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Literature and Cultural Studies

Studije književnosti i kulture

REBRANDING LOUISA MAY ALCOTT FOR MODERN TIMES: THE FILM ADAPTATIONS OF LITTLE WOMEN¹

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Abstract: Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* (1868) has proved her most enduring and significant novel which has never been out of print since its original publication. This novel is considered a classic of American and world literature. Moreover, *Little Women* has also inspired numerous film and television adaptations. This paper represents a compare-and-contrast analysis of Louisa May Alcott's novel *Little Women* (1868-1869) and its film adaptations, specifically the 1933, 1994, and 2019 versions. The research relies on Linda Hutcheon and Robert Stam's definitions and meanings of adaptation. According to Hutcheon, adaptation has an overt relationship with its source-text but aims to transform it and turn it into something of its own. Starting from the observation that the film adaptations under discussion use Alcott's *Little Women* as their basis, we offer evidence that their value and novelty is in how they reinterpret the novel and adapt it to their own cultural and historical contexts. Accordingly, the achievement of these adaptations should not be based upon the extent of their fidelity to the original text, but on the directors' ability to create something new, original, and their own out of a timeless classic. As for the three film adaptations under discussion, they all suggest a different reading and contextualising of Alcott's most famous and enduring novel.

Keywords: *Little Women*, film adaptation, Louisa May Alcott, George Cukor, Gillian Armstrong, Greta Gerwig

1. Introduction

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The claim that *Little Women* (1868—1869) is one of the most beloved stories of all time is confirmed not only by the large number of editions of Louisa May Alcott's most famous novel but also by more than a century of adaptations of the book for television, radio, and film. This paper represents a compare-and-contrast analysis of Louisa May Alcott's novel *Little Women* (1868-1869) and its film adaptations, specifically the 1933, 1994, and 2019 versions. The research relies on Linda Hutcheon and Robert Stam's definitions and meanings of adaptation. According to Hutcheon, contemporary culture is saturated with adaptations of all sorts (2). In its essence, adaptation is a retelling of a classic story from a different perspective. Consequently, adaptation has an overt relationship with its source-text, which is its core, but aims to transform it into something its own.

As Hutcheon and Stam have persuasively argued, adaptation is not the same as a replica, fidelity to the original "due to the change of medium is impossible" (Stam 76) and even undesirable, and therefore should not be a criterion when evaluating adaptation. The originary novel is only a basis of an adaptation, "a series of verbal clues that the adapting film text can take up, amplify, ignore, subvert, or transform" (Stam 83). Stam aptly observes that the process of the transposition of the source-text from one medium to another may be depicted as a sort of translation:

The source novel can be seen as a situated utterance produced in one medium and in one historical context, then transformed into another equally situated utterance that is produced in a different context and in a different medium (83).

Moreover, Whelehan contends that insistence on remaining true to the original story in terms of "historical veracity and authenticity of location and costume" (7) may lead to unnecessary wandering and shifting the focus away from the characters and situations, which according to Bazin constitute the essence of the novel (60). The memorable characters "rise above the great novels from which they emanate" (Bazin 60). When filming an adaptation, these characters, along with the situations they found themselves in, are taken and adjusted to a different time, place, and a director's vision.

According to Stam, film adaptation may also be defined as a reading of the originary novel. Drawing on the assumption that the source-text is an open discourse that "can generate a plethora of possible meanings" (76), this critic asserts that adaptations are readings of the novel that are "inevitably partial, personal, and conjectural" (80). A reading of fiction implies imminent and even desirable alterations in the

source-text that increase with the passage of time and change of perspective. These shifts aim at telling something new about a well-known story.

Up to the present moment, there have been seven film adaptations of Alcott's *Little Women*. The sheer number of them supports the claim that it is a universal and timeless story of females growing up and maturing. Accordingly, the argument of this paper goes in line with Smyth's claim that "every generation deserves its own screen version" (8). However, this is not the only reason for Alcott's most famous book's appeal to film directors and producers. Another reason, as Whelehan has convincingly argued, may be that novels whose plots are "deemed more 'lightweight' and digestible are preferred in preference to the more ponderous, complex or heavyweight" (13).

Or is it more likely that the novel has been chosen precisely because of its "malleability" (Hooper 421), that is, ambivalence and unresolved tensions that permeate it and offer a wide range of possible interpretations? To this day, a heated debate continues between two opposing circles of critics who write about *Little Women*. Does the book promote conventional femininity or rebellion and progressive ideas? Is Marmee the prototype of a sentimental mother who inculcates the principles of self-denial and self-sacrifice into her daughters, or is she a latent feminist? As it turns out, there is a clash between the book's overt messages, which had to conform to the publisher's requirements to see the light of the day, and its hidden and covert implications. It is precisely this ambiguity that allows *Little Women* to be adjusted to various viewpoints and needs of different eras. The novel's latent complexity permits directors to find and focus on the aspect of the story that reflects the value system they consider valuable, amidst the abundance of possible readings it offers.

2. The 1933, 1994, and 2019 film adaptations of *Little Women*

2.1. The 1933 film adaptation (George Cukor)

Alcott's *Little Women* is based upon John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, a religious allegory with which nineteenth-century readers were very familiar. Alcott's novel is, among other things, about learning to be a good Christian, although the emphasis is not on doctrines or strict religious rules or principles, but on living one's faith and putting it into practice. Whereas references to Bunyan's allegory abound in the novel, these references are minimised or literally non-existent in the film adaptations of *Little Women* since Bunyan's popularity declined significantly during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Therefore, all the film versions "reject or ignore the view of life that is at the center

of the novel" (Marchalonis 257). Even in the 1933 film adaptation of Alcott's most enduring novel, whose script is closest to the original story, the reference to Bunyan is brief and passing (Mackey 164). As Mackey aptly observes, the framing concept of George Cukor's film reflects a shift from an unfamiliar one (Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*) to that of the Civil War, which has already been "coded for visual representation" (164). Consequently, the Civil War imagery and references are much more frequent and recognisable than in the original story.

In addition, whereas the novel highlights the imperfect natures of the March sisters and their thorny paths of maturing and mastering themselves, the focus of the film adaptations is on themes relevant to the context of their time. In Cukor's film, for example, not much attention is paid to Jo and Amy's respective paths in conquering their flaws, that is, anger and selfishness. Interestingly, the film does deal in some detail with Beth's attempt to overcome her excessive shyness and Meg's victory over envy and materialistic desires, manifested in her conscious rejection of her aunt's fortune in favor of a love marriage to the honest but poor Mr. Brooke. As it turns out, Beth's timidity and Meg's rejection of materialistic aspirations were more appealing to the 1930s audience than Jo's ambition and Amy's selfishness.

Moreover, the occasional bickering and conflicts between the sisters are mitigated, especially between Jo and Amy. In the original *Little Women*, home is a place of character formation and adoption of moral principles, but the path to establishing a balance between the individual needs of the girls and family coherence is thorny. This tension is very much present and not fully resolved in the novel. On the other hand, the 1933 film tones down this conflict. For example, the most famous scene from the book, when Amy nearly drowns after Jo finds out she has burnt her stories, is completely cut from the film. The reason is quite obvious – the film's emphasis on family coherence and solidarity which set out to inspire hope during the hazardous times of the Great Depression. Consequently, the film is devoid of suspense due to its lack of conflicts and clashes. The sisters are represented as unrealistically good, submissive, and perfect human beings who easily put up with all the problems and obstacles that come their way. As the sisters' characters are portrayed as more or less flawless from the very beginning, there is no insight into their maturation, that is, their transformation from childish, selfish, and immature girls into adults capable of overcoming personal differences and disagreements. Whereas Alcott strives to present each of the March sisters' individual coming-of-age stories equally, the film focuses on Jo, but only on her rebellion against conventional womanhood, without seriously

considering her anger and aspiration toward becoming a professional writer.

Despite the mentioned differences from the original novel, it should be noted that Cukor's adaptation "most self-consciously set out to be faithful to Alcott's story" (Kirkham and Warren 83). Its fidelity to the source-text is most obvious in its representation of poverty, the portrayal of Professor Bhaer, and the centrality of Jo's character. The Marches' home is spacious and nicely furnished, but the stains on the sisters' garments (like those on Jo's dress and gloves) and the fact that the sisters exchange clothes support the claim that the family was once well-to-do but fell into financial trouble. The elder daughters work to help the impoverished family, which implies that each individual's offering is important for the welfare of the family and community. Whereas the film's emphasis is on the Marches' home, it still represents the "three sisters returning home from their outside activities" (Kirkham and Warren 84). However, the depiction of working women is not intended to suggest the need for their emancipation, but rather to highlight the need that in difficult times, whether it be the Civil War or the Great Depression, dreams must wait while everyone strives to contribute to survival. Significantly, Cukor's adaptation of *Little Women*, unlike the novel, does not take the sisters' strivings for independence and personal fulfillment seriously but rather treats their artistic aspirations as hobbies with which the sisters fill their leisure time.

Moreover, the film's portrayal of Bhaer's character is most reminiscent of Alcott's of all the adaptations. Jo's chosen one is not as attractive as in the later adaptations and the age difference between them is conspicuous. Similarly to Alcott's Jo, Cukor's Jo is delineated as a paternalistic character who addresses Jo with a patronising "my little friend". Jo holds Bhaer in high esteem and she awaits his critical reading of her stories with both longing and anxiety. Jo is represented as a talented but inexperienced and immature young woman who will benefit from Bhaer's guidance. Consequently, she relinquishes writing sensational stories after Bhaer harshly criticises them. Hence, the 1933 adaptation envisions Professor as Jo's mentor. Jo values Bhaer's opinion because he is "rich in intellectual culture" (Hochman 235). Moreover, he is represented as impoverished, which is testified by Kirk's maid's claim that he is "poor as a churchmouse" (1.24.05.–1.24.07). However, due to the film's need to appeal to a wider audience, the relationship between Jo and Bhaer still has the overtones of a romance. For example, the seemingly belligerent and quarrelsome Jo simply melts in the presence of this scholar with a musical talent. As Kirkham and Warren have convincingly argued, the film adaptations of *Little Women* deliberately

transfer Laurie's musical talent to Bhaer "to pull the text nearer to Hollywood romance" (86), all with the aim of creating a commercially successful movie. However, the variation in Bhaer's character testifies to the inevitable changes that occur as a result of transposing the story from one medium to another. To counterbalance this fluctuation, Cukor's Bhaer is portrayed as nothing else but a socially awkward character. Similarly to the original story, Jo is attracted to the professor not only because of his education and knowledge of high art but also because of his awkwardness. In a similar vein to the original story, Jo is attracted to Bhaer not only because of his learning and knowledge of the arts but also because of his clumsiness, which perfectly matches hers. While the book focuses on Bhaer's lack of knowledge of table manners, in the film, this disregard for etiquette is displayed by Jo, while Bhaer is clumsy primarily in expressing his feelings. Bhaer's awkwardness comes to the fore in an attempt at proposal, which ends in Jo pushing him into "her house to meet the family in a reversal of the groom carrying the bride across the threshold" (Cartmell and Simons 88). If the 1933 adaptation fails to address Jo's anger, her unconventionality is suggested by the fact that she accepts the shy courtship of a poor and clumsy professor instead of the attractive and wealthy Laurie.

Finally, Jo is a central character in Cukor's film, even more than she is in the novel. She is the only March girl who flouts conventions even though her defiance is much softened in comparison to the book. Jo is presented as doing activities associated with men in the 1930s, such as "sliding down banisters, snowballing, shoveling snow, skating, running, and writing" (Kirkham and Warren 86). In addition, Jo is the only sister who takes her artistic talent seriously and strives toward independence. Her family is very proud of her talent and supports her aspirations. However, the 1933 film ends in romance only, whereas Alcott's Jo strikes a balance between her professional strivings and emotional fulfillment by combining work with marriage. Hence, although Cukor's Jo for some time succeeds in stretching out the gender norms, she is eventually tamed.

The novel *Little Women* has not stopped arousing interest due to the tension between its overt conformity to conventional womanhood and covert proto-feminist progressive messages. This tension is present in Cukor's adaptation, although it is limited to the period of adolescence and the confines of the home. As Blackford convincingly argues, the March home is a place atypical for the Victorian era, "a space of the 'natural' for the girls, a space unencumbered by social codes for the feminine" (38). In their home the sisters have complete and enviable

freedom to be who they are, to work on developing their talents, to disguise themselves as men, perform theatricals for the neighbourhood children, and write in fits of inspiration, deaf and dumb to duties and obligations.

However, life in a matriarchal utopia turns out to be a weak preparation for the harsh realities of the outside world. Once they step out into the cruel outside world, the March sisters soon realise that the world is still unready for female emancipation. Even the most rebellious of them, Jo, somehow gives up on her dreams too easily. This loud girl who loves to compete with men and push boundaries transforms into a meek and docile role model after Beth's death. Jo's resignation becomes final after Bhaer's trenchant criticism of her writing. Jo decides to renounce her personal goals and dedicate herself to her family until better times. This not only goes in line with the film's emphasis on family unity and solidarity but also testifies to the 1930s realities. As Wang astutely observes, during this period, Hollywood represented "a family-oriented, mass-oriented cultural institution to maximize profit" (28). A large audience could not be expected from a film that emphasised feminist themes in an era where the focus was on survival. Therefore, Cukor's version of *Little Women* "trivializes Jo's investment in literature and culture" (Hochman 236), presenting her dedication to writing and rebellion against gender stereotypes as a fleeting phase of growing up.

2.1. The 1994 (Gillian Armstrong) film adaptation of *Little Women*

The framing concept of the 1994 adaptation of *Little Women* is that of the Civil War. The difficult days experienced by American society are portrayed as an incentive to cope and create micro-fortresses within the families that were supposed to empower citizens and prepare them for life in a new, better, and modern America. A significant aspect of this bulwark is the unconventional religion of the Marches, which is present but is not reflected in a nominal observance of religious customs, but in the typically Alcottian mantra that religion should be lived. For example, in the very opening scenes of the film, the Laurence family is shown on their way to Sunday service, while the March sisters prepare to put their Christian generosity into action as they bring their unusually bountiful Christmas breakfast to the large immigrant Hummel family.

It is important to notice the way the sisters decide to forgo their breakfast. In the original story, it is the mother who encourages the girls to be self-sacrificing. The March sisters, with heavy hearts, renounce the pleasures so rarely present in their impoverished family. On the other hand, in Armstrong's version, the girls are represented as unrealistically mature for their age. At just one hint from the housekeeper Hana, they

agree too quickly to give up their treat. Armstrong mildly represents the flaws of girls. Meg's envy of wealthy families and Amy's selfishness are alluded to in passing, but these flaws are portrayed unconvincingly. Furthermore, Amy, who considers herself egocentric, doesn't seem so, as she, as the youngest, quickly agrees with her sisters in deciding to help the Hummels and forgo a dollar (Aunt March's Christmas present) to buy a present for Marmee. The spotlight is on Jo's flaws – anger and craving for violence. For example, although starred by Katherine Hepburn, Cukor's Jo is not rebellious enough since her vexation is not represented. On the other hand, Armstrong focuses on the hazardous path Jo undertakes to learn self-control.

Unlike Cukor's adaptation, which shies away from depicting conflict, here the rift between Jo and Amy, which they successfully overcome, is an outstanding example of how transcending disagreements leads to even greater coherence and empowerment of the family. The power of solidarity, filial love, and harmony is sorely needed in circumstances that are extremely unfavorable for sisters. As implied by the novel, the war and the impracticability of the head of the family demand not-so-small sacrifices from its members. One such immolation is the selling of Jo's hair, which she deeply laments, as witnessed by her secret crying over her "one beauty". The story is entrenched into the harsh realities of the period, showing girls as being forced to harden up prematurely due to the misfortunes that befell them.

However, the film presents the girls who have to cope and thrive as unnaturally cheerful and enthusiastic to deal with adversity. Although the film does not deny the limitations of nineteenth-century America, particularly in terms of prescribed norms of behavior for women, the March sisters are depicted as completely unencumbered by formalities in behaviour, all thanks to their mother's progressive views. For example, the sisters are shown as unusually active and jolly, taking part in activities such as snowballing. All but Meg are represented as very loud and unruly while playing outside, and they don't hesitate to approach men first. From the very opening scenes of the film, special attention is paid to the sisters' respective artistic talents, which are not presented as hobbies, but as serious activities. All but Meg are shown as determined to seriously pursue developing their creative aspirations.

Armstrong's adaptation reflects the tendency of directors to adjust the vision of *Little Women* to a contemporary context "on the basis of being faithful to what the author would have expressed had they possessed the freedoms to discuss certain subjects" (Whelehan 13). In doing so, the 1994 version elaborates on themes that are veiled in the

original story, topics such as “educational reform, abolition, and women’s suffrage” (Hollinger and Winterhalter 173). This version was directed and produced by women and released in time of the flare-up of the feminist movement. Hence, it reflects the feminist fervor for deconstruction and search for hidden meanings in the original story. For this very reason, Alcott’s story of the March sisters loses its ambiguity and becomes proto-feminist. For example, Marmee, whose influence on daughters is sidelined in Cukor’s adaptation, is assigned a far larger space in the 1994 version. Armstrong’s Marmee is no longer an ambivalent character who advocates a balance between respecting traditional values and keeping pace with the changes that time brings, but an outspoken feminist who raises her daughters by her own standards, not taking into account social norms.

The distinctions between the sisters’ personalities and aspirations are highlighted, but the filial love and family coherence are also emphasised. Striking a balance between self-realisation and adapting to the family’s needs and expectations is not always easy, but the omnipotent and resourceful Marmee is always there to intervene and help girls in overcoming their differences and conflicts. Armstrong’s Marches do not hesitate to show their negative feelings and there are occasional disagreements between them, but, with the assistance of their mother, they succeed in smoothing out their relationships.

Even though Jo is arguably the central character, her story does not overshadow the coming-of-age stories of the other sisters. Unlike Cukor’s adaptation, and inspired by Alcott’s novel, Armstrong’s adaptation is “even-handed in its sympathetic treatment of the four sisters” (Hollander 220). Consequently, all the girls are encouraged to find out who they really are and what they want. Beth wants to remain with her nearest and dearest, Meg dreams of getting married and building a family nest, Amy strives towards marrying richly, and Jo aspires towards becoming a writer. Paradoxically, Laurie is represented as facing the most serious pressure to conform to prescribed gender behaviour and take up an office job, whereas Beth, Jo, and Amy are free to embark on their respective paths of embracing their liberty and exploring their options. Even the grumpy Aunt March, who symbolises social conscience and propriety in the novel, is portrayed as a fairly progressive woman who offers Amy a trip to Europe not to find her a suitable (rich) husband, but to give her the best possible opportunity to develop her talent.

Indeed, portraying Marmee as a strong and self-confident woman who keeps everything under control is a simplistic interpretation of Alcott’s famous cult of Marmee. The emphasis is on the power of female

agency, and it is Marmee's "agency alone that holds the family together and directs the course of events" (Hollinger and Winterhalter 182). Armstrong's Marmee is unreal infallible, without any doubts or internal conflicts, which dehumanises her. She shows no weakness even when she leaves her daughters to fend for themselves and take care of the house, believing that this ordeal is actually an opportunity to demonstrate the beneficial influence of her tutelage. Guided by such a strong and modern mother, the March sisters do not hesitate to speak their minds and stand up for themselves in a male-dominated society.

Significantly, Jo invites Bhaer's assessment of her writing, but she feels like his equal and does not allow his remarks to sway her. In the 1994 version of *Little Women*, Jo "can stand beside him undiminished, as his equal in intellectual artistry and personal integrity" (Hollinger and Winterhalter 189). Their equity and equality are exemplified by the scene when the two of them are shown reciting Whitman's verses side by side. Professor Bhaer undergoes a significant transformation to both Alcott and Armstrong's versions of *Little Women*. He loses his signature clumsiness and is far more sophisticated than Cukor's Bhaer. Moreover, it is the professor who takes the initiative and who proposes Jo. Finally, Bhaer is represented as not only a concerned lover of literature and beauty but also an "enlightened intellectual and incipient feminist" (Hollinger and Winterhalter 189).

Although the 1994 adaptation does end in romance, marriage is not represented as the sole and ultimate goal of a girl's development. As Gates aptly observes, "it is Jo's [her] singular pursuit of a career that gives her an avenue to grow and learn through ... human experiences". In adhering to the position that women can "have it all", the film proposes that it is time for women to embrace the expanded possibilities for education and employment that modern times offer, not having to renounce their desires for emotional fulfillment. As Hochman has convincingly argued, as "women of the 1930s were generally expected to be wives and mothers, the first movie highlights these ideals, along with romance, marginalising Jo's intellectual interest and her writing" (232). On the other hand, Armstrong's movie, similarly to Alcott's novel, suggests that neither of the two important objectives has to be abandoned – it is possible to combine marriage with work. However, critics such as Cartmell and Simons aptly observe that Armstrong's adaptation, which aims to portray a modern Jo who does not compromise, has actually "succumbed to the dictates of Hollywood by romanticizing and sexualizing Alcott's ending" (89). Moreover, the 1994 version may also be charged with not dealing with the March sisters's married life. Not a single scene gives insight into the sisters'

conjugal trials and tribulations, which are depicted in some detail in the novel. In doing so, Armstrong's adaptation paradoxically implies that marriage is the ultimate endpoint of a woman's life.

2.3. The 2019 film adaptation (Greta Gerwig) of *Little Women*

The screenwriter of the 2019 film adaptation of *Little Women* is Robin Swicord, who also wrote the script for the 1994 version. Her influence is obvious as it is possible to draw a few parallels between the two versions. For example, they both emphasise the practicality of the Marches' piety. In one of the first scenes, the sisters are shown passing by church on their way to the Hummels. The implication is clear – faith is not reflected in the nominal observance of established practices but in the demonstration of the values that religion advocates in action. Moreover, the framing concept of the film is the Civil War, but the emphasis is more on “women's war work than on men's military service” (Giesberg). Furthermore, Gerwig's Professor Bhaer is diametrically opposite to Alcott's asexual and clumsy middle-aged German intellectual. As in Armstrong's film, the professor is a very handsome man, not a funny match that Alcott had in mind for her heroine. In addition, the Marches are represented as an enlightened family that raises children guided by the ideals of equality, hard work, and constant self-improvement. The sisters' artistic aspirations are taken seriously and all but Meg are shown as very dedicated to developing their talents. Finally, Marmee is envisioned as extremely supportive of her daughters' endeavours to find their own ways. And that is where the similarity between the two versions ends.

The vision of the 2019 version is far more honest, ambiguous, and complex than the two previous versions. As J. E. Smyth notices, the 2019 film adaptation of *Little Women* is “radically, unashamedly different from other film and television versions” (13). Unlike Cukor and Armstrong's adaptation, Gerwig's film “rejects the novel's sentimentality” (Kirkham and Warren 81). Moreover, the 2019 version is the only adaptation that does not open on Christmas Eve. This adaptation stands out for its playing with the timelines, for its approach to feminist issues, and for its honest portrayal of interpersonal relationships.

In Gerwig's *Little Women*, special attention is paid to the thorough portrayal of all four sisters, who are depicted as individuals with unique combinations of virtues and flaws, specific dreams and goals. Their distinctive personalities are combined with the shared values and beliefs of the Marches. Still, sisterhood is not idealised, as in Armstrong's adaptation. Both moments of harmony and moments of discord are

depicted, with particular emphasis on the rivalry between Jo and Amy. As in the original story, Amy and Jo are presented as strong, headstrong, and independent women determined to take command of their own lives, each in their own unique way. Their means are not the same, but the goal certainly is. Both equally want not only to fend for themselves, but also to help their families, Amy with a rich marriage, and Jo with royalties from writing. Hence, the two of them are “more alike than they care to admit” (Chang).

Gerwig’s version of *Little Women* is redemptive in its portrayal of Amy and Meg. Amy, accused by Laurie of marrying for wealth, responds that marriage is actually an economic proposition in Victorian America. Gerwig presents Amy’s opting for mercenary marriage as a rational compromise given the realities of the era’s gender-constricting options. As Doyle has convincingly argued, the 2019 film implies that by “marrying into wealth Amy forsakes love and therefore personal happiness to support her family, and is therefore presented as nothing short of courageous if not really selfless”. Meg is also given much larger space than in the earlier versions. Significantly, she is represented as possessing acting talent. However, Meg is not interested in pursuing a career. She remains the most conventional sister who longs for the stability of a family home. Interestingly, in Gerwig’s adaptation, Jo proposes Meg to run away from the limitations of conventional womanhood. However, Gerwig’s Meg declines such a proposition, showing herself as a person of integrity capable of defending her position: “Just because my dreams are different from yours, it doesn’t mean they are unimportant” (1.31.51–1.32.12). Furthermore, Meg’s married life is depicted and in general, the originality of the film lies in shifting the focus to the second part of the novel.

Moreover, Gerwig’s Marmee is a far more ambiguous, appealing, complex, and realistic character than Armstrong’s impeccable and fearless one. For one thing, the 2019 Marmee is an unintrusive one. Second, she is not represented as a perfect human being, but as a socially awkward person with her own troubles and flaws. Significantly, Gerwig restores Marmee anger, that Armstrong unfairly “took” from her. Moreover, not only Marmee, Jo, and Aunt March are delineated as furious – virtually all the female characters “share the agony of growing pains and fury against the injustice” (Doyle) of the nineteenth-century American world, specifically its gender-limiting realities. The 2019 adaptation does not suggest, like the overly optimistic 1994 adaptation, that women can defy the whole society. Quite the contrary, the patriarchal world’s indifference and injustice towards women’s desires and needs are emphasised. Gerwig’s film is not a fairy-tale-like

saccharine vision of a matriarchal utopia where dreams come true if you are brave enough to flout the world. Gerwig's film simultaneously strays the furthest from the original and remains faithful to it, most notably in the implication that life is full of compromises. As Giesberg has convincingly argued, the latest adaptation "focuses on all the compromises, big and small, that the girls made as they prepared to live behind their castles in the air".

As in Armstrong's adaptation, the emphasis in Gerwig's film is on writing. However, whereas the 1994 version offers a romanticised vision of the creative process, the 2019 version envisions writing as an artistry that demands both talent and considerable skill, which may be accomplished only with time and constant effort on self-improvement. The new movie rejects the conception of a writer as a genius and focuses on the gradual development of Jo's skills as she embarks on honing them. The significance of writing for a woman author is multifarious. It not only enables her to express herself but also represents a source of income and an outlet for a lack of excitement and challenges within the framework of nineteenth-century America.

However, the most important novelty of Gerwig's film is the way she ends it. In conflating Alcott and Jo, the film offers two possible endings, and it is up to the audience to decide which one is the true one. In one ending, Jo marries Friedrich Bhaer and then opens a coeducational school at Plummfield, a school for both white and black children, a school that gathers the entire extended March family. Another ending shows Jo negotiating her percentage of the royalties with the editor, which evokes Alcott's struggle for copyright.

3. Conclusion

Starting from the observation that the film adaptations under discussion use Alcott's *Little Women* as their basis, we offer evidence that their value and novelty is in how they reinterpret the novel and adapt it to their own cultural and historical contexts. Accordingly, the achievement of these adaptations should not be based upon the extent of their fidelity to the original text, but on the directors' ability to create something new, original, and their own out of a timeless classic. As for the three film adaptations under discussion, they all suggest a different interpretation and contextualisation of *Little Women*. Therefore, the 1933, 1994, and 2019 versions "offer a window into the time they were made" (Roarty). The core coming-of-age story is recognisable in all of them, but their directors change the focus to highlight themes relevant to their respective eras and cultural values.

The most obvious difference in all three versions to the novel is that of the framing device. Whereas Alcott's *Little Women* is based upon John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, the film adaptations use The American Civil War as their structural framework. Also, Professor Bhaear undergoes a significant transformation as time goes by, all due to the need for films to be commercially successful. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that Cukor's Bhaer is closest to the original idea of the professor as a clumsy and patronising paternalistic figure who serves as Jo's mentor. In Armstrong and Gerwig's adaptations, Bear becomes more attractive, and socially sophisticated, and becomes an equal to Jo. However, to make the professor a more appealing character, he is given Laurie's original musical talent in all the adaptations.

Significantly, family togetherness and solidarity are emphasised in both Cukor and Armstrong's versions of *Little Women*. However, there is one notable difference between the two film's visions of family coherence as a pillar of society and the basis for proper character development. In the 1933 version, family harmony is a goal in itself, while in the 1994 adaptation, family stability is a prerequisite for encouraging independence and empowering women. While Cukor's family consonance acts as an extended arm of society in maintaining the status quo, that same harmony, not to say a matriarchal utopia, should produce brave and strong women capable of changing the world. The film is perhaps overly optimistic in suggesting that girls like the Marches could defy society in the nineteenth century. On their path to self-creation, all but Beth experience success, facing no significant obstacles along the way. Of these three adaptations, the most ambiguous and in that sense the only one faithful to the source-text is the 2019 adaptation. While the 1994 version focuses on the coming of age of all the March sisters, Gerwig's film is more honest in implying that their actualisation is significantly limited by the gender stereotypes that prevailed in Victorian America.

Moreover, the new film of *Little Women* restores to Marmee her ambivalence and her anger. This is a significant innovation compared to the previous two movies, which oversimplify Marmee's complex figure, reducing it to "either as a domestic goddess (Cukor) or as a prototype feminist (Armstrong) (Cartmell and Simons" (85). Another important novelty is Gerwig's film's emphasis on the conjugal lives of the March sisters. The last, but certainly not the least important departure from earlier versions of *Little Women* is its ambiguous ending. In conflating Jo with Alcott, Gerwig suggests two possible endings, a romantic one (which evokes earlier films) and an ending that presents Jo (Alcott) as a woman who has achieved her independence and become the author of

a book she stands behind with all her being. It is up to the audience to decide which ending is the true one.

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REBRENDIRANJE LUIZE MEJ OLKOT ZA MODERNA VREMENA: FILMSKE ADAPTACIJE MALIH ŽENA

Male žene (1868-1869) je najdugovečniji i najznačajniji roman Luize Mej Olkot koji nikada nije prestao da se štampa od objavljivanja. Ovaj roman se smatra klasikom američke i svetske književnosti. Pored toga, *Male žene* su inspirisale brojne filmske i televizijske adaptacije. Ovaj rad predstavlja uporednu i kontrastivnu analizu romana i njegovih filmskih adaptacija, sa naročitim naglaskom na verzije iz 1933., 1994. i 2019. Rad se oslanja na definicije i značenja adaptacije Linde Hačn i Roberta Stama. Prema Hačn, adaptacija ima otvoreni odnos sa svojim izvorom koji ima za cilj da transformiše i pretvori u nešto svoje. Polazeći od zapažanja da adaptacije o kojima rad diskutuje koriste roman Olkotove kao svoju osnovu, rad nudi dokaz da je vrednost i originalnost ovih adaptacija u tome kako reinterpreтираju roman i prilagođavaju ga svojim kulturnim i istorijskim kontekstima. Prema tome, značaj ovih adaptacija na treba zasnivati na domenu njihove vernosti originalnom tekstu, već na umešnosti reditelja da stvore nešto novo, originalno i svoje od vanvremenskog klasika. Kada su u pitanju pomenute tri adaptacije, sve one sugerišu različito

čitanje i kontekstualizaciju najdugovečnijeg i najpoznatijeg romana Luize Mej Olkot.

Ključne reči: *Male žene*, filmska adaptacija, Luiza Mej Olkot, Džordž Kjukor, Žilijan Armstrong, Greta Gervig

POWER OF WORDS IN PHILIP ROTH'S THE HUMAN STAIN (2000)

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Abstract: This paper reveals how Philip Roth's novel *The Human Stain* (2000) explores words and language as something that defines and constrains identity. For Roth, language is like a double-edged sword that shapes reality while also imposing social limitations, particularly through the experiences of Coleman Silk and Faunia Farley. The paper focuses on Coleman Silk, an African American who chooses to live as a white man to escape societal constraints, but whose world collapses due to a single misinterpreted word. His journey illustrates the dual nature of language as both a tool for reinvention and a means of oppression. Unlike Coleman, who uses the power of language to reconstruct his identity, Faunia Farley completely rejects language by pretending to be illiterate, thus resisting both the trauma she has suffered and societal labels. By applying Wittgenstein's concept of "language games" this analysis reveals the importance Roth assigns to words. In *The Human Stain*, words are a force that drives, creates, and destroys identities and the social reality of its speakers.

Keywords: words, identity, postmodernism, reinvention, Coleman Silk

1. Introduction

Identity is a complex and often elusive concept, shaped by internal beliefs as well as societal expectations, making it challenging to fully define. *Class structure, national identity, ethnic identity, religious identity, and racial identity* are all associated with the concept of identity. (cf. Michael Haralambos, *Haralambos and Holborn. Sociology: Themes and Perspectives*) There are countless definitions of identity: it encompasses who we are, how we relate to others, and how we are defined based on race, ethnicity, religion, language, and culture. Identity is an understanding of the self, created through cultural processes. (cf. James D. Fearon, "What Is Identity") The modern idea of identity as self-

image originates with psychoanalyst Erik Erikson in the 1950s (Chappell 3). Thus, identity can be understood as

what an individual or community believes about themselves, the roles and characteristics they ascribe to, and those they consider distinguishing them from others. Identity formation is therefore influenced by both internal and external perspectives and is often preoccupied with differentiation, boundary setting, and comparison (Chappell 2).

Language plays a crucial role in shaping identity, as it not only reflects how we perceive ourselves but also determines how we communicate our sense of self to others within a cultural and social context.

The ideas of the interconnectivity between language and identity have been expanded even further during postmodernism. Postmodernist discussions of identity often emphasize the intricate relationship between language and self-conception: Jacques Derrida's concept of deconstruction implies that identity, as constructed through language, is fluid and perpetually evolving (*Of Grammatology* (1967)); Michael Foucault's approach sees identity as shaped by discourse; Judith Butler's approach claims that (gender) identity is not an innate quality but rather an effect of repeated linguistic and social performances.

Ludwig Wittgenstein, an Austrian philosopher and a pioneer of modern philosophy advanced the discussion on the interconnection between identity and language by arguing that language not only reflects reality but also shapes and constructs it. Before and even after Wittgenstein, many philosophers believed "meanings to be individual things" (Lycan 66) treating "meanings as static, inert things" (Lycan 77) whose structure can be studied as if under a microscope (John Locke's theory that meanings are mental items – they correspond to mental entities; Bertrand Russell's, George Edward Moore's, and Gottlob Frege's theories which develop this idea further (Lycan 68)). In *Philosophical Investigations* (1953), Wittgenstein suggests that the meaning of words does not simply reflect reality but is formed through the use of words. Sentences do not have lives of their own; they are not static inert objects that can be studied under the microscope but are performed by actual human beings in different contexts. This idea introduces the concept of "language games," where meaning is fluid and evolves through the social contexts. In this view, language does more

than just representing reality – it actively shapes how we perceive and understand the world.

The paper posits that a similar notion is expressed in Philip Roth's novel *The Human Stain* (2000), as well. For Roth, language is not just a form of expression but a force that determines social realities. In *The Human Stain*, Roth explores how language both reveals and conceals the self, particularly in the context of race, gender, and cultural belonging. The paper argues that Roth constructs a complex narrative in which language operates not merely as a means of communication, but as a performative act that both constructs and destabilizes identity. Drawing on Ludwig Wittgenstein's ideas on language games, the analysis will show how Roth exposes the fragility of identity in a postmodern world through the shifting, unstable nature of discourse. The novel's protagonist, Coleman Silk, embodies this crisis, as his carefully constructed racial and social identity is both enabled and ultimately undone by language. By using the abovementioned theories, the paper aims to reveal the crucial role of language in the characters' lives.

2. The Search for Identity

Philip Roth, one of the most prominent American writers of his generation and "a towering figure of 20th-century literature" (Churchwell, "How Philip Roth"), is distinctive for "his caustic, searching humour, the propulsive energies of rage and an unmistakable exultation in the power of language" (Churchwell, "How Philip Roth"). This "exultation in the power of language" (Churchwell, "How Philip Roth") can be clearly seen in Roth's novel *The Human Stain* – "an astonishing, uneven and often very beautiful book" (Moore, "The Wrath of Athena") where Roth did "a beautifully nuanced job – by turns, unnerving, hilarious and sad" (Kakutani, "Confronting the Failures") weaving all his "favorite themes of identity and rebellion and generational strife" (Kakutani, "Confronting the Failures") together. In one of the rare interviews by Philip Roth, he explains how he got the idea for *The Human Stain*. As a student, he briefly dated a young girl whose family had relatives who decided to "pass" (to be perceived as white) and they lost all contact with them. Roth was deeply impacted by the idea of reinventing your identity, explaining in the interview to McGrath: "Self-transformation. Self-invention. The alternative destiny. Repudiating the past. Powerful stuff." ("Zuckerman's Alter Brain")

The search for identity explored in Roth's novel is one of the most pervasive themes in American literature. Dennis M. Clausen traces the origin of this idea to the earliest American authors who celebrated leaving the family behind and heading West. ("The Search for Identity")

This cultural hero is “an individual emancipated from history, happily bereft of ancestry, untouched and undefiled by the usual inheritances of family and race; an individual standing alone, self-reliant and self-propelling” (R. W. B. Lewis qtd. in Clausen, “The Search for Identity”). From James Fenimore Cooper’s Natty Bumppo, Herman Melville’s Ishmael, Mark Twain’s Huckleberry Finn, J. D. Salinger’s Holden Caulfield in *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951) to Willa Cather’s “Prairie Trilogy,” and others, American literature seems fascinated by the outcasts—those who challenge tradition and defy societal norms. Philip Roth’s novel *The Human Stain*, where Coleman Silk reinvents his identity, deals with a similar topic. As this paper will showcase, Coleman Silk reinvents his identity using language. Thus, *The Human Stain* exemplifies the way language functions as both a tool for self-definition and a means of constructing social realities.

2.1. Coleman Silk’s Re-Invention of His Identity

The paper explores how Roth’s novel *The Human Stain* illustrates the profound connection between language and the course of people’s lives. Coleman Silk, a professor raised by his father to master the correct use of language, fails because one word is taken out of context. At the very beginning of the novel, the immense power of language becomes apparent when Coleman Silk, a dean and classics professor at Athena College, uses the word “spooks,” and his life is turned upside down. He uses the term to refer to students who did not attend class. However, due to its secondary meaning as an outdated racial slur, he is labeled a racist which is ironic as he is an African American. Coleman has never revealed to anyone that he is an African American, so after this incident, he is defined as a racist professor. He believes that “the single self-incriminating word . . . directly led to his wife’s death” (Roth 7), as she dies of a heart attack from the stress caused by that incident. The power of words in the novel is immense as Coleman, a distinguished professor and an ex-dean destroys his academic career using just one word: “Yet that one word did it. By no means the English language’s most inflammatory, most heinous, most horrifying word, and yet word enough to lay bare, for all to see, to judge, to find wanting the truth of who and what I am” (Roth 70). The word that he used carries the weight of America’s turbulent racial history, and though he insists that he used it in its literal sense, his colleagues interpret it otherwise which leads to Coleman’s disgrace. Wittgenstein’s theory of language games comes in handy for understanding what is at play here.

Unlike the theorists who believe meaning of words is something abstract and isolated, Wittgenstein introduces the concept of “language games” – the idea that language is intricately woven into specific actions and contexts, making it more than just a vehicle for conveying information. The term “‘language-game’ is meant to bring into prominence the fact that the *speaking* of language is part of an activity, or of a form of life” (Wittgenstein 10) – the shared social practices, behaviors, and ways of living give language its meaning. For instance, Wittgenstein explains it on the example of the sentence “Five slabs:”

Now what is the difference between the report or statement “Five slabs” and the order “Five slabs!”?—Well, it is the part which uttering these words plays in the language game. No doubt the tone of voice and the look with which they are uttered, and much else besides, will also be different. (Wittgenstein 10)

Thus, to fully understand the meaning of an utterance, one must also consider tone, facial expressions, and other contextual cues. Rather than being something abstract and isolated, for Wittgenstein “meaning is a matter of the role an expression plays in human social behavior. To know the expression’s meaning is just to know how to deploy the expression appropriately in conversational settings” (Lycan 76). When Coleman uses the word “spooks” (referring to the absent students), the Athena College staff fails to recognize the language games that are at play and choose an alternative (derogatory) interpretation of the word “spooks:”

“Because if we look in the dictionary, what do we find as the first meaning of ‘spook’? The primary meaning, ‘i. Informal, a ghost; specter.’”

“But Dean Silk, that is not the way it was taken. Let me read to you the second dictionary meaning. ‘2. Disparaging. A Negro.’ . . . But how could I know they were black students if I had never laid eyes on them and, other than their names, had no knowledge of them?” (Roth 75)

The word “spooks” may have multiple meanings, but the meaning intended by Coleman can only be fully grasped when we consider the context in which it is spoken. By disregarding the context, the college staff misunderstands the situation, illustrating Wittgenstein’s point that the meaning is deeply contextual (“the meaning of a word is its use in the language” (20) as Wittgenstein explains) and cannot be separated from the situations in which language is used. To further explain this,

one can refer to the novelist David Foster Wallace's words on Wittgenstein:

But as Mr. L. Wittgenstein's *Philosophical Investigations* proved in the 1950s, words actually have the meanings they do because of certain rules and verification tests that are imposed on us from outside our own subjectivities, viz., by the community in which we have to get along and communicate with other people. Wittgenstein's argument, which is admittedly very complex and gnomic and opaque, basically centers on the fact that a word like "pain" means what it does for me because of the way the community I'm part of has tacitly agreed to use "pain". . . If words' meanings depend on transpersonal rules and these rules on community consensus, language is not only conceptually non-Private but also irreducibly public, political, and ideological. (47)

In other words, the meaning of words like "pain" or "spooks" depends not on the speaker's intent alone, but on the shared understanding within a specific community. Wallace explains that language is "public, political, and ideological" (47) which leads us to the question why Coleman's colleagues refuse his explanation. As an ex-dean and an influential figure, Coleman is admired by some but feared and resented by others. When he was the dean, Coleman's reconstruction of the faculty made him enemies, so his colleagues readily use this misstep as an opportunity to bring him down. Coleman's language mishap puts him in an unfavorable position with his colleagues who act as "an invisible entity that observes and judges the behavior of the individual" (del Ama 96). This entity exercises its "inquisitorial power" (del Ama 98) through *language*: "In *The Human Stain*, public opinion reveals itself as an instrument of linguistic inquisition in the service of omnipresent political correctness, a contemporary manifestation of conventional control over thinking, behavior, and language" (del Ama 98). When Coleman's sister learns of the incident, she wonders, "One has to be so terribly frightened of every word one uses?" (Roth 287). Her question reveals the fear instilled by public settings, where one must carefully consider both words and behavior.

Coleman's downfall caused by a single word introduces the crucial role of language throughout his life, especially in his formative years. His father, a key influence, wielded language as both a tool and a weapon. Coleman recalls: "The father who never lost his temper. The father who had another way of beating you down. With words. With speech. With what he called 'the language of Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Dickens'"

(Roth 82). This awareness of words' power marked Coleman's upbringing: "He [Coleman] went to Howard anyway. Had he not, his father would—with words alone, with just the English language—have killed him" (Roth 91).

Furthermore, Mr. Silk was meticulous about proper language use, which he instilled in his children:

at least at home he was able to speak with all his deliberateness and precision and directness and could wither you with words. He was very fussy about his children speaking properly. Growing up, they never said, "See the bow-wow." They didn't even say, "See the doggie." They said, "See the Doberman. See the beagle. See the terrier." They learned things had classifications. They learned the power of naming precisely. He was teaching them English all the time. (Roth 83)

This emphasis on precise language reflects Mr. Silk's belief that words carry weight and that naming things accurately is not just about communication but about asserting control over meaning and identity, which is expressed in Wittgenstein theory as well. Mr. Silk, being an optician forced to work as a waiter, emphasized precise language, valuing it as a means of self-knowledge and personal development.

Mr. Silk's death marks a critical moment for Coleman, coinciding with another life-defining incident – while attending Howard University to fulfill his father's wishes, Coleman experiences overt racial discrimination for the first time: "In the segregated South there were no separate identities, not even for him and his roommate. No such subtleties allowed, and the impact was devastating. Nigger—and it meant him" (Roth 91). This label has a profound effect, prompting Coleman to reject such a categorization and to resist Howard's collective identity: "Never for him the tyranny of the we that is dying to suck you in, the coercive, inclusive, historical, inescapable moral we with its insidious *E pluribus unum*" (Roth 96). Geoffrey M. J. Chappell explains that "individual identity and collective identity are intimately linked; each builds the other" (4), but Coleman, threatened by the "we" that could engulf his individuality, moves away from collective identification.

After his father's death, Coleman feels liberated to control his own life and set out independently: "This had been purposed by the mighty gods! Silky's freedom. The raw I. All the subtlety of being Silky Silk" (Roth 95). Coleman chooses autonomy, and the "language in which Coleman becomes fluent is the language of individuality, of self" (Kelly 193). He crafts a new identity, embracing the concept of "'postethnic' America [where] identities are chosen rather than assigned and this choice is

largely voluntary—a daring, if not controversial, assertion” (Dragulescu 96).

By choosing to reinvent himself, Coleman embodies the “traditional American hero, the hero of self-invention” (Kelly 193). This transformation aligns with the American ideal of self-made identity: “To become a new being. To bifurcate. The drama that underlies America’s story, the high drama that is upping and leaving—and the energy and cruelty that rapturous drive demands” (Roth 300).

Coleman further develops the idea of individualism when he decides to reinvent his race thus showcasing how race can be performative (formed through many performances) just like gender (as suggested by Judith Butler who sees gender as “an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a stylized repetition of acts” (179) and hence “a constituted social temporality” (179)). To Butler, one becomes man or woman by repeating certain performative acts. This approach can be applied to the treatment of race in the novel, considering that race

like gender constitutes a complex dimension of identity, ‘materializes’ in reiterative practices dictated by power relations. What constitutes ‘whiteness’ or ‘blackness’ at a particular historical moment is predicated on society’s power relations revealed in racialized discourses” (Dragulescu 96).

Thus, Coleman establishes his new identity through a series of practices, learning to wield language as his primary tool. He becomes aware of his power to recreate himself when Doc Chizner, his boxing coach, advises him not to disclose his race: “If nothing comes up . . . you don’t bring it up. You’re neither one thing nor the other. You’re Silky Silk. That’s enough” (Roth 88). The death of Coleman’s father and the incident where he is called “nigger” prompt him to extend Doc Chizner’s advice beyond the boxing ring. Butler suggests that gender is formed through performative acts; similarly, Coleman constructs his race through his performances. As Zuckerman describes: “Once you set the thing in motion, your art was being a white man. Being, in your brother’s words, ‘more white than the whites.’ That was your singular act of invention: every day you woke up to be what you had made yourself” (Roth 302). Coleman’s major acts of racial reinvention include enrolling at New York University as a white man, enlisting in the U.S. Navy as a white man, and getting a tattoo of “U.S. Navy” on his shoulder—“a synecdoche *par excellence*” (Kelly 198) that stands “for the totality of Coleman’s life” (Kelly 198). These performances culminate in his choice to study and teach classics, “[a]s white a subject as there was in the

curriculum” (Roth 294) according to his brother Walt, and to marry Iris, a white woman to whom he never reveals the truth. Coleman meticulously maintains this constructed identity by using the “right” words—until one slip undoes it all. The fluidity of language that allows Coleman to reshape his identity is a double-edged sword – it helps Coleman to reinvent his identity, but it also leads to the undoing of his identity.

2.2. Faunia Farley and Her Rejection of Words

Coleman, whose life is destroyed by a single word, finds comfort in Faunia Farley, who rejects words altogether. Faunia refuses to learn to read; she threatens Coleman: “Bad enough having to hear people speak. Start teaching me to read, force me into that, push reading on me, and it’ll be you who push me over the edge” (Roth 32).

Faunia’s unusual motivation to lower her social position stems from her childhood trauma. As a child, Faunia accused her stepfather of sexual abuse, but her mother dismissed her claims, accusing her of lying. In Wittgenstein’s theory it is crucial to understand language games. Like Coleman’s slip and his use of the word “spooks, Faunia’s word “abuser” is rejected as well as Faunia does not take all pieces of information into account (her mother’s character and her tendencies to live comfortably off her husband’s money: “The mother liked money, remarried money, and the rich stepfather wouldn’t leave Faunia alone” (Roth 27)). Her mother’s betrayal marks the beginning of a series of traumatic events in Faunia’s life to which Faunia reacts by feigning illiteracy: “Her illiteracy is a way for her to stand outside of history, to be immune from Les’s Vietnam War nightmares and to the violence that has already claimed her children” (Schwartz 75). Del Ama describes Faunia’s choice as an act of “social ataraxia” – a way to stand outside of society’s pressures and traumas, including the abuse and loss she has endured (104). With her illiteracy, Faunia attempts to remove herself from the “language game” that defines her reality. Language has failed her, so she refuses to participate in the system that constructs the world in ways that have harmed her. Yet, paradoxically, her silence becomes another form of communication—her illiteracy speaks volumes, just as Wittgenstein suggests that meaning often lies not in individual words but in their use (or non-use). Due to Faunia’s “absence” of words, nobody knows who the real Faunia is – an intelligent woman with a deep soul and emotional scars.

When Faunia dies, her words are again invalidated, as her father chooses not to read her diary. He states: “It can’t be more awful than everything else,” to which his nurse insists: “You don’t want to read it”

(Roth 260). Had Faunia's mother believed her earlier words, Faunia's life might have taken a different path. Instead, Faunia closes herself off from the world, revealing glimpses of her true self only to Coleman and a crow named Prince.

