiographic and cultural value, for they reflect truthful details of historical events, patriotic feelings and personal emotions of the scribes, their thoughts about the future and the destiny of their own people. They enrich the treasury of Armenian culture and hold their deserved place in the history of Armenian people and the region as a whole.

This comprehensive examination of the surveyed colophons from the hands of Hamshen scribes, along with the detail present in these illuminated manuscripts, irrefutably demonstrates Hamshen as a unique center of Armenian spiritual life and its written expression. Yet, the heavy blows of history abruptly changed the fate of Hamshen and Hamshen Armenians.

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<sup>25</sup> Tzirani – bright, beautiful. There was also a dye called *tzirani karmir* – tzirani red, produced in age-old times from shells; later on it was replaced by *vordan karmir* – Ararat cochineal (Malkhasents 2010, p. 339).

<sup>26</sup> Hankhakhats – cheese without rennet (Nor bargirk haykazean... 1836, p. 911).

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**ИСТОРИЧЕСКОЙ ЗНАЧИМОСТИ, ПЕРЕДАВАЕМЫЕ  
АРМЯНСКИМИ ПИСЦАМИ АМШЕНА (XV-XVII ВВ.)**

В настоящей статье изучается деятельность писцов Амшенского округа XV-XVII веков. Служение писцов будущим поколениям невозможно переоценить, так как создавая собственные центры письменности, они передавали бесценную культурную и историческую информацию, сохраняя традиции армянской письменности, и демонстрируя глубокое знание духовных и религиозных традиций того времени. Колофоны, оставленные ими в рукописях, заполняют пробелы в истории района, доказывая, что Амшен был духовной епархией и священным местом для армян. Они предоставляют будущим ученым возможность понимания рассматриваемого региона с междисциплинарных позиций.

**Ключевые слова:** рукопись, колофон, средневековая Армения, армянские писцы, Хахтик (Халдиа), Амшен, историографический жанр, духовный центр.

## **TIME AND MODERNISM: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PERCEPTION OF TIME IN ULYSSES AND THE SOUND AND THE FURY**

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**Abstract:** This study aimed to explore the concept of time as presented by writers of the Modernist movement, focusing on an analysis of two modernist literary works- James Joyce's *Ulysses* and William Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury*. These two authors introduced innovative literary techniques in their works, stressing the experience of time in a chaotic world. Both Joyce and Faulkner imbued their literary characters with a sense of Bergson's and Einstein's thoughts on duration, where fantasy, memories, and various physical sensations of the human body find shelter in the present, at times narrowing and at other times expanding. The characters in *Ulysses* are in search of a mental solution to the experience of time. The present is a lost time and the past is a lost paradise, while the future is a search for a lost paradise. However in *The Sound and the Fury*, the characters' language is based on irregular associations and memories, moving from a spatial sense of time to chronological alignment. The souls of the individual characters are haunted by the passing of time. Faulkner organizes a spatial disorder in *The Sound and the Fury*. In this study, through a qualitative analysis, involving the use of narratology, the psychoanalytic literary criticism of Bergson and Einstein, and textual analysis, it was possible to convey the divergent modes of the modernist use of time. This analysis showed how Joyce and Faulkner employed time as a means of bringing order to the chaotic nature of modern life.

**Keywords:** time, modernism, Faulkner, Joyce, Bergson, chaotic world, *Ulysses*, *The Sound and the Fury*

### **1. Introduction: time from the modernist perspective**

For 19<sup>th</sup>-century novelists, time was a vehicle for humanity's growth and development along with its desires, hopes, and ambitions. Various events marked a change in traditional connotations of time.

Characterization was considered important for a literary work following its logical and linear exposition. The organization of a literary work was based on the causal nature of the plot and the interaction between the characters and their environment. These ideas, on the treatment of time, are neglected in the modernist novel. According to Bergson, events are imaginary points of time in the continuous flow of time (2001 [1910]; 142). In many modernist works, instruments used to measure time become worthless, for example, the compass in Faulkner's *The Bear*<sup>1</sup> (1942), and the clock on the fireplace in F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*<sup>2</sup> (1925). Modernists eschew logical sequences in favor of spatial form.

Bergson's theory of time and consciousness made an important contribution to modernist notions of narrative. For him, time measured with clocks, calendars, and so on differs from time as experienced by the consciousness. Subjective consciousness helps us perceive time as it really is. Bergson refers to time as duration because it is based on continuum where the past and present merge. The human mind can understand the function of time only by measuring it through regular instruments, turning the time of duration into time measured by standards. In line with Bergson, "time only exists as duration and the clock the convenient but inadequate means by which a mechanistic world conceives and represents it" (Parsons, 2007; 111). The theory of duration is related to another idea of his, that of memory. Based on analyzing measured time and real time, he concluded that there are two diverse types of memory: unconscious memory, not accompanied by images, appears in moments of intuition or dreams which is called "pure memory" (Bergson, 2001 [1910]; 187); when the mind consciously repeats scenes of a previous event, or of a previous experience, it is called "habit memory" (Bergson, *ibid*; 187). *Pure* memory is spontaneous and continuous, while *habit* is automatic and broken into segments of observable instances. Duration is based on "pure" memory. Bergson's concept of time redefined humanity's ideas of existence, prioritizing time over space, the unconscious and continuous duration of consciousness.

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<sup>1</sup> In the novel, a young boy who is hunting a bear in the woods carries with himself elements of civilization such as a compass and a gun- a compass can use the direction of the sun to keep track of time.

<sup>2</sup> Time becomes an important metaphor in the novel. Gatsby expresses the desire to return to a happier time. There is a hopelessness in his aim to reverse the past.

A writer who contributed to a new perception of time was Marcel Proust with his novel *In Search of Lost Time*<sup>3</sup> (1913-1927). Proust grounds his work within the connotations of the mind, turning it into an analysis of the mental experience of time. His novel is based on a subjective experience of memory and time. Bergson goes further when he claims that his theories on the space/time relationship in the mind influenced Einstein's theories. Einstein's theories showed that the space/time relationship was inseparable as an interaction of a three-dimensional space with a fourth element, time. This intertwining builds the physical theory of the universe. Innovations made by these 20<sup>th</sup>-century intellectuals were used by modernist writers, of the 1920s-1930s, supporting the aesthetic rejection of traditional novelistic conventions regarding narrative chronology, the omniscient narrator, and external plot.

This article comprises a qualitative analysis of Joyce's *Ulysses* and Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury*. When analysing the narrative structures of the two novels, it is possible to evaluate modernist aesthetics in general, and the various forms of time exposition created by James Joyce, William Faulkner, and other modernist authors. Through a textual analysis of the two novels, a narratological interpretation, and the psychoanalytic literary criticism of the theories of Bergson and Einstein, it is possible to evaluate the various forms of time presented by these authors as a means of bringing order to the chaotic nature of modern life. Denzin et al (2023) argue that scholars can question the significance of texts through reading books. A detailed analysis of the texts written by Joyce and Faulkner facilitates a comparison of the ways in which time is exploited, as informed by the

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<sup>3</sup> Describing the importance of the *In Search of a Lost Time* and its themes, Roger Shattuck (1982; 6) suggests the following: „Thus, the novel embodies and manifests the principle of intermittent: to live means to perceive different and often conflicting aspects of reality. This iridescence never resolves itself completely into a unitive point of view. Accordingly, it is possible to project out of the *Search* itself a series of putative and intermittent authors... The portraitist of an expiring society, the artist of romantic reminiscence, the narrator of the laminated "I," the classicist of formal structure—all these figures are to be found in Proust.

The novel is about the loss of time, innocence, meaningless companionship and love, human pride and the victory of immorality, and misery. The author ultimately finds that daily life is significant, beset with moral delight and beauty, which may be abiding and recoverable despite being lost.”

theories of Bergson and Einstein. Furthermore, a study of the narrative structures employed by the modernist authors mentioned, using a narratological methodology, and the way in which they modify the display of modernist techniques are discussed. With regard to narratology, White suggests that, “far from being one code among many that a culture may utilize for endowing experience with meaning, narrative is a meta-code, a human universal on the basis of which transcultural messages about the nature of a shared reality can be transmitted” (2023; 1). A detailed analysis of the texts written by the two novelists facilitates a comparison of the types of time utilized.

This study developed the relevant literature by analysing the theme of time in relation to modern aesthetics. By focusing on the narrative structures of *Ulysses* and *The Sound and the Fury*, it is possible to evaluate modernist aesthetics in general, and the various forms of time presented by Joyce, and Faulkner. The aim of this article is to analyze the function of time in *Ulysses* and *The Sound and the Fury* through the relevant characters of both literary works, as well as determine its impact on the chaotic world of the macro cosmos and microcosmos of Dublin and the American South.

## 2. Literary Review: Complexity in the narrative style

As modernist novels, *Ulysses* (1922) and *The Sound and the Fury* (1929) are characterized by a complexity in their narrative style. The purpose of modernist writers, including Joyce and Faulkner, is more mimetic than diegetic. Therefore, the reader has more freedom to draw their own conclusions about events and characters. These writers envision an endless, chaotic world where individuals try to adapt to an unusual relationship with modern humanity. This bond produces alterations in the inner life of the characters that appear in distinct ways. Consequently, they are immersed in an interweaving of time (present, past and future), symbols, and myths through a language that mingles words and images.

Avoiding a linear exposition, time association in the plot of *The Sound and the Fury* is more specific. The interweaving of time (past, present and future) presents formal difficulties to a mass readership. Events from different time periods seem to occur simultaneously. Action time and narrative time are compressed. Time passes but the characters are unaware of it. They are trapped in the past, without the will to live in the present or the future. Every fragment of memory in Benjy’s, Quentin’s, and Jason’s interior monologue is related to their sister, Caddy. The three brothers wonder about her escape and overwhelm themselves with moments associated with her. The reader may notice

that the climax of the situation occurs before the narrated time. Therefore, the Compson brothers live most in the past, reasoning with the opportunity they lost. Caddy's disappearance does not allow them to inhabit the present while planning for the future.

The characters of *Ulysses* seek mental training on the experience of time. They want to improve themselves, immortalize certain moments from a happy past, aspiring to be more promising than in the present. Molly and Leopold Bloom are nostalgic about the past. The present is a lost time and the past is a lost paradise, while the future is a search for a lost paradise. For Mircea Iliade, this book is "fed with a nostalgia for the myth of eternal repetitions and the disappearance of time" (1954; 153). Events are cyclical and illogical, narrowing, as Faulkner does, narrated time and action time. Hence, character's experiences are shaped into temporal patterns

Sherwood Anderson's use of time is unique, with the present, past, and future intertwining as in a dream. He points out that the real story of life consists of a story of moments made together, only at special instants are we allowed to live (quoted in High, 1999; 51). Characters act in a climate of irrationality. In contrast to Anderson, Hemingway and Fitzgerald combine symbolism with psychological realism. Hemingway's style aims to convey the most content through the most compressed language, so the reader supplies the emotions and reasons for the fictional experiences and their significance. Hemingway, Dos Passos, and Faulkner employ a direct emotionless style with sounds and smells. Dos Passos portrays the complexity of modernism when he says: "everyone has been damaged by the modern experience" (quoted in High, 1999; 51). Modern society is characterized by meaning that does not convey meaning, but rather the loss of it, which is the *modern state* of living.

For Lukács (1978), the modernist novel offered a way to understand historical contingency by presenting human's interaction with the objective world. He argues that when this dialectical vision is set aside, the narrative loses its dynamic quality, focusing on the plot/subject or object. The novel becomes static, motionless, and the action focusses more on the person's unconsciousness. These elements are reflected in detached scenes and present human lives as static and hermetic. The traditional omniscient narrator provided the reader with comprehensive information about the action. The modernist writer, through the present tense and experimental viewpoints, gets caught up in a flow of emotions, memories, and sensations. Lukács thought that modernist experiments were dangerous because they undermined the importance and transformative power of human action (ibid; 110-148).

Frederick Jameson believed that novelists, poets, and critics “have stopped writing about time” (2003; 695). For the modernist novelists, time was a special theme in their narrative. Walter Benjamin emphasized that during modernism “Experience in the sense of skills developed over a long period of time, is replaced by one that is expressed through immediate sensations” (1969; 163). This technique is observed in many modern authors such as Gertrude Stein. Since there was not a real unity in the literary work, the focus was on the elements of experience through sensation. This meant a dissolution of the plot, characters, and the mime. She used the present continuous in her works *Three Lives* (1909) and *To Be American* (1925), as the characters lived in an extended present. Influenced by cubist paintings and the sense of the future in Henry James’s works, Stein moved towards the elements of abstraction in her narrative. She tried to replace the past tense of the narrative with the present continuous, using spatial form and displacement and exposing verbal cubism. Grahn argues that rather than “the emotional manipulation that is a characteristic of linear writing, Stein uses *play*” (1989; 18). *Sweet Stamps* (1913) consists of short prose lyrics, underlining word coordination, rejecting traditional novelistic form. The purpose was to transform time and historical perspectives into spatial structures.

### 3. The perception of time in *Ulysses*

While trying to analyze the differences between the traditional novel and the modernist novel of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, Samuel Beckett claims that “the new artist of the word has recognized the autonomy of the language and aware of the 20<sup>th</sup> century’s current towards universality, attempts to hammer out a verbal vision that destroys time and space” (1972; 79). This definition conveys the collapse of the traditional relationship between the literary text and the author. The text in the modernist novel is composed of unique styles acquiring independence from the author. As experimental works, they reveal the artistic autonomy of the creative process. While attitudes towards human consciousness were changing in the light of new developments in all study fields, the literary world was inspired by the theories of Freud, Bergson, William James, etc. Einstein and Bergson were two thinkers who influenced the development of the modernist novel in its treatment of time, simultaneously reflecting the 20<sup>th</sup>-century modernist understanding of consciousness. In the writing of *Ulysses*, Joyce was guided by Einstein’s Theory of Relativity.

In contrast to the traditional novel, where the passage of time is based on a logical sequence of events, in the modernist novel, time is

marked as an experience occurring in the mind of the characters. A typical example of this narrative technique is found in Joyce's *Ulysses*, with the reader following the experiences and sensations occurring in the characters' minds during a single day in Dublin. The story is based on the main characters' subjective experience of time. In an era of investigation and research on human existence and the source of quotidian phenomena, the universality of space and time was questioned by innovative theories in the field of Psychology, Physics, and so on. The same theories were reflected in the literary field, with modernist writers expressing their uncertainties about consciousness and the concept of time. Virginia Woolf's description of the modernist novel and the method used to express time and consciousness, captures contemporary thoughts and discussion about this problem. She describes the entire process as "a luminous halo, a semi-transparent envelope surrounding us from the beginning of consciousness to the end" (quoted in McNeille, 108).

Many critics consider Bergson's theories on time and space as precursors to Einstein's treatment of time. Einstein's theory ruled out the then-established thought that man could have certain knowledge of time and space. He conceived time and space as interacting with each other. Space is built on a three-dimensional spatial system, attached to a fourth temporal system. In one of his speeches, Herman Mikovski explains this innovative linking of time and space: "Henceforth space by itself, and time by itself, are doomed to fade away into mere shadows, and only a kind of union of the two will preserve an independent reality" (quoted in Lorenz et al, 1954; 75). For Einstein, the experience of time varies depending on its observer, meaning that universality is detached from time measurements. Matter makes space refraction possible. Specific conditions make observable facts possible. Even though it is theoretical physics, it influenced other fields of study. This development attracted the attention of modernist writers, who made Einstein's ideas on the universe their own. In addition to Woolf, and Dorothy Richardson, Joyce's *Ulysses* incorporates this theory of the universe.

In the Dublin of *Ulysses*, the fragments of people's lives during a single day are transmitted using the film montage technique. In the tenth episode, events and individuals from the novel are combined in nineteen scenes based on spatial and temporal contemporaneity. Atypical events take place in various places, but at the same time. The actions transpire in time and space simultaneously, rejecting the traditional opinion that time and space are solid and immutable. Many actions occur simultaneously. For these actions, Einstein thought it was impossible to determine where to start making a comparison. A

comparison could be made in terms of arbitrary structure as, unlike for observers, the simultaneity of actions is changed. From one episode to the next, numerous interludes appear, as the author does not explain what is happening in terms of the characters or the action, leaving it to the reader to connect fragments and establish meaning. The simultaneity of actions is achieved by means of numerous incidents. With a diachronic connection, the reader becomes part of an eternal present. This motif allows for the simultaneity of actions. Examples of events from contrasting times, united by simultaneity, are numerous.

Joyce uses space and time as a way of bringing order to the chaotic nature of modern life, despite providing temporal information in these and other episodes. Conmee's clock strikes "three minutes to five" (Joyce, 1961; 219), in the "Siren" episode, Bloom tells the time in the pub it is "four to five" (ibid; 173), thinking people's watches are not accurate and usually five minutes fast. In "Penelope", Molly gives the time, reminding herself that at "a quarter to three" (ibid; 747), she threw a coin to the sailor. In this same episode, Boylan decides to send Molly a gift, but the specific time at which he does so is made clear to the reader through other characters, for example, M'Coy reminds us that such a gift can be sent a little "well after three" (ibid; 233). These simultaneous actions show the time and transmit an element of realism in relation to the tenth episode of the novel, emphasizing that there is no internal distortion compared to the others, such as that of "Ithaca" and "Cyclops". The ten events in the episode create temporal relationships. As if to confirm this thesis, as Joyce sent letters to his friend Frank Budgen about the writing process of *Ulysses*, the latter stated that Joyce "wrote the Wandering Rocks with a map of Dublin before him on which were traced in red ink the paths of the Earl of Dudley and Father Conmee. He calculated to a minute the time necessary for his characters to cover a given distance of the city" (124-215).

The narrative technique employed in "Cyclops", is the first person. In this episode, two actions related to the act of urination appear. Two parallel actions intertwine, creating an atmosphere of ambiguity. The action's purpose is to express the dual time of the novel with an ambiguous tense. The scene is contextualized for the reader. The entire episode is marked by a lack of uniformity in space and time, serving in the entire novel to emphasize the division of different scenes and the avoidance of a coherent, logical narrative line. The events of "Cyclops" create tension due to many effects aiming to break the rhythmic elements in a stationary environment. The use of temporal dichotomy

serves to add tension to the events, expanding the various events within the narrative.

In “Ithaca”, Joyce posits a modernist existence based on Einstein’s ideas of a universe with a mathematical, physical, astronomical, mechanical, chemical, and geometric structure articulated by Stephen and Bloom. The theory of relativity questioned the very nature of human existence, its role in history and collective memory. In one of his accounts of writing “Ithaca”, Joyce explained to Budgen:

I am writing Ithaca in the form of catechism...all mathematical events arise in cosmic, psychic physics. Interesting so that not only will the reader know everything and know it in the most direct way, but therefore, Bloom, Stephen turns into divine bodies turning the stars to which they insist on (quoted in Gilbert, 1966; 161).

In “Ithaca”, Joyce’s desire to change time, narrative technique, and the novel’s styles introducing new approaches to novel-writing is brought into reality. Pursuing this approach, Joyce also links the three main characters of the novel to the mathematical language of tangents and vectors, Bloom, in particular, has a signature expression that reveals much about his personality. As a humanist he thinks of “scintillating uncondensed milky way, discernible by daylight by an observer placed at the lower end of a cylindrical vertical” (Joyce, 1961; 698). In *Ulysses*, the actions move between space, antiquity, and modernity. The end of “Ithaca” and “Circe” are based on a pantomime. Meanwhile, in the last episode of the novel, where the story of *Ulysses* ends, Bloom is transformed into a symbol of the possibilities of humanity, while Molly symbolizes the earth, Gea. At the end of the novel, as a conclusion, two questions are asked: Where? and When? requiring the answer of our characters, while expressing a concern about the effect of time and space. The end of the conversation ends with a dot. The answer to the question Where? is just a dot. If analyzed in the context of spatial-temporal interpretation, such a response implies Bloom’s withdrawal in the lair of time, as a means of generating and gaining strength to continue the pace in the days ahead.

When?

Going to dark bed there was a square round Sinbad the Sailor roc’s auk’s egg in the night of the bed of all the auks of the rocs of Darkinbad the Brightdayler.

Where? (Joyce, 1961; 731)

Theories about the universe and humanity's position in it together with life dilemmas are debated in this section. By means of the question and answer technique, Joyce presents Bloom and Stephen's impasses, each judging the other's answers by delving into their explanations while questioning discoveries in the fields of mathematics, and physical, human, and astronomical evolution. Avoiding interior monologue and focusing on an impartial narration of the role of the person addressing questions, gives the whole episode an objective aura, both earthly and heavenly. The whole piece moves from a dualism between the macrocosmic and microcosmic, from the universe as macrocosm and issues pertaining to the human being to Bloom and Stephen's microcosm of the streets of Dublin in their ordinary activities at home. The whole discussion between Stephen and Bloom is based on the search for and possibility of explaining the origin of humanity's existence. Bloom suggests a collision, starting from his conjectures about recent theories in geology, cosmology, evolution, and astronomy. As he explains the star system to Stephen, he lingers on the time/space approach to the infinite nature of the universe:

Meditations of evolution increasingly vaster: of the moon invisible in incipient lunation, approaching perigee: of the infinite lattiginous scintillating uncondensed milky way, discernible by daylight by an observer placed at the lower end of a cylindrical vertical shaft 5000 ft deep sunk from the surface towards the centre of the earth: of Sirius (alpha in Canis Maior) 10 lightyears (57,000,000,000,000 miles) distant and in volume 900 times the dimension of our planet: of Arcturus: of the precession of equinoxes: of Orion with belt and sextuple sun theta and nebula in which 100 of our solar systems could be contained...(Joyce, 1961; 688).

After this rationalization, he dwells on another exhausting, nonsensical elucidation of the planet's genesis and the species populating it:

Of the eons of geological periods recorded in the stratifications of the earth: of the myriad minute entomological organic existences concealed in cavities of the earth, beneath removable stones, in hives and mounds, of microbes, germs, bacteria, bacilli, spermatozoa: of the incalculable trillions of billions of millions of imperceptible molecules contained by cohesion of molecular affinity in a single pinhead...(ibid; 689).

In the conclusion, Bloom draws about the past, present, and the infinite, a typical myriad can be observed that is reminiscent of Einstein's gravitational universe:

That it was not a heaventree, not a heavengrot, not a heavenbeast, not a heavenman. That it was a Utopia, there being no known method from the known to the unknown: an infinity renderable equally finite by the suppositious apposition of one or more bodies equally of the same and of different magnitudes: a mobility of illusory forms immobilised in space, remobilised in air: a past which possibly had ceased to exist as a present before its probable spectators had entered actual present existence (ibid; 691).

These are Bloom's concluding, utopian thoughts.

Human existence and humans themselves can be doubted, but not denied by the theory of reality articulated by Bloom. If Stephen moves in his intellectual search from the known to the unknown, between a microcosm and a macrocosm, Bloom does the opposite, moving from the unknown to the known. Throughout the episode based on questions and answers, Bloom shows faith in the meaning of life. While trying to manage himself within the everyday microcosm, Bloom illustrates the arduous relationship of humanity with its environment. Based on the observation of the vast sky, Bloom notes that it takes many years for a star, after releasing its light, to reach the right destination to be easily perceived from the Earth. Richardson's thoughts on infinite multidimensional time and space, constituting a way to give more room to the consciousness, are cognate with Bloom's thoughts. She thought of creating a metaphor according to Einstein's theory that a human, considering himself an infinitely small space traveler, is "able to move forward, travel, faster than light, no matter how wide the distances are, because the cosmos, no matter how wide it may be, remains too small to imprison your consciousness, and however complex things may be, you can run past them and reach a region, perhaps a center... from which it comes or flows or radiates, whatever you call it, it sets things in motion..." (quoted in Fromm, 1995; 549).

#### **4. The perception of time in *The Sound and the Fury***

A human's existence and his personality challenge the unreal universe. Modernist writers are united in their adoption of Bergson's theory on duration and pure memory, in expressing the possibilities of time-spacing and the many unlimited relationships of individual consciousness. The language of Faulkner's characters consists of

irregular associations and memories, from a spatial sense of time to chronological alignment. Individuals are haunted by the passing of time. The association of memory with time was influenced by Bergson's notions on time, and Faulkner's treatment of time was shaped by these ideas. Bergson, from the earliest of his works, believed in the driving force of the unfavorable, which he thought existed in everyone (2001 [1910]; 95). Self-discovery is achieved by analyzing one's own memories, focusing the attention on the flow of time. He believed that humanity's greatest miscarriage was to fail to conceive the relationship between time and the individual and other factors, while thinking of it as a continuum. None of Faulkner's characters have the intelligence to understand human development, or life fluidity, to gain knowledge about themselves and the will. Benjy's mental disorder does not provide him with the competence to understand the passage of time. Quentin is haunted by a will to put an end to this transition, focusing on one segment of time, in the future of imaginary desires, bypassing all contact with the past. Although Dilsey seems to be the only character in the novel aware of the linear development of time, she remains limited in this respect, perceiving it from a religious viewpoint. If we are to search for an experience, according to Bergson's theory, regarding Dilsey, we will experience it in the religious community, in the scene with the priest Shegog.

We can correlate the analyses of Benjy with Bergson's research on children, whose problems are like his own. During a five-year study, Bergson reached "all literature devoted to memory and the psychological phenomenon of aphasia, the lack of use of language. According to theories of the period on motor psychology, brain damage affecting speech must also affect the main psychological power of the whole brain" (ibid; 234). Contrary to this statement, Bergson believed that an individual suffering from such an injury "understands what other people say and what he himself want to say, does not suffer from a paralyzes of any speech organ and still remains unable to speak" (Encyclopedia Britannica 30). Disorganization of time is a more sensitive issue in the modernist novel than the spatial one, but a latter approach becomes complex due to modernist narrative structure, as in the case of stream of consciousness. Time disorder arises from a certain action in Benjy's mind, such as hanging clothes on a nail. While hunting, like many other members of the Compson family with memories of Caddy, he recalls a moment when

Caddy uncaught me and we crawled through. Uncle Mary said to not let anybody see us, so we better stoop over, Caddy said. Stoop over, Benjy. Like this, see. We stooped over and

crossed the garden, where the flowers rasped and rattled against us. The ground was hard (Faulkner, 1990; 3).

These examples where the action in the present produces memories related to the past are numerous. The reader seems to travel in time, from the present to the past and vice versa. From a narrative perspective, the “time of events” in the traditional novel merges with the “time of discourse” typical of its modernist counterpart (Genett, 1990; 33). We can also find this similarity in Joyce. According to Anthony Giddens’s definition, this desire to play with time, found in Joyce and Faulkner, is called “the emptying of time”, and as a typical modernist technique, it was also enhanced by the impact of Bergson’s theories about time and memory (2001 [1910]; 18). Jean Paul Sartre, in his study on *The Sound and the Fury*, states that “the past takes on a sort of super-reality; its contours are hard and clear, unchangeable. The present, nameless are fleeting, is helpless before it” (quoted in Giddens, 1990; 18).

In the passage cited, it is possible to perceive a development in chronological time by placing all the events in a certain year, 1898. In Benjy’s mind, it is impossible to create a spatial designation for the events. His mental disorder is the reason he is incapable of chronologically ordering all the actions happening at once. Benjy is involved in a spatial stalemate producing emotional turmoil in his mind regarding memories of Caddy. Such an impasse has been described as a “spatial emptiness”, (Giddens, *ibid*; 19) typical of modernist narrative navigation, losing the connection between space and the designation of a certain region or place.<sup>4</sup> The reader is placed at the center of this regulation, and it is their task to collect the images and temporal and spatial fragments through the characters’ unconsciousness to give shape and meaning to the story of the novel. If the action takes place in the person’s consciousness, for example Benjy’s, it becomes impossible to build a spatial perception in the tale. In Benjy’s section, the spatial perception is reached in his psyche with key words as points of orientation facilitating the transmission of meaning to the reader.

Like Joyce’s fiction, Faulkner’s has been classified as post-colonial literature. This literature tried to remap and occupy spaces that had been appropriated by colonial systems, with spatial disorder at its

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<sup>4</sup> Giddens explains that in the progressive charting of the world that led to the creation of universal maps, perspective played a minor role in the representation of geographic positions and forms, where space was defined as independent of a country or region.

foundation (Said, 1994; 210). As defined by Billy Ashcroft *et al*, post-colonial literature often tries to “negotiate a gap between worlds, a gap in which the simultaneous process of abrogation and appropriation constantly strive to define and establish their practice” (1989; 38). To escape this practice, writers try to alienate space by repopulating it and turning it into a living environment. In contrast, Faulkner experiences these spaces with human beings who find in it only loss and failure. Therefore, the pursuit of spaces is achieved through primitivist colonialist rulers’ ideas. What concerns these novelists is the lack of accurate orientation coordinates on a map for controlling any type of space and object.

Dilsey’s perception of time differs from that of the three Compson brothers. Her temporal worldview exists within a religious context, just like her existence. Her attitudes and actions throughout the novel are in stark contrast to those of the Compson family, but her presence threatens stability and order, which is even reflected in her perspective of time. She is one of the realistic voices in the novel due to her accepting reality as it is. Consequently, her experience of time is the most truthful. Throughout the novel, in contrast to the Compson brothers, she is the only one who reminds us of a linear time passage as a natural phenomenon of everyday life.

On the wall above a cupboard, invisible save at night, by lamp light and even then evincing an enigmatic profundity because it had but one hand, a cabinet clock ticked, then with preliminary sound as if it had cleared its throat, struck five times. “Eight o’clock,” Dilsey said (Faulkner, 1990; 342).

Dilsey experiences time in its fullest sense, in contrast to the Compson brothers, of whom Quentin lives in the past and cannot cope with its chronological aspect, as Jason exists only for the triumphant future, and Benjy occupies an inconceivable spatial dimension. Since Dilsey faces life in a religious context, even her experience of time takes on this meaning, incorporating shades of eternity as the Christian faith resistance symbol, Christ, is an example of overcoming time. Time contains elements of eternity. This sense contradicts the mindset presented in the novel by the Compson brothers, considering time as a source of destruction, decay, or renewal.

To analyze Quentin’s relationship with time, one passage is particularly revealing. While he is looking at the window of a store in which different watches are displayed, he compares them to his own watch: “a dozen different hours and each with the same assertive and contradictory assurance that mine had, without any hands at all.

Contradicting one another” (Faulkner, *ibid*; 358). This perspective frees him from temporal conditioning, bringing ignorance and perception at will. Trapped in a mid-nineteenth-century mindset that did not exist in the new ideology of the American South after the Civil War, he must establish control over time. The desire to control it turns into mental persecution in its pursuit. The action causes an opposite reaction in Quentin when he realizes that time has constricted him within strict rules. At this moment, Quentin rejects the control imposed by the linear progression of life events. By breaking the hands of a clock, a gift he receives from his father, he expresses a determination to escape any imprisonment instigated by temporal control. This damage to the clock occurred a long time ago, and it is a symbol of family inheritance passing from generation to generation and reminding him mostly of his social, cultural, and historical inheritance.

There is a part of Quentin seeking to maintain ties with the existential fluidity of time. During college life and cohabitation with his friend Gerald Butler, this desire can be observed in his unconsciousness, occasionally reflected while watching a trout in the Charles River. The symbolism this trout generates in Quentin’s mind is like time in Bergson’s view. With the flow of time, this trout during its course quickly grabs something, then returns to its normal position. Quentin is fascinated as the trout calmly navigates the stream showing complete control over its being. This is a control that Quentin does not attain but is driven by a desire to do so. Unfortunately, his smooth sailing in the stream, no longer of time but of the river, is achieved at the last moment of his episode when committing suicide while drowning in the stream he could not have, but finally controlling his existence, ironically through death.

Another part of Quentin seeks the opposite of temporal fluidity. That fragment of consciousness inextricably linked to the nineteenth-century tradition requires the temporal denial of absolutism in life, an idealism imposed by this convention. Quentin lived with it and has not recovered. As Senford Pinsker suggests Quentin “decides to replace an existential flux with an artificial permanence” (1998; 119), creating a dual reality aiming towards spiritual eternity. This is his utopia. This reality can only be suitable for families like the Compson, who have remained complicit in an idealization of an enlightened past and cannot escape it while the entire system of values they believed in has already collapsed. Avoiding the new reality, not projecting the future, but clinging to the past, turns into a destructive stream, resulting in his suicide.

#### 4. Conclusions: Joyce and Faulkner

Joyce and Faulkner, modernist authors who introduced innovative literary techniques in their fiction, both neglected the causal relationship and the interaction of individuals with their surrounding environment. An endlessly chaotic world is envisioned by the characters in *Ulysses* and *The Sound and the Fury* as they try to adapt to contemporary relation with *avant-garde* humankind. Joyce and Faulkner used time and space as a means of bringing order to this chaotic world.

In "Ithaca", Joyce presents the modern existence based on Einstein's ideas of a universe with a mathematical, physical, astronomical, mechanical, chemical, and geometric structure. Theories about the universe and humanity's position in it together with life's dilemmas are debated. The language of Faulkner's characters consists of irregular associations and memories, from a spatial sense of time to chronological alignment. Contrary to Joyce, none of Faulkner's characters have the intelligence to understand human development, or the fluidity of life, to gain self-knowledge and exercise the will. The disorganization of time is a more sensitive issue in the modernist novel than the spatial one. The latter approach becomes complex due to modernist narrative structure, as in the case of stream of consciousness as used by Joyce and Faulkner. The "time of events" in the traditional novel merges with the "time of discourse".

Faulkner presents a spatial disorder in *The Sound and the Fury*. All the characters take a singular approach to spatial meaning, each describing their experience of memory in numerous conditions. This spatial perspective is attained through stream of consciousness. Despite the purported influence of Joyce, Faulkner managed to distinguish himself in his deployment of this narrative technique. Both Joyce and Faulkner supply their characters with a Bergsonian perspective on duration through which fantasy, memories, and various physical sensations of the human body find shelter in the present, at times narrowing and at other times expanding. Unlike the other Compson brothers, Benjy's mental disorder transforms time elements into space in his section. Unlike Faulkner, Joyce never connected temporal emptiness with spatial emptiness. In *Ulysses*, Joyce pays careful attention to spatial projection. While writing in his letters about the narrative techniques used in *Ulysses* and aspects of the work in general, he stated that if Dublin were to be destroyed for some reason, every detail could be reconstructed from that city, simply by reading his work, filled with detailed elements about spatial construction (Gilbert, 1966; 97). In contrast to *Ulysses*, in *The Sound and the Fury*, stream of

consciousness is used to disrupt not only the chronological approach to time, but also the spatial one, as individual experience cannot be presented by clear spatial reference points.

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### ILTEMPO E IL MODERNISMO: UN'ANALISI CRITICA DELLA PERCEZIONE DEL TEMPO IN *ULISSE* E *L'URLO E IL FURORE*

Questo studio mirava a esplorare il concetto di tempo presentato dagli scrittori del movimento modernista, concentrandosi sull'analisi di due opere letterarie moderniste: *Ulisse* di James Joyce e *L'Urlo e il Furore* di William Faulkner. Questi due autori hanno introdotto nelle loro opere tecniche letterarie innovative, sottolineando l'esperienza del tempo in un mondo caotico. Sia Joyce che Faulkner hanno permeato i loro personaggi letterari con il senso delle riflessioni di Bergson ed Einstein sulla durata, dove la fantasia, i ricordi e le varie sensazioni fisiche del corpo umano trovano rifugio nel presente, a volte restringendosi e altre volte espandendosi. I personaggi dell'*Ulisse* sono alla ricerca di una soluzione mentale all'esperienza del tempo. Il presente è un tempo perduto e il passato è un paradiso perduto, mentre il futuro è la ricerca di un paradiso perduto. Tuttavia in *L'Urlo e il Furore*, il linguaggio dei personaggi si basa su associazioni e ricordi irregolari, passando da un senso spaziale del tempo all'allineamento cronologico. L'animo dei singoli personaggi è tormentato dal passare del tempo. Faulkner organizza un disordine spaziale in *L'urlo e il Furore*. In questo studio, attraverso un'analisi qualitativa, come l'uso della narratologia, della critica letteraria psicoanalitica di Bergson ed Einstein e dell'analisi testuale, è stato possibile trasmettere le modalità divergenti dell'uso modernista del tempo. Questa analisi ha mostrato come Joyce e Faulkner abbiano utilizzato il tempo come mezzo per portare ordine nella natura caotica della vita moderna.

**Parole chiave:** modernismo, il tempo, Faulkner, Joyce, Bergson, mondo

## **KOHELETIAN SPATIOTEMPORAL SENSIBILITY IN JOACHIM RINGELNATZ'S GEHEIMES KINDER-VERWIRR-BUCH**

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**Abstract:** This article explicates the theistic dimension of the popular poet Joachim Ringelnatz's poetology through a spatio-temporal analysis of *Geheimes Kinder-Verwirr-Buch* (Secret Children's Confusing Book, 1931). In criticism and literary scholarship, Ringelnatz has often been criticized for his alleged superficiality and triviality. The analysis demonstrates how Ringelnatz's seemingly trivial preoccupation with profane everyday life and his supposedly naive delight in quotidian banalities manifests his specific, chronosensible and topophilic faith, which is rooted in the propaedeutics of the biblical wisdom book *Ecclesiastes*. Contrary to the alleged superficiality, his poems reveal a theological depth: echoing the preacher Kohelet, Ringelnatz emphasizes the spatial, microcosmic smallness of the reader within the macrocosm created by God, as well as their passive situatedness within the negative, earthly, and profane temporality that inevitably leads to suffering and death. Ringelnatz not only shares with Kohelet a heightened sensitivity to temporal existence and its consequent evaluation as afflictive, but also assimilates Kohelet's suggested response to this existential suffering - a call for attentiveness to the (un)ordinary spatiality of profane everydayness and consequent religious joy in the sensual pleasures mediated by space as a gift from God. While Ringelnatz's affinity for bodily profanity, which contradicts the conventional Christian sublimation of corporeality, overshadowed the distinctly Christian tonality of his work, this affinity for (through Ringelnatz's lens) God-manifesting bodily existence turns out to be consonant with the Koheletian inclinations of his subjective faith. Like Kohelet, Ringelnatz strives for the consecration of the profane everydayness. His popularity thus potentially stems not only from his distinctive humor but also from his empathetic addressing of the universal existential issue of being in time.

**Keywords:** Joachim Ringelnatz, *Geheimes Kinder-Verwirr-Buch*, spatiotemporal analysis, reception of *Ecclesiastes*, Koheletian intertext.

### 1. Introduction: On Joachim Ringelnatz's reception and faith

Joachim Ringelnatz (Hans Gustav Bötticher, 1883-1934) remains one of the most published interwar poets in Germany. Yet the author has been largely neglected by literary scholars, as Möbus critically examines in his 2000 study on Ringelnatz's scholarly marginalisation: Since 1920, Ringelnatz became known for his comic poetry, characterized by obscene humor that provoked bourgeois morals. The overwhelming critical focus on the burlesque aspect of his writing has overshadowed the nuanced layers of meaning in his work, resulting in a popularized image of the author as a trivial entertainer who lacks intellectual depth (167).

To counter such a simplistic view, Möbus underlines not only Ringelnatz's sociopolitical critique, but also his affinity for biblical symbolism (173-174). Similarly, in the only Ringelnatz monograph to date, Pape emphasizes the central role of Christian faith (290-295) for an author whose autobiography (1928) praises "gratitude and [...] fear of God" as the most cherished virtues (2022 791), whose poem *Winterflug 1929* (Winter Flight 1929) refers to God as a saving companion (2015 454), and whose personal correspondence reveals an Old Testament-like perception of a God who punishes directly in everyday life (Pape 292). It is in the context of this faith that his pseudonym takes on special significance. While *Ringelnatz* alludes to the German naval slang term for a seahorse (*Ringelnass*) and thus by analogy refers to the author's distinctive nose – his most recognisable "cliché" (Schmidt-Möbus) – *Joachim* echoes the Hebrew name *Yehoyakim*, meaning 'God will establish' (cf. Pape 292).

The following study elucidates Ringelnatz's particular, chronosensible and topophilic modality of faith as a significant Christian depth of his poeology. While the author is known to a broad audience primarily as the subversive and profanely comic *Ringelnatz*, our analysis seeks to contribute to an understanding of the author as *Joachim*, who in his little-known drama *Der Flieger* (The Airman, 1918) articulates that "everything is created/ or tolerated by God" (1982 117) and whose personal correspondence warns of the overlooking God, against whom "all human power is nothing" (1988 86).

Ringelnatz's affinity for Rabelaisian corporeality conflicts with the biblical "your nakedness may not be exposed" (Exodus 20:26, also 3:5).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For Ringelnatz's assimilation of Rabelaisian corporeality, see my articles "A Bakhtinian Reconsideration of Joachim Ringelnatz's Postwar Poetry: Grotesque materialism instead of disinterested unresponsiveness" (*Orbis Litterarum*, 2022, v. 7, i. 3) and "Die groteske Körperlichkeit des Joachim Ringelnatz in

In *Alte Winkelmauer* (Old corner wall, 1927), the lyrical subject earnestly experiences the divine while urinating: "Old wall, which I often wet, [...]. Heavenly sparkle is present/ In your pallor" (2015 285). Similarly, his children's prayer (1929) conjoins God with urination: "Dear God, goodnight / I just took a quick wee-wee" (405). In *Wenn ich allein bin* (When I am alone, 1920), the prayer motif merges with the act of farting (131). This linking of the sacred with profane bodily life corresponds to the author's anticlericalism (see the poem Chartres [272] or his autobiography [2017 476]).

Pape reconstructs Ringelnatz's faith as inherently infantile (291), not only celebrating "paradisiacal" naiveté of childhood but also attributing childlike qualities to God (294), as in *Der Flieger*, where God is engaged in play, free of responsibility and therewith childish:

God  
Has no duty. He has the fullest power,  
From playfulness, as from righteous wrath  
To torment us eternally, unthinkably hard. (1982 117)

This notion of a childlike God sheds light on Ringelnatz's pursuit of a childlike playfulness with profanity. By imagining God as a creating (playing) child, the author, who describes himself as a "too old child" (2015 131), mimics this divine childishness and plays with social norms with adult awareness but childlike unconstraint. Such playfulness is evident in his two *dual-audience* books, in which he undertakes the "crosswriting [of] child and adult", blurring the conventional boundaries between the systems of children's and adult literature with the intention of addressing both audiences differently but with equal attention through the same texts (Beckett xiv): The *Geheimes Kinder-Spiel-Buch* (Secret Children's Gamebook, 1924), which contributed greatly to Ringelnatz's fame at the period, contains explicit content and lack of moralism typical of children's literature. The Berlin police generated considerable negative publicity by requiring the publisher to label each copy with a warning that the book is suitable only for adults (cf. Büttner

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Nervosipopel" (Slowakische Zeitschrift für Germanistik, v. 13, i. 2). Throughout the article, the concept of corporeality is implied in a Rabelaisian and Bakhtinian sense: As the material and bodily dimension of being that stands in opposition to the fluctuating ideational sphere of abstract thought. Ringelnatz's prioritization of body over abstract theologizing is an act of Christian materialism, congruent with the Koheletian elements of his poetics - an attentiveness to sensory experience as God-given and a foresight toward the abstracting human intellect.

123). Its narrator does not assume the role of an instructive adult but rather becomes an infantile accomplice to children in their rebellion against the adult world, as exemplified by the line “You shouldn't be afraid. Because mine and yours/parents can --- do you know what I mean?!?” (2015 198). While the children's readers are encouraged to subvert the social norms of their morally inferior adult authorities, the adult reader is made aware of his (subverted) conventional authority over his child counterpart, as well as of the fact that all children's literature must be (dis)approved by an adult reader from their position of power (Shavit 84).

The second dual-audience book, *Geheimes Kinder-Verwirr-Buch* (Secret Children's Confusing Book, 1931) has a more restrained tone and avoids vulgar language. However, it still contains anti-pedagogical elements (“Think about it: five children are enough/ to knock out a grandmother” [1985 36]) and profane moments (“the exact difference between men and women/ is visible through the keyhole” [29]). As a result, contemporary critics, in keeping with the adult authority over the child that had been the subject of the previous children's book, ascribed to it a “pathological tendency” and a decadence that posed a danger to the younger generation (Büttner 132). In contrast to the first book, however, the narrator here undergoes only partial infantilization, remaining a wise and instructive adult (uncle) figure: “That Uncle Ringelnatz has become meanwhile/a heart-drunk child” (25). Instead of engaging in subversive play alongside children, he repeatedly appeals with an ambivalent ethical *wisdom*. Particularly in the final tale, the significance of wisdom applies to every action undertaken in life, as the hero, who longs to fly and swim, learns from a bird that “flying is beautiful, but you have to learn and understand it” (2018 61), and from a fish that “swimming has to be learned” (62).<sup>2</sup>

While the humor of Ringelnatz's dual-audience books has occupied their commentators with the question of their (dis)affiliation to the system of children's literature (Detken, Büttner, Gernhardt), the second book contains Ringelnatz's hitherto unexplored propaedeutics (only Gernhardt briefly emphasizes its Christian undertones [65]), which sheds light on the authors' religious axiology: Since for Ringelnatz children are morally superior to adults, his playbook encourages their liberation from the secular system of social norms of their inferior authority. However, as the second book shows, they still need a sacred wisdom to prepare them for their transition to adulthood - a wisdom

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<sup>2</sup> All excerpts from *Vom Anderen aus lerne die Welt* begreifen are from a translation by Jack Zipes.

that, with its existential angst, does not fit into the conventional system of children's literature and its adult projection of childhood as an "idyll" of a lost paradise (Nikolajeva 74). Thus, the author has the task of crossing the border into adult literature by dealing with the painful and dark themes from which adult culture conventionally protects young readers (ibid.).

The spatiotemporal analysis of Ringelnatz's 'wisdom-book' reveals his faith as characterized not only by an affinity for childishness (Pape), but also by the resonance of *Ecclesiastes* and the subsequent temporal sensibility and topophilism, demonstrating an appreciative attentiveness to the mundane and present space as God's gift and creation: Explicating earthly existence to children as marked by transience, suffering, and incomprehensibility, Ringelnatz, echoing Kohelet, encourages readers to reciprocate the sorrowful human condition with a "joyous reveiling in the sensory details of commonplace joys" (Duncan 148-149).

## 2. The spatially insignificant subject within the profane temporality

With the phrase "under the sun" (*Ecclesiastes* 2:14), Kohelet reminds the reader twenty-nine times of their microcosmic insignificance before God (Crenshaw 70). The sun serves as a spatial (distant and unreachable) reminder that the subject represents only a peripheral part of the world, while God's act of creation encompasses its macrocosmic entirety. A similar use of the sun motif as a reminder of the subject's spatial diminutiveness is evident in *the Book of Hiob* and its allegory of an inaccessible way, with which God emphasizes man's lack of knowledge of "the way to the dwelling of light" (*Hiob* 38:19) and "the way to the place where the light is distributed" (*Hiob* 38:24). In *Bist du schon auf der Sonne gewesen?* (Have you been to the sun yet?), the narrator encourages to embark precisely on such an impossible journey: "[...] walk slowly and calmly/ Always directly towards the sun" (1985 38). But instead of the desired reach, the reader is implicitly reminded of his inability to transcend the God-imposed spatial limits: "And if you can no longer reach the sun,/Then it's better for now,/That you sneak home again" (ibid.). Like *Ecclesiastes* and *Hiob*, Ringelnatz underscores the earthly dwelling within the vastness of the cosmic realm as confined by God-ordained spatial boundaries.

God admonishes Hiob that He has enveloped the world in an incomprehensible "thick darkness" (*Hiob* 38:9) over which he has stretched a "gate" (*Hiob* 38:17) inaccessible to mortals. In allusion to this passage, *Die neuen Fernen* (The new faraways) describes the vastness of

cosmos and presents the reader with such an incomprehensible “darkness” that governs the universe and possesses a “gate”:

In the stratosphere, to the left of the entrance,  
there is a gate,  
[....]  
There you can see far and wide  
nothing. Because darkness reigns there.” (1985 49).

Kohelet’s phrase “under the sun” serves not only as a spatial but also as a temporal (rising and setting) reminder of the subject’s insignificance (Crenshaw 70-73), i.e., it emphasizes one’s total immersion “in the grip of profane time” (Janzen 474), moving toward inevitable death and, governed by the unattainable sun (macrocosm), radically beyond human control. Likewise *Emanuel Pips* underscores the fact that no one “has power over the day of death” (Ecclesiastes 8: 8) and that its radicality cannot be influenced even by one’s moral qualities (Ecclesiastes 9:2): The poem culminates in the sudden and succinct (one-verse) death of the amiable (“modest and kind” [1985 31]) figure who “ate potato chips once a day,/drank alcohol-free saltwater flips,/became sick to his stomach despite it all/and died of tipsiness” (ibid.).