2.3. The Role of Words in Other Characters' Lives

Prince, the crow, becomes Faunia's confidant, the only being to whom she fully reveals herself. Raised by humans, Prince is isolated from other crows, as he "doesn't have the right voice. He doesn't know the crow language. They don't like him out there. Eventually he came down to me, because I was out there. They would have killed him" (Roth 212). This reflects Geoffrey M. J. Chappell's analysis of the link between individual and collective identity:

Individual identity and collective identity are intimately linked; each builds the other (Gleason, 1983, p. 914). The individual adopts the group's practices, or vice versa, considering themselves to already possess the necessary traits and practices the individual begins to ascribe to the designation. In the same way, if the group recognizes the individual as belonging, then the collective will socialize the individual by teaching them the acceptable behaviour of the group (who we are, what we do, what is unacceptable behaviour and so on). (4)

The crow does not know the acceptable behavior of the group – his inability to speak the right "words" and "language" makes him a foreigner among the other crows. His identity is defined by his linguistic isolation, underscoring how words and language shape one's sense of belonging.

Similarly, Delphine Roux, a French professor and head of the Language Department at Athena College, finds herself unable to fit in with her American colleagues:

What's the point of being smart here when, because I am not from here, I am de facto dumb... Thinking that the only English she really understands—no, the only American she understands—is academic American, which is hardly American, which is why she can't make it in, will never make it in, which is why there'll never be a man, why this will never be her home, why her intuitions are wrong and always will be (Roth 242).

Despite speaking English fluently, Delphine feels alienated from them. She feels that her identity is constrained and cannot be expressed fully in a non-native language, reinforcing the idea that language influences one's sense of self.

Beyond creating group inclusion and shaping identity, words in *The Human Stain* have the power to solidify the realities of the ex-Vietnam soldiers. These veterans struggle with confronting the Wall, a massive monument inscribed with the names of the soldiers who died in the war. Facing this Wall becomes a significant step toward their mental recovery. Only when the ex-soldiers see the names of their fallen friends on the Wall do they fully acknowledge their comrades' deaths, allowing their loss to become real:

But what is next is facing the Wall. He [Les Farley, Faunia's ex-husband and a war veteran] has to go look at Kenny's name. And this he can't do. It was enough once to look up Kenny's name in the book they've got at the VA. After, he was sick for a week. That was all could think about. That's all he can think about anyway. Kenny there beside him without his head. Day and night he thinks, Why Kenny, why Chip, why Buddy, why them and not me? Sometimes he thinks that they're the lucky ones. It's over for them. No, no way, no how, is he going to the Wall. That Wall.

Absolutely not. Can't do it. Won't do it. That's it. (Roth 197)

Our understanding of the world is structured through language — through the way we use words in our daily lives, or “language games.” For the soldiers, the act of inscription makes their grief tangible. Until their names are written, their fallen comrades exist in an abstract limbo.

3. Conclusion

Ludwig Wittgenstein's philosophical assertion that words not only reflect but create reality resonates strongly throughout *The Human Stain*. According to Wittgenstein, language is not just a tool for describing the world; it is instrumental in shaping our perception and reality itself. Words construct meaning and structure our experiences, creating the boundaries of what can be thought and understood. In Roth's novel, this idea manifests powerfully through the character of Coleman Silk, for whom language plays a central role in defining his identity.

Throughout his childhood, Coleman is deeply influenced by Mr. Silk's insistence on proper language, which ultimately affects how

Coleman sees himself and the world. Language becomes a framework that structures Coleman's reality and shapes his understanding of identity. This concept aligns with Judith Butler's theory of performativity, which posits that gender is not inherent but constructed through repeated linguistic and social acts. The paper expands this view and applies it to the concept of race (in Roth's novel) – Coleman creates his racial identity through specific performative acts. He enrolls at New York University as a white man, gets the tattoo "U.S. Navy" onto his shoulder as a mark of whiteness, chooses to study classics – a subject historically associated with white culture, and marries a white woman. These acts of self-creation can be viewed as an application of Wittgenstein's notion that words and symbols are not neutral but active forces that constitute one's reality.

However, Coleman's downfall occurs due to a single linguistic misstep. When he uses the word "spooks" in the classroom setting, he sets in motion a chain of events that leads to his personal and professional ruin. This echoes Wittgenstein's point that the meaning of words is not fixed but context-dependent and a single shift in context can completely alter one's reality. Had Coleman not used the word "spooks," his life might have taken a very different path.

Similarly, other characters in the novel are shaped by their peculiar relationship with language. When her claim of sexual abuse is disbelieved, Faunia Farley rejects written words entirely and lives as an illiterate. Faunia's rejection of words is an attempt to escape the reality constructed by language, a reality that has caused her great harm.

Faunia's silence underlines the y of the "wrong word." The crow, whom Faunia confides in, is similarly alienated because he is rejected by society for his "incorrect" words. This alienation reflects Wittgenstein's idea that language is inherently social; it is negotiated through shared understandings, and when someone's words fall outside this shared framework, they end up marginalized.

Delphine Roux, another character in the novel, also struggles with language. As a non-native speaker, she feels that she will never truly fit in because she believes her language will always be imperfect.

The most explicit example of language as having the power to shape reality occurs with the ex-Vietnam soldiers. These men come to terms with their comrades' deaths only upon seeing their names written on the Wall. Wittgenstein argued that language constructs our relationship to reality, and for these soldiers, it is through the inscription of names—through language—that the soldiers' deaths are given meaning. The act of naming transforms their grief from an abstract experience to one that is tangible and publicly recognized.

In *The Human Stain*, Roth illustrates how the words shape the characters' worlds. In Wittgenstein's framework, language creates the world we inhabit, and the lives of the characters in the novel unfold according to the words they choose. Applying Wittgenstein's theory of language to the novel highlights the power of words and language as the novel's central message. Behind all those ill-fated destinies lies the language that defines, constrains, and transforms the reality of its speakers. By applying Wittgenstein's theory, one can reveal Roth's emphasis on words that, in the novel, serve as a force that shapes our reality.

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SAŽETAK: SNAGA RIJEČI U ROMANU *THE HUMAN STAIN* (2000.) PHILIPA ROTH

Ovaj rad otkriva kako roman *The Human Stain* (2000.) Philipa Rotha istražuje riječi i jezik kao nešto što istovremeno definira i ograničava identitet. Za Rotha jezik je kao dvosjekli mač koji oblikuje stvarnost, ali i nameće društvena ograničenja, posebno kroz iskustva Colemana Silka i Faunie Farley. Rad se fokusira na Colemana Silka, Afroamerikanca koji odlučuje živjeti kao bijelac kako bi pobjegao od društvenih ograničenja, ali se njegov svijet urušava zbog jedne pogrešno protumačene riječi. Njegovo putovanje ilustrira dvojaku prirodu jezika kao sredstva za reinenciju, ali i kao sredstva opresije. Za razliku od Colemana koji koristi moć jezika da bi rekonstruirao svoj identitet, Faunia Farley glumeći nepismenost potpuno odbacuje jezik pružajući na taj način otpor traumi koju je pretrpjela, ali i društvenim etiketama. Primjenjujući

Wittgensteinov pojam “jezične igre”, ova analiza otkrit će da je u romanu *The Human Stain* riječ sila koje pokreće, stvara i uništava identitete i društvenu stvarnost svojih govornika.

Ključne riječi: riječi, identitet, postmodernizam, reinencija, Coleman Silk

RESHAPING IDENTITIES THROUGH IRONY IN CHIMAMANDA NGOZI ADICHIE'S THE THING AROUND YOUR NECK (2009)

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Abstract: This paper examines Adichie's use of irony in (2009), particularly in "The Thing Around Your Neck" and "Imitation", as a means of exposing how Nigerian women navigate patriarchal and capitalist constraints. Irony reveals the illusion of choice they face, yet the situational irony they exist within ultimately catalyzes their shift from passivity to resistance. Applying Wayne Booth's theories of stable and unstable irony and Linda Hutcheon's discourse-based irony, this paper explores how Adichie critiques systemic oppression while reshaping postcolonial and gendered identities. By portraying Nigerian women as complex individuals rather than passive victims, Adichie challenges the "single story" and creates space for self-definition.

Keywords: postcolonial identity, irony, displacement, Nigerian literature, narrative resistance

1. Introduction

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, now a celebrated Nigerian writer, did not achieve immediate success. In her 2009 TEDGlobal talk, "The Danger of a Single Story," she recalls how a professor dismissed her novel *Purple Hibiscus* for not being "authentically African" simply because her characters were middle-class Nigerians rather than impoverished figures. She notes, "People in the West often think of Africa as one thing, a monolith defined by catastrophe" ("The Danger of a Single Story" 05:47). In response, Adichie challenges these reductive narratives by portraying Nigerian women beyond colonial stereotypes and patriarchal constraints.

This commitment to representing complex female identities is grounded in both her lived experience and academic background. Born and raised in Nigeria, she moved to the United States at nineteen to

pursue higher education, earning a BA in Political Science from Eastern Connecticut State University and two MA degrees in Creative Writing from Johns Hopkins University and African Studies from Yale University (Adichie, "Welcome"). Growing up in a patriarchal Nigerian society and experiencing life as a foreigner in America shaped Adichie's perspective, inspiring her to examine what it means to be a woman in both Nigerian and American contexts.

Adichie rose to fame with her debut novel, *Purple Hibiscus* (2003), which tells the story of a young girl coming of age as she struggles against the expectations of a patriarchal Nigerian society and the pressures of her own family (Adichie "Purple Hibiscus"). She continued tackling themes of power and displacement in her later works, including *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2006) and *Americanah* (2013) (Adichie "Books"). In addition to fiction, Adichie largely contributed to African feminism, particularly through her works *We Should All Be Feminists* (2014) and *Dear Ijeawele, or A Feminist Manifesto in Fifteen Suggestions* (2017) (Adichie "Welcome"). Her feminist approach aligns with Alice Walker's concept of "womanism," which "evokes the Black woman's glory and pride in their cultural heritage and provides them with a sociopolitical framework to fully engage in society" (El-Shennawy 374).

Adichie's short story collection *The Thing Around Your Neck* (2009) reflects many of the concerns explored in her previous work, offering a deep and complex insight into Nigerian female identity, displacement, and survival through irony. One of the key concerns in Adichie's writing is the misrepresentation of Nigerian women. While many scholars have examined her feminist and immigrant narratives, less attention has been given to how she uses irony to critique oppressive systems and as a tool of resistance. This study builds on these discussions but focuses instead on irony as a narrative and thematic device for reshaping female identity, showing how her characters, though not initially resistant, ultimately come to redefine themselves in response to the cultural and societal forces that confine them.

By applying Booth's concepts of stable and unstable irony, along with Hutcheon's discourse-based irony, this paper argues that Adichie's use of irony is not just a literary device but a way of highlighting the entrapment of Nigerian women within the opposing demands of patriarchy and liberal capitalism, family expectations and individual desires, and cultural heritage and Western influence. However, Adichie does not portray her female protagonists as helpless victims. Instead, through situational irony, their struggles become a catalyst for change, pushing them to take control of their own lives, even when their choices come with uncertainty and risk.

2. Theoretical Framework for the Study and Literature Review

Before examining Booth's and Hutcheon's theories, it is crucial to define situational irony, as it plays a central role in *The Thing Around Your Neck*. Murfin and Ray describe situational irony as a "discrepancy between expectation and reality" that "derives primarily from events or situations themselves, as opposed to statements made by individuals" (385). Unlike verbal irony, situational irony arises from events, creating moments of crisis and realization for characters. This distinction is essential in understanding how irony functions in Adichie's stories, where characters face circumstances that challenge their assumptions about identity, power, and agency.

Adichie's female protagonists, particularly Akunna in "The Thing Around Your Neck" and Nkem in "Imitation," exist within situational irony. Akunna arrives in America full of hopes and dreams of a better life but instead experiences alienation and exploitation. Similarly, Nkem believes that she is privileged to live in the elite American suburbs, but her illusion of stability shatters after she finds out that her husband's mistress has moved in with him back in their Nigerian home. In both cases, irony forces the women to confront uncomfortable truths about their agency and position in the world. Rather than being passive victims of irony, these women transform their circumstances, although in ways that are not conventionally perceived as empowerment.

Wayne Booth's *A Rhetoric of Irony* (1974) lays the groundwork for understanding the complexities of irony and how it influences interpretation. He classifies irony into two distinct types: stable and unstable. Stable irony provides a clear and intended meaning, where the author and the reader ultimately share a common understanding. As Booth explains, in stable irony, "the meanings are hidden, but when they are discovered by the proper reader, they are firm as a rock" (235). It requires an act of reconstruction, but once that meaning is uncovered, it remains fixed. In contrast, unstable irony resists singular interpretation, continuously undermining any fixed meaning. Booth describes this kind of irony as one where "no statement can really mean what it says" (241), emphasizing that every assertion is subject to ironic undermining. One key distinction between these two forms is how they engage the reader. As Booth explains, some instances of stable irony are immediately recognizable and "require no special act of reconstitution or translation, because they assert an irony in things or events that the speaker has observed and wants to share" (236). He distinguishes these from covert stable irony, which requires more interpretation, and from unstable irony, which does not allow for such straightforward reconstruction.

This is particularly relevant to Adichie's work, where irony both reveals and complicates power structures. Some of her stories, like "Imitation," function as stable irony, the reader clearly understands the critique of gendered power imbalances. Others, such as "The Thing Around Your Neck," remain more ambiguous, leaving the reader uncertain about the protagonist's fate and whether resistance is even possible.

Building on this, Booth highlights the role of the reader in interpreting irony. While some instances are immediately clear, others demand active engagement, particularly in unstable irony, where "our interpretations will slip away from us even as they are made" (233). Adichie's irony operates at both levels, allowing her fiction to remain open to interpretation, with meaning shaped by the reader's perspective and experience.

This distinction is useful in analyzing Adichie's work, as her stories either explicitly critique societal structures or engage in implicit irony that remains open to multiple interpretations. Some of her narratives function as stable ironies, where the critique is clear, much like in Swift's *A Modest Proposal*. As Booth explains, a work like *A Modest Proposal* is an example where "we cannot really claim to have read [it] until we have discovered precisely where the implied author stands and performed the precise reconstruction asked of us" (233). However, in other cases, Adichie employs unstable irony, leaving readers uncertain about the precise stance of the text. In such moments, the irony resists closure, mirroring Booth's notion of irony that "will not yield to clear and final classification" (233). By blending both forms, Adichie complicates reader expectations, challenging singular narratives and reinforcing the layered complexity of postcolonial identity and power structures.

While Booth examines irony as a rhetorical and interpretive tool, Linda Hutcheon shifts the focus to its role in shaping discourse and power dynamics. In *Irony's Edge* (1994), she challenges the idea that irony has a single fixed meaning determined by the author. Instead, she argues that irony is shaped through interpretation within specific cultural and historical contexts. She states, "all irony happens intentionally, whether the attribution be made by the encoder or the decoder" (113), meaning that irony is not just something an author creates but something an audience actively constructs. This perspective is especially useful in understanding Adichie's work, where irony functions differently depending on the reader's background. A Nigerian reader may interpret certain critiques of gender or colonial legacies in a way that differs from an American audience, whose own cultural assumptions shape their understanding. Hutcheon explains that irony

requires interpreters to “make irony happen” (113), suggesting that meaning is always in flux. In Adichie’s fiction, this dynamic is particularly evident in how her characters navigate identity, power, and belonging, making irony a key tool in her critique of both Nigerian and Western perspectives.

Hutcheon highlights irony’s ability to challenge dominant narratives, emphasizing that it is not merely a rhetorical device but a mode that carries “emotion-charged value judgments” and is “implicated in questions of hierarchy and power (in terms of either maintenance or subversion)” (38). This makes irony particularly powerful in feminist discourse, where it exposes and critiques the mechanisms that have historically marginalized women’s voices. In *The Thing Around Your Neck*, Adichie’s characters use irony as a tool to critique both Nigerian patriarchy and the limitations of Western feminism.

So far, Adichie’s short stories from *The Thing Around Your Neck* have received significant scholarly attention. Critics have mostly approached them from feminist and postcolonial theoretical lenses, exploring themes and concepts such as gender, migration, and cultural identity. Using a feminist reformist lens, Christy Aisha Olorunfemi (2023) explores the struggles of Adichie’s female characters against patriarchal structures, grappling with gender discrimination, financial dependence, and societal pressures, showing the ways they assert themselves and push back against limitations. Similarly, Emmanuel Ngwira (2017) analyzes the transnational journeys of African women migrants, emphasizing how they navigate the tension between their cultural roots and the expectations of their new environments, experiencing a sense of double alienation while struggling to balance tradition and adaptation, ultimately shaping their own identities. Svetlana Stefanova (2023) contributes to this discussion by analyzing how migrant women conceptualize home through physical and symbolic spaces in Adichie’s work, employing the theories of wayfinding and imageability. Other scholars, such as Mohammed Senoussi (2021) and Ramesh Prasad Adhikary (2022), have examined how Adichie’s short stories portray cultural hybridity, identity struggles, and the lasting influence of patriarchy and colonialism on Nigerian women.

While these studies provide valuable insights into feminism, migration, and identity, they do not focus on how irony functions as a structural and thematic tool in Adichie’s narratives. Specifically, no study has examined irony in *The Thing Around Your Neck* through the intersection of Booth’s stable/unstable irony and Hutcheon’s discourse-based irony. This paper addresses this gap by demonstrating that irony

in Adichie's short stories is not merely a stylistic element but a deliberate tool of resistance and identity reformation.

3. Irony as Entrapment and Resistance in "The Thing Around Your Neck"

Adichie's "The Thing Around Your Neck," which gives its title to the entire collection, sets the thematic tone for other stories. The prevailing issue in an immigrant experience, that the story warns the readers of, is the clash between expectations and reality most immigrants eventually face. On top of that, the vulnerability of Akunna's experience is amplified through the fact that she is an African woman. The "thing around your neck" symbolizes the feeling of suffocation many immigrants experience, grappling with the need to adapt while feeling displaced. Ironically, instead of an ornament, it becomes a constricting burden on her identity and sense of belonging.

Akunna's journey to self-realization is imbued with irony, shaping both her external and internal struggles. Like many immigrants, she arrives in America believing that her life will improve as long as she works hard enough to succeed. Instead, she is confronted with the harsh realities of an exploitative capitalist system, leaving her feeling isolated and alienated. The irony in her experience begins as soon as she arrives in America. At first, Akunna is relieved to land in a familiar environment, living with her closest family. However, she soon realizes that her supposed safe haven is anything but, as her uncle sexually harasses her in the house's basement, justifying his actions with the phrase of America being all about "give-and-take" (Adichie 116). This seemingly benevolent expression masks a deeper irony, as it reflects a system where even familial bonds are reduced to transactions. The phrase also covertly implies an egalitarian dynamic, yet Akunna's experience proves the opposite: she is powerless, unprotected, and at the mercy of a relative who exploits his authority.

Booth's concept of stable irony applies here, as the uncle's statement is not meant to be taken at face value. As Booth explains, stable irony is "intended, deliberately created by human beings to be heard or read and understood with some precision by other human beings" (5). The uncle's words, though seemingly harmless, expose the hypocrisy and cruelty of those who claim to know the culture while exploiting the vulnerable, making this an instance of stable irony where the actual meaning is clear once the contradiction is recognized.

Akunna's subsequent struggle for survival in America amplifies the irony of her situation. Before immigrating, Akunna believed in the American Dream but soon finds herself on the edge of existence, barely

making ends meet as a waitress. The contrast between what Akunna hoped for and what she experiences exemplifies situational irony, as her anticipated path to success instead results in financial struggle and emotional isolation. Akunna's story highlights how irony can emerge from the disconnect between aspiration and reality within the narrative itself. She notes how customers often "left so much food on their plates and crumpled a few dollar bills down, as though it was an offering, expiation for the wasted food" (Adichie 118). Her silence makes the injustice of her situation even worse, reflecting the larger systems that push immigrants to the margins and make them feel unseen in American society.

Ngozi's use of second-person narration strengthens the irony in Akunna's story by placing the reader directly in her position, making them experience her growing disillusionment firsthand. Hutcheon notes that irony is inherently "axiological" or "evaluative" (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1980b: 77, qtd. in Hutcheon 38), meaning it does more than simply add depth to a narrative. It actively engages readers in interpreting and questioning the text. This makes their role essential in recognizing the gap between Akunna's expectations and the harsh reality she faces. The narrator's detached tone only amplifies this irony, underscoring how much Akunna suppresses her emotions. Just as she is silenced in an unfamiliar world, the irony embedded in the story ensures that her struggles are deeply felt, even when left unspoken.

Akunna's relationship with an American man adds another layer to this irony, exposing the performative nature of cross-cultural interactions. Though he seems open-minded and intrigued by her background, he sees her more as an exotic curiosity than as a person. He tells her about his travels to Africa and Asia, emphasizing how he never does "the silly tourist stuff" but wants to see "how real people lived, like in the shantytowns" (Adichie 120). The irony is sharp. His desire to witness "real" life in impoverished areas exposes his ignorance rather than his cultural awareness. Without ever asking Akunna about her own experiences, he projects his assumptions onto her culture, reducing her identity to a symbol of authenticity and struggle, rather than recognizing her as an individual with her own perspectives and history.

Booth's concept of unstable irony is particularly relevant here, as the boyfriend's words resist a single interpretation. His comment might seem like an attempt to express respect for African cultures, yet to Akunna and to the reader attuned to the underlying power dynamics, it reveals his ignorance and condescension. His romanticization of poverty reflects a privileged detachment from the struggles of the people he

claims to admire. Booth notes that in unstable irony, “what we do with a work, or what it does with us, will depend on our decision, conscious or unconscious, about whether we are asked by it to push through its confusions to some final point of clarity or to see through it to a possibly infinite series of further confusions” (241). This is precisely what happens in this moment: while the boyfriend believes he is showing appreciation for Akunna’s background, he instead reduces her identity to a narrow and exoticized narrative, leaving the reader to struggle with the complexity of his words and their implications.

Akunna’s silence makes this gap between perception and reality even more apparent. Instead of confronting her boyfriend for his ignorant assumptions, she remains quiet, allowing the irony to manifest through her refusal to engage. As Hutcheon notes, irony “involves the attribution of an evaluative, even judgmental attitude, and this is where the emotive (Meyers 1974: 173) or affective dimension also enters—much to the dismay of most critical discourse and most critics” (35). In Akunna’s case, silence becomes both a tool of resistance and a reflection of powerlessness. Her quiet endurance forces the reader to recognize the imbalance in her relationship, where her boyfriend’s superficial cultural awareness overshadows her lived experience. Rather than challenging his misguided perceptions directly, she lets them stand uncorrected, making the irony even sharper.

This silence, however, also marks the beginning of Akunna’s eventual realization that she has a choice. While she initially arrives in America convinced that financial stability and opportunity will replace the difficulties of life in Nigeria, she instead finds herself performing survival: working long hours, enduring racism, and accepting an objectified existence in her relationship. The situational irony lies in the fact that she can only reject this performance after hitting rock bottom. It is her father’s death that finally breaks the illusion, pushing her to accept that neither America nor her American boyfriend offers her a true sense of belonging. Her decision to leave, rather than continue attempting to assimilate, is not portrayed as a triumphant escape. However, for the first time, she actively chooses her own path instead of adhering to external expectations. Ironically, the very circumstances that were supposed to free her —migration, economic opportunity, and interracial romance —become the means through which she realizes their limitations.

This irony remains unstable in Booth’s sense. Akunna’s choice can be read as empowerment, but it is also an act of survival in response to circumstances that left her with no alternatives. Hutcheon’s discursive irony is also at play, as Akunna’s decision emerges from the conflicting

pressures imposed by American capitalist expectations and the Nigerian cultural assumption that the West is always “better.” As Hutcheon writes, “Irony, therefore, is like all other communication acts in that it is always culture-specific (Kuiper 1984: 461), relying on the presence of a common memory shared by addresser and addressee (Lotman 1982: 81)” (95). In returning, she ironically reclaims her agency not through American individualism, but by rejecting the very system that was supposed to liberate her.

Her boyfriend believes himself to be culturally aware, yet his perspective is shaped by his own privileged detachment rather than any real understanding. Instead of exhausting herself by constantly correcting his overly romanticized and shallow views, Akunna chooses to remain silent, not challenging his misconceptions and, in doing so, making them even more apparent.

4. Performance, Power, and the Irony of Displacement in “Imitation”

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie’s “Imitation” explores the irony of identity displacement and performance, shaped by patriarchy and materialism, through its protagonist, Nkem. Living in American suburbia, Nkem performs the role of a wealthy Nigerian man’s wife, while her husband, Obiora, plays the part of a powerful businessman in Lagos. The central irony of the story is that Nkem’s life in America, seemingly fulfilling in its material wealth, is emotionally void. Through this, Adichie critiques the illusion of the American Dream, revealing that Nkem’s marriage and status, as the title of the story suggests, are merely an imitation, shaped by societal expectations rather than her own choices.

Wayne Booth’s concept of stable irony is particularly relevant to Adichie’s critique of patriarchal marriage and capitalist success. Booth notes that irony requires readers to reject surface meanings and actively reconstruct the author’s intended message, stating that irony “delimits a world of discourse in which we can say with great security certain things that are violated by the overt words of the discourse” (6). In “Imitation,” Obiora’s control over Nkem’s life is not imposed directly but is sustained by a carefully constructed illusion of privilege. He dictates where she and their children live, presenting himself as a provider while maintaining a relationship with another woman. When Nkem proudly states, “We live in a lovely suburb near Philadelphia” (Adichie 24), she reinforces the illusion of success, outwardly embracing the image of an ideal life while privately grappling with a sense of displacement. The irony here is stable in Booth’s sense, as it can be reconstructed by the

reader as a clear critique of how material success is often a facade masking personal emptiness.

The irony in Nkem's experience peaks when she realizes that Obiora's affair is becoming more serious. Her friend *Ijemamaka*, envious of her luxurious life, delivers the news with the nonchalant remark, "This is what happens when you marry a rich man" (Adichie 22), a statement deeply embedded in Nigerian patriarchal logic. Here, Adichie employs irony as a tool of critique, exposing the discursive and institutional mechanisms that have historically silenced women's voices. As Hutcheon argues, irony can "work to change how people interpret" dominant ideologies, offering a means of subverting entrenched power structures (30). Irony lies in the fact that the wealth and status that are meant to provide Nkem with security instead leave her emotionally powerless. Infidelity is not just tolerated but expected, seen as the inevitable price women must pay for a privileged life. Nkem, however, experiences an ironic realization: the home she still calls "hers" in Lagos has been occupied by another woman, symbolizing the depth of her displacement. The irony here is unstable, as Booth suggests, since it does not resolve into a clear and final meaning but rather leads to "a possibly infinite series of further confusions" (Booth 241). Nkem's "home" was never truly hers; it was always Obiora's, just as her life in America has been shaped by his decisions, not her own.

Her reaction to the betrayal is another layer of irony. Instead of directly confronting Obiora, she cuts her hair, a quiet act of defiance that is still shaped by his expectations. Obiora has always admired her long hair, insisting that "long hair is more graceful on a Big Man's wife" (Adichie 40). Her decision to cut it seems rebellious, yet the irony is that she does so because she knows his mistress has short, curly hair. Even in rebellion, she imitates, her defiance shaped not by her own desires but by her relationship to him. This aligns with Hutcheon's argument that irony is not inherently subversive or liberating; it can reinforce dominant norms just as much as it can challenge them, depending on the context and the way it is received (Hutcheon 34). Nkem's act resists Obiora's control while simultaneously confirming its grip on her identity. She is not simply asserting herself but reacting to a system in which she has always been defined through her relationship to a man.

The stable irony of her marriage is further emphasized through Obiora's transactional love, which aligns with Booth's concept of stable irony as a covert yet deliberate contradiction between appearance and reality. Obiora's displays of wealth, including expensive gifts and a luxurious home, help sustain the illusion of a functional marriage. Even their children become symbols of his success, as he proudly boasts

about their American accents, calling them “Americanah” (Adichie 38), reducing their identity to mere proof of his financial ability to provide. This irony, as Booth suggests, is stable because it is intentionally created and finite in scope. Once the reader recognizes the contradiction, its meaning does not shift or require further reinterpretation. The material wealth that should signify security instead functions as a tool of control, reinforcing Adichie’s critique of how patriarchal and capitalist systems converge. While Nkem and her children appear privileged, they are merely ornaments of Obiora’s status. The material wealth that should signify security instead functions as a tool of control.

This moment exemplifies situational irony, as Nkem gains control over her own life only after experiencing complete disillusionment. Throughout the story, she remains passive, convinced that her life in America, seemingly free from the patriarchal constraints of Nigerian society, is a privilege. However, realizing that she has no control over her own home and that Obiora’s mistress has taken her place forces her to confront the illusion she has been living. In the end, it is not America that sets her free but betrayal that pushes her to act. Even if returning to Nigeria does not guarantee empowerment, it is a decision she makes for herself, breaking the cycle of silent acceptance that has defined her life.

Nkem’s decision, in Booth’s terms, shifts between stable and unstable irony. As Booth explains, stable irony is “fixed, in the sense that once a reconstruction of meaning has been made, the reader is not then invited to undermine it with further demolitions and reconstructions” (5). Nkem’s realization is not ambiguous. Rather, it serves as a definitive critique of the life she has been leading. This clarity aligns with Booth’s concept of stable irony, in which meaning is intentionally structured and resistant to multiple interpretations. However, her final act remains unresolved, resisting a single interpretation. In this, the irony is unstable. Her choice to return to Nigeria could mark an assertion of agency, but it could also signify yet another role dictated by social expectations. This reflects the fundamental instability of the irony in her decision as the narrative keeps the reader oscillating between possible interpretations without allowing full certainty. Hutcheon’s concept of irony as discursive further complicates this, as Nkem’s resistance is shaped not by a self-created identity, but by the same patriarchal and materialist structures that shaped her performance to begin with. As Hutcheon explains, irony “involves the particularities of time and place, of immediate social situation and of general culture” (86–87), meaning that it does not exist independently of its social and institutional context.

The broader unstable irony of “Imitation” extends beyond Nkem’s personal journey, critiquing both Nigerian patriarchy and American capitalism, two systems that, despite appearing distinct, operate on the same logic of maintaining appearances over reality. Hutcheon describes irony as inherently relational, functioning “in the space between the said and the unsaid” (92), which is precisely the dynamic Adichie exposes. This instability aligns with Booth’s observation that “the author insofar as we can discover him, and he is often very remote indeed, refuses to declare himself, however subtly, for any stable proposition, even the opposite of whatever proposition his irony vigorously denies” (239). In Nigeria, Obiora’s power is cemented by his status as a “Big Man,” allowing him to maintain multiple lives without consequence. In America, his success is affirmed by his ability to own a home in an elite suburb and send his children to private school. Nkem exists at the intersection of these two worlds, performing a role in each but truly belonging to neither. The irony of her situation is that even as she gains a clearer understanding of the structures shaping her life, this awareness does not necessarily grant her the power to break free from them.

Booth’s discussion of irony’s reliance on “very different demands... yielding very different and often incompatible rewards” (Booth 233) is particularly relevant here. The reader anticipates that this is Nkem’s moment of liberation, yet the story leaves that expectation unresolved. As Booth explains, irony often resists closure, and in “Imitation”, the irony lingers beyond the final lines, forcing the reader to question whether Nkem has achieved autonomy or remains trapped in a different iteration of the same performance.

Ultimately, Adichie uses irony in “Imitation” to reveal how unstable identity becomes when it is shaped by power and illusion. Nkem’s story is not just about one woman’s awakening; it is about the systems that determine who holds power and who is forced to perform. Her quiet submission, her small acts of resistance, and her final decision all reflect the contradictions of a life that is both privileged and deeply constrained. Like Booth’s ironic narrators, Adichie resists offering a neat resolution, instead leaving the reader with the unsettling realization that Nkem’s performance may never truly end.

5. Connecting the Stories: Irony as a Catalyst for Transformation

All the stories in *The Thing Around Your Neck* are imbued with irony, shaping and transforming female identities in various ways. In “Jumping Monkey Hill,” irony exposes the hypocrisy of the Western writing community, which ostensibly amplifies African voices, but in reality

dictates how these voices should sound (Adichie 95-115). In "A Private Experience," irony unsettles cultural hierarchies, pushing the protagonist to confront her own assumptions about class and religion (Adichie 43-57). These moments of irony expose the power dynamics that shape identity, yet they remain outside forces acting upon the characters.

This analysis focused on "The Thing Around Your Neck" and "Imitation" because both stories examine how displacement-related irony shapes women's lives on both a personal and structural level. Set in both America and Nigeria, they offer a comparative perspective on how women from different social strata experience irony and agency. Akunna is a young woman at the beginning of adulthood, confronting harsh realities as she tries to build a new life in the United States. Nkem, in contrast, is older and more established but still grapples with the constraints placed on her by gender and societal expectations. Their differences in age and position in society reveal the varied ways irony operates in Adichie's narratives, illustrating how it influences women's agency at different stages of life.

Irony connects the narratives of Akunna in "The Thing Around Your Neck" and Nkem in "Imitation", exposing the contradictions within their identities and revealing how their agency is shaped by the oppressive systems they navigate. Both women experience profound displacement, as Akunna struggles with the false promise of the American Dream and Nkem lives within the illusion of marital privilege. However, while irony defines the conditions of their confinement, it also becomes a means of transformation, though in different ways.

At first glance, Akunna and Nkem seem to inhabit vastly different worlds. One struggles to make ends meet as a waitress in America, while the other enjoys financial security as the wife of a wealthy Nigerian businessman. Yet both find themselves confined to roles that leave them isolated and powerless. Akunna, expected to feel grateful for her new life in America, soon realizes that migration has not freed her from power structures but has simply placed her in a different kind of subjugation. Her uncle's twisted "give-and-take" philosophy, which disguises coercion as generosity, reveals the transactional nature of the American Dream for immigrants. Meanwhile, Nkem, whose financial comfort should grant her a sense of security, comes to see that her life in America is merely a performance crafted to uphold her husband's status. As a "Big Man's wife," she may have stability, but she has no real control over her own life.

Irony, in both cases, acts as a mirror that exposes the contradictions between expectation and reality. For Akunna, it is most

striking in the gap between her aspirations and the harsh constraints placed upon her. She arrives in America believing it to be a land of limitless opportunity, only to find herself trapped in an exploitative system that renders her invisible and objectified. Even her romantic relationship, which at first seems to offer a sense of belonging, becomes yet another irony when her boyfriend reduces her to an exoticized version of authenticity rather than seeing her as a person. Her decision to leave is not a triumphant rejection of America but a quiet act of defiance, an ironic reversal of the freedom she once longed for.

Nkem's transformation unfolds in a similar way but is shaped by different contradictions. Unlike Akunna, her awakening is not driven by financial hardship but by emotional betrayal. The irony of her situation lies in the fact that, despite being placed on a pedestal as the perfect wife, she is ultimately disposable in her husband's eyes. Her response, cutting her hair, is both an act of defiance and a reminder of her entrapment. It is an attempt to reclaim control even as she remains under her husband's gaze. Her decision to return to Nigeria is equally ambiguous, balancing between empowerment and the possibility of stepping into yet another role dictated by societal expectations. By connecting these narratives, Adichie constructs a collection that resists definitive conclusions, instead compelling readers to engage with the complexities of female agency within patriarchal and capitalist structures. The irony in these stories does not merely expose systems of oppression but underscores the complex ways in which women negotiate and contest their constraints. Through silence, departure, defiance, or self-awareness, each character creates a form of resistance, however constrained or ambiguous it may be.

Therefore, irony in *The Thing Around Your Neck* is more than a literary device; it is a structural device that shapes the paths of Adichie's female protagonists. It exposes the constraints placed upon them while also creating space for resistance, even if it is subtle and uncertain. Adichie leaves her characters' struggles open-ended, especially in how they navigate agency within patriarchal and capitalist structures, highlighting how these systems continue to shape their lives.

6. Conclusion

This paper analyzed Adichie's use of irony in *The Thing Around Your Neck*, focusing on "The Thing Around Your Neck" and "Imitation", through Booth's theories of stable and unstable irony and Hutcheon's discourse-based irony. The analysis demonstrated that irony serves both as a means of entrapment and as a subtle tool for resistance for its

female protagonists, shaping their negotiations of identity, agency, and power.

By examining how irony operates within patriarchal and capitalist constraints, this study has shown that Adichie effectively critiques the structures that limit women's autonomy while illustrating the complexities of their resistance. Rather than offering clear resolutions, irony in these stories exposes contradictions and forces characters into uneasy acts of self-determination. The findings confirm that irony in Adichie's work is not merely a literary device but a central mechanism for unsettling dominant narratives, revealing how systemic forces shape female experience and how women, even within constraint, carve out spaces for self-definition.

Ultimately, Adichie's use of irony in *The Thing Around Your Neck* highlights the complexities of empowerment, showing that resistance is not a clear-cut victory but an ongoing process. Through stable, unstable, and discursive irony, she challenges simplistic ideas of identity and agency, encouraging readers to engage with the complexities of power, survival, and self-determination.

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PREOBLIKOVANJE IDENTITETA KROZ IRONIJU U DJELU *THE THING AROUND YOUR NECK* (2009) CHIMAMANDE NGOZI ADICHIE

Ovaj rad istražuje upotrebu ironije u zbirci priča *The Thing Around Your Neck* (2009) nigerijske spisateljice Chimamande Ngozi Adichie, s posebnim fokusom na priče "Ta stvar oko tvog vrata" i "Imitacija". Kroz teorijski okvir stabilne i nestabilne ironije Wayne Bootha i diskurzivne ironije Linde Hutcheon, analiza pokazuje kako Adichie koristi ironiju ne samo kao stilsku figuru, već i kao sredstvo kritike i otpora patrijarhalnim i kapitalističkim strukturama. Situaciona ironija u pričama razotkriva iluziju izbora koja stoji pred protagonistkinjama, dok ih istovremeno tjera na redefinisanje sopstvenog identiteta. Rad naglašava kako Adichie destabilizuje narative kolonijalne prošlosti i rodne potčinjenosti kroz suptilne ironične obrate, omogućavajući svojim junakinjama prostor za samodefinisanje, čak i u okvirima ograničene slobode.

U zaključku, ironija u Adichieinim pričama funkcioniše kao ključni element koji oblikuje dinamiku moći, identiteta i otpora, ostavljajući čitatelju da preispita ustaljene društvene narative.

Ključne riječi: ironija, postkolonijalni identitet, nigerijska književnost, kulturno raseljavanje, otpor kroz narativ

A MAN OF MANY EMPIRES: THE EUROPEAN IMPERIAL INTERACTIONS OF ARMINIUS VAMBÉRY ON HIS RETURN FROM CENTRAL ASIA

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Abstract: The Hungarian-born scholar and explorer, Arminius Vambéry (c.1832-1913) was well-known in nineteenth-century Europe for his pioneering travels to Central Asia in the early 1860s, where he disguised himself as a dervish in order to visit places which were generally considered dangerous and off-limits to Europeans. These remarkable exploits subsequently brought him celebrity, fame, and influence, as well as key connections that permitted him to succeed in society despite his impoverished social and economic background. Using Vambéry's two autobiographies from 1883 and 1904, this study examines how Vambéry was initially received by the upper echelons of society on his return from his Central Asian travels by briefly presenting his self-reflections on his experiences in Great Britain, France, and Austria. By contrasting his own perceptions of these encounters with three different imperial spaces, it aims to outline how Vambéry depicts his reception by European society, as well as how his initial interactions with European royalty are presented on the pages of his memoirs.

Keywords: Arminius Vambéry, Austria, autobiographies, Central Asia, empire, France, Great Britain, memoirs, nineteenth century, royalty

1. Introduction

As is well-known, the nineteenth century was an era of immense sociopolitical change which brought about many of the societal and commercial factors still recognisable in our modern world. With advances in technology, transport, and communication fomenting the rise of industrialisation and wider developments in culture, society, and the arts (see Figs *The Europeans*), maximalist ideological and geopolitical aims saw European colonialist expansion reach its apex, directly impacting vast swathes of the planet. Accordingly, these circumstances created many opportunities for Europeans to leave their

native continent to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Of their number, several left literary traces behind in the form of travelogues, memoirs, and autobiographies (see Gruber; also Schär and Toivanen).

Though it has been advanced that the present vogue for memoirs is largely the product of the current century (see Rak), other forms of life writing - such as autobiographies and travel literature - have long held considerable popular appeal among the reading public (see Karlsdottir Stubsteid 89). The objectives of the authors in writing such works may of course have varied over time, particularly in the nineteenth-century context when “acquiring knowledge and disseminating information became an important ingredient of nationalism” (Gooptu 397). Noting the comparative ease of travel by railway and steamship, these growing opportunities for mobility meant that travel-oriented volumes evolved from being merely descriptive chronicles towards “more personal and subjective forms of expression which captured the feelings, thoughts, and introspection” of their respective authors (Davey 283-284). Yet, notwithstanding their status as important cultural artifacts, the place of memoirs in scholarly research remains a point of discussion. Indeed, as Jūra Avižienis outlines, “since [memoirs] are framed neither as history nor literature”, these works instead “flounder in a no-man’s land” (Avižienis 42). This is despite the fact that the insights contained in literary memoirs and similar such works can often be utilised as a fundamental resource for specialists, be they for biographical or informational purposes in a specific social or cultural context (see Kuromiya 293) or more widely (see Wallach). Thus, in providing alternative or supplementary perspectives to the historical and sociocultural record (see Jackson 472-473), the tradition of such narratives from the colonial era (Hoorweg 269) can be viewed as particularly relevant and important to current research and scholarship.

Among the numbers of those nineteenth-century Europeans who sought adventures elsewhere can be found the subject of the present study: the scholar, explorer, and polyglot Arminius Vambéry, born in Habsburg Hungary in either 1831 or 1832 and who passed away in 1913, the year before the outbreak of World War One. A well-known European figure during his lifetime, Vambéry’s reputation was initially built on the published accounts of his extensive travels in Central Asia in the mid-1860s. Born in modest circumstances to a humble Jewish family in provincial Habsburg Hungary, Vambéry’s father died when the future explorer was just an infant. Though he was to suffer from lifelong lameness, Vambéry attended grammar school, but lacked the funds to pursue higher education at university. After working as a live-in private tutor for wealthy families, his philological interests meant that after his

late teenage years he decided to seek his fortune eastwards. As a keen linguist, he headed to Ottoman Istanbul, where for several years he taught and learnt different languages and perfected his skills in Turkish, gaining entry to elite diplomatic circles and to the inner world of the Sublime Porte (see MTAK “Ármin Vámbéry's Life”).¹

Subsequently, after a brief return to his native land, the young Hungarian then embarked on travels even further east, experiencing life in the Persian Empire before moving on – in disguise as a dervish – to what was then known as Turkestan, an area which was immensely strategic in the then-ongoing cat-and-mouse struggle between the British and Russian empires as they vied for regional influence and power. There, according to his books, Vámbéry's escapades extended to meeting with the rulers of some of these Central Asian domains, such as the Emir of Khiva, as well as experiencing some hair-raising adventures and narrow escapes on his journeys (see MTAK “Vámbéry's Second Eastern Journey”). On returning to Europe, Vámbéry's scholarly research and literary accounts of his intrepid travels in this then little-known region (to Europeans) brought him fame and fortune. He was celebrated by society, and – as will be presented here – received audiences with emperors. He was awarded a university professorship and was invited to be a member of several learned societies. Combined with his remarkable facility in dozens of languages, Vámbéry's abilities, personality, and character assisted him in transcending his outsider status that his religious and modest social origins signified at that time, thereby ensuring him remarkable academic and professional success in middle age and later life.

The present study builds on the author's earlier article which sought to examine Vámbéry's polyglot self-reflections on his language skills during his early residence in Istanbul in the late 1850s and early 1860s (Hoyte-West “Speaking Turkish like an Effendi”). Building on that analysis, this study aims to ascertain Vámbéry's interactions with various European empires on his return from Central Asia, as depicted on the pages of his two memoirs, which were written in English and published in London in 1883 and 1904 respectively – as an aside, Vámbéry's own versions of these works (with amendments) appeared subsequently in other languages. Utilising these source materials, the aim of this contribution is to observe how his first interactions with European royalty and high society are portrayed and discussed following his return from Central Asia. Accordingly, in providing a brief portrait of

¹ The spelling used by MTAK (“Vámbéry”) reflects updates to Hungarian orthography since the nineteenth century.

this self-made man via a reflective close reading (see Ohrvik) of the selected texts, it offers an exploratory case study of Vambéry's personal and professional reception within three different European imperial spaces.

2. Approach and geopolitical context

After several decades of relative obscurity, Vambéry has once again received critical and popular attention both in his land of his birth as well as further afield. As also summarised in the author's previous study (Hoyte-West "'Speaking Turkish like an Effendi'" 8-9), the hundredth anniversary of Vambéry's death spurred renewed interest in the scholar and his legacy, including an English-language website curated by the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (see MTAK "Ármin Vambéry And His Legacy"). To mention English-language scholarly works, two important books have appeared in the past decade: David Mandler's academic biographical and analytical study from 2016 (*Arminius Vambéry and the British Empire: Between East and West*) and a recent comprehensive biography by Anabel Loyd in 2024 (*The Dervish Bowl: The Many Lives of Arminius Vambéry*). These volumes are supplemented by other English-language articles and studies which deal with different aspects of Vambéry's life and writings (for example, see Gholi and Mosaabad; Hamilton; Landau; Sárközy, etc.).

To turn to the present article, Vambéry's distinction as a polyglot was the initial impetus for the author's recent study on the self-evaluation of his language skills during the early adult years he spent in Ottoman Istanbul. Building on this analysis, which analysed the Hungarian scholar's autobiographies to outline how the ambitious young man was able to use his linguistic talents for self-advancement to reach the upper echelons of imperial Ottoman society, it was decided to examine how Vambéry reflected on how he was perceived by European society following his return from Central Asia in the mid-1860s and the subsequent publication of his book. As with the earlier analysis, this involves the literary and textual analysis of Arminius Vambéry's two memoirs, which – as mentioned previously – were both originally written in English: the 1883 publication *Arminius Vambéry, His Life and Adventures Written by Himself* (the 1884 edition will be used) and the second volume of the subsequent two-volume work *The Story of My Struggles: The Memoirs of Arminius Vambéry* (1904). Therefore, using a similar case study-based approach to the author's previous analysis (Hoyte-West "'Speaking Turkish like an Effendi'" 9), the present study will examine two interlinked questions – namely, how Vambéry portrays his reception by European society in his memoirs; and how he portrays

and discusses his interactions with European royalty and various other imperial officials. Though the Russian and Ottoman empires also feature indirectly by virtue of the subject matter and Vambéry's expertise in Central Asia, the excerpts presented and discussed in this article deal directly with three major imperial powers – Great Britain, France, and Austria.

At this juncture, it is important to note that the mid-1860s were a time of immense colonial activities on the part of many major European powers, and both Great Britain and France had – for some time – established large overseas empires. The Victorian era (1837-1901) saw the seemingly inexorable rise of British colonialism, which grew to encompass possessions on almost every continent, controlling vast swathes of territory and resources around the world. The main jewel in the crown was India, whose fundamental importance was demonstrated by the additional title of Empress of India awarded to Queen Victoria following the Royal Titles Bill of 1876 (Miles 264). The strong links between the so-called 'subcontinent' and Great Britain ran deep, with a large number of colonial administrators, civil servants, and military personnel required to administer and secure the vast colony. Yet the resources, wealth, and access of India also proved tempting to other empires, such as Russia (Cheshire 85). Under Tsar Alexander II (1855-1881), it was actively seeking to expand its territories, gaining increasing amounts of land in Central Asia through military victories against the Turkic-ruled khanates, seeking also to incorporate their inhabitants and make imperial Russian subjects of them (Gaibulina 16-19). With the Crimean War (1853/4-1856) still a recent memory (in which Great Britain, France had aided the Ottoman Empire in its fight against the Russian Empire), these advances were naturally of keen interest to the British, conscious of the changing geopolitics of the region and, ultimately, the proximity to India. Indeed, this tension between these two major powers was to be known as the 'Great Game' (Yapp 181-183), and with Central Asia remaining largely unknown to most Europeans, Vambéry's deep knowledge and first-hand accounts of the region were to prove of immense value to the British authorities not only in the immediate aftermath of his travels, but also over the course of time.

At the time of Vambéry's visit, France's imperial trajectory had indeed been complex. As outlined by Weber et al., the previous few decades had indeed been tumultuous following the Revolution of 1789 and the overthrow of Louis XVII, including the proclamation of the First Republic, the rise of Napoleon and the First Empire, the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy, the Second Republic, and subsequently, the

Second Empire headed by Napoleon III (1852-1870), whom Vambéry would cross paths with during his visit. Much of France's nineteenth-century colonial ambitions had been centred on Africa and what was then known as Indochina, in addition to its possessions in the Caribbean, but its relations with the Ottoman Empire were also steadfast. Like Great Britain, it had also fought on the Ottoman side against the Russian Empire in Crimea and, as the Ottoman Empire made moves towards modernisation (including improvements in technology, communication, and transport – see Jarosz 89-93), France was instrumental in contributing to its economic and cultural development (Raccagni 340-341). Thus, though not directly involved in the Central Asian situation to the same extent as Great Britain, nonetheless the French Empire played an important political and socioeconomic role in the Ottoman context and, by extension, in its wider sphere of influence.

Moving to Vambéry's native land, Hungary formed part of the Habsburg Empire (after 1867, Austria-Hungary), composed of a contiguous territory which sprawled across a large portion of central Europe. The vast empire contained multiple nationalities, languages, and religions, which, following the momentous upheavals of 1848,² had reached a situation of political and administrative accommodation in the late 1860s. This meant that Austria and Hungary were split into separate imperial and royal entities, the Dual Monarchy, which were both ruled by the same monarch, Franz Joseph I (1848-1916), but with numerous differences relating to how they were administered (Cohen 247). It remains a point of discussion as to whether the Austro-Hungarian empire could be considered as a colonial power in the traditional sense, although it is argued that the later occupation (1878) and annexation (1908) of the former Ottoman-ruled lands of Bosnia and Herzegovina did display colonial tendencies (see Rampley 1-2; Ruthner 6, etc.). In addition, the term has also been discussed with regard to other locations under Habsburg rule, such as the small peripheral crownland of Bukovina, situated on the easternmost margins of the Austrian-ruled lands (Hoyte-West "Habsburg Bukovina – A Colonised Entity?").