Similarly, *Hexenkind* (Witch child) tells of the death of an amiable blind orphan girl. However, while the Old Testament presents death primarily as an absurdity to be countered by placing trust in God’s incomprehensible plan (Weaver 15-32), Ringelnatz, as a Christian, imbues death with the New Testament’s mortal optimism (Weaver 38; Jenks 2-5), i.e. with Paul’s “you may not grieve as others do who have no hope” (Thessalonians 4: 13b) and his exhortation to “give thanks in all circumstances” (5:18), which follows his appeal to see death in a redemptive light: The poem’s heroine dies with a smile and gratitude. Ringelnatz centralizes the motif of the physical touch of the blind, alluding to Jesus’ miraculous healing of the blind (Matthew 20:30-34), echoing the “metaphor for the gift of new sight that people sought and received from Jesus” (Weaver 33). In intertextual juxtaposition with Christ’s ministry, this *sight* enables the dying heroine to accept death with gratitude, in keeping with the Christian ideal of surrender to God’s will:

Pale and weak in her little bed  
Lay to die one day, the sick  
And silent, blind Ilse Watt  
Smiled as if from another world  
And spoke to a nurse,

Who stroked her hair,  
Still loud and happy: 'I am thankful'". (1985 28)

Overall, Ringelnatz embraces the Koheletian centralization of death, but proposes a joyful Christian response to this underscored existential fact.

To cultivate the reader's sensitivity to his profane temporality, Kohelet emphasizes not only the inevitability of death but also the burdensome reality of aging (cf. Crenshaw 77-79), advising to "[r]emember your creator in the days of your youth, before the days of trouble come, and the years approach when you will say, 'I find no pleasure in them'" (Ecclesiastes 12:1). Ringelnatz also urges recognition of one's (potential) temporal position in youth. In *Geplogger an Grosspapa* (Babbling to Grandpa), the child narrator remains oblivious to life's transience, engaging his grandfather in a conversation about physical suffering and impending death in an inappropriately cheerful tone, his blissful ignorance underscored by his comically unwavering self-assurance:

Grandpa, oh, you're stupid!  
Because you don't understand anything.  
Grandpa, how crooked you are,  
When you walk!  
And you tremble all the time  
Like a cardboard forest.  
Grandpa, when are you going to die?  
Will you die soon? (1985 48)

However, in *Doch ihre Sterne kannst du nicht verschieben* (But you can't move their stars), such childlike ignorance of profane temporality figures as a temporary state, inevitably disrupted as children gradually become aware of their surroundings. Initially, "Children buzz through their years like flies. - Not knowing where they are" (65). But as they gradually come to realize the sufferings of mortal and transient existence - recognizing the central Koheletan premise that "it is an unhappy business that God has given to human beings to be busy with" (Ecclesiastes 1:12) – a painful realization dawns upon them. As the futility of human existence derives not only from its brevity but also from its intellectual inarticulacy (cf. Crenshaw 99) – "no one can comprehend what goes on under the sun" (Ecclesiastes 3:9) – the second verse of the following excerpt also highlights the distressing realization of life's absurd incomprehensibility:

The child must learn, must experience bitterly.

Does not know what is it good for.  
 Just hears: that's the way it has to be.  
 And one pain after another comes  
 Into the floating little chest.  
 Until the breast lowers  
 And the child thinks. (1985 65)

The adolescence as an initiation into a conscious relationship with the afflictions of mortal existence is so life-defining that it leads Kohelet to conclude that being “stillborn” is preferable to a life of sorrow (Ecclesiastes 6:3). The state of blissful ignorance of infants in *Babies* contrasts precisely with such existential awareness:

You [babies] are travelling like passengers.  
 And if the ship drowns with you,  
 Then you are baptised deep into heaven,  
 Innocent, happy animals. (1985 14)

The primary virtue attributed to prematurely deceased infants is their innocence, a state that is inevitably lost in the transition to conscious adult life (Ecclesiastes 7:20). Particularly the last verses emphasize the poems' biblical referentiality:

That your nappies are like sails,  
 You children don't know that yet.  
 You don't care about your own wind,  
 For the foreign wind, for the foreign light. (ibid.)

Ringelnatz's affinity to the Old Testament is evident in his incorporation of the wind motif, which also finds resonance in *Ecclesiastes*, where, as the Hebrew term *ruah*, it encompasses the intertwined meanings of material “wind,” “breath,” and “spirit” (Crenshaw 35, 45). Ringelnatz alludes to *ruah* as the life (breath) that God breathed into man (Genesis 2:7a), but also to the wind as a determinant of existence in the context of Kohelet's perspective, since *Ecclesiastes* characterizes existence as “chasing after wind” nine times (e.g., *Ecclesiastes* 1:17). Hence, the deceased infants are not concerned with the *wind* as the futility inherent in transient ambitions with which mortals occupy their earthly time (ibid.). Parallely, the light-motif refers to the New Testament. While Jesus brought humanity “the light of life” (John 8:12) as a way out of darkness, the prematurely deceased infants do not have to exert themselves to follow Jesus, but enter directly into redemption, symbolized by their baptism deep into heaven. Ringelnatz not only aligns with Kohelet in emphasizing the conscious relationship

to profane temporality as burdensome (Ecclesiastes 9:2), but also in viewing the state of unconsciousness as potentially more positive.

### 3. Gods all-seeing gaze

Kohelet emphasizes that human existence takes place within the framework of God's omniscience, "[f]or God will bring every deed into judgment, including every hidden thing, whether good or evil" (Ecclesiastes 12:14). *Nie bist du ohne Nebendir* (You are never alone) echoes this sentiment by stressing the futility of hiding anything from God's all-seeing gaze:

You are seen and overheard everywhere.  
 [...]
   
 What you conceal,  
 What you do not show to others,  
 What your mouth speaks  
 And your hand does,  
 It all comes to light.  
 You should behave good regardless. (1985 20)

This propadeutic passage underscores the importance of thoughtful speech in a morally governed (divine) world, echoing the Kohelet's admonition: "Never be rash with your mouth, nor let your heart be quick to utter a word before God, for God is in heaven, and you upon earth; [...]" (Ecclesiastes 5:2). Moreover, the light allegory in the penultimate verse alludes to the similar admonition in Luke 8:17, where "nothing is hidden that will not be revealed, nor is anything secret that will not become known and come to light" (Luke 8:17).

The emphasis on God's all-seeing nature culminates in *Kind, spiele!* (Child, play!), in which Ringelnatz recontextualizes Kohelet's allegory that all human actions are "in the hand of God" (Ecclesiastes 9:1). The playing child, in accordance with Ringelnatz's subjective *childlike God* (Pape 291), becomes a toy – an object held in the hand – of the playing God:

Play! – But always remain  
 Kind to everything you play with.  
 Because everything (even dead objects)  
 looks at your heart more than your hands.  
 And because all people (including you, my child)  
 are toys of the dear God. (1985 16)

In stark contrast to the decadent tendencies attributed to the book by contemporary criticism, it presents not only a theistic perception of

the world as inherently ethical (subject to God's judgment), but also, as the poems alluding to *Genesis* show, an optimistic view of temporality as conducive to divine forgiveness. Pape astutely observes that Ringelnatz's subject is not a plaything of the demonic but a familiar God (Pape 294), whose forgiveness correlates with his childlike qualities. In *Schlängelchen* (Little Snake), the biblical serpent enters the heavenly realm. The 'childish' diminutive recontextualizes the archetypal sinner into a positive "Schlängelchen", resulting in his infantilization, forgiveness, and ascent:

The little angel liked the little snake  
and wanting to help,  
said piously:  
Come! (1985 19).

Corresponding to this divine forgiveness is the appeal to individual empathy in *Beinchen* (Little Legs), which ends with an ethical plea for compassion toward the legless serpent, thus echoing God's punishment of the serpent by reducing it to a crawling creature (Genesis 3:14): "All legs are happy/poor, poor snake!" (1985 17). While human life is characterized by the eventual attainment of divine forgiveness, the reader is urged to imbue their earthly time with empathy in the image of the 'childlike' (ultimately empathetic) God.

### 3. Rejoicing as a religious response to the afflictive temporal being

Koheleth's recognition of life's absurd incomprehensibility results into critical attitude toward mortal intellect (Ecclesiastes 3:9): "The more words, the more vanity" (Ecclesiastes 6:11; 2:16-18). This anti-intellectual sentiment finds resonance in *Kinder weinen* (Children cry), which asserts that "Stupid know/[...]/Wise go into the garden" (1985 41). While both Ringelnatz and Kohelet associate a fixation on the human wisdom with stupidity, Ringelnatz's wise individuals seek solace in the garden as a biblical topos of creation that facilitates the enjoyment of world as God's creation. Thus, Ringelnatz parallels Koheleth's call to find joy in the surrounding space rather than distancing oneself from God's creation by relying too much on one's limited intellectual capacities (Lee 110).

Kohelet's recognition of the futility of human intellectual pursuits serves as an invitation to cultivate a theological awareness that embraces the attentiveness to being in the present moment as a "religious responsibility" (49): Mortals are incapable of comprehending the God's creation but can only experience it in the present moment (43). It is a God-given capacity for perception that compels them to

appreciate their surroundings as a “gift of God” (Ecclesiastes 5:19), that is, to rejoice in the fact that “[l]ight is sweet, and it is pleasant for the eyes to see the sun” (Ecclesiastes 11:7). Such revelry in God's space through sensory experiences is exemplified by the narrator in *Kindersand* (Children's sand). The recurring biblical motif of the nose as the organ through which God breathed life into humankind (Genesis 2:7) alludes to the Genesis creation narrative.:

The best thing for children is sand.  
 [...]
 Because you keep your nose,  
 When you fall on it,  
 It's so soft.  
 Children's fingers feel it,  
 When they dig in it,  
 Nothing and the kingdom of heaven. (1985 39)

The child in this subject-object (human-sand) relationship possesses an intuitive ability to experience God's creation (the kingdom of heaven) through their receptive senses (touch). God's syncretic and perfect design, alluded to not only by the *nose* motif but also by the *sand*, which symbolizes the immanent God-created world and its abundant splendor (Psalm 140:18, Jeremiah 6:22), allows for a harmonious connection between the subject and the spatial surrounding. The perceptual and sensory nature of this relationship with the divine but mundane space is emphasized by the motif of touch: “There's always plenty of it [sand]/ It runs incomparably /Tenderly through the hand” (1985 39). The God's design, which makes the human-object contact possible, represents the embodiment of His *power* (“Macht“, [ibid.]). In accordance with Ringelnatz's reverence, this power is no laughing matter. While the narrator in the religiously non-appellative poems encourages children to laugh (“And if it succeeds,/You will laugh“ [24]), the recognition of God's power represents, in contrast, a serious moment of humility: “For no child laughs / Over grinding power “ (39).

Following Kohelet, Ringelnatz correlates humility and the fear of God with the religious duty of an appreciative enjoyment stemming from the attentiveness to profane and non-intellectual sensual pleasures, thus recontextualizing Ecclesiastes 11:9 (Lee 127):

Rejoice, young man, while you are young, and let your heart cheer you in the days of your youth. Follow the inclination of your heart and the desire of your eyes, but know

that for all these things God will bring you into judgment.  
(Ecclesiastes 11:9)

In *Kind, spiele!* the cautionary acknowledgment of God's providence is preceded by an exhortation to a joyous play:

Child, play!  
Play coachman and horse!  
Play the drums! - Build lots of  
houses and cars! - (1985 16).

In *Nie bist du ohne Nebendir*, the warning of God's omniscience and final judgment is preceded by an invitation to observe the remarkable microcosmic details of God's corporeal design:

Gonococcus tick.  
Small morels echo.  
Pores are just ears.  
All vesicles look. (20)

In *Beinchen*, alluding to the Genesis creation narrative, the reader is encouraged to appreciatively embrace their corporeal existence – to rejoice in the sensual pleasure of having legs:

Little legs want to stand.  
Little legs want to walk,  
Twist and turn in dance.  
Little legs want to rest.  
Little legs want to spread,  
Want to spread their charms  
Every chance they get  
[...] (1985 17)

Such encouragements to enjoy sensory experiences are also present in poems without explicit religious appellation or biblical intertextuality. *Kinder, spielt mit einer Zwirnsrolle!* (Kids, play with a roll of twine!) invites children to play with their buttocks, while *Unter Wasser Bläschen machen* (Making bubbles under water) invites the pleasure of farting. In his focus on the spatial microcosm of the human body, the comic *Ringelnatz*, a celebrant of bodily profanity, intersects with *Joachim*, a celebrator of God's manifestation in the God-created *small worlds*, as he programmatically calls them in his first book from 1910:

Hand nestles against hand in a tight circle,  
And the old song of God and Christ

Trembles through souls and softly proclaims,  
That the smallest world is the greatest. (2015 51)

Ringelnatz's mindful enjoyment of the small worlds of sensory experiences also applies to the act of eating, which Kohelet promotes as an exemplary sensual pleasure, since "it is God's gift that all should eat and drink and take pleasure in all their toil" (Ecclesiastes 3:13, also 9:7). In *Silvester bei den Kannibalen* (New Year's Eve with the cannibals), where cannibals feast on children, the sensory nature of consumption is emphasized through olfactory imagery ("Smells almost like Borchardt cuisine/only more of coconut fat and palmin" [1985 45]) and corporeal references ("The bellies rolled,/The cheeks breaded" [ibid.]). However, in keeping with the books' ethical and admonitory nature, the cannibalistic feast does not result in lasting pleasure. A sense of compassion, previously conveyed in the poems *Nie bist du ohne Nebendir*, *Beinchen* and *Schlängelchen*, awakens in the cannibals after the satisfaction of their instinctual urges: "Then they think of the slaughtered little ones/with melancholy and then start to cry" (45).

#### 4. Learn to Grasp the World from Others as a cautionary tale

The book's concluding fairy tale, *Learn to Grasp the World from Others*, in which Ringelnatz processes his autobiographical trauma of estrangement from father (Pape 84-87), functions as a cautionary recontextualization of Kohelet's teaching. Building on the preacher's notion of happiness as a religious duty, achieved through a sensitive engagement with the world as God's creation and a profound awareness of life's brevity, Ringelnatz creates a narrative warning of the detrimental consequences of living without these essential insights. While Kohelet warns against the "seductive lure" of constantly striving for something better while disregarding the pleasures of one's immediate surroundings (Lee 127), the protagonist Schelich remains oblivious to the transient nature of life and severs ties with his father, intending to reconnect only after he can impress him with his social and financial achievements. According to Kohelet, appreciating the presence of a loved one is an indispensable element of joyful attention to the present moment (Ecclesiastes 9:8). Schelich's decision to separate himself from his father deprives him of this profoundly important source of earthly joy: His father dies before he can achieve his validation-seeking goal.

In an attempt to dispel his father's skepticism about his aspirations to become both a pilot and a sailor, Schelich embarks on two travels to earn his father's admiration: "Within a few years he became an

esteemed pilot. [...] But he never sent his father the slightest sign that he was alive. He only wanted to contact him when he had amassed a fortune through his own efforts“ (2018 61). Likewise, after his second departure, Schelich “didn’t send a single message home, even though he had an even greater longing to see his father than he had when he had been a pilot. He wanted to be regarded as missing and simply wanted to work hard until he could return to his father as a captain“ (62). Schelich's desire to impress his father constitutes his seductive lure that draws his attention away from a relationship in the now-time and here-space. The finite nature of earthly existence is underscored through a recurring motif of time, which first appears when the father discourages Schelich from pursuing his desired profession, saying: “I’ll give you as much time as you want to reflect“ (ibid.).

When Schelich's returns from his first journey because he “yearned to see his father,“ the Koheletian theme of aging becomes apparent: “Meanwhile Schelich was quite shocked to see how much his father had aged. Indeed, he became more serious and pensive“ (61). After his second departure, Schelich does become a successful captain, but the Koheletian theme of the brevity of earthly life permeates the story with the fathers' death. The existential sense of being trapped in a concrete, vividly felt, and profane temporality is underscored by the explicit specification of the time lapsed from passing:

On the day that he [Schelich] received his promotion to captain, a young boy from his home town reported to him. [...] [H]e brought Schelich the news that Emanuel Assup [the father] had died six months ago. Suddenly a painful feeling overcame the son. [...] When he reached his father’s grave, he fell to his knees and sobbed bitterly. (62)

Schelich's desire to impress his father upon his return as a highly accomplished individual remains unfulfilled due to the passing of time, leaving no one to impress. Consequently, the story ends not only with the protagonists' poignant realization of the fleeting nature of earthly existence, but also with an acknowledgement of the human inability to exert control over the future, respectively the fact that “[n]o one knows what is to happen, and who can tell anyone what the future holds?“ (Ecclesiastes 10:14). The tragic final scene accentuates the Koheletian theme of the passage of time in space. Whereas Schelich previously used to visit a particular place to feed a pet turtle, he now encounters its lifeless remains “on its old spot“ (2018 62).

While the storyline of the father-son relationship thematizes life’s transience, Schelich's dialogues with anthropomorphic animals emphasize the importance of filling temporal life with a sensory

awareness of space. Happiness, often depicted as attained through marriage or wealth, is a pervasive theme in classical fairy tales (Rölleke). Similarly, Ringelnatz's cautionary tale depicts a quest for happiness: Following his father's instruction, Schelich explicitly strives to "find a [...] secure happiness" (2018 60). However, despite the recurring motif of happiness and its explicit pursuit, the conventional fairy-tale happiness remains elusive, because Schelich fails to attend to his immediate surroundings in the present moment. Throughout his pursuit, Schelich asks anthropomorphized birds and fish if they are happy, and the animals consistently answer in the affirmative, implicitly attributing their happiness to their sensory engagement with their surrounding spatiality:

Schelich asked the birds, 'Are you happy?' 'Yes! Yes! It's wonderful to fly and hunt over high towers, tree tops and mountain peaks, through the bright changing clouds, to climb against the wind, to be carried by the gales, to stop and sway, to let yourself fall from steep heights, and then right before crashing, to spread your clutching wings and to sing freely.' (60).

Schelich asked the fishes: 'Are you happy?'/ 'Yes! Yes! It's wonderful to be washed so gently and softly by the cool tides, to be carried by the currents and to dive deep into a dark realm where wonders glitter, to travel without drowning through high waves, through whirlpools and sizzling squalls, to dart ahead and to enjoy the cool flow of the water.' (61-62).

In contrast to Schelich, the anthropomorphic animals "take pleasure in all their toil" (Ecclesiastes 3:13) because they are not burdened by self-centered goals, nor by preoccupation with the past (conflict with the father) or the future (desire to impress the father). According to Kohelet, the ability to remember the past and focus on the future is one of man's major burdens bestowed by God (Ecclesiastes 3:10). The animals in the story represent a perceptual ideal because they are freed from these burdensome temporal fixations and thus fully embrace the sensory experiences offered by the present space in the current time: They engage wholeheartedly in soaring through the air and feeling the water, surrendering to the wonder of God's creation, as indicated by the biblical motif of *wonder* in the fish's utterance.

Schelich's endeavor to imitate the animals, symbolized by his role as a pilot and sailor, underscores his yearning for happiness. However, his failure to grasp the significance of being attentively present in the wondrous spatial existence, advocated by the anthropomorphic

animals, renders his imitation futile. Rather than focusing on the present joys, his desire to impress his father diverts his attention from the fundamental Koheletian notion of the world as a divine gift to be cherished through attentiveness. His internal struggle hinders his ability to be fully present in here-space, whether it is his father's house or the skies through which he flies: "Sometimes he thought he would die because he yearned to see his father so much. Moreover, he began to lose interest in his profession which didn't satisfy him anymore" (62).

While the anthropomorphized animals remind Schelich that happiness can be achieved through proper *understanding* (61, 62), he has squandered the temporally limited opportunity to attain the Koheletian, mindful approach to existence - experiencing spatial joys and cherishing the presence of a loved one. His missed opportunity for happiness is allegorically reflected in the silence of the animals upon hearing the news of his father's death - the happiness promising fairy tale is deactivated, and happiness is thus unattainable:

Now Schelich wandered about in despair. He asked the birds and the fishes why they were so happy and why he wasn't happy. However, the birds and the fishes didn't answer him anymore. So he finally set about ordering his father's estate and felt immensely lonely. (62)

The tale concludes with a poignant pre-death letter from the father, who imparts his advice to Schelich: "Learn to grasp the world from others" (2018 63). In the context of the story, the *others* are the anthropomorphized animals who articulate the wisdom of attentiveness to here and now. Their ultimate lack of response after Schelich's time lost, symbolizing the unattainability of happiness, underscores the urgency of Koheletian message: The sooner one realizes the importance of attention to time and space, the sooner one can use one's limited earthly time for productive (attentive, appreciative and relationship-focused) engagement with the spatial existence (Lee 62). Interestingly, Ringelnatz's juxtaposition of the fish and bird motifs can be read as an allusion to Kohelet's pronouncement on fate's brevity and unpredictability - themes central to Schelich's ending: "Like fish taken in a cruel net, and like birds caught in a snare, so mortals are snared at a time of calamity, when it suddenly falls upon them" (Ecclesiastes 9:12).

### 5. Concluding remarks

The popularity of Ringelnatz's works and their easy accessibility in commercial bookstores throughout the German-speaking countries can be attributed not only to his distinctive and obscene humor, but also to

his affinity for and congruence with the extraordinarily famous biblical book of wisdom, whose fame derives from its empathetic portrayal of the universal existential experience as well as its ability to address the innate anthropological need to face the hardships of existence with a mindful joy of attentiveness and acceptance (cf. Christianson 256-258). Ringelnatz's concentrated delight in small to microcosmic pleasures - his "childlike amazement at things of the world" (Pape 147) - has often been characterized in criticism as his personal and trivial 'philosophy' (ibid.). For example, Colin Butler characterizes Ringelnatz's poetry as a compendium of banalities and uncomplicated sentiments (164-166). However, recognizing Ringelnatz's joy in the world as a religiously motivated response to its burden, inseparable from his specific chrono-sensitive and topo-philic faith, reveals the profound theistic complexity of his joyful and Koheletian admiration of everyday profane spaces. The allegedly *depthless* author (Butler 1970) is, in fact, a religious dialogue partner whose work is not superficial (ibid.) but possesses a theistic depth. His playfulness is not self-intentional and thus superficial, but a recontextualizing continuation of Kohelet's call to enjoyment, in which, as in *Ecclesiastes*, the joy is simultaneously trivialized and elevated to allow for the consecration of the profane everydayness (Lee 129).

Ringelnatz's poems cannot be dismissed as negatively meaningless, as suggested by Colin Butler with regard to *Die neuen Fernen* (162), because they derive their meanings from the conveyance of an unconventional call for a theistic sensibility toward temporal and spatial being, in the scope of which especially the mundane existence is positively experienced as the greatest gift of God. Ringelnatz's provocative nature, his challenging of bourgeois society, and his effort to transfer faith from abstract dogma to the actually lived (spatiotemporal) reality position him as a religious avant-gardist whose simplicity correlates with Kohelet's skepticism towards the human intellect.

From numerous historical caricatures to contemporary book covers, Ringelnatz's depictions are inseparable from exaggerated nasal features. Yet the biblical dimension of the author's affinity for the nose, also evident in *Sand*, has remained largely concealed. By emphasizing the body part through which God breathed life into man, Ringelnatz's famous nose – a motif associated with his pseudonym – is not only a source of corporeal humor, but also signifies his self-identification as God's creation. All in all, the jovial and joy-seeking *Ringelnatz* is inseparable from the manifestation of God that *Joachim* perceives.

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### KOHELETISCHE RAUMZEITLICHE SENSIBILITÄT IN JOACHIM RINGELNATZ' GEHEIMES KINDER-VERWIRR-BUCH

Die Studie untersucht die theistische Dimension der Poetologie des populären Dichters Joachim Ringelnatz anhand einer raum-zeitlichen Analyse dessen *Geheimes Kinder-Verwirr-Buch* (1931). Ringelnatz wurde von der Literaturkritik und -forschung häufig für seine vermeintliche Oberflächlichkeit und Trivialität kritisiert. Die Analyse zeigt, wie Ringelnatz' scheinbar belangloses Interesse am profanen Alltagsleben und seine vermeintlich naive Freude an Alltagsbanalitäten Manifestationen seines spezifischen, raumzeitlich sensiblen und tophophilen Glaubens sind, der in der Propädeutik des biblischen Weisheitsbuches Kohelet verankert ist. Im Gegensatz zu ihrer vermeintlichen Oberflächlichkeit offenbaren seine Gedichte eine theologische Tiefe: In Anlehnung an den Prediger Kohelet betont Ringelnatz die räumliche und mikrokosmische Kleinheit des Lesers innerhalb des von Gott geschaffenen Makrokosmos ebenso wie seine passive Verortung in der negativen und profanen Zeitlichkeit, die unweigerlich zu Leid und Tod führt. Ringelnatz teilt mit Kohelet nicht nur eine gesteigerte Sensibilität für das zeitliche Dasein und dessen Bewertung als leidvoll, sondern übernimmt auch die von Kohelet vorgeschlagene Reaktion auf dieses existenzielle Leiden – einen Appell zur Achtsamkeit gegenüber der (un)gewöhnlichen Räumlichkeit des profanen Alltags und die damit einhergehende religiöse Freude an den sinnlichen

Genüssen, die der Raum als Gabe Gottes vermittelt. Ringelnatz' Vorliebe für körperliche Derbheit steht im Widerspruch zur konventionellen christlichen Sublimierung der Leiblichkeit und überdeckt so den eindeutig christlichen Ton seines Werkes. Diese Affinität zu einer (aus Ringelnatz' Sicht) Gott manifestierenden körperlichen Existenz erweist sich jedoch als konsonant mit den koeletischen Neigungen seines subjektiven Glaubens. Wie Kohelet strebt Ringelnatz nach der Konsekration des profanen Alltags. Die Popularität des Dichters mag daher nicht nur auf seinem ausgeprägten Humor beruhen, sondern auch, in Anlehnung an Kohelet, auf seiner Auseinandersetzung mit der universellen negativen existentiellen Erfahrung des Zeitseins und deren Bewältigung durch ein achtsames und optimistisches Verhältnis zum umgebenden diesseitigen Raum.

**Schlüsselwörter:** Joachim Ringelnatz, Geheimes Kinder-Verwirr-Buch, raumzeitliche Analyse, Rezeption von Ecclesiastes, Koeletischer Intertext

***Language Studies***

***Nauka o jeziku***



## **COLLOCAZIONI ITALIANE VERBO + SOSTANTIVO: TIPI E CORRISPONDENZE CON IL SERBO**

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**Abstract:** Il contributo è realizzato nell'ambito del progetto di ricerca dedicato allo studio contrastivo delle collocazioni italiane e serbe. È focalizzato sulle collocazioni contenenti una forma verbale. Si è partiti dalla tassonomia e dall'analisi di questo tipo di collocazioni in italiano. La parte centrale del contributo è costituita dai risultati dell'analisi contrastiva delle collocazioni italiane e serbe riguardanti le corrispondenze e le divergenze che si manifestano rispettivamente nell'ambito di questo fenomeno lessicale. L'obiettivo del lavoro è quello di proporre una panoramica di questo tipo di collocazioni in chiave contrastiva che sia applicabile ai fini lessicografici. Il materiale usato per l'analisi è costituito dagli esempi serviti per la compilazione del dizionario bilingue italiano-serbo delle collocazioni.

**Keywords:** collocazioni, verbo, sostantivo, italiano, serbo, dizionario.

### **1. Introduzione**

Le collocazioni<sup>1</sup> sono un tipo particolare di combinazione ristretta di parole che si usano regolarmente e che, come tali, sono più o meno

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Il progetto ha due obiettivi principali: lo studio contrastivo delle combinazioni lessicali italiane e serbe e la costruzione del dizionario bilingue (italiano-serbo) delle collocazioni. L'idea del progetto è nata dal fatto che i dizionari bilingui delle collocazioni costituiscono un'assoluta novità lessicografica nonché dal fatto che esistono pochissimi studi contrastivi sulle collocazioni, particolarmente quelli riguardanti la lingua italiana a confronto con una lingua slava. La realizzazione del progetto si svolge presso la Facoltà di Filologia dell'Università di Belgrado e abbraccia il periodo dal dicembre 2023 al dicembre 2025.

prevedibili. Varie sono le definizioni delle collocazioni: secondo quelle larghe, le collocazioni sono frequenti co-occorrenze di due parole in una lingua (basate sui criteri di frequenza, cfr. Benson, Benson and Ilson 1986, Sinclair 170) e secondo quelle più precise, le collocazioni sono co-occorrenze lessicali soggette a una regola di restrizione (cfr. Mel'cuk and Wanner 325); quelle più tecniche sottintendono combinazioni di parole soggette a una restrizione lessicale (per cui la scelta di una specifica parola – il collocato – per esprimere un determinato significato è condizionata da una seconda parola – la base – alla quale questo significato è riferito; Ježek 178). Date le diverse angolazioni e prospettive di approccio, si desume che le collocazioni sono un fenomeno lessicale che si colloca fra le polirematiche, unità lessicali superiori ed espressioni idiomatiche, di cui solitamente non condividono la rigidità sintagmatica, e le combinazioni lessicali libere, rispetto alle quali presentano maggiori restrizioni. Comunque, a prescindere dalle varie definizioni, si tratta delle combinazioni di parole che superano i limiti di un'unità lessicale.

Le collocazioni sono un fenomeno inerente a tutte le lingue che comunque mostrano divergenze nella scelta dei collocati. La prospettiva interlinguistica ci porta alla individuazione delle combinazioni che variano da una lingua all'altra per esprimere gli stessi concetti. Ad esempio l'italiano *fare una foto* è in inglese *to take a picture* (letteralmente *\*prendere una foto*), mentre in serbo *napraviti sliku* (corrispondente all'italiano *fare una foto*); in italiano *fare un caffè* è in serbo *napraviti kafu*, ma anche *skuvati kafu* (letteralmente *cucinare un caffè*); l'italiano *caffè corretto* non ha equivalenti in inglese o in serbo e nelle rispettive lingue si usa l'espressione italiana (non tradotta). L'italiano *cambiare canzone* ha il corrispettivo serbo *promeniti pesmu*, ma *andare in cantina* (*spustiti glas*) no. Queste differenze non sono inattese, particolarmente nei casi delle collocazioni con usi figurati, basati su metafore che possono poggiare su diversi tipi di somiglianze.

Secondo Benson, Benson and Ilson 1986, possono essere distinti sette diversi tipi principali di collocazioni: verbo di creazione o attivazione + nome (*accendere la sigaretta*), verbo di annullamento + nome (*negare l'accesso*), nome + aggettivo (*occhi lucidi*), nome + verbo che esprime un'azione caratteristica del nome (*gli occhi scrutano*), unità di quantificazione + nome al quale l'unità è riferita (*cucchiaino di zucchero*), avverbio + aggettivo (*fisicamente vicino*), verbo + avverbio (*ringraziare formalmente*; per varie tassonomie cfr. Ježek 180). Questa tassonomia può perfettamente essere applicata a molte lingue, tra le quali anche all'italiano e al serbo.

## 2. Collocazioni italiane contenenti una forma verbale

Quanto alle collocazioni comprendenti una forma verbale, la più frequente tipologia distingue le seguenti combinazioni: verbo + articolo + sostantivo (oggetto); verbo + sostantivo (collocazioni parzialmente lessicalizzate); verbo + preposizione + sostantivo; (articolo) + sostantivo + verbo. È la tassonomia ripresa anche nella compilazione del dizionario<sup>2</sup> bilingue italiano-serbo delle collocazioni dal quale sono stati estirpati gli esempi analizzati in questo lavoro.

Le collocazioni con il verbo nella maggior parte dei casi non presentano restrizioni sintattiche: *stipulare un contratto, stipulare il contratto, stipulare i contratti, stipulare molti contratti, stipulare una serie di contratti, il contratto che abbiamo stipulato, il contratto andrebbe stipulato* ecc. La stessa autonomia vale anche per le combinazioni con verbi supporto: *fare un'obiezione, fare l'obiezione, fare obiezioni, l'obiezione è fatta, l'obiezione che abbiamo fatto* ecc.

### 2.1. Collocazioni verbo + articolo + sostantivo (oggetto)

Nella combinazione del verbo e il sostantivo (con la funzione oggettivale) il verbo può essere combinato con i collocati appartenenti allo stesso campo semantico: *accusare il malore, accusare la fatica, accusare il dolore, accusare malessere, accusare nausea; fondare un'associazione, fondare una società, fondare un'impresa, fondare una ditta, fondare un ente, fondare un'azienda, fonare una compagnia, fondare un'organizzazione* ecc.; *redigere un verbale, redigere un contratto, redigere un documento, redigere uno statuto, redigere il testamento, redigere il bilancio, redigere un'istanza; trasgredire un ordine, trasgredire una norma, trasgredire un regolamento, trasgredire una legge, trasgredire una regola.*

D'altra parte, alcune basi verbali hanno un potenziale collocativo ristretto e compaiono in poche combinazioni: *stipulare il contratto, monottongare un dittongo, stazzare una nave, zavorrare un bastimento.* Il numero di questo tipo di collocazioni è limitato per via della stretta disponibilità semantica dei verbi che hanno una sfera d'uso limitata al loro significato primario senza ulteriore sviluppo polisemico. Per lo più si usano nei linguaggi specialistici.

La via di mezzo è rappresentata dalla combinazione dei cosiddetti verbi supporto (che hanno un significato generico fungendo da

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<sup>2</sup> Per i particolari riguardanti la compilazione e la struttura del dizionario, cfr. Samardžić, M. "Trattamento delle collocazioni dalla prospettiva contrastiva. Una proposta lessicografica". Ljubljana: Ljubljana University Press, in corso di stampa.

“supporto” al sostantivo, cfr. Cicalese 1999, Ježek 181-183, Salvi 79-82) e il sostantivo: *causare un danno, fare un danno, provocare un danno, recare un danno, subire un danno*. I verbi supporto sono distinti in verbi di base o verbi neutri, come *dare, fare, avere, essere, prendere*, e verbi estesi, che sono semanticamente più precisi e specificano il contenuto della collocazione. L'uso dei verbi estesi contraddistingue i registri formali e i linguaggi specialistici: cfr. *prendere un farmaco* vs. *assumere un farmaco*; *sentire dolori* vs. *lamentare dolori*.

Le collocazioni a verbo supporto (con i verbi neutri) presentano una restrizione lessicale attivata dal sostantivo: *prendere una decisione* (vs. *\*fare una decisione*) o *fare una scelta* (vs. *\*prendere una scelta*). Il valore semantico del verbo è generico e il significato della collocazione è espresso dal sostantivo (dalla base della collocazione). Dunque la base (il sostantivo) determina il significato del collocato (il verbo): nell'esempio *fare un'obiezione* il verbo *fare* assume il valore di *avanzare, esprimere, porre, presentare, rivolgere* (verbi supporto estesi che precisano il contenuto della collocazione): *avanzare un'obiezione, esprimere un'obiezione, porre un'obiezione, presentare un'obiezione, rivolgere un'obiezione*; in *dare un'occhiata*, il verbo *dare* equivale ai verbi “estesi” *gettare, indirizzare, rivolgere, lanciare*: *gettare un'occhiata, indirizzare un'occhiata, rivolgere un'occhiata, lanciare un'occhiata*. In *avere la nausea*, *avere* corrisponde semanticamente ai verbi *sentire* e *provare*: *sentire nausea, provare la nausea*. Le collocazioni a verbo supporto in alcuni casi possono essere commutate (interamente) dai sinonimi con differenze minime di significato: *Sofia aveva timore di uscire = Sofia temeva di uscire*; *Il presidente ha dato l'annuncio delle proprie dimissioni = Il presidente ha annunciato le proprie dimissioni*. Esistono tuttavia i casi di verbi supporto in relazione con sintagmi nominali privi di rapporti morfofonologici con altri verbi (cfr. Elia, D'Agostino, Martinelli 317): *Sofia ha ragione* non è in relazione di sinonimia con *Sofia è in giusto*, *Pia fa l'amore con Stefano* con *Pia amoreggia con Stefano*, *Se mi darete credito non ve ne pentirete* con *Se mi concedete fiducia non ve ne pentirete*. È importante notare che, mentre il verbo supporto può mutare il significato a seconda delle combinazioni in cui appare, la base (il sostantivo) mantiene il significato che ha anche in altre combinazioni: nella collocazione *fare un'obiezione* il valore semantico della base è identico a quello presente nei casi di *accettare un'obiezione, formulare un'obiezione, prevenire un'obiezione, respingere un'obiezione, sollevare un'obiezione* ecc.

## 2.2. Collocazioni verbo + (preposizione) + sostantivo senza articolo (collocazioni parzialmente lessicalizzate)

Benché le collocazioni con il verbo maggiormente non presentino restrizioni sintattiche (v. 2.), tuttavia, in casi più rari, l'autonomia sintattica è ridotta e si verifica nelle combinazioni senza articolo: *fare scalo, prendere forma, avere fame, dare vita, prestare fede, chiedere scusa, avere in odio, stare a galla, tirare in ballo*. La perdita dell'articolo è il segnale che la sequenza verbo + sostantivo è in atto di lessicalizzazione (Ježek 187). Infatti, non sono accettabili le sequenze \**prendere le forme* o \**avere la fame* o \**chiedere la scusa* o \**stare alla galla*. L'assenza dell'articolo è in sintonia con la perdita della referenzialità del sostantivo (che in questa sequenza fa da oggetto al verbo) e la sua qualità di identificare ciò a cui si riferisce: *chiedere scusa* non significa chiedere una scusa particolare bensì in generale *scusarsi*. Comunque, nei casi citati delle sequenze senza articolo non si può ancora parlare della lessicalizzazione totale e tanto meno del passaggio da un significato letterale a quello metaforico con l'esito della formazione di un'espressione idiomatica. È vero che è in atto la creazione di un legame più stretto con il verbo con la conseguente diminuzione dell'autonomia sintattica fra il verbo e il sostantivo (*La scusa che ha chiesto Stefano* non è una modificazione di *Stefano ha chiesto scusa* perché *scusa*, senza articolo, non è referenziale come in *trovare una scusa*). Comunque in queste sequenze non si arriva ancora ai significati difficilmente o non riconducibili al valore della base: rimaniamo sempre nello stesso campo semantico di cui fa parte il sostantivo.

## 2.3. Collocazioni verbo + preposizione + sostantivo

Il verbo può essere combinato anche indirettamente con il sostantivo mediante l'uso di una preposizione. In questi casi il sostantivo non ha più funzione di oggetto bensì costituisce un'espansione frasale imposta dalla struttura sintattica: *cadere nel laccio* (vs. *tendere un laccio*), *uscire dal nascondiglio* (vs. *trovare un nascondiglio*), *tornare alla natura* (*proteggere la natura*), *sopravvivere al naufragio* (*rischiare il naufragio*). Come risulta dagli esempi, la struttura della collocazione non è imposta dal sostantivo ma dalla reggenza del verbo che lo introduce: "non è sempre chiaro cosa influisca sulla scelta della preposizione [...]. In ogni caso, la selezione è soggetta a restrizioni poiché, a parità semantica, nessuna commutazione con altre preposizioni è possibile" (Mirto, Granifero 40).

#### 2.4. Collocazioni sostantivo + verbo

L'ultima combinazione è costituita dal sostantivo e il verbo monovalente che denota un'azione caratteristica del soggetto: *la nave approda, la nave affonda, la nave attracca, la nave attraversa, la nave cambia rotta, la nave beccheggia, la nave salpa, la nave sperona, la nave veleggia*. In questo tipo di collocazione il verbo è commutabile e la sua scelta può dipendere dagli usi stilistici o dalle esigenze del registro: *la malattia inizia vs. la malattia esordisce*.

### 3. Analisi contrastiva delle collocazioni contenenti una forma verbale

Nel paragrafo precedente abbiamo offerto un quadro schematico delle collocazioni italiane. L'obiettivo del lavoro è quello di trovarne equivalenti nella lingua serba (per il serbo rinviamo a Dražić 2014 e al suo studio approfondito delle collocazioni serbe). Dal raffronto tra le due lingue basato sul materiale<sup>3</sup> raccolto per la compilazione del dizionario bilingue italiano-serbo delle collocazioni sono stati riscontrati: 1) equivalenti assoluti (corrispondenza semantica e strutturale), 2) equivalenti parziali (corrispondenza semantica ma non strutturale) e 3) assoluta mancanza di equivalenza.

#### 3.1. Collocazioni verbo + sostantivo (analisi contrastiva)

Le combinazioni del verbo e il sostantivo (sia come oggetto diretto che quello indiretto) possono essere o equivalenti assoluti o quelli parziali, in dipendenza dalla reggenza verbale nella rispettiva lingua. L'equivalenza assoluta si riscontra spesso nei casi della combinazione del verbo con il sostantivo (oggetto):

*causare un danno* = prouzrokovati štetu

*fare un danno* = napraviti štetu

*provocare un danno* = izazvati štetu

*recare un danno* = naneti štetu

*subire un danno* = pretrpeti štetu

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<sup>3</sup> Nella creazione del dizionario bilingue italiano-serbo delle collocazioni la lingua di partenza è l'italiano e, di conseguenza, un dizionario delle collocazioni italiane è alla base di un nuovo dizionario bilingue. Il dizionario raccoglie gli esempi tratti da De Mauro 1999, Klajn 2000, Lo Cascio 2012, Lo Zingarelli 2025, Sabatini, Coletti 1997, Tiberii 2012 e Urzi 2009, ulteriormente ampliati e completati dalle attestazioni rintracciate nelle varie fonti presenti in rete.

*aprire un pacco = otvoriti paket*  
*chiudere un pacco = zatvoriti paket*  
*consegnare un pacco = predati paket*  
*inviare un pacco = poslati paket*  
*mandare un pacco = poslati paket*  
*spedire un pacco = poslati paket*  
*recapitare un pacco = dostaviti paket, isporučiti paket*  
*ricevere un pacco = primiti paket*  
*ritirare un pacco = podići paket*

Non mancano però gli esempi di equivalenza solo parziale, dovuta alle reggenze verbali diverse nelle due lingue:

*testimoniare la presenza (svedočiti o prisustvu)*  
*aiutare il prossimo (pomoći bližnjem).*

### 3.2. Collocazioni verbo + preposizione + sostantivo (analisi contrastiva)

Nei casi della combinazione del verbo con il sostantivo mediante l'uso di una preposizione nella lingua d'arrivo si presentano equivalenti sempre con l'uso della preposizione o/e di un caso:

*accedere ai dati = pristupiti podacima*  
*uscire dal nascondiglio = izaći iz skrovišta*  
*optare per la nazionalità = opredeliti se za državljanstvo*  
*friggere in padella = pržiti u tiganju*  
*infognarsi nei debiti = uvaliti se u dugove*  
*sciogliere/liberare/svincolare da un'obbligazione = osloboditi obaveze*  
*incitare all'odio = podsticati na mržnju*  
*passare all'offensiva = preći u ofanzivu*  
*risplendere di felicità = sijati od sreće.*

Comunque, come già accennato, si riscontrano anche le differenze fra le due lingue. Alla collocazione italiana di tipo verbo + sostantivo (oggetto) nella lingua d'arrivo corrisponde (a livello semantico) il tipo verbo + preposizione + sostantivo (o verbo + sostantivo in un caso obliquo):

*rasentare la maleducazione (graničiti se s nevaspitanjem)*  
*agitare il fazzoletto (mahati maramicom)*  
*storcere/stravolgere gli occhi (prevrtati očima)*

oppure al tipo italiano verbo + preposizione + sostantivo equivale la combinazione verbo + sostantivo (oggetto):

*sopravvivere al naufragio (preživeti brodolom)*  
*sfuggire all'obbligo (izbeći obavezu)*  
*derogare a un obbligo (delimično prekršiti obavezu)*  
*approfittare dell'occasione (iskoristiti priliku)*  
*sottrarsi alla fatica (izbeći napor).*

### 3.3. Collocazioni verbo + (preposizione) + sostantivo senza articolo (analisi contrastiva)

Nei casi della combinazione verbo + (preposizione) + sostantivo con la perdita dell'articolo<sup>4</sup> gli equivalenti che abbiamo riscontrato presentano due opzioni: quando la lessicalizzazione è solo parziale, nella maggior parte dei casi gli equivalenti sono assoluti o si presentano non come collocazioni ma come forme verbali uniche (il fenomeno già verificato in italiano, v. sopra):

*prendere forma = steći oblik, uobličiti se*  
*dare vita = začeti, stvoriti*  
*prestare fede = poverovati, pouzdati se*  
*prestare orecchio = slušati, saslušati*  
*dare noia = dosađivati*  
*fare amicizia = sprijateljiti se*  
*muovere guerra = zaratiti, povesti rat*  
*chiedere scusa (= scusarsi) = tražiti izvinjenje, izviniti se*  
*fare coraggio (= incoraggiare) = ohrabriti*  
*avere in odio (= odiare) = mrzeti*  
*stare a galla (= galleggiare) = ploviti, ostati na površini;*

quando invece la lessicalizzazione è compiuta, manca l'equivalenza considerato che si tratta ormai di espressioni idiomatiche:

*fare padella = promašiti cilj u lovu*  
*prendere cappello = uvrediti se*  
*dare corda a = ohrabrivati nekoga da govori*  
*prendere in giro = rugati se*  
*fare caso = obraćati pažnju*  
*fare colpo = ostaviti utisak*

<sup>4</sup> La categoria di articolo è presente solo in italiano, non in serbo.

*sudare sangue = mučiti se (mnogo)*  
*tirare in ballo = uvući, uplesti, ali i uvući u igru.*

### 3.4. Collocazioni a verbo supporto (analisi contrastiva)

Essendo le collocazioni contenenti il verbo supporto condizionate dall'uso (v. 2.1.), come tali sono soggette a variabilità interlinguistica: la collocazione italiana *prendere un caffè* ha il corrispettivo serbo *popiti kafu* (lett. *bere un caffè*); *prendere una decisione* ha il corrispettivo serbo *doneti odluku* (*doneti = portare*); *fare un'obiezione – staviti prigovor* (*staviti = mettere*); *dare un'occhiata – baciti pogled* (*baciti = gettare, buttare*). Tuttavia non mancano corrispondenze: *fare una scelta = napraviti izbor*. La collocazione nella lingua serba può essere sostituita anche da un verbo esprime il valore della sequenza: *fare una scelta (izabrati)*, *fare un'obiezione (prigovoriti)*, *dare una pacca sulla spalla (potapšati po ramenu)*.

### 3.5. Sostantivo + verbo (analisi contrastiva)

L'ultima combinazione prevista dal dizionario italiano-serbo delle collocazioni è costituita dal sostantivo e il verbo monovalente per la quale risultano numerosi equivalenti assoluti o, eventualmente, parziali:

*la nave affonda (brod tone)*  
*la nave attracca (brod pristaje)*  
*la nave si capovolge (brod se prevrće)*  
*la nave cambia rotta (brod menja kurs)*  
*la nave beccheggia (brod se ljulja)*  
*la nave salpa (brod isplovljava)*  
*la nave veleggia (brod jedri)*  
*la nausea si accompagna a (mučnina je propraćena, mučnina prati).*

In alcuni casi non sufficientemente trasparenti nella compilazione del dizionario è risultato necessario accompagnare il traduttore da un esempio contestualizzato: *la fatalità vuole = sudbina hoće (la fatalità ha voluto che ci incontrassimo un venerdì, sudbina je htela da se sretnemo jednog petka)*.

## 4. Divergenze stilistiche

Nello studio contrastivo delle collocazioni contenenti un verbo e un sostantivo si riscontra una differenza che però non riguarda il livello sintattico o semantico ma piuttosto stilistico o di registro. *Declinare l'invito* è una sequenza alla quale in serbo corrisponde *odbiti poziv*.

Comunque in italiano lo stesso concetto può essere espresso anche con le collocazioni *rifiutare l'invito* o *respingere l'invito*. L'unica differenza concerne l'uso del registro formale in *declinare l'invito* vs. un registro neutro negli altri due esempi. La collocazione serba *ispuniti obavezu* in italiano ha diversi equivalenti: *adempiere a un obbligo*, *assolvere un obbligo*, *espletare un obbligo*, *onorare un obbligo*, *osservare un obbligo*, *ottemperare un obbligo*, *soddisfare un obbligo*; per la collocazione serba *osloboditi obaveze* in italiano si presentano varie possibilità: *dispensare dall'obbligo*, *esentare dall'obbligo*, *esimere dall'obbligo*, *esonere dall'obbligo*, *sciogliere dall'obbligo* o *liberare dall'obbligo*. È un fenomeno comune nei linguaggi specialistici italiani, denominato da Serianni 1985: 270 tecnicismi collaterali (“particolari espressioni stereotipiche, non necessarie, a rigore, alle esigenze della denotatività scientifica, ma preferite per la loro connotazione tecnica”). Sono facilmente commutabili, non incrinano il significato tecnico né l'accuratezza del testo in cui figurano bensì lo scostano dalla lingua comune elevandolo a un registro più alto e formale (cfr. Serianni 2003). Si riscontrano maggiormente nel linguaggio medico, giuridico e burocratico. Nella lingua serba il numero di questo tipo particolare di collocazioni è meno ricorrente e può creare difficoltà di resa di una totale equivalenza traduttiva.

## 5. Conclusioni

La prospettiva interlinguistica applicata in questa sede ci ha portato alla verifica delle coincidenze e delle divergenze che si presentano nelle due lingue messe a confronto. A livello della struttura della collocazione abbiamo confermato l'ipotesi delle possibili differenze che riguardano le reggenze verbali, vale a dire l'utilizzo dell'oggetto diretto o quello indiretto. Sono differenze dovute a vari fattori e particolarmente a quelli relativi allo sviluppo diacronico di ogni lingua. D'altra parte sono altrettanto attese le divergenze nei casi delle collocazioni parzialmente o totalmente lessicalizzate che comportano usi figurati basati su metafore legate a diversi fattori extralinguistici e culturali. Inoltre, abbiamo rilevato le differenze stilistiche che intercorrono fra le due lingue e che incidono sul potenziale collocativo, anche quelle attese considerato che l'italiano è una lingua che ha subito un lungo periodo di burocratizzazione e di sviluppo dei linguaggi specialistici (cfr. Serianni 2005). Comunque la raccolta e l'analisi del (cospicuo) materiale servito per la costruzione e la compilazione del dizionario italiano-serbo delle

collocazioni<sup>5</sup> ha offerto un quadro piuttosto coerente che dimostra molte analogie nella scelta dei collocati contenenti una forma verbale le quali si verificano anche in altri tipi di collocazioni.

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#### ITALIAN COLLOCATIONS VERB + NOUN: TYPES AND CORRESPONDENCES WITH SERBIAN

Collocations are a particular type of restricted combination of words that are used regularly and which, as such, are more or less predictable. There are various definitions of collocations ranging from broad ones, according to which collocations are frequent co-occurrences of two words in a language (based on frequency criteria, Benson, Benson and Ilson 1986, Sinclair 170), to those more precise (lexical co-occurrences subject to a restriction rule, see Mel'cuk and Wanner 325) and technical that imply combinations of words subject to a lexical restriction (whereby the choice of a specific word – the collocate – to express a specific meaning is conditioned by a second word – the base – to which this meaning is referred; Ježek 178). Considering the different angles and perspectives of approach, it can be deduced that collocations are a lexical phenomenon that is placed between polyrematics, higher lexical units and idiomatic expressions, of which they usually do not share the syntagmatic rigidity, and free lexical combinations, comparing to which have more restrictions. However, regardless of the various definitions, these are combinations of words that exceed the limits of a lexical unit.

Collocations are a phenomenon inherent to all languages which however show divergences in the choice of collocates. The interlinguistic perspective leads us to the identification of combinations that vary from one language to another to express the same concepts. For example, the Italian *fare una foto* is in English *to take a picture*, while in Serbian *napraviti sliku*; in Italian *fare un caffè* is *napraviti kafu* in Serbian, but also *skuvati kafu* (literally *to cook a coffee*); the Italian *caffè corretto* has no equivalent in English or Serbian. The Italian

*cambiare canzone* has the Serbian equivalent *promeniti pesmu*, but *andare in cantina* does not (Serb. *spustiti glas*): these differences are not unexpected, particularly in the cases of collocations with figurative uses, based on metaphors that can rely on different types of similarities.

Benson, Benson and Ilson 1986 distinguish seven different main types of collocations: verb of creation or activation + noun, verb of cancellation + noun, noun + adjective, noun + verb that expresses an action characteristic of the noun, unit of quantification + noun to which the unit refers, adverb + adjective, verb + adverb (Ježek 180). This taxonomy can be perfectly applied to many languages, including Italian and Serbian.

Italian collocations containing a verb

The most frequent typology distinguishes the following combinations: verb + article + noun (object); verb + noun (partially lexicalized collocations); verb + preposition + noun; (article) + noun + verb. It is the taxonomy also taken up in the compilation of the bilingual Italian-Serbian dictionary of collocations from which were taken the examples analyzed in this work.

In the combination of the verb and the noun (object) the verb can be combined with collocates belonging to the same semantic field: *accusare il malore, accusare la fatica, accusare il dolore, accusare malessere, accusare nausea; fondare un'associazione, fondare una società, fondare un'impresa, fondare una ditta, fondare un ente, fondare un'azienda, fonare una compagnia, fondare un'organizzazione ecc.; redigere un verbale, redigere un contratto, redigere un documento, redigere uno statuto, redigere il testamento, redigere il bilancio, redigere un'istanza; trasgredire un ordine, trasgredire una norma, trasgredire un regolamento, trasgredire una legge, trasgredire una regola, trasgredire un ordine*. On the other hand, some verbal bases have a limited collocational potential and appear in a few combinations: *stipulare il contratto, monottongare un dittongo, stazzare una nave, zavorrare un bastimento*. The number of this type of collocations is limited due to the narrow semantic availability of verbs which have a sphere of use limited to their primary meaning without further polysemous development. They are mostly used in languages for specific purposes. The middle ground is represented by the combination of the so-called support verbs (which have a generic meaning acting as "support" for the noun, see Cicalese 1999, Ježek 181-183, Salvi 79-82) and the noun: *causare un danno, fare un danno, provocare un danno, recare un danno, subire un danno*. Support verbs are divided into basic verbs or neutral verbs, such as *dare, fare, avere, essere, prendere*, and extended verbs, which are semantically more precise and specify the content of the collocation. The use of extended verbs distinguishes formal registers: *prendere un farmaco* vs. *assumere un farmaco; sentire dolori* vs. *lamentare dolori*. Support verb collocations (with neutral verbs) present a lexical restriction activated by the noun: *prendere una decisione* (vs. *\*fare una decisione*) or *fare una scelta* (vs. *\*prendere una scelta*). The semantic value of the verb is generic and the meaning of the collocation is expressed by the noun. Therefore the base (the noun) determines the meaning of the collocate (the verb): in the example *fare un'obiezione* the verb *fare* takes on the value of *avanzare, esprimere, porre, presentare, rivolgere: avanzare*

*un'obiezione, esprimere un'obiezione, porre un'obiezione, presentare un'obiezione, rivolgere un'obiezione*; in *dare un'occhiata*, the verb *dare* is equivalent to extended verbs *gettare, indirizzare, rivolgere, lanciare*: *gettare un'occhiata, indirizzare un'occhiata, rivolgere un'occhiata, lanciare un'occhiata*. In *avere la nausea, avere* corresponds semantically to verbs *sentire* e *provare*: *sentire nausea, provare la nausea*. Support verb collocations can often be replaced by synonyms with minimal differences in meaning: *Sofia aveva timore di uscire = Sofia temeva di uscire*; *Il presidente ha dato l'annuncio delle proprie dimissioni = Il presidente ha annunciato le proprie dimissioni*. It is important to note that, while the support verb can change its meaning depending on the combinations in which it appears, the base (the noun) maintains the meaning it has also in other combinations: in the collocation *fare un'obiezione* the semantic value of the base is identical to that present in the cases of *accettare un'obiezione, formulare un'obiezione, prevenire un'obiezione, respingere un'obiezione, sollevare un'obiezione*. Collocations with the verb in most cases do not present syntactic restrictions: *stipulare un contratto, stipulare il contratto, stipulare i contratti, stipulare molti contratti, stipulare una serie di contratti, il contratto che abbiamo stipulato, il contratto andrebbe stipulato*. However, in rarer cases, syntactic autonomy is reduced and occurs in combinations without an article: *fare scalo, prendere forma, avere fame, dare vita, prestare fede, chiedere scusa*. The loss of the article is the signal that the verb + noun sequence is in the process of lexicalization (Ježek 187). The absence of the article is in harmony with the loss of the referentiality of the noun (which in this sequence acts as the object of the verb) and its quality of identifying what it refers to: *chiedere scusa* does not mean asking for a particular apology but rather apologizing in general (*scusarsi*). However, in the mentioned cases of sequences without articles we cannot yet speak of total lexicalization and even less of the transition from a literal to a metaphorical meaning with the result of the formation of an idiomatic expression. It is true that there is an ongoing loss of referentiality of the noun and the creation of a closer link with the verb with the consequent decrease in syntactic autonomy between the verb and the noun (*La scusa che ha chiesto Stefano* is not a modification of *Stefano ha chiesto scusa* because *scusa*, without an article, is not referential as in *trovare una scusa*). However, in these sequences we do not yet arrive at meanings that are difficult or not attributable to the value of the base: we always remain in the same semantic field of which the noun belongs.

The verb can also be combined indirectly with the noun through the use of a preposition. In these cases, the noun no longer has the function of an object but constitutes a phrasal expansion imposed by the syntactic structure: *cadere nel laccio* (vs. *tendere un laccio*), *uscire dal nascondiglio* (vs. *trovare un nascondiglio*), *tornare alla natura* (*proteggere la natura*), *sopravvivere al naufragio* (*rischiare il naufragio*). As can be seen from the examples, the structure of the collocation is not imposed by the noun but by the rule of the verb that introduces it.

The last combination consists of the noun and the monovalent verb which denotes a characteristic action of the subject: *la nave approda, la nave affonda*,

*la nave attracca, la nave attraversa, la nave cambia rotta, la nave beccheggia, la nave salpa, la nave sperona, la nave veleggia.* In this type of collocation, the verb is commutable and its choice may depend on stylistic uses or the needs of the register: *la malattia inizia vs. la malattia esordisce.*

The aim of this paper is to find equivalents in the Serbian language which presents forms very similar to the Italian model (for Serbian we refer to Dražić 2014 and her study of Serbian collocations). From the comparison between the two languages based on the material collected for the compilation of the bilingual Italian-Serbian collocation dictionary, were found: 1) absolute equivalents (semantic and structural correspondence), 2) partial equivalents (semantic but not structural correspondence) and 3) absolute lack of equivalence.

The combinations of the verb and the noun (both as direct and indirect objects) can be either absolute equivalents or partial ones, depending on the verbal regency in the respective language. Equivalence is often found in cases of the combination of the verb with the noun (object): *causare un danno = prouzrokovati štetu, fare un danno = napraviti štetu, provocare un danno = izazvati štetu, recare un danno = naneti štetu, subire un danno = pretrpeti štetu.*

In the combinations of the verb and the noun through the use of a preposition, in the target language equivalents are always presented with the use of the preposition or/and of a case: *accedere ai dati = pristupiti podacima, uscire dal nascondiglio = izaći iz skrovišta, optare per la nazionalità = opredeliti se za državljanstvo, friggere in padella = pržiti u tiganju, infognarsi nei debiti = uvaliti se u dugove, sciogliere/liberare/svincolare da un'obbligazione = osloboditi obaveze, incitare all'odio = podsticati na mržnju, passare all'offensiva = preći u ofanzivu, risplendere di felicità = sijati od sreće.* However, as already mentioned, there are also differences between the two languages. The verb + preposition + noun type (or verb + noun in an oblique case) corresponds (at a semantic level) to the Italian verb + noun (object) type collocation in the target language: *agitare il fazzoletto (mahati maramicom)* or the Italian type verb + preposition + noun is equivalent to the combination verb + noun (object): *sopravvivere al naufragio (preživeti brodolom).*

In the combinations verb + (preposition) + noun with the loss of the article, the equivalents we have found present two options: when the lexicalization is only partial, in most cases the equivalents are absolute or present themselves not as collocations but as unique verb forms: *dare noia = dosađivati, fare amicizia = sprijateljiti se, muovere guerra = zaratiti, povesti rat.* When the lexicalization is complete, the equivalence is missing considering that they are now idiomatic expressions: *fare colpo = ostaviti utisak, sudare sangue = mučiti se (mnogo), prendere cappello = uvrediti se.*

Since the collocations containing the support verb are conditioned by use, as such they are subject to interlinguistic variability: the Italian collocation *dare un'occhiata* has the Serbian equivalent *baciti pogled* (non *\*dati pogled*). However, we also have correspondences: *fare una scelta = napraviti izbor.*

The last combination in the Italian-Serbian collocation dictionary is the combination of the noun and the monovalent verb for which there are

numerous absolute or partial equivalents: *la nave affonda* (*brod tone*), *la nave attracca* (*brod pristaje*), *la nave si capovolge* (*brod se prevrće*), *la nave cambia rotta* (*brod menja kurs*), *la nave beccheggia* (*brod se ljulja*), *la nave salpa* (*brod isplovljava*), *la nave veleggia* (*brod jedri*).

In the contrastive study of collocations containing a verb and a noun, there is a difference which however does not concern the syntactic or semantic level but rather the stylistic or register level. *Declinare l'invito* is a sequence which in Serbian corresponds to *odbiti poziv*. However, in Italian the same concept can also be expressed with the collocations *respingere l'invito* or *rifiutare l'invito*. The only difference concerns the use of the formal register in *declinare l'invito* vs. a neutral register in the other two examples. It is a common phenomenon in Italian languages for specific purposes, called by Serianni 1985: 270 "tecnicismi collaterali". They are easily commutable, they do not undermine the technical meaning or accuracy of the text in which they appear but rather distance it from the common language, elevating it to a higher and more formal register (Serianni 2003). They are mostly found in medical, legal and bureaucratic language. In the target language the number of this particular type of collocations is less recurrent and can create difficulties in achieving total translation equivalence.

The interlinguistic perspective applied in this paper has led us to verify the coincidences and divergences that occur in the two languages. At the level of the structure of the collocation we confirmed the hypothesis of the possible differences regarding the verbal regencies, i.e. the use of the direct or indirect object. These differences are due to various factors and particularly those relating to the diachronic development of each language. On the other hand, divergences are equally expected in the cases of partially or totally lexicalized collocations which involve figurative uses based on metaphors linked to various extralinguistic and cultural factors. Furthermore, we have noted the stylistic differences that exist between the two languages and which affect the collocational potential, even those expected considering that Italian is a language that has undergone a long period of bureaucratization and the development of specialized languages (Serianni 2005). However, the collection and analysis of the (considerable) material used for the construction and compilation of the Italian-Serbian dictionary of collocations has offered a rather coherent picture which demonstrates many analogies in the choice of collocates containing a verbal form which also occur in other types of collocations.

**Keywords:** collocations, verb, noun, Italian, Serbian, dictionary

**NOUVEAUTÉS LEXICALES DANS LA LANGUE FRANÇAISE**  
**DES MÉDIAS : CAS DES NEOLOGISMES DANS LA PRESSE**  
**ELECTRONIQUE**

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**Résumé:** Notre article se propose d'analyser les néologismes issus de la presse française contemporaine, à savoir des versions électroniques du magazine destiné aux adolescents *Phosphore* et des journaux quotidiens *20 minutes* et *France Soir*, relevés dans la période mars-décembre 2023. Notre intention est d'examiner dans quelle mesure les médias français utilisent le vocabulaire qui ne jouit pas encore d'une reconnaissance lexicographique institutionnelle de la part de l'Académie française. De ce fait, la méthodologie du filtrage des unités néologiques extraites de la presse est relative à leur absence du Dictionnaire de l'Académie française. L'étude s'appuie sur le cadre théorique des matrices lexicogéniques proposées par Pruvost et Sablayrolles. Les néologismes ont été analysés selon trois critères : catégorie de mot, domaine thématique (d'après le critère pragmatique lié au contexte de leur emploi) et mécanisme de création. L'analyse confirme que les substantifs constituent la catégorie la plus nombreuse et démontre que la plupart de nouveaux mots apparaissent dans le domaine de la musique, des réseaux sociaux et de la technologie. Il est également constaté que la langue française s'appuie principalement sur ses moyens internes (dérivation, composition, troncation et siglaison) pour créer de nouveaux mots, mais également que le pourcentage d'emprunts à la langue anglaise reste considérable.

**Mots-clés:** néologismes, langue française, presse française, domaine thématique, mécanisme de création, Dictionnaire de l'Académie française

## 1. Introduction

De nos jours, la langue évolue rapidement à mesure que l'ère numérique et le rythme de vie accéléré provoquent de grands changements, notamment au niveau lexical. Les nouvelles circonstances qui nous entourent, les innovations technologiques, ainsi que l'essor scientifique font naître de nouveaux mots. Leur diffusion se fait, en grande partie, par l'intermédiaire des médias.

Le Robert électronique<sup>6</sup> définit le terme *média* comme un « moyen, technique et support de diffusion massive de l'information (presse, radio, télévision, cinéma) ». Les médias ont toujours eu une grande influence sur la communication humaine et représentent un moyen clé d'information de la société. Non seulement qu'ils transmettent activement l'information, mais, de surcroît, grâce à leur omniprésence, ils ont le pouvoir d'influencer le langage des membres d'une communauté sociale.

Plusieurs auteurs (Granić 2006 ; Filipan-Žigniće 2012 ; Abd Elnabi Isa 2017 ; Župarić-Aničić 2019 ; Grbavac 2020) soulignent que la langue des médias évolue de plus en plus, notamment sur les plans orthographique et lexical. Les formes tronquées et les emprunts à l'anglais envahissent progressivement notre communication quotidienne. « Les médias, les publicités, les slogans et les émissions télévisées recourent aux nouveaux mots » (Abd Elnabi Isa 444). Selon Župarić-Aničić, la présence des médias de masse, les progrès rapides de la technologie et l'expansion des anglicismes dans tous les domaines de l'activité humaine conduisent à une augmentation du nombre de néologismes.

Comme le note Sablayrolles, entre la création d'un nouveau mot et « son éventuelle insertion dans un dictionnaire, s'écoule un temps plus ou moins long » (22). Toutefois, cela n'empêche pas les médias de faire circuler les nouveautés lexicales. Notre objectif est d'examiner dans quelle mesure la presse française contemporaine utilise les nouveaux mots, dont la forme ou le sens ne figurent pas encore dans le Dictionnaire de l'Académie française (DAF), connu comme « le *Dictionnaire* du bon usage, qui par là sert, ou devrait servir, de référence à tous les autres » (Jacquet-Pfau 308).

Cet article se propose d'analyser les néologismes issus des versions électroniques de *Phosphore*, magazine destiné aux adolescents, et des journaux quotidiens *20 minutes* et *France Soir*, relevés dans la période mars-décembre 2023. Notre intention est de détecter les tendances actuelles sur le plan lexical, ainsi que de répondre aux questions suivantes : Dans quels domaines thématiques

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<sup>6</sup> Le Robert électronique : <https://www.lerobert.com/>

apparaissent de nouveaux mots et dans quelle mesure ? Quels sont les mécanismes les plus productifs de création de néologismes ? La langue française s'appuie-t-elle sur ses ressources internes ou a-t-elle recouru aux ressources externes, à savoir aux emprunts, et à quel point ? Dans un premier temps, nous allons nous pencher sur le cadre théorique de la néologie. Dans un deuxième temps, nous allons présenter le corpus et la méthodologie de cette étude. Dans un troisième temps, nous allons procéder à l'analyse et discussion des résultats, avant de terminer par quelques réflexions finales et des perspectives qui s'ouvrent.

## 2. Autour de la néologie

Comme l'affirme Quemada, « une langue qui ne connaîtrait aucune forme de néologie serait déjà une langue morte, et l'on ne saurait contester que l'histoire de toutes nos langues n'est, en somme, que l'histoire de leur néologie » (38).

Bouzidi définit la néologie comme « l'ensemble des processus qui déterminent la formation de mots nouveaux, des néologismes » (19). Il la prend pour une tendance naturelle qui suit l'évolution linguistique, vu que « toutes les langues adoptent et introduisent des mots nouveaux pour pouvoir suivre les changements inévitables de la société et du milieu environnant » (24). Certainement, il en va de même pour le français :

Dans un monde où tout va vite, et où toutes les langues sont soumises aux nouvelles conditions de la communication de masse, la langue française, comme les autres langues, entre dans une nouvelle ère de son histoire: elle s'adaptera ou elle périra (Walter 228).

La langue évolue avec le monde et s'adapte aux nouvelles circonstances et besoins dénominatifs. Des mots disparaissent, d'autres voient le jour ou ceux qui existent déjà acquièrent de nouvelles significations. De nouvelles inventions et de nouveaux modes de vie font naître de nouveaux mots, créés afin de nommer de nouvelles idées, objets, événements, phénomènes dans les domaines de la science, de la technologie, de l'art, etc. Néanmoins, tous les domaines de l'activité humaine n'ont pas le même besoin de néologismes. Certains requièrent un renouvellement lexical plus que les autres. A titre d'exemple, le domaine des technologies de l'information, conditionné par un progrès accéléré, nécessite une surveillance continue, ainsi que l'introduction de nouveaux mots. Comme le souligne Štroblová:

Pendant les dernières décennies avec le développement de la technologie et la naissance de plusieurs disciplines

scientifiques, la technique est devenue un champ de lexique marqué par la naissance de plupart de néologismes désignant de nouvelles réalités (29).

En dehors du monde scientifique, les néologismes se multiplient dans d'autres domaines de l'activité:

La presse écrite est le lieu privilégié de la créativité lexicale. Par elle, on connaît l'actualité. Elle est disponible à tout le monde. Mais le néologisme ne se contente pas de journaux. Il est utilisé par les jeunes sur les réseaux sociaux ou dans le langage de textos (Abd Elnabi Isa 444).

Avant de procéder à l'étude du cas des nouveautés lexicales issues de la presse française électronique, tout d'abord, il convient de faire une brève parenthèse sur les définitions, les principales typologies et les mécanismes de création des néologismes.

### 2.1. Définitions et typologie des néologismes

Provenant du grec *neos* et *logos*, le néologisme est « un mot ou un sens nouveau ayant vu le jour suite au processus du renouvellement lexico-sémantique: la néologie » (Bouzidi 19). Afin de définir le *néologisme*, Grevisse l'oppose à l'*archaïsme*. Tandis que l'*archaïsme* est un « mot tombé en désuétude [...] le néologisme au contraire, est un mot nouvellement créé ou un mot déjà en usage, mais employé dans un sens nouveau » (Grevisse 91 in Bouzidi 23). Pareillement, d'après Revilla Garcia, « le néologisme est un nouveau lexème formé pour désigner un objet, un concept, un procédé ou un phénomène inédit ou récemment créé qui dépend des jugements collectifs » (7-8). Niklas-Salminen rajoute un critère supplémentaire pour qu'un mot puisse être appelé *néologisme* : il est nécessaire qu'« un ensemble de locuteurs éprouve, face à un mot donné, un sentiment de nouveauté. Il faut également que le néologisme se diffuse dans la communauté » (141 in Revilla Garcia 8). Iliescu et al. regroupent les définitions proposées par plusieurs ressources lexicographiques :

Le *TLF*, le *Larousse*, le *Robert*, le *Webster* présentent le néologisme comme une notion polysémique avec, d'habitude, les acceptions suivantes: 1. mot, tour nouveau que l'on introduit dans une langue donnée (*néologisme de forme*); 2. mot (expression) existant dans une langue donnée mais utilisé(e) dans une acception nouvelle (*néologisme de sens*); 3. création de mots, de tours nouveaux et introduction de ceux-ci dans une langue donnée (*syn. néologie*) (12).

Comme nous pouvons le voir, ils établissent la distinction principale entre *néologisme de forme* et *néologisme de sens*, ce qui nous amène à la typologie des néologismes. Notre intention n'est pas de répertorier de nombreuses typologies qui existent dans la littérature, mais de passer en revue quelques catégories pertinentes pour le cadre de notre étude.

Bastuji (6 in Velić 17) distingue deux types de néologismes, à savoir : unité de nouvelle forme et de nouveau sens, d'un côté, et néologisme sémantique, à savoir une nouvelle acception d'une unité déjà existante, de l'autre côté.

Outre les néologismes de forme (dérivés, composés, etc.) et les néologismes de sens (par exemple, par extension ou par restriction de sens), Abd Elnabi Isa (2017) rajoute un troisième type – les emprunts. Le même auteur considère que les innovations linguistiques « sont dues à deux raisons: une nécessité langagière et une motivation esthétique » (427). Cela correspond à la distinction proposée par Muhvić-Dimanovski (6-7) entre les *néologismes dénominatifs* et les *néologismes stylistiques*. Les premiers naissent du besoin de décrire une nouvelle expérience, de nommer de nouveaux termes et s'avèrent plus nombreux que les néologismes stylistiques, nés pour des raisons esthétiques. A titre d'exemple, il s'agit de nouveaux mots que l'écrivain crée pour les besoins d'une œuvre littéraire spécifique et qui sont liés à son style d'écriture, ce qu'on appelle *néologismes de l'auteur*.

Mentionnons également la catégorisation de Lombard et Huyghe (125) qui retiennent six types de néologismes:

- La néologie *ex nihilo*, [...] qui donne lieu à des unités lexicales créées sans base lexicale préexistante [...];
- La néologie morphologique [qui] produit des nouvelles unités lexicales au moyen d'une opération sur la forme et généralement le sens d'une base lexicale [...];
- La néologie sémantique [qui] consiste en l'assignation d'un nouveau sens à une forme déjà existante [...];
- La néologie syntaxique [qui] consiste à créer une nouvelle construction syntaxique pour une unité lexicale dont la forme et le sens sont déjà existants [...];
- La néologie phraséologique [qui] donne lieu à des expressions polylexicales nouvelles, issues de l'emploi conventionnalisé d'un syntagme [...];
- La néologie par emprunt [qui] consiste à importer et à adapter dans une langue cible des unités lexicales ou expressions étrangères.

Cette dernière typologie nous amène aux différents mécanismes de formation de nouveaux mots, qu'il convient de mentionner dans les lignes qui suivent.

## 2.2. Mécanismes de création lexicale

Comme le rappellent plusieurs auteurs (Filipović 1986 in Čunović 2015 ; Popović 2009 ; Dincă 2009; Abd Elnabi Isa 2017), les trois principaux procédés d'enrichissement lexical sont les suivants:

- formation de nouveaux mots à partir des éléments existants – dérivation affixale, dérivation non affixale (conversion, troncation, sigles et acronymes) et composition,
- changements de sens et
- emprunts aux autres langues.

Selon Dincă, les deux premiers mettent en place les *moyens internes*, tandis que le troisième appartient aux *moyens externes*. L'auteure rajoute que la *néologie formelle*, appelée également *néologie flexionnelle* ou *morphologique*, figure parmi les procédés de création les plus productifs.

Dubuc, de son côté, fait la distinction entre la *formation directe* (dérivation, composition) et la *formation indirecte* (extension sémantique, changement de catégorie grammaticale et emprunt).

Pruvost et Sablayrolles (in Cartier et al. 3) proposent une typologie de *matrices lexicogéniques*, procédés de formation de néologismes, comprenant deux mécanismes principaux : la *matrice interne* et la *matrice externe*. Tandis que la deuxième est relative aux emprunts, la première sous-entend quatre groupes :

- les mécanismes morpho-sémantiques – modification par construction (l'affixation et la composition), par imitation et déformation,
- les mécanismes syntactico-sémantiques – changement de fonction (par exemple, la conversion) et changement de sens (métaphore, métonymie, autre figure),
- les mécanismes morphologiques – réduction de la forme (troncation, siglaison, acronymes) et
- les mécanismes phraséologiques.

## 3. Corpus et méthodologie

Notre corpus est composé de 230 néologismes provenant des versions électroniques de la presse française en libre accès: les quotidiens français *20 minutes* et *France-Soir*, et le magazine *Phosphore*,

extraits dans la période mars-décembre 2023. La répartition des néologismes à travers le corpus est représentée dans le diagramme suivant :

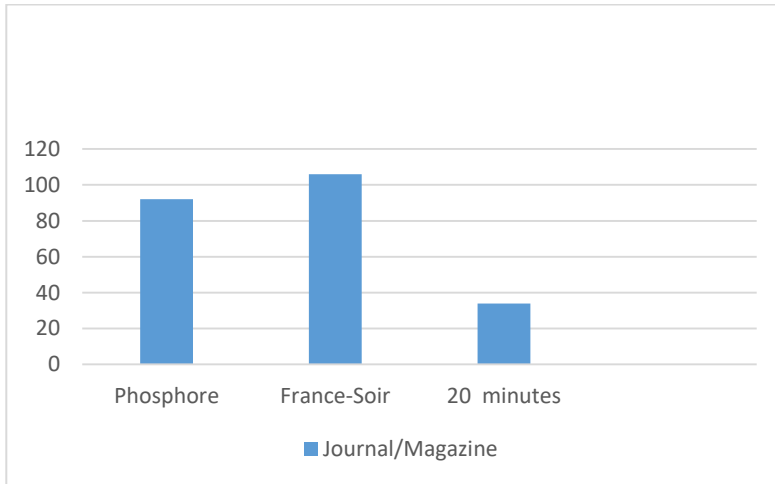


Diagramme 1. Distribution des néologismes par journal/magazine

Par ordre décroissant, la distribution des néologismes par journal/magazine prend la forme suivante : la majeure partie provient du quotidien *France-Soir* (46 %), qui est suivi du magazine *Phosphore* participant avec une proportion similaire (40 %), tandis que le reste (14 %) est relevé du quotidien *20 minutes*. Nous avons opté pour les journaux quotidiens en raison de la diversité et l'actualité des rubriques et pour le magazine destiné aux adolescents vu les aspects créatifs et innovants de la langue des jeunes.

Après la collecte initiale des unités lexicales néologiques, le critère principal selon lequel nous les avons filtrées en vue d'arriver au nombre final est le critère lexicographique, à savoir la présence de leur forme ou de leur sens dans la neuvième édition du Dictionnaire de l'Académie française (DAF).

Rappelons que, depuis des siècles, l'Académie française joue le rôle du « défenseur » de la langue française et qu'elle « représente une référence indispensable pour tout ce qui touche à la norme du français » (Souffi 156). Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie française est disponible au grand public en accès libre et il « jouit d'une réputation internationale, d'une dimension historique unitaire sans équivalent, et recèle des qualités philologiques d'exception » (Souffi 156).

[L]’élaboration de chaque nouvelle édition du Dictionnaire de l'Académie française suit un long chemin strictement balisé. Ce parcours, qui s'étend sur plusieurs

dizaines d'années [...] fait de ce dictionnaire institutionnel un ouvrage tout à fait singulier, qui semble vouloir n'offrir aucune prise au temps et ne jamais céder trop facilement à la tentation de la nouveauté qui, tous les lexicographes le savent, peut n'être qu'éphémère. Des mots de la langue, seuls entreront dans ce monument de référence ceux qui répondront à certaines exigences, telle qu'une morphologie conforme au système de la langue française ou, pour les mots venus d'une autre langue vivante, l'absence de toute possibilité du français de rendre compte au moyen de ses propres ressources de la réalité désignée. Chaque mot est donc minutieusement pesé, examiné au double éclairage du code de langue et de celle de l'usage et (re) défini en fonction de l'évolution de la langue avant d'entrer dans le dictionnaire (Jacquet-Pfau 307-308).

Vu que la neuvième édition du DAF est encore en voie d'achèvement, notre échantillon de néologismes ne prétend pas être exhaustif. Néanmoins, il nous permettra d'avoir une idée sur les principales tendances lexicales du français des médias, plus précisément sur les nouveautés lexicales diffusées par la presse.

#### 4. Analyse et discussion

Notre recherche s'appuie sur le cadre théorique des matrices lexicogéniques proposées par Pruvost et Sablayrolles. Les néologismes repérés ont été analysés selon trois critères : catégorie de mot, domaine thématique (d'après les réalisations contextuelles des unités néologiques) et mécanisme de création.

L'étude repose sur deux hypothèses de départ. Selon la première, il est probable que les substantifs prédominent dans le corpus néologique analysé. Selon la deuxième, nous nous attendons à ce que la langue anglaise, en tant que *lingua franca* mondiale, langue véhiculaire largement utilisée, participe à la création de nouveautés lexicales en français.

#### 4.1. Catégories de mots et domaines thématiques

Dans un premier temps, afin d'avoir un aperçu global du corpus, nous avons classé les néologismes d'après la catégorie de mots. La répartition est présentée par le diagramme suivant :

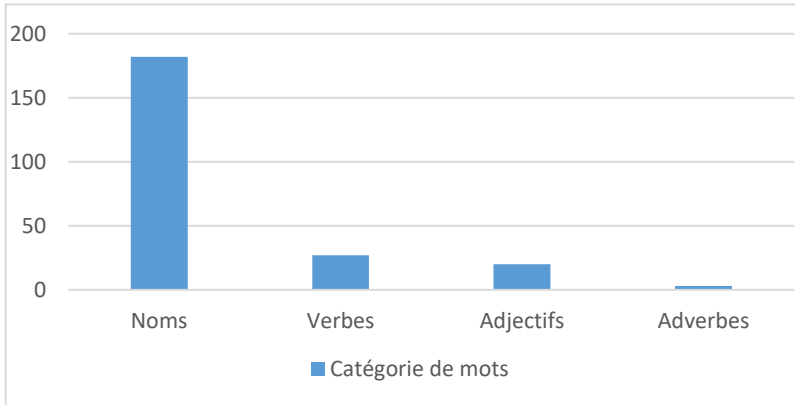


Diagramme 2. Distribution des catégories de mots

Comme nous pouvons le voir, les substantifs constituent la majorité absolue de notre corpus avec 78 %, ce qui confirme notre première hypothèse, selon laquelle, la majeure partie de nouveaux objets, concepts ou phénomènes à nommer appartient à la catégorie nominale. Nous avons également repéré les verbes (12 %), les adjectifs (9 %) et quelques adverbes (1%).

Dans un deuxième temps, nous avons classé les néologismes d'après les domaines thématiques, en fonction du contexte de leur emploi, à savoir du critère pragmatique, afin de saisir dans quels domaines apparaissent de nouveaux mots et de vérifier s'il y en a qui se distinguent par une diffusion accrue de nouveautés lexicales. Le classement a fait ressortir des domaines assez hétérogènes:

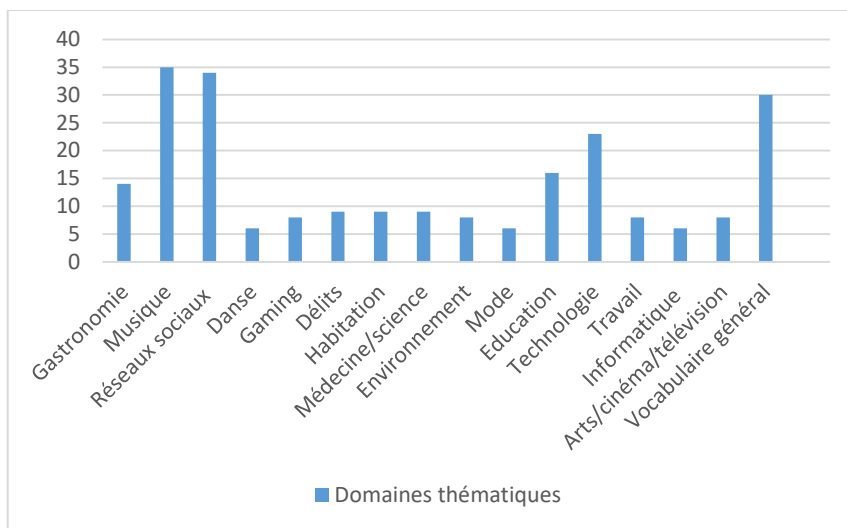


Diagramme 3. Distribution des domaines thématiques

Outre les néologismes classés dans le vocabulaire général, compte tenu de leur emploi dans le langage courant, la classification des exemples retenus a fait ressortir quinze domaines thématiques. Comme le démontre le Diagramme 3, deux domaines qui se démarquent par le plus grand nombre de nouveautés lexicales sont la musique (15%) et les réseaux sociaux (15%). Des proportions similaires ont été détectées en matière du vocabulaire général (13%) et dans le domaine de la technologie (10%). Le reste du corpus a été réparti comme suit : éducation (7%), gastronomie (6%), délits (4%), habitation (4%), médecine/science (4%), danse (3%), gaming (3%), environnement (3%), mode (3%), travail (3%), informatique (3%) et arts/cinéma/télévision (3%). Afin de les illustrer, observons quelques exemples par ordre décroissant :

➤ Musique (15%) :

*curesque*, adj. (relatif au groupe *The Cure*)

(1) [...] « High » une ballade mélancolique et rythmée typiquement *curesque*. (France Soir 2023)

*curemania*, n. f.

(2) La *curemania* était née. (France Soir 2023)

*méga-tube*, n. m.

(3) le groupe a connu le succès [...] notamment à partir de l'album *The Head on the Door* et le *méga-tube* « In Between Days », sorti en 1985. (France Soir 2023)

*multi-sons*, n. m.

- (4) Un « *multi-sons* » réunissant quelque 500 diffuseurs de musique électronique répartis sur 20 scènes se tient dans la petite commune de Lys-Haut-Layon. (20 minutes 2023)
- Réseau sociaux (15%) :
- hashtag*, n. m.
- (1) Le *hashtag* « *slickback* » cumule à lui seul plus d'un milliard de vues sur la plateforme chinoise (TikTok). (20 minutes 2023)
- influenceur*, n. m.
- (2) Instagram : Des publicités pour de l'alcool supprimées, des *influenceurs* bientôt poursuivis. (20 minutes 2023)
- like*, n. m.
- (3) La photo a dû finir sur Insta le soir même avec un maximum de *likes*. (Phosphore 2023)
- story*, n. f.
- (4) J'aurais mis cette photo en *story*, mais pour qui ? (Phosphore 2023)
- Vocabulaire général (13%) :
- aprèm*, n. m. ou n. f. (registre familier)
- (1) Et puis on avait des *aprèms* « off » durant lesquels on faisait d'autres activités. (Phosphore 2023)
- cool*, adj. (registre familier)
- (2) On a passé la soirée toutes les quatre à jouer aux cartes. C'était *cool* ! (Phosphore 2023)
- supérette*, n. f. (magasin d'alimentation)
- (3) A la *supérette* du coin, on s'est équipés de gants et de sacs-poubelles, et on s'est lancés. (Phosphore 2023)
- Technologie (10%) :
- auto-prompting*, n. m.
- (1) « Underscore » présente des expériences menées grâce à des « agents autonomes » et des « *auto-prompting* ». (France Soir 2023)
- blockchain*, n. f.
- (2) La session a consisté en une présentation sur la technologie *blockchain*, suivie d'un court exercice pratique sur Solidity, un langage de programmation *blockchain*. (France Soir 2023)
- cryptomonnaie*, n. f.

- (3) Après quoi les usagers sont invités à télécharger WorldApp, un portefeuille numérique qui leur permet de recevoir des « Worldcoin token », la fameuse *cryptomonnaie*. (France Soir 2023)  
*robot-chien*, n. m.
- (4) Plus tôt dans l'année, la société chinoise Unitree dévoilait un *robot-chien* fonctionnant grâce à l'IA, capable de parler. (France Soir 2023)
- Education (7%) :
- ENT* (espace numérique de travail)<sup>7</sup>, n. m.
- (1) On organise, en ligne, un concours d'affiches de sensibilisation, puis une expo sur notre ENT. (Phosphore 2023)  
*post-bac*, adj.
- (2) L'EEMI propose plusieurs programmes *post-bac* en 3 ou 5 ans, en formation initiale ou en alternance, permettant de se former à de nombreux métiers du digital. (Phosphore 2023)  
*prépa*, n. f. (registre familial) – *classe préparatoire*
- (3) [...] il y avait déjà des études à plusieurs vitesses, avec les meilleurs élèves qui allaient en *prépa*... (Phosphore 2023)  
*promo*, n. f. (*promotion* – ensemble des candidats admis la même année à une école, Le Robert)
- (4) Nous ne sommes que trois filles dans ma classe. [...] Heureusement, je suis assez directe, [...] mais ce n'est pas le cas de toutes les filles de la *promo*. (Phosphore 2023)
- Gastronomie (6%) :
- binouze*, n. f. (argot) et *microbrasserie*, n. f.
- (1) et (2) Un établissement d'une chaîne éponyme de *microbrasseries*, où elle fabrique la populaire « *binouze* ». (France Soir 2023)  
*fast-foodien*, adj.

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<sup>7</sup> Selon le Ministère de l'éducation nationale, de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche, un *espace numérique de travail* (ENT) « désigne un ensemble intégré de services numériques choisis et mis à disposition de tous les acteurs de la communauté éducative d'une ou plusieurs écoles ou d'un ou plusieurs établissements scolaires », <https://eduscol.education.fr/1050/espaces-numeriques-de-travail>

- (2) « C'est une manière *fast-foodienne* de s'alimenter sainement ». (France Soir 2023)  
*ramen*, n. m.
- (3) À Paris, de longues files d'attente se forment devant les établissements qui servent le *ramen*, la fameuse soupe aux nouilles japonaises. (France Soir 2023)
- Délits (4%) :  
*ecstasy*, n. f, *opioïde*, n. m. et *PCP* (phénylcyclohexyl pipéridine)  
 (1) (2) et (3) D'autres drogues peuvent également avoir cet effet : le cannabis, l'*ecstasy*, les *opioïdes* et la *PCP*. (20 minutes 2023)
- Habitation (4%) :  
*APL* (aide personnalisée au logement), n. f.  
 (1) Pour vivre, je reçois les 220 € d'*APL* (aide personnalisée au logement). (Phosphore 2023)  
*appart*, n. m. (registre familial)  
 (2) Mon *appart* fait environ 30m<sup>2</sup>. (Phosphore 2023)  
*coloc*, n. f. (registre familial) – *colocation*  
 (3) En *coloc*, on partage rires et galères. (Phosphore 2023)  
*mobil-home*, n. m.  
 (4) [...] passer trois jours en *mobil-home* dans un camping du Croisic. (20 minutes 2023)
- Médecine/Science (4%) :  
*AVC* (accident vasculaire cérébral), n. m.  
 (1) *20 Minutes* a étudié les multiples facteurs possibles pouvant provoquer un *AVC*. (20 minutes 2023)  
*bio-confinement*, n. m.  
 (2) le Sénat américain a affirmé qu'une « défaillance de *bio-confinement* » pendant des recherches sur un vaccin contre le SRAS-CoV-2 est à l'origine « d'un incident involontaire ». (France Soir 2023)  
*Covid* (coronavirus disease), n. m.  
 (3) Mais le *Covid* débarque. (Phosphore 2023)
- Danse (3%) :

*jubislide*, n. m. et *slickback*, n. m.

- (1) et (2) Une nouvelle danse appelée « *jubislide* » ou « *slickback* » semble avoir conquis les internautes. (20 minutes 2023)

*moonwalk*, n. m.

- (3) Si bien que ce petit pas de danse, qui consiste à réaliser un « *moonwalk* » latéral tout en donnant l'impression de ne pas toucher le sol, est devenu viral. (20 minutes 2023)

➤ Gaming (3%) :

*game*, n. m.

- (1) Je veux rentrer dans le *game*. (Phosphore 2023)

*gamer*, n. m. et *e-sport*, n. m.

- (2) et (3) Des *gamers* disputant une partie de « Dota 2 » lors d'une compétition d'*e-sport*. (Phosphore 2023)

*gaming*, n. m.

- (4) 40.000 tricheurs bannis de la plateforme de *gaming*. (20 minutes 2023)

*PNJ* (personnages non-joueurs), n. m.

- (5) [...] permettre aux joueurs d'avoir de « vraies » interactions vocales avec les *PNJ* (personnages non-joueurs). (France Soir 2023)

➤ Environnement (3%):

*antiplastique*, adj.

- (1) A mon sens, on ne fait jamais trop de sensibilisation *antiplastique*. On n'est jamais trop nombreux [...] à faire attention à notre planète. (Phosphore 2023)

*décarboner*, v. trans.

- (2) L'État investit massivement dans cette technologie afin de *décarboner* l'industrie et les transports. (France Soir 2023)

*écolo*, adj. (registre familier) – *écologique*

- (3) Je galère à mettre en place une action *écolo* dans mon lycée. (Phosphore 2023)

*sur-réchauffement*, n. m. et *sur-refroidissement*, n. m.

- (4) et (5) La technique des injections d'aérosols [...] pourrait entraîner « un *sur-refroidissement* régional dans les régions tropicales et un *sur-réchauffement* résiduel dans les régions polaires ». (France Soir 2023)

- Mode (3%) :
  - look*, n. m.
  - (1) Outre le *look* gothique et la coiffure hirsute du chanteur Robert Smith [...]. (France Soir 2023)
  - tee-shirt*, n. m.
  - (2) On nous remet deux *tee-shirts* orange. (Phosphore 2023)
  
- Travail (3%):
  - cluster*, n. m.
  - (1) [...] deux à trois géants internationaux, [...] petites et moyennes entreprises, ainsi que deux ou trois *clusters* sur le territoire chinois. (France Soir 2023)
  - leadership*, n. m.
  - (2) Qui plaide pour laisser à ces dernières « le *leadership* sur des sujets spécifiques ». (France Soir 2023)
  
- Informatique (3%) :
  - QR code*, n. m. (code à réponse rapide)
  - (1) Kodawari Tsukiji a mis en place un système de *QR code*. (France Soir 2023)
  - World ID*, n. m.
  - (2) la plateforme repose sur « *World ID* », une sorte de passeport numérique. (France Soir 2023)
  
- Arts/cinéma/télévision (3%) :
  - film-culte*, n. m.
  - (1) Le titre faisait partie de la bande-son du *film-culte* *The Crow*, sorti en 1994. (France Soir 2023)
  - manga*, n. m. (bande dessinée japonaise)
  - (2) Quand j'étais enfant, il était très compliqué d'avoir accès aux *mangas*. (France Soir 2023)

Comme le démontrent les exemples observés, les néologismes apparaissent dans les domaines assez variés. Cette hétérogénéité est due à la variété des rubriques couvertes par la presse sélectionnée et à l'actualité de l'information diffusée. La prolifération des néologismes dans les domaines de la musique et des réseaux sociaux s'explique par leur expansion accélérée, notamment parmi les jeunes générations

anglophones. En outre, il est intéressant de constater que la majorité des mots appartenant au registre familier provient du magazine *Phosphore*, destiné aux adolescents. D'un côté, nous pouvons noter que le registre familier, en principe réservé à l'oral et à la communication non formelle, est bel et bien présent dans la presse. De l'autre côté, il est confirmé que la langue des jeunes s'avère particulièrement encline à s'éloigner de la norme linguistique et à recourir, entre autres, aux formes tronquées, notamment dans l'ère numérique.

#### 4.2. Mécanismes de création

Dans la dernière étape de l'analyse, nous avons classé les néologismes d'après le mécanisme de création. La répartition peut être observée dans le diagramme suivant :

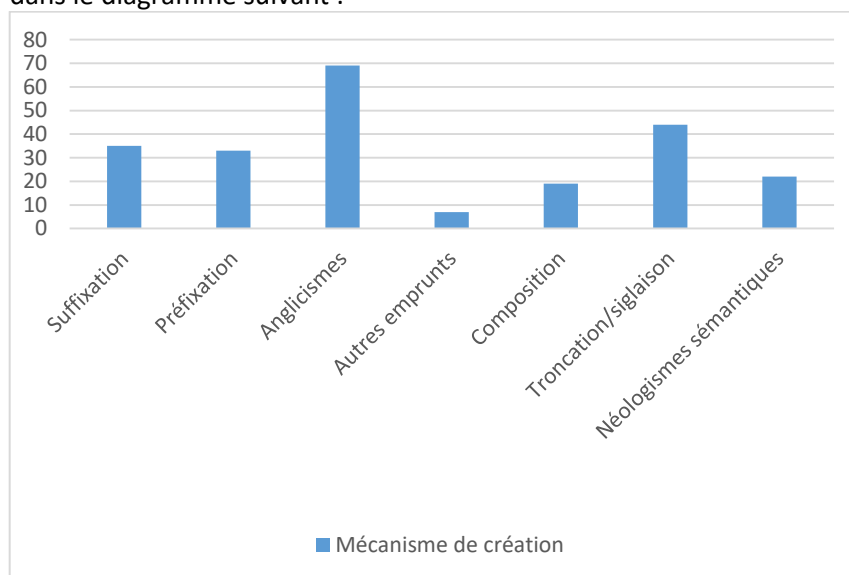


Diagramme 4. Distribution des mécanismes de création

Si l'on se penche sur les mécanismes individuels, nous pouvons constater un pourcentage important d'emprunts, soit à l'anglais (30 %), soit aux autres langues (3%), ce qui confirme notre deuxième hypothèse de départ. Le pourcentage considérable des anglicismes s'avère logique, étant donné que l'anglais devient le principal moyen de communication à l'échelle mondiale, et que, presque la moitié de notre corpus provient du magazine destiné aux adolescents, par défaut anglophones. Ensuite, 19% de nouveautés lexicales ont été créées par troncation ou siglaion. La suffixation (15 %) et la préfixation (15 %) participent à la création lexicale dans des proportions égales. Nous constatons également la

présence de néologismes sémantiques (10 %), à savoir des mots dotées d'une nouvelle acception qui n'est pas encore entrée dans le DAF, et des néologismes obtenus par composition (8 %), y compris la composition par amalgame. Illustrons les mécanismes repérés par quelques exemples, par ordre décroissant :

➤ Anglicismes (30 %) :

*buzz*, n. m.