3. Vambéry's observations on European society

As mentioned previously, Vambéry's travels to Central Asia were preceded by a sojourn in Istanbul as a young man. Arriving virtually penniless, his language abilities allowed him to offer lessons in a wide

² As an aside, during his first sojourn in Istanbul, Vambéry was to meet with several Hungarian émigrés who had fled the Habsburg lands after the revolution (Loyd 26).

range of tongues, thus not only allowing him to earn a living but also access to the Ottoman and foreign diplomatic and political elite. In recounting his experiences of the year 1860 in this first autobiography, which was written almost a quarter of a century after his residence in the imperial capital, Vambéry muses on this time in his youth:

I recall now, in the midst of my European life, with undisguised pleasure, the generous hospitality I have met with, at the hands of the noblest Turks, in their own houses. The easy affability of persons of high positions in the State, the utter absence of all pride or overbearing superciliousness are virtues, indeed, which would often be looked for in vain in our civilized West. The stupid pomposity, ridiculous arrogance and pitiable ignorance of certain aristocracies present a miserable picture, when contrasted with the behaviour of the Asiatic grandees, whom it is the custom to sneer at in Europe. The Oriental is particular about nobility of blood only in the matter of his horses and sporting dogs, whereas, with us, the select are boasting of such «animal advantages». (Vambéry *His Life and Adventures* 27)

In coming from a modest social and economic background with no ties to the aristocracy and the elite, in this excerpt Vambéry thus seeks to contrast his experiences in the 'East' with those that then prevailed in old Europe. He is remarkably unrestrained in his choice of language – perhaps surprisingly so, given that at the time these words were written, Vambéry had of course obtained a degree of celebrity in various social circles in several countries, particularly in Great Britain. In this regard, in addition to highlighting the generosity and welcoming nature of his Ottoman hosts, the excerpt also serves to highlight the position of the Hungarian scholar in terms of his views on the then-popular (but now discredited) approaches relating to race and ethnicity in nineteenth-century academia, many of which were used to justify the ideological and expansionist agenda underpinning European colonialism. Though undoubtedly products of their time, it can be argued that Vambéry's autobiographies do not abound in the crude racial stereotypes or notions of supposed European superiority when contrasted with certain other such texts from the same period (in some travelogues and memoirs about the Caribbean, for example). An example of Vambéry's own views on the matter comes from Mandler (62-64) who notes how, in a discussion following a public lecture on the topic in 1865, the Hungarian scholar strongly and vocally objected to the content of the

lecture which had demeaned the intellectual capabilities of black Africans.

In reiterating his status as an outsider owing to his social and religious background, Vambéry's remarks on the contrast between European and Ottoman societies is also underlined elsewhere, noting in "what country of Europe an unknown stranger might succeed, solely by dint of his eagerness to learn, in obtaining access to the most distinguished circles, and gaining their goodwill and protection" (Vambéry *His Life and Adventures* 28). Through additionally highlighting Vambéry's own attempts to get on in life, his first autobiography also contrasts the scholar's views on the European context vis-à-vis the situation in Istanbul, where the concepts of elite connections and networking in order to advance socially and economically appear to have been radically different.

4. Vambéry in Great Britain

Great Britain was to prove to be an important country for Vambéry's personal and professional life, and his efforts and accomplishments would bring him significant renown in high society. On future visits, he was the personal guest of Queen Victoria at Sandringham in 1889 (Loyd 279-280) and also deepened his acquaintance with the then Prince of Wales, later Edward VII (1901-1910), ultimately receiving the CVO (Commander of the Royal Victorian Order) from him in 1902 as a personal gift of the sovereign (Loyd 288). According to his first memoir, however, Vambéry's first visit to the British Isles was the result of advice from Joseph Eötvös, the then vice-president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Vambéry *His Life and Adventures* 325). Eötvös was a Hungarian nobleman, author, and scholar who had supported Vambéry in his previous travels; thus, he advised his younger compatriot to head to England as in London he would be "almost sure of a warm reception, and of a real acknowledgment of your merits" (Vambéry *His Life and Adventures* 325). During his various travels, Vambéry had also made the acquaintance of and received recommendations from different British diplomats and officials, a fact which was also to ease his acceptance by society there. Notwithstanding the social codes of the time, it is recorded that Vambéry had to totally change his manners and outward appearance in order to fit in with British upper-class society (Mandler 65), especially given the changes to his behaviour that would have been occasioned by his prolonged period of disguise during his Central Asian adventures.

As also noted above, Vambéry's visit to Great Britain occurred at a time (the summer of 1864) when Central Asia was extremely important

for British imperial interests, yet which remained largely unknown owing to a lack of regional knowledge and expertise. Eötvös's assurance that Vambéry would be warmly received by the British was confirmed by the pages of the memoirs, and he meets a number of political, literary, and cultural figure (Loyd 198-208). Among diplomats, Vambéry met with the former British ambassador to Teheran, Sir Henry Rawlinson, and Sir Roderick Murchison, the President of the Royal Geographical Society, was among the academic dignitaries he became acquainted with. By chance, he also introduced himself to the future Edward VII in an unexpected and informal setting, a club in London (Vambéry *The Story of My Struggles* II: 248-249), where the Hungarian initiated a conversation that would lead to a warm acquaintance of many years standing (Loyd 206). Accordingly, Vambéry underlined that he "came, therefore, very soon in contact with the leading political men of that time, such as Members of Parliament, political writers, retired civilians and military officers of India, and, consequently, got the opportunity of an interview with Lord Palmerston" (Vambéry *His Life and Adventures* 339).

As illustrated by the opportunity to meet with the then Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, Vambéry was able to mix with high society, firmly gaining entry to the highest echelons of political power. This is also underscored by his assertion that though he met with "all kinds and all shades of politicians; and whilst the philological and ethnographical results of my travels found an interest with only a very limited number of scholars" (Vambéry *His Life and Adventures* 343). As such, this reflects the political value (rather than scholarly or linguistic) that British society attached to Vambéry. As would be demonstrated, his knowledgeable expertise would later become useful for British interests. Yet, despite the celebrity status accorded to him in London on that initial visit, he noted that few concrete steps – particularly with regard to securing his financial well-being – were forthcoming:

In the first place I have to confess that in England, notwithstanding the noisy, brilliant receptions I had, and all the attention paid to me, no one ever made me any actual proposal with a view to my future benefit, and no one seemed at all disposed to turn to account my practical experiences in the service of the State or of private enterprise. (Vambéry *The Story of My Struggles* II: 241)

Thus, though his activities in Great Britain would be of seminal importance to him in later life, Vambéry's recollections of that time in

his autobiographies are unmistakably tinged with disappointment. Though he was well-received in the country, as Loyd (203) describes, Vambéry “remained a curiosity”.

5. Vambéry in France

After his sojourn in London, Vambéry proceeded across the English Channel to the French Empire, where he was also received by Parisian high society. As the following excerpt details:

After having been introduced to some of the best circles, I was told by Prince Metternich that the Emperor would like to give me an audience [...] One afternoon the Prince took me to the Tuileries, and we had just entered the gate of the Pavillon d’Horloge, when I saw Napoleon III on the staircase as he took leave of the Queen of Spain, who had called upon him. On noticing Prince Metternich, with whom the imperial family was on very good terms, the Emperor seized his arm, and beckoning in a friendly manner to me, walked to the interior apartment. (Vambéry *His Life and Adventures* 347)

This “Prince Metternich” appears to have been Richard von Metternich (1829-1896), the Austrian ambassador to the French Empire and son of the celebrated politician and diplomat. As such, it is apparent that Vambéry again also had access to the apex of society, especially by virtue of the emperor’s request to meet him at the Louvre Palace, immediately after the visit of the Spanish queen. Yet, Vambéry was distinctly unimpressed by Napoleon III:

I remained nearly half an hour with the Emperor. I am sorry to say he did not make upon me at all the impression of such a great man as he was then throughout the world supposed to be. (Vambéry *His Life and Adventures* 349)

Indeed, this opinion was only to become more scathing with the passage of time. As the following excerpt from his second autobiography demonstrates, Vambéry found the monarch physically and intellectually wanting, not only because of his “pale eyes and artificial speech” (Vambéry *The Story of My Struggles* II: 275), but also because:

the vision of this thick-set man, with his flabby features and pale, faded eyes, made a miserable impression upon me. And still more lamentable was the result of my half-hour’s

interview with him. (Vambéry *The Story of My Struggles* II: 273)

Yet, among other reasons for this strong dislike, Anabel Loyd observes that the emperor wished to discuss the origins of the Turkmen people with Vambéry, displaying a perhaps-unaccustomed “level of ethnographic enquiry” (Loyd 210) from the monarch that may potentially have caused the scholar unease. In addition, the political aspect of their discussion may have also underpinned Vambéry’s antipathy towards the monarch, as well as the fact that he commented, in an indirect manner, on Vambéry’s lameness. Nonetheless, Vambéry did concede the emperor could be “affable and pleasant” (Vambéry *The Story of My Struggles* II: 275).

Even more so than in London, Vambéry’s time in Paris was also the subject of great interest from the print media of the time. Perhaps analogous to the modern-day cult of celebrity, Vambéry’s exploits and activities resonated widely with the public. Indeed, Vambéry wrote about how much he disliked

the intruding call of reporters, who interviewed me and published the next day totally false reports of my conversation with them” (Vambéry *His Life and Adventures* 350). Indeed, as Vambéry continues, someone had even written “a novel about my travels, in which I was represented as a champion of romantic propensities, with whom a Tartar princess fell in love, and who, having obtained in this way some throne in Asia, was now on a political errand in Europe to secure the friendship of England and France in the contest against Russia. (Vambéry *His Life and Adventures* 350).

Given Vambéry’s own desire for advancement, it may seem somewhat strange that – as recorded in his autobiographies – he was not so impressed with his time in France, despite the rapturous reception that he received there and his audience with Napoleon III. It may be surmised that the long periods of travel – both eastwards and then subsequently in Europe – may have tired him out; in any case, the Hungarian wished to return to his native land.

6. Vambéry in Austria

The return to the Habsburg lands brought Vambéry a different reception. Having perhaps become habituated to high society and the whirlwind receptions that accompanied his presence, the Hungarian’s

arrival in Vienna was to prove a harsh dose of reality, as Vambéry recalled four decades later:

The Lord-High-Steward, Prince A., whom I had to see before the audience, regardless of the recommendations I brought from the Austrian Ambassador in London, received me with a coldness and pride as if I had come to apply for a position as lackey, and while royal personages of the West, and later on also Napoleon, had shaken hands with me and asked me to sit down, this Austrian aristocrat kept me standing for ten minutes, spoke roughly to me, and dismissed me with the impression that a man of letters is treated with more consideration in Khiva and among the Turkomans than in the Austrian capital. (Vambéry *The Story of My Struggles* II: 262)

As the above excerpt details, Vambéry's perceived status (or lack of it) in the Austrian context was telling. Having previously met on seemingly equal terms with foreign aristocrats and royalty, Vambéry clearly felt slighted by his treatment in waiting for an audience with the emperor. Yet, things changed significantly on meeting the man himself:

It was during my first audience with the Emperor-King of Austro-Hungary that the kind -hearted monarch asked me whether I intended to remain in the country, and what he could do in my favour. (Vambéry *His Life and Adventures* 352)

Vambéry mentioned his wish of becoming a university professor in the city of Pest, in his native Hungary, noting that

the kindly emperor added: "Your sufferings deserve a remuneration, and I shall look into your case". Two or three months had scarcely elapsed, when I got my appointment with the modest salary of one hundred pounds a year, which sum the Hungarian Minister for Public Instruction very soon doubled; and this, together with the income derived from the small sum I got for the English, French and German editions of my book, fully sufficed to cover my expenses - nay to enable me to found a family. (Vambéry *His Life and Adventures* 352)

Indeed, this appointment proved transformational though – as outlined by Loyd (214-216; 226-231) – Vambéry's subsequent and lengthy tenure as a professor did not occur without controversy, given

his lack of formal academic qualifications, challenging personality, and his wide-ranging ambitions. Indeed, despite his fame and reputation, it appears that Vambéry did feel somewhat neglected by Austro-Hungarian society (Mandler 58), despite receiving, *inter alia*, a gold medal from Franz Joseph and becoming a Knight of the Imperial Order of Leopold in addition to numerous fame and honours from abroad. As Loyd (352-353) summarises, by the end of his life Vambéry's distinctions included imperial and royal decorations from Japan, Persia, Mexico, Great Britain, as well as multiple honorary fellowships and other meritorious garlands.

Yet, in terms of his initial interaction with Franz Joseph, it is the generous nature of the monarch that shines through in that instance. One of Europe's longest-reigning rulers, the emperor was born in 1830, around a year or so before Vambéry, and has been described as essentially someone of "integrity and decency" (Mutschlechner). Indeed, a further example of the emperor's kindness was illustrated in the case of the last illness of the celebrated Austrian composer Anton Bruckner, who during his final illness was accommodated – at Franz Joseph's behest – in a ground-floor lodge at Vienna's Belvedere Palace (Howie 147-148). Accordingly, the benefit that Vambéry gained through the Emperor's actions was fundamental to his trajectory, affording him the opportunity not only to go beyond his humble origins and gain a professional foothold in a domain that would otherwise have been challenging to enter in his native land, but also to improve his personal circumstances through marrying and subsequently becoming a father.

7. Concluding observations

The foregoing analysis has aimed to illustrate how the European imperial interactions of Arminius Vambéry on his return from Central Asia were depicted by him in his two autobiographies. As with the previous analysis of his reflections on his own language-related capabilities, Vambéry's own reflections on how he was initially perceived by European society following his return from Central Asia are eminently insightful. They detail a mixed reception by European high society, whereby he meets with aristocrats and politicians, achieving a degree of recognition and even celebrity.

In the various national contexts, this includes interest and respect from the British side, perhaps impressed by his language skills and the geopolitical knowledge gained by his remarkable feats, but with few concrete rewards. In France, too, Vambéry is an object of interest and adulation, yet in Austria he receives a somewhat colder welcome. Thus, though the British and French may have accepted him warmly (in spite

of Vambéry's low opinion of Napoleon III), financial, scholarly, and other status-related aspects were initially not forthcoming. Perhaps ironically, given Vambéry's description of how he felt he was treated when waiting for an audience with the emperor, it was Austria – via Franz Joseph's personal intervention – that was to give him the necessary fillip to begin his scholarly career.

As such, the initial reception and interaction with the three European imperial spaces presented here can be said to represent a microcosm of some of the complex social codes of the time, especially for those from other, non-dominant social, religious, or ethnic backgrounds. Accordingly, there is potential for this brief study to be expanded – for example, by analysing how Vambéry would continue to interact with these spaces over the course of the rest of life. Additionally, it would also be beneficial to contrast Vambéry's observations with memoirs and autobiographies written by other travellers and explorers from that era, with the aim of examining how those figures described their official welcome and receptions on their return from distant or dangerous places. Yet, given the multitude of challenges that Vambéry undoubtedly faced during his early years and as a young man, this study has demonstrated that those initial interactions with European imperial milieux after his Central Asian trip were key in laying the foundation for his future success in life.

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UN HOMME DE PLUSIEURS EMPIRES : LES INTERACTIONS IMPÉRIALES EUROPÉENNES D'ARMINIUS VAMBÉRY À SON RETOUR D'ASIE CENTRALE

D'origine hongroise, l'universitaire et explorateur Arminius Vambéry (c. 1832-1913) était bien connu dans l'Europe du XIXe siècle pour ses voyages en Asie centrale. Au début des années soixante du XIXe siècle, il s'est déguisé en derviche afin de visiter des régions généralement considérées comme dangereuses pour les Européens. Ces exploits lui ont ensuite apporté la célébrité et l'influence, ainsi que des relations importantes qui lui ont permis de réussir dans la haute société européenne. À partir des deux autobiographies de Vambéry (publiées en 1883 et 1904), et en présentant brièvement ses réflexions sur ses expériences en Grande-Bretagne, en France et en Autriche, cet article examine comment le jeune hongrois a été accueilli par l'haute société à son retour de ses voyages en Asie centrale. Pour contraster ses propres perceptions de ces rencontres dans trois espaces impériaux différents, l'article vise à souligner comment Vambéry a décrit sa réception par la société européenne, ainsi que la façon dont ses premières interactions avec la royauté européenne sont présentées dans ses mémoires.

Mots-clés : Arminius Vambéry, l'Autriche, les autobiographies, l'Asie centrale, l'empire, la France, la Grande-Bretagne, les mémoires, le XIXe siècle, la royauté

REFLEKSI SAVREMENIH MULTIDISCIPLINARNIH INTERPRETACIJA I RECEPCIJA DANTEA U XXI VIJEKU

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Apstrakt: Rad nastoji da prikaže kompleksnost procesa recepcije u perspektivi savremenog interdisciplinarnog proučavanja srednjevjekovnih književnih tekstova na primjeru Dantea kao jednog od dva temelja književnog kanona zapadne civilizacije. Sistem razumijevanja, tumačenja i remedijacije *Božanstvene komedije* kroz intertekstualni, interkulturni i metaistorijski kontekst omogućava nam da u procesu modernih interpretacija ukažemo na Danteovu aktuelnost i relevantnost u vremenu dominacije digitalnih platformi, konzumerizma novih medija i informaciono-komunikacionih tehnologija. U skladu sa savremenim tokovima i izazovima metodoloških, teorijskih i kritičkih perspektiva, Danteov kulturni i književni kapital transmisije i adaptacije u eri globalnih izazova prvih decenija trećeg milenijuma nastavlja potvrdu njegovog univerzalizma i legitimiše sistem vrijednosti multidisciplinarne tradicije u proučavanju njegovog djela otkrivajući nove modele interpretacija i pozitivnog recepcijskog tumačenja i nakon sedam vjekova od smrti autora.

Ključne riječi: Dante, digitalna humanistika, teorija recepcije, savremene adaptacije, multimedijalnost

Božanstvena komedija obuhvatila je i sintetisala čitavu tradiciju i kulturu Danteovog vremena predstavljajući stoljećima jedno od najkompleksnijih djela iz baštine zapadne civilizacije hrišćanskog srednjeg vijeka i izvor različitih inspiracija, kontroverzi, multidisciplinarnih i interdisciplinarnih istraživanja u širokom polju humanističkih, društvenih i prirodnih nauka. Uprkos snazi Danteovog duha i njegovoj stvaralačkoj originalnosti prikazanoj u književnom opusu manje popularnih djela ¹, ipak je slava najpoznatijeg Firentinca

¹ Posthumno sastavljen mladalački pjesnički zbornik *Rime (Rime)*, stilnovistička poetska zbirka *Novi život (Vita Nova)*, prozni komentar filozofskih kanona *Gozba (Convivio)*, rasprava *O umijeću govorenja na pučkom jeziku (De vulgari eloquentia)*, političko-pravni traktat *Monarhija (Monarchia)*, *Poslanice*

stoljećima poistovjećivana sa slavom *Komedije* koja je tokom vjekova zadržala mjesto klasika obezbjeđujući njenom autoru značaj najveće pojave u historiji italijanske književnosti i jednom od glavnih temelja književnog kanona zapadne civilizacije (Bloom 1994: 46), a u periodu sajber ere i digitalnih tehnologija istaknut položaj na novim medijskim platformama. Modelujući univerzum i društvo prema sopstvenim poetičkim postulatima i rigoroznoj arhitektonskoj strukturi koja ne gubi na značaju ni u savremenim adaptacijama i interpretacijama, Dante je ostao aktuelan uprkos prevaziđenim naučnim modelima svog doba što je moguće pratiti kroz dvije uporedne i ne toliko suprotstavljene ravni. Sa jedne strane, razumijevanjem srednjevjekovnog doktrinarnog univerzuma i ideologija kroz sholastički filozofsko-teološki sistem i kulturni proizvod firentinskog predhumanizma kad se književnost doživljavala kao upoznavanje stvarnosti, intelektualni i moralni sud u potrazi za apsolutnim (nadovezujući se na obrasce didaktičke, alegorijske i moralne književnosti romanske tradicije i latinskih klasika); a sa druge strane, vremenskim, prostornim i emocionalnim izmiještanjima kojima je Danteov narativni multiverzum dodatnom mentalnom stimulacijom i vizuelizacijom savremenim tehnološkim i medijskim alatima moguće recentrirati u odnosu na klasičnu konceptualizaciju narativa čineći da se fiktivni literarni svjetovi dožive kao aktuelni i realni. Njegova književna produkcija modelovana putem kompleksne mreže višeslojnih značenja i stilskih nivoa ima polivalentnu funkciju podređujući individualno kolektivnim mehanizmima kulturnih i društvenih konvencija čime Dante autor i protagonist djela nudi izlaz iz fragmentarnosti društva čiju dezintegraciju i neuravnoteženost poetski dekonstruiše kroz fiktivnu stvarnost i metafizičke refleksije bez obzira na visok stepen njihove referencijalnosti.

Aktuelnost *Komedije* tokom vjekova očitavala se prije svega na regionalnom a onda i nacionalnom nivou, primarno kroz jezik kojim je pisana i njegovu morfološku i sintaksičku strukturu koje i u savremenom dobu, uprkos svojoj arhaičnosti, zadržavaju visok stepen razumljivosti. Spiralu multidimenzionalnosti, aktuelnosti i modernosti nalazimo i u tropletu Bog-Ljubav-Smrt kao nepresušnim temama i nekoj vrsti sigurnosti i oprobanih vrijednosti koje čitaoci u kontinuitetu istražuju kroz pitanja koja zaokupljaju ljudsku pažnju od najstarijih vremena povezujući različite epohe. Time Danteovo djelo predstavlja specifičan dnevnik zemaljskih situacija, tema, običaja i ličnosti koje ima

(*Epistole*), *Ekloge* (*Egloghe*) i prepis kosmološko-filozofskog predavanja *O položaju i obliku vode i zemlje* (*Questio de aqua et terra*) – Up. Čale i Zorić 1976: 20-37.

enciklopedijski karakter vodeći čitaoca kroz mrežu višeslojnih značenja putem moralne i religiozne katarze u ulozi Uliksa kao paradigme ljudske radoznalosti sa ciljem da pruži sveobuhvatan sud o svijetu. U toj vizuri, *Komedija* teži radikalnoj promjeni čovjeka aktuelizujući uvijek savremene teme u mjeri u kojoj je tokom proteklih sedam vjekova Dante futuristički tumačio našu stvarnost a ne mi Dantea. Kreativnim rješenjima kojima se koristio - od pjesničke univerzalnosti i načina organizacije materije, preko opsega dotaknutih i obrađenih tema do simbolike brojeva, mjesta i radnje, enciklopedijske namjere, filozofskih i metafizičkih problema - autor je udahnuo život djelu koje će izvršiti nemjerljiv uticaj na generacije njegovih sljedbenika i čitalaca obezbjeđujući mu istaknuto mjesto uz velikane svjetske literature čija slava prevazilazi granice njihovog vremena i jezika.

Prvih decenija XXI vijeka, najdinamičnijeg perioda u modernoj istoriji, aktuelnost života i djela ovog klasika svjetske književnosti ne samo da se u vrijednosnom i idejnom smislu kreće naporedo sa progresivnim tendencijama, već predstavlja njen sastavni dio. S namjerom da se prikažu glavni tokovi savremene teorijske perspektive širokog polja recepcije, adaptacije i interpretacije Danteovog djela, u radu će biti primijenjen analitičko-sintetički metodološki pristup sa izvoristima u Jausovoj recepcionističkoj teoriji (Hansa Roberta Jausa, 1921-1997) kojom je fokus sa odnosa autor-tekst u hermeneutičkom sistemu pretežno mimetički dislociran na razvoj iskustava implicitne publike i njihovog pristupa književnom djelu shodno pretpostavljenom *horizontu očekivanja* putem „posredovanja između lične inepcije i javne recepcije“ (De Man 2005: xiii). U tom kontekstu, teorija recepcije se razvija kao dijalektički mehanizam u kome se mijenjaju estetski sudovi, predbjeđenja i očekivani ishodi krajnjih recipijenata zahvaljujući pokušaju interpretatora da oživi i rastumači tekst kroz vlastiti horizont pomoću hermeneutički dinamičkog procesa *fuzije horizonata* kao krajnjem ishodištu razumijevanja (Gadamer 2004: 367).

Formiranje Danteovog kulta, interpretacije i recepcije njegovog djela te posredan ili neposredan uticaj na književnu produkciju u vijekovima koji su uslijedili nakon smrti autora započeo je još u XIV vijeku Đovani Bokačo (Giovanni Boccaccio, 1313-1375) pisanjem prve i najstarije postojeće biografije velikog pjesnika u svijetlu humanističke koncepcije.² Kao prvi dantolog i najpoznatiji popularizator njegovog

² Djelo *Mali traktat u pohvalu Danteu* (*Trattatello in laude di Dante*) - izvorno napisano pod dugim latinskim naslovom *De origine, vita, studiis et moribus viri clarissimi Dantis Aligerii florentini, poete illustris, et de operibus compositis ab eodem* - do nas je došlo kroz tri kodeksa čije redakcije rukopisa je napisao

djela u XIV stoljeću, Bokačo je svoja zapažanja i komentare o *Tumačenjima Komedijske (Esposizioni sopra la Commedia)*³ ostavio i u rukopisima nakon javnih čitanja Danteovog remek-djela započinjući time običaj koji je vjekovima njegovan u Firenci odakle se kapilarno širio cijelom zemljom. Tokom narednih vjekova, a naročito u XIX vijeka kada je u romantičarskom ključu eksplodirao Danteov kult širom Evrope slaveći pjesnika kao simbol političkog, jezičkog i kulturnog jedinstva Italije, ova praksa je praktikovana i u drugim evropskim kulturnim centrima a od XX vijeka naročito u povodu obilježavanja jubileja Danteovog rođenja ili smrti i na gotovo svim svjetskim meridijanima.⁴

Viševjekovna tradicija *Lecturae Dantis* u eri dominacije digitalnih medija značajno je doprinijela popularizaciji *Božanstvene komedije* u savremenim okvirima, od različitih pozorišnih i filmskih transpozicija do radijskog formata i modernog televizijskog spektakla i interneta. Na tragu iskustava iz prethodnog stoljeća i medijskim popularizacijama prostom deklamacijom odabranih pjevanja *Komedije*, moderne interpretacije namijenjene široj publici uključuju njihovo

Bokačo vlastitom rukom najvjerovatnije između 1350 i 1355., u periodu svoje najplodnije životne i književne aktivnosti (Ricci 1965: 425-427). *Editio princeps* ovog biografskog djela pod jednostavnijim nazivom *Danteov život (Vita di Dante)* u svojstvu svojevrsnog predgovora ili uvoda pojavljuje se u prvoj inkunabuli *Božanstvene komedije* sa komentarima štampanoj 1477. godine u Veneciji u radionici tipografa Vindelina Špajera (*Vindelinus de Spira/Wendelin von Speyer*) – Up. Cappi-Giola 2014.

³ Na poziv firentinske Komune, Bokačo je krajem oktobra 1373. otvorio ciklus javnog čitanja i minucioznog komentarisanja Danteove *Komedije* u crkvi Santo Stefano di Badia, današnjoj opatiji Badia Fiorentina, zamišljen kao projekat jednogodišnje *Lecturae Dantis* svim danima izuzev praznika. Pretpostavlja se da je pogoršanje zdravstvenog stanja prisililo Bokača da već prvih mjeseci 1374. nakon šezdesetak predavanja prekine svoja izlaganja kod sedamnaestog stiha XVII pjevanja *Pakla*. Hronike bilježe da je od marta do septembra iste godine Firenca bila pogođena epidemijom kuge tako da bi eventualni nastavak javnog čitanja u svakom slučaju ostao problematičan, a već koncem naredne 1375. godine Bokačo je preminuo (Padoan 1965: XVI-XVII).

⁴ Ovom globalnom fenomenu doprinijelo je i formiranje *Društva Dante Aligijeri (Società Dante Alighieri)* osnovanog u Rimu 1889. koje je utemeljila grupa italijanskih intelektualaca tršćanskog književnog i kulturnog kruga predvođena pjesnikom i književnikom Kardučijem (Giosuè Carducci, 1835-1907) koji je organizaciji dao ime. U početku nacionalistički i iredentistički usmjereno, društvo je nakon Drugog svjetskog rata postalo kulturna organizacija sa ciljem promocije italijanskog jezika i kulture u svijetu a ogranci ove internacionalne institucije danas broje preko 400 ispostava izvan Italije u preko 90 zemalja svijeta – Up. Caparelli 1985.

komentarisanje, parafraze i egzegeze koje u teorijskom nivou podražavaju različite stepene interpretativne semiotike u dodatnom pojednostavljenju onoga što je sam Dante odredio u prvom poglavlju druge knjige *Gozbe* vezano za doslovno, alegorično, moralno i anagoško značenje koje književni tekst može da pruži. Ovi napori su rezultirali dodatnom razumijevanju kompleksne strukture *Komedije* i njenoj boljoj adaptivnoj komponenti izvan akademskih krugova.

Savremene tehnološke inovacije i konzumerizam novih medija iz temelja su promijenile stare paradigme stavljajući u fokus nove izazove didaktičkih adaptacija u telematskom okruženju. Krtitičko čitanje *Komedije* u analitičkom i kognitivnom smislu u periodu masovne digitalne kulture osavremenjeno je interferencijom hipertekstualnih veza i kroz televizijske adaptacije dodatnim izražajnim alatima kao što su modulacije glasa i ritma uz algoritamsku i biometrijsku shematizaciju parametara različitim performativnim prikazima na ekranu ili pozornici. Pored popularnih javnih ličnosti iz kulturne i umjetničke sfere koji su se široj i raznovrsnijoj publici obraćali na način prilagođen audiovizuelnim medijima i društvenim mrežama, ovako prezentirana virtualna i digitalizovana supstanca djela u prvim decenijama XXI vijeka naišla je svoj izraz i u akademskim krugovima.⁵ Ovi i slični projekti uz direktne TV prenose na italijanskom javnom servisu bilježili su apsolutno liderstvo u udijelu gledanosti za slične formate, nakon čega je Dante, daleko od uobičajenih akademskih foruma i formi, ušao na neposredan način u milione domova širom svijeta o čemu svjedoče i kasniji višemilionski pregledi na video platformama (YouTube, Dailymotion i sl.). Slični primjeri u kojima popularna i visoka kultura nalaze tačku susreta samo su jedan od mogućih neakademskih pristupa koji nastavljaju privlačiti

⁵ Od pisca i režizera Sermontija (Vittorio Sermonti, 1929-2016) čije je javno čitanje i komentarisanje djelova *Komedije* 2000. godine u Rimu prikazano na nacionalnoj televiziji a kasnije i objavljeno u audioformatu (*La Commedia di Dante letta e raccontata da Vittorio Sermonti*, Gunti Editore, 2012), do oskarovca Beninija (Roberto Benigni) čije su egzegeze i deklamacije dabranih pjevanja *Pakla* ispred crkve Santa Croce u Firenci, kasnije i čitave *Komedije* u okviru globalnog performansa *Tutto Dante*, prikazani na italijanskom javnom servisu a potom i objavljeni u audiovizuelom formatu (*Tutto L'Inferno*, Medusa Video, 2016), svoj doprinos ovom tipu interpretacija dali su i univerzitetski profesori i naučnici (Giuseppe Antonelli, Valeria della Valle, Luca Serianni i dr.) kroz serijale posvećene Danteu i *Božanstvenoj komediji* emitovane na nacionalnoj televiziji u okviru dokumentarnog programa *Siarada: Il Circolo delle parole* (*Divino Dante*). Web. 15 Feb 2020 <<https://www.raiplaysound.it/programmi/sciarada-ilcircolodelleparole>> – Up. Casadei-Gervasi, 2021.

pažnju kako bi se Dante približio publici koja bi ga se inače držala podalje ili ga potpuno zaobišla.

Digitalna revolucija i vještačka inteligencija uveli su dosad neviđene transformacije u čovjekovo mentalno okruženje predviđajući značajnu mutaciju na polju psihologije, jezika pa i same književnosti. Novo doba dematerijalizacije unutar medijskih sadržaja nudi nam medijska realnost neprekidnosti i deregulacije prostorno-vremenskog hoda (*infinite scroll*) u digitalnoj stvarnosti. U tom novom poretku, postindustrijska realnost mijenja pravila organizacije fizičkog i misaonog režima u težnji za konstantnom senzacijom, stalnim čulnim i kognitivnim fluksom u svijetu instant informacija u kojima tradicionalni mediji i medijski koncepti, prije svega knjiga, gube svoju primarnu funkciju. Fikcionalni svetozi u Danteovom djelu detektovani su kroz tu vizuru dvostrukim putovanjima: sa jedne strane likova kroz prostor-vrijeme, medije i žanrove, posljedično ispisujući intertekstualne relacije; a sa druge gledalačkim uranjanjem kao osobenim prostornim, vremenskim i emocionalnim izmeštanjima koja otkrivaju narativni multiverzum *Komedije*. Razvojem pametnih ekrana, konzola i *virtual reality* opreme, stvoreni su uslovi za ukidanje granice između svijeta fizičkog i medijskog. U vremenu u kojem je tehnologija nadvladala teoriju dominacijom pragmatizma i konzumerizma, transmedijalno pripovijedanje pruža brojne mogućnosti za inovativne, inter- i trans- disciplinarne interpretacije, adaptacije i narativizacije u kooperaciji među višestrukim medijskim industrijama: na scenama, u filmovima, televiziji i radiju, a naročito putem novih digitalnih medija poput video-igara, apstraktnog prostora interneta i ostalih interaktivnih formata (Jenkins 2006: 95-96).

Multimedijalno učenje u naprednom računarskom kontekstu hipermedija realizovano je u neograničenom informacionom prostoru putem različitih simulacija, igri, virtuelne realnosti pružajući animirani pedagoški aspekt nelinearnom pristupu i prezentaciji informacija.⁶ Kao rezultat multimodalnog kombinovanja medija informacije u realnom vremenu ovaj alternativni pristup predstave sadržaja imao je efekat kako na interpretacije tako i na ishode recepcije Danteovog djela u

⁶ Kao jedan od odgovora na ovakav multimedijalni izazov lansirana je početkom vijeka urbana akciono-avanturistička video igra *Devil May Cry* (Capcom, 2001-2019) sa Danteom kao glavnim junakom, uz kasnije dorade i unaprijeđenjima po pitanju simulacije i vjerodostojnosti ludičnih elemenata. Po sličnom modelu funkcioniše i *Dante's Inferno* (Electronic Arts, 2009), akciona arkadna avantura iz trećeg lica za PC, PlayStation i Xbox – Up. Powlesland 2022.

ličnom i organizacionom sistemu učenja.⁷ Postulati teorije kompleksnosti, haosa i kompleksnosti mreže u kojima savremena tehnologija povezuje geografski udaljene digitalne resurse obavljajući neke kognitivne obrade operacija umjesto krajnjeg konzumenta, leže u osnovi konektivizma i usvajanja novih znanja za koje su potrebne meta-vještine u fenomenu mreže na koji bitno utiču tehnologija i socijalni kontekst (Tyner 2009: 77-78). Implementacija književnih klasika kao snažnog stimulativnog sredstva za razvoj jezičkih vještina i važnog izvora bogate lepeze jezičkih i kulturnih elemenata s jedne, i razvijanje interkulturnih kompetenci kao sposobnosti uspostavljanja uspješne interakcije s pripadnicima drugih kultura sa druge strane, u savremenom dobu podrazumijeva korištenje različitih kulturnih kanala (umjetnosti, pozorišta, fima, radija i televizije) i proizvoda informaciono-komunikacione tehnologije u interkulturnom dijalogu na globalnom planu, uključujući i distruptivnu tehnologiju vještačke inteligencije⁸.

Putem ovakvih multimodalnih pristupa socijalne semiotike koji se širi i na neverbalne aktivnosti i tehnološka sredstva, u različitim modelima komunikacije vizuelna komponenta, ne manje od one literarne, učestvuje u konstruisanju značenja i nosi određenu kulturnu vrijednost (Wan Leeuwen 2005: 13-14). Likovnom ekspresijom kao modelom neverbalne vizuelne komunikacije vjekovima se ostvarivala

⁷ Studijski program za Italijanski jezik i književnost Univerziteta Crne Gore je u periodu od 2021-2024. godine u susret obilježavanju Dantedija za svaku od kantika *Božanstvene Komedije* objavio po jednu interaktivnu edukativnu mapu u formi igre koje se mogu koristiti kao obrazovni resurs i didaktički alat za digitalnu nastavu – Up. Bijeg iz *Pakla* (24/04/2021) <<https://view.genially.com/608459d1793b9c0d3739fa4f>>; Putovanje kroz *Čistilište* (09/03/2023) <<https://view.genially.com/6409b2a67a3f09001a3bb827>>; Danteov *Raj* (11/03/2024) <<https://view.genially.com/65ef023ce6ef5e00143c1043>> Web. 15 Feb 2025.

⁸ Povodom obilježavanja 25. marta 2023. godine, Rai Cinema je na platformi *The Nemesis* koja nudi inovativna iskustva virtuelne stvarnosti predstavio *edutainment* projekat posvećen Danteovom multiverzumu. Tim povodom, na marginama konferencije povodom predstavljanja projekta, u Firenci je u prostorijama *Casa di Dante* postavljen VR odjeljak u kome su posjetioi imali priliku da se upoznaju sa ovom interaktivnom formom koja je, nakon prikazivanja u milanskom Nacionalnom muzeju nauke i inovacije (Museo Nazionale Scienza e Tecnologia) i torinskom Nacionalnom filmskom muzeju (Museo Nazionale del Cinema), dostupna za preuzimanje putem PC i mobilnih aplikacija. – Up. *The Nemesis, Dante MultiPlatform Project*. Web. 15 Feb 2025 <<https://thenemesis.io/dantedi-the-nemesis-and-rai-cinema-launch-a-multi-platform-project-on-the-divine-comedy/>>.

produktivna i receptivna sposobnost dekodiranja Danteovog lika i djela u procesu kreativne prezentacije sadržajne atribucije umjetničkog izraza. Umjetnici, slikari, skulptori i litografi još od XIV vijeka i Danteovih savremenika, preko renesansnih i baroknih majstora, do umjetnika postmoderne stvarali su omaže Danteu dekodirajući njegov lik, poetski tekst ili istorijske, metafizičke i alegorijske elemente djelova *Komedije* u umjetničku formu i osobeni likovni izraz. Slijedeći taj primjer, generacije modernih umjetnika doprinose svojim radovima popularnosti i recepciji Dantea i umjetničkom razumijevanju *Komedije* u ključnim trenucima savremenih strukturalnih promjena na globalnom planu.⁹ Topografija *Pakla*, *Čistilišta* a dijelom i arhitektonska struktura *Raja*, ostali su do danas nepresušni izvor inspiracije kao najpopularnije prestave kolektivne svijesti o carstvima zagrobnog života. U savremenim okvirima sve više su prisutne i interpretacije *Božanstvene komedije* putem likovnih prikaza logičko-kognitivnih slika sa dramskim nervom koje uzročno-posljedično povezuju u svijesti čitatelja kompleksnu priču kroz strip kao umjetnost: od onih za najmlađe inspirisanih Diznijevim junacima (Arnaudo 2023: 23-28) do stripova u formi grafički romana (Benucci 2021: 166-167) ili japanskih manga animacija (Parker 2023: 14). U ovom periodu možemo pratiti i značajne doprinose na polju sedme umjetnosti kroz ekranizaciju popularnih knjiga inspirisanih direktno ili indirektno Danteom, ili putem adaptacija njegovog života i djela.¹⁰

⁹ Salvador Dalí, Robert Rauschenberg, Chibo Kazumasa, Wangechi Mutu, Wim Botha, Dimitrije Popović, Sandow Birk, Ettore Ximenes, Zlatko Glamčak, samo su neka od imena brojnih savremenih umjetnika koji su kroz različite forme modernog umjetničkog izraza nastavili viševjekovnu tradiciju vizuelnih predstava inspirisanih Danteom i *Božanstvenom komedijom* započetu još u periodu srednjovjekovnih iluminiranih rukopisa – Up. Braidia and Calè 2007: 83-141; Bowe 2021; Claudia Trafficante, *La Divina Commedia nell'arte dal 1400 ad oggi*. Catalogo dell'Arte Moderna (CAM) Web. 15 Feb. 2025. <<https://www.catalogoartemoderna.it/approfondimenti/la-divina-commedia-nellarte-dal-1400-ad-oggi-158>>; *Dante contemporaneo: 10 opere ispirate al Sommo Poeta*, Artuu Magazine. Web. 15 Feb. 2025 <<https://www.artuu.it/dante-contemporaneo-10-opere-ispirate-al-sommo-poeta/>>.

¹⁰ Na početku XXI vijeka na veliko platno postavljena je adaptacija psihološkog trilera *Hannibal* (Dir. Ridley Scott, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 2001) u kom glavni junak razotkriva i analizira u ambijentu firentinske gradske vijećnice u danteskovskom ključu sliku suicidalnog Piera Della Vigna (*Pakao*, XIII). Lutkarska komedija *Dante's Inferno* (Dir. Sean Meredith, Dante Film LLC, 2007) po istoimenoj knjizi (Sandow Birk and Marcus Sanders, Chronicle Books, 2004) dala je novi impuls pozorišno-dokumentarnim adaptacijama kakva je francuska

Multimedijalni projekti, video performansi i adaptacije savremenih plesnih koreografija i modernog baleta inspirisanih Danteovim djelom pokazali su se interdisciplinarnim i univerzalnim umjetničkim jezikom performativnog pozorišno-scenskog izraza budući da *Božanstvena komedija* obiluje „kinetičkim sugestijama, dinamičnim slikama i plesnim metaforama“ (Fratini 2017: 138).¹¹ Slijedeći vjekovnu tradiciju slavni kompozitora (Puccini, Verdi, Rachmaninoff, Tchaikovsky, Liszt i dr.), na polju muzičke umjetnosti možemo naći direktne podražaje i inspiracije Danteovim djelom kod savremenih autora klasične (Andriessen, Wiprud, Machover, ter Veldhuis, Martino, Adès, Ronchetti i dr.) i popularne muzike (Dylan, McKennitt, Vecchioni, De Andrè i dr.) kroz širok raspon modernog muzičkog izraza, od segmenata ili čitavih numera, preko elektronske ili instrumentalne podloge, do muzičkih adaptacija za filharmonije i opere (Up. Roglieri 2018: 177-195). Prisustvo takvih trendova podražaja u popularnoj muzici na globalnom planu zabilježeni su dominantno na polju pop, rock i heavy metal žanrova.¹²

dugometražna 3D animacija *La Divine Comédie* (Dir. Simon Coté-Lapointe, Simon Coté-Lapointe Prod., 2014). Psihološki triler i misterija *Inferno* (Sony Pictures, 2016) holivudska je ekranizacija istoimenog *bestseller* romana o univerzitetskom simbolisti sa Harvarda sa jasnom danteovskom podlogom. Od italijanskih filmskih ostvarenja izdvajaju se distopijske savremene aluzije *Mancanza-Inferno* (Dir. Stefano Odoardi, O Film Strike, 2014) i *Mancanza-Purgatorio* (Dir. Stefano Odoardi, O Film Strike, 2016), kao i satirična komedija *La Solita Commedia. Inferno* (Dir. Fabrizio Biggio, Martino Ferro, Francesco Mandelli, Wildside, 2015). U povodu proslave sedmog stoljeća od Danteove smrti biografski film *Dante* (Dir. Pupi Avati, Duea Film-Rai Cinema, 2022) po prvi put na polju sedme umjetnosti donosi ekraniziranu verziju života slavnog pjesnika. – Up. Iannucci 2004; Rossini 2023.

¹¹ *The Divine Comedy*, Cor. Edward Clug, Bitef Teatar Belgrade & Grad Teatar Budva, 2011; *Dante's Inferno: The Ballet*, Cor. Ronald Tice, Meydenbauer Center, Bellevue Washington, 2014; *The Dante Project*, Cor. Wayne McGregor, Royal Opera House, London, 2021; *Dante Variations*, Dir. Paul Taylor, Yerba Buena Center Theater, San Francisco, 2004; *Dante's Divine Comedy*, Dir. Rene Migliaccio, Blackmoon Theatre Company, International Fringe Festival, New York, 2009; *Die Göttliche Komödie*, Dir. Sebastian Baumgarten, Creaz. Schauspielhaus, Köln, 2015. – Up. Fratini 2017: 182-183.

¹² Početkom XXI vijeka njemački rock sastav Tangerine Dream objavio je trilogiju albuma posvećenih svakoj od kantika *Božanstvene komedije*: live album *Inferno* (TDI Music, 2002), koji je kasnije poslužio kao zvučna podloga za remake nijemog filma *L'Inferno* (Dir. Giuseppe De Liguoro, Snapper Music, 2004), i studijske albume *Purgatorio* (2004) i *Paradiso* (2006). Brazilski heavy metal bend Sepultura je svoj deseti studijski album inspirisan *Božanstvenom komedijom* nazvao *Dante XXI* (SPV Records, 2006) za čiju je ilustraciju

Pripreme za proslavu jubileja sedam stoljeća od Danteove smrti poklopila se sa zdravstvenom krizom uzrokovanom pandemijom koronavirusa, društvenim izolacijama i suspenzijom svih kulturnih i obrazovnih aktivnosti na globalnom planu, što je za posljedicu dalo eksperimentisanja i inovacije na polju pedagoške, kulturne i obrazovne politike. Nakon što je Italija kroz institucionalni okvir potvrdila *Dantedì*¹³ kao nacionalni dan kojim će se održavati živim sjećanje na velikog pjesnika i njegovo djelo, sve inicijative i aktivnosti planirane za prvu proslavu tim povodom pomjerene sa realnog na virtuelno polje i organizovane *online*, dajući dodatan stimulans projektu *Digitalni Dante* na globalnom planu. Rezultat prvog u potpunosti digitalnog Dantedija bilo je mnoštvo multimedijske produkcije, digitalne *Lecturae Dantis*, konferencija, naučnih skupova, podkasta, dokumentarnih filmova i kratkih formi dijeleći se posebno na različitim platformama, web sajtovima i društvenim mrežama objavama označenim službenim hashtagovima: *#dantedì*, *#ioleggoDante* i *#vivaDante*. U navedenom

danteovskim motivima je bio angažovan umjetnik Stephan Doitschinoff a prvi video singl sa albuma je osvojio godišnju nagradu *MTV Best Editing in a Video*. Italijanski simfonijski power metal bend *Luca Turilli's Rhapsody* na svom debitantskom albumu simboličnog naziva *Ascending to Infinity* (Nuclear Blast, 2012) objavio je numeru *Dante's Inferno*, a pod istim nazivom grčki death metal bend *Septicflesh* je objavio prvu numeru na svom desetom studijskom albumu (Ward Records, 2017). Australijski metalcore bend *Northlane* izdao je singl pod nazivom *Dante* (Graphic Nature Audio, 2023), dok su pojedinačne numere brojnih rock i heavy metal bendova tokom proteklih dvije decenije bile inspirisane direktno ili indirektno *Božanstvenom komedijom* (*Pink Floyd*, *Radiohead*, *Hammerfall*, *Blind Guardian*, *Iron Maiden*, *Cradle of Filth*, *Iced Earth* i dr.) – Up. Ciabattoni 2023.

¹³ Vlada Republike Italije je 17. januara 2020. godine na prijedlog tadašnjeg ministra kulture Darija Frančeskinija (Dario Franceschini) izglasala *Dantedì* kao nacionalni dan posvećen sjećanju na Dantea koji će se proslavljati 25. marta svake godine. Ideja za inicijativu potekla od strane počasnog predsjednika *Accademia della Crusca*, lingviste i filologa Sabatinija (Francesco Sabatini), te novinara lista *Corriere della Sera* Paola Di Stefana, ubrzo je podržana od strane stručne i laičke javnosti, vodećih kulturnih i obrazovnih institucija u zemlji i resornog ministarstva. Zajedničkim naporima svih činilaca započete su opsežne pripreme za organizaciju svečanih proslava tim povodom širom Italije - Up. Gazzetta Ufficiale della Repubblica Italiana, *Direttiva del Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri* (17 gennaio 2020), *Indizione della «Giornata nazionale dedicata a Dante Alighieri», denominata «Dantedì»* (GU N. 39 del 17-2-2020). Web. 15 Feb 2025
<https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2020/02/17/20A01008>>.

periodu zdravstvene krize, globalne društvene izolacije i suspenzija svih kulturnih i obrazovnih djelatnosti, urbana umjetnost i oslikavanje murala bila je jedna od rijetkih kulturnih aktivnosti koje su djelovale na internacionalnoj *street art* sceni, pa je i Dante u toj vizuelno-prostornoj ekspresiji našao svoj umjetnički izraz (Smith 2023: 266-274) putem kojeg je postao dostupnim i onim generacijama koje bi ga, u drugačijim okolnostima, možda i zaobišle.