(1) Voilà « *Je serai le président...* » qui fait le *buzz* cet été et le tour des réseaux sociaux, en premier lieu Tik-Tok. (France Soir 2023)

*chatbot*, n. m.

(2) Parmi eux, les *chatbots*, la création graphique... et les jeux vidéos. (France Soir 2023)

*featuring*, n. m.

(3) [...] potasser l'examen peut aussi se faire en « *featuring* »... comme on dit dans le monde de la musique. (Phosphore 2023)

*smartphone*, n. m.

(4) [...] les conversations privées seraient conservées à l'abri dans les *smartphones*. (France Soir 2023)

Autres emprunts (3 %) :

*hibakusha*, n. m. (japonais)

(1) [...] un descendant de *hibakusha* (survivant de la bombe). (France Soir 2023)

*samba de roda*, n. f. (portugais)

(2) Face B, Jospin avec « *Aux Français et aux Françaises* », cette fois façon *samba de roda*. (France Soir 2023)

➤ Troncation (majoritairement par apocope) et siglaison (19 %) :

*ado*, n. m.

(1) [...] « un espace sûr, surtout pour les *ados* ». (France Soir 2023)

*dico*, n. m.

(2) C'est quoi une césure ? Une période pendant laquelle on suspend ses études, dit le *dico*. (Phosphore 2023)

*tech*, n. f.

(3) [...] Expertise Digitale pour former des profils hybrides, maîtrisant *tech* et business. (Phosphore 2023)

Sigles:

IMEI (*identité internationale d'équipement mobile*)

(1) [...] le logiciel malveillant envoie des informations au serveur de l'attaquant, comme l'IMEI, le numéro de téléphone, etc. (20 minutes 2023)

ITT (*Incapacité totale de travail*)

(2) Et le média de préciser que les faits reprochés sont « accompagnés de violences ayant provoqué 15 jours d'ITT ». (20 minutes 2023)

➤ Suffixation (15 %) :

*booster*, v. trans. (de l'anglais *boost* + suffixe *-er*)

(1) *Booste* ta mémoire avec Sébastien Martinez ! (Phosphore 2023)

*urgentissime*, adj. (le suffixe *-issime* marque la valeur superlative)

(2) pour s'attaquer à un problème « *urgentissime* ». (France Soir 2023)

➤ Préfixation (15 %) :

*cryptoactif*, adj. m. (le préfixe *crypto-* provient du grec et signifie « caché »)

(1) pour que la France devienne un « *hub européen de l'écosystème des cryptoactifs* ». (France Soir 2023)

*cyber-sécurité*, n. f. et *cyber-harcèlement*, n. m. (le préfixe *cyber-* est relatif au réseau Internet et à l'informatique)

(2) et (3) À la fin, les différentes équipes se rejoindront pour un débrief et une discussion autour du *cyber-harcèlement* et de la *cyber-sécurité*. (Phosphore 2023)

➤ Néologismes sémantiques (10 %) :

*cartonner*, v. (obtenir du succès)

(1) « Je serai le président de tous les Français » *a cartonné* sur les réseaux sociaux. (France Soir 2023)

*compte*, n. m. (ressource informatique d'un utilisateur)

(2) [...] comment supprimer son *compte* Facebook ou Instagram. (20 minutes 2023)

*viral*, adj. (qui se propage sur Internet)

(3) L'ultrapopulaire plateforme de vidéos courtes et *virales* [...] (20 minutes 2023)

- Composition (8 %) :
  - capture d'écran*, n. f.
    - (1) Capture d'écran d'une prise de vue de « The Sphere » à Las Vegas. (France Soir 2023)
  - gendarme-violoniste*, n. f.
    - (2) [...] explique la « *gendarme-violoniste* » Pauline Lavacry. (France Soir 2023)
  - maître-brasseuse*, n. f.
    - (3) Clara Berlioz, *maître-brasseuse* virtuose par « hasard ». (France Soir 2023)

Il est possible de constater la présence des trois procédés d'enrichissement lexical mentionnés préalablement. Evidemment, les *néologismes de forme* prédominent sur les *néologismes de sens*. En total, la formation de nouveaux mots à partir des éléments existants (dérivation, composition, troncation, siglaison) constitue le mécanisme le plus productif (57%).

Si l'on trace un parallèle entre la matrice interne et la matrice externe, évoquées par Pruvost et Sablayrolles, nous pouvons noter que le français s'appuie principalement sur ses propres ressources, vu que les mécanismes internes (67%) l'importent sur les emprunts (33%), dont la participation dans le corpus analysé reste pourtant significative. Si l'on entre plus dans le détail de la matrice interne, nous détectons la prédominance des mécanismes morpho-sémantiques (affixation et composition) avec 38%. Les mécanismes morphologiques (troncation, siglaison) participent à la création lexicale avec un pourcentage de 19% et finalement, les mécanismes sémantiques avec 10%.

## 5. Conclusion

Cette étude nous a donné une idée sur les principales tendances lexicales dans le français des médias et nous a permis de saisir le décalage entre la réalité langagière et la norme lexicographique actuelle, proposée par le DAF.

Les deux hypothèses de départ ont été confirmées. Les substantifs constituent la catégorie la plus nombreuse dans le corpus analysé et la langue anglaise participe considérablement à la création de nouveautés lexicales en français.

Les domaines dans lesquels apparaissent de nouveaux mots sont assez variés. Le classement selon les domaines thématiques nous a permis de constater la prolifération de nouveautés lexicales dans les domaines de la musique, des réseaux sociaux et de la technologie, ce qui s'explique par l'essor global de ces secteurs de l'activité, en particulier dans les pays anglophones. Cela entraîne également la diffusion des emprunts à l'anglais, ce qui a été confirmé plus haut.

Les néologismes sont en expansion constante, de ce fait, de nouvelles perspectives de recherche s'ouvrent en permanence. Cette étude nous a donné envie d'élargir notre recherche de manière suivante : d'un côté, de suivre l'apparition de nouveaux mots dans une période de temps plus étendue, et de l'autre côté, de prendre en considération la presse d'autres pays francophones. À cet égard, il serait intéressant de comparer la France avec le Canada, la Belgique, la Suisse et d'autres pays francophones, afin d'identifier d'éventuelles différences lexicales au niveau national et d'en examiner les nuances. En somme, la richesse du lexique français et l'expansion constante de nouveautés lexicales restent certainement un champ intéressant à suivre et à explorer.

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### LEXICAL INNOVATIONS IN THE FRENCH MEDIA LANGUAGE: CASE OF NEOLOGISMS IN THE ELECTRONIC PRESS

Words illustrate the stages through which both society and language pass. Newly created words represent an unavoidable part of the everyday communication. They arise due to societal, technological and cultural changes. Several authors (Granić 2006, Filipan-Žigniċ 2012, Abd Elnabi Isa 2017, Župarić-Aničić 2019, Grbavac 2020) point out that the language of the media is increasingly evolving, especially on the lexical plan. Abbreviated forms and borrowings from English are gradually invading our daily communication. The aim of this paper is to analyze lexical innovations in the French media language, more precisely, to explore the case of neologisms used in the electronic press. Our intention is to analyze neologisms from the electronic versions of teenage magazine *Phosphore* and the daily newspapers *20 minutes* and *France Soir*, collected in the period March-December 2023. As Sablayrolles notes, possible inclusion of a new word in a dictionary should take more or less time. However, this does not prevent the media from circulating lexical innovations. In that regard, our objective is to detect current lexical trends in the French media language, i.e. to answer the following questions: In which thematic areas do new words appear and to what extent? What are the most productive mechanisms for creating neologisms? Does the French language rely on its internal resources or does it resort to external resources, namely borrowings, and to what extent? First, we establish an overview of the theoretical framework of neology. Second, we present the corpus and methodology of our study. Third, we analyze and discuss the results, before ending with some final thoughts and future perspectives. The results obtained from the analysis of the neological corpus will help us to better understand the current lexical trends in French.

Before analyzing new lexical units issued from the French press, we made a brief parenthesis regarding the definitions, main typologies and mechanisms of creation. There are various definitions of *neology* and *neologism*. Bouzidi

defines neology as “the set of processes that determine the formation of new words, neologisms” (19). He considers it as a natural tendency that follows linguistic evolution, since “all languages adopt and introduce new words in order to follow the inevitable changes in society and the surrounding environment” (24). Coming from the Greek *neos* and *logos*, neologism represents “a new word or meaning that has emerged following the process of lexico-semantic renewal: neology” (Bouzidi 19). Similarly, according to Revilla Garcia, “neologism is a new lexeme formed to designate an object, a concept, a process or a new or recently created phenomenon that depends on collective judgments” (7–8). Niklas-Salminen adds an additional criterion for a word to be called a neologism: it is necessary that “a group of speakers experience, when faced with a given word, a feeling of novelty. The neologism must also spread in the community” (141 in Revilla Garcia 8).

With regard to the typology of neologisms, in general, the main distinction is established between *unit of new form* and *unit of new meaning*. Abd Elnabi Isa also includes a third type – borrowings from other languages.

As several authors recall (Filipović 1986 in Čunović 2015, Popović 2009, Dincă 2009, Abd Elnabi Isa 2017), there are three main processes of lexical enrichment. First, formation of new words from existing elements, i.e. affixal derivation, non-affixal derivation (conversion, truncation, initialisms and acronyms) and composition. Second, assigning a new meaning to an already existing form (semantic neologism) and third, borrowings from other languages. Pruvost and Sablayrolles (in Cartier et al. 3) propose a typology of lexicogenic matrices, processes for forming neologisms, comprising two main mechanisms: the internal matrix and the external matrix. While the second relates to borrowings, the first implies four groups: morpho-semantic mechanisms – modification by construction (affixation and composition), by imitation and deformation, syntactic-semantic mechanisms – change of function (for example, conversion) and change of meaning (metaphor, metonymy, other figure), morphological mechanisms – reduction of form (truncation, creation of initialisms and acronyms) and phraseological mechanisms.

Our attention has been directed to the neologisms issued from French press published in 2023. After the initial collecting of new lexical units, the main criterion according to which we have filtered the neologisms was the lexicographic criterion, namely the presence of their form or meaning in the ninth edition of the Dictionary of the French Academy. Let us recall that, for centuries, the French Academy has played the role of the “defender” of the French language. This institution keeps maintaining the purity of French linguistic and cultural values and protects the linguistic treasure. Therefore, it is “an indispensable reference for everything related to the standard of French” (Souffi 156). The Dictionary of the French Academy is freely available to the general public and it “enjoys an international reputation, an unparalleled unitary historical dimension, and contains exceptional philological qualities” (Souffi 156). Given that the ninth edition of the Dictionary is still being completed, our sample of neologisms does not claim to be exhaustive.

Nevertheless, it will allow us to have an idea of the main lexical trends in the French media language, more precisely of the lexical innovations disseminated by the press.

New lexical units from the French media were analyzed and graphically presented following the research questions. Our corpus is composed of 230 neologisms issued from the electronic versions of teenage magazine *Phosphore* and the daily newspapers *20 minutes* and *France Soir*, collected in the period March-December 2023. In descending order, the distribution of neologisms by newspaper/magazine takes the following form: the majority comes from the daily newspaper *France-Soir* (46%), which is followed by the magazine *Phosphore* participating with a similar proportion (40%), while the rest (14%) is taken from the daily newspaper *20 minutes*. We opted for daily newspapers because of the diversity of the sections and for the teenage magazine given the creative and innovative aspects of the language of young people.

The neologisms were further analyzed according to three criteria: word category, thematic domain and creation mechanism.

First, the analysis shows that nouns constitute the absolute majority of our corpus with 78%. Verbs include 12% of the neological corpus, adjectives represent 9% of new lexical units and adverbs correspond to 1% of the analyzed sample.

Second, we classified the neologisms according to thematic domains, in order to understand in which domains new words appear and to examine if there are any that stand out by an increased diffusion of lexical innovations. The classification revealed quite heterogeneous domains. In addition to the neologisms classified in the general vocabulary, the classification of the selected examples revealed fifteen thematic areas. Two areas that stand out for the greatest number of lexical innovations are music with 15%, (e.g. *curemania*, *curesque*, *label*, *loop*, *medley*) and social networks with 15% (e.g. *appli*, *capture d'écran*, *customiser*, *cyber-harcèlement*, *hashtag*, *influenceur*, *like*, *podcast*, *story*, *tuto*, *tweet*). Similar proportions were detected in the general vocabulary (13%) (e.g. *ado*, *aprèm*, *asso*, *booster*, *déclit*, *kiffer*, *perso*, *supérette*, *teufeur*, *timing*, *urgentissime*) and in the field of technology (10%) (e.g. *auto-prompting*, *blockchain*, *chatbot*, *cryptoactif*, *cryptomonnaie*, *cyberpunk*, *hub*, *smartphone*). The rest of the corpus was distributed as follows: education 7% (e.g. *dico*, *fac*, *masterclass*, *post-bac*, *prépa*), gastronomy 6% (e.g. *binouze*, *brassicole*, *burger*, *entomophagie*, *fast-foodien*, *gastro*, *maître-brasseur*, *microbrasserie*, *ramen*, *tare*, *topping*), crimes 4% (e.g. *bracelet électronique*, *ecstasy*, *mugshot*, *opioïde*, *PCP*), habitation 4% (e.g. *APL*, *appart*, *coloc*, *frigo*, *mobil-home*), medicine/science 4% (e.g. *AVC*, *bio-confinement*, *Covid*, *kiné*, *post-accident*, *tout-vaccin*), dance 3% (e.g. *jubislide*, *moonwalk*, *samba de roda*, *slickback*), gaming 3% (e.g. *console*, *escape game*, *e-sport*, *game*, *gamer*, *gaming*, *multijoueur*), environment 3% (e.g. *antiplastique*, *éco-gestion*, *écolo*, *éco-randonnée*, *sur-réchauffement*, *sur-refroidissement*), fashion 3% (e.g. *doudoune*, *look*, *tee-shirt*), work 3% (e.g. *cluster*, *co-entreprise*, *leadership*), IT 3% (e.g. *QR code*, *télécharger*, *vidéo-clip*, *Web*, *World ID*) and

arts/cinema/television 3% ( e.g. *expo, film-culte, manga, padawan, spoiler, stop motion*).

As the examples observed demonstrate, neologisms appear in quite varied fields. This heterogeneity is due to the variety of sections covered by the selected press and the topicality of the information disseminated. In addition, it is interesting to note that the majority of words belonging to the familiar register come from the teenage magazine *Phosphore*. On the one hand, we can note that the familiar register, in principle reserved for oral and non-formal communication, is indeed present in the press. On the other hand, it is confirmed that the language of young people is particularly inclined to deviate from the linguistic norm and to resort, among other things, to truncated forms, especially in the digital era.

In the last stage of the analysis, we classified the neologisms according to the mechanism of creation. When it comes to the individual mechanisms, we can notice a significant percentage of borrowings, either from English (30%) (e.g. *badge, buzz, chatbot, cluster, cocooning, e-business, ecstasy, escape game, featuring, gaming, hashtag, leadership, like, look, loop, medley, moonwalk, mugshot, podcast*) or from other languages (3%) (*hibakusha, manga, ramen, samba de roda*), while 19% of lexical innovations are related to truncated forms (e.g. *ado, aprèm, asso, appli, burger, coloc, dico, écolo, expo, fluo, perso*) or initialisms (e.g. *APL - aide personnalisée au logement, ENT - espace numérique de travail, IMEI - identité internationale d'équipement mobile, PNJ - personnages non-joueurs*), which makes up half of the corpus. Suffixation (e.g. *booster, brassicole, curesque, japoniser, supérette, urgentissime*) and prefixation (e.g. *cryptoactif, cryptomonnaie, cyberpunk, cyber-sécurité, méga-tube, multi-sons, multijoueur, post-accident, tout-vaccin*) participate in lexical creation in equal proportions (15%). We also note the presence of semantic neologisms (10%), i.e. words with a new meaning that has not yet entered the ninth edition of the Dictionary of the French Academy (e.g. *cartonner sur les réseaux sociaux, compte Facebook ou Instagram, surfer sur le Net, tube d'un groupe, vidéo virale*), and neologisms obtained by composition (8%) (e.g. *entomophagie, capture d'écran, gendarme-violoniste, groupe-phare, maître-brasseuse, robot-chien*), including composition by amalgamation.

In total, the formation of new words from existing elements (derivation, composition, truncation, creation of initialisms) constitutes the most productive mechanism (57%). If we draw a parallel between the internal matrix and the external matrix, mentioned by Pruvost and Sablayrolles, we can note that French relies mainly on its own resources, since the internal mechanisms (67%) predominate over the borrowings (33%), whose participation in the analyzed corpus, nevertheless, remains significant. For a more detailed overview of the internal matrix, we detected the predominance (38%) of morpho-semantic mechanisms (affixation and composition). Morphological mechanisms (truncation, creation of initialisms) participate in lexical creation with 19% and they are more common than the semantic mechanisms (10%).

Based on the conducted research, it can be concluded that neologisms are constantly expanding. The proliferation of lexical innovations is certainly faster

than ever in today's world. We have considered the influence of electronic press, an essential part of everyday life, which significantly contributes to the faster and easier recognition of new words. The internet, in particular, has become a crucial element in almost all aspects of human activity. Our study has confirmed that the media represents an important source of lexical creativity. The thematic domains in which new words appear are quite heterogeneous. The classification according to thematic fields allowed us to note an increased proliferation of lexical innovations in the fields of music, social networks and technology, which can be explained by the overall growth of these sectors of activity, particularly in English-speaking countries. This also leads to the spread of borrowings from English, which was confirmed above.

Since neologisms are continually expanding, new research perspectives are opening up. This study gave us the impulse to broaden our research in the following way: on the one hand, to follow the appearance of lexical innovations over a longer period of time, and on the other hand, to take into consideration the press of other French-speaking countries. In this regard, it would be interesting to compare France with Canada, Belgium, Switzerland and other French-speaking countries, in order to identify possible lexical differences at the national level and to examine their nuances. All in all, the richness of the French lexicon and the constant expansion of lexical innovations certainly remain an interesting field to follow and to explore.

**Keywords:** neologism, French language, French press, thematic domain, mechanism of creation, Dictionary of the French Academy

## **IMENIČKE SLOŽENICE U KINESKOM JEZIKU. PAKARDOVA KLASIFIKACIJA I PRAVILO GLAVE REČI**

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**Apstrakt:** Ovaj rad bavi se analizom formiranja imeničkih složenica u kineskom jeziku služeći se romanom *Zapisi o prodavcu krvi* (许三观卖血记) kineskog pisca Ju Huaa, kao istaživačkim korpusom. Osnovni cilj analize je provera utemeljenosti jednog široko prihvaćenog, ali i često osporavanog pristupa analizi formiranja imeničkih složenica u kineskom jeziku – *Pravila glave reči*. Ovaj postulat poznatog američkog lingviste Džeroma L. Pakarda iznet je u njegovoj revolucionarnoj studiji *Morfologija kineskog jezika: Lingvistički i kognitivni pristup* i glasi da imeničke složenice pretežno imaju imeničke morfeme na desnoj strani, dok glagolske složenice pretežno imaju glagolske morfeme na levoj strani. Kroz ovo istraživanje sve imeničke složenice u pomenutom korpusu su identifikovane i kategorizovane. Dat je uvid u pojam, strukturu i klasifikacije složenica u kineskom jeziku, a potom izloženi primeri te klasifikacije koristeći uzorak iz pomenutog korpusa. Cilj rada postignut je proverom dve Pakardove tvrdnje, zasnovane na istraživanju harvardskog profesora lingvistike Džejmisa Huang, koje potvrđuju *Pravilo glave reči*, i to deo koji se odnosi na imeničke složenice. Prva tvrdnja glasi da dvomorfemske imeničke složenice u kineskom jeziku u 89.9% slučajeva imaju imeničku morfemu na desnoj strani, kao drugu komponentu složenice. Druga tvrdnja jeste da se 54% imeničkih složenica u kineskom jeziku sastoji od dve imeničke morfeme. Identifikovano je ukupno 802 imeničke složene forme reči koje su razvrstane po strukturi, na osnovu klasifikacije koju je predložio Pakard. U romanu je pronađeno ukupno 696 imeničkih složenica koje se sastoje iz dve morfeme, ne računajući izvedenice, pozajmljenice i vlastite imenice. Analizom je utvrđeno da je broj imeničkih složenica sastavljenih od dve imeničke morfeme 476, što je 68% od ukupnog broja dvomorfemskih imeničkih složenica koje se nalaze u ovoj knjizi. Takođe, utvrđeno je 94% imeničkih složenica koje imaju imeničku morfemu kao desnu komponentu. Dobijeni podaci u ovom istraživanju previlaze Pakardove procene i na taj način govore u još veći prilog njegovih tvrdnji - da skoro sve dvomorfemske kineske složenice imaju imeničku morfemu kao drugu komponentu, a velika većina se sastoji iz obe imeničke morfeme.

**Ključne reči:** kineski jezik, morfologija, imeničke složenice, Pravilo glave reči, Džerom L. Pakard

## 1. Uvod

Dvomorfemske složenice predstavljaju 80% ukupnog rečnika kineskog jezika (Zhou 525-65). Primeri tipičnih imeničkih složenica koje se sastoje od dve morfeme (dva karaktera ili dva sloga) bili bi *záocǎo* 杂草 (razna + trava = korov) ili *shēngyīn* 声音 (zvuk, glas + zvuk, ton = zvuk, glas, ton). Prvi primer pokazuje odnos između komponenata te složenice koji je hijerarhijski, tj. u kojem jedna morfema opisuje drugu. Drugi primer pokazuje nehijerarhijski odnos, kada su obe komponente semantički jednako važne. Koja morfema je dominantna? Odnosno, šta je *glava reči* i koja je njena uloga? Ovo su neka od pitanja na koja ćemo tokom istraživanja pokušati da pronađemo odgovore. Treba uzeti u obzir da za razliku od drugih jezika, kineske složenice mogu biti sa glavom na levoj strani, sa glavom na desnoj strani ili sa dvostrukom glavom (Ceccagno and Scalise 234-52).

Osnovni cilj ovog istraživanja je da se putem identifikacije i klasifikacije svih imeničkih složenica u romanu *Zapisi o prodavcu krvi* (许三观卖血记, 1995) kineskog pisca Ju Huaa (Yu Hua), proveriti utemeljenost jednog od široko prihvaćenog, ali i često osporavanog pristupa analizi formiranja imeničkih složenica u kineskom jeziku – *Pravila glave reči* (The Headedness Principle). Ovaj postulat poznatog američkog lingviste Džeroma L. Pakarda (Jerome L. Packard) iznet je u njegovoj revolucionarnoj studiji *Morfologija kineskog jezika* (The Morphology of Chinese: A Linguistic and Cognitive Approach, 2001) i glasi da imeničke složenice pretežno imaju imeničke morfeme na desnoj strani, dok glagolske složenice pretežno imaju glagolske morfeme na levoj strani. U ovom radu fokusiraćemo se na imeničke složenice i proveriti dve Pakardove tvrdnje koje potvrđuju ovo pravilo, a zasnivaju se na istraživanju harvardskog profesora lingvistike Džejmsa Huanga (C.T. James Huang, Huang S. 264). Prva tvrdnja jeste da dvomorfemske imeničke složenice u kineskom jeziku u 89.9% slučajeva imaju imeničku morfemu na desnoj strani, kao drugu komponentu složenice (Packard 2001:39). Druga tvrdnja jeste da se 54% imeničkih složenica u kineskom jeziku sastoji od dve imeničke morfeme (Packard 2001:85-127). Razlog zbog kojeg je izabran roman *Zapisi o prodavcu krvi* je zbog obilja direktnog govora i dijaloga *običnog* kineskog čoveka što će omogućiti realan uvid u učestalost korišćenja imeničkih složenica u kineskom govornom jeziku.

### **1.1. Pregled rada**

U ovome radu najpre ćemo pokušati da odgovorimo na pitanje zašto su složenice važne u izučavanju kineskog jezika, a potom istražiti pojam složenica i njihovu strukturu, kao i klasifikaciju složenica. Primenićemo Pakardovu klasifikaciju imeničkih složenica na primere imeničkih složenica iz Ju Huaovog romana Zapisi o prodavcu krvi, i to samo onih imeničkih složenica koje se sastoje od glavnih leksičkih kategorija, kao što su imenice, glagoli i pridevi. Sve ostale kategorije imeničkih složenica poput onih koje se sastoje od tri i više morfema, imeničke morfeme i klasifikatora ili pozajmljenica i vlastitih imenica, priložene su u apendixu rada, odnosno u listi svih prikupljenih kategorija složenih imeničkih formi u ovom korpusu, i na raspolaganju je budućim istraživačima ove oblasti u njihovom radu. U zaključku rada ćemo predstaviti statističke podatke koji govore u procentima koja strategija građenja imeničkih složenica je u kojoj meri korišćena u romanu. Takođe, na istom primerku proveren je Pakardov postulat Pravilo glave reči utvrđivanjem procenta imeničkih složenica koje sadrže imeničku morfemu sa desne strane i imeničkih složenica koje se sastoje od dve imeničke morfeme.

### **2. Mesto složenica u kineskom jeziku**

Postoje dva stanovišta vezana za morfologiju kineskog jezika. Prema prvom, svi jezici su različiti. Neki imaju morfologiju, kao engleski jezik, a neki ne, kao kineski jezik, pa stoga neki imaju jasno određen pojam reči, a neki nemaju. Prema drugom stanovištu, svi jezici su u osnovi slični. Svi oni imaju morfologiju, kao i kategoriju reči (San Duanmu 1). Prvo stanovište pripada konvencionalnijem krugu lingvista poput Huseina (Hoosain 111) i Sjua (Xu 13), dok je drugo stanovište karakteristično za lingviste poput Pakarda, čije ćemo stavove posebno razmatrati u ovom radu.

Upravo iz potrebe da se podigne nivo leksičke jasnoće pojmova i postignu jasnije forme izražavanja dovelo je do leksikalizacije kineskog jezika. Feng (219-20) ističe da je period leksikalizacije kineskog jezika putem usložnjavanja jednosložnih reči u dvosložne i skraćivanja dužih fraza na dvosložne reči započeo još u periodu dinastije Džou (Zhou 1000-700 g.pne), a dostigao svoj vrhunac u periodu dinastije Han (206 g. pne - 200 g.). Ostaje činjenica da je u evoluciji ka modernom jeziku, kineski rečnik pretrpeo masivni proces udvajanja slogova, pa je procenat dvosložnih reči porastao sa 20% početkom nove ere do današnjih 80% ukupnog rečnika (Shi 70-2). Sojer u svom istraživanju dolazi do podataka da je velika većina novih reči u kineskom jeziku nastala putem

usložnjavanja i to 70.2%, dok je 18.7% reči nastalo putem skraćivanja (Sawer 203-28).

Ukoliko obratimo pažnju na neke od osnovnih osobnosti kineskog jezika razumećemo zašto se javila potreba za usložnjavanjem reči. U kineskom jeziku morfema uglavnom odgovara jednom karakteru, kao pisanoj jedinici, a fonetska jedinica koja odgovara karakteru je slog. Morfema može biti slobodna reč, vezani koren ili afiks sa tvorbenom ili gramatičkom funkcijom. Karakter ne prolazi kroz morfološku promenu, već uvek ostaje isti, dok se leksička značenja reči grade kombinacijom pomenutih morfema. Povrh toga, jedan slog se može izgovoriti na više različitih načina, odnosno može se izgovoriti različitim tonovima. Često isti karakteri odgovaraju različitim slogovima ili morfemama, a takođe se često isti slogovi ili morfeme pišu različitim karakterima. Ove karakteristike kineskog jezika ukazuju na to da leksičko značenje reči u kineskom jeziku umnogome zavisi od konteksta. S obzirom na to da se slogovi u kineskom jeziku uglavnom podudaraju sa morfemama, pa se većina dvosložnih reči sastoji od dve leksičke morfeme, nije čudo da je kineski jezik definisan kao jezik složenih reči.

### 2.1. Pojam složenice u kineskom jeziku

Blumfeld je definisao reč kao *minimalan slobodan oblik* (Bloomfield 178). Prema Huang Borongu složenica je reč koja nastaje spajanjem dve ili više morfema kroz procese kompozicije tj. slaganja dve korenske morfeme, udvajanja tj. ponavljanja iste morfeme, i derivacije tj. udruživanja jedne korenske morfeme i jedne vezane morfeme (Huang 266-76). Fu Huaićing, dopunjuje Huangovu klasifikaciju i složenicama nastalim transliteralizacijom, kao i onomatopejama (Fu 25-34).

Rakić (73-4), sa druge strane, smatra da se problem definicije složenica svodi na utvrđivanje da li ona ima osobine koje je čine prepoznatljivom kao posebnom reči. Iako fonološka svojstva, tačnije pauze u govornom toku, mogu da pruže neke naznake podele reči na zasebne celine, te naznake ne mogu se smatrati kriterijumima, posebno u jezicima koji su tonski, sastavljeni od jednosložnih fonetskih jedinica poput kineskog jezika. Takođe, kao kriterijum navodi se i nerastavljivost reči, međutim i ovaj kriterijum nije univerzalan jer mnogi oblici leže na graničnoj liniji između vezanih i slobodnih morfema, ili između reči i fraza, što je posebno slučaj u kineskom jeziku.

Fab (66) ističe da ukoliko se složenicom smatra reč koja se sastoji od dve ili više reči, onda u tu kategoriju spadaju i fraze, što stvara dodatni problem identifikovanja i razlikovanja složenica i fraza u kineskom jeziku. Stoga Dai (125) predlaže definiciju da pojam složenice obuhvata reč

sastavljenu od dve ili više vezanih morfema sve do dve ili više korenskih morfema.

Reči koje se sastoje od više morfema u kineskom jeziku nisu obavezno navedene u rečniku već se njihovo značenje podrazumeva iz konteksta jezika kako kaže Husein (Hoosain 126) i naglašava da postoji izvesna fluidnost te granice između reči i morfeme u umovima onih koji govore kineski jezik. Primere za ovu pojavu možemo naći i u Ju Huaovom romanu *Zapisi o prodavcu krvi* u vidu imeničkih konstrukcija koje se kao cele složene reči ne mogu naći u rečniku, npr. cǎoxí 草席 (trava, slama + prostirka = asura, više primera u apendiksu). Husein dalje navodi da klasični kineski jezik obiluje jednomorfemskim slobodnim rečima koje su kasnije, u procesu stvaranja dvosložnih reči modernog kineskog jezika, postale vezane morfeme. Stoga, od stepena poznavanja klasičnog kineskog jezika zavisi i poimanje morfeme ili reči. Drugo, da li je morfema vezana ili slobodna takođe može zavisiti od dijalekta kineskog jezika. Treće, status vezanih ili slobodnih morfema zavisi i od konteksta u kojem se govori. Prema tome, morfeme u kineskom jeziku predstavljaju neodređenije forme nego što je to slučaj sa morfemama u drugim jezicima, što ne znači da je njihovo korišćenje na bilo koji način otežano. To što morfeme ponekad mogu biti i vezane i slobodne, jednostavno znači da je potrebno da se ta njihova zasebna značenja i upamte odvojeno u mentalnom leksikonu.

## 2.2. Struktura složenica u kineskom jeziku

Morfeme koje ulaze u sastav složenice mogu imati *jaku* ili *slabu* poziciju. Morfema sa jakom pozicijom, odnosno *glava reči*, u većoj meri utiče na značenje složenice nego morfema sa slabom pozicijom. Ako posmatramo složenicu *rùkǒu* 入口 (ući + otvor = ulaz), druga po redu morfema, odnosno ona na desnoj strani, bila bi morfema sa jakom pozicijom. Često morfema koja je glava složenice prenosi i svoju sintaksičku vrstu na celu složenicu. U navedenom primeru *rù* je glagolska morfema, a *kǒu* imenička. S obzirom na to da je glava složenice imenička morfema, i sama složenica je imenička složenica.

Glava reči je uglavnom morfema sa leksičkom funkcijom koja je ili samostalna (korenska reč) ili vezana (vezani koren), a slabu poziciju zauzimaju one morfeme sa tvorbenom ili gramatičkom funkcijom, uglavnom afiksi. Neretko se dešava da složenica nema tvorbeni ili gramatički afiks, već se sastoji od korenske reči i vezanog korena. Pogotovu u tim situacijama, postavlja se pitanje kako odrediti koja je morfema, leva ili desna, ta čije se leksičko značenje više prenosi na složenicu.

Podela morfema na funkcionalne, odnosno one koje imaju gramatičku ulogu i sadržajne, odnosno one koje imaju leksičko značenje, ima veoma dugu istoriju izučavanja u kineskoj lingvistici. Najraniji pojmovi koji su objašnjavali ovu podelu bili su *shí* 实 za *pune reči* tj. reči koje imaju leksičko značenje i *xū* 虚 za *prazne reči* tj. reči koje imaju gramatičku funkciju, a nemaju leksičko značenje.

U morfološkoj analizi Pakard izdvaja dva kriterijuma za klasifikovanje morfema unutar reči (Packard 69-74):

1. Da li je morfema slobodna tj. da li može samostalno da se koristi u rečenici ili je vezana tj. može da se koristi samo u okviru pune reči?

2. Da li je morfema funkcionalna tj. da li ima gramatičku funkciju ili je sadržajna tj. ima leksičko značenje?

Ova dva kriterijuma daju četiri tipa morfema:

1. funkcionalna morfema [+slobodna, +funkcionalna] koja je slobodna, ali nema leksičko značenje.

2. korenska morfema [+slobodna, -funkcionalna] koja je slobodna morfema sa leksičkim značenjem.

3. afiks [-slobodna, +funkcionalna] koji je vezana morfema sa gramatičkom funkcijom.

4. vezani koren [-slobodna, -funkcionalna] koji je vezana morfema sa leksičkim značenjem.

Od ova četiri tipa morfema, svi osim prvog tipa učestvuju u tvorbi složenih reči. Stoga Pakard (81) smatra da se složene reči u kineskom jeziku sastoje od četiri tipa morfema - korenske morfeme, vezanog korena, i dve vrste afiksa - tvorbenog ili gramatičkog. Kombinacijom ovih morfema nastaju četiri tipa složenih reči u kineskom jeziku:

1. *Složenica* koja se sastoji od dve korenske morpheme, npr. *miàntiáo* 面条 (brašno, testo + trake = rezanci)

2. *Reč vezanog korena* koja se sastoji od korenske reči i vezanog korena, ili od dva vezana korena, npr. *sījī* 司机 (upravljati + mašina = šofer, vozač)

3. *Izvedenica* koja se sastoji od vezanog korena ili korenske reči i tvorbenog afiksa, npr. *shítou* 石头 (kamen + imenički sufiks = kamen)

4. *Gramatička reč* koja se sastoji od korenske reči i gramatičkog afiksa, npr. *rénmen* 人们 (čovjek + sufiks za množinu = ljudi)

U cilju definisanja unutrašnje strukture složenica, Pakard daje detaljan opis odnosa komponenata u dvomorfemskim složenicama (Pan, Yip, and Han 38):

1. *Odnosni opis* može biti:

- a) *odnos ograničenog značenja* kojem je prva morfema modifikator imeničke morfeme na desnoj stran, npr. *yáolán* 摇篮 (ljuljati + korpa = klevka).
- b) *suprotan odnos* u kojem komponente ukazuju na suprotne pojmove, npr. *mǎimài* 买卖 (kupiti + prodati = posao, biznis)
- c) *modalni odnos* koji opisuje opšti odnos modifikacije između dve komponente, npr. *zuòshì* 坐视 (sedeti + gledati = sesti i gledati)
- d) *odnos uzroka i posledice* u kojem prva morfema ukazuje na uzrok, a druga na posledicu npr. *dǎdǎo* 打到 (udariti + pasti = srušiti)

2. *Opis modifikacione strukture* zasniva se na tome da jedna morfema unutar složenice modifikuje drugu morfemu. Ova struktura podrazumeva:

- a) *uporedan odnos*, u kojem su morfeme strukturalno paralelne, odnosno nema dominantne morpheme, npr. *bǎbǐng* 把柄 (ručka + drška = ručka, drška)
- b) *hijerarhijski odnos*, u kojem je jedna morfema dominantna nad drugom, npr. *shāzhǐ* 砂纸 (pesak + papir = šmirgla)

3. *Semantički opis* podrazumeva da se značenje složenice zasniva na značenju morfema, npr. *shūbāo* 书包 (knjiga + torba = školska torba). Komponenta koja je modifikator uglavnom prethodi onoj koja je glava reči, i čije značenje preuzima složenica. Neki izuzeci od ovog pravili bili bi *kǒu'àn* 口岸 (usta + obala = luka) u kojoj je luka opisana kao usta obale iz čega vidimo da druga komponenta modifikuje prvu, ili *liǎndàn* 脸蛋 (lice + jaje = lice, obrazi) u kojoj je takođe značenje složenice usmereno na prvu morfemu.

4. *Sintaksički opis* podrazumeva posmatranje delova reči kao delove rečenice. Odnos među komponentama može biti subjekatsko-predikatski, npr. *kǒushào* 口哨 (usta + zviždati = zvižduk), glagolsko-objekatski, npr. *diàopíng* 吊瓶 (visiti + boca = infuzija) ili glagolsko-dopunski, npr. *chībǎo* 吃饱 (jesti + ispuniti = biti sit).

### 2.3. Pojam glave reči

Identitet složenice kao celine određen je leksičkom kategorijom morfema unutar nje, pre svega one morfeme koja je *glava reči*, ali i sintaksičkim kontekstom (Packard 310).

Određivanje leksičke kategorije složenice na osnovu kategorija njenih konstituenata karakteristično je za mnoge jezike. U poslednjih pedeset godina mnogi lingvisti bave se istraživanjem glave reči i njenom ulogom u morfološkoj tvorbi složenica. Za razliku od engleskog, germanskih i slovenskih jezika u kojima je osnovna morfema u složenici,

odnosno glava složenice, uvek na desnoj strani, na primer *high school*, *Grundschule* ili *ribolovac*, u romanskim jezicima poput italijanskog, francuskog i španskog glave složenica nalaze se na levoj strani, na primer *capostazione*, *bateau mouche*, *guardia civil*. (Ceccagno and Scalise 233-66).

Određivanje kojoj vrsti reči morfema pripada može se odrediti stavljanjem iste morfeme kao slobodne reči u određeni sintaksički kontekst. Međutim, onda kada se morfema javlja van konteksta ili u okviru druge reči, Pakard (39) predlaže primenu *Pravila glave reči* (Headedness Principle) koje kaže da u kineskom jeziku dvosložne imeničke reči najčešće sadrže imeničku komponentu sa desne strane, a dvosložne glagolske reči glagolsku komponentu sa leve strane.

Pakard smatra da su dvosložne, odnosno dvomorfemske forme, nastale zato što ima previše homonima jednosložnih formi, pa se na taj način izbegava dvosmislenost (266-67). Stoga je osnovna funkcija dvosložnih reči da zadovolje fonološke potrebe, a ne semantičke ili sintaksičke potrebe. Kako se jednosložna reč produžava u dvosložnu nije od morfološkog značaja. Na primer, neke dvosložne reči nastaju od fraza, kao što je *chīfàn* 吃饭 (jesti + pirinač, obrok = *jesti*). Neke nastaju ponavljanjem dve sinonimne morfeme kao što je *míngliàng* 明亮 (svetlo + svetlo, jasno = *svetlo*), *shùmù* 树木 (drvo + drva = *drvo*) ili *xiāoshòu* 销售 (prodati + prodati = *prodati*, *prodaja*). Neke nastaju dodavanjem sloga čije se značenje u potpunosti zanemaruje, kao što je *ěrdùo* 耳朵 (uvo + klasifikator za cvet, oblak = *uvo*). Drugim rečima, postoji razlog zašto morfološki obrasci kod dvosložnih reči ne podležu prosto generalizaciji: dvosložne reči stvorene su pre svega iz fonoloških, a ne morfoloških potreba. Stoga, podrazumeva se da bilo koja morfološka generalizacija kod dvosložnih reči kao što je *Pravilo glave reči* ima svoje izuzetke (San Duanmu 6). Na primerima imeničkih složenica (tabela 1) možemo videti da složenice u prvoj koloni imaju imeničku morfemu kao desnu komponentu, odnosno kao glavu reči i time same složenice postaju imeničke. Sa druge strane, složenice u drugoj koloni su izuzeci od ovog pravila jer nemaju imeničku već glagolsku ili pridevsku morfemu na desnoj strani, a pritom su ipak imeničke složenice.

Tabela 1 – *Pravilo glave reči* na primerima iz Ju Huaovog romana *Zapisi o prodavcu krvi*.

Pravilo glave reči	
Primeri	Izuzeci
<p><i>mùguāng</i> 目光 (oko+svetlo, zrak=vid, pogled)</p> <p><i>zácǎo</i> 杂草 (različita+trava=koro v)</p> <p><i>gōngshè</i> 公社 (javni+ društvo, grupa=komuna)</p> <p><i>zǒuláng</i> 走廊 (hodati + hodnik = hodnik)</p>	<p><i>kǒushào</i> 口哨 (usta + zviždati = zvižduk)</p> <p><i>jiéshù</i> 结束 (završiti + vezati = kraj, svršetak)</p> <p><i>màibó</i> 脉搏 (arterije i vene + lupati = puls)</p> <p><i>jiāchǒu</i> 家丑 (porodica+ružno,sramotno=porodi čni skandal, 'prljav veš')</p>

### 3. Klasifikacija imeničkih složenica

Pakard (86-9) smatra da se imeničke složenice u kineskom jeziku mogu klasifikovati na osnovu leksičke i morfološke strukture.

#### 3.1. Klasifikacija imeničkih složenica po leksičkoj strukturi

Kao prvu kategoriju u svojoj klasifikaciji predlaže one imeničke složenice koje se sastoje iz dve korenske imeničke morfeme, odnosno dve samostalne imenice (Tabela 2). Međutim, on ističe razliku u odnosu između komponenti takvih složenica deleći ih na one čiji je odnos hijerarhijski (Tabela 3) i nehijerarhijski (Tabela 4). Hijerarhijski odnos je modalni odnos u kojem prva morfema uvek određuje pripadnost ili karakteristike druge morfeme, dok nehijerarhijski odnos predstavlja paralelni odnos u kojem su obe morfeme sličnog značenja, sinonimi ili dva pojma koja pripadaju istoj kategoriji.

Tabela 2 – Imeničke složenice nastale kombinovanjem dve korenske imeničke morfeme.

I1+I2	Primeri iz romana <i>Zapisi o prodavcu krvi</i>
	<p><i>miàntiáo</i> 面条 (brašno, testo + trake = rezanci)</p> <p><i>diànlì</i> 电力 (elektricitet + moć, snaga = struja)</p> <p><i>zhūròu</i> 猪肉 (svinja + meso = svinjetina)</p>

	<p><i>yágēn</i> 牙根 (zub + koren = koren zuba, desni)</p> <p><i>shíjiē</i> 石阶 (kamen + stepenice = kamene stepenice)</p>
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Tabela 3 – Hijerarhijski odnos imeničkih morfema u imeničkoj složenici.

Odnos između prve imeničke morfeme (I1) i druge (I2)	Primeri iz romana <i>Zapisi o prodavcu krvi</i>
I1 je mesto gde se I2 nalazi	<i>kǒushuǐ</i> 口水 (usta + voda = pljuvačka) <i>qiángjiǎo</i> 墙角 (zid + ugao = ćošak sobe)
I2 ukazuje na medicinsko stanje I1	<i>gānyán</i> 肝炎 (jetra + zapaljenje = hepatitis, žutica)
I1 pokazuje stanje/oblik I2	<i>shāzhǐ</i> 砂纸 (pesak + papir = šmirgla) <i>huǒtuǐ</i> 火腿 (vatra + butkica = šunka)
I2 pokazuje stanje/oblik I1	<i>xuěhuā</i> 雪花 (sneg + cvet = snežna pahulja) <i>xiùguǎn</i> 袖管 (rukav + cev = rukav)
I2 se koristi za I1	<i>cháhu</i> 茶壶 (čaj + lonac = čajnik) <i>càidāo</i> 菜刀 (povrće + nož = kuhinjski nož)
I1 je mesto življenja I2	<i>sōngshǔ</i> 松鼠 (bor + pacov = veverica) <i>nóngmín</i> 农民 (zemljoradnja, selo + narod = seljak)
I2 je uzrokovana I1	<i>xuèjì</i> 血迹 (krv + trag = mrlja od krvi)
I2 sadrži I1	<i>nǎoké</i> 脑壳 (mozak + omotač, ljuska = lobanja)
I1 proizvodi I2	<i>jīdàn</i> 鸡蛋 (kokoška + jaje = jaje)
I2 se sastoji ili je napravljena od I1	<i>tiěsī</i> 铁丝 (gvozđe + nit = žica) <i>shígāo</i> 石膏 (kamen + pasta, krema = gips)
I1 je vrsta ili podgupa I2	<i>héliú</i> 河流 (reka + tok = reka) <i>júhuā</i> 菊花 (hrizantema + cveće = hrizantema)

I1 je metaforički opis I2	<i>máquè</i> 麻雀 ( <i>pegav</i> + mala ptica, vrabac = vrabac) <i>wūguī</i> 乌龟 ( <i>crna</i> + kornjača = kornjača, nasamaren čovek, <i>rogonja</i> )
I2 je izvor I1	<i>huǒchái</i> 火柴 ( <i>vatra</i> + drvo za potpalu = šibica)
I1 je izvor I2	<i>yángguāng</i> 阳光 ( <i>sunce</i> + svetlost = sunce, sunčeva svetlost)
I2 je nešto što I1 ima ili sadrži	<i>wūding</i> 屋顶 ( <i>kuća</i> + vrh = krov) <i>jiājù</i> 家具 ( <i>kuća, dom</i> + oprema = nameštaj)
I1 je nešto što I2 ima ili sadrži	<i>dàotián</i> 稻田 ( <i>pirinač</i> + polje = pirinčana polja) <i>shūfáng</i> 书房 ( <i>knjiga</i> + soba = radna soba, kućna biblioteka)

Tabela 4 – *Nehijerarhijski odnos imeničkih morfema u imeničkoj složenici.*

Odnos između prve (I1) i/ili druge (I2) imeničke morfeme i imeničke složenice	Primeri iz romana <i>Zapisi o prodavcu krvi</i>
značenje I1 i I2 je isto ili slično značenju složenice	<i>pífū</i> 皮肤 ( <i>koža</i> + <i>koža</i> = koža) <i>shēngyīn</i> 声音 ( <i>zvuk, glas, ton</i> + <i>zvuk</i> = zvuk, glas) <i>shǒuzhǎng</i> 手掌 ( <i>ruka</i> + <i>dlan</i> = dlan) <i>guīju</i> 规矩 ( <i>pravilo</i> + <i>pravilo</i> = pravilo, red, običaj)
I1 i I2 imaju različita značenja koja predstavljaju podgrupe širem leksičkom značenju složenice	<i>niányuè</i> 年月 ( <i>godina</i> + <i>mesec</i> = vreme, <i>dani, godine</i> ) <i>xiōngdì</i> 兄弟 ( <i>stariji brat</i> + <i>mlađi brat</i> = braća) <i>lǎnshéng</i> 缆绳 ( <i>kanap</i> + <i>konopac</i> = uže)

Pored najčešćih imeničkih složenica koje se sastoje iz dve imeničke morfeme, Pakard navodi i druge kategorije imeničkih složenica poput

onih koje se sastoje iz imeničke i glagolske morfeme (Tabela 5), glagolske i imeničke morfeme (Tabela 6) i dve glagolske morfeme (Tabela 7).

Tabela 5 – Imeničke složenice nastale kombinovanjem imeničke i glagolske morfeme.

<b>I+G</b>	Primeri iz romana <i>Zapisi o prodavcu krvi</i>
	<i>quēqián</i> 缺钱 (nedostajati, manjkati + novac = besparica) <i>zhōuwéi</i> 周围 (obim, opseg, okolina + okružiti, opkoliti = okolina)

Tabela 6 – Imeničke složenice nastale kombinovanjem glagolske i imeničke morfeme.