Digitalno-multimedijalno iskustvo u doba zdravstvene krize uzrokovane globalnom pademijom nametnulo je posmatranje književnog teksta i u njegovom hipertekstualnom kontekstu zasnovanom na inerpolaciji vizuelnih elemenata sa linearnim pripovjednim tekstom kroz ineraktivnu dimenziju savremenih tehnologija. Brojne visokoobrazovne institucije u tehnološki razvijenim zemljama i prije pandemije upućivale su na upotrebu novih digitalnih tehnologija u obrazovnom procesu, i iz komercijalnih i socio-ekonomskih razloga između ostalog, dok su podsticaji na polju sinhronog i asinhronog čitanja, nastave i učenja *online* u periodu koronavirusa postali nužna promjena obrazovnih paradigmi uslovljenih kriznim mjerama i globalnim prelaskom učenja na daljinu za više od 1.6 milijarde studenata širom svijeta i milione onih koji uče samostalno putem digitalnih platformi (Hesham, Henry and Shad 2023: 55; 59). U periodu globalne zdravstvene krize kada je obrazovni sistem funkcionisao u sistemskoj zavisnosti od savremenih tehnologija u skladu sa vanrednom epidemiološkom situacijom i nametnutim mjerama, problematiku didaktike Danteovog dijela olakšalo je objavljivanje korisnih studija na tragu one o indirektnim edukativnim i pedagoškim aspektima *Božanstvene komedije* (Mantegazza 2014: II).¹⁴ Prve decenije XXI vijeka donijele su i inovacije u obrazovanju na globalnom planu ekspanzijom masovnih otvorenih *online* kurseva i sistema za personalno učenje kao neograničenog otvorenog pristupa besplatnog unaprijeđenja znanja na formalnom i neformalnom nivou putem različitih digitalnih platformi i savremenih tehnologija.¹⁵ U navedenom kontekstu, lansiran je 2007.

¹⁴ Up. Cambi e Sola 2020; Genovesi 2021; Nembrini 2021.

¹⁵ Koncepti besplatnih predavanja i praksa prestižnih svjetskih univerziteta da omoguće slobodan pristup kvalitetnim obrazovnim sadržajima na globalnom nivou i unaprijede sopstvene obrazovne procese putem *Massive open online course* (MOOC) u integraciji i interakciji sa platformama tehnologije Web 2.0 (*Learning Management System* (LMS); *Virtual Learning Environment* (VLE); *Online Learning Centre* (OLC), *Personal Learning Environment Interactive Navigator* (PLEIN), *Open Educational Resources* (OER) i sl.), izmijenili su savremene tokove obrazovnog procesa, naročito u periodu nakon 2012. godine

godine pionirski interaktivni projekat *Federica Web Learning* kao multidisciplinarna obrazovna digitalna platforma Univerziteta Fridrih II u Napulju (Merciai i Kerr 2019: 286), danas sa preko 500 *online* kurseva, 2500 lekcija i 7500 video materijala.¹⁶ U početku povezana sa Danteovim svijetom sa istorijskog, kulturnog i produktivnog gledišta, web platforma je nudila virtuelni ambijent Campus 3D korisničkog interfejsa za navigaciju koju je krasio portret Dantea preuzet sa freske firentinske katedrale *Dante, Božanstvena komedija i Firenca* renesansnog slikara Domenika di Mikelina (Domenico di Michelino, 1417-1491) u kojoj se pjesnik pojavljuje u ikonografiji kojom simbolički nudi *urbi et orbi* otvoreni svezak svog djela u ruci. Nakon nekoliko godina ova platforma je evoluirala i uključila se 2015. godine u globalnu MOOC mrežu nudeći multimedijalni portfolio poput interaktivnih testova, iTunes podkasta i virtuelnih programa smartphone korisničke podrške uz različite kurseve vezane za cjeloživotno učenje po ugledu na *edX* platformu Harvard-MIT MOOC provajdera. Na bazi tog partnerstva nastali su brojni tečajevi koji su *Federica Web Learning* pozicionirali među deset svjetskih najproduktivnijih MOOC platformi unapređujući didaktički kvalitet učenja i širenja znanja (Up. Lanzotti et al. 2019). Po ugledu na jedan od prvih *online* kurseva nastalih iz te kolaboracije posvećenih Danteu i njegovom djelu, univerziteti širom svijeta pokrenuli su slične inicijative u okviru *Open Educational Resources (OER)* projekata preko kojih je Dante kao *otac italijanskog jezika* i najinternacionalniji italijanski književni autor postao i otac eksperimentisanja sa književnim MOOC kursovima na globalnom planu (De Martino 2021: 70).¹⁷

i njihovog eksponencijalnog porasta i konstantnog unaprijeđivanja. – Up. Shark 2015.

¹⁶ *Federica Web Learning, University Centre for Innovation, Experimentation and Diffusion of Multimedia Learning at the University of Naples Federico II*. Web. 15 Feb 2025 <<https://www.federica.eu/en/meet-federica/>>.

¹⁷ Raffaele Giglio, *Dante tra poesia e scienza* (Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II) <<https://lms.federica.eu/enrol/index.php?id=326>>; Stefano Prandi, Piero Boitani, Corrado Bologna, Mira Mocan, Carlo Ossola, Lino Pertile, *All'eterno dal tempo. Introduzione alla Commedia di Dante* (Università della Svizzera Italiana) <[https://www.swissmooc.ch/courses/La Comedia di Dante/](https://www.swissmooc.ch/courses/La%20Comedia%20di%20Dante/)>, Giuseppe Mazzotta, *Dante in Translation* (Yale University) <<https://oyc.yale.edu/italian-language-and-literature/ital-310>>; Frank Ambrosio, *The Divine Comedy: Dante's Journey to Freedom*, (Georgetown University) <<https://dante.georgetown.edu>> Web. 15 Feb 2025. – Up. De Martino 2021: 67-70.

Imajući u vidu sve naprijed navedeno, moglo bi se zaključiti da je Dante naš srednjevjekovni savremenik čiji lik i djelo nastavljaju da budu relevantni i inspirativni, sa značajnim uticajem na brojne naučne discipline i digitalne medije kojima nudi bogat materijal za moderne interpretacije i kulturne recepcije potvrđujući time univerzalnost i bezvremenost svog stvaralaštva. U skladu sa savremenim tokovima i izazovima metodoloških, teorijskih i kritičkih perspektiva, kulturni i književni kapital transmisije i recepcije *Božanstvene komedije* u eri globalnih izazova na početku XXI vijeka nastavlja potvrdu Danteovog univerzalizma i legitimizuje sistem vrijednosti multidisciplinarne tradicije u proučavanju njegovog djela otkrivajući nam nove modele interpretacija i pozitivnog recepcijskog tumačenja i nakon sedam vjekova od smrti autora.

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REFLECTIONS ON MODERN MULTIDISCIPLINARY INTERPRETATIONS AND RECEPTION OF DANTE IN THE 21st CENTURY

The paper attempts to provide an overview of the complex process from the perspective of contemporary interdisciplinary study and evaluation of medieval literary texts, using Dante as one of the two foundations of the literary canon of Western civilization. The system of understanding, interpretation and remediation of the Divine Comedy through the intertextual, intercultural and metahistorical context allows us, in the process of modern interpretations, to show the topicality and relevance of Dante in the era of the dominance of digital platforms, consumption of new media and technologies. In line with contemporary trends and challenges of methodological, theoretical and critical perspectives, Dante’s cultural and literary capital of transmission and reception in the era of 21st century global challenges continues to affirm its universalism and legitimizes the value of the multidisciplinary tradition in the study of his work, continuing to reveal new models of interpretation and positive reception on a global scale even after seven centuries since the author’s death.

The Divine Comedy encompassed and synthesized the entire medieval culture and tradition and today represents one of the most complex legacies of Western civilization of the Christian Middle Ages, which has remained a source

of diverse inspiration, controversy and multidisciplinary research across a broad spectrum of humanities, social and natural sciences over the centuries. By modeling the universe and society according to his own poetic postulates and a rigorous architectural structure that does not lose relevance even in contemporary adaptations and interpretations, the understanding of the outdated scientific models of Dante's age and its actuality can be pursued on two comparative and not so contrasting levels. On the one hand, through the understanding of the doctrinal universe and ideologies of the Middle Ages through the scholastic philosophical-theological system and the cultural product of Florentine pre-humanism, when literature was perceived as an introduction to reality, an intellectual and moral judgment in search of the absolute, building on the patterns of the didactic, allegorical and moral literature of the Roman tradition and the Latin classics. On the other hand, the temporal, spatial and emotional shifts with which Dante's narrative multiverse can be re-centered in relation to the classical conceptualization of narrative, through additional mental stimulation and visualization with modern technological and media tools that allow fictional literary worlds to be experienced as actual and real.

Dante's literary production, modeled by a complex network of multilayered meanings and stylistic levels, has a polyvalent function that subordinates the individual to the collective mechanisms of cultural and social conventions, whereby Dante, the author and protagonist of the work, offers a way out of the fragmentation of society, whose disintegration and imbalance he poetically deconstructs through fictional reality and metaphysical reflections, regardless of their high degree of referentiality.

Contemporary technological innovations and the consumption of new media have fundamentally changed old paradigms and pose new challenges for didactic adaptation in a digital and telematic environment. The critical reading of Dante's Comedy in an analytical and cognitive sense in the age of digital mass culture has been modernized by the interference of hypertext links and by television adaptations with additional means of expression such as voice and rhythm modulations together with algorithmic and biometric schematization of parameters through various performative representations on screen or stage.

In the age of the dominance of digital media, the centuries-old tradition of the *Lecturae Dantis* has contributed significantly to the popularization of the Divine Comedy in contemporary contexts: from various theater and film adaptations to radio formats and modern television spectacles. Drawing on the experience of the previous century and the popularization of the Comedy in the media through the simple declamation of selected chants, modern interpretations intended for a wider audience include commentaries, paraphrases and exegeses that imitate different levels of interpretative semiotics on a theoretical level.

The digital revolution and artificial intelligence have transformed the human psyche in unprecedented ways and foretold a significant change in the field of psychology, language and literature itself. The new era of dematerialization of media content offers us a media reality of continuity and

deregulation of the space-time flow (infinite scroll) in the new digital context. In this new order, the post-industrial reality changes the rules of organization of the physical and mental regime in the pursuit of constant sensation, constant sensory and cognitive flow in the world of instant information, where traditional media and media concepts, especially books, lose their primary function. The fictional worlds in Dante's work are traced by this view through double journeys: through space-time, media and genres that consequently write intertextual relationships; and through the immersion of the spectator as a particular spatial, temporal and emotional displacement that reveals the narrative multiverse of the *Divine Comedy*. With the development of smart screens, consoles and virtual reality devices, the conditions have been created for the elimination of the boundary between the physical and media worlds.

The use of literary classics as a powerful stimulating tool for the development of language skills and as an important source of a rich supply of linguistic and cultural elements on the one hand, and the development of intercultural competences as the ability to interact successfully with members of other cultures on the other, implies in the modern age the use of various cultural channels (art, theatre, film, radio and television) and products of information and communication technology in intercultural dialogue on a global scale, including the disruptive technology of artificial intelligence, in which Dante's work finds its place.

The first decades of the new millennium brought innovations in education on a global scale with the proliferation of mass open online courses and personal learning systems as unlimited open access to free knowledge expansion on a formal and informal level through various digital platforms and technologies. The concepts of free lectures and the practice of renowned worldwide universities to provide free access to high quality educational content on a global scale and to support their own educational processes through Massive Open Online Courses (MOOC) in integration with Web 2.0 technology platforms (Learning Management System (LMS); Virtual Learning Environment (VLE); Online Learning Center (OLC), Personal Learning Environment Interactive Navigator (PLEIN), Open Educational Resources (OER), etc.), have shaped the modern trends in education.), have changed the modern trends of the educational process, especially in the post-2012 era and their exponential growth and continuous improvement during the global pandemic, in which Dante has played a remarkable role, confirming its universality and the possibility of adapting to new didactic and pedagogical contexts.

At a time when technology has overcome theory with the dominance of pragmatism and consumption, transmedia storytelling offers numerous opportunities for innovative, inter- and transdisciplinary interpretations, adaptations and narratives in collaboration between different media industries: on stage, in film, television and radio and, above all, through new digital media such as video games, the abstract space of the Internet and other interactive formats. Nonetheless, Dante's figure and his literary work remain relevant and inspiring, providing rich material for contemporary interpretations and cultural receptions, while his influence extends across different disciplines and media,

confirming the universality and timelessness of his creativity. The cultural and literary capital of the transmission and reception of the Divine Comedy in the age of 21st century global challenges continues to affirm Dante's universalism and legitimizes the value system of the multidisciplinary tradition in the study of his work, revealing new interpretive models and positive interpretations of reception even seven centuries after the author's death, in line with contemporary trends and challenges of methodological, theoretical and critical perspectives.

Keywords: Dante, digital humanities, contemporary reception, narrative theory, multimedia

LE SURREALISME ET L'ESPRIT AVANT-GARDISTE

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Résumé: Cet article explore le surréalisme en tant que mouvement artistique et littéraire majeur du XX^e siècle, en analysant sa place au sein des avant-gardes historiques. L'objectif est d'examiner la tension entre la volonté de rupture et la quête d'un nouveau langage esthétique, qui caractérise le surréalisme. Sur le plan méthodologique, l'étude combine l'analyse littéraire du *Manifeste du surréalisme* de 1924 et des œuvres clés des surréalistes (Breton, Aragon, Éluard) avec les théories de l'avant-garde de Peter Bürger et les réflexions d'Antoine Compagnon sur les paradoxes de la modernité. L'accent est mis sur une analyse critique du rôle de l'institution artistique et sur la déconstruction des conventions. L'article explore les différentes facettes de la création surréaliste, de l'exploration de l'inconscient à l'expérimentation formelle, en passant par l'influence d'Apollinaire et l'héritage de Dada et du futurisme. L'article analyse l'évolution du mouvement, depuis ses origines dans la revue *Littérature* jusqu'à son apogée avec les grands recueils d'Éluard et les innovations poétiques de Breton, comme l'écriture automatique et le collage. Il s'agit de montrer comment le surréalisme, tout en s'inscrivant dans une tradition de rupture et d'innovation, a su développer une esthétique singulière qui a durablement marqué l'art et la culture contemporains. En conclusion, l'étude examine la pertinence du surréalisme au XXI^e siècle pour la critique sociale, la libération de la créativité et l'exploration de la subjectivité.

Mots-clés: André Breton, surréalisme, dadaïsme, futurisme, avant-garde, modernité

1. Introduction

La définition et la compréhension du terme "avant-garde" sont si vastes qu'il est difficile d'en fournir une définition unique et exhaustive. Initialement, le terme dérive du vocabulaire militaire, où il désignait les groupes précurseurs des troupes. Selon la définition donnée en 1971 par Miklós Szabolcsi, l'avant-garde signifie "l'un des courants, un certain groupe d'événements dans le développement plus récent de la

littérature et de l'art" (N.d.A.)¹ et regroupe "des tendances qui possèdent un programme esthétique, philosophique, et dans de nombreux cas, politique, bien défini" (N.d.A.)².

Les théories de l'avant-garde, élaborées après l'émergence et le déclin des mouvements avangardistes historiques, notamment par Renato Poggioli et Peter Bürger dans leurs deux *Théories d'avant-garde*³, proposent des perspectives différentes. Poggioli se concentre sur ses aspects esthétiques et psychologiques, tandis que Bürger insiste sur sa dimension sociopolitique, considérant l'avant-garde comme une autocritique de l'art au sein de la société bourgeoise, indispensable à une "compréhension objective" (N.d.A.)⁴ de son histoire.

2. L'avant-garde selon Bürger: concepts fondamentaux et applications

Les recherches de Peter Bürger⁵, particulièrement sa *Théorie de l'avant-garde* et son concept d'"art comme institution", fournissent un cadre théorique et méthodologique essentiel pour examiner le surréalisme et ses spécificités en tant que mouvement d'avant-garde. Bürger associe le "concept des mouvements avant-gardistes historiques" (N.d.A.)⁶ au dadaïsme, au surréalisme précoce, à l'avant-garde russe post-révolution d'Octobre, mais aussi, avec quelques

¹ "one of the trends, one certain group of incidents in the more recent development of literature and art". (49)

² "the trends and tendencies that possess a definite aesthetical, philosophical, in many cases, political, program". (53)

³ Poggioli, Renato. *Teoria dell'arte d'avanguardia*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1962 et Bürger, Peter. *Theorie der Avantgarde*. Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1974.

⁴ "'Objective understanding'" (21). Cette expression a été empruntée par Bürger à l'ouvrage de Karl Marx intitulé *Manuscripts de 1857-1858*, communément appelés *Grundrisse*.

⁵ Les travaux de Peter Bürger sont peu traduits en français, si l'on excepte *La Prose de la modernité* (1988, traduction française en 1995) et *La Théorie de l'avant-garde* (1974, parue tardivement en France en 2013). Bürger était d'abord un spécialiste du surréalisme français, comme en témoigne son étude *Der französische Surrealismus: Studien zum Problem der avantgardistischen Literatur* (1971) et avait publié, dès les années 1970, plusieurs textes théoriques considérés comme une étude préliminaire à sa *Théorie de l'avant-garde*. Bürger puise son inspiration théorique auprès de philosophes tels que Karl Marx, Walter Benjamin, Theodor W. Adorno, Georg Lukács et d'autres auteurs d'orientation marxiste et néo-marxiste.

⁶ "the concept of the historical avant-garde movements". (109)

réserve, au futurisme italien, à l'expressionnisme allemand et au cubisme.

Selon Bürger, la *fonction de l'art* est comprise comme un concept dialectique médiatisé et défini par l'*institution de l'art*. Cette institution désigne "les conditions dans lesquelles l'art est produit, distribué et reçu" (N.d.A.)⁷ et englobe "l'appareil de production et de distribution, ainsi que les idées dominantes sur l'art qui prévalent à un moment donné et qui déterminent la réception des œuvres" (N.d.A.)⁸. Elle se développe parallèlement à la société bourgeoise moderne, qui institutionnalise l'art en tant que champ autonome, séparé de la pratique de la vie. Bürger identifie la critique de cette institution, accompagnée de la négation de son autonomie, comme la fonction fondamentale des avant-gardes. Grâce à ces mouvements, l'art passe enfin à l'état d'"autocritique du sous-système social 'art'" (N.d.A.)⁹. C'est seulement à ce stade, selon Bürger, qu'il est possible d'appréhender "la totalité du processus de développement de l'art" (N.d.A.)¹⁰. Les mouvements historiques d'avant-garde s'opposent au concept même d'"art comme institution", cherchant à abolir l'art comme sphère séparée de la pratique de la vie.

En ce sens, le dadaïsme, selon Bürger, représente le mouvement le plus radical de l'avant-garde européenne: "il ne critique plus les écoles qui l'ont précédé, mais l'art comme institution et le cours de son développement dans la société bourgeoise" (N.d.A.)¹¹.

Bürger examine l'avant-garde sur deux niveaux: celui de l'intention fondamentale d'attaquer l'institution de l'art, et celui de la description des particularités de l'œuvre avant-gardiste, définie comme non-organique¹². Les œuvres surréalistes et dadaïstes illustrent ces

⁷ "the conditions under which art is produced, distributed, and received". (30)

⁸ "the productive and distributive apparatus and also to the ideas about art that prevail at a given time and that determine the reception of works". (22)

⁹ "the self-criticism of the social subsystem 'art'". (26)

¹⁰ "[t]he totality of the developmental process of art". (22-3)

¹¹ "no longer criticizes schools that preceded it, but criticizes art as an institution, and the course its development took in bourgeois society". (22)

¹² Peter Bürger établit une distinction entre deux modes de fonctionnement de l'œuvre d'art en opposant ce qu'il nomme l'œuvre organique et l'œuvre non-organique. Pour lui, l'œuvre d'art se définit par l'unité du particulier et de l'universel. L'œuvre organique (ou symbolique), où l'unité est immédiate, sans besoin de médiation et l'œuvre non-organique (ou allégorique), typique des avant-gardes, où l'unité est le résultat d'un processus de médiation. L'élément unificateur semble se retirer à une distance infinie, laissant au récepteur la responsabilité de reconstruire cette unité.

approches en remettant en question non seulement "la catégorie de la production individuelle", mais aussi celle de la "*réception* individuelle" (N.d.A.)¹³. Même si les provocations dadaïstes suscitent des réactions collectives du public, elles maintiennent une distinction entre créateur et récepteur. Cependant, dans une volonté avant-gardiste d'abolir l'art comme sphère séparée de la pratique de la vie, cette distinction s'estompe, offrant des "recettes" pour la création (comme les instructions de Tristan Tzara¹⁴ pour écrire des poèmes dadaïstes ou celles d'André Breton pour rédiger des textes automatiques). Ces "recettes" deviennent littéralement des suggestions d'activités possibles pour le récepteur, guidant une création individuelle qui ne doit pas être perçue comme strictement artistique, mais comme "une partie d'une praxis de vie libératrice" (N.d.A.)¹⁵. C'est en ce sens que l'on peut comprendre l'exigence de Breton de "*pratiquer* la poésie" (Breton 1: 322), une idée reprise par Bürger dans sa *Théorie de l'avant-garde*.

Pour Bürger, une œuvre avant-gardiste repose sur des concepts tels que le *nouveau*, le *hasard*, l'*allégorie* et le *montage*. Cependant, il souligne les limites de l'utilité de la catégorie du "nouveau" lorsqu'il s'agit de comprendre les mouvements d'avant-garde historiques. Si l'on se limitait aux changements dans les techniques artistiques, la catégorie du "nouveau" pourrait être appropriée. Cependant, étant donné que ces mouvements visent à rompre avec le système traditionnel de la représentation et à abolir l'institution qu'est l'art, cette idée de "nouveauté" reste insuffisante. La véritable innovation ne réside pas simplement dans les techniques, mais dans une transformation qualitative de l'institution de l'art elle-même. Par conséquent, bien que le concept du "nouveau" ne soit pas erroné, il manque de précision pour distinguer une mode passagère (arbitraire) d'une nécessité historique, d'après Bürger.

2.1. Compagnon et les "valeurs du nouveau": la complexité de l'avant-garde

Malgré ses critiques à l'encontre de la *Théorie de l'avant-garde* de Bürger, qu'il accuse de réduire la complexité de l'avant-garde à une

¹³ "the category of individual production", "individual *reception*". (53)

¹⁴ V. Tzara, Tristan. "Pour faire un poème dadaïste." *Sept manifestes Dada et Lampisteries*. Paris: Éditions Pauvert, 1979. 43-4. Dans le *Manifeste*, Breton présente l'écriture automatique comme un "modeste" travail d'enregistrement, indique la "recette" et l'intitule: "Secrets de l'art magique surréaliste." (Breton 1: 330-2).

¹⁵ "part of a liberating life praxis". (53)

simple critique de l'institution artistique et de négliger des aspects essentiels de l'expérience artistique, Antoine Compagnon reconnaît l'apport de cette notion du "nouveau", qu'il considère comme une ressource précieuse pour approfondir la compréhension de l'avant-garde. Compagnon¹⁶ ne partage pas "le préjugé de Bürger en faveur des avant-gardes historiques, qu'il exalte au détriment du modernisme bourgeois du XIX^e siècle", ni n'approuve "la périodisation qu'il propose pour les séparer au début du XX^e siècle". Toutefois, il admet que l'insistance de Bürger sur "l'insuffisance du nouveau comme critère de toute la tradition moderne" (77) et sur "un critère théorique de la nouveauté historique" (79) est légitime, puisqu'elle correspond à l'approche des avant-gardes.

Dans la perspective de Compagnon, la délimitation des "valeurs du nouveau et du futur" (74), tant sur le plan esthétique que philosophique, permet de dissocier ces deux notions souvent confondus, mais fondamentalement distincts: la modernité et l'avant-garde.

Selon lui, ces deux développements sont paradoxaux, mais leur différence réside dans leur rapport au temps et à l'évolution artistique. La modernité se définit principalement par son obsession pour le présent, cherchant à innover dans l'immédiateté, tandis que l'avant-garde se projette résolument vers l'avenir, visant non seulement à anticiper mais aussi à bouleverser son époque. L'avant-garde, comme le remarque Compagnon, évolue dans une dynamique paradoxale où destruction et création cohabitent. Cette tension – nihilisme et futurisme (45) – incarne la dualité de l'avant-garde, où la quête de la nouveauté s'accompagne souvent d'une volonté destructrice. Le surréalisme ne fait pas exception: ses manifestes, radicalement critiques envers le réalisme et le positivisme, expriment une volonté de subvertir et de démanteler les normes artistiques dominantes. Mais l'ambition du surréalisme dépasse la simple négation: il aspire à instaurer une nouvelle esthétique, à transformer la manière de voir et de penser le monde.

Compagnon insiste aussi que l'avant-garde, en refusant de s'ancrer pleinement dans le présent, s'engage dans une dynamique autodestructrice, où la quête de l'avenir peut annihiler ses propres bases existentielles. Ce paradoxe interne entre l'exigence de destruction pour innover et l'affirmation d'un futur radical conduit fréquemment à

¹⁶ Il estime que, en réalité, "le sens historique" (79) attribué au "nouveau" – lorsqu'il est destiné à être reconnu – est apparu avant même l'émergence des avant-gardes historiques, dès les années 1880.

des excès dogmatiques, où la recherche du futur écrase toute reconnaissance du présent.

Enfin, bien que Compagnon critique les paradoxes du surréalisme, en le voyant comme une avant-garde militante consciente de son rôle historique, il souligne certaines incohérences. Le surréalisme, en se revendiquant comme mouvement avant-gardiste à portée historique, révèle une contradiction: malgré ses ambitions révolutionnaires et son discours théorique radical, il s'est parfois heurté à un académisme inattendu, illustrant encore une fois ce paradoxe de l'avant-garde. Ainsi, le surréalisme incarne la tension entre rupture artistique et affirmation dogmatique, contribuant à redéfinir le paysage culturel de son époque tout en s'ancrant dans ce que Compagnon identifie comme les paradoxes mêmes de la modernité. Les critiques de Compagnon, selon lesquelles le "terrorisme intellectuel" (91) prôné par Breton n'aurait eu qu'un impact limité sur le cours historique de l'art, et que "les déclarations théoriciennes du surréalisme, radicales et extrémistes, donnèrent lieu à des œuvres souvent passéistes et suscitèrent un nouvel académisme" (90), sont dans une certaine mesure justifiées.

3. Les filiations complexes du surréalisme: influences et préoccupations partagées

La modernité et l'avant-gardisme sont généralement perçus comme une lutte pour l'originalité et contre "le conformisme et la convention" (74). En fait, depuis le milieu du XIX^e siècle, il semble même s'aggraver, atteignant les avant-gardes historiques du début du XX^e siècle – futurisme, dadaïsme, surréalisme, constructivisme. Cependant, loin de représenter une simple continuité avec la modernité, ces avant-gardes constituent une transformation profonde des principes modernistes. Elles repoussent les limites de la modernité, non seulement en accentuant son caractère innovant, mais aussi en redéfinissant radicalement les fondements mêmes de la création artistique.

Le surréalisme, probablement le mouvement le plus révolutionnaire du début du XX^e siècle, trouve ses racines dans les avant-gardes précédant la Première Guerre mondiale dont Apollinaire¹⁷, fut "le principal acteur" (Labouret 75). En 1917, Apollinaire, lors de sa conférence "L'Esprit nouveau et les poètes", officialise l'existence d'un courant avant-gardiste auquel il participe activement depuis le début du

¹⁷ Mort prématurément en 1918, quelques années avant la naissance du surréalisme, il établit un lien entre les recherches modernistes d'avant-guerre et la révolution artistique d'après-guerre" (ibid.).

siècle (ibid.). Au cœur de ce "manifeste-programme" (Nadeau 23) se trouve la notion du "nouveau", centrée sur la "surprise", qui suscite un vif intérêt dès l'automne 1917 et dans les années suivantes. Cette notion met en évidence une tension essentielle de la modernité: celle entre tradition et innovation, entre ordre et subversion. Pour Apollinaire, le "nouveau" consistait à "[e]xplorer la vérité, la chercher, aussi bien dans le domaine ethnique [...] que dans celui de l'imagination" (1144) et à créer des "mille et mille combinaisons naturelles qui n'ont jamais été composées" (1150). Le "nouveau" réside dans la "surprise", un élément central de l'esprit nouveau. "C'est par la surprise, par la place importante qu'il fait à la surprise que l'esprit nouveau se distingue de tous les mouvements artistiques et littéraires qui l'ont précédé" (ibid.).

Tout en affirmant que l'avenir appartient à un art "national" (1154), Apollinaire considère que "l'esprit nouveau se réclame avant tout de l'ordre et du devoir qui sont les grandes qualités classiques" (1147), reposant "sur les solides bases du bon sens" (1150). Il encourage même les poètes à rivaliser en imagination avec les mathématiciens, en soulignant que "la langue scientifique est en désaccord profond avec celle des poètes" (1154), souvent bien plus riches en imagination que ces derniers.

Cependant, cette conception de la "surprise" sera remise en question par les jeunes surréalistes¹⁸, qui reprochent à Apollinaire son insistance sur l'"ordre", "les classiques", "le bon sens" et "le devoir national". Pour eux, la surprise doit être radicalisée, libérée de toute logique rationnelle ou morale, pour devenir un outil de subversion pure.

Dans ce contexte, le Dada et le surréalisme apparaissent comme des prolongements et des radicalisations des tendances avant-gardistes de 1910-1918. Michel Sanouillet¹⁹, dans *Dada à Paris*, affirme que les

¹⁸ Breton lui-même affirmera: "Je pense qu'il n'y a plus lieu de s'y arrêter: tout au plus prouvent-ils qu'Apollinaire fut un médiocre théoricien. En dehors de la part fondamentale faite dans ce manifeste à la *surprise* – encore est-ce là une indication bien sommaire – 'l'esprit nouveau', au sens où nous pouvons l'entendre encore, est aux antipodes de ce qu'il dit (Breton 4: 872).

¹⁹ Il distingue une "préhistoire réelle du Mouvement" (ibid.), basée sur des faits historiques vérifiables ayant influencé directement les dadaïstes, d'une "préhistoire imaginaire" (ibid.), construite *a posteriori* par des artistes et des écrivains cherchant à légitimer le mouvement en s'inventant des ancêtres. Selon Sanouillet, l'influence des publications futuristes de 1909 sur Dada est indéniable, comme en témoignent leurs échos dans les revues du mouvement, et le rôle de Lautréamont, "souvent mis en avant" (16), est en réalité peu pertinent, car Duchamp, Picabia et Tzara ignoraient son importance, voire son existence, en 1916.

"origines directes du Mouvement Dada" (15) ne remontent pas au-delà des premières années du XX^e siècle, mais s'affirment nettement dans les bouleversements liés à "la crise générale des valeurs intellectuelles immédiatement avant la guerre de 1914-1918" (ibid.). Maurice Nadeau souligne que le surréalisme est à la fois "héritier" et "continuateur" des mouvements qui l'ont précédé (cubisme, futurisme, Dada), "sans qui il n'eût pas existé" (15). Les figures majeures du surréalisme – Aragon, Breton, Éluard, Péret – faisaient partie du "groupe Dada français jusqu'en 1922" (16). D'après Nadeau, on ne saurait comprendre Dada sans rappeler "qu'il est né en pleine guerre, en 1916, qu'il s'est répandu comme une traînée de poudre dans l'Allemagne vaincue de 1918, pour toucher finalement la France exsangue des années 1919-20" (ibid.).

Claude Abastado insiste sur la complexité des filiations littéraires, artistiques et idéologiques du surréalisme et de Dada. Si certains éléments de la pensée surréaliste se retrouvent dans des courants variés – du roman noir du XVIII^e siècle, au préromantisme anglais, au romantisme allemand, à la tradition occulte, à la philosophie hégélienne ou au marxisme –, il est plus difficile de situer précisément la place du surréalisme par rapport aux autres "courants de la pensée contemporaine" (26) ou de déterminer la part exacte de Dada. De fait, l'analyse des revues d'avant-gardes²⁰ (celles d'Arthur Cravan, de Pierre Albert-Birot ou de Pierre Reverdy) montre une convergence de préoccupations bien avant la naissance officielle du surréalisme.

Selon Anna Boschetti, le futurisme, Dada et le surréalisme remettent en question la notion d'art en recourant à des pratiques telles que l'"art-action" et le ready-made, annonçant des ruptures radicales avec la tradition et le passé – sauf pour quelques "précurseurs"²¹ (158). Boschetti précise que Dada et le surréalisme insistent sur un aspect différent des provocations futuristes: Dada privilégie le côté ludique et destructeur, tandis que le surréalisme adopte une posture prophétique et utopique. Les surréalistes, comme les futuristes, aspirent à transformer le monde et la vie, rejetant la logique rationnelle au profit de l'imagination et revendiquant une nouvelle morale (ibid.).

²⁰ Les petites revues qui paraissent avant et pendant la guerre: la revue *Maintenant*, qu'Arthur Cravan publiait irrégulièrement pendant les années 1913-1914-1915; la revue *Sic*, éditée par Pierre Albert-Birot de janvier 1916 à décembre 1919; la revue *Nord-Sud*, que Pierre Reverdy publiait de 1917 à 1918.

²¹ Contrairement au futurisme et au Dada, qui faisaient de la table rase un principe, le surréalisme s'est préoccupé très tôt de se donner des ancêtres, choisissant de reconstruire la tradition plutôt que de la nier.

L'influence du futurisme se retrouve aussi dans les œuvres dadaïstes et surréalistes. Dada, tout en développant ses propres formes d'expression, s'inspire du futurisme, notamment dans les recherches typographiques et l'invention verbale²². D'après Boschetti, Breton s'est rapproché du futurisme à travers l'écriture automatique (ibid.), que l'"imagination sans fils" (Marinetti 2014: 18) semble avoir anticipée. Le *Supplément au Manifeste technique de la Littérature futuriste* de 1912 évoque ces moments où la main qui écrit paraît indépendante du cerveau²³. Breton et Soupault témoignent de cette influence dans leurs œuvres²⁴.

Un des lieux d'échanges intellectuels essentiels de cette période fut la revue *Nord-Sud*²⁵, créée pour rassembler "toutes les tendances résolument modernes" (Sanouillet 67) dans les lettres et les arts. Cette revue servait de point de rencontre entre les idées d'Apollinaire et celles de l'avant-garde dadaïste (Labouret 78). Reverdy y développe une théorie de l'image poétique qui eut un impact déterminant sur les

²² Le poème "simultan" (Boschetti 158) de Tzara reprend des éléments essentiels du futurisme: simultanité, mots en liberté, spontanéité, style télégraphique et de Henri-Martin Barzun, proche de la théorie de l'instrumentation verbale (ibid.).

²³ "La main qui écrit semble se détacher du corps et se prolonger en liberté, bien loin du cerveau qui lui aussi, en quelque sorte détaché du corps, devenu aérien, regarde de très haut, avec une effrayante lucidité, les phrases inattendues qui sortent de la plume" (Marinetti 1912).

²⁴ André Breton et Philippe Soupault ont été initiés aux manifestes futuristes par Apollinaire et assistèrent aux représentations du Théâtre synthétique futuriste organisées à Paris en 1918 par le groupe *Art et Liberté* (Günter 296). Ils s'inspirent des idées de ce théâtre dans deux sketches de 1919 (*Vous m'oubliez* et *S'il vous plaît*) et manifestèrent leur intérêt pour l'esthétique théâtrale de Marinetti en publiant des "Synthèses" et des "Surprises" théâtrales futuristes dans *Littérature* en 1920 (Günter 296, Boschetti 158-9). Cette influence se retrouve également dans les manifestes de Breton, où l'on perçoit des échos du *Manifeste technique* de Marinetti (Boschetti 158-9), ainsi que dans le "Discours sur le peu de réalité", qui résonne avec plusieurs aspects de l'"imagination sans fils" (Marinetti 2014: 18) et des "mots en liberté" (19).

²⁵ La revue, marquée par une intense activité créatrice, rassembla des collaborations brillantes. Aux côtés des poèmes de Reverdy figuraient ceux d'Apollinaire et de Max Jacob, ainsi que des illustrations de Georges Braque et Fernand Léger. Rapidement, les contributions de Tristan Tzara, André Breton, Philippe Soupault, Louis Aragon et Jean Paulhan enrichirent ses pages.

surréalistes²⁶. Selon lui, l'image poétique est "une création pure de l'esprit" qui

ne peut naître d'une comparaison mais du rapprochement de deux réalités plus ou moins éloignées. Plus les rapports des deux réalités rapprochées seront lointains et justes, plus l'image sera forte – plus elle aura de puissance émotive et de réalité poétique. [...] Une image n'est pas forte parce qu'elle est *brutale* ou *fantastique* – mais parce que l'association des idées est lointaine est juste. Le résultat obtenu contrôle immédiatement la justesse de l'association (Reverdy 73-4).

Cette définition de l'image poétique sera citée et discutée par André Breton dans son *Manifeste du surréalisme* en 1924²⁷.

Le rôle d'Apollinaire et de Reverdy dans l'émergence du surréalisme souligne l'importance des avant-gardes antérieures à la guerre dans la formation de ce mouvement. En particulier, les innovations poétiques de la période 1910-1918, caractérisées par une remise en cause des conventions linguistiques et formelles, ont posé les bases sur lesquelles Breton et les surréalistes ont construit leur propre vision de la création littéraire. Cette continuité historique et conceptuelle montre que le surréalisme, bien que révolutionnaire dans son essence, s'inscrit dans une tradition avant-gardiste plus large qui avait déjà profondément redéfini les frontières du langage poétique avant 1918.

4. Le surréalisme et l'avant-garde: une poétique de la transgression

L'histoire du surréalisme commence officiellement au printemps 1919 (Murat 17, Chénieux-Gendron 1983: 23), avec la fondation de la revue *Littérature*²⁸ par André Breton, Philippe Soupault et Louis Aragon,

²⁶ Dans *Image et métaphore*, ouvrage de référence pour la compréhension de la théorie de l'image poétique au XX^e siècle, Pierre Caminade indique que la théorie de l'image élaborée par Reverdy a été déterminante dans l'émergence du surréalisme: "La théorie de l'image aura joué, de 1918 à 1923, un rôle décisif" (25).

²⁷ Dans le *Manifeste du surréalisme*, la théorie de l'image de Reverdy intervient à deux reprises: juste avant et juste après la découverte et la définition de l'écriture automatique et du surréalisme lui-même (Caminade 26).

²⁸ La période de publication de la revue, allant de 1919 à 1924, est considérée comme "la plus radicale des publications avant-gardistes" (N.d.A.) "the most radical of avant-garde publications" (Beaujour 866).

et la rédaction du texte *Les Champs magnétiques* par Breton et Soupault. Bien que cette période voit une activité dadaïste et surréaliste significative, Breton lui-même le désignait comme "le premier ouvrage *surréaliste*" (Breton 3: 461). La revue, initialement marquée par un "modernisme éclectique" (Murat 20), s'oriente rapidement vers un esprit d'expérimentation radicale avec le langage et la forme²⁹. Cette transformation s'accompagne de l'introduction de collages, de *ready-mades* productions ainsi que de la subversion des conventions poétiques traditionnelles.³⁰

Dans cette période, Breton utilise la technique du collage à l'encontre de Reverdy³¹, dont le souci de la pureté des éléments poétiques le conduit à rejeter catégoriquement tout apport "livresque" (Breton 1: 1086) dans le poème, et donc le collage comme source de lyrisme. Il retourne également cette technique contre Apollinaire, qui l'avait pratiquée au temps des "poèmes-conversations"³², notamment dans "Une maison peu solide", publié dans *Mont de piété* de 1919. Enfin, Breton systématise le procédé en réalisant un poème entier à partir de fragments découpés, "Le Corset Mystère", publié dans *Littérature* n°4 en 1919.

La période précédant la formalisation du surréalisme est marquée par une attitude iconoclaste, illustrée par des gestes comme ceux de Francis Picabia ou ceux d'Aragon et de Breton³³. Cette forme de "carnavalisation" (Murat 86) s'intensifie dans le *Manifeste*, où Breton fait du collage – avec l'automatisme – un "moyen surréaliste" (Breton I 341). En témoigne sa composition de "Poème" à partir de titres de

²⁹ Ces expérimentations ont contribué à l'émergence de l'écriture automatique à la fin de 1919, jetant ainsi les bases du futur discours poétique surréaliste.

³⁰ V. "Pierre fendre" de Louis Aragon, "Clé de sol" d'André Breton (*Littérature* n°1), "Le Corset mystère" (*Littérature* n°4).

³¹ Cette hostilité se manifeste notamment par le reproche que Reverdy lui adressait (Breton 1: 1086) et, plus particulièrement, par son irritation (Murat 21) face à la citation d'un fragment de Rimbaud ("Que salubre est le vent") dans le poème "Forêt-Noire", publié par Breton dans *Nord-Sud* en 1918.

³² Rappelons que la revue d'Apollinaire et Paul Cérusse *Les Soirées de Paris* présentait, dès 1913, les "poèmes-conversations" d'Apollinaire aux côtés des reproductions des tableaux de Picasso, Braque et Derain.

³³ Picabia renverse de l'encre sur une feuille et nomme la tache "La Sainte Vierge" (391, n° 12, 1920). Louis Aragon publie un poème intitulé "Suicide", qui présente une reproduction en vers de l'alphabet dans *Cannibale* n° 1 (1920). André Breton recopie une liste de noms tirés de l'annuaire téléphonique de la PTT, correspondant à son propre nom, qu'il intitule "PSST" (*Cannibale*, n° 2, 1920).

journaux, dont l'effet de montage confère une dimension programmatique:

"Surveillez / Le feu qui couve / La prière / Du beau temps / Sachez que / Les rayons ultra-violets / ont terminé leur tâche / Courte et bonne" (Breton 1: 343).

Selon Chénieux-Gendron, le collage littéraire trouve ses origines dans le cubisme (Chénieux-Gendron 1983: 77). Henri Béhar, dans son ouvrage *Littéruptures*, décrit précisément cette technique:

Le collage, en poésie, s'exerce de la même façon qu'en peinture, bien qu'il ne soit pas aussi immédiatement perceptible. Il prend pour matériau tout fait le verbal, auquel il inflige toutes sortes de manipulations, mais aussi le textuel, le déjà-écrit, donc prêt à être réutilisé. [...] Il revêt les formes du collage pur (le prélèvement opéré sans sélection), du collage aidé³⁴ (le prélèvement est redécoupé et recomposé), enfin de la combinaison à valeur esthétique. (Béhar 133)

Selon Murat, le collage apparaît comme une démarche d'induction, où l'image surréaliste est vue comme "un événement qui 'se produit' lorsque deux mots, ou deux objets, se rencontrent sans causalité assignable, de manière tout à fait imprévisible et soudaine, et pourtant pleinement significative" (78). Il précise que, "[e]n tant qu'événement", l'image surréaliste échappe à toute maîtrise volontaire, mais que son apparition peut être encouragée par diverses démarches: soit par le conditionnement mental lié à l'automatisme ou à des processus similaires, soit par des "procédés d'induction" (84), comme le collage. Celui-ci consiste à associer des "matériaux verbaux ou visuels préexistants" et se caractérise par la "nature triviale des matériaux", qui relèvent du lieu commun et non d'une manifestation de la psyché individuelle (85). Murat insiste: "[a]lors que l'image s'inscrit à la limite ultra-lyrique de la poésie, dont elle renforce les prérogatives, le collage met en question de manière directe les frontières de la culture et de l'art" (ibid.).

Le dadaïsme remet en question les normes littéraires et artistiques en faveur de l'absurde et du rejet des traditions, constituant un précurseur essentiel du surréalisme. Cependant, la rupture entre Tristan

³⁴ Il est intéressant de noter que la terminologie employée par Béhar – "collage pur" et "collage aidé" – s'inspire directement du vocabulaire duchampien relatif au ready-made. Marcel Duchamp parle en effet de "ready-made pur" et de "ready-made aidé", tels que définis dans *Duchamp du signe*. (191-2)

Tzara et Breton en 1922³⁵ marque un point de distinction important: alors que Dada s'inscrivait dans une dynamique nihiliste et anarchiste, le surréalisme, sous l'impulsion de Breton, cherche à dépasser cette pure négation pour proposer une méthode de connaissance et un cadre esthétique structuré, marquant ainsi le passage d'une destruction anarchique à une tentative de fondation artistique. Comme le révèle le texte – "Les caractères de l'évolution moderne et ce qui en participe" –, Breton ambitionne alors de s'imposer comme le chef et le théoricien d'un mouvement général³⁶, dépassant les courants précédents comme le futurisme, le cubisme et Dada. Il s'agit pour lui de rompre avec l'idée d'un art comme fin en soi, pour rassembler ces tendances dans un vaste mouvement de refus, déjà esquissé par le romantisme. Pour la première fois, Breton s'efforce de construire un groupement cohérent autour de sa propre vision.

Le surréalisme, défini par Breton dans son *Manifeste du surréalisme* (1924) comme un "[a]utomatisme psychique pur" (Breton 1: 328), s'inspire fortement de la psychanalyse freudienne. Il repose sur l'idée que la conscience humaine est partiellement gouvernée par des mécanismes inconscients, souvent refoulés par les normes sociales et morales. L'objectif central du mouvement est donc d'accéder à cette part refoulée de l'esprit, perçue comme une source authentique de connaissance et de créativité. La "surréalité" ne relève pas du fantastique ou de l'imaginaire, mais désigne une dimension réelle de la pensée humaine, négligée par les approches rationalistes traditionnelles.

Pour atteindre cette "surréalité", les surréalistes développent plusieurs techniques de libération de l'inconscient, telles que l'écriture automatique, les récits de rêves, les jeux de "cadavres exquis" et les collages. Ces techniques permettent, selon Breton, d'exprimer le "fonctionnement réel de la pensée" (Breton 1: 328), c'est-à-dire un discours non filtré et non censuré par la raison ou les conventions

³⁵ En janvier 1922, Breton prend l'initiative d'organiser un "Congrès international pour la détermination des directives et de la défense de l'esprit moderne", mais l'opposition de Tzara provoque l'échec du projet, marquant ainsi une rupture définitive entre Breton et le mouvement Dada, officialisée dans l'article *Lâchez tout, lâchez dada*, publié le 1^{er} avril 1922 dans le numéro 2 de la nouvelle série de la revue *Littérature*, ainsi que lors d'une conférence à Barcelone le 17 novembre intitulée *Caractères de l'évolution moderne et ce qui en participe*, qui définit une nouvelle orientation avant-gardiste.

³⁶ Cette perspective sera réaffirmée dans un texte de 1953 ("Du surréalisme en ses œuvres vives").

esthétiques. Le hasard et l'imprévu deviennent ainsi des outils essentiels pour révéler de nouvelles vérités psychiques et esthétiques. Ces pratiques, loin de représenter un simple rejet des traditions artistiques, visent à dépasser la logique et la morale pour explorer en profondeur les recoins cachés de l'esprit humain. Michel Beaujour, dans cette optique, voit dans "la découverte surréaliste des performances automatiques" (N.d.A.) un "moyen de passer à volonté de la conscience à un état mental ressemblant au rêve, de la raison à l'imagination, et d'un mode verbal 'prosaïque' à un mode verbal 'poétique'" (N.d.A.)³⁷, ce qui marque aussi la fin de la création poétique telle qu'on la connaissait jusqu'alors.

La poétique surréaliste met l'image poétique au cœur de son processus créatif, un concept que Jelena Novaković décrit comme le "principal produit de la création surréaliste" (N.d.A.)³⁸.

Bien que Breton emprunte à Reverdy l'idée du "rapprochement" et de l'émotion poétique (Murat 79), il modifie cette conception en insistant sur le "degré d'arbitraire le plus élevé" (Breton I 338) et en niant toute intentionnalité dans le processus créatif. À l'inverse de Reverdy, pour qui l'image est une "création pure de l'esprit" résultant d'une activité consciente et d'une subjectivité, Breton privilégie le hasard, insistant sur le rôle de l'inconscient et sur la spontanéité du processus créatif. Cela le conduit à adhérer à une conception de la "passivité absolue de l'esprit" (Abastado 88). En s'inspirant de Baudelaire et son "Un Mangeur d'opium", il décrit les "images surréalistes" (Breton 1: 337) comme des éléments qui s'imposent à l'homme, "spontanément, despotiquement" (ibid.), échappant à toute volonté humaine. L'individu se trouve alors dans "un état de besoin" (Abastado 88), où il subit les images plutôt que de les évoquer. Dans cet état de passivité, la conscience "n'a pas de part, du moins à l'origine" (ibid.), dans le rapprochement qui s'établit entre deux réalités.

Si l'on s'en tient comme je le fais, à la définition de Reverdy, il ne semble pas possible de rapprocher volontairement ce qu'il appelle 'deux réalités distantes'. Le rapprochement se fait ou ne se fait pas, voilà tout. [...] Il est faux, selon moi, de prétendre que 'l'esprit a saisi les rapports' des deux réalités en présence. Il n'a, pour commencer, rien saisi consciemment. C'est du rapprochement en quelque sorte fortuit des deux

³⁷ "the surrealist discovery of automatic performances" [...] "means of passing at will from consciousness to a mental state resembling dreaming, from reason to imagination, and from a 'prosaic' to a 'poetic' verbal mode" (869).

³⁸ "Glavni proizvod nadrealističkog stvaranja" (139).

termes qu'a jailli une lumière particulière, lumière de l'image (Breton 1: 337).

Novaković observe que l'originalité de Breton réside dans le renversement de l'ordre établi par Reverdy: "L'ordre est donc inversé par rapport à celui proposé par Reverdy: l'image poétique n'est pas une conséquence, mais une source de connaissance, qui est double, liée au moi du poète et au monde extérieur" (N.d.A.)³⁹.

Ainsi, tandis que l'image selon Reverdy est *juste*, chez Breton elle devient *arbitraire* (Caminade 33). En revisitant la théorie de l'image, le surréalisme a ouvert de nouvelles voies à l'exploration de l'inconscient et à l'élargissement de l'imaginaire, devenant un pilier de sa quête révolutionnaire. Cette tension entre des pôles opposés (contrôle et hasard, subjectivité et inconscient, création et révélation d'une réalité plus profonde) traduit la complexité de l'esthétique surréaliste.

Le surréalisme, loin de se limiter à un rejet du rationnel, se révèle comme une démarche complexe, où la libération de l'inconscient s'accompagne d'une réflexion critique sur le processus créatif. Cette dualité est au cœur de la modernité littéraire, faisant du surréalisme une méthode d'exploration autant qu'une révolution esthétique.