<b>G+I</b>	Primeri iz romana <i>Zapisi o prodavcu krvi</i>
	<i>chuīyān</i> 炊烟 (kuvati hranu + dim = dim iz kuhinjskih odžaka) <i>chōuti</i> 抽屉 (izvući + fioka = fioka) <i>zhíwù</i> 植物 (saditi + stvar, materija = biljka) <i>diàopíng</i> 吊瓶 (visiti + boca = infuzija) <i>tuōbǎ</i> 拖把 (vući, brisati pod + drška = džoger)

Tabela 7 – Imeničke složenice nastale kombinovanjem dve glagolske morfeme.

<b>G+G</b>	Primeri iz romana <i>Zapisi o prodavcu krvi</i>
	<i>dòngzuò</i> 动作 pomeriti + raditi = pokret, gest <i>jiéshù</i> 结束 završiti + vezati = kraj, svršetak <i>zhīchí</i> 支持 podržati + podržati = podrška <i>shōuchéng</i> 收成 prikupiti + završiti = žetva

### 3.2. Klasifikacija imeničkih složenica po morfološkoj strukturi

Komponente dvomorfemskih imeničkih složenih reči mogu biti imeničke ili glagolske korenske reči (IKR ili GKR), imenički ili glagolski vezani koren (IVK ili GVK), tvorbeni afiks (TA) ili gramatički afiks (GA). Korensku reč Pakard definiše kao slobodnu morfemu, odnosno reč koja ima leksičku slobodu. Vezani koren ne može stajati sam (82-5).

Tabela 8 – Vrste imeničkih složenica po morfološkoj strukturi

Vrste imeničkih složenica	primeri iz romana Zapisi o prodavcu krvi
Imeničke složenice korenskih reči	<p>IKR+IKR <i>kǒushuǐ</i> 口水 (usta + voda = pljuvačka)</p> <p>GKR+IKR <i>bēngdài</i> 绷带 (vezati, rastegnuti + traka = zavoj)</p> <p>IKR+GKR <i>kǒushào</i> 口哨 (usta + zviždati = zvižduk)</p> <p>GKR+GKR <i>jīlěi</i> 积累 (prikupiti + sakupiti = akumulacija kapitala)</p>
Imeničke složenice vezanog korena	<p>IKR+IVK <i>jiājù</i> 家具 (kuća, dom + oprema = nameštaj)</p> <p>IVK+IVK <i>bǎbǐng</i> 把柄 (ručka + drška = ručka, drška)</p> <p>GKR+IVK <i>sījī</i> 司机 (upravljati + mašina = šofer, vozač)</p> <p>GVK+IVK <i>chǔfāng</i> 处方 (tretirati + mesto = recept za lekove)</p> <p>IKR+GVK <i>liángshí</i> 粮食 (žitarice + jesti = žito, žitarice, hrana)</p> <p>IVK+GVK <i>yìsī</i> 意思 (značenje, ideja + misliti = značenje)</p>
Imeničke složenice sa tvorbenim afiksom	<p>IVK+TA <i>shítóu</i> 石头 (kamen + imenički sufiks = kamen)</p> <p>IKR+TA <i>rìzǐ</i> 日子 (sunce, dan + imenički sufiks = dan, datum, život)</p>
Imeničke složenice sa gramatičkim afiksom	<p>IKR+GA <i>rénmen</i> 人们 (čovjek + sufiks za množinu = ljudi)</p>

Leksička i morfološka klasifikacija predstavljene su na primerima imeničkih složenica koje se sastoje iz imeničkih ili glagolskih morfema. Ostale kategorije poput imeničkih složenica koje sadrže pridevske morfeme, klasifikator itd. predstavljene su u tabeli 9, a primeri su dostupni u apendiksu rada, odnosno detaljnoj listi svih složenih imeničkih formi.

#### 4. Zaključak

Kroz ovo istraživanje, na uzorku iz romana *Zapisi o prodavcu krvi*, identifikovane su i kategorizovane sve imeničke složenice u cilju analize značaja, pojma i strukture složenica u kineskom jeziku, zatim klasifikacije imeničkih složenica i utvrđivanja naučne utemeljenosti Pakardovog *Pravila glave reči* kroz proveru njegovih tvrdnji da dvomorfemske imeničke složenice u kineskom jeziku u 89.9% slučajeva imaju imeničku morfemu na desnoj strani, kao drugu komponentu složenice i da se 54% imeničkih složenica u kineskom jeziku sastoji od dve imeničke morfeme.

Identifikovano je ukupno 802 imeničke složenice koje su razvrstane po strukturi, na osnovu klasifikacije koju je predložio Pakard. Pored imeničkih složenica koje se sastoje od glavnih leksičkih kategorija identifikovane su i druge imeničke složenice, poput onih koje su nastale udvajanjem morfeme, onih koje se sastoje iz tri i više morfema, pozajmljenice, vlastite imeničke složenice i izvedenice (Tabela 9 i apendiks).

Analizom je utvrđeno da je broj imeničkih složenica sastavljenih od dve imeničke morfeme 476, što je 68% od ukupnog broja dvomorfemskih imeničkih složenica koje se nalaze u ovoj knjizi. Takođe, zbirom svih imeničkih složenica strukture I+I, G+I, P+I uz udvojene morfeme utvrđeno je 696 imeničkih složenica koje imaju imeničku morfemu na desnoj strani. To predstavlja 94% ukupnog broja dvomorfemskih imeničkih složenica. Dobijeni podaci u ovom istraživanju previlaze Pakardove procene i na taj način govore u još veći prilog njegovih tvrdnji da skoro sve dvomorfemske kineske složenice imaju imeničku morfemu kao drugu komponentu, a velika većina se sastoji iz obe imeničke morfeme.

Tabela 9 – Zastupljenost i klasifikacija imeničkih složenica u romanu *Zapisi o prodavcu krvi*.

Dvomorfemske imeničke složenice	Broj u romanu	Procenat od ukupnog broja dvomorfemskih imeničkih složenica
I+I (imenica + imenica)	476	68%
I+G (imenica + glagol)	13	2%
G+I (glagol + imenica)	75	11%
G+G (glagol + glagol)	18	3%
I+P (imenica + pridev)	3	0.4%
P+I (pridev + imenica)	99	14%
P+P (pridev + pridev)	2	0.3%
P+G (pridev + glagol)	0	0
G+P (glagol + pridev)	0	0
I+K (imenica +	3	0.4%
Udvojene morfeme	7	1%
Ukupan broj dvomorfemskih imeničkih složenica	696	100%
<i>Ostale složene imeničke forme</i>		
<i>Trosložne i četvorosložne</i>		49
<i>Vlastite imenice</i>		6
<i>Pozajmljenice</i>		7
<i>Izvedenice</i>		44
Ukupan broj složenih imeničkih formi		802

Teorijski značaj ovog rada leži u dokazivanju utemeljenosti Pakardovih tvrdnji, ali i u otvaranju diskusije na temu klasifikacije kineskih složenica i njihove unutrašnje strukture, kao i pojma glave reči. Praktični značaj ovog rada je u mogućnostima koje pruža za dalja istraživanja, za dopunu, ali i kritiku postojećih pristupa analize kineskih složenica. Konkretni proizvod ovog istraživanja je apendiks rada odnosno lista imeničkih složenica klasifikovanih u kategorije iz tabele 9.

Ovaj apendiks sadrži veliki broj imeničkih složenica i predstavlja pogodnu bazu za buduće istraživače imeničkih složenica u kineskom jeziku sa našeg podneblja. Roman *Zapisi o prodavcu krvi* pokazao je pogodnost korišćenja u svrhu ispitivanja svakodnevnog govornog kineskog rečnika, pa se sa sigurnošću može preporučiti i za potvrđivanje drugog dela *Pravila glave reči* koji se odnosi na glagolske složenice i poziciju *glave* na levoj strani. Na kraju, jedan od razloga zašto je ovaj rad objavljen na srpskom jeziku jeste da bismo i iz ugla našeg maternjeg jezika mogli da sagledamo prirodu morfološke strukture kineskih reči. Iz tog ugla, zaključuje se da kineski jezik ne može tako lako da se stavi u gramatički okvir ne samo engleskog jezika, nego i srpskog. Iako postoje sličnosti u leksičkoj klasifikaciji složenica, i u engleskom i u srpskom jeziku, pa je većina imeničkih složenica sastavljena od dve slobodne imeničke morfeme ili reči (true compound), ipak kada se zagledaju osobine samih morfema i njihov odnos, primetiće se razlike poput te da imeničke morfeme koje nisu slobodne, odnosno vezani koreni, u kineskom jeziku mogu da se udruže i naprave složenicu, što nije slučaj sa našim ili engleskim jezikom. Iako je Pakardova teorija potvrđena, brojni izuzeci od ovog pravila ne mogu se zanemariti. Pozicija *glave* složenice ne može zavisiti samo od kategorije kojoj njeni kontituenti pripadaju, već i od njihovog odnosa, pa i celokupne strukture složenice i njene sintaksičke uloge.

#### **Skraćenice**

- IKR- imenička korenska reč
- GKR- glagolska korenska reč
- IVK- imenički vezani koren
- GVK- glagolski vezani koren
- TA- tvorbeni afiks
- GA- gramatički afiks
- I-imenica
- G- glagol
- P- pridev
- K- klasifikator

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#### NOMINAL COMPOUNDS IN CHINESE LANGUAGE: PACKARD'S CLASSIFICATION AND THE HEADEDNESS PRINCIPLE

This paper serves as an introductory analysis of nominal compounds formation in the Chinese language, focusing on everyday spoken Chinese as exemplified in the novel *Chronicle of a Blood Merchant* (许三观卖血记, 2005)

by the Chinese author Yu Hua. The research is conducted with the theoretical framework of the nominal compound classification established by the American linguist Jerome L. Packard in his work *The Morphology of Chinese: A Linguistic and Cognitive Approach*, (2001). His study provides a comprehensive discussion of the linguistic and cognitive nature of Chinese words. It demonstrates that the Chinese language is far from being *morphologically impoverished*; rather, it possesses a unique morphological system that involves selecting different *settings* on parameters shared by all languages. The analysis of Chinese word formation contributes to our understanding of word universals. Packard explores the intricate relationship between compound words and their components, illustrating how the identities of Chinese morphemes are word-driven. Our study examines the mental lexicon of the Chinese language in correlation with that of the Serbian language.

It is evident that in the course of its evolution into the modern language, the Chinese vocabulary underwent a significant process of syllable duplication. The percentage of two-syllable words increased from around 20% at the beginning of the new era to approximately 80% of the total vocabulary (Shi 70-2). Since syllables in the Chinese language generally correspond to morphemes, most disyllabic words consist of two lexical morphemes, leading to the characterization of Chinese as a language of compound words. It is important to note that the doubling of syllables and the formation of compound words should be viewed as distinct phenomena, despite their interconnectedness and frequent interaction with each other (Arcodia 79).

In Chinese, a word is understood as the smallest free syntactic unit, which means it is the basic unit that carries meaning and can stand alone in a sentence. Chinese words are often monosyllabic and can be morphemes (units of meaning) or multi-morphemic words. The concept of a word in Chinese is not always as clear-cut as in some other languages due to the nature of the language and its characters. By analyzing the internal structure of words, it is possible to determine the word type of the components of a compound word. For example, if a compound word functions as a noun, it is likely that at least one of its components is also a noun. This idea is similar to how the structure of a sentence can determine the types of words within it.

The concept of the head of a word is crucial in understanding the structure of Chinese words. The vast majority of Chinese compound words follow the Headedness Principle, which states that the structural head typically occurs on the left side of verbs and on the right side of nouns within a compound word. This principle helps establish the relationship between the components of a compound word and their respective roles within the word.

When analyzing compound words in Chinese, it is crucial to determine whether the components of the word are free morphemes (substantive with lexical meaning) or bound morphemes (without lexical meaning on their own). Understanding the nature of these components helps in grasping the overall meaning and structure of the compound word. In the case of the Chinese language, it has been observed that many new words are created by combining content morphemes (with lexical meaning) to form complex words. These

morphemes can undergo changes in their semantic identity and may also change the type of word they belong to, or they could lose their status as free morphemes.

The process of forming new words in Chinese involves combining morphemes in various ways. During this process, morphemes can undergo semantic shifts, changing their meanings within the compound word. They can also change their syntactic roles, such as transitioning from nouns to verbs or vice versa. Some morphemes may lose their status as free-standing units when they are part of a compound word.

This paper delves into intricate relationship between morphemes, as compound components and the compounds themselves. We address the challenge of defining compound words and the ongoing divergence of opinions among linguists concerning the definitions of morphemes and compounds in Chinese and other languages. When a morpheme appears both in isolation and withing a larger word, Packard proposes the application of the Headedness Principle. This principle asserts that in the Chinese language, two-syllable nominal compounds typically feature a noun component on the right side, and two-syllable verbal compounds tend to have a verb component on the left side (39).

Packard posits that two-syllable or two-morpheme forms emerged due to the abundance of homonyms among one-syllable forms, thereby mitigating ambiguity (266-7). Consequently, the primary function of disyllabic words is to address phonological requirements rather than semantic or syntactic ones. The process by which a monosyllabic word is extended into a two-syllable word holds no morphological significance. For instance, certain two-syllable words originate from phrases, as seen in examples like *chīfàn* 吃饭 (eat + rice, meal = eat). Others are the result of duplicating two synonymous morphemes, as in *míngliàng* 明亮 (light + light, clear = light), *shùmù* 树木 (wood, tree + wood = wood) or *xiāoshòu* 销售 (sell + sell = sell, sale). Additionally, some are created by appending a syllable whose meaning is disregarded entirely, as in case of *ěrdùo* 耳朵 (ear + flower classifier, cloud = ear). In essence, the complex morphological patterns found in disyllabic words resist simple generalization due to their primary origin from phonological rather than morphological requirements. Consequently, it is evident that any attempt at morphological generalization for disyllabic words, such as the Headedness Principle, inevitably encounters exceptions (San Duanmu 6). Illustrating with examples of noun compounds (see Table 1), we observe that compounds in the first column feature a noun morpheme as the right component, serving as the head of the word, therefore defining the category of the compound as a noun. Conversely, the compounds listed in the second column deviate from this convention. Despite lacking a noun morpheme on the right side, they exhibit a verb or an adjective morpheme instead, yet still function as noun compounds.

Table 1 – The Headedness Principle with examples from the Yu Hua's novel

The Headedness Principle	
Examples	Exceptions
<i>mùguāng</i> 目光 (eye + light, ray = sight, look)	<i>kǒushào</i> 口哨 (mouth + to whistle = a whistle)
<i>zácǎo</i> 杂草 (different + grass = weed)	<i>jiéshù</i> 结束 (to end + to tie = an end)
<i>gōngshè</i> 公社 (public, collective + society, group = commune)	<i>màibó</i> 脉搏 (blood vessels + to puls = a puls)
<i>zǒuláng</i> 走廊 (walk + corridor = hallway, corridor)	<i>jiāchǒu</i> 家丑 (family + ugly, shameful = family scandal, 'the skeleton in the cupboard')

Chronicle of a Blood Merchant.

The research corpus we have selected, the novel *Chronicle of a Blood Merchant*, features numerous dialogues with lively, everyday language, making it a suitable corpus for investigating commonly used compounds. In addition to exploring the Headedness Principle, we utilized the corpus to categorize the collected nominal compounds based on Packard's approach. Employing the normative method, we analyzed the composition of all nominal compounds in the research corpus and verified two claims. The first claim pertains to the Headedness Principle, as proposed by Packard, which suggests that nominal compounds in the Chinese language typically have the noun morpheme on the right. Another theory, endorsed by Packard and based on research by Harvard linguistics professor C. T. James Huang, asserts that 54% of nominal compounds in the Chinese language consist of two noun morphemes.

Through this research, both claims were put to test. After identifying a total of 802 complex noun forms in the novel, they were categorized by structure following Packard's classification. Specifically, a total of 696 two-syllable nominal compounds were discovered in the novel (see Table 9).

Table 9 - Representation of different types of two-syllable nominal compounds in Yu Hua's novel *Chronicle of Blood Merchant*: Abbreviations used in the table are N (noun), V (verb), A (adjective), C (classifier).

Disyllabic nominal compounds	Number in the novel	Percentage of the noun compounds
N+N	476	68%
N+V	13	2%
V+N	75	11%
V+V	18	3%
N+A	3	0.4%
A+N	99	14%
A+A	2	0.3%
A+V	0	0
V+A	0	0
N+C	3	0.4%
Doubled morpheme	7	1%
Total number of noun compounds	696	100%
<i>Other complex noun forms</i>		
<i>Three-syllable and four-syllable nouns</i>	49	
<i>Proper nouns</i>	6	
<i>Loanwords</i>	7	
<i>Derivative nouns</i>	44	
Total number of complex noun forms	802	

In addition to two-syllable nominal compounds, various other types of nominal words were identified and classified, including three-syllable and four-syllable nominal compounds, loanwords, proper nouns and derivative nouns (detailed in the Appendix).

Out of 696 two-syllable nominal compounds identified in this corpus, 476 were nominal compounds comprising two noun morphemes, accounting for 68% of the total. Additionally, we discovered nominal compounds formed by combination of a verb and a noun, and an adjective and a noun and doubled morpheme compounds, all featuring a noun as the right component. These instances collectively constitute 94% of all two-syllable nominal compounds. These percentages exceed the figures claimed by Packard, providing even stronger support for the validity of the Headedness Principle.

During the research, in addition to identifying two-syllable nominal compounds, we also identified three- and four-syllable nominal compounds as well as loanwords, proper nouns and derivative nouns that resemble compounds in structure but do not fit this category. We included these non-

compound nouns to highlight the similarities or differences in their structure compared to compound nouns.

The significance of this research lies in its exploration of the Chinese language morphology, an area that has received comparatively less attention from researchers in the South Slavic region in contrast to the study of Chinese lexis, syntax, and phonology. Conducted in Serbian, this study offers Chinese language students and researchers in Serbia and neighbouring countries a valuable opportunity to gain deeper insights into the similarities and differences between our native languages and the Chinese language, an opportunity to examine the morphological structure of Chinese words through the lens of our mother tongues. Furthermore, this research can serve as a resource for further academic studies and investigations.

The study indicates that the Chinese language does not neatly fit in the grammatical framework of not only the English language but also the Serbian language. While there are similarities in the lexical classification of compounds in English and Serbian, where most noun compounds consist of two free noun morphemes or words (true compound), differences become apparent when examining the properties of morphemes and their relationship. In Chinese, unlike in English or Serbian, noun morphemes that are not free syntactic forms (i.e. bound roots) can combine to form compounds. This distinction highlights a unique aspect of the Chinese language that sets it apart from Western languages.

The tangible outcome of this analysis is a comprehensive list of collected nominal complex word forms (refer to the Appendix) categorized as detailed in Table 9. This newly created corpus represents a valuable source for all future researchers of nominal compounds in the Chinese language from our region.

The novel *Chronicle of a Blood Merchant* showed its suitability for the purpose of examining everyday spoken Chinese vocabulary. Therefore, it can also be recommended for validating the second part of the Headedness Principle, which pertains to verb compounds and their head positioned on the left side.

The theoretical significance of this work lies in confirming the validity of Packard's claims and in stimulating a discussion on the classification of Chinese compounds, their internal structure, and the concept of the head of the word. While Packard's theory has been validated, it is essential to acknowledge the existence of exceptions to this rule cannot be ignored. The position of the head of a compound cannot rely solely on the category to which its constituents belong but also on their relationship, the overall structure of the compound, and its syntactic role.

By shedding light on these linguistic intricacies, this study opens up new avenues for exploration and deepens our understanding of the complexities inherent in the structure of the Chinese language.

**Keywords:** Chinese language, morphology, noun compounds, The Headedness Principle, Jerome L. Packard

## APENDIKS - KLASIFIKACIJA SLOŽENIH IMENICA U JU HUAOVOM ROMANU ZAPISI O PRODAVCU KRVI

**Tabela A** - Imeničke složenice strukture I+I (imenica + imenica)

岸边	ànbīān	obala+strana	obala
把柄	bǎbǐng	ručka+držka	ručka, držka
板车	bǎnchē	daska, ploča+kola	ručna kolica
报纸	bàozhǐ	novine+papir	novine
背脊	bèijǐ	leđa+kičma	leđa
被窝	bèiwō	prekrivač+jazbina, gnezdo	postelja
背心	bèixīn	leđa+srce	odeća bez rukava (prsluk, majica na bratele)
背影	bèiyǐng	leđa, pozadina+senka, odraz	izgled, figura nekoga gledana s leđa, silueta
本钱	běnnqián	kapital+novac	kapital, vrednost
鼻尖	bíjiān	nos+vrh	vrh nosa
鼻孔	bíkǒng	nos+rupa	nozdrva
鼻涕	bítì	nos+suze, sline	sline
便池	biànchí	uriniranje+sliv	pisoar
标语	biāoyǔ	znak, oznaka+govor, jezik	slogan, plakat
病房	bìngfáng	bolest+soba	bolnička soba
病人	bìngrén	bolest+čovjek	bolesnik, pacijent
病因	bìngyīn	bolest+uzrok	patogen, uzrok bolesti
波浪	bōlàng	talas+talas	talas
玻璃	bōli	staklo+staklo	staklo
布店	bùdiàn	tekstil+prodavnica	radnja za prodaju tekstila
布鞋	bùxié	platno+cipele	platnene cipele, espadrile
爹妈	diēmā	tata+mama	roditelji
地方	dìfang	zemlja+ kvadrat	mesto, oblast
菜刀	càidāo	povrće+nož	kuhinjski nož
蚕茧	cánjiǎn	svilena buba+čaura	čaura svile bube

蚕蛹	cányǒng	svilena buba+čaura/larva	larva svilene bube
草帽	cǎomào	slama+šešir	slamnati šešir
草席	cǎoxí	trava, slama+prostirka	asura
厕所	cèsuǒ	toalet+mesto	toalet
茶壶	chá hú	čaj+lonce	čajnik
茶水	cháshuǐ	čaj+voda	čaj kao napitak
茶叶	chá yè	čaj+list	čaj (listovi čaja)
产台	chǎntái	radjanje, proizvodnja+platforma, postolje	akušerski sto
肠胃	chángwèi	creva+želudac, stomak	digestivni trakt, želudac i creva
钞票	chāopiào	novac+karta	papirni novac, novčanica
车间	chējiān	mašina+soba	radionica
尘土	chéntǔ	prašina, prljavština+zemlja	prašina
衬衣	chèn yī	postava+odeća	potkošulja, košulja
城楼	chénglóu	grad+zgrada, sprat	gradske zidine
城镇	chéngzhèn	grad+mali grad	varoš
池塘	chítáng	jezerce+jezerce	jezerce
绸缎	chóuduàn	svila+saten	svila, saten, skupocena tkanina
仇人	chóurén	neprijatelj, mržnja+čovjek	neprijatelj
厨房	chúfáng	kuhinja+kuća, soba	kuhinja
厨师	chúshī	kuhinja+učitelj, majstor	kuvar, šef kuhinje
船舱	chuáncāng	brod+kabina	brodska kabina, potpalublje
船票	chuánpiào	brod+karta	karta za brod
船头	chuántóu	brod+glava	pramac
船尾	chuánwěi	brod+rep	krma
船舷	chuánxián	brod+strana broda	trup čamca
床单	chuángdān	krevet+list (eng. sheet)	posteljina, čaršaf
窗户	chuānghu	kapak, prozor+ ulaz, vrata	prozor
窗台	chuāngtái	prozor+postolje, platforma	prozorski prag
床位	chuángwèi	krevet+mesto	krevet (u bolnici, motelima)

葱花	cōnghuā	luk+cvet	seckani mladi luk
葱丝	cōngsī	luk+niti, tanke trake	iseckan luk na trakice
村长	cūnzhǎng	selo+glavešina	seoski glavešina
村庄	cūnzhuāng	selo+selo, farma	selo
错误	cuòwù	greška+greška	greška
弹弓	dàngōng	metak+lúk	pračka
蛋壳	dànké	jaje+ljuska, kora	ljuska jajeta
胆量	dǎnliàng	žučna kesa+količina	hrabrost, <i>petlja</i>
道理	dàolǐ	put, doktrina, istina+razum, logika, istina	razum, smisao
道路	dàolù	put+put	staza, putanja
刀刃	dāorèn	nož+sečivo	oštrica, sečivo
稻田	dàotián	pirinač+polje	pirinčana polja
灯光	dēngguāng	lampa, svetlost+svetlost, zrak	svetlost lampe, svetlo
灯笼	dēnglóng	svetlo,lampa+kavez, košara	lampion
地方	dìfāng	zemlja+ kvadrat	mesto, oblast
地球	dìqiú	zemlja, tlo+lopta	Zemlja
滴水	dīshuǐ	kap+voda	kap
地主	dìzhǔ	zemlja+vlasnik	zemljoposjednik
电力	diànlì	elektricitet+moć, snaga	struja
电线	diànxiàn	struja, elektricitet+nit, žica	žica (za struju)
东边	dōngbian	istok+strana	istok
冬天	dōngtiān	zima+dan, vreme, nebo	zima
东西	dōngxi	istok+zapad	stvari
豆腐	dòufu	soja, pasulj+buđa	tofu
队伍	duìwǔ	grupa, tim+odred od pet vojnika	trupe, odredi
队长	duìzhǎng	tim, grupa+ šef	kapiten, vođa tima
舵手	duòshǒu	kormilo+stručnjak	kormilar
恶报	èbào	zlo+naknada, osveta	kazna (u budizmu)
额头	étóu	čelo+glava	čelo
耳朵	ěrdǒu	uho+ušna školjka, cvet	uho
耳光	ěrguāng	uho+svetlo	šamar
儿女	érnǚ	sin+kćer	deca, sin i ćerka
饭菜	fàncai	hrana, obrok, kuvani pirinač+jelo, povrće	hrana

饭店	fàndiàn	hrana, obrok+prodavnica	restoran
饭量	fànlìang	jelo+količina	porcija, količina obroka
肺部	fèibù	pluća+oblast, deo	pluća
分量	fènliàng	određeni deo+količina	količina
粪勺	fèنشáo	izmet, balega+kašika	lopata za đubrivo
风雪	fēngxuě	vetar+sneg	snežna oluja
腹部	fùbù	stomak+deo, oblast	abdomen, stomak
父母	fùmǔ	otac+majka	roditelji
夫妻	fūqī	muž+žena	supružnici
福气	fúqì	sreća+vitalna energija	sreća
父亲	fùqīn	otac+roditelj	otac
服装	fúzhuāng	odeća+odeća	odeća
感情	gǎnqíng	osećanje+osećanje	osećanje
肝炎	gānyán	jetra+zapaljenje	hepatitis, žutica
钢铁	gāngtiě	čelik+gvožđe	čelik
胳膊	gēbo	pazuh+ruka	ruka
工厂	gōngchǎng	rad+fabrika	fabrika
工夫	gōngfu	rad, radnik + muškarac, radnik	vreme, trud, rad
瓜地	guādi	dinja, lubenica +polje	polje lubenica
瓜肉	guāròu	dinja, lubenica+ meso	jestivi deo lubenice
瓜田	guātián	dinja, lubenica+polje	polje bostana
光芒	guāngmáng	svetlost+bodlja, sečivo	zraci svetlosti
光线	guāngxiàn	svetlo, zrak+linija, žica	zrak svetlosti
规矩	guīju	pravilo+pravilo	pravilo, red, običaj
柜台	guìtái	vitrina, orman+platforma, govornica i sve nalik tome	kasa
姑娘	gūniang	tetka + mlada devojka	devojka
锅盖	guōgài	šerpa+poklopac	poklopac za šerpu
国家	guójia	zemlja+kuća,porodica	zemlja, narod
汗衫	hànshān	znoj+gornji deo odeće	potkošulja, košulja, prsluk
鼾声	hānshēng	hrkanje+zvuk	hrkanje
汗水	hànshuǐ	znoj+voda	znoj

河边	hébiān	reka+strana	obala reke
河流	héliú	reka+tok	reka
河水	héshuǐ	reka+voda	reka; rečna voda
后背	hòubèi	nazad+leđa	leđa
喉咙	hóulóng	grlo+grlo	grlo
后面	hòumian	iza +strana	pozadi, iza
花布	huābù	dezen+tkanina	dezen tkanine, šarena tkanina
话梅	huàméi	govor+šljiva	suve šljive
花样	huāyàng	cvet,dezen+model,izgled	model
话语	huàyǔ	reči, govor+jezik,govor	reči, priča, govor
灰尘	huīchén	pepeo, prah+prašina, prljavština	prašina
馄饨	húntún	kineske punjene knedle+kineske punjene knedle	supa sa knedlama, vonton
火柴	huǒchái	vatra+drvo za potpalu	šibica
火炉	huǒlú	vatra+šporet	šporet
火腿	huǒtuǐ	vatra+butkica	šunka
脊背	jǐbèi	kičma+leđa, zadnja strana, pozadina (nečega)	leđa
鸡蛋	jīdàn	kokoška+jaje	jaje
机会	jīhuì	prilika, šansa+prilika, šansa	šansa, prilika
妓女	jìnyǚ	prostitutka+žena	prostitutka, kurva
机器	jīqì	mašina+sprava, alat,oprema	mašina
肌肉	jīròu	meso, mišić+meso	mišić, meso
机械	jīxiè	mašina+alatka, instrument	mašina, mašinerija, mehanizam
家底	jiādǐ	kuća, porodica+osnova, baza	posed, porodično imanje
价格	jiàgé	cena, vrednost+okvir, standard	cena
家具	jiājù	kuća, dom+ oprema	nameštaj
家贼	jiāzéi	kuća+lopov	lopov unutar kuće, domaćinstva
肩膀	jiānbǎng	rame+rame, nadlaktica	rame
监狱	jiānyù	zatvor+zatvor	zatvor

浆糊	jiàngū	sos+kaša	sos
酱油	jiàngóu	sos+ulje	soja sos
脚步	jiǎobù	stopalo+korak	korak
脚底	jiǎodǐ	stopalo+osnova, baza	taban
角落	jiǎoluò	ugao+mesto na kome se neko ili nešto zaustavilo	ugao, ćošak
脚印	jiǎoyìn	stopalo+trag	tragovi stopala/cipela
街道	jiēdào	ulica+ put	ulica
今年	jīnnián	sada+godina	ova godina
今世	jīnshì	sada+svet	ovaj život
今天	jīntiān	danas +dan	danas, sada, u današnje vreme
尽头	jìntóu	završiti+kraj	kraj
镜框	jìngkuàng	ogledalo+okvir	ram za sliku
井水	jǐngshuǐ	bunar+voda	bunarska voda
酒窝	jiǔwō	alkohol, vino+гнездо, jama	jamice na obrazima
酒席	jiǔxí	vino+gozba, banket	gozba, banket
酒盅	jiǔzhōng	vino+šolja bez drške	činija za vino
菊花	júhuā	hrizantema+cveće	hrizantema
客人	kèrén	gost+čovjek	gost
口齿	kǒuchǐ	usta+zubi	izgovor, dikcija
口袋	kǒudài	otvor+vreća, džep	džep
口水	kǒushuǐ	usta+voda	pljuvačka
口音	kǒuyīn	usta+ zvuk	naglasak, akcent
口罩	kǒuzhào	usta+prekrivač	hirurška maska
裤衩	kùchǎ	pantalone+šorc, gaće	gaće
裤裆	kùdāng	pantalone+ deo pantalona gde se spajaju nogavice	deo pantalona koji se račva na nogavice
裤管	kùguǎn	pantalone+tuba, cev	nogavica
窟窿	kūlong	pećina, rupa+šupljina, rupa	rupa
蜡烛	làzhú	vosak, parafin+sveća	sveća
栏杆	lángān	gelender+držak, stub	ograda, gelender
缆绳	lǎnshéng	konopac+konopac	uže
浪花	lànguā	talas+cvet, cvat	pena talasa
泪水	lèishuǐ	suze+voda	suze

脸蛋	liǎndàn	lice+jaje ili nešto nalik jajetu	obraz, lice
脸颊	liǎnjiá	lice+obrazi	obraz
脸盆	liǎnpén	lice+duboka okrugla posuda, lavor	lavor
鲢鱼	liányú	šaran+riba	šaran
连长	liánzhǎng	četa+komandant	komandir čete
粮店	liángdiàn	žitarice, hrana+prodavnica	prodavnica žitarica
粮票	liángpiào	žitarice, hrana+karta	kuponi za hranu
里面	lǐmian	unutar+strana	unutrašnjost, unutar
邻居	línjū	sused, komšija +prebivalište, kuća	komšija
领袖	lǐngxiù	vrat, kragna + rukav	vođa
力气	lìqì	snaga, moć+vitalna energija	snaga
礼物	lǐwù	obred, ceremonija + stvar, objekat	poklon
楼梯	lóutī	zgrada, kuća sa više od jednog sprata, sprat+merdevine, stepenice	stepenice
铝锅	lǚguō	aluminijum+lonac	šerpa
路灯	lùdēng	put + svetlo,lampa	ulično svetlo
路口	lùkǒu	put+otvor,ulaz, izlaz	raskrsnica
炉灶	lúzáo	šporet+šporet	šporet
轮船	lúnchuán	točak+brod	parobrod
麻绳	máshéng	konoplja+konopac	kanap od kudjelje
马桶	mǎtǒng	konj+kofa	nokšir
码头	mǎtóu	poređati, broj+kraj	dok, luka
毛病	máobìng	dlaka, pero+bolest	nedostatak, mana
毛巾	máojīn	vuna, dlaka+komad tkanine (koji se koristi kao peškir, krpa, marama itd)	peškir
茅屋	máowū	vrsta trave+kuća	koliba sa krovom od trske
眉毛	méimáo	obrva+dlaka	obrva
门缝	ménfèng	vrata+prorez, pukotina	prostor između dovratka i vrata
门槛	ménkǎn	vrata+prag	dovratak, prag kuće

门口	ménkǒu	vrata +otvor	kapija, ulaz
门框	ménkuàng	vrata+ram	dovratak
门锁	ménsuǒ	vrata+katanac,brava	brava
门牙	ményá	vrata+zub	sekutić
梦话	mènghuà	san+govor	buncanje, govoriti u snu
米饭	mǐfàn	pirinač+jelo	kuvani pirinač
米缸	mǐgang	pirinač+tegla	tegla za pirinač
米粥	mǐzhōu	pirinač+kaša	kaša od pirinča
棉袄	miánǎo	pamuk+kaput,jakna	tradicionalna kineska postavljena jakna
棉被	miánbèi	pamuk+jorgan	jorgan
面部	miànbù	lice+deo	lice
棉绸	miánchóu	pamuk+svila	svila
面粉	miànfěn	brašno, testo+prašak	brašno
面孔	miànkǒng	lice, površina+rupa	lice
面前	miànqián	lice+prednja strana	ispred nekoga, u lice
面条	miàntiáo	brašno, testo+trake	rezanci
名字	míngzi	ime+karakter, reč	ime
木板	mùbǎn	drvo+daska	daska
木柴	mùchái	drvo+drvo za potpalu	drvo za potpalu
木盖	mùgài	drvo+ poklopac	drveni poklopac
目光	mùguāng	oko+svetlo, zrak	vid, pogled
母鸡	mǔjī	majka+kokoška	kokoška
木盆	mùpén	drvo+duboka okrugla posuda, lavor, korito	drveno korito
木桥	mùqiáo	drvo+most	drveni most
母亲	mǔqīn	majka+roditelj	majka
木条	mùtiáo	drvo+traka	letva, daska
木桶	mùtǒng	drvo+kanta, kofa	bure, kofa
模样	múyàng	model, dizajn+izgled	izgled
木桩	mùzhuāng	drvo+kolac, pritka	pritka, kolac
脑袋	nǎodài	mozak+vreća, torba	glava (kolokvijalno); mozak, um
脑浆	nǎojiāng	mozak+gusta tečnost, sirup	mozak
脑壳	nǎoké	mozak+omotač, ljuska	lobanja

内裤	nèikù	unutra+pantalone	gaće, donji veš
泥浆	níjiāng	blato+lepljiva masa, sos	blato, mulj
泥坑	níkēng	blato+rupa	blato
泥土	nítǔ	blato+zemlja	zemlja, blatište
年纪	niánjì	godina+period	godine starosti
年景	niánjǐng	godina+okolnosti	atmosfera za vreme Praznika proleća; godišnja žetva
年龄	niánlíng	godine+godine starosti	godine starosti
年月	niányuè	godina + mesec	dani, godine, (neformalno) vreme
尿布	niàobù	urin+tkanina	pelena
纽扣	niǔkòu	dugme+ dugme,kopča	dugme
牛棚	niú péng	stoka+šupa	štala
农村	nóngcūn	zemljoradnja, poljoprivreda +selo	selo
农民	nóngmín	zemljoradnja, seljak+narod	seljak, zemljoradnik
农舍	nóngshè	seljak+zgrada,, boravište	seosko domaćinstvo, farma
农田	nóngtián	zemljoradnja+polje	njive
农药	nóngyào	zemljoradnja+lek	pesticidi
女儿	nǚér	žena+dete	kćer
女工	nǚgōng	žena+rad	radnica
女孩	nǚhái	žena, žensko+dete	devojčica
女婿	nǚxù	ćerka, žena+muž, zet	zet (ćerkin muž)
旁边	pángbiān	pored+strana	pored
膀胱	pángguāng	bešika+bešika	bešika
泡沫	pàomò	pena, mehurić+pena	pena
朋友	péngyou	prijatelj+prijatelj	prijatelj
皮肤	pífū	koža+koža	koža
汽车	qìchē	para+vozilo	automobil
旗袍	qípáo	zastava+svečana haljina	tradicionalna kineska haljina na preklop
气息	qìxī	vazduh, miris+udah	dah, miris
前面	qiánmian	ispred+strana	ispred, napred

前世	qiánshì	ranije+svet	prethodni život
前天	qiántiān	ranije, ispred+dan	prekjuče
牆壁	qiángbì	zid+zid	zid
牆根	qiánggēn	zid+koren, osnova	dno zida
牆角	qiángjiǎo	zid+ugao	ćošak sobe
桥墩	qiáodūn	most+stubovi kapije, luka	stubovi mosta
桥堍	qiáotù	most +kosina	svod mosta
芹菜	qíncài	celer+povrće	celer
禽兽	qínshòu	ptica+zver, životinja	ptice i zverinje
亲戚	qīnqi	roditelj+rođak	rođak
情分	qíngfèn	osećanje+ deo	naklonost, prijateljstvo
球鞋	qiúxié	lopta+cipele	patike
渠水	qúshuǐ	kanal, odvod+voda	kanal
群众	qúnzhòng	masa, grupa+masa, grupa	masa, narodna masa
人家	rénjiā	čovek+kuća	(nečija)kuća, familija
人民	rénmín	čovek, ljudi + narod, nacionalnost	narod
人命	rénmìng	čovek+život	ljudski život
人身	rénshēn	čovek+telo	ljudsko telo, osoba
人缘	rényuán	čovek, ljudi+ sudbina	međuljudski odnosi, popularnost
肉店	ròudiàn	meso+radnja	mesara
肉皮	ròupí	meso+koža	kožica prasećeg pečenja
肉汤	ròutāng	meso+supa	bujon od mesa
色狼	sèláng	boja+vuk	namazani vuk; perverzajak
纱布	shābù	pređa, uže+tkanina	gaza
傻事	shǎshì	glup+stvar	glupost
砂纸	shāzhǐ	pesak+papir	šmirgla
山坡	shānpō	brdo, planina+nagib	obronak
山群	shānqún	planina+grupa, gomila	planinski venac
上面	shàngmian	gore, iznad + strana	gore, naviše
上午	shàngwǔ	ranije+period od 11-13 časova	prepodne
梢头	shāotóu	vrh+kraj	gornji kraj, vrh

社会	shèhuì	društvo+grupa, okupljanje	društvo, društvena zajednica
身体	shēntǐ	telo+telo, sistem ili deo tela	telo, zdravlje
神仙	shénniān	božanstvo +besmrtnik	besmrtnik
声响	shēngxiǎng	zvuk, glas+zvuk	zvuk
声音	shēngyīn	zvuk, glas, ton+zvuk	zvuk, glas
石板	shíbǎn	kamen+ploča	ploče od kamena (za popločavanje)
石缝	shífèng	kamen+ prorez, pukotina	prostor između naređanog kamenja
师傅	shīfu	učitelj+tutor	majstor (ekspert), učitelj
石膏	shígāo	kamen+pasta, krema	gips
时候	shíhòu	vreme+vreme, period	vremenski period; trenutak
时间	shíjiān	vreme, period+određeni prostor ili vreme	vreme, period
石阶	shíjiē	kamen+stepenice	kamene stepenice
石桥	shíqiáo	kamen+most	kameni most
事情	shìqíng	stvar, situacija+situacija	situacija, stvar
尸体	shītǐ	leš+telo	leš, lešina
手背	shǒubèi	dlan+leđa	gornja strana šake
手臂	shǒubì	ruka, dlan+ruka	ruka
手绢	shǒujuàn	ruka+svileni komad platna	maramica
寿礼	shòulǐ	dug život, dugovečnost+ obred, ceremonija	rođendanski poklon (za stariju osobu)
手帕	shǒupà	ruka+maramica, marama	maramica
手术	shǒushù	ruka+metod, tehnika	operacija, hirurški zahvat
手套	shǒutào	ruka+omot, futrola, navlaka	rukavica
手腕	shǒuwàn	ruka+zglob	ručni zglob
手心	shǒuxīn	ruka+srce	dlan
手掌	shǒuzhǎng	ruka +dlan	dlan
书包	shūbāo	knjiga+torba, kesa, paket	školska torba

蔬菜	shūcài	povrće+povrće, jelo	povrće
书房	shūfáng	knjiga+soba	radna soba, kućna biblioteka
树木	shùmù	drvo+drvo	drvo
树叶	shùyè	drvo+lišće	lišće na drveću
树枝	shùzhī	drvo+ud	grana drveta
水分	shuǐfèn	voda+procenat, udeo	sadržaj vode
水泥	shuǐní	voda+blato, glina	cement, beton
水淹	shuǐyān	voda+ poplaviti, potopiti	poplava
水珠	shuǐzhū	voda+perla, kuglica	kap vode
丝厂	sīchǎng	svila +fabrika	svilara
丝巾	sījīn	svila+šal	svilena marama
松鼠	sōngshǔ	bor+pacov	veverica
岁月	suiyuè	godine+meseci	godine
孙子	sūnzi	unuk, potomak+sin, dete	unuk
台阶	táijiē	platforma, postolje+stepenice	stepenište
炭盆	tànpén	ćumur+korito	roštilj na ćumur
糖果	tángguǒ	šećer+voće	slatkiši, bombone
藤榻	téngtà	ratan, loza+kauč	krevet
藤叶	téngyè	ratan, loza +list	loza, vreža
田地	tiándì	polje, farma +zemlja	njiva
天地	tiāndì	nebo + zemlja	svet
田埂	tiángěng	polje+staza	staza između polja, međa
天空	tiānkōng	nebo+ praznina, vazduh, nebo	nebo, nebesa
天亮	tiānliàng	nebo+svetlost	zora, jutro, svitanje
天气	tiānqì	nebo+vazduh	vreme (meteorološko)
天色	tiānsè	nebo, dan+boja	dan, doba dana (koje se određuje na osnovu boje neba)
田野	tiányě	polje+polje, divljina	polje, njiva
铁匠	tiějiāng	gvožđe+majstor	kovač
铁丝	tiěsī	gvožđe+nit	žica
头顶	tóudǐng	glava+vrh	vrh glave, teme

头发	tóufa	glava+dlaka	kosa
头皮	tóupí	glava+koža	koža glave
唾沫	tuòmò	pljuvačka+pena	pljuvačka
瓦片	wǎpiàn	crep+tanak i ravan komad nečega	crep, keramička pločica
外国	wàiguó	spoljašnjost, van+zemlja	inostranstvo
外面	wàimian	spoljašnjost, van+strana, površina	spolja
晚饭	wǎnfàn	veče+obrok	večera
晚霞	wǎnxiá	veče+crvenkasti oblaci u zoru ili predveče	zalazak sunca
味道	wèidào	ukus, miris+put	ukus
味精	wèijīng	ukus+ekstrakt	msg (monosodium glutamat)
胃口	wèikǒu	želudac, stomak+usta, otvor	apetit
危险	wēixiǎn	opasnost+opasnost	opasnost
屋顶	wūdǐng	kuća+vrh	krov
午饭	wǔfàn	podne+obrok	ručak
屋檐	wūyán	kuća +obod	streha
膝盖	xīgài	koleno +poklopac	koleno
西瓜	xīguā	zapid+dinja, bostan	lubenica
戏台	xítái	predstava+platforma, postolja	pozornica, bina
夕阳	xīyáng	sumrak, veče+sunce	sumrak
戏院	xìyuàn	predstava, drama+institucija	pozorište
下面	xiàmian	ispod+strana	ispod, dole
夏日	xiàri	leto+dan	leto
夏天	xiàtiān	leto+dan, nebo	leto
下午	xiàwǔ	kasnije + podne, period od 11 do 13 časova	poslepodne
线条	xiàntiáo	nit+traka	konture, obrisi
线衣	xiànyī	nit+odeća	džemper
县长	xiànzhǎng	okrug+upravnik	načelnik okruga
乡下	xiāngxià	selo, zavičaj+dole, ispod	selo
象牙	xiàngyá	slon+zub	slonovača
鞋底	xiédǐ	cipela+dno	đon
心肠	xīncháng	srce+creva	namere, srce
心里	xīnli	srce+unutrašnjost	grudi, srce, um
薪水	xīnshuǐ	plata+prihod	plata, nadnica

心血	xīnxuè	srce+krv	krvavi znoj, veliki trud
心脏	xīnzàng	srce+organ	srce
星光	xīngguāng	zvezda+svetlost, zrak	sjaj zvezda
星期	xīngqī	zvezda+period	nedelja, sedmica
兴趣	xìngqù	želja da se nešto uradi+interesovanje	interesovanje
星星	xīngxīng	udvojena	zvezda na nebu
兄弟	xiōngdì	stariji brat+mlađi brat	braća
胸口	xiōngkǒu	grudni koš+ulaz	grudi, stomak
胸脯	xiōngpú	grudi+grudi	grudi
胸膛	xiōngtáng	grudi+grudi	grudi
袖管	xiùguǎn	rukav+cev	rukav
袖章	xiùzhāng	rukav+bedž, medalja	traka oko ruke
血管	xuèguǎn	krv+cev	vene, arterije
雪光	xuěguāng	sneg+svetlo	belina snega
血汗	xuèhàn	krv+znoj	veliki trud
雪花	xuěhuā	sneg+cvet	snežna pahulja
血迹	xuèjì	krv+trag	mrlja od krvi
学名	xué míng	nauka+naziv	naučni naziv
血压	xuèyā	krv+pritisak, pritisnuti	krvni pritisak
牙齿	yá chǐ	zub+zub	zub
牙根	yá gēn	zub+koren	koren zuba, desni
烟囱	yān cōng	dim+dimnjak	odžak
眼角	yǎn jiǎo	oko+ugao	unutrašnji i/ili spoljni uglovi očiju
眼睛	yǎn jīng	oko + oko, očna jabučica	oko
眼眶	yǎn kuàng	oko+očna šupljina	očna duplja
眼泪	yǎn lèi	oko+suza	suza
眼皮	yǎn pí	oko+koža	kapak
颜色	yán sè	boja+boja	boja
炎症	yán zhèng	zapaljenje+bolest	zapaljenje
阳光	yáng guāng	sunce+svetlost	sunce, sunčeva svetlost
氧气	yǎng qì	kiseonik+gas	kiseonik
腰部	yāo bù	struk, krsta+deo, predeo	struk, donja leđa