Le surréalisme, en tant que mouvement littéraire et artistique, se distingue par son rejet des formes narratives traditionnelles, notamment le roman⁴⁰, qu'il perçoit comme une structure rigide et contraignante pour l'imagination. Le surréalisme critique vigoureusement la fiction romanesque, qu'il considère comme un carcan narratif freinant la créativité, et préfère des formes littéraires plus libres telles que la poésie et le pamphlet, qui permettent une plus grande liberté d'expression.

Le surréalisme apporte à la théorisation du roman une opposition explicitement déclarée et invasive contre ce genre littéraire. Il a marqué un tournant dans l'histoire littéraire et artistique en prônant "un retournement de perspective" (Chénieux-Gendron 2014: 13). La critique intransigeante du roman par les surréalistes, vigoureusement exprimée par Breton dans le *Manifeste du surréalisme*: "[...] l'attitude réaliste, inspirée du positivisme, de saint Thomas à Anatole France, m'a bien l'air

³⁹ "Redosled je dakle obrnut u odnosu na onaj koji predlaže Reverdi: poetska slika nije posledica, nego izvor saznanja, koje je dvostruko, vezano za pesnikovo ja i za spoljašnji svet" (139).

⁴⁰ Bien que des œuvres telles que *Nadja* de Breton ou *Le Paysan de Paris* d'Aragon soient souvent classées parmi les récits, elles échappent aux conventions du roman traditionnel.

hostile à tout essor intellectuel et moral" (Breton 1: 313) a longtemps occulté un fait évident: cette critique s'inscrit dans une longue tradition de remise en question de ce genre littéraire "dans la littérature occidentale moderne" (Chénieux-Gendron 2014: 14). Ce rejet s'inscrit dans une tradition plus vaste de la littérature moderne où le roman est questionné, notamment à partir des années 1924-1925, comme le montre Michel Raimond⁴¹. Les critiques surréalistes ne visent pas tant le roman en tant que forme littéraire, mais plutôt l'état d'esprit du romancier réaliste, perçu comme limité par des conventions narratives figées. Tristan Tzara, l'une des figures fondatrices du surréalisme, soulignait en 1920 que le poème et le pamphlet étaient les formes littéraires les plus adaptées au surréalisme, car elles favorisent une expression plus libre, que ce soit à travers le langage du rêve ou la violence verbale.

L'un des exemples marquants de la subversion surréaliste est le *Traité du style* (1928)⁴² de Louis Aragon, qui illustre l'utilisation d'un langage inventive et polémique dans les écrits collectifs surréalistes. Ces textes, riches en injures et en attaques virulentes, témoignent d'une véritable créativité langagière.

Dans la seconde partie de son ouvrage, Aragon décrit et justifie le surréalisme, affirmant que "dans le surréalisme tout est rigueur. Rigueur inévitable" (67). Cette rigueur repose principalement sur le langage, c'est-à-dire sur les mots et leur sens, qui ne dérive pas du dictionnaire mais surgisse de chaque syllabe et de chaque lettre⁴³.

Bien que l'idée surréaliste de la poésie doive beaucoup à Rimbaud et à Lautréamont, considérés comme précurseurs et théoriciens de l'automatisme avant même sa formalisation, son langage doit presque

⁴¹ V. Michel Raimond, *La Crise du roman, des lendemains du Naturalisme aux années vingt*. Paris: José Corti, 1985. 115-7. Son chapitre III, "Le procès du roman" est consacré au surréalisme et au valérysme qui "se liguèrent contre le roman" (115) et met en lumière l'attaque virulente de Breton, dans le premier *Manifeste du surréalisme*, qui reproche au roman son caractère anecdotique et son insignifiance dérisoire.

⁴² Cette importance du *Traité du style* est d'ailleurs soulignée par Maurice Nadeau, qui le considère, aux côtés de *Nadja* de Breton, comme l'une des "deux œuvres maîtresses" du surréalisme parues en 1928 (114).

⁴³ "On sait, ou l'on devrait savoir, qu'ils portent sens dans chaque syllabe, dans chaque lettre, et il est de toute évidence que cet épellement de mots qui conduit du mot entendu au mot écrit, est un mode de pensée particulier, dont l'analyse serait fructueuse". (ibid. 67)

tout à Apollinaire⁴⁴, notamment par le recours au vers libre non ponctué. (Murat 126). C'est d'ailleurs le surréalisme qui a popularisé ce vers libre⁴⁵ au point d'en faire un "standard" (177-8), selon Jacques Roubaud⁴⁶.

Dans la production surréaliste, *Mont de piété* occupe une place particulière. Ce premier recueil de Breton est une "suite d'étapes dans une évolution formelle" (Murat 128): chaque poème constitue une prise de position, un manifeste miniature. Avec *Les Champs magnétiques*, un nouveau lyrisme émerge, caractérisé par l'émotion, une profusion d'images et "l'illusion d'une verve extraordinaire" (Breton 1: 326). Dans *Clair de terre*, Breton montre une poésie intégrant les principes de l'automatisme.

L'apogée de la poésie surréaliste se manifeste dans les grands recueils d'Éluard: *Capitale de la douleur* (1926), *L'Amour la poésie* (1929) et *La Vie immédiate* (1932). Sa poésie oscille entre le dire et le voir: "Quel beau spectacle, mais quel beau spectacle / A proscrire. Sa visibilité parfaite / Me rendrait aveugle. / Des chrysalides de mes yeux / Naîtra mon sosie ténébreux". (Éluard 218).

Cette époque comprend aussi des recueils lyriques comme *Le Mouvement perpétuel* d'Aragon (1925), regroupant des productions de sa période dadaïste et *Le Grand Jeu* de Benjamin Péret (1928), qui reste fidèle à la pratique de l'écriture automatique. On y trouve

⁴⁴ Comme le souligne Michel Murat, plutôt que "Zone", construite sur des distiques rimés, ce sont plutôt les "poèmes-conversations" de *Calligrammes* – comme "Lundi rue Christine", "Les fenêtres", ainsi que "Le musicien de Saint-Merry" et des œuvres ultérieures comme "La victoire" – qui établissent le modèle, formant avec les *Dix-neuf poèmes élastiques* de Blaise Cendrars (1919) "une sorte de canon de la poésie moderniste" (ibid.).

⁴⁵ Il sera employé de manière relativement homogène par presque tous les acteurs majeurs: Breton, Aragon, Éluard, Desnos, Péret, Leiris, mais aussi Jacques Baron, Pierre Unik, et plus tard Char et Prévert.

⁴⁶ Roubaud souligne un paradoxe: alors que l'avant-garde prétend rompre avec son passé, celui-ci ne disparaît pas totalement mais revient sous formes de traces et de survivances. Cette situation ironique révèle que "[...] les formes prétendument détruites survivent, en particulier dans la mémoire de poésie de l'avant-gardiste lui-même. La stratégie de la table rase, en poésie, a ainsi des effets ironiques de retour, dont le 'vers libre français standard' des surréalistes fut un cas typique". (N.d.A.)

"[...] forms that were supposedly destroyed survive, in particular in the poetry memory of the avant-gardist himself. Thus, in poetry, the Tabula Rasa strategy has ironic counter effects, of which the 'standard French free verse' of the Surrealists was a typical example". (Roubaud 2006: 177-8)

également les poèmes de Robert Desnos⁴⁷, capable de parler et d'écrire en état de sommeil devant le groupe, rassemblés dans *Corps et biens* (1930).

Le surréalisme ne se contente pas de déconstruire le langage littéraire, mais propose une nouvelle esthétique du "merveilleux", fondée sur la surprise, l'étrangeté et l'inattendu. Le mouvement, profondément multidimensionnel, conjugue l'exploration des profondeurs psychiques à une transformation esthétique radicale, influençant durablement la littérature et les arts du XX^e siècle.

5. Surréalisme: transgression et héritage

Le surréalisme, en tant que mouvement artistique et littéraire majeur du XX^e siècle, s'inscrit dans la lignée des avant-gardes, mais se distingue par sa transgression esthétique et épistémologique. Il incarne la tension propre aux avant-gardes: la volonté de rupture et d'innovation, où les impulsions surréalistes étaient surtout philosophiques, politiques et expérimentales. Pour saisir le surréalisme, une analyse nuancée est nécessaire, tenant compte de la force de sa rupture, de ses contradictions internes, et de ses aspects constructeurs autant que destructeurs⁴⁸. Contrairement au nihilisme anarchique du dadaïsme, le surréalisme se caractérise par une volonté d'organisation et de structuration⁴⁹. Cette démarche traduit la volonté des surréalistes

⁴⁷ Sous le pseudonyme de Rose Sélavy, emprunté à Marcel Duchamp, Desnos reproduisait des phrases prononcées en sommeil, qu'il ne pouvait produire à l'état d'éveil. Ces "jeux de mots" à la "rigueur mathématique", dont l'humour est absent, sont d'une grande importance pour Breton car ils montrent que les mots ont leur propre vie, fonctionnant comme des "créateurs d'énergie" capables de commander à la pensée (Breton 1: 285). Les jeux de mots de Rose Sélavy, que Roubaud considère comme des "ready-made linguistiques" (Roubaud 2009: 650), témoignent de la force créatrice du langage: "Rose aisselle a vit. / Rr'ose, essaie là, vit. / Rôts et sel à vie. / Rose S, L, hâve I. / Rosée, c'est la vie. / Rose scella vît. / Rose sella vît. / Rose sait la vie. / Rose, est-ce, hélas, vie ? / Rose aise hêlà vît. / Rose est-ce aile, est-ce elle ? est celle AVIS". (Desnos 63).

⁴⁸ Plus qu'aucun autre mouvement avant-gardiste, le surréalisme reposait sur deux tendances disparates: la révolte destructive et l'action constructive, alors que dans d'autres mouvements, en particulier le dadaïsme, la première était plus marquée, souvent unique.

⁴⁹ Le mouvement est formalisé par les divers *Manifestes* de Breton (*Le Manifeste du surréalisme* de 1924, *Le Second Manifeste du surréalisme* de 1930, *Les Prolégomènes à un troisième manifeste du surréalisme ou non* de 1942)⁴⁹ et soutenu par des initiatives comme la revue, *La Révolution surréaliste* et des

de dépasser la simple subversion poétique pour en faire un projet collectif de transformation des arts et de la pensée.

Le mouvement réussit à combiner des éléments du cubisme, du futurisme et surtout du dadaïsme, tout en les transcendant grâce à sa "richesse kaléidoscopique des explorations", un "chantier collectif permanent" et un attrait pour "le côté fantasmagorique et surprenant de sa production" (Boschetti 159). Bien que s'étant affranchi du nihilisme destructeur de Dada et des expérimentations radicales de ses prédécesseurs, le surréalisme a habilement utilisé l'inconscient, les rêves, l'insolite, l'humour, le jeu de mots et le collage, mettant à profit les effets du "stupéfiant *image*"⁵⁰.

Grâce à son succès, combiné à sa longévité, "le surréalisme a parachevé l'institutionnalisation du modèle qu'il a hérité du futurisme" (Boschetti 160). Après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, d'autres "'mouvements'" avant-gardistes, comme le Lettrisme, le Situationnisme, Fluxus ou Tel Quel reprendront le même répertoire: "radicalisme, antagonisme, prétention totalisante mettant en cause l'art, son rôle social et ses rapports à la politique, recours à la provocation et au scandale, manifestations publiques" (Boschetti 160-1).

6. Conclusion

Au centenaire du premier *Manifeste du surréalisme* et du lancement de *La Révolution surréaliste*⁵¹, il apparaît que ce mouvement reste une source d'idées et de techniques pour les artistes contemporains, notamment dans l'introduction du hasard, l'exploration des rêves et de la psychanalyse. Breton a popularisé la technique du *cadavre exquis*, créée collectivement et encore largement utilisée aujourd'hui.

Comme l'indique Hanifa Kapidžić-Osmanagić, le surréalisme a vu ses "attitudes intellectuelles" résonner à nouveau après

institutions comme le "Bureau de recherches surréalistes", dirigé par Antonin Artaud, qui s'efforçait de concevoir de nouvelles expériences surréalistes.

⁵⁰ C'est un concept qu'Aragon érige en définition même du mouvement: "Le vice appelé *Surréalisme* est l'emploi déréglé et passionnel du stupéfiant *image*" (Aragon 2016: 57). Cette importance de l'image verbale découle de sa capacité à s'affranchir de la syntaxe et de la logique, libérant ainsi le champ de l'expression poétique.

⁵¹ S'appuyant sur l'analyse de Compagnon, *La Révolution surréaliste* s'oriente résolument vers l'avant-gardisme, tandis que la revue *Littérature* se caractérise par un modernisme.

l'existentialisme, la période d'après-guerre et la Guerre froide, influençant le Nouveau Roman, le Nouveau Théâtre, le structuralisme et l'art post-surréaliste (219). Ses contributions et techniques ont été reprises par des mouvements artistiques qui s'en sont éloignés, comme l'abstraction lyrique, le nouvel automatisme et le pop art (ibid.). Sur le plan social, l'influence du surréalisme a émergé lors des bouleversements de 1968, et plus largement, dans l'agitation des mouvements de jeunesse à travers le monde. Leur cosmopolitisme, leur rejet des structures sociales et des contraintes d'une pensée utilitariste et rationaliste, ainsi que leur critique de la société de consommation, trouvaient un écho dans les idéaux surréalistes. Sans la compréhension surréaliste du "humour noir", il serait difficile d'envisager le théâtre de l'absurde. Le surréalisme a également développé la poésie urbaine (dans la poésie et la prose) et réhabilité les valeurs féminines de l'univers. L'honnêteté avec laquelle le mouvement abordait la sexualité était inouïe pour l'époque et a influencé les approches modernes. Le surréalisme a mélangé les genres littéraires, introduit la poésie partout où cela était possible et contribué à l'essor de l'essai éclectique comme un genre caractéristique du siècle. Dans le domaine de la psychologie, à partir de Freud, le surréalisme a cherché à aller au-delà, s'appuyant sur la puissance de la volonté pour explorer les mystères que la parapsychologie moderne dépouillée de spiritualisme cherche à inclure dans la science. Leurs expositions et performances ont anticipé les arts de l'installation, de la performance et du multimédia.

Au-delà de la littérature, leur influence s'étend aux arts visuels et au cinéma, avec des artistes comme Giorgio de Chirico, Max Ernst, René Magritte, Salvador Dalí et le cinéaste Luis Buñuel, qui ont contribué à cette révolution artistique. Leur objectif commun était de donner forme à l'inconscient, aux rêves et aux désirs, à travers des images saisissantes et des distorsions de la réalité, de la même manière que les poètes surréalistes jouent avec les mots.

Les surréalistes ont mis au point plusieurs techniques pour libérer l'imagination et explorer l'inconscient, telles que l'écriture automatique, le collage, le cadavre exquis ou l'association libre d'idées et d'images. Ces procédés, liés aux théories psychanalytiques, cherchent à dépasser le visible pour révéler une réalité profonde: celle du rêve et de l'inconscient. Leurs matériaux incluent aussi papiers collés cubistes, planches de collage futuristes, photomontages dadaïstes, décalcomanies.

Dans les arts visuels, ils ont promu des techniques innovantes comme le frottage (introduit par Max Ernst en 1926), le collage et le *ready-made*, ouvrant de nouvelles perspectives créatives. Leur influence

sur le cinéma, grâce à des techniques narratives non linéaires et des images oniriques, a largement marqué le XX^e siècle, influençant plusieurs courants artistiques.

L'application du ready-made, bien que plus fréquemment associée aux arts visuels, s'est également prolongé dans la littérature, avec des œuvres de Lautréamont, Apollinaire, Cendrars, ainsi que dans les créations dadaïstes et surréalistes, et continue d'inspirer des écrivains contemporains tels que Bernard Heidsieck, Julien Blaine, Christian Prigent, Emmanuel Hocquard, Jean-Michel Espitallier et Jérôme Game (Mougin 86).

En introduisant le concept de "l'état conceptuel" (Genette 77-86), fondé sur l'idée ou le principe organisationnel d'une œuvre d'art, Genette propose un cadre transdisciplinaire applicable à toutes les formes d'expression artistique, y compris les arts visuels, la littérature et la musique. Le surréalisme apparaît ainsi comme un mouvement profondément conceptuel, précurseur des œuvres contemporaines. Il laisse un héritage riche, soulignant la relation entre l'art et la réalité, l'inconscient et le conscient. Son pouvoir réside dans sa critique des normes établies, tout en encourageant l'expérimentation et l'innovation. Ce mouvement demeure une référence majeure dans l'histoire de l'art, alliant audace et profondeur intellectuelle. En repoussant les limites de la perception et de l'expression, il continue d'être un moteur d'exploration créative, défiant les conventions et célébrant la richesse du subconscient.

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SURREALISM AND THE AVANT-GARDE SPIRIT

This paper examines the complex relationship between Surrealism and the broader avant-garde movement, exploring their historical, theoretical, and aesthetic connections. It contends that, although Surrealism is firmly grounded in the avant-garde tradition, it developed a distinctive identity and made significant contributions to literature, art, and culture.

The study begins by recognising the complexities of the term "avant-garde." Originally a military term, "avant-garde" evolved to describe a variety of artistic and intellectual movements that challenge established norms. Miklós Szabolcsi defines it through aesthetic, philosophical, and political programmes. This lays a foundation for understanding Surrealism within this context.

Central to the discussion are the theoretical frameworks of Renato Poggioli and Peter Bürger. Poggioli highlights aesthetic and psychological aspects, whereas Bürger concentrates on socio-political implications. Bürger's perspective frames the avant-garde as a form of self-criticism operating within the structures of bourgeois society.

A particular emphasis is placed on Peter Bürger's influential "Theory of the Avant-Garde," especially his concept of "art as an institution." Bürger's theoretical work provides a valuable framework for a deeper examination of Surrealism. He connects what he terms the "historical avant-garde movements" to Dadaism, early Surrealism, the Russian avant-garde, and, with certain reservations and nuances, to Italian Futurism, German Expressionism, and even Cubism.

According to Bürger's analysis, the function of art itself is fundamentally defined by the very institution of art. This institution encompasses the conditions of artistic production, distribution, and reception. It includes both the material production apparatus and the dominant ideas and beliefs about art that prevail at any given time. Crucially, this institution develops in tandem with the rise of bourgeois society, which simultaneously institutionalizes art as an autonomous sphere, effectively separated from the everyday realities of life. Bürger identifies a critical stance towards this institution as a fundamental function of the avant-garde. According to him, it is this critical process that ultimately leads to art's self-criticism, thereby enabling a more profound and comprehensive comprehension of art's historical development. The avant-garde, in its essence, stands in direct opposition to art as an institution, actively seeking to abolish its separation from lived experience.

Dadaism, in Bürger's view, emerges as perhaps the most radical movement within the avant-garde tradition. It is characterized by its comprehensive critique of art as an institution inextricably linked to bourgeois society.

Bürger identifies two levels: attacking the institution and creating "non-organic" works. Surrealist and Dadaist works challenge traditional artistic production and reception. Dada's provocations aim at audiences collectively, yet maintain distinctions between the artist and the viewer. The desire to

merge art and life led to "recipes" for creativity, such as Tzara's Dadaist poems and Breton's automatic writing. These serve as guides for creative acts that are liberating life experiences.

For Bürger, avant-garde works rely heavily on concepts such as novelty, chance, allegory, and montage. However, he emphasizes the inherent limitations of the concept of "the new" in this context. Because these movements aim to break so radically with traditional modes of representation and abolish the very institution of art, the idea of "newness" alone is insufficient. True innovation, therefore, lies in fundamentally transforming the entire institution of art.

Despite offering a pointed critique of Bürger's "Theory," Antoine Compagnon nevertheless acknowledges his significant contribution to the discourse. Compagnon recognizes the concept of "the new" as a valuable resource for understanding the avant-garde in its historical context. While Compagnon does not fully share Bürger's preference for the historical avant-gardes or his specific periodization, he concedes that Bürger's insistence on the insufficiency of "newness" as a defining criterion and on the importance of historical novelty is both legitimate and corresponds to the overarching avant-garde approach.

From Compagnon's perspective, the "values of the new and of the future" serve to distinguish modernity from the avant-garde. According to him, these developments are inherently paradoxical, but their most crucial difference lies in their distinct relationship to time and to the evolution of artistic expression. Modernity is defined primarily by its intense obsession with the present moment, constantly seeking to innovate within the immediate context. In contrast, the avant-garde resolutely projects itself toward the future, aiming not only to anticipate the coming times but also to actively disrupt and transform its own era. As Compagnon points out, the avant-garde evolves within a paradoxical dynamic in which destruction and creation exist side by side. This inherent tension – encompassing both nihilism and futurism – embodies the essential duality of the avant-garde. Here, the quest for novelty is very often accompanied by a destructive will. Surrealism is no exception to this paradigm: its manifestos, which are radically critical of realism and positivism, express a deep-seated desire to subvert and dismantle dominant artistic norms. However, the ambition of Surrealism extends significantly beyond simple negation: it aspires to establish an entirely new aesthetic order, to fundamentally transform the very way of seeing and thinking about the world.

According to Compagnon, the avant-garde's refusal to anchor itself firmly in the present moment necessarily engages it in a process of self-destruction. The quest for a radical future can inadvertently annihilate the very foundations upon which the movement is built. This inherent paradox, which exists between the perceived need for destruction to innovate and the simultaneous affirmation of a radical future, often leads to dogmatic excesses. In such instances, the relentless search for the future effectively crushes any genuine recognition or appreciation of the present.

Finally, although Compagnon critiques certain paradoxes that he identifies within Surrealism, he nevertheless recognizes it as a militant avant-garde acutely aware of its own historical role. However, he also highlights certain internal inconsistencies within the movement. Surrealism, in explicitly claiming to be an avant-garde movement with profound historical significance, reveals a fundamental contradiction: despite its avowed revolutionary ambitions and its radical theoretical discourse, it has sometimes come up against a kind of unexpected academicism, thereby illustrating yet again this persistent paradox of the avant-garde. Thus, Surrealism ultimately embodies the inherent tension between artistic rupture and dogmatic affirmation, contributing to the ongoing redefinition of the cultural landscape of its time while remaining firmly anchored in what Compagnon identifies as the paradoxes of modernity itself.

Modernity and avant-gardism are generally perceived as a struggle for originality and against "conformism and convention." In fact, since the middle of the 19th century, it even seems to worsen, reaching the historical avant-gardes of the early 20th century - futurism, dadaism, surrealism, constructivism. However, far from representing a simple continuity with modernity, these avant-gardes constitute a profound transformation of modernist principles. They push the limits of modernity, not only by accentuating its innovative character, but also by radically redefining the very foundations of artistic creation.

Surrealism, arguably the most revolutionary movement of the early 20th century, originates from pre-World War I avant-gardes. Guillaume Apollinaire played a key role. In his 1917 lecture "The New Spirit and the Poets," he defined the avant-garde and highlighted "surprise" as a central aspect of the new. This reflects the core tension of modernity: tradition versus innovation. For Apollinaire, the "new" involved seeking truth through ethnic and imaginative realms, creating "natural combinations never composed."

Surrealists challenged Apollinaire's view, rejecting his ideas of order and moral logic. They redefined surprise as pure subversion. In this context, Dada and Surrealism extended and radicalised 1910–1918 avant-garde trends. Michel Sanouillet notes Dada emerged from the "general crisis of intellectual values" before WWI. Surrealism is the heir and continuation of Cubism, Futurism, and Dada. Breton, Aragon, Éluard, and Péret were part of the French Dada group until 1922. Nadeau emphasises Dada's wartime origins and spread in defeated Germany and postwar France.

Anna Boschetti argues that Futurism, Dada, and Surrealism challenged art through "art-action" and the use of ready-mades. Dada emphasised play and destruction; Surrealism was prophetic and utopian. Both rejected rational logic in favour of imagination and a new morality. Breton engaged with Futurism through automatic writing, echoing the "wireless imagination" of early Futurists. He and Soupault attest to this influence.

One of the essential places of intellectual exchange during this period was the journal *Nord-Sud*, created to bring together "all resolutely modern trends" in letters and the arts. This journal served as a meeting point between the ideas of Apollinaire and those of the Dadaist avant-garde. Reverdy developed there

a theory of the poetic image which had a determining impact on the surrealists. According to him, the poetic image is "a pure creation of the spirit" that can only be born of a comparison, but of the rapprochement of two more or less distant realities.

This definition of the poetic image would be quoted and discussed by André Breton in his *Manifesto of Surrealism* in 1924.

Apollinaire and Reverdy's roles illustrate the impact of prewar avant-gardes on Surrealism. Innovations from 1910 to 1918 challenged linguistic and formal norms, sparking the literary revolution of Surrealism. Although revolutionary, Surrealism remains part of this broader tradition. Surrealism's formal history begins in 1919 with *Littérature*, founded by Breton, Soupault, and Aragon. Breton and Soupault's *Les Champs magnétiques* marked the "first surrealist work." The journal evolved from eclectic modernism to radical language experimentation, including collages, ready-mades, and the subversion of poetic norms. Chénieux-Gendron traces the literary use of collage back to Cubism. Breton turned collage against Reverdy and Apollinaire, eventually systematising it through cut-out fragments. Pre-surrealist years featured iconoclastic gestures by Picabia, Aragon, and Breton. This intensified in the *Manifesto*, where collage and automatism became central surrealist tools.

Dadaism questions literary and artistic norms in favor of the absurd and the rejection of traditions, constituting an essential precursor of surrealism. However, the break between Tristan Tzara and Breton in 1922 marks an important point of distinction: while Dada was part of a nihilistic and anarchist dynamic, surrealism, under Breton's impulse, seeks to go beyond this pure negation to propose a method of knowledge and a structured aesthetic framework. Surrealism, defined by Breton in his *Manifesto of Surrealism* (1924) as a "pure psychic automatism", draws strongly on Freudian psychoanalysis. It is based on the idea that human consciousness is partially governed by unconscious mechanisms. The central objective of the movement is therefore to access this repressed part of the mind, perceived as an authentic source of knowledge and creativity. "Surreality" does not fall within the realm of the fantastic or the imaginary, but designates a real dimension of human thought.

To achieve this "surreality", the surrealists develop several techniques of liberation of the unconscious, such as automatic writing, dream accounts, the games of "exquisite corpses" and collages. These techniques allow, according to Breton, to express the "real functioning of thought". Chance and the unforeseen thus become essential tools for revealing new psychic and aesthetic truths. The surrealist poetics puts the poetic image at the heart of its creative process, a concept that Jelena Novaković describes as the "main product of surrealist creation". Although Breton borrows from Reverdy the idea of the "rapprochement" and of poetic emotion, he modifies this conception by insisting on the "degree of arbitrariness the most elevated" and by denying all intentionality in the creative process.

The surrealism, in that movement literary and artistic, is distinguished by its rejection of the forms narrative traditionnelles, including the novel, he

perceives as a rigid structure and restrictive for the imagination. The surrealism vehemently criticizes fiction novel, he considers as a straitjacket narrative impeding creativity, and prefers forms The surrealists have developed several techniques for freeing imagination and exploring unconscious, such as automatic writing, collage, and the cadavre exquis.

In the visual arts, they promoted innovative techniques such as the frottage, the collage and the ready-made, opening of new creative perspectives. Their influence on the cinema, thanks to narrative techniques not linear and images oniriques, has largely marked the twentieth century, influencing several artistic currents.

The application of the ready-made, although more frequently associated with the visual arts, has also extended in the literature. In pushing the limits of perception and expression, it continues to be a motor of exploration creative, defying conventions and celebrating the richness of the subconscious. In conclusion, the paper emphasizes that Surrealism is part of the lineage of the avant-gardes, but is distinguished by its aesthetic and epistemological transgression. It embodies the tension inherent in the avant-gardes: the will to break and innovate. To grasp Surrealism, a nuanced analysis is necessary, taking into account the force of its rupture, its internal contradictions, and its constructive aspects as much as its destructive ones.

Keywords: André Breton, surrealism, dadaism, futurism, avant-garde, modernity

Language Studies

Nauka o jeziku

SULL'ITALIANO (L2) DI ITALO SVEVO: UNA PROSPETTIVA INTERLINGUISTICA

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Abstract: Il giudizio della critica su Italo Svevo evidenzia una polarizzazione significativa. Da un lato, alcuni critici hanno apprezzato la sua capacità di costruire personaggi credibili e realistici, ritenendoli autentici perché inseriti in contesti narrativi capaci di affrontare temi complessi. Dall'altro lato, non sono mancate osservazioni negative da parte di chi ha sottolineato come la sua prosa non rispettasse le convenzioni stilistiche della tradizione letteraria al punto da trascurare la precisione grammaticale. Il presente saggio mira ad analizzare lo "stile tremendo" di Italo Svevo e a ricostruire il percorso di apprendimento dell'italiano come lingua seconda, le cui difficoltà rimandano principalmente alle interferenze della lingua madre – il dialetto triestino – che si imponeva su qualunque altro idioma in via di acquisizione. Quello che la critica contemporanea percepiva come limite si è rivelato, retrospettivamente, una delle caratteristiche più innovative della sua scrittura, anticipando tematiche di plurilinguismo e ibridazione linguistica che sarebbero diventate centrali nella letteratura moderna.

Parole chiave: Italo Svevo, IL2, dialetto, interlingua

1. Introduzione

Il presente saggio si colloca all'interno del dibattito sulla complessa e controversa questione della lingua di Italo Svevo, proponendo una rilettura della sua specificità espressiva alla luce della linguistica acquisizionale moderna. L'intento è quello di superare definitivamente l'approccio normativo che ha a lungo influenzato la ricezione critica dell'opera dello scrittore triestino. Sebbene alcuni studiosi abbiano tenuto conto delle particolari condizioni sociolinguistiche che hanno contribuito alla formazione della sua competenza linguistica — in particolare l'interazione tra il dialetto triestino e il tedesco — le analisi critiche non hanno mai stabilito un nesso esplicito con i meccanismi

propri dell'acquisizione di una lingua seconda (L2). Questa lacuna teorica suggerisce la necessità di un'indagine che consideri il plurilinguismo di Svevo non come semplice contesto biografico, ma come elemento strutturale della sua scrittura.

A partire dal corpus analizzato da Catenazzi nel suo studio *L'italiano di Svevo tra scrittura pubblica e scrittura privata* (1984), e avvalendosi delle riflessioni dello stesso Svevo sul suo difficile rapporto con la lingua e la scrittura, è possibile indagare le sue strategie espressive e le scelte lessicali in una prospettiva acquisizionale. Tali elementi possono essere letti come esiti di un processo di apprendimento dell'italiano come lingua seconda, caratterizzato da dinamicità evolutiva, interferenze sistematiche dalla lingua madre (L1) e dalla messa in atto di strategie comunicative originali per colmare lacune di tipo lessicale o morfosintattico. L'analisi dei fenomeni ricorrenti nella sua produzione — dalle incertezze nell'uso delle preposizioni alle fluttuazioni nella *consecutio temporum*, dalle difficoltà con le consonanti geminate all'inserimento di costrutti dialettali — rivela i tratti distintivi di un'interlingua stabilizzata, che nel tempo ha raggiunto un proprio equilibrio stilistico. Questo processo è reso evidente anche dalle continue revisioni a cui Svevo sottoponeva i suoi testi, segno di una consapevole rielaborazione linguistica.

2. La critica dei contemporanei: quando Svevo “non sapeva scrivere”

È risaputo che uno dei principali ostacoli alla fortuna iniziale delle opere di Svevo fu rappresentato dal suo stile, giudicato inadeguato da parte di diversi critici contemporanei. Tra i recensori più severi spiccano Morra di Lavriano e Caprin, i quali offrirono valutazioni particolarmente negative. In particolare, Morra di Lavriano espresse un giudizio fortemente critico su tutta la produzione sveviana pubblicata fino ad allora, senza riconoscere alcun segno di progresso o maturazione stilistica. Al contrario, interpretò la coerenza stilistica dell'autore non come cifra personale o scelta espressiva consapevole, bensì come un'ostinata resistenza ad adeguarsi ai modelli e alle norme del canone letterario dell'epoca:

Le manchevolezze nello stile di Italo Svevo sono tanto evidenti che il primo giudizio su questi libri sarà sempre di condanna: sono scritti male [...]. Qui ci troviamo a fare i conti con una poco comune imperizia dello scrivere e una curiosa ostinatezza a non imparare, si direbbe a non volersi arrendere a un modo di scrittura più piano e un pochino più elegante, per

paura che diventi una maschera o una cosa leziosa. (Morra di Lavriano, 1926)

Anche Caprin esprime un giudizio fortemente negativo sull'opera di Svevo, rivolgendosi in particolare alla struttura e allo stile de *La coscienza di Zeno*. Nella sua recensione apparsa sulle pagine del *Corriere della Sera*, criticò l'architettura narrativa del romanzo, definendola eccessivamente prolissa, discontinua e priva di coesione, fino a descriverla come "scucita e frammentaria". Alla stessa maniera, la prosa dell'autore triestino venne giudicata in termini estremamente severi, etichettata come "penosa" e "antiletteraria":

fin tanto che, per esprimersi sulla carta stampata, non si è trovato di meglio che l'adoperare il vocabolario e la grammatica di una certa lingua, si sono fissati dei limiti che, quando non sono raggiunti, l'arte svanisce e non resta che una pena. [...] si può esser grati a questi amici francesi di aver segnalato una curiosità antiletteraria. (Caprin, 1926)

A queste letture fortemente negative si affianca, in termini più articolati, l'osservazione di Prezzolini, apparsa su *L'Ambrosiano*. Pur riconoscendo a Svevo una peculiare originalità, Prezzolini non può fare a meno di sottolineare la distanza della sua scrittura dalla tradizione letteraria italiana rilevando, in particolare, la presenza di elementi dialettali triestini e l'influenza delle letture tedesche come fattori che interferiscono con la norma dell'italiano standard. Di conseguenza, tende a collocare Svevo ai margini della letteratura colta, avvicinandolo piuttosto a una forma espressiva più immediata e pratica, simile a quella di chi ha familiarità soltanto con la lingua della stampa quotidiana. Questo giudizio, seppur meno stroncante rispetto a quelli di Morra di Lavriano e Caprin, contribuisce comunque a rafforzare l'immagine di un autore anomalo e difficilmente classificabile secondo i canoni critici dell'epoca:

Lo Svevo non scrive bene, se si intende per scrivere adoperare una lingua tratta dalla tradizione. Lo Svevo scrive come uno che abbia letto soltanto i giornali. La sua frase è qualche volta impacciata. Sotto l'italiano si sente il dialetto triestino e, talora, l'abitudine delle letture tedesche. Cosicché una innumerevole quantità dei letterati italiani, che guarderanno con una certa inquietudine questi onori straordinari concessi ad uno sconosciuto, si libereranno di lui col dire che non si può

leggerlo, che non sa scrivere e che è noioso. Lo Svevo infatti non sa scrivere. Ma ha qualche cosa da dire. (Prezzolini, 1926)

Questa ambivalenza critica trova una sintesi particolarmente efficace in un celebre paradosso formulato dallo stesso Prezzolini: “Lo Svevo infatti non sa scrivere. Ma ha qualche cosa da dire”, che condensa la tensione centrale nella ricezione dell’opera sveviana: da un lato, la difficoltà di accettare uno stile ritenuto carente sotto il profilo tecnico; dall’altro, il riconoscimento di una profonda originalità tematica e concettuale. Questa dicotomia, che oppone competenza formale e forza contenutistica, anticipa questioni che diventeranno cruciali nel dibattito critico successivo.

Una simile ambiguità si ritrova nella posizione di Roberto Bazlen, figura centrale nel recupero novecentesco di Svevo. Nel trasmettere a Eugenio Montale i primi due romanzi dello scrittore triestino, Bazlen accompagnò l’invio con una nota in cui mette in guardia dal “tremendo” stile dell’autore, confermando così la percezione di una scrittura lontana dalle convenzioni letterarie. Tuttavia, al pari di Prezzolini, anche Bazlen manifestò un giudizio complesso e non univoco: definisce *Senilità* “un vero capolavoro” e lo considera “l’unico romanzo moderno che abbia l’Italia”, riconoscendone appieno l’innovazione e la portata nel contesto nazionale:

Mi sono fatto dare, da Italo Svevo, i suoi due primi libri: dimmi se devo mandarteli a Monterosso, o pure a Genova. Il secondo libro *Senilità*, è un vero capolavoro, e l’unico romanzo moderno che abbia l’Italia (pubblicato nel 1898!). Stile tremendo! Te ne scriverò più a lungo quando l’avrai letto. Ne manderò una copia a Solmi, ed una a Pellegrini. (Bazlen, 1971)

L’altro lettore scelto da Bazlen, Solmi, confermò e approfondì questa linea interpretativa, individuando la necessità di elaborare “una critica nuova” capace di concentrarsi sugli aspetti innovativi, particolarmente quelli psicologici, della scrittura sveviana, senza rimanere condizionata dalle questioni puramente stilistiche (“linguaggio senza storia”) che risultano compromesse, nel caso di Svevo, dall’assenza di una formazione letteraria ortodossa (come aveva già notato Prezzolini). La sua osservazione circa il “fondamento” alternativo dell’opera sveviana introduce una distinzione importante tra due modalità di costruzione dell’autorità letteraria: quella tradizionale, basata sull’“elaborazione letteraria” e sullo “studio dei classici e dei moderni”, e quella sveviana, fondata invece su “una riposata e attenta esperienza di vita” e su “una lucida corrosiva scienza del cuore umano”:

Il fondamento che presso altri scrittori è rappresentato solitamente dall'elaborazione letteraria, dallo studio dei classici e dei moderni, sembra esser stato sostituito per lui, da una riposata e attenta esperienza di vita, da una lucida corrosiva scienza del cuore umano. Sicché a ben guardare, le scorrettezze stilistiche e a volte addirittura sintattiche e grammaticali del linguaggio senza storia di cui si è servito, ci appaiono in certo modo indifferenti, di fronte alla forza vergine della rappresentazione quale si esprime nelle sue migliori pagine, davanti alla felicità di tono e d'impostazione, tutta inconscia, della sua narrativa, al tocco preciso e leggero con cui, in pochi tratti, egli riesce ad equilibrare moti e situazioni psicologiche complicatissime. (Solmi, 1927)

In continuità con le valutazioni ambivalenti espresse da Prezzolini e Bazlen, la posizione di Emilio Cecchi si distingue per un cambio di paradigma nel giudizio critico. Diversamente dai suoi predecessori, Cecchi riuscì infatti a superare la lettura meramente normativa delle presunte carenze stilistiche di Svevo, individuando nell'“atteggiamento reazionario della critica italiana” la causa principale della mancata comprensione della portata dell'autore. Egli attribuisce alla rigidità metodologica del dibattito critico contemporaneo l'incapacità di cogliere l'innovazione racchiusa nell'esperimento linguistico sveviano. La sua prospettiva si inserisce nel clima culturale del secondo dopoguerra, segnato da un rinnovato interesse per forme espressive capaci di restituire la complessità della condizione moderna. In questo contesto, le opere di Svevo appaiono a Cecchi come esempi di narrazione alternativa, svincolata dalle convenzioni letterarie tradizionali. L'italiano “antiletterario” dello scrittore triestino — che il critico definisce “talvolta improprio, ma perciò audace e spesso felicissimo” — viene così riabilitato: non più segno di una mancanza tecnica, ma espressione di una consapevole tensione innovativa, capace di scardinare le attese della critica accademica e di proporre nuovi modelli narrativi ed espressivi:

Una siffatta arte di narrare giungeva *inaspettata* alla letteratura italiana, ch'è portata sempre alla plasticità e alle simmetrie compositive. E forse, tali modi, in Italia non sarebbero stati possibili, fuorché in un ingegno non professionale, cresciuto sul linguaggio talvolta improprio, ma perciò audace e spesso felicissimo. (Cecchi, 1949)

Come emerge da questi pochi ma significativi esempi, i critici¹ che si sono espressi sulla lingua di Svevo hanno, probabilmente a causa della natura occasionale delle recensioni o del carattere di breve respiro di tali interventi critici, privilegiato approcci di natura letteraria o linguistica tradizionale, trascurando una prospettiva interpretativa di pari rilevanza: quella dell'acquisizione dell'italiano come lingua seconda, con le specifiche dinamiche e gli esiti caratteristici che tale processo comporta.

3. La prospettiva dell'acquisizione di lingua seconda (L2)

L'applicazione del paradigma della lingua seconda all'analisi dell'italiano sveviano consente di superare le valutazioni normative che hanno caratterizzato la ricezione critica dell'opera, introducendo categorie interpretative più adeguate alla comprensione del fenomeno. Una L2 si configura infatti come sistema linguistico autonomo, caratterizzato da regole non canoniche rispetto alla lingua *standard*, soggetto alle interferenze della lingua prima, variabile tanto diacronicamente quanto sincronicamente, ma nondimeno completo e funzionalmente autosufficiente.

Nel caso specifico della scrittura di Svevo, sia pubblica che privata, la competenza linguistica italiana si stabilizza al livello di interlingua, termine tecnico introdotto da Selinker (1972) per designare il sistema linguistico intermedio che si sviluppa nel processo di acquisizione di una seconda lingua. Questa condizione di interlingua non rappresenta una fase transitoria verso il conseguimento della competenza *standard*, ma costituisce piuttosto un equilibrio stabile che mantiene caratteristiche specifiche e riconoscibili. La rivalutazione teorica del fenomeno assume particolare rilevanza se si considera che la competenza parziale di Svevo non deve essere interpretata come versione imperfetta dell'italiano toscano-letterario, secondo la prospettiva adottata dalla critica, ma piuttosto come microcosmo linguistico autonomo che non si conforma completamente alle norme della lingua *standard* pur mantenendo una propria coerenza interna e una propria efficacia comunicativa.

La testimonianza biografica rivela la piena consapevolezza che Svevo possedeva delle proprie difficoltà linguistiche e del peso che esse esercitavano sulla ricezione critica delle sue opere. Questa

¹ Si sono occupati della lingua di Svevo, in particolare: Olga Lombardi (1954), Arcangelo Leone De Castris (1959), Bruno Maier (1957); Marziano Guglielminetti (1964), Anna Laura Lepschy (1984); Giacomo Devoto (1938), Fernando Pasini (1939), Enrico Falqui (1951), Domenico Cernecca (1960), Tibor Wlassic (1971), G. Albertocchi (2002), P. Guida (2012, 2014).

consapevolezza emerge con particolare evidenza nelle pagine di *Vita di mio marito* di Lidia Veneziani, dove viene documentata la sofferenza dell'autore di fronte all'asprezza dei giudizi della critica e la sua percezione di una condizione di svantaggio linguistico. Tale svantaggio veniva ricondotto dallo stesso scrittore a due fattori principali: l'uso costante del dialetto triestino, diffuso anche tra le classi colte del territorio nelle comunicazioni domestiche, e l'assenza di una formazione linguistica basata sul contatto diretto con la tradizione toscana. Particolarmente significativo appare il desiderio, rimasto irrealizzato, di ottenere dal padre il finanziamento per un soggiorno di studio a Firenze dove "apprendervi la lingua dalle fonti vive" (Veneziani-Svevo, 1976: 17). Questo anelito testimonia come Svevo avesse completamente interiorizzato un modello linguistico-culturale che riconosceva nella tradizione toscana il punto di riferimento imprescindibile per l'acquisizione di una competenza italiana autentica e pienamente legittimata. L'influenza persistente del "dialettaccio" – così lo definiva lo stesso autore – che continuava a mantenere una posizione dominante nella sua struttura linguistica mentale², trova conferma esplicita nelle riflessioni che Svevo espone nell'articolo *Uomini e cose di un distretto di Londra*. In questo scritto l'autore osserva come "la lingua Cockney di Londra è una difficoltà insormontabile per chi parlò per 40 anni il triestino" (Svevo, 1966-9: 701), rivelando attraverso questo parallelo internazionale la persistenza e la profondità dell'impronta dialettale nella sua formazione linguistica. Analoghe considerazioni sul complesso rapporto tra dialetto e toscano ricorrono in numerosi altri luoghi dell'opera sveviana, confermando la centralità di questa questione nella riflessione dell'autore sulla propria identità letteraria:

Ella [Angiolina] toscaneggiava con affettazione e ne risultava un accento piuttosto inglese che toscano. (Svevo, 2004: 453)

S'era accontentato di dirglielo in toscano, aspirando e addolcendo [...] ma anche quando le capitavano addosso in

² Nel primo romanzo, *Una Vita*, il protagonista aspirante scrittore, evidente proiezione autobiografica dell'autore, manifesta un'ossessione per la scrittura che si estende anche alla produzione d'ufficio, sottoposta quotidianamente alla frustrante revisione stilistica del capo-redattore, e più generalmente per la lingua letteraria secondo i canoni stabiliti dalla critica di orientamento filologico ("quando si trovava alle prese con uno scrittore italiano, indagava pedantesamente se usava parole non legittimate dal Petrarca") (Svevo, 2004: 110).

buon triestino, dure e sboccate, ella non se ne adontò. (Svevo, 2004: 469)

Egli [Guido Speier] parlava il toscano con grande naturalezza mentre io e Ada eravamo condannati al nostro dialettaccio. (Svevo, 2004: 735)

[Il dottor S] ignora cosa significhi scrivere in italiano per noi che parliamo e non sappiamo scrivere il dialetto. Una confessione per iscritto è sempre menzognera. Con ogni nostra parola toscana noi mentiamo! Se egli sapesse come raccontiamo con predilezione tutte le cose per le quali abbiamo pronta la frase e come evitiamo quelle che ci obbligherebbero di ricorrere al vocabolario! È proprio così che scegliamo dalla nostra vita gli episodi da notarsi. Si capisce che la nostra vita avrebbe tutt'altro aspetto se fosse detta nel nostro dialetto. (Svevo, 2004: 1050)

Quest'eliminazione non è che la prova che una confessione fatta da me in italiano non poteva essere né completa né sincera. In un deposito di legnami ci sono varietà enormi di qualità che noi a Trieste appelliamo con termini barbari presi dal dialetto, dal croato, dal tedesco e qualche volta persino dal francese (zapin p.e. non equivale mica a sapin). Chi m'avrebbe fornito il vero vocabolario? Vecchio come sono avrei dovuto prendere un impiego da un commerciante in legnami toscano? (Svevo, 2004: 1060-61)

poi in italiano gliele spiegavo e, quando non bastava, gliele traducevo in triestino (Svevo, 2004: 820)

Non saprei ripetere esattamente quello ch'essa mi disse, dopo aver ingoiati vari bicchierini, nel suo puro dialetto triestino, ma ebbi tutta l'impressione di trovarmi da canto una persona che, se non fossi stato stornato dalle mie preoccupazioni, avrei potuto stare a sentire con diletto. (Svevo, 2004: 647)

Mi preoccupava tuttavia la quistione se in un'occasione simile avrei dovuto parlare *in lingua o dialetto*. (Svevo, 2004: 723)

Non si può raccontare efficacemente che in una lingua viva e la sua lingua viva non poteva esser altra che la loquela

triestina, la quale non ebbe bisogno di attendere il 1918 per essere sentita italiana. (Svevo 1968: 806)

4. Diglossia e plurilinguismo: livelli linguistici dell'interlingua sveviana

Nel caso di Svevo piuttosto che di bilinguismo o plurilinguismo, bisognerebbe parlare di diglossia, essendo le due lingue, dialetto e italiano, in rapporto gerarchico e complementare. Secondo la riflessione dello stesso Svevo, tale rapporto gerarchico è riconducibile all'ordine in cui le diverse lingue sono state apprese, diversamente da quanto emerso nei più recenti studi. Si legga, a proposito, quanto scrisse in *Soggiorno londinese* sullo studio dell'inglese, ultima lingua in ordine di tempo acquisita: "Io in Inghilterra dovetti anche studiare affannosamente la lingua inglese. Su questo studio devo confessare un certo insuccesso. Io so quella lingua ma iniziatone lo studio troppo tardi, a quarant'anni, non seppi farla mia, intimamente" (Svevo 2004b, 899). Si legga, ancora, quanto scrisse ad Attilio Frescura, consulente dell'editore Cappelli di Bologna, motivando quella irriducibilità alla norma, che aveva così infastidito i primi critici, con il nomadismo della fanciullezza e, soprattutto, con la provenienza geografica eccentrica rispetto a centri di creazione culturale come Firenze e Roma:

Ora che so chi Lei è Le debbo intera sincerità tanto più che so che ai suoi occhi non può danneggiarmi. Io non sono un letterato. Più di 30 anni fa tentai di divenirlo e non vi riuscii. Allora pubblicai un romanzo che si meritò mezza colonna di critica del Corriere della Sera. Vi venivo designato come «non il primo venuto» ma mi si facevano di tali rimproveri per la mia forma trasandata che i lettori assolutamente rifiutarono d'abboccare. [...] Naturalmente ciò non basterebbe a spiegare perché io non conosca meglio la mia madre lingua. Spiega però perché i primi capitoli del mio romanzo sieno scritti anche peggio dei susseguenti e ciò ad onta che sieno stati rifatti più volte. Che sia il nonno tedesco che m'impedisca di apparire meglio latino? Eppure io sempre onorai ed anche studiai la mia lingua. Però dalla mia prima giovinezza fui sbalestrato nei paesi più vari e invece Firenze – ad onta del lungo desiderio – non vidi che a cinquant'anni e Roma a sessanta. Tutto il resto d'Europa io vidi prima compresa l'Irlanda. Ed è così che la lingua italiana per me restò definitivamente quella che si muove nella mia testa isolata. Gli altri triestini trascinano con sé il loro dialetto ma è un dialetto italiano e sono più schietti

di me. Già nella mia giovinezza i miei amici letterati mi dicevano l'ostrogoto. Perciò il mio pseudonimo d'Italo Svevo. (Svevo, 1966: 825)

Svevo, dunque, identificava con lucida consapevolezza nelle circostanze formative le radici delle proprie difficoltà nell'acquisizione del "toscano" letterario: l'età matura del primo approccio sistematico alla lingua italiana, gli studi in Germania, l'influenza familiare del "nonno tedesco" e il contesto linguistico triestino costituivano, nella sua percezione, i fattori determinanti di tale condizione.

L'evoluzione della competenza italiana sveviana si configura, pertanto, come risultato di una progressiva stratificazione di interferenze e prestiti provenienti dalle diverse lingue con cui l'autore era entrato in contatto per ragioni prevalentemente, ma non esclusivamente, extra-letterarie: l'insegnamento di tedesco e francese presso l'Istituto Revoltella, l'attività pluriennale come corrispondente estero per la Unionbank di Vienna, la successiva collaborazione nell'azienda del suocero richiedevano competenze linguistiche specifiche e diversificate. Anche nell'ambito delle relazioni private, Svevo praticava una distribuzione funzionale delle lingue che rifletteva la complessità del suo universo comunicativo. Il tedesco costituiva lo strumento di comunicazione con il traduttore Rismondo, mentre il francese, riservato alla comunicazione con la moglie Livia, può essere definito la lingua dell'affettuosità coniugale fino al momento in cui acquisì rilevanza cruciale per lo sviluppo della carriera letteraria dell'autore: l'interesse manifestato da Larbaud e Crémieux per i suoi romanzi trasformò infatti il francese da idioma dell'intimità familiare in strumento di promozione letteraria internazionale.

Questa trasformazione funzionale del francese determinò un'intensificazione dell'autoconsapevolezza linguistica dell'autore, che cominciò a percepire con maggiore acutezza anche le incertezze della propria competenza in questa lingua. La lettera a Crémieux assume particolare significato documentario in questo senso: "L'ultima lettera che Le indirizzai era in francese. Stavo allora leggendo dei libri francesi e con mio grande dolore m'accorsi che Le avevo inviato alcuni accenti di troppo. Corsi alla posta per riprenderli ma la lettera era già partita" (Svevo, 1966: 762). L'episodio rivela dimensioni psicologiche e metodologiche di particolare rilevanza per la comprensione dell'atteggiamento sveviano nei confronti della propria produzione linguistica. Il "grande dolore" provato di fronte agli errori ortografici testimonia l'intensità emotiva con cui l'autore viveva le proprie inadeguatezze espressive, mentre il tentativo di recuperare la lettera già

spedita documenta l'urgenza del bisogno di controllo sulla propria immagine linguistica. La testimonianza assume inoltre valore metodologico poiché evidenzia il processo di riflessione metalinguistica che Svevo applicava sistematicamente a ogni testo prodotto, nonché l'abitudine alla correzione e revisione che caratterizzava evidentemente non soltanto la composizione dei testi creativi ma l'intera sua prassi scrittoria. Tale atteggiamento di continua autovalutazione critica conferma la condizione di insicurezza linguistica che accompagnava costantemente l'esperienza espressiva dell'autore, determinando quella vigilanza metalinguistica che costituisce uno dei tratti distintivi degli scriventi in lingua seconda.

Un secondo livello di analisi consente di sostenere che i sistemi L2 praticati da Svevo mantengono tutti un livello di sviluppo che si stabilizza in forme di interlingua più o meno avanzate (Selinker, 1972). In particolare, l'italiano sveviano presenta caratteristiche che, attraverso l'analisi degli errori sistematici secondo la metodologia proposta da Corder (1981), permettono di sviluppare una classificazione tipologica organizzata per livelli linguistici che, escludendo i meri refusi occasionali, rivela la tendenza ricorrente ad applicare le regole della lingua prima alla lingua seconda. A livello grafico, si osservano fenomeni di separazione impropria di elementi lessicali normalmente uniti nella grafia italiana standard, come nei casi di "a canto", "sopra tutto", "pur troppo". Particolarmente significativo risulta l'uso scorretto delle consonanti scempie e geminate, documentato in forme quali "inescare", "obbiezioni", "labbiale", "abbominate", fenomeno attribuibile con elevata probabilità al fatto che le consonanti geminate non sono presenti nel sistema fonologico del dialetto triestino, ad eccezione della doppia 's' (ss) impiegata per rappresentare la 's' intervocalica che tuttavia non viene realizzata fonicamente come geminata. Tale processo non rappresenta una mera inadeguatezza tecnica, ma costituisce una manifestazione dell'interferenza sistematica che caratterizza l'acquisizione di sistemi fonologici estranei alla lingua materna. La persistenza di questi fenomeni anche nelle revisioni successive conferma come l'interlingua sveviana abbia raggiunto una stabilizzazione che incorpora stabilmente le caratteristiche della L1. L'uso frequente dell'apocope e dell'elisione applicata a sostantivi e verbi all'infinito, sui quali lo scrittore interviene con correzioni dai risultati alterni, costituisce ulteriore manifestazione dell'interferenza del triestino, mentre l'impiego sistematico della maiuscola per i pronomi personali di cortesia rimanda verosimilmente alla sua attività professionale di redattore aziendale per l'estero, ambito nel quale tale convenzione grafica risultava consolidata.

Sul piano morfosintattico, l'uso dell'articolo determinativo anteposto ai nomi di persona, documentato in esempi quali "né dall'Augusta che mi prese" e "il Lali sapeva tutto", può essere ricondotto alla dimensione regionale della competenza linguistica sveviana, mentre il ricorso frequente a inversioni e dislocazioni sintattiche rimanda chiaramente al tentativo di conferire al dettato un andamento più prossimo alle modalità del parlato, come evidenziato nella costruzione "i sonatori di piano non amo e non li ama neppure il nostro pubblico". L'uso delle preposizioni, in particolare della preposizione "di", merita considerazione specifica per la complessità delle interferenze che manifesta. Costruzioni quali "avrei rinunciato *di* vederla" sono state interpretate diversamente dalla critica specialistica: Leone de Castris e Devoto le attribuiscono alla frequentazione del tedesco, identificandovi la traduzione letterale della preposizione "zu", mentre Voza e Cernecca le riconducono al triestino dominante "de" che regge tanto voci nominali quanto verbali. Analogamente, Cernecca attribuisce le incertezze nell'uso dell'indicativo e del congiuntivo, nella concordanza dei tempi e soprattutto nell'impiego del passato remoto alle interferenze sistematiche del dialetto triestino, mentre Voza riconosce un "generico andamento dialettale" in quei costrutti che si avvicinano alle modalità del parlato. Tali costrutti risultano ulteriormente enfatizzati dalle scelte di punteggiatura, che rivelano anch'esse l'influenza delle modalità espressive orali. Particolarmente significativo appare l'uso del punto esclamativo, che tende a conferire enfasi eccessiva al dettato scritto riproducendo le intonazioni del parlato, successivamente sostituito nelle revisioni con virgole o punti, nonché l'impiego improprio della virgola davanti a frasi avversative ed esplicative, che tradisce l'influenza dei ritmi e delle pause dell'oralità sulla strutturazione del testo scritto.

5. Il "lessico grammaticalizzato" di Svevo

Come è noto, numerosi furono i tentativi dello scrittore di perfezionare la propria scrittura attraverso correzioni e riscritture, affidandosi persino a un *editor*, nella speranza di rimuovere quello che riteneva essere l'ostacolo che lo separava dal successo tanto agognato. Nonostante le ri-scritture³, gli errori permangono perché, come nota Leone de Castris (1959), i suoi tentativi di adeguarsi alla lingua della tradizione restano limitati alla sfera lessicale senza coinvolgere la

³ A proposito della novella *Una burla riuscita*, scrisse al critico francese Crémieux: "la feci e la rifeci ed è quello che è, né potrebbe da me essere migliorata" (Svevo, 1978: 85).

struttura morfosintattica della frase. Tale approccio è ben rappresentato da Alfonso Nitti nel ruolo di maestro improvvisato di Lucia, in una scena che rivela le difficoltà concrete dell'apprendimento dell'italiano "corretto" nell'ambiente plurilingue di Trieste:

Avevano principiato col Puoti, ma ben presto mutarono programma, ambedue mortalmente annoiati. Lucia non aveva capito niente e Alfonso lo sapeva. Da parecchio tempo Alfonso usava leggere i sinonimi del Tommaseo. Risolse di far studiare a Lucia quelli in luogo della grammatica. – Almeno non si ha da fare con un sistema – le disse. – Per quanto lo si sia, non ci si accorge mai di essere troppo indietro perché non c'è addentellato, ogni pagina ed ogni articolo essendo parti che stanno da sé. Si studiano queste parti ed un bel giorno si scopre con sorpresa di aver edificato un edificio, conquistata la lingua italiana. (Svevo, 2004: 77)

L'idea iniziale di insegnare l'italiano attraverso la lettura della grammatica del Puoti, che avrebbe dovuto evidenziare le differenze rispetto alla lingua d'uso quotidiano – ovvero gli scarti fonologico-grafici, quelli lessicali e le regole morfosintattiche – viene abbandonata da Alfonso perché ritenuta noiosa e sostituita con un'attività di potenziamento lessicale mediante la consultazione di un dizionario dei sinonimi. L'alta occorrenza del termine "vocabolario" anche nella *Coscienza di Zeno* testimonia quanto questo strumento fosse centrale nella pratica quotidiana di Svevo, che evidentemente vedeva nell'espansione del patrimonio lessicale la chiave per raggiungere una maggiore fluidità espressiva e, conseguentemente, una più sicura capacità comunicativa:

non vi è in tutto il vocabolario una parola che sappia spogliare una donna. (Svevo, 2004: 867)

Con l'aiuto del vocabolario combinammo insieme il dispaccio in inglese. (Svevo, 2004: 927)

Se egli sapesse come raccontiamo con predilezione tutte le cose per le quali abbiamo pronta la frase e come evitiamo quelle che ci obbligherebbero di ricorrere al vocabolario! (Svevo, 2004: 1050).

Sul frontespizio di un vocabolario trovo questa mia registrazione fatta con bella scrittura e qualche ornato: "Oggi,

2 Febbraio 1886, passo dagli studi di legge a quelli di chimica. Ultima sigaretta!!” (Svevo, 2004: 632).

Ero andato da un libraio a cercare un vocabolario... (Svevo, 2004: 701)

L’approccio adottato da Svevo attraverso il personaggio di Alfonso Nitti presenta sorprendenti analogie con le acquisizioni della glottodidattica contemporanea, che ha progressivamente rivalutato il ruolo del lessico nell’apprendimento linguistico. Gli studi di Krashen (1982), Read (2000) e Bettoni (2001) hanno infatti dimostrato la centralità del patrimonio lessicale nei processi di acquisizione, convergendo verso la celebre definizione di Lewis (1993) che concepisce la lingua come “lessico grammaticalizzato” piuttosto che come “grammatica lessicalizzata”. Nel caso dell’autore della *Coscienza*, la scelta di privilegiare l’approccio lessicale nasceva, dunque, dalla consapevolezza di non poter domare la grammatica italiana, con le sue complesse regole morfosintattiche; mentre il lessico si presentava ai suoi occhi come un territorio più accessibile e democratico. Da questo punto di vista, Svevo rappresenta il prototipo perfetto dell’apprendente di L2, il quale sviluppa strategie compensative per superare i limiti della propria interlingua in un contesto, quello triestino, dove l’italiano era effettivamente una lingua seconda rispetto al dialetto locale e al tedesco. L’approccio sveviano anticipa così le moderne teorie che riconoscono come l’acquisizione lessicale proceda spesso per accumulo e associazione, mentre quella grammaticale richiede processi cognitivi più complessi e sistematici, che per lo scrittore erano irraggiungibili vista l’età⁴.

Svevo, insomma, finì per rivoluzionare la prosa del suo tempo quasi inconsapevolmente. La sua condizione di “straniero” nella propria lingua nazionale lo portò a sviluppare soluzioni espressive inedite, dettate più dalla necessità comunicativa che da scelte stilistiche deliberate. Non è casuale che il cambio di passo della critica e il successo siano arrivati attraverso le traduzioni francesi delle sue opere. La traduzione fungeva da filtro che eliminava le “imperfezioni” formali mantenendo intatta la sostanza rivoluzionaria del suo pensiero. L’approccio etnocentrico dei

⁴ In questo contesto, va letto il riferimento a Rigutini e Fornaciari nella lettera a Eugenio Montale del 1926: “Mi secca un poco di vedermi continuamente gettati sulla testa Rigutini e Fornaciari” (Svevo & Montale 1976: 13): questi testi rappresentavano i pilastri dell’ortodossia linguistica italiana dell’epoca, i parametri attraverso cui misurare la legittimità espressiva di uno scrittore.

traduttori dell'epoca, evitando le ambiguità semantiche a favore dell'uso standard della lingua di arrivo, normalizzò la sua prosa all'insegna di una maggiore fluidità e fruibilità (Guida, 2012; Guida, 2014), azzerando dialettismi, neologismi, barbarismi e toscanismi arcaici, e risolvendo le diverse incertezze morfosintattiche e della punteggiatura. Se ne era accorto il severo Caprin, il quale così commentava l'edizione francese della *Coscienza*:

A leggerlo ora tradotto in francese dal Crémieux e dal Larbaud, che nell'ultimo fascicolo del «Navire d'Argent» lo presentano ai lettori francesi, lo Svevo pare un altro. Se questo sconosciuto italiano è destinato al compenso di una conoscenza europea, sarà provvidenziale che questa cominci in un'altra lingua ma in una lingua. (Caprin, 1926)

Questo approccio, che si traduce in una prosa stilisticamente incerta – le interferenze morfologiche, le incertezze nella reggenza verbale, le oscillazioni nell'uso dei tempi – provocò la reazione ostile dei puristi della lingua italiana, i quali, come si è visto, incarnavano quella mentalità prescrittivista che giudica la competenza linguistica esclusivamente attraverso il prisma della correttezza grammaticale e della conformità ai modelli consolidati.

6. Conclusioni

Il presente saggio consente di pervenire a conclusioni di particolare significato per l'esegesi sveviana: ciò che la tradizione critica ha codificato sotto la denominazione di "idioletto sveviano", interpretandolo quale esito di una ricerca stilistica consapevole e di una volontà espressiva deliberatamente anticonvenzionale, si configura invece come la manifestazione fenomenologica delle difficoltà incontrate dall'autore triestino nel pieno dominio di un sistema linguistico acquisito in età adulta.

L'esame tipologico degli errori che punteggiano il *corpus* sveviano, benché circoscritto nei limiti imposti dall'economia del presente studio, rivela con inequivocabile evidenza come numerose peculiarità espressive, tradizionalmente ascritte alla categoria delle innovazioni stilistiche, costituiscano in realtà l'epifenomeno di interferenze sistematiche tra la competenza linguistica materna dell'autore e le strutture della lingua italiana, il cui possesso risultava ancora in via di consolidamento.

Tale acquisizione non comporta alcuna svalutazione del portato estetico dell'opera sveviana, bensì ne riconduce la specificità linguistica entro coordinate interpretative più rigorosamente fondate dal punto di

vista scientifico. Il fenomeno dell'interferenza interlinguistica, lungi dal configurarsi quale limitazione o deficienza, si trasforma nel caso specifico in risorsa espressiva inconsapevole, conferendo alla prosa sveviana quella particolare densità semantica e quella tensione stilistica che ne hanno determinato la fortuna critica, come rilevò Montale:

Sarebbe però un errore credere che Svevo guadagni qualcosa letto nelle traduzioni. In queste va perduta quella che direi la sclerosi dei suoi personaggi. Svevo vi appare elegante, mentre era faticoso e profondo, invischiato e liberissimo, scrittore di tutti i tempi ma triestino dei suoi difficili anni. Meglio dunque aggiungere qualche virgola, alleggerire qualche anacoluto ma lasciare a Svevo la musica che fu sua. (Montale-Svevo 1966: 142)

Il presente saggio propone pertanto una revisione metodologica dell'approccio ermeneutico agli aspetti linguistici dell'opera sveviana, superando le letture che hanno privilegiato l'eccezionalità dell'idioletto autoriale per approdare a un'interpretazione linguisticamente più consapevole delle sue specificità espressive. Le specificità che la tradizione critica ha sovente interpretato come opzioni stilistiche deliberate o come testimonianze di un ingegno letterario *sui generis* potrebbero trovare una chiave di lettura più immediata e metodologicamente rigorosa nella condizione di chi opera attraverso una lingua seconda. Le irregolarità morfosintattiche, le interferenze di ordine lessicale, le oscillazioni nella gestione delle strutture verbali si presentano non tanto come anomalie da legittimare mediante articolate costruzioni estetiche, quanto piuttosto come manifestazioni riconducibili al repertorio linguistico di un parlante non nativo all'interno della cornice sociolinguistica che informa la sua scrittura.

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ON ITALO SVEVO'S ITALIAN (L2): AN INTERLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

Starting from an analysis of contemporary critical reception, systematically hostile toward a writer perceived as linguistically inadequate, whose prose was stigmatized for the recurrence of errors and inaccuracies, this essay addresses the question from the perspective of acquisitional linguistics, considering the Triestine author as a learner of Italian L2. This perspective, while potentially appearing reductive at first consideration, proves instead fundamental for understanding the real nature of the linguistic phenomena that characterize his writing. Contemporary critics, while astutely recognizing the connections between Svevo's writing and the Triestine dialectal substrate as well as Germanic interference, limited themselves to signaling these influences in negative terms, interpreting them as evidence of a deficient linguistic formation rather than as phenomena worthy of scientific analysis. The present essay fills this critical gap through an accurate analysis of recurrent errors and metalinguistic declarations that emerge both from Svevo's correspondence and from his narrative works. This material clearly documents the typical processes of second language acquisition: interlinguistic interferences, compensatory strategies, morphosyntactic fossilizations, uncertainties in lexical selection. Recognizing Svevo as an L2 learner does not mean diminishing his artistic value, but rather restoring his expressive peculiarities to their natural context of reference. Morphosyntactic errors, structural calques, uncertainties in verbal government cease to be stylistic enigmas to decipher and configure themselves as predictable and documentable manifestations of the linguistic learning process in adulthood. This perspective allows for better appreciation of both the objective limits that Svevo had to confront and the creative strategies he developed to transform these limits into original expressive resources.

Keywords: Italo Svevo, IL2, dialect, interlanguage

STRUCTURAL ASYMMETRIES AND COGNITIVE LOAD IN SI BETWEEN ENGLISH AND SLAVIC LANGUAGES - A PILOT STUDY

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Abstract: Much of the research in simultaneous interpretation ('SI'), from its inception to this day, has been inspired by a fierce debate between two schools. One claims that SI is not affected by the structural asymmetries of the two languages, since what is transferred is meaning and not structures. The other claims that language-specific differences lead to additional processing difficulties and a larger cognitive load in SI. Numerous experiments in support of the latter mostly involve a number of Germanic and Romance languages. This pilot study sets out to explore the impact of morpho-syntactic asymmetries between English – a Germanic language – and three Slavic languages – Montenegrin, Russian and Bosnian – on the overall cognitive load in SI. The asymmetries selected for this experiment have to do primarily with aspect, but also a number of additional problem triggers, such as composite nominal phrases, names and numbers, are addressed. Input speeches and output audio recordings made by professional interpreters are analysed using two-track recording in Audacity, a digital audio editor and recording software application. The insights are further refined by the authors' direct observation using audio recordings and their transcripts. The results point to a positive correlation between morpho-syntactic asymmetries and the cognitive load in SI between English and the three Slavic languages. The pilot offers ideas for future, more extensive studies and shares observations on the processing difficulties and control of attentional resources in SI, with the potential pedagogical implications.

Keywords: SI, cognitive load, morpho-syntactic asymmetries, Audacity, SI training

1. Introduction

Almost all English verbs are ambiguous in terms of aspect, i.e. they may yield both perfectivity and imperfectivity depending on a number of components outside the verbal lexeme. This means that the representation of an event can be finally specified¹ as perfective or imperfective only at the sentence level (Verkuyl 1972; Kabakčiev 2000; Bulatovic 2020, 2022). For example, although sentences 1 and 2 below have the same verb, 1 is perfective and 2 is imperfective. The non-verb elements in 1 and 2 that are critical to the final aspectual interpretation are the situation participants, the bounded *a project* and the unbounded *projects* in 1 and 2 respectively.

1. The team developed a project.
2. The team developed projects.

Conversely, in Slavic languages, all verbs, save for bi-aspectual verbs,² are morphologically specified for aspect, and they are either perfective or imperfective. By selecting a verb to use in everyday communication, one selects its semantic content and aspectual form at the same time and at the same place – on the verb.

This has implications for comprehension in cross-linguistic settings involving English and Slavic languages. When reading or listening to English as the source language (L1), a speaker of a Slavic language, just like any other speaker of English engaged in a communicative situation in English, receives through the eye or the ear various aspect-relevant components one by one as they are produced at the other end of the communicative channel, until aspect can finally be disambiguated. The recipient deverbalses these components one by one in her³ mind before a proper interpretation of aspect is finally arrived at. Our primary concern in this study is not with English sentences like 1 and 2, where aspectual ambiguity is resolved immediately after the main verb, i.e. with the onset of *a project* and *projects*, respectively, but with situations

¹ This holds for most verbs, save for progressives, most states and phrases with *used to* and *would*.

² Bi-aspectual verbs are imported, unspecified for aspect and behave just like English verbs, i.e. their aspectual interpretation depends on the components outside of the verb.

³ 'She/her' is used to avoid double forms and refers to interpreters of both genders throughout this text.

where the main verb and the last aspect-relevant component are further apart.

In this paper, we focus on structural asymmetries in a cross-linguistic setting such as SI, because its nature is such that it does not allow the recipient of L1 – the interpreter in this case – to wait until she has heard all the components that may play a role in the final aspectual specification of a sentence. After a relatively short lag, or ear-to-voice span ('EVS'), the interpreter must start her rendition in the target language (L2). Because English is an SVO language, the interpreter will hear an L1 verb soon after the beginning of an ongoing utterance and will have to produce an L2 equivalent to the aspectually ambiguous L1 verb. The question we explore in this study is the effect of such asymmetries on the overall cognitive load in SI. More specifically, we need to check whether the interpreter decides to repair the wrongly assigned aspect, thus risking losing some of the incoming content downstream, or to ignore the error to maintain smooth rendition.

To address the above question, an experiment was conducted to analyse the interpretation of three short speeches between English and three Slavic languages by a group of professional interpreters. We hope the findings will enrich the long debate concerning the impact of structural differences on the cognitive load and performance in SI. Our main motive, however, is for the experiment to give us some insights that can be applied in SI training. To our knowledge, there has been no research of this type involving English and Slavic languages.

We proceed as follows. Section 2 is a short overview of the relevant theoretical background on aspect and SI. Section 3 describes the experiment. Section 4 presents the results and our analysis, while section 5 discusses the results, followed by section 6 with the main conclusions.

2. Literature review

In what follows under this section, we focus on a limited number of considerations under the subsections on aspectual asymmetries and cognitive load in SI that we find especially relevant to this research.

2.1. Aspectual asymmetries in English and Slavic language pairs

Aspect in Germanic and Slavic languages is in an inverse relationship (Kabakčiev 2019; 2000). In Germanic languages, articles compensate for the loss of aspectual verbal morphology that has occurred over centuries of linguistic development (Abraham 1997). Slavic languages have maintained their aspectual verbal morphology

and function well without articles as bounding devices. Articles in English, alongside other determiners, quantifiers and adverbials, have a key role to play in the signalling of aspect, with the indefinite and definite article having a bounding effect and the zero article having an unbounding effect on situation participants in a sentence. In sentence 2 below, which we repeat here for easier reference, it is not the plural of *projects* but the presence of the zero article that makes 2 imperfective. This is easily proven by 2a, which yields perfectivity.

2. The team developed projects.

2a. The team developed the projects.

The work of Verkuyl (1972), the founder of compositional aspect ('CA'), draws on Vendler's classification of situation types (1957). The key feature of Vendler's classification is whether the situation develops towards a logically implied endpoint, or *telos*, or not. Verkuyl later developed schemata to show how the initial lexical potential of the verbal phrases denoting the situation is modified under the impact of other components in the sentence (Verkuyl 1989). The word *potential* must be emphasised here because the four situation types represent only the stereotypical or default interpretations.

In 1, for example, which we repeat here for easier reference, the default interpretation of *developed a project* is perfective and remains unchanged because both situation participants (i.e. both *the team* and *a project*) are bounded.

1. The team developed a project.

With the addition of new components in 1, the sentence-level aspectual interpretation can be confirmed or annulled. For example, in 1a, 1b and 3 below, "the recognition of aspect by the hearer will, as a rule, take place as late as after clarifying the temporal status of the last situation-participant NP in a sentence/clause" (Kabakčiev and Dimitrova 2023: 19). These utterances seem to be developing towards final perfectivity, until they are made imperfective by the addition of *for foreign partners* and *for two years* in 1a and 1b respectively, and *every few years* in 3.

1a. The team developed a project for foreign partners.

1b. The team developed a project for a foreign partner for two years.

3. The team announced a project for a foreign partner every few years.

Note also that there is no aspectual ambiguity in situations where an unbounding element is placed at the very beginning of the sentence.

Neither is there aspectual ambiguity in situations that are imperfective by default. The imperfectivity of sentence 2, for example, can only be confirmed, as in 2b, and never annulled, as shown in 2c.

2. The team developed projects.

2b. The team developed projects for two years.

2c. *The team developed projects in two years.

A conclusion that is relevant to our analysis is that it is easier to understand and process imperfective utterances whose imperfectivity is specified early, i.e. as close to the main verb as possible (as in 2), than those that initially signal perfectivity but are then coerced into imperfectivity (as in 1b). Indeed, there is research which measured processing cost based on pupillary movement, suggesting that sentences with a change in aspectual nature take longer to process (Parczynski et al. 2014). Our key question remains whether this longer time required will eventually disrupt the deverbilisation process, which the proponents of the universalist approach to SI claim is automatic.

2.2. Cognitive load in SI

Proponents of the *interpretive*, or *universalist*, approach to SI maintain that structural asymmetries between the source and target language have no effect on SI performance because interpreters interpret the overall meaning of the source input irrespective of the linguistic structures used to express it (Lederer 1981; Seleskovitch 1984). By contrast, proponents of the *information processing*, or *effort*, approach (Gile 2009) are of the view that structural asymmetries pose an additional challenge to SI, which Gile compares to walking on a tight rope (Gile 1999). Gile's effort models (1985; 1995; 2009; 2017) view SI as a process comprising a series of concurrent efforts (*listening and analysis effort*, *production effort*, *memory effort*, and *coordination effort*) that place a lot of burden on the interpreter's limited resources and that even a short attentional lapse or tending to what may seem like a minor issue may negatively impact the rendition of the new incoming

segments of the input, thus causing *exported load* (Gile 2008; see also Mazza 2001 and Meyer 2008). This is illustrated well by Gile's experiment with professional interpreters who interpreted the same input twice, both times with multiple, often different, errors and omissions (Gile 1999). Research has identified a number of universal SI challenges, or *problem triggers* as referred to by Gile (2009; 2015), such as numbers and proper names (Mazza 2001; Plevioets and Defrancq 2016; Meyer 2008), as well as composite noun phrases (Shlesinger 2000). These triggers are treated only as potential triggers because whether they will lead to cognitive saturation and failures in the rendition depends on a number of factors, such as delivery rate, information density and sound quality, among others (Gile 1995).

Various authors have focused on the effects of structural asymmetries on SI and measured the cognitive load taxed by such additional challenges. By measuring pupillary response to interpretation tasks, Seeber and Kerzel (2011) found that the cognitive load during the interpretation of verb-final German structures into English was higher than the load resulting from interpretation of symmetrical verb-initial structures. Seeber and Kerzel (2011: 238) hold that their results corroborate Gile's hypothesis that load increases towards the end of sentences, but found no evidence in support of Gile's tightrope hypothesis (Gile 2008). More precisely, they feel that cognitive load is not close to saturation levels throughout the SI but only at certain points, and that cognitive resources can be reallocated.

In an experimental study analysing the effect of word order asymmetries between German and Dutch as L1 and Italian as L2, Bevilacqua (2009) found that this language pair requires more extensive anticipation efforts and longer ear-voice-span (EVS). Another study, also concerning word order differences, with interpretation this time from French into SOV target languages, German and Dutch, also revealed that the asymmetries required special strategies to reduce the memory effort (Collard et al. 2018). Riccardi and Snelling (1996) identified anticipation as an important strategy to cope with morpho-syntactic incongruencies between German and Italian (see also Riccardi 1999 on general and specific interpretation strategies). Kim (2005) analysed SI between Korean and Chinese and Korean and Japanese and found that the interpreter's guessing and choosing the right EVS is crucial to overcoming the incongruent language features of these languages.

A significant share of literature on SI addresses *disfluencies*, which Tissi (2000: 115) views as a signal of "comprehension or reformulation

difficulties" in SI. The same author highlights the communicative and strategic use of some non-fluencies, especially in relation to corrections (Tissi 2000: 121). Setton (1999: 50) argues that the insertion of short pauses, or the use of *waiting*, as he calls it, is a useful strategy to cope with complex or temporarily undetermined syntactical structures. Mead (2000), among others, distinguishes between silent and filled pauses, and claims that silent pauses do not always signal difficulties, while filled pauses do (for disfluencies, see also Plevoets and Defrancq 2018 and Bartłomiejczyk and Gumul 2024).

There is another relevant study using pupillary dilation and movement as indicators, which shows that, for the reason of multiple difficulties, interpretation generally induces more cognitive load than other language-processing tasks, such as listening, speech shadowing and repeating (see Tommola and Niemi 1986; Tommola and Hyönä 1990; and Hyönä, Tommola and Alaja 1995), which indicates that deverbalisation in SI may not run as smoothly as seems to be the case in other language processing.

As for research to date concerning SI where a Slavic language is L1 or L2, this mostly addressed the directionality issue, explication and repairs (Pavlović 2007; Gumul 2017; Bartłomiejczyk and Gumul 2024). It is our intention, therefore, to use this pilot experimental study to gain some initial insight into the effect of structural asymmetries between English and the three Slavic languages on the cognitive load in SI. We hypothesise as follows:

Hypothesis 1: Cognitive load in SI is higher than that in the linguistic processing activity of (near-) shadow interpreting.

Hypothesis 2: Cognitive load, including exported load, is higher in the interpretation of structural asymmetries than of structural symmetries.

Hypothesis 3: Multiple structural asymmetries in a single utterance or in adjoining utterances result in the highest exported load in SI.

3. Experiment

Design. For the experiment, three short speeches were compiled from passages of a longer speech on EU enlargement⁴ and were slightly adapted. Two speeches were modified to include the asymmetrical structures and problem triggers (Gile 2009; 2015). Speech 1 served as the baseline, as it included no problem triggers. Speech 2 included

⁴ https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/SPEECH_13_908.

sentences where aspect disambiguation components were placed at the very end of an utterance, as in sentence 4.

4. This legal team issued a large number of detailed reports regularly to support judicial reforms [...]

The default perfective reading of *issued a large number of detailed reports* in 4 is coerced into imperfectivity by the adverbial *regularly*

Speech 3 included elements similar to those in Speech 2, but were then followed by additional problem triggers in the form of composite noun phrases, names and numbers, as in sentence 5.

5. The Commission made an *ad hoc* report for ministries quite often, 1126 pages in total over this period, whenever they required [...]

Sentence 5 contains a double problem trigger: an aspectual incongruence similar to that in 4, and a complex number immediately following. Speech 3's target structures were designed so that we could conclude whether the exported load occurs only in the presence of multiple problem triggers in a single utterance.

The three speeches were read out by a native speaker of English and interpreted into Montenegrin, Bosnian and Russian by three interpreters with over 15 years of active service.

The translations of those three speeches were then read out by a native speaker of Montenegrin and interpreted back into Bosnian, Russian and English by three experienced interpreters different to those for the English L1 SI.

Table 1 presents some key information about the three speeches to show that, save for the target structural elements, they were of comparable complexity and rate of delivery.

Table 1: Basic metrics for the three speeches

	Speech 1	Speech 2	Speech 3
Problem triggers	No	Aspect only	Aspect + triggers
Number of words	306	307	301
Length in minutes	2:24	2:30	2:46
Delivery in WPM	127	122	109

Readability score (Flesch-Kincaid) ⁵	13.6	11.8	12.6

Participants. The two native speakers and the six interpreters were all informed about the purpose of the recordings but were not given information on the target structures or the objectives of the experiment pursued. All they knew was that the speeches had to do with the EU enlargement process. They consented to their recordings being stored and processed. To make the individual recordings of interpretation in the three Slavic languages anonymous, the recordings were marked as Slavic L2 1, Slavic L2 2 and Slavic L2 3, and represented in the tables in a different order than that in the remaining text every time. All but one of the eight participants were the authors' colleagues, and they all refused remuneration for their participation.

Procedure and methods of analysis. The recordings of L1 speeches were played on a computer and the interpreters recorded their renditions using the *Voice Recorder* application on their mobile phones. The produced m4a files were converted to mp3 files using the freely accessible online conversion service *cloudconvert*,⁶ and transcripts of them were then made using *TurboScribe*.⁷

The pairs of mp3 audio files, i.e. the L1 input speech and respective L2 output recordings, were then processed and analysed using two-track recording in Audacity, a digital audio editor and recording application software. Because the focus of our experiment is exported load, we took great care to set the time parameters correctly. The L1 speech was always placed at 0 on the time bar in the upper track, and the L2 rendition was set to start at the initial EVS in the lower track. The EVS, or the ear-to-voice span, is the time which lapses between the onset of an L1 unit and the onset of that unit in L2 interpretation. In our experiment, we measured the EVS at all sentence-to-sentence transitions in a recording to identify any deviations from the average EVS. Note that our focus was on the EVS immediately following the sentence containing a problem trigger, not the EVS before that

⁵ Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level is a readability formula that assesses the approximate reading grade level of a text, based on average sentence length and word complexity. The scores largely correspond to US grade levels. A score of 12–15 for our three speeches is college-level. <https://goodcalculators.com/flesch-kincaid-calculator/>.

⁶ <https://cloudconvert.com>.

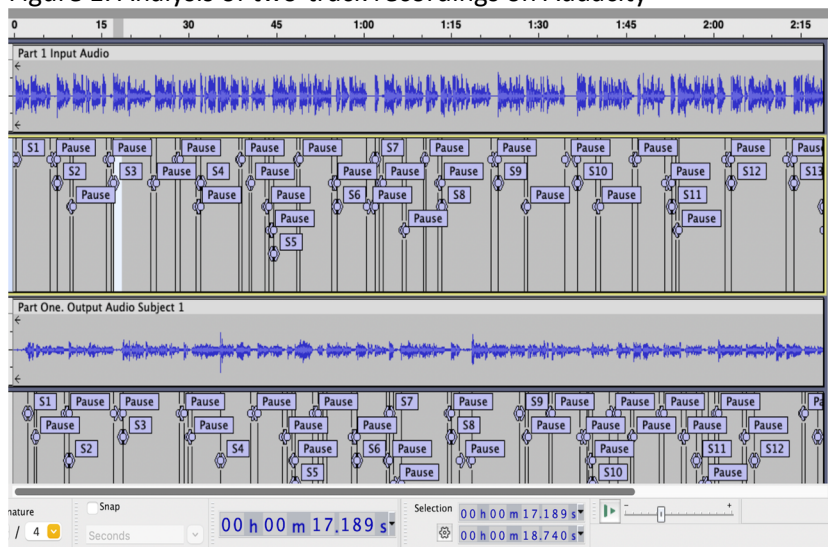
⁷ <https://turboscribe.ai>.

sentence, because the exported load can only be measured downstream (and is marked in grey throughout the tables).

Another parameter processed on Audacity was the sum of inter- and intra-sentence pauses. Our definition of a pause was a silence between two sounds longer than 500 milliseconds at -30db . Note, however, that pauses in this experiment were not analysed as an effect of directionality in SI (Mead 2000). Instead, they were compared across the L1 and L2 recordings to get an impression of any disfluencies and hesitations (Tissi 2000; Plevoets and Defrancq 2018; Setton 1999).

The temporal parameters discussed in the previous two paragraphs are illustrated in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1. Analysis of two-track recordings on Audacity



The spectrograms in a waveform were used for visualisation of the recordings, and the labels S – for individual sentences – and Pause – for intra- and inter-sentence pauses – were used to mark those critical points. Note that the two-track system allowed us to measure the distance between sentence initial points in L1 and L2, or the sentence-to-sentence EVS (see the white stripe in the upper track after the label S3).

4. Results and analysis

In our pilot experiment, the temporal parameters of 24 audio recordings were analysed and their transcripts reviewed for a better insight into the quality of individual renditions. In this section, we first present the results for English L1–Slavic L2 interpretation for the three different speeches ranked from the least to the most complex one, and then offer our interpretation.

The measurements were expressed in minutes, seconds and milliseconds, and the calculations were done using a freely accessible time calculator.⁸

Table 2. Baseline (no problem triggers)

S	English L1 Onset/S	Slavic L2 1 EVS	Slavic L2 2 EVS	Slavic L2 3 EVS
1	0:00.00	02.404	03.785	03.136
2	0:12.153	02.875	04.693	03.187
3	0:19.293	01.275	04.479	06.984
4	0:26.933	01.247	03.973	06.922
5	0:40.973	01.275	02.693	07.114
6	0:58.163	01.521	03.143	03.149
7	1:15.643	01.912	03.223	02.15
8	1:26.703	01.691	03.173	05.547
9	1:37.123	01.943	02.563	00.626
10	1:43.613	03.111	06.242	05.221
11	1:52.463	01.740	04.592	05.237
12	2:17.613	01.630	04.082	01.981
EVS ave.		1.83	3.83	4.25
Pauses	0:26.837	0:14.265	0:29.603	0:02.600

In the case of the baseline speech, all three interpreters provided accurate and smooth interpretations, with occasional disfluencies and hesitations heard in the Slavic L2 1 and Slavic L2 3 renditions. Those were identified at sentence transition points, where the interpreters were obviously trying to speed up and reduce the delay so that they could follow the incoming sections better. There is a notable difference in the overall pauses in Slavic L2 3. The audio was reviewed again, and the conclusion is that most pauses were filled with “um” sounds (fillers) and were thus not labelled as actual pauses by Audacity. The pauses in Slavic L2 2 were closest to those of the original, which indicates that the interpreter maintained an even pace throughout the SI.

The EVS was measured in seconds and milliseconds. The differences across the three L2 renditions seem to reflect the

⁸ <https://datetimecalculator.net/time-calculator>.

interpreters' individual styles, since the average is close to the initial EVS in all three cases. As for the EVS in general, it must be carefully analysed in correlation with the quality of rendition, because a longer EVS is sometimes a matter of individual style and sometimes the effect of exported load. That is why in all instances of significant deviations from the initial and average EVS, we reviewed the recordings again. This helped us identify problems in the Slavic L2 3 rendition of sentences 2, 3 and 4, for example, as signalled by the immediately following longer EVS. Indeed, it was found that the interpreter had problems putting the message across in these sentences, maybe because these sentences were very close to the opening of the speech, which is generally seen as a particularly challenging section.

Table 3. Level 1 (three problem triggers, one per critical point)

S	English L1 Onset/S	Slavic L2 1 EVS	Slavic L2 2 EVS	Slavic L2 3 EVS
1	0:00.000	01.713	02.415	01.687
2	0:07.522	00.893	01.988	01.139
3	0:17.189	01.36	01.551	02.770
4	0:32.172	02.966	03.285	06.230
5	0:44.632	02.81	03.698	03.552
6	0:55.512	01.05	03.378	01.113
7	1:02.052	00.561	02.488	0.969
8	1:13.442	02.263	01.698	/
9	1:23.182	01.229	03.690	/
10	1:36.742	01.145	02.568	/
11	1:52.912	02.183	04.321	/
12	2:03.182	04.305	03.917	/
13	2:13.932	01.898	04.117	/
EVS ave.		1.67	2.8	3.0 (to S5)
EVS asym.		2.16	3.66	1.11 (S6)
Pauses	0:21.843	0:10.238	0:25.338	0:01.875

The longer-than-average EVSs immediately following the sentences with structural asymmetry point to the exported load in Slavic L2 1 and L2 2, whereas Slavic L2 3 lost control after the first sentence, which included an asymmetry. The interpreter tried to make up for lost time but the EVS was getting longer and longer and the interpreter only managed to include some of the key parts of the incoming messages. Analysis of Slavic L2 1 and L2 2 showed a longer-than-average EVS immediately after the asymmetries (2.16 to 1.67 and 3.66 to 2.8, respectively), but also that the former decided not to go back and repair

the initially wrongly assigned aspect, and the latter correctly assigned the aspect in two cases and corrected it later in the third. No post-experiment interviews were conducted to get the interpreters' insights and so we do not know, for example, whether the Slavic L2 1 interpreter was aware of the aspectual asymmetry or whether she just decided not to repair the verb for the sake of maintaining a smooth pace in SI. The more correct interpretation of the verbal phrases by Slavic L2 2 may be due to the longer initial EVS, which allowed her to hear many more of the components relevant to aspectual interpretation.

Table 4. Level 2 (six problem triggers, two per critical point)

S	Original onset	Slavic L2 1 EVS	Slavic L2 2 EVS	Slavic L2 3 EVS
1	0:00.00	02.440	03.111	02.620
2	0:11.874	03.736	04.112	07.928
3	0:27.954	01.346	03.125	05.523
4	0:39.114	01.596	02.887	07.963
5	0:46.986	02.350	03.70	08.12
6	1:03.724	00.824	04.57	04.276
7	1:16.534	02.772	03.127	03.422
8	1:26.934	04.980	03.849	09.88
9	1:32.534	04.148	03.570	16.789
10	1:42.144	02.404	02.701	15.623
11	1:44.814	03.313	03.97	14.821
12	1:59.924	01.305	03.277	03.747
13	2:22.644	02.853	02.918	07.106
14	2:28.514	01.243	02.90	/
15	2:35.674	01.28	03.975	0:04.14
16	2:39.584	02.906	03.841	0:03.990
EVS ave.		2.16	3.25	5.2 (to S7)
EVS asym.		3.25	3.5	6.75 (to S2)
Pauses	0:30.470	0:27.103	0:27.506	0:01.870

This speech included three very complex sections, each with one aspectual asymmetry, followed by a composite nominal phrase, a personal name and a four-digit number. The last three are generally considered as problem triggers in SI (see Gile 2009; 2015; Mazza 2001; Meyer 2008; Plevoets and Defrancq 2016; and Shlesinger 2000).

In Slavic L2 1 and 2, we notice a mix of slightly and significantly longer EVSs than the initial one immediately following the problem triggers contained in sentences 1, 2, 7 and 12. Slavic L2 1 included errors in aspect assignment in two cases, corrected one, and made an error in the target number which was part of sentence 12. Slavic L2 2 maintained a steady flow without major hesitations and made one correction of the

assigned aspect. After the initial EVS of 2:62, the remaining EVSs in Slavic L2 3 became extremely long and indicate the interpreter's loss of control over the meaning. This could be the result of stress, knowing that the speech was not being rendered well.

Next we present the results for Slavic L1 into the Slavic L2 and English L2 audio recordings. Note that these recordings were processed not for analysis of the effect of directionality, but for comparison of parameters with the first set. In the case of Slavic L2 2, we hoped it could serve as an example of (near-) shadowing. Slavic L2 2 was selected as the closest to L1 given that they are distinguished primarily by small lexical differences, while Slavic L2 3 differs in both its lexical and structural elements. On the whole, we did not expect any major problems to occur in this part of the experiment because there were no structural asymmetries between L1 and L2. In fact, L1 Montenegrin is either their mother tongue or the language in which they have near mother-tongue competence. The verbal phrases were unambiguous for aspect and the composite nominal phrases had their primary collocates in the initial position, which means there is no need to wait for it until the end of the phrase like in English.

Table 5. Baseline (no problem triggers)

S	ME L1 onset	Slavic L2 2 EVS	Slavic L2 3 EVS	English L2 EVS
1	0:00.000	0:01.310	0:01.441	0:02.360
2	0:16.401	0:02.512	0:00.309	0:02.50
3	0:24.187	0:02.615	0:01.911	0:02.632
4	0:32.981	0:02.579	0:00.759	0:01.479
5	0:46.790	0:02.566	0:01.300	0:03.17
6	1:04.387	0:02.264	0:00.516	0:02.257
7	1:23.981	0:02.291	0:00.141	0:02.122
8	1:34.781	0:02.516	0:01.131	0:02.211
9	1:47.351	0:02.19	0:01.944	0:02.143
10	1:54.079	0:02.535	0:01.65	0:02.573
11	2:03.030	0:03.92	0:00.869	0:02.91
12	2:32.971	0:02.481	0:01.802	0:04.868
EVS ave.		2.41	1.08	2.5
Pauses	0:20.600	0:03.64	0:25.546	0:09.650

The differences in the respective average EVSs in Table 5 may be ascribed more to the individual style, as no significant problems were identified in the three renditions. They all ran smoothly and put the meaning across accurately. As for the pauses, Slavic L2 2 had many of them filled with “um” sounds (fillers) and were thus not labelled as pauses, and the review of English L2 recording showed that the interpreter hesitated in a few instances before she could find the best equivalent in English L2.

Table 6. Level 1 (three problem triggers, one per critical point)

S	ME L1 onset	Slavic L2 2 EVS	Slavic L2 3 EVS	English L2
1	0:00.000	0:02.060	0:01.217	0:01.560
2	0:07.650	0:01.530	0:00.70	0:01.535
3	0:17.036	0:01.21	0:00.567	0:01.330
4	0:36.741	0:01.491	0:03.687	0:01.793
5	0:49.348	0:03.108	0:03.520	0:03.206
6	1:01.330	0:01.618	0:04.923	0:03.734
7	1:07.633	0:01.468	0:05.907	0:03.39
8	1:19.843	0:01.666	0:05.69	0:01.473
9	1:31.427	0:01.683	0:06.193	0:01.321
10	1:48.350	0:01.180	0:03.660	0:01.329
11	2:06.862	0:03.270	0:03.617	0:01.259
12	2:18.447	0:01.672	0:02.308	0:03.47
13	2:33.382	0:01.465	0:01.818	0:02.671
EVS ave.		1.88	3.3	1.9
EVS asym.		1.66	4.5	2.66
Pauses	0:17.700	0:01.620	0:13.460	0:02.410

The parameters in Table 6 seem to suggest that the identification of sentences 5, 6 and 11 as carrying asymmetries was indeed artificial, since the EVSs before and after those sentences do not differ much at all. For the pauses, again, closest to those in L1 is the Slavic L2 3 rendition, with the other two significantly deviating for the reasons outlined with reference to Table 6 above. These conclusions are made based on a repeated review of both the recordings and the transcripts.

In Table 7, the parameters lead to identical conclusions with respect to both the EVSs and the pauses, with no significant deviations found in the recordings, from sentence 1 through to 16.

Table 7. Level 2 (six problem triggers, two per critical point)

Original	ME L1 onset	Slavic L2 2 EVS	Slavic L2 3 EVS	English L2
1	0:00.000	0:01.535	0:01.400	0:01.860
2	0:13.140	0:01.140	0:00.220	0:01.199
3	0:32.150	0:00.980	0:01.250	0:01.72
4	0:42.540	0:00.757	0:01.420	0:01.651
5	0:51.000	0:01.92	0:04.370	0:01.810
6	1:05.290	0:01.73	0:02.451	0:01.702
7	1:15.650	0:01.181	0:05.414	0:00.901
8	1:26.162	0:00.951	0:04.162	0:02.220
9	1:32.410	0:01.32	0:03.114	0:01.457
10	1:43.320	0:00.911	0:02.305	0:01.281
11	1:46.290	0:00.826	0:03.298	0:01.304
12	2:01.020	0:00.944	0:01.797	0:01.111
13	2:20.810	0:01.76	0:03.281	0:01.434
14	2:25.370	0:01.109	0:02.520	0:01.170
15	2:33.060	0:01.297	0:03.80	0:01.14
16	2:36.890	0:01.126	0:02.516	0:00.885
EVS ave.		1.08	2.8	1.33
EVS asym.		1.03	2.0	1.5
Pauses	0:18.100	0:00.520	0:21.60	0:03.200

5. Discussion

This pilot experimental study was conducted to obtain a limited insight into the effect of structural asymmetries on SI between English and Slavic languages and decide on that basis whether a more comprehensive study is worthwhile. More specifically, the aim was to find out whether the structural asymmetries between these languages will lead to a spillover effect, or exported load, given that the number of complex and overlapping mental processes in SI causes a huge cognitive burden on the interpreter even in the absence of any structural asymmetries, which is why it is often compared to walking on a tightrope (Gile 1999; 2009).

One of the key questions in this discussion is whether it is the entire SI or only certain critical points in SI that are tantamount to walking on

a tightrope. Another question is whether the interpreter can learn how to manage her attentional resources better and cope with the critical points well (see Seeber and Kerzel 2011).

The first set of 12 recordings seems to indicate that the cognitive load increased as the asymmetries and problem triggers became more complex and more numerous. This is shown by smooth and accurate renditions of the baseline speech, with mild variations of EVS throughout the SI. By contrast, the renditions of level-1 and level-2 speeches show varying degrees of problems in SI, with one recording showing clear signs that the cognitive load was beyond saturation levels. More specifically, the interpreter lost track and was able to pick only some elements of the meaning. The EVS in all the recordings was notably higher after the sentences with the problem triggers, especially those with double triggers in level-2 speeches, which proves that the load is close to saturation levels at those critical points only. Of the two interpreters who managed problem triggers better, one seems to have had the benefit of a longer initial EVS, which allowed her a better grasp of most aspect-defining components. The other one maintained a fairly good quality throughout the SI at the expense of aspect assignment. Namely, this interpreter probably gave priority to a smooth rendition over precision in aspectual assignment.