夜班	yèbān	noć+smena	noćna smena
夜空	yèkōng	noć+praznina, vazduh, nebo	noćno nebo
夜色	yèsè	noć+boja	noć, tama
夜晚	yèwǎn	noć+veče	noć
衣板	yībǎn	odeća+daska	daska za pranje, ribaljka
衣服	yīfu	odeća+odeća	odeća
衣领	yīlǐng	odeća+vrata, okovratnik	kragna
医生	yīshēng	medicina+doktor	doktor
阴沟	yīngōu	skriveno+jarak	odvod, kanalizacija
影响	yǐngxiǎng	odraz, senka +eho	uticaj
右边	yòubian	desno+strana	desno
油锅	yóuguō	ulje+ljonac, šerpa	tiganj, friteza
油锅	yóuguō	ulje+šerpa	friteza, tiganj za prženje
右派	yòupài	desno+grupa, klika, škola	desničar, desno krilo u politici
油条	yóutiáo	ulje+trake	uštipci
邮政	yóuzhèng	pošta+ razni administrativni aspekti vlade	pošta
鱼干	yúgān	riba+ sušenica	sušena riba
玉米	yùmǐ	žad+pirinač	kukuruz
雨雪	yǔxuě	kiša+sneg	padavine
缘故	yuángù	razlog+razlog, uzrok	razlog
圆圈	yuánquān	krug+krug	krug
月底	yuèdǐ	mesec+dno	kraj meseca
月经	yuèjīng	mesec+protok	menstruacija
灾荒	zāihuāng	nesreća, katastrofa+ oskudica, nedostatak	glad, oskudica hrane
灾祸	zāihuò	katastrofa, nedaća+nedaća, nesreća	katastrofa, nedaća
早饭	zǎofàn	jutro+ obrok	doručak
灶灰	zàohuī	šporet+prašina	gar
责任	zérèn	odgovornost+odgovornost	odgovornost, dužnost
债务	zhàiwù	dug, dugovanje+ posao	dug, dugovanje
丈夫	zhàngfu	merna jedinica+suprug	muž

枕巾	zhěnjīn	jastuk+ komad tkanine (koji se koristi kao peškir, krpa, marama itd)	jastučnica
针眼	zhēnyǎn	igla+okce, otvor	ušice igle; mesto uboda igle
指头	zhǐtóu	prst+vrh	prst
钟表	zhōngbiǎo	sat, čas+instrument za merenje vremena	sat, časovnik
中间	zhōngjiān	sredina+ prostor između	sredina, centar
钟头	zhōngtóu	sat +glava	sat
中午	zhōngwǔ	sredina+period od 11-13 časova	podne
中学	zhōngxué	sredina+učiti	srednja škola
中医	zhōngyī	Kina+medicina	kineska medicina, doktor kineske medicine
粥汤	zhōutāng	kaša+supa	kaša
皱纹	zhòuwén	bora+trag	bore
砖缝	zhuānféng	cigla+prorez, pukotina	prostor između naređanih cigli
竹竿	zhúgān	bambus+motka, pritka	pritka od bambusa
猪肝	zhūgān	svinja+ jetra	svinjska džigerica
竹篙	zhúgāo	bambus+štap	dugačka motka za upravljanje čamcem
主人	zhǔrén	vlasnik, gazda+čovjek	vlasnik
猪肉	zhūròu	svinja+meso	svinjetina
庄稼	zhuāngjia	farma +usev	usev
子宫	zǐgōng	dete+carska palata, stanište natprirodnih bića, (ovde u proširenom značenju: materica)	materica
字据	zìjù	pismo, pisano slovo, karakter+dokaz	pisani dokument, ugovor
踪影	zōngyǐng	tragovi stopala+senka, odraz	trag
祖宗	zǔzōng	predak+predak, preteča	predak
嘴唇	zuǐchún	usta+usna	usne
嘴角	zuǐjiǎo	usta+ugao	ugao usana

罪名	zuì míng	zločin+ime, naziv	optužba, presuda
左边	zuǒ bian	levo+strana	levo
昨天	zuó tiān	juče+dan	juče
座位	zuò wèi	sedišće+mesto, lokacija	sedišće, mesto sedenja

Tabela B - Imeničke složenice strukture I+G (imenica + glagol)

畜生	chù shēng	stoka+roditi	domaća životinja, kopile
粪便	fèn biàn	izmet+vrsiti nuždu	stolica, izmet
伙计	huǒ jì	partner, saputnik+računati, planirati	konobar, partner, drug
口哨	kǒu shào	usta+zviždati	zvižduk
粮食	liáng shi	žitarice, hrana +jesti	žito, žitarice, hrana
脉搏	mài bó	arterije i vene+lupati	puls
门诊	mén zhěn	vrata+lečiti	ambulanta, odeljenje za neležće pacijente
收成	shōu chéng	sakupljanje+završiti	žetva
位置	wèi zhi	mesto, položaj, sedišće+postaviti, staviti	mesto, položaj
下巴	xià ba	donja strana+visiti, držati se	brada
意思	yì si	značenje, ideja+misliti	značenje
周围	zhōu wéi	obim, opseg, okolina+okružiti, opkoliti	okolina
竹编	zhú biān	bambus+plesti	ručno izrađeni proizvodi od bambusa

Tabela C - Imeničke složenice strukture G+I (glagol + imenica)

把手	bǎ shǒu	držati +ruka	držka
办法	bàn fǎ	obaviti+način	način, metod rešavanja problema
傍晚	bàng wǎn	približiti se+veče	predveče, sumrak
绷带	bēng dài	vezati,rastegnuti+traka	zavoj
补丁	bǔ dīng	popraviti, popuniti+komadić mesa ili povrća	zakrpa
产房	chǎn fáng	roditi, proizvesti+prostorija	sala za porođaje

抽屉	chōuti	izvući+fioka	fioka
炊烟	chuīyān	kuvati hranu+dim	dim iz odžaka
处方	chǔfāng	tretirati+mesto	recept za lekove
导师	dǎoshī	voditi, usmeravati+učitelj	učitelj, mentor
吊瓶	diàopíng	visiti+boca	infuzija
丢脸	diūliǎn	izgubiti+lice	izgubiti obraz, sramota, poniženje
对方	duìfāng	biti nasuprot+strana	protivnik
对面	duìmiàn	biti suprotan, biti nasuprot +strana	preko puta, na suprotnoj strani
放屁	fàngpì	osloboditi/pustiti+gasovi (iz creva)	ispuštati gasove, <i>govoriti budalaštine</i>
革命	gémìng	reformisati+život, sudbina	revolucija
拐角	guǎijiǎo	skrenuti+ugao	skretanje
关系	guānxi	povezati+veza	veza, povezanost
吼声	hǒushēng	urlikati+zvuk, glas	urlik
护士	hùshi	zaštiti+osoba specijalizovana u određenom polju rada	medicinska sestra
荒年	huāngnián	oskudevati+godine	period nemaštine
集体	jítǐ	sakupiti, okupiti+telo, sistem	kolektiv, zajednica
积雪	jīxuě	skladištiti, nagomilati+sneg	snežni nanos, snežni prekrivač
居民	jūmín	boraviti+narod	stanovnik
开春	kāichūn	otvoriti, započeti+proleće	početak proleća
开水	kāishuǐ	ključati, provreti+voda	ključala voda, prokuvana voda
哭声	kūshēng	plakati+zvuk	plač
阑尾	lánwěi	blokirati, sprečiti+rep	slepo crevo
亮光	liàngguāng	svetleti+svetlo, zrak	svetlost
裂缝	lièfèng	pući, raspući se+pukotina	pukotina
旅程	lǚchéng	putovati+putovanje	putovanje
旅馆	lǚguǎn	putovati+smeštaj za putnike, goste	motel, svratište
落日	luòrì	spustiti se+sunce	zalazeće sunce
抹布	mǒbù	brisati+tkanina	krpa za brisanje

怒气	nùqì	razljutiti se, razbesniti se +unutrašnje stanje čoveka (preneseno)	bes
跑堂	pǎotáng	trčati+sala	kelner (arhaizam)
评书	píngshū	komentarisati+knjige	vrsta predstave u kojoj je izvođač, narator priča priče iz istorije ili fikcije
缺钱	quēqián	manjkati+novac	besparica
扫把	sàobǎ	pometi+drška	metla
胜利	shènglì	pobediti+korist, dobit, prednost	pobeda
生命	shēngmìng	roditi se, život+život	život
生日	shēngrì	roditi se+datum, dan	rođendan
食堂	shítáng	jesti, hrana+prostorija, sala za određenu upotrebu	sala za ručavanje, menza
食油	shíyóu	jesti+ulje	jestivo ulje
输血	shūxuè	transportovati, preneti+krv	transfuzija krvi
输液	shūyè	transportovati, preneti+tečnost	infuzija
司机	sījī	upravljati+mašina	šofer, vozač
死刑	sǐxíng	umreti+kazna	smrtna kazna
诉权	sùquán	tužiti+moć, pravo	pravo tužbe
宿舍	sùshè	prenočiti+ boravište	dom, hostel
算命	suànmìng	proračunavati+život, sudbina	proricanje sudbine
弹性	tánxìng	izbaciti nešto zahvaljujući elastičnosti nekog objekta+karakteristika, priroda, kvalitet	fleksibilnost, elastičnost
通风	tōngfēng	prolaziti kroz+vetar	provetranje, promaja, ventilacija
统帅	tǒngshuài	okupiti, ujediniti+komandant	vrhovni komandant
退路	tuìlù	povući se+put	izlaz, put za povlačenje
拖把	tuōbǎ	vući, brisati pod+drška	džoger
拖船	tuōchuán	vući, tegliti+brod	tegljač
围裙	wéiqún	opkoliti, obaviti+suknja	kecelja
问号	wèn hào	pitati+znak, simbol	znak pitanja
问题	wèn tí	pitati+tema, naslov	pitanje, problem

想法	xiǎngfǎ	razmišljati+način	mišljenje, ideja
响声	xiǎngshēng	zvučati, oglasiti se+ zvuk, glas, ton,	zvuk, buka
笑话	xiàohuà	smejati se+priča, govor	vic, šala
笑容	xiàoróng	smejati se+izgled	osmeh
消息	xiāoxi	biti potreban+interes	informacija, poruka
学校	xuéxiào	učiti+škola	škola
医院	yīyuàn	medicina, lečiti+naziv za određene javne ustanove ili institucije	bolnica
涌泉	yǒngquán	šikljati+izvor	vodoskok
澡堂	zǎotáng	kupati+sala	javno kupatilo
蒸气	zhēngqì	isparavati od kovanja+vazduh	para, isparavanje
植物	zhíwù	saditi+stvar, materija	biljka
滋味	zīwèi	negovati+ukus	ukus
走廊	zǒuláng	hodati+hodnik	hodnik
做法	zuòfǎ	raditi+metod	postupak
作业	zuòyè	raditi+posao, rad	domaći zadatak

Tabela D - Imeničke složenice strukture G+G (glagol + glagol)

包裹	bāoguǒ	obuhvatiti+umotati	paket, zavežljaj
动作	dòngzuò	pomeriti+raditi	pokret, gest
费用	fèiyòng	koštati, potrošiti+koristiti	trošak
感冒	gǎnmào	osećati+odavati, ispuštati	prehlada
感受	gǎnshòu	osećati+primiti	osećaj
工作	gōngzuò	raditi+raditi	posao
回答	huídá	odgovoriti+odgovoriti	odgovor
积累	jīlěi	prikupiti+sakupiti	nagomilani prihodi, akumulacija kapitala
教育	jiàoyù	obrazovati, podučavati+odgajiti decu, obrazovati	obrazovanje
结束	jiéshù	završiti+vezati	kraj, svršetak
决定	juédìng	odlučiti+utvrditi	odluka
买卖	mǎimài	kupiti+prodati	biznis, trgovina

陪斗	péidòu	pratiti+optužiti	sporedni optuženik
喷嚏	pēntì	prskati+kijati	kijanje
生活	shēnghuó	roditi se+živeti, raditi	život
消化	xiāohuà	nestati+transformisati se	probava
选择	xuǎnzé	izabrati+izabrati	izbor
支持	zhīchí	podržati+podržati	podrška

Tabela E - Imeničke složenice strukture I+P (imenica + pridev)

家丑	jiāchǒu	porodica+ružno, sramotno	porodična sramota, 'priljav veš'
夜深	yèshēn	noć+dubok	gluvo doba noći
月亮	yuèliang	mesec+sajno	mesec

Tabela F - Imeničke složenice strukture P+I (pridev + imenica)

大会	dàhuì	veliki+sastanak, okupljanje	zasedanje, kongres
白菜	báicài	belo+povrće	kineski kupus
白酒	báijiǔ	bela+rakija, vino	rakija od kineske šećerne trske ili kukuruza
白昼	báizhòu	beli+dan	dan, beli dan
饱嗝	bǎogé	sit+podrigivanje	podrigivanje
笨蛋	bèndàn	glup+jaje	glupan, idiot
长寿	chángshòu	dug + život, starost	dugovečnost
臭虫	chòuchóng	smrdljiv+insekt, buba	stenica
丑事	chǒushì	sramotna+stvar, situacija	skandal
粗纺	cūfǎng	hrapav, grub+pamuk	grubi pamuk, <i>jeftina tkanina</i>
大家	dàjiā	velika+kuća, dom, porodica	svi
大街	dàjiē	velika+ulica	ulica, glavna ulica
大腿	dàtuǐ	velika+noga	butina
短裤	duǎnkù	kratke+pantalone	šorc
恶事	èshì	loša+stvar	zlo, zlodelo
肥肉	féiròu	debelo, masno+meso	slanina, masna svinjetina

富农	fùnóng	bogat+seljak, zemljoradnik	klasa društva između zemljoposjednika i siromašnog seljaka
干饭	gānfàn	suv+pirinač	kuvani i procedeni 'osušeni' pirinač
高炉	gāolú	visoka+pećnica	visoka peć
公道	gōngdào	pravedan+put	pravda, fer igra
公社	gōngshè	javno, kolektivno+društvo, grupa	komuna
寡妇	guǎfu	nedovoljno, bez supružnika +žena, supruga	udovica
好处	hǎochu	dobro+mesto	dobra strana, korist
黑夜	hēiyè	crna+noć	(duboka) noć
红薯	hóngshǔ	crveni+krompir, jam	slatki krompir, batat, jam
后爹	hòudiē	kasniji, naredni+otac	očuh
胡话	húhuà	nepovezan+govor	glupost, budalaština
坏事	huàishì	loša+stvar	nedela, zlodela
黄豆	huángdòu	žut+pasulj, grašak i tome sl.	soja
黄昏	huánghūn	žuti+sumrak	sumrak
黄酒	huángjiǔ	žuti+alkohol, vino, rakija	"žuto vino", aromatično pirinčano vino
混蛋	húndàn	prljav, bezobziran+jaje	kopile, kučkin sin
浑身	húنشēn	celo+telo	čitavo telo, od glave do pete
精纺	jīngfǎng	fini, usavršeni +pamuk	češljani pamuk, skupocena tkanina
烂货	lànhuò	pokvarena+roba	pokvarenjak
凉亭	liángtíng	svež, prijatan+paviljon	paviljon
绿豆	lǜdòu	zeleni+pasulj, grašak i tome sl.	mung pasulj
麻雀	máquè	pegava+ptica	vrabac
明年	míngnián	sledeća+godina	sledeća godina
男人	nánrén	muška+osoba	muškarac
浓度	nóngdù	gust+stepen	koncentracija, gustina
女人	nǚrén	ženska+osoba	žena
暖瓶	nuǎnpíng	topla+flaša	termos
平日	píngrì	ravan+dan	svaki dan, običan dan
泼妇	pōfù	gruba+žena	alapača

破鞋	pòxié	pohabana+cipela	uličarka
巧妇	qiǎofù	vešta+žena	dobra domaćica
青菜	qīngcài	zeleno+povrće	vrsta kineskog kupusa, zeleno povrće
青草	qīngcǎo	zelena+trava	trava
清晨	qīngchén	čista, tiha+zora	rano jutro
青椒	qīngjiāo	zelena+paprika	zelena paprika
青年	qīngnián	nezreo+godina	mladić
青苔	qīngtái	zelena+mahovina	mahovina, lišaj
青蛙	qīngwā	zelena+žaba	žaba
清香	qīngxiāng	čist+miris	slatki miris
全部	quánbù	sav+deo	celo, potpuno, sve
热气	rèqì	vruć+vazduh	para
善报	shànbào	dobra+naknada	nagrada
善事	shànshì	dobra +stvar	dobro, dobro delo
深秋	shēnqiū	duboka+jesen	kasna jesen
生粉	shēngfěn	sirovi+prah	gustin, kukuruzni skrob
俗话	súhuà	uobičajeni+govor	poslovice, izreka
太阳	tàiyáng	visoko, veliko+sunce	sunce
同学	tóngxué	zajedno+učiti	školski drug
秃头	tūtóu	ćelava+glava	ćelav čovek
外公	wàigōng	s majčine strane+učtiv naziv za starijeg muškarca	deda s majčine strane
乌龟	wūguī	crna+kornjača	kornjača, rogonja
西瓜	xīguā	zapadna+tikva,bostan	lubenica
咸菜	xiáncài	slano+povrće	slano povrće, turšija
闲话	xiánhuà	dokon+govor	ogovaranje, skandal
先生	xiānsheng	prvi+gospodin	gospodin
鲜血	xiānxuè	sveža+krv	krv
香菇	xiānggū	mirisna+pečurka	šitake pečurke
香火	xiānghuǒ	mirisna+vatra, plamen	dim mirišljavih štapića; žrtve precima.
香味	xiāngwèi	mirisni+miris, ukus	prijatan miris
香烟	xiāngyān	mirisne+cigarete	cigarete
小车	xiǎochē	malo+prevozno sredstvo s točkovima	kolica
小孩	xiǎohái	malo+dete	dete
小路	xiǎolù	mali+put	staza

小麦	xiǎomài	mala+pšenica, ječam	pšenica
小时	xiǎoshí	malo +vreme, sat	sat
小腿	xiǎotuǐ	mala+noga	list, potkolenica
小学	xiǎoxué	mala+škola	osnovna škola
小猪	xiǎozhū	mala+svinja	prase
新郎	xīnláng	novi+dragan, dragi	mladoženja
幸福	xìngfú	srećan+sreća	sreća (biti srećne ruke)
幸运	xìngyùn	srećan+sreća, sudbina	sreća
炎热	yánrè	upaljeno+vrućina	paklena vrućina
野菜	yěcài	divlje+povrće	divlje povrće, divlje jestive biljke
野地	yědì	divlja+zemlja	divljina, prostranstvo
野种	yězhǒng	divlje+ seme, vrsta	<i>kopile</i>
硬币	yìngbì	čvrst+novac, valuta	kovanica, metalni novac, sitniš
原地	yuándì	izvorno+mesto	mesto porekla
原则	yuánzé	izvorni+princip, standard	princip
杂草	zácǎo	pomešano, različito, od svih mogućih sorti +trava	korov
杂种	zázhǒng	mešovito+seme	kopile, mešanac
早晨	zǎochén	rano+jutro, zora	rano jutro
重量	zhòngliàng	težak+količina	težina
主席	zhǔxí	glavni+mesto	predsedavajući

Tabela G- Imeničke složenice strukture P+P (pridev +pridev)

昏暗	hūnàn	sumračno+mračno	prigušeno svetlo, tama
空闲	kòngxián	prazan+besposlen	slobodno vreme

Tabela H- Imeničke složenice strukture I+K (imenica i klasifikator)

船只	chuánzhī	čamac, brod+klasifikator	čamac
物件	wùjiàn	stvar+klasifikator	stvar, objekat
云朵	yúnduǒ	oblak+klasifikator	oblak

Tabela I- Imeničke složenice nastale udvajanjem iste morfeme

弟弟	dìdi	mlađi brat
哥哥	gēge	stariji brat
妹妹	mèimei	mlađa sestra
星星	xīngxing	zvezda na nebu
爷爷	yéye	deda (sa očeve strane)
叔叔	shūshu	stric (očev mlađi brat)
姐姐	jiějie	starija sestra

Tabela J- Trosložne i četvorosložne imeničke složenice

白大褂	báidàguà	beli+veliki+mantil, sako	beli mantil
败家子	bàijiāzǐ	izgubiti+kuća+sufiks	trošadžija, raspikuća
柴油机	cháiyóujī	dizel gorivo+mašina	dizel motor
大拇指	dàmuzhǐ	veliki+palac+prst	palac
大字报	dàzìbào	veliki+ karakteri+poster	transparent, poster
当权派	dāngquánpài	držati vlast u rukama+grupa, klika	funkcioneri
电灯泡	diàndēngpào	struja, elektricitet+svetlo, lampa+mehur, balon	sijalica
电影院	diànyǐng	struja+slika+institucija	bioskop
二百五	èrbǎiwǔ	dva+stotina+pet	dvestapedeset, idiot
发动机	fādòngjī	pokrenuti+mašina	motor
反革命	fǎngémìng	obrnuto, suprotno+revolucija	kontra-revolucija
服务员	fúwùyuán	uslužiti+čovjek koji se bavi nekim poslom ili uči	konobar
胳膊窝	gāzhīwō	pazuh+ud + udubljenje	pazuh
供血室	gōngxuèshì	obezbediti,snadbeti+ krv+soba, kancelarija	ordinacija za davanje krvi
好日子	hǎorìzi	dobar+datum	dobra vremena
候船室	hòuchuánshì	čekati+brod+soba, kancelarija	čekaonica (u luci)
后脑勺	hòunǎosháo	nazad+mozak+kašika	potiljak
户口本	hùkǒuběn	registrovano mesto boravka +knjižica	prijava o boravištu
火化场	huǒhuàchǎng	kreirati+veliko mesto	krematorijum
急诊室	jízhěnshì	hitno+dijagnostikovati i lečiti+soba	ambulanta, hitna pomoć

见面礼	jiànmiànlǐ	susresti+poklon; ritual	poklon dobrodošlice; učtivo ponašanje prilikom susreta
剪票口	jiǎnpiaokǒu	odseći makazama+karta+ šalter, ulaz	šalter za pregled karata
救护车	jiùhùchē	primeniti prvu pomoć (spasiti, pomoći+zaštititi)+auto	ambulantna kola, kola hitne pomoci
链霉素	liànméisù	transkribovana reč	streptomycin
脑溢血	nǎoyìxuè	mozak+izliti+krv	krvarenje u mozgu, moždani udar
铺盖卷	pūgàijuǎn	prostrti+prekriti+rolna	prostirka za spavanje, vreća za spavanje
人行道	rénxíngdào	čovek, ljudi+ići+put	trotoar
三轮车	sānlúnchē	tri+točka+vozilo	trikikl
嗓子眼	sǎngziyǎn	grlo+otvor	grlo
神经病	shénjīngbìng	nervi+bolest	mentalni poremećaj
身子骨	shēnzigǔ	telo+kosti	držanje, <i>zdravlje</i>
市政府	shìzhèngfǔ	grad+politika+ rezidencija	gradska vlada
售货员	shòuhuòyuán	prodaja robe+čovek koji radi ili uči	prodavac
送工	sòngjiǎngōng	dostaviti+čaura+radnik	raznosač čaura
西红柿	xīhóngshì	zapad+crveno+ japanska jabuka	paradajz
下水道	xiàshuǐdào	padati, dole+voda+put	kanalizacija
巷子口	xiàngzikǒu	uličica, sokak+usta, ulaz	ulaz u ulicu
小笼包子	xiǎolóngbāo	mali+korpa, posuda+ valjušci	punjeni valjušci kuvani na pari
烟屁股	yānpìgu	cigareta+zadnjica	opušak
眼珠子	yǎnzhūzi	oko+biser, perla	očne jabučice
摇钱树	yáoqiánshù	tresti +novac +drvo	<i>zlatni rudnik</i> , izvor novca
油漆匠	yóuqījiàng	lakirati+zanatlija	lakirer, bojadžija, moler
油盐酱醋	yóuyánjiàngcù	ulje+so+soja sos+sirće	svakodnevne potrepštine
支气管	zhīqìguǎn	grana, ogranak+vazduh+ceva	bronhije

注射室	zhùshèshì	ubrizgati +soba	soba za davanje injekcija
中山服	zhōngshānfú	kineska +planina+odeća	jakna u kineskom stilu tzv.maovka
猪崽子	zhūzǎizi	svinja+dete	prase
资本(主义)	zīběnzhǔyì	kapital (resursi, novac+izvor)+ ideologija	kapitalizam
自行车	zìxíngchē	sam, samostalno+ići+vozilo	bicikl

**Tabela K-** Imeničke složenice nastale prevođenjem po značenju i/ili zvučnosti

和尚	héshang	mir,harmonija+vrednovati, ceniti
卡车	kǎchē	kamion
垃圾	lājī	smeće, đubre
尼龙	nílóng	najlon
扑克牌	pūkèpái	poker, kartaške karte
沙发	shāfā	sofa
休克	xiūkè	šok

**Tabela L-** Imeničke složenice kao vlastite imenice

春节	Chūnjié	proleće+festival	Kineska Nova godina
春秋	Chūnqiū	proleće+jesen	Period proleća i jeseni (770-476 p.n.e.)
大跃进	Dàyuèjìn	veliki+skok+napredak	Veliki skok napred 1958-60
老天爷	Lǎotiānyé	stari+nebo+deda	raj, Bog
西施	Xīshī	Istok+plodnost	ime lepotice iz Perioda Proleća i jeseni; <i>lepotica</i>
阎王爷	Yán Wángyé	Yan + princ	Jama- kralj pakla

**Tabela M-** Izvedenice

棒子	bàngzi	palica, klip
辈子	bèizi	život
杯子	bēizi	šolja

鼻子	bízi	nos
辫子	biànzǐ	pletence
脖子	bózi	vrat
肠子	chángzi	creva
虫子	chóngzi	buba, crv
稻子	dàozi	pirinač (sirov)
凳子	dèngzi	stoličica, hoklica
底子	dǐzi	osnova, postava
儿子	érzi	sin
骨头	gǔtǒu	kost
罐子	guànzǐ	tegla
胡子	húzi	brkovi, brada
轿子	jiàozi	svečana nosiljka, koja se koristi za venčanja
金子	jīnzi	zlato
裤子	kùzi	pantalone
筷子	kuàizi	štapici za jelo
篮子	lánzi	korpa
榔头	lángtǒu	malj, čekić
面子	miànzi	časť, obraz
盘子	pánzi	poslužavnik, tanjir
胖子	pàngzi	debeljko
妻子	qīzi	žena, supruga
拳头	quántǒu	pesnica
日子	rìzi	dan, datum, dan u životu, život
褥子	rùzi	madrac, dušek
嗓子	sǎngzi	grlo
傻子	shǎzi	idiot, budala
扇子	shānzi	lepeza
石头	shítǒu	kamen

毯子	tǎnzi	ćebe
摊子	tānzi	tezga
梯子	tīzi	merdevine
袜子	wàzi	čarape
文化	wénhuà	kultura
晚上	wǎnshang	noć+ popeti se
屋子	wūzi	kuća, soba
箱子	xiāngzi	sanduk
燕子	yànzi	lasta
椅子	yǐzi	stolica
嘴巴	zuǐba	usta
桌子	zhuōzi	sto



## **EXPLORING THE EMOTIONAL LANDSCAPE OF THE MONTENEGRO PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: A SENTIMENT AND THEMATIC ANALYSIS**

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**Abstract:** This paper presents an empirical analysis of the sentiment dynamics surrounding the 2023 presidential election in Montenegro, employing the VADER sentiment analysis tool to scrutinise text data from various media sources, including social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram, over three distinct phases: pre-election, election day, and post-election, with validation using perplexity and coherence measures. The study systematically quantifies shifts in public sentiment, demonstrating how these fluctuations correlate with key electoral events. Pre-election analysis revealed a cautiously optimistic sentiment, with a slight predominance of positive over negative sentiments. On election day, sentiment polarised significantly, evidenced by increased negative and positive sentiments, reflecting heightened public engagement and anxiety. Post-election sentiment saw a marked decline in negativity and a rise in neutrality, suggesting a societal shift towards acceptance and reflection following the electoral outcome. This paper elucidates the complex emotional landscape of electoral processes and discusses the implications of these sentiment shifts in understanding democratic transitions. The findings highlight the potent role of public sentiment as both a reflection of and a response to political developments, offering insights into the broader socio-political repercussions of elections. Future research could extend these analyses to other electoral contexts to further refine our understanding of sentiment dynamics as predictors of political and social change.

**Keywords:** Sentiment Analysis; Presidential Election; Montenegro; VADER Tool; Public Engagement; Democratic Transitions; LDA

### **1. Introduction**

In contemporary democratic societies, elections serve as pivotal moments that not only shape political landscapes but also reflect and

influence societal sentiments and aspirations. The Montenegrin presidential election of 2023 stands as a testament to this assertion. This research endeavours to dissect the intricate interplay between public sentiment and electoral processes through the lens of the VADER sentiment analysis tool, offering a comprehensive analysis of the emotional dynamics surrounding this significant electoral event. The outcome of this election not only determined the country's future leadership but also served as a barometer for the evolving democratic ethos in the region (Trastulli and Mastroianni, 2024). Amidst the fervent debates, campaign rhetoric, and media coverage that characterised the electoral landscape, understanding the sentiments of the electorate becomes paramount. Herein lies the utility of the VADER sentiment analysis tool, a computational tool widely used in natural language processing to gauge the emotional valence of textual data (Hutto and Gilbert, 2014). By harnessing this tool, we aim to unravel the emotional contours of the Montenegrin presidential election, delineating shifts in sentiment across distinct phases of the electoral process. This paper seeks to find the broader significance of sentiment analysis in the context of electoral politics, underscoring its relevance as a lens through which to comprehend the interactions between citizens, candidates, and the political landscape (Bansal and Srivastava, 2018). By analysing the emotional undercurrents that pervade electoral discourse, we endeavour to enrich our understanding of democratic transitions and their implications for societal cohesion and political stability. In this vein, the ensuing sections of this paper will offer a detailed exploration of the sentiment dynamics preceding, during, and following the Montenegrin presidential election of 2023.

## **2. Theoretical Foundations**

The theoretical foundations of this study rests at the intersection of computational social science, natural language processing (NLP), and political communication research. Broadly, the approach to understanding public sentiment during elections is grounded in social constructivist views of political discourse (Bennett and Segerberg, 2013), wherein language on social media is seen as both reflecting and shaping collective perceptions. Within this framework, sentiment analysis emerges as a methodological tool to quantify affective dimensions in large corpora of text (Pang and Lee, 2008). From a theoretical standpoint, public sentiment can be conceptualised as a dynamic entity that reflects how individuals interpret political events, candidates, and outcomes. The “emotional contagion” theory suggests that emotional states can spread quickly across networks, especially on

platforms like Twitter or Facebook (Ferrara and Yang, 2015). This contagion effect is particularly salient in electoral contexts, where emotionally charged content—positive or negative—tends to garner disproportionate attention and engagement (Ceccobelli, 2018; Liao et al., 2018). Hence, observing sentiment fluctuations during an election can offer insights into collective perceptions of credibility, legitimacy, and political efficacy (Brader, 2006).

The study's use of VADER (Valence Aware Dictionary and sEntiment Reasoner) draws on a lexicon-based theoretical foundation, wherein a predefined dictionary assigns sentiment scores to words and phrases (Hutto and Gilbert). Such approaches assume that sentiment can be gleaned from the polarity (positive, negative, neutral) of words, modified by intensifiers or negations. An alternative theoretical track emphasises machine learning classification, where algorithms learn sentiment representations directly from labelled examples (Bansal and Srivastava, 2018). Both approaches aim to operationalise emotion-laden text into quantifiable metrics. Lexicon-based methods excel in interpretability—each term's sentiment contribution is transparent—while machine learning methods often achieve higher accuracy for domain-specific tasks but require substantial training data (Pang and Lee, 2008).

Alongside sentiment analysis, topic modelling contributes to the theoretical understanding of how ideas propagate and cluster in large discourse spaces. Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) posits that each document (e.g., a social media post) is a probabilistic mixture of multiple topics, and each topic is represented by a distribution of words (Blei, Ng, and Jordan, 2003). Within political communication, LDA's underlying assumption aligns with agenda-setting theory, which posits that the salience of certain topics in media coverage influences public priorities (McCombs, 2005). By extracting latent themes in election-related content—such as alleged electoral misconduct or candidate credibility—we were able to trace how topics gain or lose prominence, thereby revealing the contours of public debate.

Lastly, the link between democratic processes and public sentiment is grounded in the idea that elections are not merely procedural events but transformative moments that can either solidify or challenge existing power structures (Huntington, 1991). In newer democracies or nations undergoing democratic consolidation—such as Montenegro—the emotional resonance of campaigns and elections may be amplified by historical legacies, social tensions, and expectations for political change (Trastulli and Mastroianni, 2024).

### **3. Literature Review**

A growing body of work underscores the relevance of sentiment analysis in capturing public opinion during high-stakes political events. Multiple studies show that social media discourse can effectively forecast electoral outcomes or at least approximate shifts in voter sentiment over time (Bansal and Srivastava, 2018; Tumasjan et al., 2010). Although early research often relied on simple keyword frequency counts, more recent efforts employ sophisticated NLP methods—such as VADER—for fine-grained sentiment detection, especially suited for short, informal texts rife with slang and emojis (Hutto and Gilbert, 2014). Empirical findings across different democratic contexts point to sentiment polarisation on election day, wherein both highly positive and highly negative posts spike, reflecting intensified public emotions (Drus and Khalid, 2019). Prior scholarship has also noted the ephemeral nature of online political discourse: negative or positive bursts can be triggered by specific incidents, debates, or scandals, suggesting the need to track sentiment longitudinally across pre-election, election day, and post-election phases (Ceccobelli, 2018; Bansal and Srivastava, 2018). Whereas sentiment analysis focuses on emotional valence, topic modelling offers parallel insights into the substance of public conversation. Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) remains a dominant technique due to its ability to handle large corpora and automatically discover thematic clusters (Blei et al., 2003). Recent research in political science and communication has successfully used LDA to map campaign narratives, detect coordinated misinformation, and explore evolving public agendas (Sherstinova et al., 2022). Moreover, studies that merge sentiment analysis with LDA highlight how each theme or topic can take on a distinct emotional profile (Alam and Yao, 2019). For instance, a “fraud allegations” topic might be predominantly negative, while a “hope for economic reform” topic might be predominantly positive. These dual-method approaches thus add granularity, enabling researchers to correlate specific themes—like candidate performances or policy proposals—with prevailing emotional tones (Drus and Khalid, 2019).

### **4. Research Questions and Hypothesis**

This study is guided by three primary research questions aimed at understanding the sentiment dynamics surrounding the Montenegrin presidential election of 2023. Firstly, we seek to identify the dominant sentiment trends in public discourse across different phases of the election: pre-election, election day, and post-election. This involves analysing how sentiments fluctuate during these critical periods and

what emotional patterns emerge. Secondly, we aim to investigate how these sentiment trends correlate with key electoral events and outcomes, exploring whether significant political moments are reflected in shifts in public sentiment. Lastly, we examine the role of public sentiment in reflecting and potentially influencing political stability and societal cohesion during the electoral process. Understanding this dynamic can provide insights into the broader implications of sentiment on democratic transitions (Thelwall, 2022). Based on these research questions, we propose the following hypothesis:

Sentiment on election day will be significantly polarised, with notable increases in both positive and negative sentiments, indicating heightened public engagement and anxiety. This hypothesis is supported by the understanding that election day represents a high-stakes moment, where voters' emotions are intensely charged, resulting in a marked polarisation of sentiments.

By addressing these research questions and evaluating this hypothesis, our study aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of the emotional undercurrents that pervade electoral discourse, thereby enriching our understanding of the intricate relationship between public sentiment and political change. Through this investigation, we hope to illuminate the ways in which emotions can influence and reflect the broader socio-political context during significant democratic events.

## **5. Methodology**

To empirically ground our exploration of emotional dynamics in the Montenegrin presidential election, we employ a methodological framework that accurately captures and analyses public sentiment. This section details the procedures and tools used for data collection, extraction, sentiment analysis, and thematic analysis. Our primary data sources include social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram. These platforms were selected due to their widespread use and significant role in shaping and reflecting public opinion (Ceccobelli, 2018; Liao et al., 2018). The data collection spanned three distinct phases of the electoral process: pre-election (seven days before election day), election day, and post-election (seven days after election day). This timeframe allows for a comprehensive analysis of sentiment dynamics across the entire election period. To ensure reproducibility, we used specific keywords and hashtags to extract relevant social media posts in English related to the Montenegrin presidential election. The following keywords and hashtags were some of those we employed during the data extraction process:

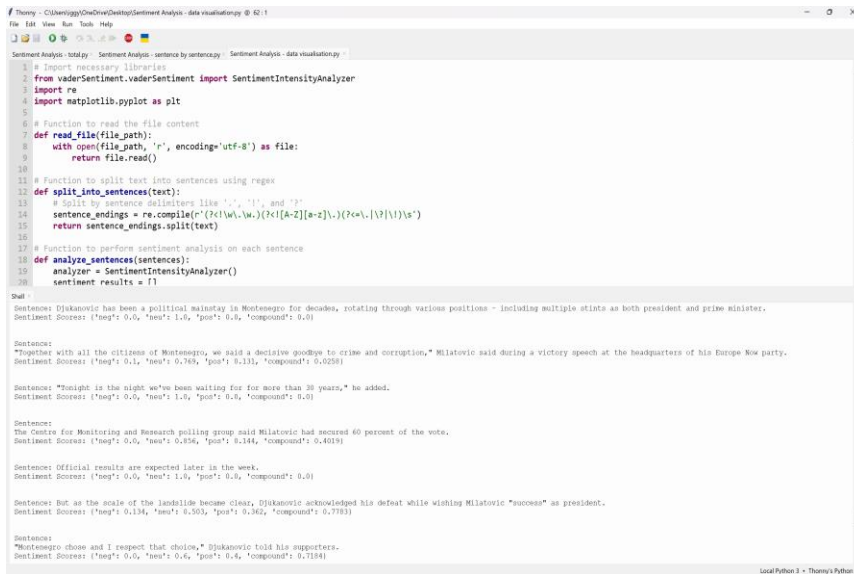
Keywords: "Montenegro election," "presidential election," "Milo Đukanović," "Jakov Milatović," "DPS," "Europe Now Movement," "election results," "political change Montenegro," "election integrity."

Hashtags: #MontenegroElection, #Đukanović, #Milatović, #DPS, #EuropeNow, #ElectionResults, #PoliticalChange, #ElectionIntegrity.

Using the Parsel tool, we extracted text data from these platforms. Parsel is adept at navigating HTML and XML structures, enabling precise retrieval of user-generated content through XPath and CSS selectors. This targeted approach ensures the systematic collection of relevant textual data while maintaining the focus on public posts to adhere to ethical standards and privacy regulations. The data extraction process was designed to filter out irrelevant content and focus on posts directly related to the election, candidates, and key electoral events (Lotfi et al., 2022). Once the textual data was extracted, it underwent sentiment analysis using the VADER (Valence Aware Dictionary and sEntiment Reasoner) tool. VADER is optimised for social media text, capable of evaluating sentiment intensity by categorising text into positive, negative, and neutral sentiments. It also quantifies the intensity of these sentiments, providing a detailed understanding of the emotional valence of the text. VADER's lexicon-based approach assigns sentiment scores to individual words and aggregates these to determine the overall sentiment of a text. This method is particularly effective for analysing informal and colloquial language typical of social media posts, including handling emoticons, slang, and sarcasm. The sentiment scores were then averaged for each phase of the election to identify overall trends and shifts in public sentiment (Drus and Khalid, 2019). In compliance with ethical standards, our data collection focused exclusively on publicly available content written in English. The use of Parsel ensured that no private profiles or sensitive information were accessed. Anonymisation procedures were strictly followed to protect individual privacy. This approach aligns with ethical guidelines for social media research, emphasising transparency and respect for user privacy (Dwork, 2006).

All analyses were conducted within the Thonny IDE environment (Figure 1). Thonny was chosen for several reasons that align with the demands of scientific research and data analysis (Annamaa, 2015). Firstly, Thonny's user-friendly interface makes it an ideal choice for handling complex data processing tasks. Thonny's interface facilitates step-by-step debugging and allows for a clear visualisation of variables and their changes in real-time, which is critical for verifying the correctness of sentiment calculations and refining the analytical process. Secondly, Thonny's integrated support for Python and its

libraries is advantageous for implementing VADER. Python's ecosystem, including libraries such as *vaderSentiment* for sentiment analysis and *matplotlib* for visualisations, is well-supported in Thonny. This integration simplifies the execution of VADER's lexicon and rule-based algorithms directly on the corpus, allowing for efficient analysis of textual data from various sources. Furthermore, Thonny's capability to handle large datasets efficiently aligns with the requirements of this study, which involves analysing extensive social media data.



```

# Import necessary libraries
from vaderSentiment.vaderSentiment import SentimentIntensityAnalyzer
import re
import matplotlib.pyplot as plt

# Function to read the file content
def read_file(file_path):
    with open(file_path, 'r', encoding='utf-8') as file:
        return file.read()

# Function to split text into sentences using regex
def split_into_sentences(text):
    # Split by sentence delimiters like '.', '!', and '?'
    sentence_endings = re.compile(r'(?!(\w|\d|&[a-z])|(?=\s|\s|\s))')
    return sentence_endings.split(text)

# Function to perform sentiment analysis on each sentence
def analyze_sentences(sentences):
    analyzer = SentimentIntensityAnalyzer()
    sentiment_results = []

    for sentence in sentences:
        sentiment_results.append(analyzer.polarity_scores(sentence))

    return sentiment_results

# Example usage
sentences = [
    "Djukanovic has been a political maverick in Montenegro for decades, rotating through various positions - including multiple stints as both president and prime minister.",
    "Together with all the citizens of Montenegro, we said a decisive goodbye to crime and corruption," Milatovic said during a victory speech at the headquarters of his Europe Now party.",
    "Tonight is the night we've been waiting for for more than 38 years," he added.",
    "The Centre for Monitoring and Research polling group said Milatovic had secured 60 percent of the vote.",
    "Official results are expected later in the week.",
    "But as the scale of the landslide became clear, Djukanovic acknowledged his defeat while wishing Milatovic "success" as president.",
    "Montenegro chose and I respect that choice," Djukanovic told his supporters.
]

sentiment_results = analyze_sentences(sentences)

```

Figure 1. Thonny-powered sentiment analysis using VADER.

## 6. Statistical Analysis

In this section, we present the detailed statistical analysis conducted to evaluate the sentiment dynamics surrounding the Montenegrin presidential election of 2023. The analysis was segmented into three phases: pre-election, election day, and post-election, to capture the evolution of public sentiment over time.

In the week preceding the election, the sentiment analysis indicated a cautiously optimistic public demeanour. The data revealed a predominance of positive sentiment, quantified at an average of 0.3937, slightly surpassing negative sentiments, which registered at an average of 0.3621. The neutral sentiment was relatively low, averaging 0.1553, suggesting active engagement rather than ambivalence. The compound score of 0.0267 reflected this marginal positivity, indicating that a sizeable portion of the electorate harboured hopes for a favourable electoral outcome amidst extensive debates and media coverage.

The day of the election marked a notable shift in public sentiment. The volume and intensity of discussions increased significantly, as reflected by a rise in negative sentiment to an average of 0.5228. Positive sentiments were at an average of 0.4370, illustrating the polarised nature of public opinion and the high stakes perceived by the electorate. Neutral sentiment also increased to an average of 0.3921, indicating substantial uncertainty and deliberation among people. The compound score, now slightly negative at -0.0521, mirrored the heightened tension and apprehension that characterised the national mood as citizens cast their votes.

After the election results were declared, there was another significant transformation in the sentiment landscape. Negative sentiments dramatically decreased to an average of 0.0851, suggesting a de-escalation of electoral tension and a decline in contentious discourse. Conversely, neutral sentiments significantly increased to an average of 0.7955, indicating a period of collective reflection and emotional settling as the populace began to assimilate the election outcomes. Positive sentiments saw a modest rise to an average of 0.1193, reflecting tempered optimism about the new leadership's future direction. Correspondingly, the compound sentiment score improved markedly to 0.13335, signalling a readiness among the public to engage with and adapt to the forthcoming political phase (Figure 2).

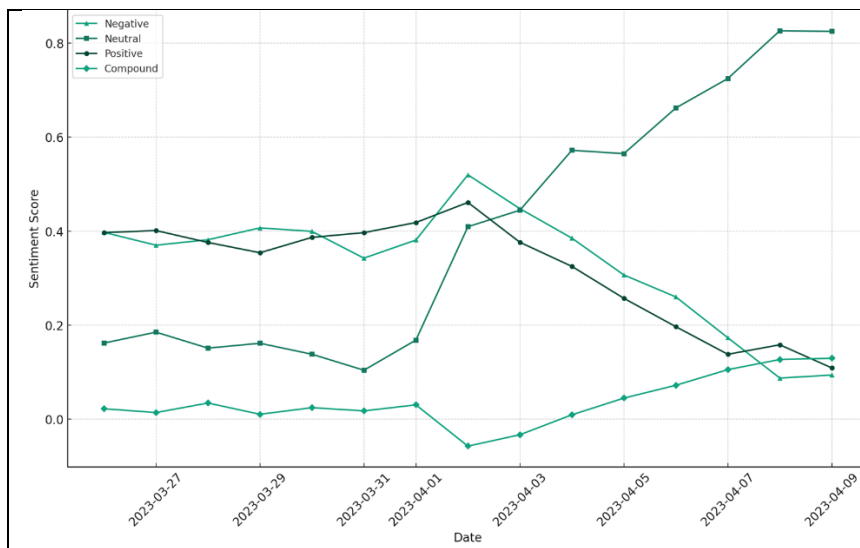


Figure 2. Detailed sentiment dynamics.

### 6.1 Correlation Analysis of Sentiment Dynamics

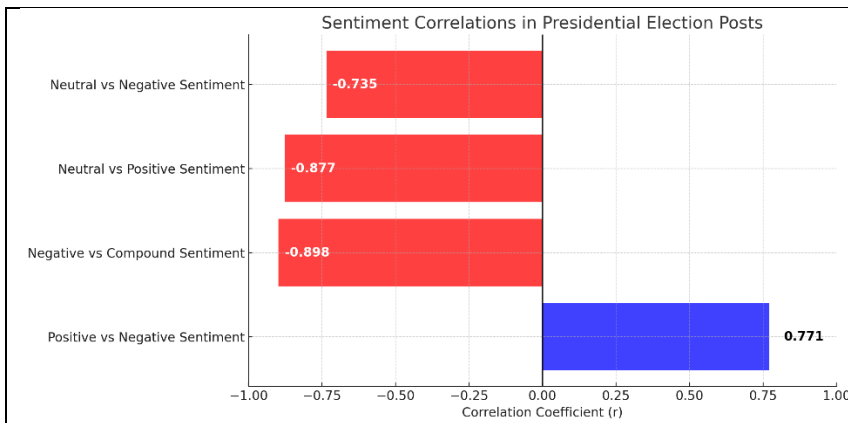
To establish the intricate relationships between various sentiment categories and the compound sentiment score, we undertook a comprehensive correlation analysis. This analysis aimed to uncover how these sentiment dimensions interact with one another during the electoral process.

Our analysis revealed a strong positive correlation ( $r = 0.771$ ) between negative and positive sentiments. This indicates that as positive sentiment increases, negative sentiment also rises. This pattern reflects the polarised nature of election discussions, where positive posts about a candidate often provoke negative responses from opposing voters. Rather than a neutral balance, public discourse appears highly reactive, with engagement from both supporters and critics escalating in parallel.

There is a remarkably high negative correlation ( $r = -0.898$ ) between negative sentiment and the compound sentiment score. This inverse relationship signifies that as negative sentiment escalates, the overall sentiment score—an aggregate measure of sentiment—becomes more negative. This finding highlights the dominant influence of negative sentiment in shaping the overall emotional tone of election-related discussions.

The correlation between neutral and positive sentiments is strongly negative ( $r = -0.877$ ). This suggests that as neutral sentiment rises, positive sentiment declines, potentially indicating a shift away from clear partisan enthusiasm towards more moderate or uncertain discourse.

Similarly, a strong negative correlation ( $r = -0.735$ ) exists between neutral and negative sentiments. This relationship implies that an increase in neutral sentiment is associated with a reduction in negative sentiment. As conversations shift toward neutrality, the expression of strong negative opinions diminishes, suggesting a less polarised and more balanced public dialogue (Figure 3).



## 6.2 LDA-based Thematic Analysis

Having established the statistical foundations of public sentiment dynamics through VADER analysis, it is crucial to analyse the thematic structures underlying these sentiments. To achieve this, we employ Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA), a sophisticated generative probabilistic model widely used in natural language processing. LDA enables us to systematically identify potential topics within the extensive datasets of social media text, thus providing a greater understanding of the themes that drive public discourse. This approach, complemented by a human-made thematic analysis, ensures a comprehensive exploration of the latent themes and their evolution throughout the electoral process. The LDA process begins with the preprocessing of text, including tasks like removing stop words, stemming, and lemmatisation. Following this, we define the expected number of topics and proceed to train the LDA model, which infers both the distribution of topics within each document and the distribution of words within each topic, revealing keywords that are statistically significant for each topic. After the computational topic identification via LDA, we engaged in a human-made thematic analysis to validate and expand upon these findings. This qualitative analysis starts with a thorough familiarisation with the data, where the corpus is analysed multiple times to identify significant patterns or themes that echo the topics suggested by LDA. Initial codes are then generated that align with these observations, and these codes are organised into potential themes. These themes are reviewed and refined, ensuring they accurately reflect the data, leading to a well-defined, coherent categorisation. The final phase involves detailing each theme with examples and integrating these insights into the broader context of the research question. Combining LDA with thematic analysis enhances our research methodology. While LDA offers a preliminary, quantitative inspection of topics based on word co-occurrence within the dataset, thematic analysis provides a deep, qualitative interpretation, ensuring a comprehensive analysis. This dual approach not only validates the computational findings with qualitative data but also enriches the understanding of the themes by exploring them in detail. Achieving saturation in thematic analysis confirms that all relevant data is considered, offering a profound and extensive insight into the themes prevalent in social media discussions related to our study.

To quantify the quality of our LDA model, we calculated the perplexity using the test set of our corpus. The perplexity score was approximately 12.18, indicating a good fit of the model to the data. This low perplexity value suggests that the LDA model effectively captured

the underlying thematic structure of the corpus, providing a reliable basis for our thematic analysis. In addition to perplexity, we assessed the interpretability of the topics using the C\_V coherence measure. The coherence scores were calculated for different numbers of topics, and the highest coherence was achieved with six topics. This optimal number of topics provided a balance between statistical reliability and meaningful interpretability, ensuring that the identified themes were both coherent and relevant. The identified themes were:

1. Political Change and Elections: related to the electoral process, results, and shifts in power dynamics.
2. Political Figures: key individuals involved in the political narrative, particularly Milo Đukanović and Jakov Milatović.
3. Political Parties and Movements: discussion around political entities such as the Democratic Party of Socialists and the Europe Now Movement.
4. Voter Engagement and Turnout: statistics and significance of voter participation in the elections.
5. Allegations and Electoral Integrity: controversies and challenges during the elections, including irregularities and actions of political actors.
6. Sociopolitical Context and Historical Background: broader context of Montenegro's political history and its impact on current events.

Theme	Keywords
Political Change and Elections	presidential elections, votes, run-off, results, defeat, winner
Political Figures	Đukanović, Milatović, incumbent, candidate, leader, President, Prime Minister
Political Parties and Movements	party, movement, coalition, Democratic Party of Socialists, Europe Now Movement
Voter Engagement and Turnout	turnout, eligible voters, first round, second round, participation, mobilisation

Theme	Keywords
Allegations and Electoral Integrity	irregularities, polling stations, threats, ballot papers, voter pressure
Sociopolitical Context and Historical Background	longest-serving, historical, transition, independence, political history

Table 1. Key Themes and Associated Keywords.

By carefully selecting the number of topics based on coherence scores and validating the results through manual inspection, we ensured that the LDA model provided a comprehensive and interpretable thematic structure for our analysis of the sentiment dynamics surrounding the Montenegrin presidential election. This methodological rigour enhances the reliability and validity of our findings, offering deeper insights into the themes within this social media discourse.

```
0.010*"montenegro" + 0.009*"presidential" + 0.008*"đukanović" + 0.008*"president" +
0.008*"milatović" + 0.007*"election" + 0.006*"democratic" + 0.006*"party" +
0.006*"round" + 0.006*"milatović"
```

Figure 4. LDA analysis interface

In the Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) model, each topic is represented by a set of words, each assigned a specific weight. For instance, as shown in Figure 4, the notation  $0.010 \cdot \text{"Montenegro"}$  indicates that the term "Montenegro" has a weight of 0.010 in the given topic. The weight, also referred to as the probability or importance score, quantifies the relevance of the term within the context of the topic. Higher weights suggest greater importance and stronger association with the topic. The words with their associated weights collectively characterise the topic, providing insights into the themes present in the corpus. By examining the weights, we were able to determine which terms are most indicative of a topic, allowing for a structured interpretation of the data. Following closely, the word "presidential" with a weight of 0.009 emphasises the focus on the presidential nature of the elections. This term is key in framing the specific type of political event under scrutiny, distinguishing it from other electoral processes such as parliamentary or local elections. Names of prominent political figures like "Đukanović" and "Milatović" each have a weight of 0.008, signifying their pivotal roles in the narrative. Milo Đukanović, the long-standing leader and former president, and Jakov Milatović, his



1. Electoral Dynamics and Results: This theme encompasses discussions on the electoral mechanics and outcomes, emphasising the critical moments of the election such as the final counts and the declaration of the winner. Key terms include "election results," "final tally," "electoral victory," and "defeat."

2. Influential Political Figures: This theme centres on the prominent individuals shaping the political narrative of the elections, particularly focusing on their roles, policies, and public engagements. Keywords might include "leadership," "public appearances," "policy positions," and specific references to their political careers.

3. Political Party Strategies and Campaigns: This theme discusses the strategies deployed by various political parties and movements during the campaign, highlighting their approaches to gaining public support and managing their political images. Key terms could be "campaign strategies," "public relations," "political ads," and "party platforms."

04. Voter Participation and Electoral Engagement: Focused on the engagement levels of the electorate, this theme examines voter turnout, the mobilisation strategies of parties, and the overall enthusiasm in the voting process. Terms might include "voter mobilisation," "engagement strategies," "participation rates," and "voting incentives."

5. Electoral Fairness and Transparency: Covering the integrity and fairness of the electoral process, this theme investigates the measures taken to ensure a transparent election, along with any reports of malpractice or electoral fraud. Keywords could include "electoral fairness," "transparency measures," "fraud allegations," and "electoral oversight."

Both human-led thematic analysis and LDA-based computational analysis identified key aspects of the election discourse, particularly themes related to electoral outcomes, political figures, party strategies, voter engagement, and electoral integrity. However, the human analysis focused on conceptual and narrative-driven themes, such as Electoral Fairness and Transparency, which emphasised democratic principles and oversight. In contrast, the LDA approach captured broader, data-driven patterns, such as Sociopolitical Context and Historical Background, highlighting how historical narratives shape current political discussions—something human coders overlooked. Additionally, LDA categorised political figures and parties more explicitly (e.g., Milo Đukanović and Jakov Milatović), while the human analysis grouped them under Influential Political Figures. These differences

underscore the complementary strengths of both methods: human coders provide depth and contextual richness, while LDA excels in identifying hidden patterns across large datasets.

### **7. Discussion of the Results**

This research combines quantitative sentiment analysis via the VADER tool and qualitative thematic insights from Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) and human-made thematic analysis to provide a multi-dimensional perspective on the sentiment dynamics surrounding the Montenegrin presidential election of 2023. The integration of these approaches yields a comprehensive understanding of the complex emotional landscape associated with such pivotal democratic events.

The sentiment analysis revealed distinct emotional dynamics throughout the electoral timeline. Before the election, positive sentiment slightly exceeded negative sentiment, with a compound score indicating voter optimism amid debates and media coverage. On election day, discussions intensified, leading to a rise in negative sentiment, while positive sentiment remained steady, reflecting polarised opinions and high stakes. After the election results were announced, negative sentiment sharply decreased, and neutral sentiment significantly increased, indicating a period of reflection and emotional settling. Positive sentiment saw a modest rise, showing cautious optimism about the new leadership, and the compound sentiment score improved, indicating public readiness to adapt to the upcoming political phase.

Thematic analysis using Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) and human-made thematic analysis identified key themes within the social media discourse. The primary themes included Political Change and Elections, focusing on the electoral process, results, and shifts in power dynamics; Political Figures, particularly highlighting Milo Đukanović and Jakov Milatovic; Political Parties and Movements, with discussions around entities like the Democratic Party of Socialists and the Europe Now Movement; Voter Engagement and Turnout, emphasising the statistics and significance of voter participation; Allegations and Electoral Integrity, covering controversies and challenges during the elections; and Sociopolitical Context and Historical Background, providing a broader context of Montenegro's political history and its impact on current events.

The findings from this study illuminate the sentiment dynamics of the Montenegrin election and offer broader insights into how emotions play a crucial role in democratic processes. Understanding these dynamics is vital for comprehending how public sentiment can influence

and be influenced by political developments. This understanding is particularly pertinent in the context of democratic transitions, where public sentiment can significantly impact the legitimacy and stability of governance. By integrating quantitative and qualitative analyses, our research provides a comprehensive view of the emotional landscape during the Montenegrin presidential election, contributing valuable insights into the interplay between public sentiment and political change.

### **8. Conclusions**

This study has effectively demonstrated the dynamic interplay between public sentiment and political events during the Montenegrin presidential election by using a combination of VADER sentiment analysis and thematic analysis. The research illuminated how sentiments fluctuated significantly throughout the electoral phases, reflecting the collective emotional responses to political changes. The dual approach of computational and human analysis provided a comprehensive view, capturing both broad thematic trends and nuanced emotional undercurrents that define electoral politics. Our findings underscore the significant role of public sentiment in the electoral process. These insights contribute to a deeper understanding of the emotional landscape of democratic processes and highlight the importance of public sentiment in shaping and reflecting political developments.

However, several limitations of this study should be noted. The study primarily focused on text data from specific social media platforms, which may not fully represent the broader population's sentiments, especially those segments less active or entirely inactive online. Additionally, sentiment analysis tools like VADER, while effective, may not fully capture the subtleties of language nuances, idiomatic expressions, and cultural contexts that could influence sentiment interpretation. Additionally, our analysis was confined to a specific timeline surrounding the election, potentially overlooking longer-term sentiment trends before and after the immediate electoral period. Furthermore, the findings from this specific electoral context in Montenegro may not be directly applicable to other regions or electoral environments due to varying sociopolitical dynamics and media landscapes.

To build on the groundwork laid by this study, future research could explore several avenues. Expanding the temporal scope to include longer pre-election and post-election periods would provide a more comprehensive view of how sentiments evolve over the longer term and

how they stabilise or fluctuate following the conclusion of an election. Conducting similar sentiment analyses in different electoral contexts across various countries could help in understanding the universal versus culture-specific elements in electoral sentiment dynamics. Beyond textual data, incorporating multimodal data sources such as videos, images, and audio from social media could enrich the sentiment analysis, capturing a wider range of emotional expressions. Employing more sophisticated natural language processing (NLP) tools and machine learning models that can better handle sarcasm, irony, and complex emotional expressions would refine the analysis, enhancing our understanding of the nuanced interplay between public sentiment and electoral outcomes. By addressing these limitations and exploring these future research directions, we can continue to deepen our understanding of the role of public sentiment in democratic processes and its impact on political stability and societal cohesion.

The findings of this study have significant practical implications for policymakers and stakeholders in Montenegro, particularly in the context of managing and responding to public sentiment during elections. By systematically analysing sentiment dynamics, this research provides insights into how public emotions fluctuate across different phases of the electoral process. This understanding can be leveraged to improve electoral strategies, communication, and engagement with the electorate. Additionally, policymakers and political parties can use sentiment analysis to tailor their campaign strategies more effectively. By understanding the predominant sentiments of the electorate, campaign messages can be adjusted to address public concerns and aspirations more directly. For instance, the identified cautious optimism in the pre-election phase suggests a need for reinforcing positive messages of change and progress. The insights into sentiment polarisation on election day highlight the importance of transparent and effective communication. Stakeholders can use real-time sentiment data to address public anxieties and clarify any misinformation promptly. This proactive approach can help mitigate the spread of negative sentiments and foster a more informed electorate. The significant post-election increase in neutral sentiments indicates a period of reflection and adjustment. Policymakers can use this window to engage with the public on issues related to electoral integrity and transparency. By addressing concerns and demonstrating commitment to fair practices, trust in the democratic process can be reinforced.

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#### ISTRAŽIVANJE EMOCIONALNOG PEJZAŽA PREDSJEDNIČKIH IZBORA U CRNOJ GORI: ANALIZA SENTIMENTA I TEMATSKA ANALIZA

U našem radu smo koristili kombinaciju analize sentimenta pomoću VADER-a, kao i tematsku analizu pomoću ocjenjivača i algoritma Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) za ispitivanje javnog mnjenja i tematskih oblasti tokom predsjedničkih izbora u Crnoj Gori 2023. godine. Podatke smo prikupili preko platformi Tviter, Fejsbuk i Instagram u tri faze: predizbornoj, na dan izbora i postizbornoj. VADER je korišćen za kvantifikaciju pozitivnih, negativnih i neutralnih sentimenata. Rezultati su pokazali oprezni optimizam prije izbora. Na dan izbora uočena je snažnija polarizacija, sa povećanjem i pozitivnih i negativnih emocija, što odražava pojačano uključivanje javnosti i dozu neizvjesnosti. Nakon objave izbornih rezultata, negativni sentiment je značajno opao, dok je neutralni osjetno porastao, što ukazuje na kolektivnu orijentaciju ka prihvatanju ishoda izbora. Analize korelacija i regresije potvrdile su snažan uticaj negativnog sentimenta na ukupni rezultat naše analize, što ukazuje na ključnu ulogu snažnih i javno iskazanih emocija tokom politički turbulentnih događaja. LDA-tematska analiza izdvojila je nekoliko glavnih tema, kao što su:

političke promjene, uloge kandidata i pitanja izbornog integriteta. Ove teme su nam, istovremeno, dale bolji uvid u širi društveno-politički kontekst. Naše istraživanje naglašava značaj analize sentimenta u smislu razumijevanja demokratskih procesa, naročito u zemljama u tranziciji, poput Crne Gore. Budući pravci istraživanja mogu da podrazumijevaju duže trajanje istraživanja i/ili analiziranje drugih (ne)političkih aktera radi preciznijeg utvrđivanja javnog sentimenta. Ovakav pristup može da doprinese oblikovanju izbornih strategija, što bi na kraju moglo da dovede do bolje transparentnosti u političkom životu.

**Ključne riječi:** predsjednički izbori 2023, analiza sentimenta, VADER, LDA, tematska analiza

## **EINSTELLUNGEN KROATISCHER DAF- LEHRKRÄFTE ZUR MEHRSPRACHIGKEIT IM FREMDSPRACHUNTERRICHT**

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**Abstrakt:** Die in Kroatien am häufigsten vertretene Mehrsprachigkeit ist jene, die bei den einheimischen *Schüler/innen* im Rahmen des Fremdsprachenunterrichts entsteht. Da das kroatische Bildungssystem Deutsch als Fremdsprache nur in Sekundarschulen I und II und nicht in Grundschulen vorschreibt, ist es wichtig, das Bewusstsein für die Mehrsprachigkeit unter den DaF-Lehrkräften in der Sekundarstufe I zu stärken. Die empirische Untersuchung wurde von Oktober bis November 2023 an kroatischen Schulen durchgeführt. An der Untersuchung nahmen 28 DaF-Lehrerinnen und 6 DaF-Lehrer teil, die an Grund- und Sekundarschulen unterrichten. Ziel der Studie war es, ihre Einstellungen zu dem mehrsprachigen Ansatz zu untersuchen. Die Analyse von Daten wurde quantitativ und hauptsächlich deskriptiv präsentiert. Neben der Sensibilisierung für die Bedeutung eines mehrsprachigen Ansatzes in der Lehre sollen die gewonnenen Daten auch mögliche Empfehlungen zur Verbesserung des mehrsprachigen Ansatzes im Unterricht des Deutschen als zweite Fremdsprache liefern.

**Keywords:** Mehrsprachigkeit, Sprachbewusstheit, Sprachtransfer, sprachdidaktische Implikationen

### **1. Einleitung**

Unter Mehrsprachigkeit versteht man im Kern die Fähigkeit einer Person, mehr als eine Sprache zu sprechen, zu verstehen und kompetent zu kommunizieren. Dabei geht es nicht nur darum, sich in verschiedenen Sprachen unterhalten zu können, sondern vielmehr um ein Kompetenzniveau, das eine effektive Kommunikation und ein effektives Verständnis ermöglicht. Mehrsprachige Menschen beherrschen

sprachliche Nuancen und können je nach Kontext und Gesprächspartner nahtlos zwischen Sprachen wechseln (vgl. Gülbeyaz 2022, 4). Die Betonung der Beherrschung mehrerer Sprachen erfordert nicht nur sprachliche Kompetenz, sondern auch ein Verständnis für die kulturellen Feinheiten, die mit jeder Sprache verbunden sind (Gülbeyaz 2022). Gülbeyaz ist der Meinung, dass die kompetente Mehrsprachigkeit über die grundlegende Kommunikation hinausgeht (vgl. 2022, 56). Es erfordert eine tiefe Auseinandersetzung mit den Strukturen, Ausdrücken und Redewendungen, die für jede Sprache einzigartig sind. Diese Kompetenz wird häufig durch vielfältige Erfahrungen erworben, beispielsweise durch das Leben in mehrsprachigen Umgebungen, formellen Sprachunterricht oder eine Kombination aus beidem. Die kognitiven Vorteile der Mehrsprachigkeit sind erheblich und für Forscher in verschiedenen Bereichen von großem Interesse. Ein bemerkenswerter Vorteil ist die Verbesserung der Problemlösungsfähigkeiten. Mehrsprachige Menschen entwickeln durch regelmäßiges Navigieren zwischen Sprachen eine erhöhte kognitive Flexibilität (vgl. Gülbeyaz 2022, 51). Diese Flexibilität ermöglicht es ihnen, Probleme aus verschiedenen Perspektiven anzugehen und verbessert so ihre Fähigkeit, innovative Lösungen zu finden. Die ständige mentale Übung, zwischen Sprachen zu wechseln, führt zu einer kognitiven Anpassungsfähigkeit, die bei einsprachigen Personen nicht so ausgeprägt ist (vgl. Triulzi et al. 2023, 57). Darüber hinaus geht Mehrsprachigkeit mit verbesserten Multitasking-Fähigkeiten einher. Das Jonglieren mit mehreren Sprachen erfordert eine erhöhte Fähigkeit zum Aufgabenwechsel und zur kognitiven Kontrolle. Diese kognitive Geschicklichkeit geht über sprachbezogene Aktivitäten hinaus und wirkt sich positiv auf verschiedene Aspekte des täglichen Lebens aus (vgl. Triulzi et al. 2023, 57). Untersuchungen deuten darauf hin, dass es bei mehrsprachigen Personen auch zu Verzögerungen beim Einsetzen eines altersbedingten kognitiven Rückgangs, einschließlich Krankheiten wie Alzheimer, kommen kann (vgl. Triulzi et al. 2023, 84). Die durch Mehrsprachigkeit aufgebaute kognitive Reserve scheint zu einer größeren neuronalen Widerstandsfähigkeit beizutragen und Schutz vor den degenerativen Auswirkungen des Alterns zu bieten (vgl. Wiese et al. 2022). Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, dass Mehrsprachigkeit eine differenzierte Fähigkeit ist, die die Beherrschung mehrerer Sprachen erfordert und sprachliche sowie kulturelle Dimensionen umfasst (vgl. Triulzi et al. 2023, 86). Die kognitiven Vorteile, einschließlich verbesserter Problemlösungs- und Multitasking-Fähigkeiten, unterstreichen die wertvollen intellektuellen Vorteile, die mit der

Mehrsprachigkeit verbunden sind. Da die weltweite Entwicklung weiterhin die Vernetzung von Kulturen und Sprachen betont, wird die Rolle mehrsprachiger Individuen immer wichtiger, da sie nicht nur zur persönlichen Entwicklung, sondern auch zur Förderung des interkulturellen Verständnisses und der Zusammenarbeit beitragen (vgl. Triulzi et al. 2023, 87). Andere Studien über Mehrsprachigkeit zeigen ähnliche Erkenntnisse. „Die Bedeutung von Mehrsprachigkeit als Bildungsvoraussetzung und der Anspruch, Mehrsprachigkeit als Bildungsziel zu entwickeln, werden in ganz unterschiedlichen wissenschaftlichen Disziplinen erforscht und reflektiert“ (vgl. Fürstenau und Gomolla 2011, 25). Mehrsprachigkeit ist eine der acht Schlüsselkompetenzen, die für persönliche Entfaltung, einen gesunden und nachhaltigen Lebensstil, Beschäftigungsfähigkeit, aktive Bürgerschaft und soziale Eingliederung notwendig sind.<sup>1</sup> Mehrsprachigkeit existiert jedoch auch auf gesellschaftlicher, sozialer und kultureller Ebene und meint die Verwendung mehrerer Sprachen innerhalb einer Gesellschaft oder Institution. Grundsätzlich bietet Mehrsprachigkeit, darin sind sich Sprachwissenschaftler einig, eine ganze Reihe von Vorteilen. „Mehrsprachigkeit stellt eine wichtige natürliche Ressource in unserer globalisierten Gesellschaft dar, die sowohl für den Einzelnen als auch für die Gesellschaft von Bedeutung ist.“ (vgl. Riehl 2006, 15). Heutzutage gibt es viele aktuelle wissenschaftliche Studien, die Hypothesen über die positiven Auswirkungen des mehrsprachigen Lernens auf die Entwicklung von Kindern bestätigen. „Immer mehr *Schüler/innen* verfügen über sprachliche Kompetenzen in mehreren Sprachen, die sie in unterschiedlichen Kontexten entwickeln, u. a. in der Familie oder in der Schule. Über die neuronalen und kognitiven Vorteile hinaus darf auch der sprachpragmatische Aspekt nicht vernachlässigt werden. Mehrsprachige haben eine differenziertere Sicht auf die Welt. Sie lernen durch die Brille der anderen Sprache andere Sichtweisen kennen und sind daher flexibler im Handeln.“ (vgl. Riehl 2006, 19). Da wir in einer multikulturellen Gesellschaft leben, ist die Entwicklung mehrsprachiger Kompetenz notwendig. Über diesen Vorteil verfügen im Übrigen alle Mehrsprachigen, auch diejenigen, die die zweite Sprache später erworben haben (vgl. Riehl 2006, 21).\_Aus dem Blickwinkel der Informations- und Mediengesellschaft stellen Linguisten und Pädagogen häufig die Frage nach der Rolle innovativer Medien bei der Entwicklung mehrsprachiger Kompetenz. Das Internet bietet nicht nur den direkten

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<sup>1</sup> <https://education.ec.europa.eu/hr/focus-topics/improving-quality/multilingualism/multilingualism-as-a-key-competence>

sprachlichen Austausch in unterschiedlichen Sprachen. Zunehmend findet man bilinguale und mehrsprachige Blogs und Chats, in denen die Nutzer/innen bewusst Sprachen mischen oder zwischen Sprachen hin und her wechseln. Auch Nachrichten, Filme, Kunst und Literatur bedienen sich der neuen Medien und halten so die Sprachen lebendig (Gogolin und Neumann 2009). Mehrere Sprachen zu sprechen, gilt auch als ein Zeichen besonderer schulischer Leistung (vgl. Gogolin und Neumann 2009, 6). „In den vergangenen 20 bis 30 Jahren wurden verschiedene Konzepte entwickelt, die zum Ziel haben, diese mehrsprachigen Ressourcen der Lernenden im Sprachunterricht vorteilhaft zu nutzen“ (vgl. Bredthauer 2018, 275). Da das kroatische Bildungssystem Deutsch als Fremdsprache nur in Sekundarschulen und nicht in Grundschulen vorschreibt, ist es wichtig unter den DaF-Lehrkräften, das Bewusstsein für die Bedeutung eines mehrsprachigen Ansatzes im Unterricht von Deutsch als Fremdsprache zu entwickeln und zu stärken. Mehrsprachigkeit ist ein Gewinn - so sehen es viele binationale Familien, unabhängig davon, um welche Sprachen es sich handelt. Viele Experten auf dem Gebiet der Linguistik und Psychologie sind sich einig, dass eine möglichst frühe und intensive Förderung von Mehrsprachigkeit in mündlichen wie auch schriftlichen Diskursen ein vorrangiges Anliegen der Bildungsinstitutionen sein sollte. DaF-Lehrkräfte, die die mehrsprachigen Ressourcen ihrer *Schüler/innen* nutzen und fördern möchten, sollten berücksichtigen, dass sich „die Fähigkeiten in den verschiedenen Sprachen im Laufe der Zeit und aufgrund unterschiedlicher Bedürfnisse und Begebenheiten immer wieder verändern“ (vgl. Woerfel 2020, 2). Im schulischen Kontext ist Mehrsprachigkeit eine wichtige Ressource zur Erlangung einer metasprachlichen Bewusstheit, die insbesondere für das Erlernen einer Folgefremdsprache wichtig ist. Im Unterricht stehen Lehrkräfte vor der Herausforderung, die Mehrsprachigkeit ihrer *Schüler/innen* gezielt zu fördern und weiterzuentwickeln.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. Mehrsprachigkeit und Erstspracherwerb

Der Kontakt mit mehreren Sprachen von klein auf prägt maßgeblich den Verlauf des ersten Spracherwerbs einer Person. Das Aufwachsen in einer mehrsprachigen Umgebung bringt einen einzigartigen sprachlichen Reichtum mit sich, der sich auf verschiedene Aspekte der Sprachentwicklung auswirkt (vgl. Gülbeyaz 2022, 14). Es kann argumentiert werden, dass der Kontakt mit der Sprache zum Kontakt

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<sup>2</sup> <https://udzbenici.skolskaknjiga.hr/webinari/kako-poticati-visejezicnost-u-nastavi-stranij-jezika/>

mit Kulturen führt und dass sehr oft eine verständnisvolle und effektive Kommunikation zwischen Menschen entsteht. Daher kann man begründen, dass die Mehrsprachigkeit zu den wichtigsten sozialen Phänomenen der Gegenwart zählt. Erstens bietet die mehrsprachige Exposition einen vielfältigen sprachlichen Input, der den Einzelnen einer Vielzahl von Lauten, Strukturen und Ausdrücken aussetzt (vgl. Gülbeyaz 2022, 24). Dieser frühe Kontakt trägt zu einem differenzierteren Verständnis der Sprache bei und fördert einen breiteren Wortschatz sowie eine erhöhte Sensibilität für sprachliche Nuancen. Kinder, die in mehrsprachigen Umgebungen aufwachsen, verfügen oft über fortgeschrittene Sprachkenntnisse und zeigen die Fähigkeit, sich in komplexen Sprachlandschaften zurechtzufinden (Decker und Werner 2022). Der Sprachtransfer ist ein Schlüsselkonzept, um zu verstehen, wie der Umgang mit mehreren Sprachen den Erwerb der ersten Sprache beeinflusst (vgl. Decker und Werner 2022, 68). Es bezieht sich auf das Phänomen, dass Kenntnisse oder Fähigkeiten aus einer Sprache das Erlernen oder den Gebrauch einer anderen Sprache beeinflussen. Im Kontext des Erstspracherwerbs kann sich dies in der Einbeziehung von Strukturen oder Vokabeln aus anderen Sprachen äußern, die in der Umgebung des Individuums vorhanden sind (Decker und Werner 2022). Beispielsweise kann ein Kind, das sowohl Englisch als auch Spanisch spricht, einen Sprachtransfer zeigen, indem es spanische grammatikalische Strukturen in seine englische Sprache integriert. Die Sprachübertragung ist ein natürlicher und adaptiver Prozess, der den Versuch des Kindes widerspiegelt, den sprachlichen Input, den es erhält, zu verstehen (Dewaele et al. 2022). Es deutet nicht auf Verwirrung hin, sondern unterstreicht vielmehr die Fähigkeit des Kindes, Muster zu erkennen und sie auf sein sprachliches Repertoire anzuwenden. Während die Sprachübertragung die kognitive Flexibilität verbessern und zu einem anpassungsfähigeren Sprachgebrauch beitragen kann, kann sie auch Herausforderungen mit sich bringen. Fälle von Interlingualität, bei denen ein Kind Elemente aus mehreren Sprachen kombiniert, kommen häufig vor (Dewaele et al. 2022). Das Verständnis dieser Prozesse ist für Pädagogen und Eltern von entscheidender Bedeutung, um angemessene Unterstützung zu leisten und einen positiven Einfluss auf die Sprachentwicklung zu gewährleisten. Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, dass der Umgang mit mehreren Sprachen während der frühen Entwicklung den Prozess des ersten Spracherwerbs bereichert. Es bietet eine vielfältige sprachliche Grundlage und prägt ein differenzierteres Sprachverständnis. Das Konzept des Sprachtransfers stellt zwar Herausforderungen dar, spiegelt jedoch die dynamische und adaptive Natur des Spracherwerbs in

mehrsprachigen Umgebungen wider und trägt letztendlich zur kognitiven Flexibilität und sprachlichen Vielseitigkeit bei (vgl. Dewaele et al. 2022, 45). Das Aufwachsen in einer mehrsprachigen Umgebung bringt einen einzigartigen sprachlichen Reichtum mit sich, der sich auf verschiedene Aspekte der Sprachentwicklung auswirkt (Gogolin und Neumann 2009).

Mit einem Hintergrund in Sprachwissenschaft und Kognitionswissenschaft bringen Gantefort und Maahs (2020) eine differenzierte Perspektive in die Diskussion der Mehrsprachigkeit und deren Auswirkungen auf den Spracherwerb und das Lernen ein. Sie haben sich intensiv mit den kognitiven Vorteilen der Mehrsprachigkeit sowie den komplexen Zusammenhängen zwischen Sprachvielfalt und kognitiver Flexibilität auseinandergesetzt. Akademische Aktivitäten, gepaart mit praktischen Erfahrungen in mehrsprachigen Umgebungen, haben das Verständnis der Autoren Gantefort und Maahs (2020) für die Komplexität und die Vorteile geprägt, die mit der Beherrschung mehrerer Sprachen verbunden sind. Durch die Auseinandersetzung mit den kognitiven Vorteilen, Herausforderungen und häufigen Missverständnissen im Zusammenhang mit Mehrsprachigkeit möchten die Autoren zu einem umfassenderen Verständnis des Themas beitragen (vgl. Lindner et al. 2020, 42). Als Befürworter einer effektiven Spracherziehung betonen Lindner et al. (2020), wie wichtig es ist, sowohl die Vorteile als auch die Herausforderungen zu erkennen, mit denen mehrsprachige Menschen konfrontiert sind. Mit großem Interesse an der Förderung realistischer Erwartungen plädieren die Autoren für maßgeschneiderte Ansätze, die die vielfältigen kognitiven und kulturellen Dimensionen der Mehrsprachigkeit berücksichtigen (Gantefort and Maahs, 2020). In einer zunehmend vernetzten Welt unterstreichen Reich und Krumm (2013) die Bedeutung der Mehrsprachigkeit nicht nur für die persönliche Entwicklung, sondern auch für die Förderung interkultureller Verständigung und Zusammenarbeit. Am Ende ihrer Studie, stellen die Autoren eine Synthese aus akademischem Wissen, persönlichen Erfahrungen und einer echten Leidenschaft dar, die Feinheiten des Spracherwerbs in mehrsprachigen Kontexten zu entschlüsseln (Reich und Krumm 2013). Nach der Erforschung der wissenschaftlichen Literatur im Ausland war dies auch die Motivation für diese Forschung in Kroatien im Bereich DaF-Unterricht.

### **3. Methodisches Vorgehen**

In der Studie wurden Einstellungen von DaF-Lehrkräften (Deutsch als Fremdsprache) im Hinblick auf Mehrsprachigkeit untersucht. Die

empirische Untersuchung wurde von Oktober bis November 2023 an kroatischen Schulen durchgeführt. Ziel der Studie war es, die Einstellungen der Lehrkräfte zu einem mehrsprachigen Ansatz zu untersuchen und gegebenenfalls ihr Bewusstsein diesbezüglich zu stärken. Die deskriptive Analyse der relevanten Daten wird in N-Werten und Prozentsätzen (%) zusammengefasst. Die Datenanalyse wurde mit der Software Statistica 12 durchgeführt.

Das Sample bestand aus zwei Gruppen: einerseits Lehrkräften der Primarstufe und andererseits Lehrkräften der Sekundarstufe. Folgende Forschungsfragen wurden bearbeitet: a) Gibt es Unterschiede in den Einstellungen hinsichtlich der Bedeutung eines mehrsprachigen Ansatzes zwischen Lehrkräften der Primar- und Sekundarstufe? und b) Ist die Mehrheit der Befragten der Meinung, dass das Bewusstsein für einen mehrsprachigen Ansatz im Unterricht geschärft werden sollte? Es wird von der Auffassung ausgegangen, dass ein positiver Brückenschlag zwischen der Muttersprache, der ersten und der zweiten Fremdsprache in allen Sprachsystemen (Ausprache, Rechtschreibung, Wortschatz, Grammatik) möglich ist. Neben der Sensibilisierung für die Bedeutung eines mehrsprachigen Ansatzes in der Lehre sollen die gewonnenen Daten auch mögliche Empfehlungen zur Verbesserung des mehrsprachigen Ansatzes im Deutschunterricht als zweite Fremdsprache liefern. Anhand von Beispielen wird zu zeigen versucht, wie das Deutschlernen und -lernen nach diesem Konzept gestaltet werden kann. Der in Google Forms zusammengestellte Online-Fragebogen<sup>3</sup> bestand aus 34 Forschungsfragen. Davon waren 21 geschlossene und 13 offene (qualitative) Fragen. Der Fragebogen enthielt unterschiedliche Fragentypen, von Kurz- und Langantworten, Ja/Nein-Fragen, Fragen mit mehreren Antworten, Bewertungstabellen usw. Was die Reihenfolge der 13 Fragentypen betrifft, wurde oft zuerst

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<sup>3</sup> Der Umfragefragebogen ist eine Zusammenstellung der bisher durchgeführten Untersuchungen nach folgenden Angaben: i) Koljanin, Ana (2020) - Diplomarbeit: „Meinungen und Einstellungen der DaF-Lernenden zur Mehrsprachigkeit“ J.-J.-Strossmayer-Universität in Osijek, Fakultät für Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften Osijek; ii) Grasz, Sabine (2017): Hilfe oder Hindernis? Meinungen finnischer Sprachstudierender über Mehrsprachigkeit als Ressource beim Deutschlernen. Zeitschrift für Interkulturellen Fremdsprachenunterricht 22: 2.“; iii) Dewaele, Jean Marc and Pavlenko, Aneta (2001-2003) Web questionnaire Bilingualism and Emotions. University of London; iv) Umfrage von KEA – Begleitstruktur für sprachliche Bildung und Förderung im Landkreis Hildesheim (2023); v) Mast, Oliver; Sachse, Steffi (2011) - „Einstellungen von Lehrkräften gegenüber Mehrsprachigkeit – Schulen mit und ohne Förderschwerpunkt Sprache in Baden-Württemberg im Vergleich.“

eine Frage gestellt, um quantitative Daten zu erheben, und, wenn nötig, unmittelbar danach eine Frage, um qualitative Daten zu erhalten. Dieses Fragemuster wiederholte sich einige Male im durchgeführten Fragebogen, da man so zunächst viele Daten sammeln konnte, die statistisch ausgewertet werden konnten. Anschließend konnte man noch zusätzlich die einzelnen Meinungen, Erfahrungen und Haltungen der Probanden ausführlicher betrachten bzw. diese interpretativ auswerten. Die Auswahl der bestimmten quantitativen und qualitativen Fragen hing mit der Forschungsfrage und dem Forschungsziel dieser Arbeit zusammen. Aussagen wurden entsprechend der gestellten Fragen gebildet. Um den Grad der Wichtigkeit bei den Befragten einzuschätzen, wurde die 5-stufige Likert-Bewertungsskala (1 – unwichtig, 2 – wenig wichtig, 3 – mäßig wichtig, 4 – wichtig und 5 – sehr wichtig) oder die 5-stufige Likert-Vereinbarungsskala verwendet (1-Ich stimme überhaupt nicht zu, 2 - Ich stimme nicht zu, 3 - Ich stimme weder zu noch widerspreche ich, 4 - Ich stimme zu und 5 - Ich stimme voll und ganz zu). Beispiele für die verwendeten Fragen, zu denen Aussagen gebildet wurden, sind: *Wie kann die Technologie den Einsatz eines mehrsprachigen Ansatzes in der Lehre erleichtern? Welche Vorteile bietet die Einbeziehung mehrsprachiger Vorlesungen in die Bildung? Wie wichtig ist Ihrer Meinung nach die Förderung der Mehrsprachigkeit im Deutschunterricht?* usw. Mit den qualitativen offenen Fragen sollten umfangreiche, ausführliche Meinungen zu dem entsprechenden Thema eingeholt werden und diese wurden in Form von offenen Fragen im Fragebogen eingesetzt. Weitere Beispiele für die qualitativen Fragen aus dem Fragebogen sind: *Welche Sprachen sprechen Ihre Schüler/innen? (Erstsprachen und Zweitsprachen)?; Welche Sprachen sprechen Sie (Erstsprachen und Zweitsprachen)?; Auf welche Hürden stoßen Ihre Schülerinnen und Schüler im Deutsch-als-Fremdsprache-Unterricht an Ihrer Schule?; Konnten Sie spezifische Probleme identifizieren, mit denen die Schüler/innen konfrontiert waren – wenn ja, welche?; Was denken Sie über die Mehrsprachigkeit? (Haben Sie eine bestimmte Idee? Ihre eigenen Erfahrungen?); Verfolgt Ihre Schule nach Ihrem Kenntnisstand ein bestimmtes Konzept für den Einsatz von Mehrsprachigkeit im Unterricht?; Beziehen Sie weitere Fremdsprachen in Ihren Deutschunterricht ein? Wenn ja, wie?; Unterrichten Sie im Unterricht verschiedene Sprachen? (Wie?); Welche Leitlinien und/oder Empfehlungen würden Sie geben, um den mehrsprachigen Ansatz im Unterricht von Deutsch als Fremdsprache zu stärken?*

#### 4. Datenanalyse, Dateninterpretation und Diskussion

Alle Teilnehmer/innen haben die Umfrage online ausgefüllt. An der Untersuchung nahmen 28 Lehrerinnen und 6 Lehrer des Deutschen als Fremdsprache in Primar- und Sekundarschulen teil (N=34) (Abbildung 1). Die Forschungsteilnehmer/innen stammen größtenteils aus der Gespanschaft Split-Dalmatien (47,05 %), sowie aus Zadar (8,82 %), Zagreb (8,82 %) und Karlovac (8,82 %). Eine keiner Anzahl kommt aus Varaždin (5,88 %), Lika-Senj (5,88 %), Dubrovnik-Neretva (2,94 %), Primorsko-Goranska (2,94 %), Istrien (2,94 %), Međimurje (2,94 %) und Osijek-Baranja (2,94 %).

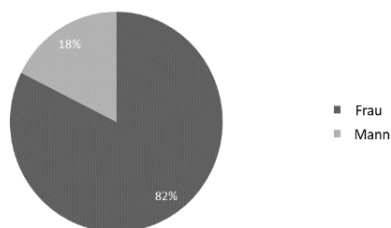


Abb. 1: Verteilung der Forschungsteilnehmer nach Geschlecht (N=34)

Alle Forschungsteilnehmer/innen absolvierten berufsbedingt ein weiterführendes Studium der deutschen Sprache in Kombination mit der kroatischen, englischen, französischen, spanischen Sprache oder Philosophie. Die Teilnehmer/innen arbeiten überwiegend in der Stadt (73,52 %), 20,58 % in den Vororten und 5,88 % auf einer Insel oder Halbinsel (Abbildung 2).

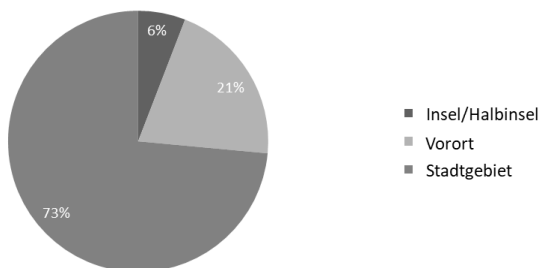


Abb. 2: Ort der Beschäftigungseinrichtung (N=34)

Tabelle 1 zeigt die Stichprobe der Teilnehmer/innen in Bezug auf die Schule, an der sie beschäftigt sind, sowie ihre Berufserfahrung. Die Mehrheit der Forschungsteilnehmer/innen arbeitet an Primarschulen (82,35 %) und verfügt über weniger als 16 Jahre Berufserfahrung (61,76 %) (Tabelle 1).

		N	%
Arbeitsplatz	Primarschule	23	82.35
	Sekundarschule	11	17.64
Berufserfahrung (Jahre)	0-15 Jahr	21	61.76
	>15 Jahr	13	38.24

Tabelle 1: Beschreibende Daten der Befragten (N=34)

Die Analyse der erhaltenen Antworten der Teilnehmer/innen zeigt, dass die Mehrheit der Lehrkräfte der Ansicht ist, dass die Verwendung eines mehrsprachigen Ansatzes im Unterricht von Deutsch als Fremdsprache für die Entwicklung der Kommunikationsfähigkeiten der *Schüler/innen* unerlässlich ist (97,1 %), und die Verwendung eines solchen mehrsprachigen Ansatzes im Unterricht für die Nachhaltigkeit entscheidend ist (93,5%). DaF-Lehrkräfte nutzen in ihrem Unterricht häufig oder sehr häufig einen mehrsprachigen Ansatz (41,2 %). Alle von ihnen unterrichteten *Schüler/innen* sprechen Englisch (100 %), 61,76 % von ihnen sprechen Deutsch, 14,7 % Italienisch, 8,8 % Französisch und 5,8 % Spanisch. Darüber hinaus spricht die Mehrheit der Lehrkräfte neben Deutsch auch Englisch (100 %), 14,7 % Französisch, 14,7 % Italienisch, 2,9 % Polnisch und 2,9 % Spanisch. Die Lehrkräfte gehen davon aus, dass die *Schüler/innen* im Deutsch-als-Fremdsprache-Unterricht auf mehrere Schwierigkeiten stoßen, von denen die meisten organisatorischer Natur sind. Gemeint ist damit vor allem der Unterricht, der fast immer nach der sechsten Schulstunde stattfindet, dann der Blockunterricht oder der Zusammenschluss von Gruppen aus verschiedenen Klassen. Darüber hinaus glauben sie, dass die *Schüler/innen* nicht ausreichend mit der Sprache vertraut sind, was es ihnen erschwert, grammatikalische Strukturen zu beherrschen. Zusätzlich zu diesen Problemen kommt der ungünstige Status der Fremdsprache als Wahlfach hinzu, weshalb viele *Schüler/innen* den Unterricht nicht ernst nehmen, häufig abbrechen und Schwierigkeiten mit der Grammatik haben, die für sie schwer zu verstehen ist.

Einige spezifische Probleme, die von Lehrkräften identifiziert wurden und mit denen *Schüler/innen* konfrontiert sind, sind:

- Für Schüler/innen ist es schwierig, sich schriftlich und mündlich in der deutschen Sprache auszudrücken, da sie nicht mit der deutschen Sprache vertraut sind.
- Durch unzureichenden Umgang mit der deutschen Sprache leidet das Hörverstehen erheblich.
- Für die Schüler/innen ist es schwierig, bestimmte Laute auszusprechen, da sie schon seit frühester Zeit nur Englisch hören.
- Unter dem Einfluss des Englischen machen sie in der deutschen Sprache immer die gleichen Fehler, zum Beispiel verwenden sie bekommen (nach dem englischen receive).
- Wenn die Lerneinheit komplexer ist, geben die Schüler/innen auf.
- Für Schüler/innen ist es problematisch, gleichzeitig auf verschiedene Aspekte der Sprache zu achten (Aussprache, Schreiben, Grammatik).

In ihrem Unterricht nutzen die Lehrkräfte am häufigsten alle verfügbaren Materialien (52,9 %), gefolgt von Multimedia (Smartboard, PPT, Videounterricht, andere digitale Tools) mit 26,5 %. Lehrwerke und Lehrerhandbücher (andere gedruckte Medien) werden von 17,6 % der Lehrkräfte verwendet, während nur 2,9 % der Lehrkräfte die Tafel benutzen (Abbildung 3).

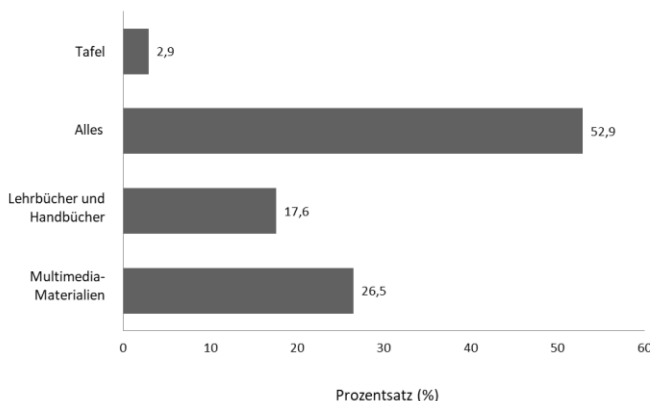


Abb. 3: Einsatz von Lehrmaterialien im Deutschunterricht

Die DaF-Lehrkräfte, die an der Untersuchung teilgenommen haben, wurden auch gefragt, was sie persönlich über Mehrsprachigkeit denken. Alle Teilnehmer/innen sind der Meinung, dass Mehrsprachigkeit ein

äußerst wichtiger Gesichtspunkt ist, d. h. sie unterstützen es und halten es für nützlich und notwendig. Zudem betonen sie, dass dies eine wichtige Fähigkeit und Schlüsselkompetenz ist, insbesondere für die kroatische Region, da der Tourismus ein wichtiger Wirtschaftszweig in der Republik Kroatien ist. Die Lehrkräfte sind überzeugt, dass die Zukunft unseres Landes Mehrsprachigkeit erfordert. Laut den Lehrkräften sollte der Schwerpunkt auf dem Erlernen einer zweiten Fremdsprache bereits in einem früheren Alter liegen und nicht erst ab der vierten Klasse, wie es in den meisten Grundschulen der Fall ist. Nach den Erkenntnissen der an der Untersuchung beteiligten Lehrkräfte verfolgen die Schulen, an denen sie arbeiten, kein einheitliches Konzept für den Einsatz von Mehrsprachigkeit im Unterricht. Einige von ihnen glauben, dass dies teilweise geschieht, beispielsweise durch das Angebot von drei Fremdsprachen in der Schule, die Förderung und Mitarbeit bei internationalen Projekten usw.

Was die Fähigkeit der Lehrkräfte angeht, mit der Mehrsprachigkeit ihrer *Schüler/innen* im Deutschunterricht umzugehen, so gibt die Mehrheit der Lehrkräfte an, dies mäßig zu bewältigen (44,1 %). 23,5 % kommen problemlos damit zurecht, 20,6 % haben Schwierigkeiten damit und 11,8 % empfinden sehr große Schwierigkeiten (Abbildung 4).

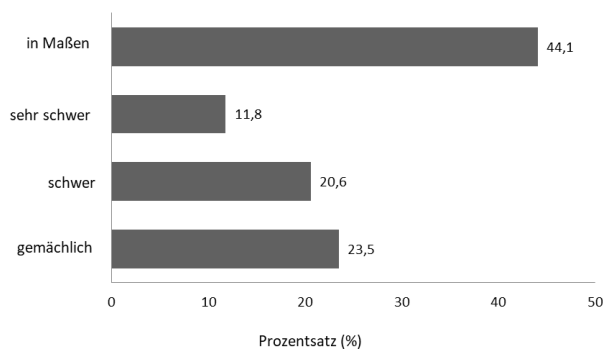


Abb. 4: Umgang mit der Mehrsprachigkeit ihrer *Schüler/innen* im Deutschunterricht

Darüber hinaus integrieren die meisten Lehrkräfte weitere Fremdsprachen in den Deutschunterricht (97%), überwiegend Englisch, Kroatisch und Französisch. Sie tun dies, indem sie Ausdrücke und grammatische Strukturen in verschiedenen Sprachen vergleichen.

Beim Grammatiklernen vergleichen sie beispielsweise die Regeln in Englisch und Deutsch. Außerdem erinnern sich *Schüler/innen* oft leichter an die Bedeutung eines deutschen Ausdrucks oder Wortes, wenn es ins Englische übersetzt wird. Hierbei ist das Verständnis der Didaktik der Mehrsprachigkeit<sup>4</sup> unerlässlich. Das bedeutet, dass die „Mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktik eine Möglichkeit des Umgangs mit mehrsprachigen Kompetenzen in sprachlichen Fächern darstellt. Sie bezeichnet den Unterricht eines Sprachfachs, bei dem die Kompetenzen der Lerngruppe in anderen Sprachen und ihre Sprachlernerfahrungen bewusst einbezogen werden.“ (vgl. Hu 2010, 1). Ferner gibt es Lehrkräfte, die anhand von Beispielen aus der polnischen Sprache aufzeigen, dass Deutsch im Vergleich zu slawischen Sprachen nicht so schwierig ist. Neuerdings wird auch ein Vergleich mit der ukrainischen Sprache einbezogen, da immer mehr *Schüler/innen* aus der Ukraine kommen. Insgesamt 20,8 % der an der Untersuchung beteiligten Lehrkräfte unterrichten im Unterricht keine weiteren Sprachen. Wer unterrichtet, hat in der Regel jeweils zwei Wahlsprachen oder unterrichtet Englisch als Pflichtfach und Deutsch als Wahlfach. In der Untersuchung wurden die DaF-Lehrkräfte gefragt, ob sie mit dem Konzept des Sprachbewusstseins vertraut sind. Insgesamt 85 % der Lehrkräfte kennen das Konzept der Sprachbewusstheit (Abbildung 5).