As expected, the processing of the second set of 12 recordings, where the L1 speeches included almost no structural asymmetries, resulted in parameters that are very similar to those of the baseline speech in the first set. Also, there are no major differences between the three speeches in the second set either. This is shown by the absence of deviations in EVS throughout the SI, and a smooth and complete rendition of the L1 speeches.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, although the interpreters differed in their individual styles and overall quality of their renditions, it is clear that the cognitive load in SI increases with an increase in the number of structural asymmetries and other problem triggers. This means that the *universalist* position does not hold true. At the same time, our study included some excellent renditions, which indicates that the cognitive load can be managed and that it gets close to saturation levels at certain critical points only.

As for our hypotheses, hypothesis 1 is partly confirmed in our experiment since the temporal parameters seem to suggest that a different Slavic language than the one that we expected could constitute

a perfect language pair for (near-) shadowing. Whichever the right pair, the parameters for both show that interpreting carries a much higher load than shadowing.

Hypothesis 2 is confirmed, i.e. that SI involving structural asymmetries carries a higher load than SI without such asymmetries. This is shown by the SI of the baseline speech in the first set and all the SI in the second set.

Hypothesis 3 is also confirmed. The largest exported load occurs in those parts of SI that include structural asymmetries alongside other problem triggers because this brings the overall cognitive load very close to saturation levels.

It must be highlighted again that these preliminary conclusions need to be tested on a larger corpus, with more participants, so that we can clearly establish what effect can be ascribed to individual styles or preferences and what to structural asymmetries or other problem triggers in SI. Based on the results of this pilot study, we believe that a more extensive study is worthwhile.

If confirmed, the conclusions could have useful pedagogical implications. First, they could help trainee interpreters for our language pairs raise their awareness of these structural asymmetries. Second, similar input materials could be created so that trainees can have first-hand experience with these triggers. Third, on that basis, coping strategies could be designed and trainees could be trained in managing their attentional resources better and overcoming the critical points in their SI.

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STRUKTURNA ASIMETRIJA I KOGNITIVNO OPTEREĆENJE U SP IZMEĐU ENGLESKOG I SLOVENSkih JEZIKa - PILOT STUDIJA

Značajan dio istraživanja u oblasti simultanog prevođenja ('SP') od početka do današnjeg dana nadahnula je žestoka debata između dvije škole mišljenja. Jedna tvrdi da strukturne asimetrije između dva jezika ne utiču na SP budući da se prevodi značenje, a ne strukture. Druga tvrdi da razlike među jezicima dovode do dodatnih teškoća u procesuiranju poruke i do većeg kognitivnog opterećenja tokom SP. Brojni eksperimenti sprovedeni u prilog ove druge škole uglavnom su rađeni na germanskim i romanskim jezicima. Ovo pilot istraživanje ima za cilj da ispita uticaj morfosintaksičke asimetrije između engleskog, germanskog jezika, i tri slovenska jezika, crnogorskog, bosanskog i ruskog, na ukupno kognitivno opterećenje u SP. Primjeri asimetrije izabrani za ovaj eksperiment tiču se prvenstveno aspekta, ali i drugih mogućih teškoća, kao što su složene imenske fraze, lična imena i brojevi. Ulazni govori i izlazni audio snimci profesionalnih prevodilaca analiziraju se istovremeno uz pomoć *Audacity*, aplikacije za digitalnu obradu i snimanje. Uvidi dobijeni na taj način upotpunjuju se direktnim pregledom audio snimaka i njihovih prepisa. Rezultati ukazuju na pozitivnu korelaciju između slučajeva morfosintaksičke asimetrije i

kognitivnog opterećenja u SP između engleskog i tri slovenska jezika. Pilot studija sugerije kakve opsežnije buduće studije bi mogle biti od koristi i prezentuje zapažanja o teškoćama u procesuiranju poruka i kontroli pažnje tokom SP, kao i moguće pedagoške implikacije.

Ključne riječi: simultano prevođenje ('SP'), kognitivno opterećenje, morfo-sintastička asimetrija, Audacity, obuka iz SP.

MOVINIRANI FEMININI SA SUFIKSKOM -KA KATEGORIJE
NOMINA AGENS ET PROFESSIONIS (U KONTEKSTU
UPOTREBE RODNO SENZITIVNOG JEZIKA)

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Apstrakt: U radu se bavimo tvorbenosemantičkom i pragmatičkom analizom derivata sa sufiksom *-ka* kategorije nomina agentis et professionis. Ispitujemo refleksiju tvorbene višeznačnosti predmetnog sufiksa na percepciju njim izvedenih socijalnih femininativa sa značenjem zanimanja i zvanja u kontekstu podrške, odnosno protivljenja upotrebi rodno senzitivnog / rodno nediskriminatornog jezika. Nakon kritičkog pregleda dosadašnjih tumačenja principa tvorbe i upotrebe referentnih imenica ženskog roda, sprovodimo tvorbenosemantičku analizu primjera ekscerpiranih iz *Registra zanimanja, zvanja i titula žena* (Ministarstvo za ljudska i manjinska prava, Podgorica, 2013). Komparaciju s derivatima hipokorističnog, pejorativnog i opscenog značenja vršimo u cilju otkrivanja potencijalnih uzroka opredjeljenja za žensku ili tzv. generičku formu. U zaključku dajemo mišljenje o nepostojanju tvorbenosemantičkih limita za širenje upotrebe socijalnih femininativa sa sufiksom *-ka*.

Ključne riječi: movirani feminini, tvorbeni višeznačnost, sufiks, pejorativni ekspresivi, alternativne forme

1. Uvod

Pitanje upotrebe socijalnih femininativa u javnoj komunikaciji u Crnoj Gori riješeno je još 2007. godine stupanjem na snagu *Zakona o rodnoj ravnopravnosti*, prema kojem upotreba imenica gramatičkog muškog roda kao generičkih formi za označavanje ženskih lica predstavlja vid polne diskriminacije. Od medija, privrednih društava, pravnih lica zahtijeva se da koriste rodno senzitivni (rodno nediskriminatorni) jezik, te da u ugovorima o radu, aktima o izboru ili imenovanju i ostalim javnim

ispravama i evidencijama, nazive zanimanja, zvanja, funkcija izražavaju u prirodnom (muškom ili ženskom) rodu referentnog lica (1, 3).

U cilju jačanja rodne ravnopravnosti putem afirmacije profesijskih imenica ženskog roda, pod okriljem resornog ministarstva, objavljen je *Registar zanimanja, zvanja i titula žena*, koji nam je ovom prilikom poslužio za ekscerpciju primjera. Premda je nakon njegove publikacije povećana frekvencija naziva u ženskom rodu, što je evidentno naročito u publicističkom stilu (Nenezić 94), nemali broj korisnika jezika prednost daje imenicama gramatičkog muškog roda i kada se njima označavaju ženska lica. Prema našem utisku, a slično je konstatovala i Sonja Nenezić u svom istraživanju ove teme (87), najveći otpor prema socijalnim femininativima pokazuju upravo žene, posebno visokoobrazovane i naklonjene patrijarhalnom modelu društva.

Za razliku od pravne, lingvistička normativna literatura ne zabranjuje upotrebu tzv. generičkih formi, a dopušta ili čak afirmiše korišćenje ženskih (Burić 2024, 973–974). Uprkos tome, u pojedinim autoritativnim naučnim i nenaučnim krugovima određeni feminini percipiraju se kao nepoželjni i interpretiraju kao riječi markirane negativnom konotacijom. Deskripcijom njihove, uslovno rečeno, kriptovane semantike savremena nauka se bavila, ali ne u mjeri u kojoj je rezultat konačan i jasan, tj. njihovo nedvosmisleno proskribovanje ili definitivno prihvatanje. Polarizacija i konfuzija naučne prenijela se i na opštu javnost. Tako jedna grupa korisnika jezika ostaje u dilemi da li su movirani feminini ispravni, druga insistira na njihovoj upotrebi, a treća grupa grubo ismijava njihove korisnike. Ovakvo stanje svakako ne doprinosi poboljšanju položaja žene, čemu bi, između ostalog, trebalo da teži svaka pa i jezička politika u društvu koje afirmiše najviše etičke vrijednosti.

2. Cilj i metode istraživanja

Imajući u vidu koliziju koja postoji u zakonskoj i lingvističkoj regulaciji upotrebe imenica ženskog roda tvorbenosemantičke kategorije nomina agentis et professionis (Burić 2024, 967–974), kao i činjenicu da su derivati pojedinih mocionih sufiksa koji pripadaju pomenutom značenju već analizirani sa tvorbenog i pragmatičkog stanovišta (Burić 2021, 197–213; Burić 2022, 480–487), odlučili smo da ispitamo opravdanost izvođenja nastavkom koji do sada nije bio u fokusu pažnje.

Cilj našeg istraživanja je da, pomoću primjera moviranih feminina sa sufiksom *-ka* izdvojenih iz *Registra zanimanja, zvanja i titula žena*

(2013), ustanovimo da li postoje konkretni tvorbenosemantički razlozi koji bi mogli limitirati njihovu upotrebu ili opravdano izazivati animozitet kod komunikatora. S obzirom na polifunkcionalnost formanta *-ka* i već evidentirani otpor korisnika jezika prema nazivima u ženskom rodu, polazimo od hipoteze da takvi razlozi postoje.

U istraživanju prvo podsjećamo na tretman predmetnih imeničkih derivata od strane autora referentnih lingvističkih publikacija. Svoj metodološki pristup zasnivamo na etimološko-semantičkoj analizi sufiksa *-ka*, nakon čega prelazimo na tvorbenosemantičku analizu selektovanih primjera koje klasifikujemo prema finalnom glasu, odnosno slogu motivne riječi, tj. muškog korelativa.

3. Normativni status moviranih feminina kategorije nomina agentis et professionis – osvrt na dosadašnja istraživanja

Movirani feminini kategorije nomina agentis et professionis predstavljaju imenice ženskog roda koje označavaju vršiteljke radnje, odnosno imateljke zanimanja i zvanja, a izvedene su mocionim sufiksima. Kao sinonimi ovom terminu egzistiraju i nazivi poput socijalni femininativi, profesijske imenice ženskog roda, imenice ženskog roda za zanimanja i zvanja. Da imeničke forme o kojima je riječ nijesu neuobičajene i nove potvrđuje normativna literatura, kako starija (gramatike srpskohrvatskog) tako i savremena (gramatike srpskog, hrvatskog i crnogorskog jezika).

Jedan od najpopularnijih, a vjerovatno i najrelevantniji univerzitetski udžbenik druge polovine 20. vijeka je *Savremeni srpskohrvatski jezik* Mihaila Stevanovića. U njemu nalazimo da su još šezdesetih godina bile uzualizovane mnoge ženske imeničke forme tvorbenosemantičke kategorije zanimanja i zvanja, a upotreba nekih imenica u obliku muškog gramatičkog roda za označavanje ženskih lica pravda se ranijom inferiornošću žene u društvu. Stevanović iznosi da su već u to vrijeme imenice poput *sekretarica*, *blagajnica* i *učiteljica* sasvim obične, ali i da se promjena društvenog položaja žene reflektovala na semantičko pomjeranje poput onog karakterističnog za imenicu *ministarka*, koja se počela upotrebljavati da označi ženu na ministarskoj poziciji, a čije je dotadašnje značenje bilo rezervisano samo za suprugu pojma označenog osnovom (174).

Udžbenik koji datira iz približno istog perioda jeste gramatika hrvatskog književnog jezika grupe autora koju predvodi Eugenija Barić, u kojoj se nazivi za zanimanja i zvanja ne smatraju generičkim, već se, kako je već konstatovano (Burić 2024, 970), afirmiše tvorba i upotreba imenica ženskog roda pomenute semantike. Na teorijskom planu autori

to čine tako što imenice iz tvorbenosemantičke kategorije osoba dijele na tri potkategorije: imenice koje označavaju mušku, imenice koje označavaju žensku i imenice koje podjednako znače mušku i žensku osobu. U posljednju skupinu ne ubrajaju se nazivi zvanja i zanimanja, već su uvršteni u prethodne dvije skupine i razvrstani prema prirodnom rodu lica na koja referišu i odvojeno egzemplifikovani izvedenicama muškog (npr. *pregovarač, spasilac, predsjednik, vođitelj, fizičar, harmonikaš, flautist* i sl.), odnosno ženskog roda (*krojačica, rukometašica, slušateljica, pjesnikinja, bolničarka, sluškinja*) prema opadajućoj zastupljenosti sufiksa u tom jeziku (1979, 243–248).

U Stanojčić-Popovićevoj gramatici s kraja 20. vijeka ovo pitanje uređeno je po sličnoj koncepciji, tj. izvedene imenice koje referišu na lica klasifikovane su u nekoliko podrazreda: muška lica, ženska lica, muška i ženska lica, mlada muška i ženska lica, imena i prezimena. U primjere koji označavaju žene vršioce radnji i imaoce zanimanja, pored *mlinarka, profesorka, ministarka, učiteljica, vaspitačica, profesorica* i dr., autori uvršćuju i derivate *slavistkinja* i *stomatološkinja* (140–141), priznavši im time književnojezički status koji pojedini naučnici, dvadesetak godina kasnije, dovode u pitanje.

Tvorci *Gramatike crnogorskog jezika* iz 2010. godine, kako je već primijećeno (Burić 2024, 971), podržavaju upotrebu ženskih formi za zanimanja i zvanja, budući da su primjere imeničkih tvorenica odnosno semantičke kategorije klasifikovali u dvije grupe, muška i ženska lica. Činjenica je, ipak, da i pored obilne egzemplifikacije, tema socijalnih femininativa u ovoj gramatici nije dobila neophodnu teorijsku obradu čak ni u segmentu posvećenom tumačenju kategorije imeničkog roda (Čirgić 142, 6).

Drugačiji je slučaj sa Piper-Klajnovom *Normativnom gramatikom srpskog jezika* iz 2013. godine, koja navedenim pitanjima posvećuje više pažnje. Ovdje se generalno ne spori ispravnost socijalnih femininativa s obzirom na opservaciju da je uz upotrebu imenica m. r. „sa značenjem lica ženskog pola... ispravno i *Milica je studentkinja*“ (54). Konstatuje se, međutim, da je u izvjesnim slučajevima, posebno u administrativnom i naučnom stilu, insistiranje na polu bespredmetno i neopravdano sa stanovišta jezičke ekonomije, te se predlaže da se tada koristi imenica muškog roda ukoliko se odnosi na lica oba pola (54–55). Za forme *doktorka, profesorka* i *šefica* tvrdi se da su sasvim obične u razgovornom, ali da su u drugim stilovima ili manje zastupljene ili se izbjegavaju, te da se u njima „upotrebljavaju odgovarajuće imenice muškog roda u kontekstu koji pokazuje da se te imenice odnose na

osobe ženskog pola, npr. *Ona je odličan profesor*“ (55). Autori napominju da postoji velika vjerovatnoća da će se imenica *profesorka* u „stilskom pogledu“ izjednačiti s imenicom *učiteljica*, za koju su već konstatovali da je stilski neutralna. Odavde zaključujemo da formu *profesorka* smatraju stilski obilježenom, te se stoga ne usuđuju da je preporuče u kontekstu: *Ona je odlična profesorica*, iako su već zaključili da je sasvim ispravno da se u funkciji predikativa nađe socijalni femininativ, što potvrđuju već navedenim primjerom: *Milica je studentkinja*. Ako se prisjetimo da je femininu *profesorka* (i *profesorica*) leksikografskim fiksiranjem „priznato pravo na život“ (Dragičević 34) još 1973. godine (Rečnik 250) – postavlja se pitanje zašto se u njegovu „normativnu prihvatljivost“ sumnja četiri decenije kasnije.

Autori pominjane gramatike dalje primjećuju da se broj socijalnih femininativa uvećava, te da su neki od njih produkt težnje predstavnika političkih grupa koji smatraju da za svaki društveni status mora postojati imenica ženskog roda. Misle da procese uključivanja takvih formi u jezički sistem „ne treba veštački ni ubrzavati ni usporavati“ i zaključuju: „Prilikom ocene normativne prihvatljivosti novih socijalnih femininativa treba ih razmatrati ponaosob, jer stepen i oblik njihove uključenosti u jezički sistem, posebno u sistem funkcionalnih stilova nije u svakom pojedinom slučaju isti“ (55). Navode veliki broj feminina a među njima i one sa sufiksom *-ka* (*biznismenka, elektromehaničarka, etičarka, inženjerka, kamermarka, metafizičarka, monterka, ombudsmarka*), za koje smatraju da su zastupljeni samo u nekim funkcionalnim stilovima a još uvijek nijesu „odlika dobrog književnog jezika“ (55–56). U ovoj gramatici se kaže da su novi socijalni femininativi *prihvatljiviji* u „usmenom izražavanju, u razgovornom, književnoumjetničkom i publicističkom stilu...nego u drugim stilovima, na koje se vremenom takođe mogu proširiti ako bi bili neophodni“ (56). Smatramo da se normativni status referentnih feminina samo dodatno zamagljuje njihovim vezivanjem za funkcionalnostilsko raslojavanje jezika, kao i preporukom da ih treba „razmatrati ponaosob“. Zapravo, treba imati u vidu komunikativnu, upotrebnu situaciju i činjenicu da se normiranje ne vrši egzemplarno već sistemski, u ovom slučaju sa stanovišta derivatologije i pragmatike (Burić 2024, 972).

Jedan broj proučavalaca jezika zalaže se da se ženske forme kodifikuju, jer ukoliko se to ne učini, generičke, tj. muške forme smatraće se jedino ispravnim, čime će žena postati nevidljiva u društvu (Savić 4). S druge strane, u savremenim publikacijama nerijetko se pominje da jezik *sam* reguliše građenje imenica sa značenjem ženskih lica kada je to neophodno. Na osnovu stanja u jeziku i uvida u različite

teorijske pristupe, sa sigurnošću se može tvrditi sljedeće: 1) novi nazivi javljaju se onda kada se javi potreba za njima i 2) isključivo društvo ima moć da nekoj novoj pojavi da odgovarajuću jezičku formu, a jezik *sam* nema tu sposobnost. Društvo, odnosno korisnici jezika nove pojave najčešće imenuju po principu analogije, tj., kada je riječ o socijalnim femininativima, po ugledu na postojeći fond iz tvorbenosemantičke kategorije zvanja i zanimanja ženskih lica. Ako tim putem i nastane neka forma koja zvuči čudno ili rogobatno, vrijeme će presuditi u korist ili na štetu njenog opstanka, što će zavisiti od prisutnosti žene u datoj profesiji. Ovakav način regulacije tvorbe i upotrebe socijalnih femininativa ide u prilog održanja „liberalne jezičke politike“ na kojoj bi trebalo da se temelji normativistika (Kovačević 42). Napominjemo, takođe, da zakonodavni pristup temi rodne ravnopravnosti u jeziku ne treba da zaobilazi uputstva lingvista, već da korespondira s njima. U pravcu adekvatnog rješavanja pitanja upotrebe profesijskih imenica ženskog roda, kako je već isticano (Burić 2024, 972), najdalje je otišla E. Barić, predloživši diferenciranje opšte (neutralne) i pojedinačne (konkretno) upotrebne situacije (1987, 15–16). Opšteupotrebna obuhvata slučajeve u kojima se referiše na profesiju, a ne na konkretno lice koje je obavlja (npr. u konkursima, štampanim obrascima), dok se pojedinačna odnosi na situacije u kojima se misli na određeno lice muškog ili ženskog pola. U prvom slučaju je sasvim moguće i ekonomično korišćenje muških formi (koje se nerijetko nazivaju generičkim, a zapravo se radi o situaciji koja je opšta), a u drugom treba koristiti imenice u rodu lica (muškog ili ženskog) na koje se odnose.

4. Višeznačnost sufiksa *-ka*

Tvorbena višeznačnost sufiksa *-ka* ogleda se u tome što se njim tvore imenice najrazličitijih značenja motivisane imenicama, pridjevima, glagolima, brojevima, priložima (Babić 238). Prema Skoku, potiče iz praslovenskog (7). Nekad je u slovenskim jezicima služio za deminuciju, ali se to značenje izgubilo u staroslovenskom i srpskohrvatskom (a time i u jezicima nastalim njegovom dezintegracijom) (Bošković 117). Leksikalizovao se u imenicama koje referišu na osobe (*djevojka*, *majka*, *tetka*) (Skok 7), a nemotivisanim se danas smatraju i imenice koje označavaju životinje i predmete (*čavka*, *školjka*; *motka*, *četka*) (Stevanović 504). Može se, ipak, reći da recidivi značenja umanjivanja postoje u primjerima *travka*, *slamka*, *sjemenka*, *maslinka* (Klajn 131–132). Ovakvo, singulativno značenje, kao varijacija deminutivnog, nema potrebnu frekvenciju da bi se moglo negativno reflektovati na percepciju

socijalnih femininativa na način na koji se to dešava u slučaju sufiksa *-ica* zbog čije se snažne deminutivne funkcije i profesijske imenice (npr. *psihologica*, *pedagogica*) katkad doživljavaju kao nazivi kojima se želi omalovažiti referentna osoba (Burić 2022, 482).

Predmetni sufiks daje hipokoristično značenje pojedinim vlastitim imenima, tj. nadimcima (*Ljupka*, *Ruška*, *Jeka*, *Soka*). Zbog česte upotrebe afektivna nijansa iščezla je u formama poput *Anka*, *Zorka*, *Julka*, ili su one, kako primjećuje Babić, „stilski obilježene kao lokalne“ (244). Kao oblici odmila osjećaju se i apelativi *baka*, *seka*, *sika*. Vjerovatno se zbog toga i mocioni sufiks *-ka* katkad doživljava kao familijaran (Klajn 133).

Izvedenice od prezimena takođe mogu biti stilski obilježene. Označavaju udatu žensku osobu s tim prezimenom (npr. *Šafranička*), ali se, po mišljenju Babića, u razgovornom ili književnoumjetničkom stilu obično upotrebljavaju u humoristično ili prezrivo intoniranom kontekstu kojim se signalizira nepoštovanje prema odnosnom ženskom licu nižeg socijalnog statusa (240). Isti autor ne zaboravlja da pomene i participaciju elementa *-ka* u složenosufiksnoj tvorbi kojom nastaju imenice različite semantike. Neke od njih označavaju ptice (*modrovoljka*, *crvenrepka*), neke ribe (*bjeloperka*, *tvrdoperka*). On navodi i *prvoteka* (=krava), *dvorotka* i *trorotka* (=voćka), ali ne razmatra tvorenice posvjedočene u praksi – *prvorotka*, *drugorotka*, *trećerotka* – koje referišu na žensku osobu determinisanu brojem rađanja. Ove nazive pominjemo stoga što ih brojne žene, mahom mlađe starosne dobi, doživljavaju kao uvredljive jer apostrofiraju samo reproduktivnu funkciju. Moguće da negativnu notu dobijaju i zbog asocijacije na životinje, upor. *ženka*, *prvoteka* i *volovotka*. Posljednja navedena markirana je opscenim značenjem, kakvo imaju *ležaljka* i *radodajka* (=promiskuitetna ženska osoba). Klajn je evidentirao formu *radodajka*, bez osvrta na njenu semantiku (135). Zapravo, nemali broj imenica s finalnim *ka* predstavlja naslijeđene pejorativne ekspresive kojima se u nezvaničnoj komunikaciji imenuju žene prema nekoj negativnoj aktuelizovanoj osobini i koji reflektuju stereotipe o ženskoj seksualnoj nemoralnosti, zlobi, gluposti, brbljivosti (npr. *kučka*, *ćurka*, *guska*, *kokoška*, *kvočka*) (Ristić 301). Negativna ocjena može se odnositi na neuobičajenu visinu, težinu, izgled pojedinih djelova tijela, najčešće grudi i nogu (Ristić 303), kada su u upotrebi opet imenice koje se završavaju na *ka* (*motka*, *daska*, *mečka*, *simentalka*, *svraka*). Stoga nije čudno što se žene uvrijede kada im se profesija iskaže imeničkom formom koja ih asocira na negativno konotiranu leksiku, odnosno da im zbog toga i movirani feminini kategorije nomina agentis et professionis zvuče vulgarno ili neumjesno (Burić 2022, 482).

Rekli bismo da su, za pojedine korisnike jezika, predmetni nazivi neprihvatljivi jer ih percipiraju kao kriptostileme koji se djelimično mogu dekriptovati na osnovu Skokovog nalaza da se mocija formanta *-ka* „naslonila“ upravo na značenje imenice *ženka* koja „izražava žensko kod životinja“ (7).

5. Analiza moviranih feminina sa sufiksom *-ka* tvorbenosemantičke kategorije *nomina agentis et professionis*

Bez obzira na dosadašnje konstatacije, derivatolozi su saglasni da je sufiks *-ka* vrlo produktivan u mocionoj službi, tj. u tvorbi imenica ženskog roda od imenica muškog roda različitih semantičkih kategorija (*nomina agentis*, etnici, vlastita imena). Kada je riječ o kategoriji *nomina agentis*, najčešće dolazi na osnove koje se završavaju sonantima (Klajn 133; Babić 238–239).

5.1. Tvorba od osnova s finalnim *-r*

Među ekscerpiranim primjerima najviše je izvedenica od imenica muškog roda koje se završavaju na *-ar* (213), s tim što se neke od njih ponavljaju u terminologiziranim sintagmama kao njihov upravni konstituent (npr. *biohemijska tehničarka*, *hirurška tehničarka* itd.) ili u kompozitama. Prema Ćoriću, ovdje se zapravo radi o sufiksnom derivatu *-arka*, kome konkuriše istoznačna sufiksna varijanta *-arica*. Naša građa potvrđuje Ćorićevu konstataciju da je navedeni tvorbeni model naročito produktivan u tvorbi od stranih osnova (1982, 111–113):

aeromehaničarka, *aktuarka*, *alatničarka*, *analitičarka*, *anketarka*, *apotekarka* (*apotekarica*), *arhitektonska tehničarka*, *arhivarka*, *atletičarka*, *atomska fizičarka*, *aukcionarka*, *autolimarka*, *automehaničarka*, *avijatičarka*, *aviotehničarka*, *bankarka*, *barutarka*, *bibliotekarka*, *bioenergetičarka*, *biofizičarka*, *biohemičarka*, *biohemijska tehničarka*, *birotehničarka*, *bolničarka*, *botaničarka*, *bravarka*, *carinarka*, *cvjećarka*, *čaraparka*, *časovničarka*, *čekičarka*, *češljarka*, *čipkarka* (*čipkarica*), *čizmarka*, *čuvarka*, *čelijska genetičarka*, *čilimarka*, *desetarka*, *dijetetska kulinarka*, *dimničarka*, *domarka*, *draguljarka*, *drvomodelarka*, *drvorezbarka* (*drvorezbarica*), *đubretarka*, *ekonometričarka*, *električarka*, *elektromehaničarka*, *elektroničarka*, *elektrotehničarka*, *evidentičarka*, *farbarka*, *farmaceutska tehničarka*, *finansijska analitičarka*, *fizičarka*, *fizikohemičarka*, *fizijatarka* (*fizijatrica*), *fizioterapeutska tehničarka*, *fonetičarka*, *forenzičarka*, *fotogrametričarka*, *galerijska tehničarka*, *generalna sekretarka*, *genetičarka*, *geofizičarka*, *gimnastičarka*, (*gljivarka*) *gljivarica*,

gostioničarka, gramatičarka, graničarka, grnčarka (grnčarica), heraldičarka, hemičarka, hemijska tehničarka, higijeničarka, hirurška tehničarka, hroničarka, istoričarka, jezgrarka, kaluparka, kancelarka, kartotekarka, keramičarka, kibernetičarka, kiropraktičarka, kladioničarka, klesarka, klinička dijetetičarka, klobučarka, ključarka (ključarica), knjižarka, književna kritičarka, kočničarka, kolarka, komesarka (komesarica), komičarka, koričarka, korparka, kozmetičarka, kormilarka, (krznarka) krznarica, laboratorijska tehničarka, limarka, lončarka, lovočuvarka, lutkarka, ljekarka, mađioničarka, magistarka, mandatarka, mašinbravarka, mašinska tehničarka, matematičarka, matičarka, mehaničarka, mesarka, metalostrugarka, metlarka, ministarka, (mljekarka) mljekarica, modelarka, mornarka, muzejska tehničarka, muzičarka, nadriljekarka, nautičarka, noćna čuvarka, notarka, novinarka, nuklearna fizičarka, numizmatičarka, obučarka, optičarka, ortotičarka, parketarka, parničarka, patronažna tehničarka (patronažna sestra), pčelarka, pedijatarka (pedijatrica), peglarka (peglerka), pekarka, piljarka (piljarica), pirotehničarka, pisarka (pisarica), pivarka, plakatarka, planinarka, podiatričarka, podrumarka, poglavarka, političarka, pomorska tehničarka, poslastičarka, poslovna sekretarka, poštarka, povrtarka, praktičarka, pravna sekretarka, proizvodna tehničarka, protetičarka, psihijatarka (psihijatrica), psihoanalitičarka, putarka, rasadničarka, ratarka, rezbarka, recepcionarka, ribarka, rizničarka, rudarka, sedlarka, sekretarka, serološka tehničarka, sinoptičarka, sirarka, sistem-analitičarka, skelarka, skladištarka, skretničarka, slikarka, staklarka, statističarka, stočarka, stolarka, stomatološka protetičarka, stomatološka tehničarka, stražarka, svetioničarka, šamparka, šumarka, šumska tehničarka, tapetarka, tehničarka, tesarka, tokarka, travarka (travarica), ugljarka, vajarka, valjaoničarka, vinogradarka, vebajt tehničarka, veterinararka, veterinarska bolničarka, vinogradarka, vočarka, vratarka, vrtlarka, zalagaoničarka, zapisničarka, zidarka, zlatarka, zubotehničarka, željezničarka.

Autorka *Registra* prednost daje formama na *-ka* (*apotekarka, pekarka, pisarka*) nad femininima s konkurentnim sufiksom *-ica* (koje navodi kao alternativne), što reflektuje stvarno stanje budući da *apotekarica, pekarica* i sl. u Crnoj Gori nijesu u upotrebi. Forma *travarka* svakako je prikladnija od *travarica*, jer je taj naziv rezervisan za vrstu rakije, a *pisarica* (s dugouzlaznim akcentom na 3. slogu) ima, kako uočava Bošković, pejorativno značenje (275).

Kod aktuelnog tvorbenog modela „najproblematičnije“ sa semantičkog stanovišta su imenice *sekretarka* i *ministarka*. Za posljednju

se zapravo i ne može više tvrditi da je neuobičajena, što potvrđuje i Ćorićeva konstatacija da se naziv *ministarka* u značenju *žena ministar* odomaćio „pokazujući kako širenje neke forme, bez obzira na nasleđenu semantiku, zavisi od pozicije žene u društvu“ (2008, 207). Već smo pomenuli da imenicu *ministarka* u značenju profesije Stevanović uključuje u normu još šezdesetih godina prošlog vijeka, a isto to osamdesetih godina čini i Babić tvrdnjom da samo u rijetkim i izuzetnim situacijama, i to u jeziku starijih pisaca tvorenice poput navedene označavaju suprugu muške osobe (240). Forma *sekretarka* nema zamjenski oblik na *-ica* zbog toga što je u slučaju forme *sekretarica* došlo do svojevrstne leksikalizacije, odnosno do kidanja motivacione veze s leksemom *sekretar* s obzirom na to da među njima postoji jasna semantička distinkcija i u vrsti posla i u društvenoj poziciji (Ćorić 2008, 205). Premda je femininum *sekretarka* nekada bio rijedak (Ćorić 2008, 295), frekvencija njegove upotrebe je, sudeći po publicističkom i administrativnom stilu, značajno povišena, što može biti posljedica primjene *Zakona o rodnoj ravnopravnosti*.

Alternativna forma nije ponuđena ni za imenicu *magistarka*, ali je u slučaju integralne mocije od domaćih osnova *gljivar*, *krznar*, *mljekar* i *piljar* prednost data izvođenju sufiksom *-ica*, dok su imenice na *-ka* svrstane u alternativne, što smo označili stavivši ih među zagrade.

Iz perspektive leksičke, a ne tvorbene semantike, kao kuriozitet ćemo pomenuti tvorenicu *nadriljekarka*. S obzirom na semantiku prefiksa, motivna imenica *nadriljekar* eksplicira se kao osoba koja se bavi liječenjem bez neophodne stručne kvalifikacije (Rečnik 2007, 765). Budući da se radi o poslu koji je isključen iz polja legitimnih zanimanja, više je nego čudno što su pomenuti mocioni parnjaci uvršteni u *Registar*. Recimo i to da je kao druga mogućnost imenovanja za zanimanje *patronažna tehničarka* navedena sintagma *patronažna sestra*.

Muški korelativ imenice *repcionarka* u *Registru* je *repcioner*, što znači da se radi o supletivnoj mociji, odnosno o složenom sufiksu *-arka*, koji ima potvrdu i u imenici *carinarka*. Iako je uobičajena muška forma ona koja je navedena u *Registru*, tj. *carinik*, u rečnicima je zabilježeno i *carinar*, kao i *carinarnik* (Rečnik 2007, 1479), te se može reći da je referentni socijalni femininativ dobijen po tvorbenom tipu *-arka*: *-ar* (Ćorić 1982, 111–113), ili supletivnom mocijom po modelu *-ka*: *-nik*.

Posvjedočeno je devedesetak izvođenja od muškog korelativa na *-er* i to su, mahom, imenice stranog porijekla:

akušerka, aranžerka, autolakirerka, bokserka, brodska inženjerka, brokerka, dekoraterka, deratizerka, dispečerka, distributerka, dizajnerka, dreserka, dublerka, elektroinstalaterka, fasaderka, finišerka, betona/materijala, fotoreporterka, frizerka, fudbalerka, funkcionerka, (galanterka) galanteristkinja, galvanizerka, garderoberka, gipserka, građevinska inženjerka, grafička dizajnerka, graverka, guvernerka, hipnotizerka, hotelijerka, industrijska dizajnerka, instalaterka, inženjerka, izolaterka, kaskaderka, klaserka vune, klavir-štimerka, kolporterka, kompjuterska operaterka, kondukterka, lakirerka, magacionerka, manikerka, maserka, maskerka, mašinska inženjerka, menadžerka, minerka, modna dizajnerka, molerka, montažerka, monterka, nijanserka, novinska reporterka, operaterka, pakerka, partnerka, pedikerka, (peglerka) peglarka, planerka, plesna partnerka, pogonska inženjerka, pomorska inženjerka, pozorišna garderoberka, pozorišna rekviziterka, premijerka, programerka, promoterka, radio spikerka, rekviziterka, reporterka, retušerka, režiserka, robna brokerka, romansijerka, ručna pakerka, serviserka, skiperka, sortirerka, spikerka, suflerka, šablonerka, šinterka, šminkerka, (šnajderka) šnajderica, šoferka, špediterka, štimerka, tašnerka, telefonska operaterka, teniserka, veb-sajt dizajnerka, urbanistička planerka, vodoinstalaterka, vulkanizerka.

Kako pokazuju selektovani primjeri, ovaj tvorbeni model ne uključuje dubletne likove na *-ica*, što potvrđuje i stanje u *Gramatici crnogorskog jezika* (Čirgić 142). U *Registru*, ipak, postoji izuzetak: jedini mocioni parnjak imenice *šanker* je *šankERICA*, tj. autorka je izostavila lik *šankerka* iako rezultati traganja na internetu potvrđuju prisustvo obje forme u razgovornom i publicističkom stilu. Valja primijetiti da se zapadni standard u ovom pogledu razlikuje od stanja na istoku, budući da se u hrvatskom jeziku moviranje od imenica na *-ar*, *-or*, *-er* i ostalih s finalnim *r* vrši putem dodavanja nastavka *-ica* (Babić 1986, 137).

Komentar zavređuje i derivat *premijerka*, koji je svojevremeno takođe bio neobičan. Naime, po svjedočenju Ivana Klajna, kada je novinarima savjetovano da upotrijebe oblik *premijerka* kako bi se poštovala pravila kongruencije (npr.: *Britanska premijerka je rekla*, a ne *Britanski premijer je rekla*), oni su ga odbili „kao preterano familijaran“ (133–134). Danas, kada žene zauzimaju i tu funkciju, imenica *premijerka* više nije afektivno obojena, već je stilski neutralna.

Iako se na spisku femininativa nalazi imenica *galanterka* (<*galanter*), u *Registru* je prednost data izvođenju pomoću isključivo mocionog sufiksa *-kinja* (*galanteristkinja* <*galanterist*), kojim se kod nas vrši moviranje od imenica s finalnim *-ist(a)*, za razliku od

hrvatskog standarda u kojem je u ovom slučaju dominantan model -ista(a): -istica. Pomenimo i to da su u našem korpusu zabilježene manje uobičajene formacije *manikerka* i *pedikerka* (od *maniker*, *pediker*), uz uzualizovane oblike *manikirka* i *pedikirka*.

Posvjedočen je značajan broj primjera imenica ženskog roda izvedenih od muških naziva s latinskim sufiksom -or, odnosno -tor i -ator (ukupno 66), premda ih je ipak nešto manje u odnosu na prethodna dva tvorbeno tipa:

administratorka, ambasadorka, bankarska inspektorka, carinska inspektorka, degustatorka hrane/pića, demonstratorka, dezinfektorka, dezinsektorka, (direktorka) direktorica, (doktorka) doktorica, (doktorka nauka) doktorica nauka, finansijska inspektorka, fitnes instruktorka, (general-majorka) general-majorica, (generalna direktorka) generalna direktorica, glavna inspektorka, glumica naratorka, granična inspektorka, grafička animatorka, ilustratorka, industrijska kontrolorka, inspektorka, instruktorka, (izvršna direktorka) izvršna direktorica, kompozitorka, konstruktorka, kontrolorka, konzervatorka, koordinatorka, korektorka (korektorica), kreatorka, ktitorka, legatorka, lektorka (lektorica), likvidatorka, (majorka) majorica, navigatorica leta, oblasna koordinatorka u prerađivačkoj industriji, organizatorka, požarna inspektorka, (profesorka) profesorica, programska koordinatorka, prorektorka (prorektorica), protivpožarna inspektorka, realizatorka, redaktorka, (redovna profesorka) redovna profesorica, rektorka (rektorica), reparatorka fotografske opreme, restauratorka, revizorka, sanitarna inspektorka, senatorka, sistem-administratorka, skriptorka, supervizorka, školska inspektorka, tehnička direktorka, tehnička ilustratorka, tržišna inspektorka, tutorica (tutorica), (vanredna profesorka) vanredna profesorica, vatrogasna inspektorka, vebaj administratorka, vještačka inseminatorka, zdravstvena inspektorka.

U Registru je prednost data pojedinim dubletnim formama na -ica (*direktorica, doktorica, general-majorica, majorica, profesorica, redovna profesorica, vanredna profesorica*), stoga smo očekivali i *tehnička direktorica*, ali se u korpusu nalazi samo *tehnička direktorka*. Ovo predstavlja svojevrsnu nedosljednost ali i indiciju da se autorka katkad rukovodi sopstvenim jezičkim osjećanjem, a ono, kao što je poznato, ne može poslužiti kao naučno fundiran kriterijum. Kako subjektivna percepcija utiče na izbor „eufoničnije“ forme, potvrđuje situacija koju je opisala Svenka Savić. Naime, kada ju je kolega, profesor pravnog fakulteta, upitao koji je oblik ispravniji, *rektorka* ili *rektorica*, ona je

odgovorila da je bolje *rektorka* kao *doktorka*, na šta je on uzvratio komentarom: „Meni je nekako lepše 'rektorica'“ (13).

S druge strane, formama *korektorka*, *lektorka*, *prorektorka*, *rektorka*, *tutorka* data je prednost nad, za naše govorno područje, nekarakterističnim oblicima na *-ica*. Razumljivo je, takođe, što je *majorka* samo zamjenski oblik za preporučeno *majorica*, ako se ima u vidu da postoji geografski pojam s istim imenom, te da se oblikom s finalnim *-ica* izbjegava moguća pojava dvosmislenosti.

Od osnova na *-r* preostalo je još samo nekoliko imenica. Osim pomenutih *manikirka* i *pedikirka*, autorka *Registra* navodi i: *emajlirka*, *juvelirka*, *kasirka*, *kurirka*, *oficirka*, *podoficirka* i *portirka*. Sve su izvedene od muških osnova s finalnim *-ir*, osim primjera *emajlirka*, za koji su navedena dva muška korelativa, *-emajler* i *-emajlirac*, pa možemo reći da se radi o supletivnoj mociji, odnosno sufiks *-ka* dodat je na okrnjenu osnovu nastalu odbacivanjem tvorbenog nastavka *-ac*, ili se radi o dodavanju sufiksnog derivata *-irka*.

5.2. Tvorba od ostalih osnova

Tvorba od osnova s ostalim sonantima znatno je manje zastupljena. Tako je *-ka* dodato na imenice stranog porijekla s finalnim *-l* samo u primjerima: (*admiralka*) *admiralica*, (*generalka*) *generalica*, *generalna konzulka*, *konzulka*, *portparolka*, *vicekonzulka*. Autorka ovog kataloga zanimanja dvije imenice je smjestila u kategoriju alternativnih formi: *admiralka* i *generalka*. Kada je u pitanju prva od njih, sudeći po internet portalima, može se reći da egzistira paralelno s primarno ponuđenim oblikom *admiralica*. U slučaju drugog naziva, davanje prednosti liku *generalica* svakako je motivisano time što je imenica *generalka* „u savremenom jeziku dobila gotovo neograničenu upotrebu“ (Ćorić 2008, 163), naročito u žargonu (*generalna proba*, *generalno čišćenje*, *generalna popravka*), te se, zbog polisemije omogućene univerbacijom, može percipirati kao neadekvatna formacija za nominovanje čina žene u vojsci.

Rijetka su i obrazovanja od stranih imeničkih osnova na *-m*; *agronomka*, *anatomka* (*anatomkinja*), *astronomka* (*astronomkinja*), *ekonomka* (*ekonomkinja*). Kao što primjeri pokazuju, sufiksu *-ka* kod pomenutog modela, s izuzetkom prvog primjera, konkurentan je sufiks *-kinja*.

Od osnova na *-n* nastali su femininativi: *baštovanka*, *dekanka* (*dekanica*), *manekenka*, *prodekanka* (*prodekanica*), *berberka*, *bakalinka* (*bakalka*). Imenice *baštovanka*, *berberka* (<berberin), *bakalinka* (*bakalka*) motivisane su orijentalizmima (Škaljić 123, 138, 115), ali se

samo za prvu može reći da je i danas aktuelna, budući da su preostale odavno zamijenjene sinonimima (*berberka* = *frizerka*, *bakal(in)ka* = *prodavačica*, *piljarica/piljarka*, *trgovkinja*), a time i izmještene u kategoriju arhaizama. Takođe, imenica *Berberka* se gotovo isključivo upotrebljava u značenju ženskih etnika, a ne kao nomina agentis. U ovom setu primjera javljaju se dubleti *dekanica*, *prodekanica* uz *dekanka*, *prodekanka*. Svojevremeno se pominjao i oblik *dekanesa*, ali se on nije odomaćio u Crnoj Gori zbog, rekli bismo, trajne vezanosti stranog sufiksa *esa* za imenice koje denotiraju pripadnice plemstva (*baronesa*, *vikontesa*, *kontesa*) (Burić 2022, 483, 485), odnosno zbog toga što se formant *esa* nikada nije osamostalio u našem jeziku, te se i ne percipira kao afiksalna morfema.

Sudeći po finalnom glasu motivne riječi, prethodnoj skupini treba dodati i, u *Registru* posvjedočene nazive, *barmenka*, *kamermanka* i *kongresmenka*. Izdvajamo ih zbog specifičnosti na planu sadržaja. Ono što Irena Grickat prepoznaje kao osnovni uslov deminuiranja, tj. da mora postojati „*ostvarljivost* (podv. I.G.) semantičke veze između osnovne lekseme i afiksa, logička utemeljenost samog postupka“ (6), moralo bi da važi i u slučaju moviranja. Ta logička utemeljenost kod pomenutih primjera može se dovesti u pitanje. Drugi dio motivnih složenica pozajmljenih iz engleskog tj. *man* iz *barmen*, *kamerman*, *kongresmen*, znači i *muškarac* i *osoba*, što ih sa semantičkog stanovišta čini neadekvatnim za funkciju tvorbeno osnove. Ovo je potcrtano i time što u engleskom postoje ženski parnjaci (*barwoman*, *camerawoman*, *congresswoman*), samo je diskutabilno da li su i tamo uzualizovani budući da ih, za razliku od muških formi, nismo pozajmili. Istina, u *Novom Vujakliji* se kod odrednice *kongresmen* navodi da se članica Kongresa naziva *kongresvumen* (552). U *Registru* je izostala imenica *biznismenka*, moguće zbog kontekstualno uslovljene afektivne boje (u ironičnim komentarima). Vrlo je zanimljivo što je upravo ta, kao i leksema *kongresmenka* zabilježena u jednotomnom *Rečniku srpskoga jezika* iz 2007. godine (84, 561), dok su oblici *kamerman* i *barmen* u istoj publikaciji ostali bez mocionog parnjaka (63, 519). Recimo i to da je u našem korpusu zaobiđena pozajmljenica iz švedskog *ombudsman*, a time i njen ženski lik.

Samo po jedna imenica nastala je dodavanjem *-ka* na stranu osnovu s krajnjim *v*, odnosno *j*: *detektivka* (*policijska detektivka*, *privatna detektivka*) i *džokejka*.

Nevelik broj imenica ženskog roda motivisan je imenicama muškog roda sa sufiksom *-telj*: *brodograditeljka*, *iscjeliteljka*, *istražiteljka*

(istražiteljica), snimateljka, kućepaziteljka, policijska istražiteljica (policijska istražiteljica), poslužiteljka (poslužiteljica), privatna istražiteljica (privatna istražiteljica), procjeniteljka, rediteljka, snimateljka, tjelohraniteljka, ugostiteljka (ugostiteljica), voditeljka.

Moramo primijetiti da na osnovu selektovanih primjera nije jasno zašto su samo uz pojedine nazive navedene i imenice s konkurentnim formantom *ica* (*istražiteljica, poslužiteljica, ugostiteljica*). Generalno se za tvorenice s finalnim *-teljica* može reći da su pretežnije na hrvatskoj strani, a sasvim neuobičajene kod nas. Upravo takvo stanje zabilježeno je i u prošlosti, što ilustruje Ćorićeva primjedba: „Interesantno je da rečnici iz istočnih krajeva, koji su pravljani na bazi Vukova jezika, kao i svi mlađi rečnici, gotovo da nemaju ovakvih izvedenica“ (1982, 80). U Gramatici crnogorskog jezika navedene su samo dvije – *učiteljica* i *njegovateljica* (Čirgić 142).

Još su malobrojnije imenice kod kojih se javlja složeni sufiks *-teljka* naspram sufiksa *-lac*, od čijih derivata moviranje nije moguće (Stevanović 540; Klajn 192): *izvjestiteljka, javna tužiteljka* (*javna tužiteljica*), *lemiteljka, prenositeljka poruka, prevoditeljka, roniteljka, rukovoditeljka* (*rukovoditeljica*), *spasiteljka, tužiteljka* (*tužiteljica*), *vrhovna državna tužiteljka* (*vrhovna državna tužiteljica*). Odgovarajući muški korelativi imaju sufiks *-lac* i nalaze se u prvoj koloni *Registra*. Svi navedeni primjeri mogu biti motivisani imenicama muškog roda sa sufiksom *-telj*, koje, kako primjećuje Klajn, nijesu česte u označavanju specifičnih zanimanja i koje zvuče knjiški i zastarelo (190–191). Alternativni ženski likovi *tužiteljica* i *rukovoditeljica* sasvim su neuobičajeni za crnogorsko govorno područje.

Tvorbeni tip *-ac: -ka* zastupljen je sa svega sedam imenica u našem korpusu: *artiljerka, emajlirka, mačevalka, padobranka, parlamentarka, policajka, (trgovka) trgovkinja*. U slučaju posljednjeg primjera, prednost je data liku s konkurentnim mocionim sufiksom *-kinja*.

Imenice sa sufiksnim derivatima *-džija* i *-lija*, sastavljenim od turskih sufiksa *-dži* i *-li* i domaćeg *-ja* (Ćorić 1982, 107), poslužile su kao osnova malom broju profesijskih imenica ženskog roda: *ćevabdžijka, kafedžijka* (*kafedžinka*), *šeširdžijka, tramvajdžijka* i *zanatlijka*. Interesantno je to što je autorka *Registra* u, doduše, alternativne nazive uvrstila imenicu *kafedžinka* sa stilski obilježenim (zastarelim, regionalnim) finalnim elementom *-inka* (Klajn 137). Da se radi o arhaizmu potvrđuje činjenica da je ova formacija zabilježena u *Rečniku* Matice srpske i Matice hrvatske iz 1967. god., ali je izostavljena u savremenom jednotomnom rečniku srpskog jezika publikovanom četiri decenije kasnije.

6. Zaključak

Cilj našeg istraživanja bio je da, etimološko-semantičkom analizom sufiksa *-ka* i tumačenjem tvorbena-morfološke strukture i semantike njim izvedenih profesijskih imenica ženskog roda, utvrdimo postoje li naučno fundirani motivi za ograničenje njihove upotrebe.

Prema broju ekscerpiranih primjera, može se reći da se tvorbena polisemija predmetnog sufiksa nije negativno reflektovala na formiranje naziva za zvanja i zanimanja žena, a na osnovu analize zaključujemo da ne postoje tvorbenosemantički razlozi koji bi mogli pasivizirati njegovu mocionu službu.

Naše istraživanje je pokazalo da se formant *-ka* najčešće dodaje na imenice muškog roda koje se završavaju na *-ar*, potom na one s finalnim *-er*, odnosno *-or*, dok su znatno manjim brojem primjera posvjedočeni derivati čiji su muški korelativi s nastavkom *-ir*. Obrazovanja od imeničkih osnova na *n* zastupljenija su od onih na *m* i *v*, a osobito su rijetka od imenica s krajnjim *-j*. Tvorbeni tip *-telj*: *-ka* frekventniji je od tipova *-lac*: *-teljka* i *-ac*: *-ka*, dok su maskuline forme sa sufiksnim derivatima *-džija* i, naročito, *-lija* motivisale neznatan broj ženskih formi za zanimanja i zvanja.