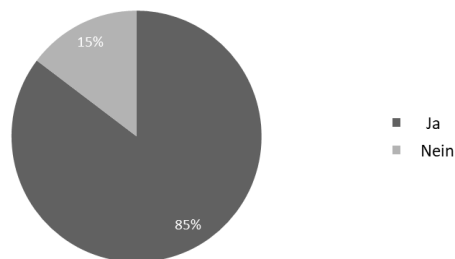


Abb. 5: Kennen Sie das Konzept der Sprachbewusstheit?

<sup>4</sup> Demzufolge betrachten Lehrkräfte Mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktik als etwas Zusätzliches, das der „Abarbeitung von Lehrbuchlektionen“ untergeordnet ist (vgl. u. a. Behr 2007, 161)

Des Weiteren halten Lehrkräfte es für sehr wichtig bzw. wichtig, die Mehrsprachigkeit im Deutschunterricht zu fördern (91,2 %) (Abbildung 6).

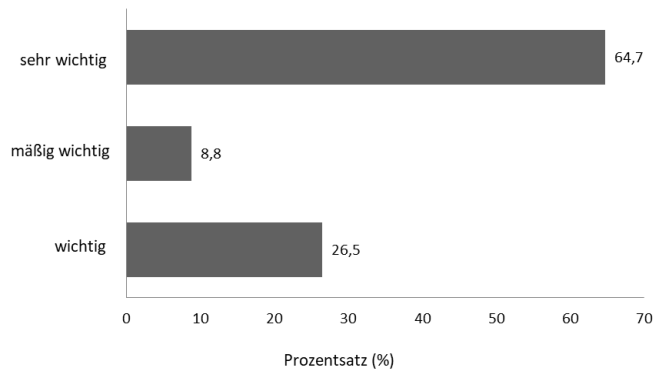


Abb. 6: Wie wichtig ist die Bedeutung der Förderung von Mehrsprachigkeit im Deutschunterricht?

Abbildung 7 zeigt die Ergebnisse im Zusammenhang mit dem Bewusstsein für die Problematik der Mehrsprachigkeit. Die Mehrheit der Lehrkräfte ist sich des Problems der Mehrsprachigkeit bewusst (44,1 %) oder glaubt, mit den Schwierigkeiten der Mehrsprachigkeit vertraut zu sein (44,1 %). Nur 11,8 % von ihnen sind der Ansicht, dass sie damit nicht vertraut sind (Abbildung 7).

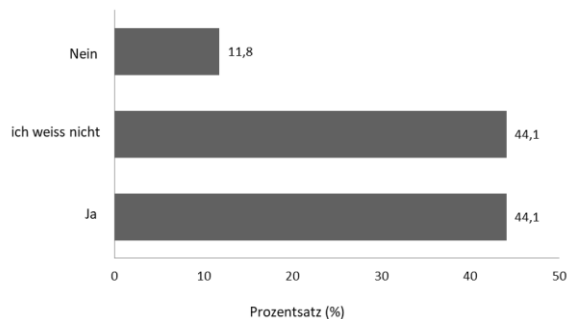


Abb. 7: Kenntnis über die Problematik der Mehrsprachigkeit

Der Einsatz eines mehrsprachigen Ansatzes erfordert eine gewisse Kompetenz. Die Lehrkräfte bewerteten ihre eigene Kompetenz auf einer Skala von 1 bis 5 und die Mehrheit von ihnen ist der Meinung, dass sie sehr gut (32,4 %) oder ausgezeichnet (38,2 %) ist. (Abbildung 8).

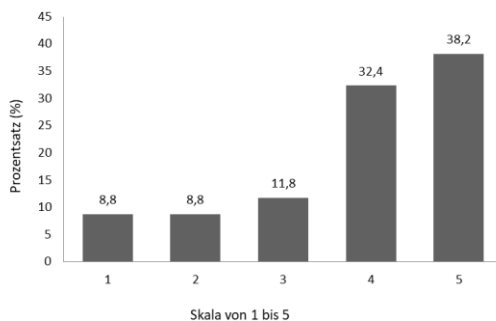


Abb.8: Kompetenzbewertung

Tabelle 2 listet die Hauptprobleme auf, mit denen Lehrkräfte konfrontiert sind. Die Hauptprobleme bei der Arbeit mit einem mehrsprachigen Ansatz im Unterricht bestehen darin, dass den Lehrkräften nicht genügend Zeit bleibt, sich im Bereich der mehrsprachigen Didaktik weiterzuentwickeln (29,41 %), und dass die Schule nur eine geringe Anzahl von *Schüler/innen* hat, die andere Fremdsprachen sprechen. Darin liegt das Problem der Verwendung eines mehrsprachigen Ansatzes (26,47 %). Erfahrene Lehrkräfte (>15 Dienstjahre) nennen folgende Hauptprobleme: Mangel an Zeit für die Weiterbildung, Unsicherheit der Lehrkräfte bei der Einführung eines mehrsprachigen Ansatzes im Unterricht, eine geringere Anzahl von *Schüler/innen*, die andere Sprachen sprechen, und ein Mangel an multimedialen Unterrichtsräumen. Jüngere Lehrkräfte betonen hingegen stärker, dass ihre unzureichenden Kenntnisse ein größeres Problem darstellen als der mehrsprachige Ansatz selbst (75 %) (Tabelle 2).

	Total N %	Primar	Sekunda r	0-15	>15
- Den Lehrkräften fehlt die Zeit, sich im Bereich der	10 29.41%	50%	50%	40%	60%

Mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktik weiter zu bilden.						
-Den Lehrkräften fehlt es an ausreichenden Kenntnissen über den Einsatz eines mehrsprachigen Ansatzes im Unterricht.	4	11.76%	25%	75%	75%	25%
-Ein mehrsprachiger didaktischer Ansatz erfordert eine andere Form der Lehrrolle, was bei Lehrkräften zu Unsicherheit bei der Einführung eines mehrsprachigen Ansatzes im Unterricht führen kann.	6	17.64%	33.3%	66.7%	16.6%	83.4%
-Die Schule hat nur wenige Schüler/innen, die andere Fremdsprachen sprechen	9	26.47%	33.3%	66.7%	33.3%	66.7%
-Für die Einführung des mehrsprachigen Unterrichts verfügt die Schule nicht über ausreichende multimediale Unterrichtsräume.	5	14.70%	0%	100%	20%	80%

Tabelle 2. Probleme bei der Arbeit mit einem mehrsprachigen Ansatz im Unterricht für Lehrkräfte

Tabelle 3 zeigt die Übereinstimmungen mit einzelnen Aussagen zu den Vorteilen der Einbeziehung mehrerer Sprachen in den Unterricht. Bezüglich der Schulen, an denen die Lehrkräfte arbeiten, gibt es keine Unterschiede in den einzelnen Aussagen ( $Z_1=-0,4$ ;  $Z_2=-0,31$ ;  $Z_3=-0,11$ ;  $Z_4=-1,41$ ;  $Z_5=-0,68$ ;  $Z_6=-0,20$ ;  $Z_7=0,00$ ;  $Z_8=-0,01$ ;  $Z_9=-0,07$ ;  $P<0,05$  für alle Aussagen). Auch hinsichtlich der Zustimmung zu bestimmten Aussagen in Bezug auf die Berufserfahrung sind keine Unterschiede festzustellen.

	<b>Ich stimme vollkommen zu %</b>	<b>Ich stimme zu %</b>	<b>Unentschlossen sein %</b>
- Die Einbeziehung mehrerer Sprachen in den Unterricht bietet zahlreiche Vorteile und bereichert das Lernerlebnis erheblich.	70.58	26.47	2.94
- Die Einbeziehung mehrerer Sprachen in den Unterricht erfordert eine sorgfältige Planung, um einen reibungslosen Sprachübergang zu gewährleisten und die Unterrichtsqualität aufrechtzuerhalten.	61.76	32.35	5.88
- Mehrsprachigkeit erkennt den Reichtum der Erfahrungen der Schüler/innen an und fördert folglich eine integrative Lernumgebung.	67.64	26.47	5.88
- Indem Lehrkräfte ihren Unterricht in mehreren Sprachen halten, berücksichtigen sie die unterschiedlichen Sprachkenntnisse der Schüler/innen und verbessern so das Verständnis und das Engagement.	61.76	35.29	2.94
- Durch die Einführung eines mehrsprachigen Unterrichtsansatzes ermöglichen Lehrkräfte ihren Schülern/innen nicht nur, sich in einer vernetzten Welt zu entfalten, sondern auch hervorragende Leistungen zu erbringen, indem sie Sprachunterschiede voll und ganz annehmen und berücksichtigen.	61.72	35.29	2.94

- Mehrsprachiger Unterricht ist ein wirksames Instrument zur Verbesserung der Inklusion und Zugänglichkeit in Lernumgebungen und zum Abbau von Barrieren für Schüler/innen mit unterschiedlichem sprachlichem Hintergrund.	67.64	29.41	2.94
- Der Umgang mit mehreren Sprachen führt zu erheblichen kognitiven Vorteilen, indem die Anpassungsfähigkeit des Gehirns genutzt und verschiedene geistige Fähigkeiten verbessert werden können.	64.70	32.35	2.94
- Mehrsprachiger Unterricht kann als Input für interkulturelles Verständnis dienen und fördert globale Perspektiven.	64.70	35.29	0

Tabelle 3. Vorteile der Einbeziehung mehrsprachiger Vorlesungen in die Bildung

Bei der Durchführung eines mehrsprachigen Unterrichts stehen Lehrkräfte vor unterschiedlichen Herausforderungen. Die meisten empfinden die Verfügbarkeit von Ressourcen, zeitliche Begrenzungen, pädagogisches Fachwissen und technische Infrastruktur als besonders herausfordernd. Die Analyse der Antworten der Befragten zeigt, dass die Forschungsteilnehmer/innen glauben, dass sich Lehrkräfte durch Sprachkenntnisse (41,17 %), interaktive Aktivitäten (20,58 %), pädagogische Ausbildung (17,64 %), kulturelle Sensibilität (8,82 %) und die Verwendung einer Mehrsprachigkeit im Unterricht besser auf den Unterricht vorbereiten und eine förderliche Lernumgebung schaffen können. Laut 58,52 % der Befragten ist die mehrsprachige Bildungspolitik beim Unterrichten von Deutsch als Fremdsprache wirksam, während 11,76 % der Meinung sind, dass sie nicht wirksam ist. Darüber hinaus glauben sie, dass eine mehrsprachige Bildungspolitik in der Sekundarschulbildung effektiver ist (41,17 %), während 26,47 % der Meinung sind, dass sie in der Grundschulbildung effektiver ist. Unter diesem Gesichtspunkt kann die These der Autorin Hufeisen (2011) weiterverfolgt werden, d. h. man braucht einen sog. „planerischen Rahmen, in dem die VertreterInnen der jeweiligen Sprachen (z. B. die

Lehrkräfte) untereinander kommunizieren und die VertreterInnen der Sprachen- und Sachfächer miteinander arbeiten können“ (vgl. Hufeisen 2011, 265). Als Leitlinien bzw. Empfehlungen zur Stärkung des mehrsprachigen Ansatzes im Deutschunterricht nennen Lehrkräfte die Ausbildung und Kenntnis mehrerer Fremdsprachen. Über eine didaktische Umsetzung der Mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktik haben auch die Autoren Reich und Krumm (2013) geschrieben. Darüber hinaus könnten folgende Leitlinien in Betracht gezogen werden: die Schaffung der technischen Voraussetzungen und der multimedialen Ausstattung der Schulen, die Fortbildung in der Methodik der Mehrsprachigkeit, die Erhöhung des Stundensatzes im Unterricht sowie die Einführung mindestens einer zusätzlichen Fremdsprache als Pflichtfach in der Primarstufe. Man könnte feststellen, dass eine „Bildungspolitische Verankerung nötig wäre“ (vgl. Bredthauer 2018, 275).

### 5. Schlussfolgerungen

In diesem Beitrag wurden die Einstellungen kroatischer DaF-Lehrkräfte zur Mehrsprachigkeit untersucht.

Es muss erwähnt werden, dass diese Forschung als Beispiel für eine umfassendere Einführung von Leitlinien an kroatischen Schulen dienen kann. Ziel der Forschung war es das Bewusstsein für den mehrsprachigen Ansatz bei den an der Studie teilnehmenden Lehrkräften zu stärken. Die Untersuchung ergab, dass die Mehrheit der Lehrkräfte davon überzeugt ist, dass die Verwendung eines mehrsprachigen Ansatzes im Unterricht von Deutsch als Fremdsprache für die Entwicklung der kommunikativen Kompetenz der *Schüler/innen* von wesentlicher Bedeutung ist. Die Forschungsdaten deuten darauf hin, dass Lehrkräfte in ihrem Unterricht oft oder sehr oft einen mehrsprachigen Ansatz verwenden, dass jedoch Weiterbildung aus der *Sicht bildungspolitischer* Akteure weiterhin erforderlich ist. Angesichts der Ergebnisse gehen die Lehrkräfte davon aus, dass die *Schüler/innen* beim Unterrichten von Deutsch als Fremdsprache mit mehreren Schwierigkeiten konfrontiert sind, die meist organisatorischer Natur sind. Zu diesen Problemen kommt noch der ungünstige Status der Fremdsprache als Wahlfach hinzu, wodurch die *Schüler/innen* den Unterricht nicht ernst nehmen, häufig abbrechen und Schwierigkeiten mit der Grammatik haben, die für sie schwer zu verstehen ist. Eine der wichtigsten Empfehlungen besteht darin, den Schwerpunkt auf das Erlernen einer zweiten Fremdsprache bereits in einem früheren Alter zu legen, anstatt erst ab der vierten Klasse, wie es in den meisten Grundschulen der Fall ist. Die Untersuchung ergab, dass die meisten Lehrkräfte mit dem Konzept der Sprachbewusstheit vertraut sind und es

als wichtig erachten, Mehrsprachigkeit im Unterricht von Deutsch als zweiter Fremdsprache zu vermitteln. Sie sind der Meinung, dass dieses Problem nicht ausreichend erforscht ist. Die Untersuchung ergab, dass die Hauptprobleme bei der Arbeit mit einem mehrsprachigen Ansatz im Unterricht darin bestehen, dass die Lehrkräfte nicht genügend Zeit haben, sich im Bereich der mehrsprachigen Didaktik weiterzubilden, und dass die Schule nur eine geringe Anzahl von *Schülern/innen* hat, die andere Fremdsprachen sprechen. Diese Faktoren erschweren die Umsetzung eines mehrsprachigen Ansatzes. Da an der Befragung DaF-Lehrkräfte unterschiedlichen Alters teilnahmen, gaben einige ältere Lehrkräfte an, dass es für sie schwierig sei, Mehrsprachigkeit im Unterricht einzuführen, da sie keine Erfahrung damit haben und keine entsprechende Weiterbildung abgeschlossen hätten. Die Untersuchung hat gezeigt, dass Technologie die Bereitstellung und das Verständnis eines mehrsprachigen Unterrichts erleichtern kann. Nach Ansicht der Lehrkräfte trifft dies besonders auf interaktive Sprachübungen und mehrsprachige Lernplattformen zu. Die Lehrkräfte glauben außerdem, dass sie sich durch Sprachkenntnisse, interaktive Aktivitäten, pädagogische Ausbildung, kulturelle Sensibilität und die Verwendung eines mehrsprachigen Wörterbuchs auf die Durchführung eines Unterrichts in mehreren Sprachen vorbereiten können. Als Leitlinien bzw. Empfehlungen zur Stärkung des mehrsprachigen Ansatzes im Deutschunterricht nennen die Lehrkräfte die Notwendigkeit von Weiterbildungen und die Kenntnisse mehrerer Fremdsprachen. Weitere Empfehlungen umfassen die Schaffung technischer Rahmenbedingungen und die multimediale Ausstattung der Schule, implizite Weiterbildung in der Didaktik der Mehrsprachigkeit, die Erhöhung des Stundensatzes im Unterricht sowie die Einführung mindestens einer weiteren Fremdsprache als Pflichtfach in der Grundschule. Diese Maßnahmen könnten als Leitlinien für eine Veränderung des Schulcurriculums dienen.

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### ATTITUDES OF CROATIAN TEACHERS OF GERMAN AS FOREIGN LANGUAGE REGARDING MULTILINGUALISM IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING

Multilingualism plays a vital role in the educational system. Accordingly, the promotion of multilingualism is one of the main tasks of the Commission of the European Communities. Research on the educational aspect of multilingualism has grown in the last twenty years, and has become a norm in the context of EU classrooms. Thus, the importance of developing multilingualism of each individual has been emphasized in foreign language didactics. From the psycholinguistic standpoint, learners do not learn lexical items of a new language in isolation, but rather by connecting them with those they already know from their native or already existing foreign languages. In other words, multilingual learners do not only use the linguistic knowledge of the L1 and L2, but also the existing mental representations to establish connections which will

help in processing new information from the L3. Various linguistic and extralinguistic factors (knowledge of other languages, previous experience in language learning, learning strategies, interlanguage, etc.) are important when learning the first, the second, and the third language, creating a complex network of factors, which significantly influence the learning of each subsequent language (Hufeisen 2011). Therefore, a multilingual learner develops a multilingual competence, described as the ability to appropriately and effectively use multiple languages, i.e. at least two languages in addition to the L1. Since the Croatian education system only requires German as a foreign language in secondary and not in primary schools, German foreign language teachers need to develop and strengthen the awareness of the importance of a multilingual approach in teaching.

According to the Association for Language Awareness, language awareness refers to explicit language knowledge, and conscious perception and sensitivity in language learning, language teaching and language use. For example, language awareness issues include research into the positive effects of mastering a foreign language, awareness of the way in which individual languages function, and the ways in which people learn and use them. In accordance with the above explanation, the present study examined the attitudes of German foreign language teachers towards multilingualism and language awareness. The empirical study was carried out in Croatian schools from October to November 2023. A total of 28 GFL teachers from primary school and 6 GFL teachers in secondary school participated in the study. The purpose was twofold — on the one hand, to examine awareness of the importance of a systematic multilingual approach in teaching, and on the other hand, to obtain possible guidelines for improving the multilingual approach in teaching German as a second foreign language. The European Union has declared multilingualism to be an important goal for all member states, aiming to protect language diversity and to teach foreign languages. The Common European Framework of Reference for languages regulates and requires multilingual language competence in Europe. Accordingly, multilingualism is one of the eight key competencies necessary for personal development, a healthy and sustainable lifestyle, employability, active citizenship, and social inclusion. There are numerous theoretical concepts about how teachers “should” deal with linguistic and cultural diversity in the classroom, which are taught to future teachers during their undergraduate and graduate studies. Many contemporary scientific studies have confirmed the positive effects of a multilingual learning approach on children's overall development. A growing number of learners have developed linguistic skills in several languages in different formal and informal contexts. In addition to the neural and cognitive advantages, the linguistic pragmatic aspect must not be neglected. Research has shown that multilingual speakers have a more refined view of the world in general.

From the perspective of the information and media society, linguists and educators often raise questions about the role of innovative media in the development of multilingual competence. The Internet offers direct linguistic

exchange in different languages. Thus, the number of bilingual and multilingual blogs and chats is constantly increasing, and users consciously mix languages or switch back and forth between languages. News, movies, art, and literature also make use of new media and thus keep the multilingual resources advantageously in language teaching. It is important to give learners the opportunities to use all the familiar languages and thus develop them further through constant use. This plays an important factor in the acquisition of language skills.

A huge number of research studies have proven that multilingualism goes hand in hand with improved multitasking skills. Using multiple languages requires a heightened ability for task-switching and cognitive control. This cognitive dexterity goes beyond language-related activities and positively impacts various aspects of their daily lives. Moreover, research suggests that multilingual individuals may also experience delays in the onset of age-related cognitive decline, including diseases such as Alzheimer's (Triulzi et al. 2023).

The pedagogical translanguaging approach displays guidelines on how teachers can actively and noticeably include various languages and value the different cultural backgrounds of their learners, including strategically planned activities for teaching German as a foreign language. In other words, through this approach, multilingual learners will reflect on their entire previous linguistic knowledge and consciously use the acquired knowledge to further learning processes. Also, contact with several languages from an early age has a significant impact on the course of a learner's first language acquisition. Growing up in a multilingual environment provides a unique linguistic richness that impacts various aspects of language development. The cognitive benefits, including improved problem-solving skills and improved multitasking abilities, highlight the valuable intellectual benefits associated with multilingualism. As the global landscape continues to emphasize the interconnectedness of cultures and languages, the role of multilingual individuals will become increasingly important, contributing not only to personal development but also to fostering intercultural understanding and collaboration. The importance of multilingualism as an educational requirement and the demand to develop multilingualism as an educational goal is researched and reflected in very different academic disciplines.

GFL teachers who want to use and promote multilingual resources for their students should take into account that the skills in different languages constantly change over time and due to different needs and circumstances. Language transfer is a key concept for understanding how exposure to multiple languages influences first language acquisition. It refers to the process where knowledge or skills from one language influence the learning or the use of another language. In the context of first language acquisition, this can be expressed by the inclusion of grammatical structures or vocabulary from other languages that are present in the individual's environment. For example, a child who speaks both English and Spanish may demonstrate language transfer by integrating Spanish grammatical structures into their English language. Language transfer is a natural and adaptive process that reflects the child's

attempt to understand the linguistic input he / she receives. Thus, it does not indicate confusion but rather highlights the child's ability to recognize patterns and apply them to the existing linguistic repertoire. Cases of interlingualism, where a child combines elements from multiple languages, are common. Understanding these processes is critical for educators and parents to provide appropriate support and ensure a positive impact on language development. Moreover, exposure to multiple languages during early development enriches the process of initial language acquisition. It offers a diverse linguistic basis and shapes a more differentiated understanding of the language. While the concept of language transfer presents challenges, it reflects the dynamic and adaptive nature of language acquisition in multilingual environments and ultimately contributes to cognitive flexibility and linguistic versatility.

The conducted research for the purpose of the present study examined the attitudes of German foreign language teachers with regard to the concept of multilingualism. Knowledge of teachers' beliefs and attitudes is important for understanding their decision-making in the classroom. Despite the fact that teachers play an extremely important role in promoting learners' multilingualism, research on teachers' beliefs and attitudes, as well as theoretical knowledge on multilingualism and multilingual pedagogical approaches is relatively rare. The online questionnaire consisted of 34 research questions. 21 were closed and 13 were open (qualitative) questions. The questionnaire contained different types of questions, from short and long answers, yes/no questions, multiple answer questions, rating tables, etc. The selection of questions depended on the aimed goal. The qualitative questions aimed to obtain comprehensive, detailed attitudes on the relevant topic and these were used in the form of open questions in the questionnaire. The questions were as follows: How can technology facilitate the use of a multilingual approach to teaching? What are the benefits of incorporating multilingual lectures into education? How important is the promotion of multilingualism in German lessons? Which languages do your students speak? (first language and second languages)? Which languages do you speak (first language and second languages)? What hurdles do learners encounter in teaching German as a foreign language at your school? Were you able to identify specific problems that the learners faced — if so, which ones? What do you think about multilingualism? etc. It is worth mentioning that the obtained results and corresponding conclusions might serve as input for further research, offering possible guidelines for a more successful integration of the concept of multilingualism in Croatian schools. An important goal of the research was to raise awareness of the importance of promoting a multilingual approach among the teachers who participated in this research. The research results point to the conclusion that the majority of teachers believe that using a multilingual approach in teaching German as a foreign language is essential for the development of learners' communication and intercultural skills. It is interesting to point out that teachers often or very often implement a multilingual approach in their teaching. However, further training is still needed from the perspective of the education policy. Given the results, teachers

assume that students face several difficulties when learning German as a foreign language, most of which are of an organizational nature. Teachers paid special attention to the unfavourable status of German as a foreign language, being an optional subject (that is very often held as a last lesson when learners are tired), resulting in a lowered learners' motivation. Very often learners do not take the lessons seriously, often drop out, perceiving the grammatical features as more difficult. One of the most important recommendations of this study is the focus on learning German as a second foreign language at an earlier age, rather than starting in fourth grade, as it is the case in most primary schools. The research found that most teachers are familiar with the concept of language multilingualism and the importance of early language learning. This is also highlighted in the Council recommendation on high-quality early childhood education. The teachers also believe that the issue of multilingualism is insufficiently explored. The main problems for teachers working with a multilingual approach to teaching are insufficient time for systematic training in the field of multilingual didactics and the fact that only a small number of learners speak foreign languages other than English. Since teachers of different ages took part in the study (with different teaching experience in language teaching), younger teachers claimed that it was difficult for them to introduce multilingualism in the classroom because they had no experience and had not completed any further training.

The research has also shown that the use of technology can make multilingual classroom activities easier and more successful to deliver and understand. According to the teachers' attitudes, this particularly applies to interactive language exercises and multilingual learning platforms. The teachers also agreed that teachers can prepare to deliver lessons in multiple languages using interactive activities, through pedagogical training, cultural sensitivity, and the use of a multilingual dictionary. Teachers mentioned further training and knowledge of several foreign languages as guidelines or recommendations for strengthening the multilingual approach in German lessons. In addition, teachers also listed the following elements as essential in promoting multiculturalism in the classroom and curriculum change: enabling technical framework conditions and the school's multimedia equipment, implicit further training in the didactics of multilingualism, increasing the number of German language classes, introducing at least one additional foreign language as a compulsory subject in primary school. 58.52 % of the teachers stated that the multilingual education policy effectively promotes German as a foreign language, while 11.76 % of the participants stated that the policy is ineffective. Furthermore, the multilingual education policy is more effective in secondary education (41.17 %), while 26.47 % of the participants stated that the policy is more effective in primary education. It is necessary to emphasize that the absolute majority of all surveyed teachers agreed that using a multilingual approach is essential for developing learners' communication skills. However, there is still a need for further professional development and structured implementation strategies to enhance multilingual teaching practices. Beyond raising awareness of the importance of a multilingual

approach in education, the study also provides recommendations for improving multilingual teaching strategies in German as a second foreign language. These findings may serve as a basis for developing training programs aimed at equipping teachers with the necessary skills to foster a more effective multilingual learning environment. Further research is suggested to explore specific challenges faced by teachers and to assess the impact of proposed multilingual strategies in the existing teaching contexts.

**Keywords:** Multilingualism, language awareness, language transfer, language didactic implications



## **SUSPENDED BETWEEN GTM AND CLT - STUDENTS' PERCEPTION OF ESP COURSES AT THE UNIVERSITY LEVEL**

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**Abstract:** This paper presents the findings of a study aimed at assessing student perception of grammar within English for Specific Purposes (ESP) courses. A questionnaire specifically tailored to the study's objectives was distributed to respondents. The study divided respondents into two groups, one from the Faculty of Economics and the other from the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics, University of Banja Luka. The results suggest that, on average, respondents expressed satisfaction with ESP classes and held a positive perception of grammar as a specific aspect of ESP. The study concluded that ESP teachers' adaptability to students' needs can lead to overall satisfaction with ESP classes, irrespective of the field of study. However, students' field of study and their specific needs can influence their perception of grammar within ESP. These findings underscore the importance of tailoring ESP courses to address students' unique linguistic requirements within their academic discipline.

**Keywords:** ESP, GMT, CLT, grammar, students' perception

### **1. Introduction**

ESP (English for Special Purposes) has been a part of curricula at the University of Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina for several decades. Until recently, courses have centered on the idea that teaching a plethora of grammatical rules with occasional use of professional vocabulary would enable students to use English productively in their respective field upon graduation. The trend largely continues even nowadays, as the ESP curricula remain only partly revised to comply with the recent developments in ESP studies.

One of the ways to improve ESP classes is to pay careful attention to students' perception and needs. While it is not necessary to incorporate all student suggestions in the curricula, acknowledging their perspectives provides a good starting point. In line with Riley who criticized teachers and linguists for disregarding the pertinence of students' beliefs (1997: 127), we argue that students' beliefs are as important to the learning system as the teachers' role. Furthermore, students must reflect critically on their use of resources in order to develop more effective learning strategies. Students' perceptions of ESP classes are relevant for several reasons, including their motivation, learning outcomes, attitudes towards learning English, class atmosphere, teacher-students relation, and, finally, the curriculum design. By taking into account students' perceptions, the curricula we design might be more responsive and effective in meeting the learners' needs and course objectives. For ESP teachers, understanding students' perspectives is crucial in fostering an effective learning environment and maximizing course outcomes. Based on previous experiences of ESP instructors and the courses observed in this study, it could be assumed that if students' perception suggests an appreciation for explicit instructions, ESP courses might benefit from placing greater emphasis on grammar explanations and exercises. Conversely, if students tend to prefer practical applications of language over theoretical exercises, it may be more effective to prioritize activities that allow them to use language in real-life situations.

Teaching grammar in ESP classes presents a significant challenge due to the fact that students enroll these classes with different levels of language proficiency and grammar skills. Furthermore, students tend to have their own individual learning techniques and paces. It is the teacher's responsibility to select the most effective methodology and adjust it to learners' needs. The classroom focus is greatly determined by students' needs and learning objectives, but, all ESP courses incorporate a combination of communicative skills, grammar knowledge, and specialized vocabulary. Extensive experience in ESP teaching provides a strong foundation for selecting an appropriate methodology.

The problem that this paper sets out to explore is students' perception of ESP classes in terms of different grammar teaching methodologies. The aim is to gain a better understanding of the challenges students encounter in ESP classes, compare their perception of the Grammar Translation Method (GTM) and Communicative Language Teaching (CLT), and take these into account while designing curriculum. Our first hypothesis is that ESP teachers' willingness to adapt

to students' needs fosters a better classroom atmosphere and finally results in improved learning outcomes. Our second hypothesis is that the field of studying and students' needs may have an influence on their perception of grammar, as a specific aspect of ESP. It would be rather naive to think that appealing well-designed ESP course should merely consist of numerous subject-specific texts aimed at enhancing students' vocabulary. On the other hand, excessive focus on grammar rules at the expense of subject-specific vocabulary training can result in disengagement and a lack of motivation among students.

## **2. Literature review**

Halliday (1993:78) observed that "technical terms are not, in themselves, difficult to master; and students are not particularly dismayed by them. It is usually the teacher who puts technical terms in the center of the picture, because vocabulary is much more obvious and easier to talk about, than grammar". We may want to challenge his idea because ESP teachers often design their curricula in collaboration with subject-matter experts who may think that ESP classes should be centered on students' fields of study. Despite teachers' autonomy in course design, university departments prioritize their own ideas of ESP courses. As a result, ESP teachers are advised by other teaching staff that the students should learn as much professional vocabulary as possible, sometimes at the expense of grammar.

Words in isolation mean little so we suggest that learning grammar must not be neglected regardless of the chosen teaching methodology. When it comes to teaching grammar, two types of ESP courses discussed in this paper apply either a deductive or inductive approach to language teaching, which is why we wanted to see whether the outcomes are equal from the students' perspective solely. Richard et al. (2000: 146) define deductive learning (explicit) as "an approach to language teaching in which learners are taught rules and given specific information about a language. They then apply these rules when they use the language." One such method, associated with GTM, is used in one of the ESP courses, making use of the principles of deductive learning. On the other hand, Richard et al. (2000: 146) describe inductive learning (implicit) or learning by induction, as a process where learners are not taught grammatical or other types of rules directly but are left to discover or induce rules from their experience of language use. This approach, characteristic of CLT, is adopted in the second ESP course discussed here.

### **3. Why is students' perspective pertinent to begin with?**

In order to answer this question, we shall agree with Servet et al. who note that "in spite of the high level of importance placed on English language learning, not all students have internalized the connection between English ability and success in their future careers" (2018: 245). The truth is that during their early academic years students still have difficulty in recognizing the relevance of English proficiency in the labor market. What they fail to recognize is how crucial it is to acquire language skills in order to advance in their respective fields.

The relevance of students' perception has been widely recognized as a pertinent part of curriculum design. Syvak examined students' perceptions of grammar in ESP courses and suggested that correct grammar usage was a prerequisite for effective communication (2018: 52). We should agree with the author, adding that curriculum designers must also take into account students' varying proficiency levels which influence the necessary level of assistance in terms of grammar. Arnó-Macià et al. (2020: 72) investigated students' perceptions of the role of ESP courses and found that "ESP teachers can base their course design decisions on empirical evidence gained from tailored needs analyses instead of teacher intuition." They make a good point but teacher intuition, or better to say pedagogical experience in ESP classes, may be regarded as valuable addendum in curriculum design. Another interesting finding was reached by Kankaanranta and Louhiala-Salminen (2010:207) who examined ESP perceptions of Business English as Lingua Franca (BELF) users only to discover that their informants thought that "knowledge of grammar was clearly less important than knowledge of particular genres of their own business area". What is interesting is that students focused on vocabulary, believing it would be sufficient to meet their communication needs. This is noteworthy because traditional foreign language instruction, even from the earliest levels, emphasizes grammar and the mastery of its rules as essential for accurate expression. Their preference suggests that, in certain professional contexts, communicative effectiveness and domain-specific terminology may take precedence over strict grammatical accuracy.

In addition, other studies on students' perception focusing on learning grammar and using different methodologies have reached contradictory findings. Despite the bulk of ESP studies on different grammar teaching methods, there seem to be a disagreement over whether one method surpasses another or they should be combined in order to meet students' needs. According to Chia et al., the widely used Grammar Translation Method fails in some aspects of ESP teaching such as oral skills (1999:116). In another study, Ismail examined students'

perception of the “CCCC” grammar model (confrontation, clarification, confirmation and consolidation) and found that the attitudes after the exposure to the model were positive (2010: 153). Fereidoni et al. (2018: 312) investigated students’ attitudes towards GTM (Grammar Translation Method) and CLT (Communicative Language Teaching) among medical students in Iran and their study suggested that students did not have any positive attitudes toward CLT method in university context. Vannestål and Lindquist (2007: 344) found that “most students are so used to reading about grammar rules before they see examples that it can take a lot of time and practice for them to understand how they should think when faced with a concordance list of authentic examples, from which they are supposed to extract rules of language usage”. One of the reasons why informants in these studies preferred the Grammar Translation Method could lie in the fact that they were already accustomed to it. Namely, teachers who are accustomed to applying one grammar teaching method may encounter difficulties when attempting to implement another method in their classes. In addition, students from our study also learned grammar through GMT which has traditionally been taught at schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Nowadays, it is a teacher’s choice whether they will combine GTM and CLT in their classes. Another explanation may be found in Chen’s study (2016:617) in which he inferred that “when learners cannot understand the meaning of a complicated sentence, they need to analyze the sentence structure, the functions and interrelation of sentence components in order to comprehend the sentence”. In other words, students may need explicit grammar clarifications regardless of the method used, as they may fail to elicit their own conclusions. Another study supporting GTM was conducted by Weisi who found that “explicit teaching of grammar improved the comprehension of reading ESP text” (2012:156). Still, the author exercised caution, stating that:

The effect may be short term rather than long term; that is, in the long run the effect of explicit teaching of grammar may be diminished and students no longer take resort from knowledge of grammar achieved via explicit teaching of grammar. (ibid)

An interesting conclusion was reached by Pazaver and Wang (2009: 34) whose informants stated that “grammar instructions were helpful in the past, but once they reached certain level of language proficiency they no longer needed explicit grammar instructions”. This is precisely

one of the reasons why GMT and CLT might work best when combined or at least taught depending on the students' proficiency.

#### **4. Methodology**

The study included 21 students from the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics (14 from Mathematics and 7 from the Chemistry), as well as 18 students from the Faculty of Economics, all enrolled in the Business Economics study program. All students had varying levels of English proficiency. However, no diagnostic test was conducted at the beginning of the course; instead, their proficiency levels were inferred from prior semester grades. The ESP course for students in the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics consisted of three hours per week, while students from the Faculty of Economics had five hours per week.

All students had completed one semester of compulsory English for Special Purposes course. The participants were divided into two groups based on the ESP teaching methods employed. The first group comprised of students who were taught using GTM, while the second group consisted of students taught using CLT. A questionnaire was distributed to respondents, designed specifically to assess their general satisfaction with ESP courses and their perceptions of grammar instruction. The collected data were analyzed using SPSS, applying descriptive statistical measures (arithmetic mean and standard deviation) to evaluate students' responses. However, the limitation of the study is the number of questioned respondents.

##### **4.1. Instrument**

A questionnaire was distributed to the respondents, specifically designed to address the study's objectives. The questionnaire was structured into two sections, comprising a total of 24 questions, and utilized the 5-point Likert scale. The first section referred to the respondents' general satisfaction with ESP courses, while the second aimed at gaining insight into their perceptions of a specific aspect of ESP—grammar. As a starting point, the widely recognized Dundee Ready Educational Environment Measure (DREEM) questionnaire, designed by Roff (2005), was used. Originally developed to assess students' perceptions of educational environments in health professions curricula, DREEM has been widely adapted for various educational contexts, including ESP research (Ahmad Montasser & Sultan Althaqafi, 2023). Given the specific focus of this study, the questionnaire was modified based on the authors' extensive pedagogical experience and adapted to the research context. These modifications allowed for a more precise exploration of students' attitudes towards grammar in ESP

courses, as well as their perspectives on the role of grammatical accuracy in professional communication. The questionnaire was adapted by focusing more specifically on the students' perceptions of grammar instruction within ESP courses, reflecting the context of language learning for professional purposes. While the original DREEM assesses a broad range of educational environment factors, this modified version retained questions related to course quality, student satisfaction, and motivation, which were tailored to better suit the goals of ESP courses. The adaptation process ensured the questionnaire's relevance to the target group and the study's objectives.

#### 4.2 Results and discussion

The collected data were processed using the statistical software SPSS. In order to analyze the average level of general satisfaction among respondents with ESP classes and their perception of grammar, as a specific aspect of ESP, as well as to evaluate the observed groups of questions, it was necessary to calculate the average level of general satisfaction for each group. The first group of questions pertains to general satisfaction with ESP classes, while the second group concerns respondents' perceptions of grammar as a specific aspect of ESP. Descriptive measures, including arithmetic the mean and standard deviation for both groups of questions from the questionnaire are presented in Table 1.

**Table 1 Descriptive analysis of respondents' general satisfaction with ESP classes and their perception of grammar**

	N	Mini mum	Maxi mum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Average for the first group	39	3.00	5.00	4.4308	.51933
Average for the second group	39	2.94	4.39	3.6964	.40142
Average	39	2.96	4.54	3.8808	.39629
Valid N (listwise)	39				

Source: Authors' calculation

The previous table presents the average graded level of general satisfaction of respondents with ESP classes and their perception of grammar as a specific aspect of ESP. Based on the obtained results it can be observed that respondents, on average, are satisfied with ESP classes

and hold a positive perception of grammar as a specific aspect of ESP (as the rated levels of satisfaction and perception of grammar exceed the neutral mean). The collected data also indicate that respondents' average level of satisfaction of is higher for the first group of questions, which pertain to the general satisfaction with ESP classes, whereas the average rated level of satisfaction is lower for the second group of questions, which relate to the respondents' perception of grammar as a specific aspect of ESP.

In order to determine whether the average rated level of general satisfaction with ESP classes and respondents' perceptions of grammar vary based on specific questions (arithmetic mean and standard deviation), Table 2 presents the average rated levels of respondents' satisfaction and perception of grammar according to the questionnaire items.

**Table 2 Descriptive statistics according to questions**

	N	Mini mum	Maxi mum	Mea n	Std. Deviation
VAR00002	39	1	5	4.54	.854
VAR00003	39	3	5	4.54	<b>.600</b>
VAR00004	39	2	5	4.15	.745
VAR00005	39	2	5	4.38	.782
VAR00006	39	2	5	<b>4.64</b>	.628
VAR00007	39	2	5	4.33	.806
VAR00008	39	2	5	3.92	.957
VAR00009	39	1	5	3.23	1.038
VAR00010	39	1	4	3.10	.968
VAR00011	39	2	5	3.90	.788
VAR00012	39	2	5	3.85	.844
VAR00013	39	2	5	3.85	.904
VAR00014	39	1	5	2.56	1.021
VAR00015	39	1	5	3.82	1.023
VAR00016	39	1	4	<b>2.49</b>	.914
VAR00017	39	2	4	2.92	.839
VAR00018	39	3	5	4.31	.614
VAR00019	39	2	5	4.08	.774
VAR00020	39	2	5	4.46	.643
VAR00021	39	2	5	4.44	.641
VAR00022	39	3	5	4.46	.643
VAR00023	39	2	5	3.90	.882
VAR00024	39	1	5	3.13	<b>1.080</b>

VAR00025		39	2	5	4.13	.833
Valid	N	39				
(listwise)						

Source: Authors' calculation

The results from the previous table indicate that respondents are generally satisfied with ESP classes and hold a positive perception of grammar as a specific aspect of ESP, as the rated level of satisfaction for almost every question exceeds the neutral mean. By ranking the questions according to the rated level of satisfaction, it is evident that the respondents most strongly agree with the statement "The ESP content is adjusted to my field of study", followed by the statement related to general satisfaction with ESP classes "I am satisfied with my ESP class" and with the statement concerning the quality of ESP classes "My ESP class is of a high quality". On the other hand, respondents, on average, least agree with the statement concerning the relationship between learning grammar and reading professional literature, "I cannot understand texts in my own field of studying without learning grammar". This statement received an average grading below the neutral mean and exhibited considerable deviation of the respondents' answers from the arithmetic mean. In addition, respondents least agree with the statement regarding the importance of grammar, "Grammar is more important for me than reading texts in my field of studying", which displayed an even greater deviation from the arithmetic mean. They also demonstrated lower agreement with the statement linking grammar knowledge to communicative ability "I don't need vast grammar knowledge to communicate in my own subject matter". On average, the smallest deviations were recorded for the statement related to the quality of ESP classes, "My ESP class is of a high quality", whereas the largest deviations were observed in responses to the statement regarding grammar learning preferences, "I prefer learning grammar through rules and exercises".

Based on the previous tables it is evident that the respondents evaluated their satisfaction with ESP classes differently and held varying perceptions of grammar as a specific aspect of ESP. In order to determine whether the average rated level of respondents' general satisfaction with ESP classes and their perception of grammar differ among groups of respondents that were formed on the basis of their professional field and the type of ESP they study, with the first group of respondents consisting of students from the Faculty of Economics, while the second group of respondents includes students from the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics. Tables 3 and 4 present the mean

rated values and statistical significance for both groups across all questions. The non-parametric Mann-Whitney Test was applied to calculate the statistical significance of the differences between the two groups of students.

**Table 3 Ranks for all questions**

	VAR00001	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Average	1	18	24.83	447.00
	2	21	15.86	333.00
	Total	39		

Source: Authors' calculation

**Table 4 Test Statistics<sup>a</sup>**

	Average
Mann-Whitney U	102.000
Wilcoxon W	333.000
Z	-2.456
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.014
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.014 <sup>b</sup>

a. Grouping Variable: VAR00001

b. Not corrected for ties.

Source: Authors' calculation

Based on the previous two tables it can be concluded, at a significance level of 0.05, that there are statistically significant differences between the two groups of respondents in the overall assessed level of respondents' general satisfaction with ESP classes and their perception of grammar as a specific aspect of ESP. In order to confirm our assumptions regarding the existence of a statistically significant difference in satisfaction and perception of grammar among ESP students, depending on their respective groups, we applied the non-parametric Mann-Whitney Test, the results of which are presented in Tables 5 and 6.

**Table 5 Ranks for the first group of questions**

	VAR00001	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Average for the first group	1	18	22.75	409.50
	2	21	17.64	370.50
	Total	39		

Source: Authors' calculation

**Table 6 Test Statistics<sup>a</sup>**

	Average for the first group
Mann-Whitney U	139.500
Wilcoxon W	370.500
Z	-1.409
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.159
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.165 <sup>b</sup>

a. Grouping Variable: VAR00001

b. Not corrected for ties.

Source: Authors' calculation

The test results from Tables 5 and 6 indicate that there is no statistically significant difference in general satisfaction with ESP classes between the two groups of students, where one group consists of students from the Faculty of Economics, while the other group consists of students from the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics. However, the results from Tables 6 and 7 reveal a statistically significant difference in the perception of grammar as a specific aspect of ESP between these two groups.

**Table 7 Ranks for the second group of questions**

	VAR00001	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Average for the second group	1	18	24.81	446.50
	2	21	15.88	333.50
	Total	39		

Source: Authors' calculation

**Table 8 Test Statistics<sup>a</sup>**

	Average for the second group
Mann-Whitney U	102.500
Wilcoxon W	333.500
Z	-2.444
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.015
Exact Sig. [2*(1-tailed Sig.)]	.014 <sup>b</sup>

a. Grouping Variable: VAR00001

b. Not corrected for ties.

Source: Authors' calculation

The test results from Tables 7 and 8 indicate that there is a statistically significant difference in the perception of grammar as a specific aspect of ESP between students from the Faculty of Economics and those from the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics. Based on the obtained results, it can be concluded that, overall, for both groups of questions there is a statistically significant difference between the group of students from the Faculty of Economics and the group of students from the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics, regarding their perception of grammar, while no significant difference was observed in their general satisfaction with ESP classes.

The group of students from the Faculty of Economics was taught using the Grammar Teaching Method (GTM), whereas the group from the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics was taught using the Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) method. Therefore, it can be inferred that an ESP teacher's ability to adapt to students' needs may result in general satisfaction with ESP classes, regardless of the field of study, thereby confirming the first hypothesis. Conversely, students' field of study and their varying needs may affect their perception of grammar as a specific aspect of ESP, thus confirming the second hypothesis.

## 5. Conclusion

The study provides valuable insights into how students perceive grammar within ESP courses by employing a tailored questionnaire and statistical analysis. The findings highlight key factors influencing students' attitudes towards grammar, an essential component of their language learning experience. Notably, students expressed the highest level of agreement with statements related to the relevance of ESP

content to their field of study, overall satisfaction with ESP classes, and the quality of ESP instruction. Conversely, they were less inclined to agree with statements connecting grammar to reading subject-specific texts and prioritizing grammar over content knowledge. Additionally, they demonstrated uncertainty about the relationship between grammar proficiency and communication skills.

A detailed analysis revealed no statistically significant difference in general satisfaction with ESP classes between the two student groups. However, a clear discrepancy was observed in the perception of grammar, with students from the Faculty of Economics exhibiting a more positive attitude than their counterparts from the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics. These findings suggest that ESP teacher's ability to adapt instruction to students' needs plays a crucial role in overall satisfaction with ESP classes, confirming the first hypothesis. At the same time, differences in students' fields of study and learning needs significantly influence their perception of grammar supporting the second hypothesis.

In conclusion, this study underscores the importance of aligning ESP courses with students' linguistics requirements within their respective academic disciplines. ESP instructors should adopt a flexible approach that accommodates diverse learning preferences, ensuring a balance between grammatical accuracy and practical application. Further research should explore additional variables that may influence students' engagement with ESP courses, such as prior language learning experiences and disciplinary expectations. A more comprehensive understanding of these factors will contribute to refining ESP course design and instructional strategies, ultimately enhancing learning outcomes for students across various fields.

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**IZMEĐU GTM I CLT – STUDENTSKA PERCEPCIJA PREDMETA ESP NA UNIVERZITETU**

U ovom radu su predstavljeni rezultati studije koja je imala za cilj procjenu percepcije studenata o gramatici koja se izučava u okviru kurseva engleskog jezika za posebne namjene (ESP). Ispitanicima je podijeljen upitnik, posebno prilagođen ciljevima studije. Ispitanici su podijeljeni u dvije grupe, od kojih jedna obuhvata studente sa Ekonomskog fakulteta, a druga sa Prirodno-matematičkog fakulteta Univerziteta u Banjoj Luci. Rezultati su pokazali da su ispitanici u prosjeku izrazili zadovoljstvo časovima ESP-a i imali pozitivnu percepciju gramatike kao specifičnog aspekta ESP-a. Studija je zaključila da prilagodljivost nastavnika ESP-a potrebama studenata može dovesti do ukupnog zadovoljstva časovima ESP-a, bez obzira na oblast studija. Međutim, oblast studija i specifične potrebe studenata mogu uticati na njihovu percepciju gramatike u okviru ESP-a. Ovi rezultati naglašavaju važnost prilagođavanja ESP kurseva kako bi se odgovorilo na jedinstvene jezičke zahtjeve studenata u okviru njihove akademske discipline.

**Ključne riječi:** ESP, GTM, CLT, gramatika, percepcija studenata



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