Od ukupno 436 selektovanih naziva, u 16 slučajeva (3,67 %) prednost je data dubletnim imenicama s nastavkom *-ica*, a samo 2 puta prevagu nad *-ka* odnio je formant *-kinja* (0,46%). Razlozi zbog kojih su imenice na *-ka* ponuđene kao drugi izbor nijesu gramatičke (morfofonološke), već semantičke prirode. S druge strane, 27 puta su imenice na *-ica*, odnosno 3 puta izvedenice na *-kinja*, podređene obrazovanjima pomoću sufiksa *-ka*, tj. u 30 slučajeva (6,88 %) prednost je data upravo ovim posljednjim.

Oдавde zaključujemo da ni ekspanzija mocionog sufiksa *-kinja*, ni milozvučnost konkurentnih derivata na *-ica* nijesu doveli u pitanje tvorbeni potencijal predmetnog sufiksa u kategoriji nomina agentis et professionis. Svi selektovani primjeri formirani su po tvorbenim modelima već potvrđenim u referentnoj naučnoj literaturi, stoga je jasno da ne postoje lingvistički opravdani razlozi za njihovo izbjegavanje u praksi. Otpor prema njihovoj upotrebi, koji je evidentan kod jednog dijela korisnika jezika, može biti motivisan asocijativom na stilski obilježene imenice ženskog roda s finalnim *-ka*. Animozitet kod ženskog dijela populacije mogu izazivati zbog svoje glasovne strukture koja podsjeća na naslijeđene pejorativne ekspresive ili uvredljivu opscenu leksiku. Pojedini govornici ih izbjegavaju smatrajući ih karakteristikom familijarne komunikacije, a nije isključeno ni to da se percipiraju kao

vulgarni i neumjesni zato što se njihov način izvođenja naslonio na imenicu *ženka* kojom se označava žensko u životinjskom svijetu. Uprkos tome predviđamo im opstanak ukoliko žene budu pokrivala njima nominovane profesije i funkcije, ali i nestanak pojedinih i stvaranje novih formi kao posljedice usklađivanja vrsta zanimanja sa razvojem društva i tehnologije.

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FEMINIZED FORMS WITH THE SUFFIX -KA IN THE CATEGORY OF NOMINA AGENTIS ET PROFESSIONIS (IN THE CONTEXT OF GENDER- SENSITIVE LANGUAGE USAGE)

According to the Gender Equality Law, the use of masculine nouns as a general form to designate the titles and professions of women is considered discriminatory. In such cases, the use of feminine nouns is prescribed. However, linguistic literature allows for both generic and feminine forms. A portion of the academic and general public still believes that some feminine forms are not widely used and should therefore be avoided.

Given the conflict between legal and linguistic regulations regarding the use of feminine nouns in the word-formation-semantic

category of *nomina agentis et professionis*, as well as the fact that derivatives of certain gendered suffixes belonging to this category have already been analyzed from a derivational and pragmatic perspective, we have decided to examine the justification for deriving nouns using a suffix that has not yet been a focal point of attention.

The goal of our research is to determine, using examples of feminine nouns formed with the suffix *-ka* extracted from the *Register of Women's Professions, Titles, and Ranks* (Ministry for Human and Minority Rights, Podgorica, 2013), whether there are specific word-formation and semantic reasons that could limit their use or justifiably cause animosity among speakers. Considering the polyfunctionality of the *-ka* suffix and the already documented resistance from certain segments of both academia and the general public toward using feminine profession names, we start from the hypothesis that such reasons exist.

In our research, we first review how these noun derivatives have been treated by authors of reference linguistic publications. Our methodological approach is based on an etymological-semantic analysis of the *-ka* suffix, followed by a word-formation and semantic analysis of selected examples.

We define feminine-gender nouns in the *nomina agentis et professionis* category as feminine nouns that designate female agents of action or holders of professions and titles, derived using gendered suffixes. The notion that such noun forms are neither new nor unusual is confirmed by older grammars of Serbo-Croatian as well as contemporary textbooks of Serbian, Croatian, and Montenegrin. In the most popular normative publications from the second half of the 20th century, we find that many such forms were already common at the time, and that with the changing social position of women – including their entry into high-ranking state positions – their number increased. The use of some masculine-gender nouns in reference to women has been justified by women's historical inferiority. By the late 20th century, highly respected linguists acknowledged the normative status of forms such as *slavistkinja* (female Slavist) and *stomatološkinja* (female dentist), which some scholars have contested as incorrect two decades later. Feminine nouns with the suffix *-ka*, which are the focus of our research (*biznismenka* "businesswoman", *inženjerka* "female engineer", *kamermanka* "camerawoman", *ombudsmanka* "female ombudsman"), are also considered problematic from the perspective of good literary language. On the other hand, some language scholars advocate for the codification of feminine forms, arguing that if this is not done, generic

(i.e., masculine) forms will be considered the only correct ones, rendering women invisible in society. Modern publications often claim that language will naturally find a way to regulate the formation and usage of nouns referring to women. However, based on our review of these differing theoretical approaches, we argue that it is exclusively society that has the power to create an appropriate linguistic form for a new phenomenon, and that language itself does not possess this ability. We recall that the most advanced approach to resolving the issue of professional feminine nouns was proposed by Eugenija Barić, who suggested differentiating between general (neutral) and specific (individual) usage contexts. The general-use context includes cases where reference is made to the profession itself rather than a specific person performing it (e.g., in job advertisements and printed forms), whereas the specific-use context applies when referring to a particular individual, whether male or female. In the first case, using masculine forms is entirely possible and even advisable, whereas in the second case, nouns should match the gender of the person being referred to (male or female).

The formative polysemy of the suffix *-ka* is reflected in the fact that it is used to create nouns with a wide variety of meanings. It originates from the Proto-Slavic language. At one time, it served as a diminutive marker in Slavic languages, but this meaning was lost in Old Church Slavonic and Serbo-Croatian, and consequently in the languages that emerged from the disintegration of the Serbo-Croatian linguistic community. Traces of the diminutive meaning remain in nouns with singulative semantics (*travka* "blade of grass," *slamka* "straw," *sjemenka* "seed," *maslinka* "olive"). This suffix also imparts a hypocoristic meaning to certain proper names and nicknames (*Ljupka*, *Ruška*, *Sneška*), although, due to frequent use, the affective nuance has faded in forms such as *Anka*. According to some linguists, derivatives of surnames (*Šafranička*) carry stylistic connotations, often appearing in humorously or disparagingly toned sentences in conversational or literary-artistic contexts. Through complex suffixation, *-ka* also forms names for animals (*modrovoljka* "kind of bird", *bjeloperka* "kind of fish", *prvotoeka*), while words such as *čavka* "jackdaw," *patka* "duck," and *guska* "goose" are considered unmotivated from a synchronic perspective. Nouns formed with this suffix also include *prvorotka*, *drugorotka* which refer to a woman determined by the number of births she has given. Many women, particularly younger ones, perceive these nouns as offensive because they highlight only the reproductive function of women – the

role of childbearing – which likely associates them with nouns referring to female animals (*ženka* "female animal," *prvoteka*, *volovotka* "cow"). The latter term is additionally marked by an obscene meaning, similar to *ležaljka* and *radodajka* ("promiscuous woman"). A significant number of nouns ending in *-ka* are inherited pejorative expressions used in informal communication to label women based on some negatively actualized trait, reflecting stereotypes about female sexual immorality, malice, stupidity, or talkativeness (e.g., *kučka* "bitch," *ćurka* "turkey," *guska* "goose," *kokoška* "hen," *kvočka* "broody hen"). Negative evaluation can also relate to unusual height, weight, or the appearance of certain body parts, where nouns ending in *-ka* again come into use (*motka* "stick," *daska* "plank," *mečka* "she-bear," *simentalka* "Simmental cow," *svraka* "magpie"). It is therefore unsurprising that some women feel offended when their profession is expressed using a noun form that reminds them of negatively connoted vocabulary. This is also why certain derived feminine forms in the *nomina agentis et professionis* category may sound vulgar or inappropriate to them. This claim is supported by the fact that the gendered suffix *-ka* has historically been associated with the meaning of *ženka* ("female animal").

Despite its potential negative connotations, this suffix is highly productive in its gendered function, i.e., in forming feminine-gender nouns from masculine-gender nouns across different semantic categories.

Among the extracted examples, the largest number of derivatives come from masculine nouns ending in *-ar* (213). According to Ćorić, this is actually a case of the suffixal derivative *-arka*, which competes with the synonymous suffix variant *-arica*. Our data confirms his observation that this formation model is particularly productive in deriving words from foreign bases (e.g., *analitičarka*, *magistarka*, *sekretarka*). The author of the *Register* sometimes prefers doublet forms with the suffix *-ica* over derivatives with *-ka*, particularly for words of native origin (*gljivarica* "mushroom picker," *krznarica* "furrier," *mljekarica* "dairywoman," *piljarica* "greengrocer").

There are also about ninety derivatives from masculine correlates ending in *-er*, most of which are of foreign origin (*akušerka*, *guvernerka*, *premijerka*, etc.). This formation model does not include doublet forms with *-ica*, as confirmed by the *Grammar of the Montenegrin Language*.

A considerable number of feminine-gender nouns are derived from masculine titles with the Latin suffix *-or*, specifically *-tor* and *-ator* (66), although they are somewhat less frequent than the previous two

derivational types (*inspektorka*, *profesorka*). In the *Register*, preference is sometimes given to doublet forms with *-ica* (*direktorka* "female director", *doktorica* "female doctor"), while in other cases, forms with *-ka* are favored (*korektorka*, *lektorka*, *rektorka*).

Nouns ending in *-ir* have only a few recorded derivatives (*emajlirka*, *juvelirka*, *kasirka*, *kurirka*, *manikirka*, *oficirka*, *pedikirka*, *podoficirka* and *portirka*).

Derivation from bases with other sonorants is significantly less common. The suffix *-ka* has been added to foreign-origin nouns ending in *-l* only in examples like: *admiralka*, *generalka*, *konzulka*, *portparolka* and *vicekonzulka*. The author of this occupation catalog justifiably preferred the form *generalica*, intending to prevent polysemy enabled by the word *generalka*, which has gained almost unlimited use in contemporary language, particularly in jargon (*generalka* = "general rehearsal", "thorough cleaning", "major repair").

Derivatives from foreign noun bases ending in *-m* are rare: *agronomka*, *anatomka* (*anatomkinja*), *astronomka* (*astronomkinja*), *ekonomka* (*ekonomkinja*). As the examples show, the *-ka* suffix competes with *-kinja* in this model, except for the first example.

Feminine forms derived from bases ending in *-n* include: *baštovanka*, *dekanka*, *manekenka*, *prodekanka*, *berberka*, *bakalinka* (*bakalka*), *barmenka*, *kamermanka* and *kongresmenka*. In our corpus, the doublet forms *dekanica* and *prodekanica* were recorded and offered as alternatives.

Derivatives from foreign bases ending in *-v* or *-j* are very rare (*detektivka*, *džokejka*), as are those formed from nouns with complex suffixes *-džija* and *-lija* (*čevabdžijka*, *kafedžijka*, *šeširdžijka*, *tramvajdžijka*, *zanatlijka*).

A small number of feminine nouns are derived from masculine nouns with the suffix *-telj* (*brodograditeljka*, *iscjeliteljka*, *istražiteljka*, *snimateljka*, *kućepaziteljka*, *poslužiteljka*, *procjeniteljka*, *rediteljka*, *snimateljka*, *tjelohraniteljka*, *ugostiteljka*, *voditeljka*). Based on the selected examples, it is unclear why only some nouns have alternative forms with the competing suffix *-ica* (*istražiteljica*, *poslužiteljica*, *ugostiteljica*), which are uncommon in Montenegrin speech but characteristic of Croatian.

Even fewer nouns feature the complex suffix *-teljka* instead of *-lac* (e.g., *izvjestiteljka*, *prevoditeljka*). The *-ac*: *-ka* derivation type is represented by only a few examples (*parlamentarka*, *policajka*).

Based on the number of extracted examples, it can be said that the polysemy of the *-ka* suffix has not negatively impacted the formation of titles and professions for women. Our analysis confirms that there are no word-formation reasons that would hinder its use for forming feminine agent nouns.

The analysis shows that the *-ka* suffix is most frequently added to masculine nouns ending in *-ar*, followed by those ending in *-er* and *-or*, while derivatives based on *-ir* are much less frequent. Derivatives from bases ending in *-n* are more common than those with *-m* and *-v*, while those from nouns ending in *-j* are especially rare. The *-telj:-ka* type is more frequent than *-lac:-teljka* and *-ac:-ka*, while masculine forms with *-džija* and particularly *-lija* have motivated only a small number of feminine profession names.

Out of 436 selected terms, in 16 cases (3.67%), the doublet forms with the *-ica* suffix were preferred, and only twice (0.46%) did the *-kinja* form prevail over *-ka*. The reasons why *-ka* was offered as the second choice are not grammatical (morphophonological) but rather semantic. On the other hand, in 27 cases, *-ica* forms were subordinated to *-ka* derivations, and in 3 instances, *-kinja* was overridden, meaning that in 30 cases, preference was given to the *-ka* suffix.

From this, we conclude that neither the expansion of the *-kinja* suffix nor the euphony of competing *-ica* derivatives has challenged the word-forming potential of *-ka* in the *nomina agentis et professionis* category. All selected examples follow word-formation models already confirmed in scientific linguistic literature, making it clear that there are no linguistic reasons to avoid them in practice.

Resistance to their use, evident among some speakers, may stem from their association with stylistically marked feminine nouns ending in *-ka*. Some women may find them unappealing because their phonetic structure resembles inherited pejorative expressive forms or offensive obscene vocabulary. Some speakers avoid them as they perceive them as features of informal speech, and it is also possible that they are seen as vulgar or inappropriate due to their derivational similarity with the noun *ženka* (denoting a female animal). Despite this, we predict their continued usage, as long as women occupy the professions and roles these terms denote. However, we also anticipate the disappearance of some forms and the emergence of new ones, as a consequence of aligning job titles with societal and technological development.

Keywords: marked feminines, derivational polysemy, suffix, pejorative lexemes, alternative forms

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN THE USE OF GRAMMAR LEARNING STRATEGIES AMONG ADULT LEARNERS: INSIGHTS FROM A GERMAN L3 CONTEXT

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Abstract: The aim of this research is to explore the grammar learning strategies (GLS) employed by adult learners of German, whose first language (L1) is Croatian and second language (L2) is English. The study specifically investigates the most and least frequently used GLS, as well as gender-based differences in their application. The Grammar Learning Strategies Questionnaire (Božinović, 2012) was used to assess participants' strategy use. The results have shown that learners employed GLS at a moderate frequency when studying German as their L3. Among the various strategies, grammar self-discovery and active GLS were the most frequently used, whereas visual and social strategies were the least utilized. Statistically significant gender differences were observed: female learners more frequently applied grammar memory strategies and visual GLS than their male counterparts. Furthermore, the results suggest that foreign language learners simultaneously employ and adapt a combination of different GLS, indicating the potential for strategic transfer in new language circumstances. By orchestrating multiple strategies simultaneously, learners can enhance their grammatical competence and overall language proficiency. The study highlights the importance of understanding individual differences, particularly gender-based preferences, in developing more effective and personalized language teaching strategies.

Keywords: grammar learning strategies, strategy orchestration, metacognitive strategies, gender differences, grammar learning strategies questionnaire

1. Introduction

Language learning strategies have been the subject of interest in the scientific research discipline studying the process of second language acquisition for several decades. Research on foreign language strategies began back in the nineteen-seventies (Rubin 1975; Savignon 1972; Stern

1975), while during the eighties and nineties, learning strategies posed one of the most intriguing areas of study in foreign language learning (MacIntyre 1994). These studies have shown that foreign language learners employ a wide range of strategies that help them to take greater control over their own learning process (Oxford & Nyikos 1989; O'Malley & Chamot 1990; Gardner & MacIntyre 1993).

A significant contribution to the study of learning strategies was made by Oxford (1990), who states that learning strategies are specific actions, behaviors, steps, or techniques which learners use to make language learning easier, more enjoyable, more self-directed, more efficient, and more transferable to new situations. Oxford (1990) points out that strategies facilitate the internalization, storage, invocation, or use of a new language, and states that strategies are mechanisms for self-directed action, which are indispensable for developing communicative language competence. The use of language learning strategies varies among learners due to individual differences such as gender, motivation, proficiency level, and learning style (Oxford 1990; Ellis 1995). Research suggests that gender differences can influence the selection and effectiveness of these strategies, thereby impacting language acquisition (Green & Oxford 1995; Sunderland 2015). This study specifically examines the use of GLS, focusing on how they relate to gender, since such strategies are a key factor in the process of foreign language acquisition.

2. The notion of learning strategies

Numerous researchers have attempted to define the concept of learning strategies, recognizing their significance in the learning process. However, despite extensive studies in this area, there is no universally accepted term or definition. Different scholars have approached the concept from various perspectives, leading to a range of interpretations and definitions that emphasize different aspects, such as cognitive processes, metacognitive awareness, or learner autonomy. This lack of consensus reflects the complexity and multidimensional nature of learning strategies, making it challenging to establish a single, standardized definition. Ellis (1995: 295) states that strategies are related to some kind of mental activity or behavior that can occur in a particular phase of the learning and communication process. Cohen (1998) highlights that learners consciously select strategies in order to enhance L2 learning through storage, recall, and application of information about the language. O'Malley and Chamot (1990) view

strategies as special ways of information processing that can enhance comprehension, learning, and storing of information more effectively. In this framework, language learning strategies are complex cognitive skills that can be acquired and taught. Some definitions are very general, while others are quite specific. Learning strategies can be understood as mental processes over which students have conscious control, being able to choose them when performing tasks (O'Malley & Chamot 1990; Dörnyei 2005; Oxford 2017). As active participants in the learning process, students employ different mental strategies, either consciously or unconsciously to organize their language system and improve their competence in the target language. Strategies can be declarative and conscious at the beginning of their application, and they subconsciously transform into automatized, unconscious behaviors. Alternatively, learners may also employ strategies intuitively, without prior explicit instruction or conscious learning. Strategies cannot be characterized as either good or bad but rather as potentially more or less useful depending on the context (Cohen 1998). They are resources that learners can use when solving language learning tasks. The learners employ strategies intentionally with the goal of making learning more effective. They may influence their motivational and affective states or the way they select, acquire, organize, or integrate new knowledge (Weinstein & Mayer 1986). One important feature of learning strategies is that they contribute to the development of communicative language competence, which is crucial for acquiring a foreign language. Grammatical competence, as an integral part of communicative competence, is understood as the ability to use a language's grammatical resources correctly (CEFR, 2020). The use of learning strategies, especially those focused on grammatical structures, helps learners develop this competence and improve their effectiveness in communication.

The process of selecting and combining individual strategies to complete a language task is known as 'orchestrating strategy use' (Anderson 1991). Griffiths (2018) describes strategy orchestration as a complex process in which learners employ multiple strategies in harmony with each other. She highlights that this ability is highly individual and content-dependent, influenced by factors such as proficiency level, autonomy, age, motivation, and learning goals. Anderson (2008) identifies strategy orchestration as one of the five primary components of metacognition, while Oxford (2017: 155) introduces the concept of "metastrategic regulation" in self-regulated learning, which includes "orchestrating strategy use" as one of its

components. She emphasizes that effective strategy use requires learners to combine and integrate strategies into well-structured clusters tailored to their specific needs and learning contexts. Key aspects of strategy orchestration include (1) flexible strategy use – learners adapt strategies according to the situation rather than relying on a single fixed approach, (2) metacognitive awareness – successful learners are aware of their own cognitive processes and can consciously select the most effective strategies, (3) combination of strategies – instead of using isolated strategies, learners combine multiple approaches (e.g. memory techniques, visualization, and active practice), (4) adaptation to context – learners modify their strategies based on different learning environments, linguistic challenges, or newly acquired information, (5) efficiency in learning – by orchestrating strategies effectively, learners enhance their learning process and achieve better results. Instead of relying on a single strategy, learners dynamically adjust and combine different strategies based on the task, content and individual learning preferences. Finally, strategy orchestration may contribute more to successful language learning than the linear or frequent use of individual strategies (Macaro 2006; Vandergrift 2003). By mastering the ability to orchestrate strategies effectively, learners become more autonomous, adaptable, and strategic in their approach to language acquisition, leading to long-term success.

3. What are grammar learning strategies?

Grammar learning strategies are a specialized subgroup of general learning strategies that are crucial in the process of acquiring a foreign language. Given the essential role of grammar in all language skills and its function in making language work as a system, GLS has become an important area of study in second language acquisition. However, despite its significance, research on GLS has been relatively limited (Anderson 2005; Ellis 2006).

Over the past decade, there has been an increasing focus on the systematic investigation of specific learning strategies, including those related to grammar (Tilfarlioğlu & Yalçın 2005; Kemp 2007; Pawlak 2009). Oxford, Rang Lee, and Park (2007: 117) define GLS as deliberate actions or behaviors that learners consciously use to make language learning more successful, self-directed, and enjoyable. Similarly, Cohen and Pinilla-Herrera (2009: 64) describe GLS as deliberate thoughts and actions students consciously employed for learning and getting better control over the use of grammar structures. Their definition builds on

traditional GLS approaches, which emphasize the conscious repetition of grammatical structures, imitation of language patterns, and memorization, highlighting the learner's active role in developing greater control over grammar use. These authors emphasized that the use of appropriate GLS contributes to more effective learning. It has been argued that certain GLS may be regarded as "universal" strategies, whose transfer from one language to another can be assumed and expected (Oxford, 1990; O'Malley & Chamot, 1990; Cohen, 1998; Wenden, 1991; Pavičić Takač, 2008), while others appear to be grammar-specific, shaped by the complexity and distinctive features of a given foreign language.

Griffiths (2008) notes that successful language learners actively use GLS, like pattern recognition, hypothesis testing, and self-monitoring, to enhance their grammatical knowledge. Researchers investigating language learning strategies primarily focus on their role in language acquisition and their relationship with various individual learner characteristics. Griffiths (2008) highlights that GLS possess distinctive characteristics: (1) they are actions taken by the learner, (2) their application is at least partly conscious, (3) they are optional in their use (4) their use entails goal oriented, purposeful activity, and (5) they are used to regulate, facilitate, and control the process of learning. Griffiths (2008) also summarized that the selection of strategies is influenced by a number of factors such as learner's proficiency level (Green & Oxford 1995; Lan & Oxford 2003), sex (Dreyer & Oxford 1996; Ehrmann & Oxford 1989), gender (Dreyer & Oxford 1996; Ehrman & Oxford 1989; Lan & Oxford 2003; Oxford & Nyikos 1989; Zimmerman & Martinez-Pons 1990; Kaylani 1996; Liu 2004), cultural background (Griffiths & Parr 2000; Dickinson 1996; Parry 1993; Tyacke & Mendelsohn 1986) learning style, previous experience in learning and motivation (Oxford & Nyikos 1989; Braten & Olaussen 1998; Mihaljević Djigunović 2001; Chang 2005; Dörnyei 2006), as well as personal beliefs and assumptions about language learning (Bialystok 1978).

Rampillon (1995: 85) highlighted that a key characteristic of GLS is their adaptability, i.e. existing strategies can be modified and transferred, new ones can be learned and adopted, while unsuccessful ones abandoned. Similarly, Pavičić Takač (2008: 55) emphasized that the strategies are oriented towards the broad goal of development of communicative language competence, often involving interaction with other learners. She also notes that, in addition to the cognitive processes, strategies also involve the metacognitive, social and affective aspects. In addition, the flexible use of strategies not only contributes to

learning, but also facilitates their transfer across different contexts (*cf.* Wenden 1987, 1991). Moreover, strategies as individual differences can be practiced until their use becomes automatic, i.e. until learners become skilled and efficient in strategy use. What makes strategies particularly intriguing for both teachers and researchers is the fact that they can be taught. Additionally, the flexible application of strategies enhances learning and facilitates their transfer across different contexts (*cf.* Wenden 1987, 1991). This adaptability and teachability make learning strategies particularly valuable for both educators and researchers, as it opens up possibilities for targeted strategy instruction to enhance language acquisition.

In a Scottish educational context, Kemp (2007) found a correlation between GLS and grammatical competence in multilingual speakers. The study revealed that multilinguals, with experience in various grammatical systems, applied more learning strategies than bilinguals. Their proficiency enabled them to develop their own strategies, expanding the list of grammar strategies. Notably, the use of strategies, known as the threshold effect, was more pronounced during the acquisition of a third language and continued to increase with each subsequent foreign language learned.

In this study, we employed a questionnaire based on the categorization of GLS proposed by Božinović (2012), which distinguishes five groups. The first group, active GLS, reflects intrinsic motivation and requires self-discipline and critical reflection; learners use practice, listening, and writing to improve their grammar, detect errors, and connect new material with prior knowledge. The second group, grammar memorization strategies, involves mental processing (e.g., memorizing verb endings and irregular forms) and includes techniques such as grouping, association, elaboration, and repetition. The third group, social strategies, emphasizes peer interaction, supporting grammar learning and promoting interpersonal understanding. The fourth group, visual strategies, includes methods like highlighting or writing out grammatical forms. Finally, the fifth group, grammar self-discovery strategies, belong to self-motivational approaches (*cf.* Cohen & Dörnyei, 2002), characterized by conscious, self-initiated learning processes typically employed by highly motivated learners who acquire grammatical knowledge independently.

4. Gender differences in the use of grammar learning strategies

Gender is considered as an important factor in language learning strategy selection, as it significantly influences the choice of strategies (Oxford & Nyikos 1989). Numerous studies have indicated that males and females employ different strategies based on their gender characteristics. However, research on the relationship between gender and strategy use has produced inconsistent results. While some studies (Alhaisioni 2012; Božinović & Sindik 2011; Dreyer & Oxford 1996; Green & Oxford 1995; Lan & Oxford 2003; Lee & Oh 2001; Oxford & Ehrman 1995; Oxford & Nyikos 1989; Kaylani 1996; Lan & Oxford 2003; Mihaljević Djigunović 1999; Gurata 2008; Tam 2013) suggest that females use learning strategies more frequently than males, others highlight variations in strategy preferences rather than overall usage.

Females have been reported to favor general study strategies, formal rule-related practice strategies, and conversational input elicitation strategies, likely due to their strong motivation for academic achievement and social approval (Oxford & Nyikos 1989). In contrast, male students tend to be less willing to engage in communicative interactions or seek assistance from other language learners (Tam 2013). Additionally, studies have shown that females use more metacognitive, social, and affective strategies compared to males (Gurata 2008). Oxford and Nyikos (1989), in their study on the sample of 1200 adult learners of French, Spanish, Italian, and German, demonstrated that gender plays a significant role in strategy selection, with women employing all types of strategies more frequently. Similarly, in the research conducted by Ehrman and Oxford (1989) it was found that female learners, including students and professors studying languages such as Indonesian, Turkish, Italian, Hungarian, and Arabic, more frequently utilized general learning strategies, authentic strategy use, strategies of interpreting and communicating meaning, and self-directed learning strategies. Green and Oxford (1995) discovered that females tend to use social-affective and memory strategies more frequently than males. The authors suggest that this finding reflects women's tendency to see themselves as global learners who are more self-reflected, emotionally engaged in learning, socially active, and seek social approval. In contrast, Phakiti (2003) found that male learners reported a greater strategy use, particularly metacognitive strategies, which involve planning, monitoring, and evaluating their learning processes.

Furthermore, Green and Oxford (1995) also found that men and women approach language learning differently, which may be linked to

variations in learning styles, motivation, and attitudes. Similarly, Lan and Oxford (2003) observed that female elementary school students used nearly all types of learning strategies more frequently. They attributed this to a greater interest in the English language, suggesting that higher motivation plays a key role in female learners' strategy use.

The research conducted by Fitri et al. (2023) further supports these findings, showing that male students tend to use cognitive strategies, which involve direct manipulation of learning materials through techniques such as repetition and analysis, while female students prefer social strategies, engaging in collaborative learning activities and seeking help from peers and instructors. These results highlight the important role of gender in selecting GLS.

Nasab and Motlagh (2017) investigated gender differences in narrative speaking skills among advanced language learners. The findings revealed that female learners spoke more fluently, with fewer pauses and less stress compared to male learners. Additionally, females used a wider range of verbs, adjectives, and connectors, while males had more interruptions and grammatical inaccuracies in their speech. These findings suggest that female learners may have stronger narrative speaking abilities due to their use of more diverse linguistic structures and smoother speech. In contrast, the higher number of interruptions and grammatical errors among male learners highlights the need for targeted support to improve their fluency and accuracy in spoken language.

5. Methodology

5.1. Aim

This study aims to analyze the role of GLS in the process of acquiring a third language (L3). The focus of this research is on GLS in German as L3 by learners with Croatian as their first language (L1) and English as their second language (L2). Our initial hypothesis is that adult language learners use different GLS when learning different foreign languages, and that these strategies are partly transferred from their mother tongue or another foreign language they have previously learned. Furthermore, our hypothesis is that gender differences exist in the frequency of the use of GLS. In line with the classification of GLS proposed by Božinović (2012: 164–168), the study aims to answer the following research questions:

- Which groups of GLS are used most and least frequently?
- Are there gender differences in the frequency of the usage of GLS?

5.2. Participants

A total of 150 students, aged between 19 and 25, participated in this study, all learning German as their third language (L3). Of these, 72 identified as male (48%) and 78 as female (52%). At the time of data collection, only the categories “male” and “female” were used, and no additional options (such as other gender identities or the option not to disclose) were included in the demographic survey. This represents a limitation of the study, as it does not account for the full spectrum of gender identities and may influence the interpretation and generalizability of the findings related to gender differences in strategy use. All participants were native Croatian speakers who had previously learned English as their second language (L2) and were currently learning German as their third language (L3). They were enrolled in Beginning and Intermediate German courses (corresponding roughly to CEFR levels A1 and B1) at the Rochester Institute of Technology’s subsidiary in Croatia (RIT Croatia). They all reported that they have never been to a German-speaking country, and their first exposure to the German language was when they enrolled in the Beginners’ German course. Students at RIT Croatia are highly proficient in English, having started learning it at an early age. English is the official language of instruction at the institution, and all courses are taught in English. As a result, students typically achieve near-native or advanced proficiency in English (C1 or higher on the CEFR scale). Additionally, some students spend at least one semester studying at the home campus in the United States, which further enhances their language proficiency.

5.3. Instrument

Data on GLS were collected through a structured questionnaire designed to measure the type and frequency of GLS used (Božinović, 2012). The questionnaire consists of two parts. The first part collects demographic information and details about the participants' language repertoire. The second part of the questionnaire is an instrument designed to measure GLS (Questionnaire on grammar learning strategies). The questionnaire contains 48 statements that correspond to the individual GLS classified in the categories above. The frequency of GLS use is assessed using a Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5 (1 - I never do it, 2 - I mostly don't, 3 - I sometimes do it, 4 - I often do it, 5 - I always or almost always do it).

5.4. Data analysis

The data were collected during regular foreign language classes at RIT Croatia. Respondents were not informed in advance that the survey would be conducted, ensuring that they provided honest answers. The questionnaire was administered anonymously to keep the respondents as honest as possible in answering the questions. Data analysis was performed using both descriptive and inferential statistics. Gender differences were established by discrimination analysis, while the differences in the frequency of individual learning strategy use by male and female respondents were established by t-test for dependent samples. The statistical software SPSS 17.0 was used to analyze the data (SPSS Inc., 2008, SPSS Statistics for Windows, Version 17.0, Chicago: SPSS Inc.).

6. Results and Discussion

The results indicate a statistically significant difference in the use of the individual groups of GLS. Table 1 shows that the most frequently used strategies are grammar self-discovery strategies ($M=3.54$), followed by grammar memorization strategies ($M=3.29$) and active GLS ($M=3.36$). The least frequently used strategies are visual strategies ($M=2.73$) and social strategies ($M=2.94$). An analysis of the mean values reveals an asymmetry in most of the arithmetic means, with a tendency toward higher values. This suggests that respondents may be employing a wider variety of GLS simultaneously.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics for individual dimensions of GLS ($p < .01$)

Grammar learning strategies	M	SD
Strategies of grammar self-discovery	3.54	,785
Grammar memorization strategies	3.29	,712
Active grammar learning strategies	3.36	,675
Social grammar learning strategies	2.94	,709
Visual grammar learning strategies	2.73	,854

$p < .01$

As indicated in Table 2, all correlations among the GLS are statistically significant, positive, and of medium strength. The strongest correlation was found between grammar memory strategies and social GLS ($r = 0.550$, $p < 0.01$), suggesting that students who rely on grammar memory strategies (e.g., memorizing rules or paradigms) are also likely to employ social strategies, such as discussing grammar with peers or asking for clarification. Another strong positive correlation was found between active GLS and social GLS ($r = 0.533$, $p < 0.01$), indicating that students who actively apply grammar rules in practice also tend to use social strategies.

The weakest correlation, though still statistically significant and positive, was found between active GLS and visual GLS ($r = 0.285$, $p < 0.01$). The comparison of mean values further showed that social strategies were used less frequently than memory strategies, pointing to differences in strategy preference among learners. Social strategies nonetheless display strong connections with other GLS, suggesting that they play a crucial role in grammar learning. In contrast, visual strategies exhibit the weakest associations with other strategies, which may indicate that students tend to use them independently rather than in combination with other learning approaches. Finally, the distribution of mean values shows a slight asymmetry toward higher scores, suggesting that many respondents employ a broader repertoire of GLS simultaneously rather than relying on a single type.

Table 2. Differences and correlations among grammar learning strategy use frequency (t-test for dependent samples and Pearson's correlation)

Individual Strategy Groups (Correlated Pairs)	M	SD	Correlations	t-test	p
Active GLS / Memory Strategies	3.58	0.615	0.436	17.089	$p < 0.01$
Active GLS / Social Strategies	3.58	0.615	0.533	19.576	$p < 0.01$
Active GLS / Visual Strategies	3.58	0.615	0.285	-6.809	$p < 0.01$
Memory GLS / Strategies of Grammar Self-Discovery	3.70	0.722	0.450	19.154	$p < 0.01$
Memory GLS / Social GLS	3.70	0.722	0.550	22.164	$p < 0.01$
Memory GLS / Visual GLS	3.70	0.722	0.116	-3.235	$p < 0.01$
Strategies of Grammar Self-Discovery / Social GLS	3.84	0.685	0.452	3.320	$p < 0.01$
Social GLS / Visual GLS	2.97	0.719	0.167	-19.316	$p < 0.01$
Strategies of Grammar Self-Discovery / Visual GLS	3.84	0.685	0.118	-19.204	$p < 0.01$

Note: M= Mean; SD= Standard Deviation; t= Paired-samples t-test; p= statistical significance of the t-test

As indicated in Table 3, the univariate analysis of variance revealed statistically significant gender differences in the use of GLS, particularly for grammar memory strategies and visual strategies. Female learners (M = 0.112) scored significantly higher than males (M = -0.269) on grammar memory strategies, and similarly higher on visual strategies (females: M = 0.214; males: M = -0.514). These results indicate that female learners are more inclined to rely on memorization and visual supports in grammar learning. No significant gender differences were found for active, social, or self-discovery strategies, suggesting that both male and female learners use these strategies at similar levels. These findings support our initial hypotheses, developed on the basis of previous studies, that gender differences exist in the frequency of the use of GLS. They also suggest that female respondents generally employ a wider range of strategies than their male counterparts (Alhaisoni 2012; Božinović & Sindik 2011; Dreyer & Oxford 1996; Ehrman & Oxford 1989; Green & Oxford 1995; Kaylani 1996; Lan & Oxford 2003; Lee & Oh 2001; Lee & Oxford 2008).

Table 3 Discrimination analysis of individual dimensions of GLS questionnaire according to respondent's gender

VARIABLE	Wilks' η^2	Correlation with discrimination factor	F-test (1,399)	p	M male	η^2 male	M female	η^2 female
Active grammar learning strategies	0,996	0,160	1,760	>0,10	-	0,103	0,983	1,005
Grammar memorisation strategies	0,970	0,424	12,422	<0,01	-	0,269	0,871	1,03
Social grammar learning strategies	0,999	-0,073	0,364	>0,200	0,047	0,957	-0,019	1,019

Visual grammar learning strategies	0,889	0,847	49,621	<0,01	-	0,514	0,838	0,214	0,986
Strategies of grammar self-discovery	0,998	-0,096	0,642	>0,200	0,062	1,001	-0,026	1,000	

Note: M= arithmetic mean; σ = standard deviation; p= statistical significance

Regarding specific types of GLS, the results confirm that grammar self-discovery, memory, and active strategies are the most frequently used, while visual and social strategies are least used (see Table 1). Moderate positive correlations were observed among all types, with the strongest correlations between memory and social strategies, and between active and social strategies (see Table 2). This indicates that students who rely on grammar memory strategies also tend to use social strategies, such as discussing grammar rules with peers, which is in line with previous research (Gurata 2008; Filtri et al. 2003). The weakest correlation, although still statistically significant and positive, was found between active and visual strategies, confirming that these categories represent distinct dimensions of learning strategies.

According to Oxford (1990), active strategies belong to the group of cognitive strategies, which have an operational function and help learners process the material to be learned. Social strategies, on the other hand, are often categorized as indirect strategies, allowing a student to interact with other participants in the learning process and supporting learner motivation, confidence, and persistence, all of which are necessary for successful language learning.

Gender-based differences further suggest that female learners favor verbal and visual learning styles, which aligns with their higher use of memory and visual strategies in this study. Furthermore, females might rely more on rote learning and structured approaches, which help them effectively retain and recall grammar rules. By contrast, male learners may prefer rule-based reasoning and independent problem-solving, which could explain their lower use of grammar memory and visual GLS. Previous studies also suggest that female students often

demonstrate stronger collaborative and social engagement in language learning, whereas male students may show greater autonomy and logical reasoning (Jamiah et al. 2018). This study also revealed that there is no statistically significant gender difference for active GLS, social GLS and strategies of grammar self-discovery which may indicate that both males and females use these strategies at similar levels.

Our study revealed differences in the use of learning strategies between male and female participants, which is consistent with the findings of previous research (Jamiah et al., 2018). Specifically, these authors noted that male learners more frequently relied on compensation strategies, whereas female learners tended to use social strategies. Female students enjoyed discussing language-related topics and demonstrated strong abilities in social interaction and collaborative thinking—features typically associated with social strategies. In contrast, male students were more inclined to express their ideas independently, displayed logical reasoning, and showed better coordination skills—traits commonly linked to compensation strategies. Tam (2013) also found a significant difference in the use of different types of strategies, where female learners used memory, compensation, cognitive, metacognitive, and social strategies more frequently than males. This author also states that gender is an important factor influencing the use of language learning strategies, besides the second language proficiency and socioeconomic status.

The findings of this study also suggest that female learners may be more organized and structured in their learning approaches, which encourages them to systematically record and organize linguistic information, making it more likely that they will employ visual strategies (e.g., graphic representations, tables, diagrams) as well as grammar memory strategies. Namely, organization and structured learning facilitate the creation of clear mental connections and systematic patterns, which are at the core of these strategies. Some studies suggest that girls generally develop language skills earlier than boys, which may lead to more advanced language processing abilities at later stages (Adani & Capanec, 2019). Additionally, some scholars argue that women are generally more eloquent and fluent in language use (e.g., Cameron, 2008; Wang, 2015). One possible explanation is that women, when performing linguistic tasks—particularly communicative ones such as listening and speaking—use both brain hemispheres and activate more brain centers than men (Nyikos, 2008). However, men are generally characterized by better visuospatial abilities as well as stronger

mathematical reasoning skills, which may explain their greater success in fields such as mathematics, engineering, and the physical sciences (Benbow et al., 2000).

Additional research suggests that gender differences in strategy use may reflect both biological and socialization factors. Contemporary research highlights the need to move beyond binary classifications and consider how cultural norms, identity development, and societal expectations shape students' behaviors and learning preferences (Green & Oxford 1995). Oxford (1990) highlights that females generally have greater social orientation, stronger verbal skills and greater conformity to linguistics and academic norms compared to males. Similarly, Zhou (2000) states that female learners tend to be more active in using language learning strategies and demonstrate higher motivation to succeed in school. The findings of this research indicate that female primary school students are more willing to work hard and utilize learning strategies to enhance their learning, whereas male students tend to be more engaged in play-related activities.

According to our expectations, our respondents predominantly use a combination of grammar memory strategies, indicating intrinsic motivation and a concerted effort to master the grammatical structures of a foreign language. Grammar memory strategies belong to the group of cognitive strategies which serve as an additional driving force for foreign language grammar learning. Given that the respondents are adult L3 learners of German, it can be assumed that they want to enhance their grammatical competence to achieve greater success in future business environments, emphasizing the need for developing communicative language competence.

The findings of this study indicate that students already use, combine, and adapt various strategies in new linguistic contexts in order to communicate effectively. This process reflects strategy orchestration and metacognitive awareness, which enable them to optimize learning and overcome challenges. Jessner (2008) emphasizes that both metalinguistic and metacognitive awareness play a key role in the development of strategies among multilingual speakers, while research shows that they use strategies differently and more frequently than monolinguals (McLaughlin, 1990; Jessner, 2008; Dolgunsöz, 2013). The development of multilingual learning strategies contributes to strengthening language competence and cognitive flexibility, which represents an important advantage of multilingual speakers. However, this study does not provide empirical evidence of an advantage of L3 learners over L2 learners. It would be beneficial to compare the current

data with findings from previous studies to highlight differences related to the languages learned and to evaluate the relative effectiveness of GLS in L3 versus L2 acquisition.

7. Conclusion

The study aimed to provide an insight into the GLS that adult learners of German mostly use, as well as to establish gender differences in strategy use. The research findings reveal statistically significant differences in the frequency of specific GLS: grammar self-discovery strategies, grammar memorization strategies, and active grammar learning strategies were employed most often, while visual GLS and social GLS were used less frequently. Additionally, the research findings have confirmed that grammar strategy use differs by gender. The findings revealed that female students used all types of GLS more frequently than males, except for social GLS. One possible explanation for this finding is that female learners tend to rely more on a wider range of cognitive and metacognitive strategies, reflecting a generally higher level of strategic awareness and self-regulation in language learning (Oxford & Nyikos, 1989; Green & Oxford, 1995). These studies consistently show that female learners report more frequent use of strategies overall, particularly those involving organization, memorization, and self-monitoring strategies. However, in the case of social GLS, male learners may have been equally or even more inclined to use strategies involving peer interaction, group work, or oral practice. This could reflect gender-related differences in communication styles, confidence in peer collaboration, or classroom dynamics, where male learners may feel more comfortable engaging in interactive activities than in solitary strategy use.

Although the frequency of visual and social strategies was relatively low, this does not imply that all strategies are equally effective or should be used with the same frequency. Previous research shows that the effectiveness of GLS depends on individual learner profiles, proficiency levels, and learning contexts (Oxford, 1990; Cohen, 2014). Raising students' awareness of less frequently used strategies may help them identify the strategies that work best for their own learning and foster autonomy and self-directed learning. In particular, the use of social strategies (e.g., interaction with peers) and visual strategies (e.g., associating words with images) can support the development of communicative competence, complementing grammatical knowledge

and enhancing learners' ability to interact in multicultural or international environments.

The role of explicit strategy instruction by teachers is crucial in this process, as guidance can facilitate more effective use of GLS and support learners in selecting and combining strategies to optimize their learning. While this study focused on students' self-reported strategy use, future research should investigate the impact of teacher guidance and explicit instruction on strategy selection and effectiveness. Additionally, it would be valuable to explore how learners' proficiency levels influence the choice and frequency of GLS, as well as whether gender differences exist in the use of both "universal" and grammar-specific strategies in L3 German.

Finally, systematic research into GLS remains essential, as it contributes to a deeper understanding of foreign language acquisition and informs effective teaching practices. Expanding knowledge of strategy use across languages, learner profiles, and instructional contexts can help educators design targeted interventions to enhance communicative competence in adult learners.

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GESCHLECHTSUNTERSCHIEDE BEIM EINSATZ VON GRAMMATIKLERNSTRATEGIEN UNTER ERWACHSENEN LERNENDEN: EINBLICKE AUS DEM KONTEXT DEUTSCH ALS L3

Ziel der vorliegenden Studie ist es, die von erwachsenen Deutschlernenden angewandten Grammatiklernstrategien (GLS) zu untersuchen, deren Muttersprache (L1) Kroatisch und Zweitsprache (L2) Englisch ist. Die Studie untersucht speziell insbesondere die am häufigsten und am seltensten verwendeten Grammatiklernstrategien sowie geschlechtsspezifische Unterschiede in deren Anwendung. Der Fragebogen zu Grammatiklernstrategien (Božinović, 2012) wurde verwendet, um die Nutzung von Lernstrategien durch die Teilnehmenden zu bewerten. Die Ergebnisse zeigten, dass die Lernenden Grammatiklernstrategien mit mittlerer Häufigkeit beim Erlernen von Deutsch als ihrer L3 anwendeten. Unter den verschiedenen Strategien wurden Strategien zur Selbstentdeckung der Grammatik und aktive Grammatiklernstrategien am häufigsten genutzt, während visuelle und soziale Strategien am seltensten zum Einsatz kamen. Darüber hinaus wurden statistisch signifikante geschlechtsspezifische Unterschiede in der Anwendung von Grammatiklernstrategien festgestellt. Weibliche Lernende wendeten häufiger Grammatikgedächtnisstrategien und visuelle Grammatiklernstrategien an als ihre männlichen Kollegen. Diese Ergebnisse deuten darauf hin, dass Fremdsprachenlernende gleichzeitig eine Kombination verschiedener Grammatiklernstrategien verwenden, die sie flexibel an neue Sprachumstände anpassen und miteinander kombinieren. Durch die gleichzeitige Anwendung mehrerer Strategien können die Lernenden ihre grammatikalische Kompetenz und ihre allgemeine Sprachfertigkeit verbessern. Die Studie hebt die Bedeutung individueller Unterschiede, insbesondere geschlechtsspezifischer Präferenzen, bei

der Entwicklung effektiverer und personalisierter Sprachlernstrategien hervor.

Schlüsselwörter: Grammatiklernstrategien, Strategieorchestrierung, metakognitive Strategien, geschlechtsspezifische Unterschiede, Fragebogen zu Grammatiklernstrategien

FREQUENCY AND GRAMMATICALITY OF CONDITIONAL CLAUSES IN ESSAYS WRITTEN BY IUS FRESHMAN STUDENTS

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Abstract: This research paper is a descriptive study that analyzes the use of conditional clauses in 170 argumentative essays written by freshman students at the International University of Sarajevo (IUS) in the spring semester of 2023. The essays were written as part of their assessment in the ELIT200 Critical Reading and Writing course, which is a mandatory freshman course at the IUS. The aim of the paper is to investigate the frequency at which conditional clauses occur, their different types, and their grammaticality. Moreover, the paper examines the link between the frequency and grammaticality of the used conditional clauses and the assigned essay topics. The results show that the overall accuracy/grammaticality when it comes to the usage of English conditional clauses is high. As expected, the most frequently used conditional type is the first conditional.

Keywords: conditional clauses, frequency, grammaticality, argumentative essays, freshmen students

1. Introduction

This study examines how freshman students at the International University of Sarajevo (IUS) use conditional sentences in their quizzes and exams. It examines the frequency of the usage of certain types of conditional sentences in their writing tasks and exams, as well as the link between certain assignment topics and the usage of conditional clauses.

The complex semantics of the various types of conditional clauses are hard for even native speakers to grasp. Additionally, English as a Second/Foreign Language (ESL/EFL) students need to have a firm grasp of the English tense-aspect system, modal auxiliaries, and negation

before they can handle the full range of conditional sentences in English. Moreover, it needs to be mentioned that ESL/EFL textbooks and grammar books tend to oversimplify the information (Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman 545).

The aim of the research is three-fold: a) to examine the frequency of the usage of different types of English conditional sentences, b) to identify certain errors in the usage and their link to the respective sentence structure(s), and c) to identify the link between certain assignment topics and the usage of conditional clauses.

This is because, as far as we are aware, no such study has been produced as of yet, and we think that carrying out one could help us better understand the frequency and grammaticality of English conditional sentences that learners use, especially when we talk about the importance of conditional clauses in academic writing, such as speculating/hypothesizing and rhetorical functions, to name just a few.

2. Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

This chapter deals with the significance of English conditional clauses in English language acquisition, and it presents previous research on conditional clauses in terms of their acquisition, grammaticality, and frequency. Moreover, it presents the anticipated problem regarding the usage and grammaticality of conditional clauses in students' essays and identifies gaps in research that we aim to address.

2.1. (Second) Language Acquisition

English conditional clauses play a crucial role in English language acquisition, both in written and oral form, especially in academic contexts, due to their frequent usage and different functions (speculating/hypothesizing, rhetorical, among others), as well as their categorized types.

According to certain theories (Chomsky; Pinker; White 2), Universal Grammar (UG) is a part of an innate biologically endowed language capacity that enables the L1 learner to arrive at a grammar based on linguistic experience (exposure to input).

UG is driven by learnability arguments, as it underdetermines unconscious language knowledge. This discrepancy causes the stimulus poverty problem, or logical difficulty of language acquisition. UG explains how language learners unconsciously acquire features of grammar that transcend input, which can be used to their advantage

when learning a language (Baker and McCarthy; Hornstein and Lightfoot; White 4).

Examples of the skills that begin to emerge early in human development include the ability to conceptually and perceptually categorize “similar” objects and events (Tomasello 4) and the ability to build sensory-motor schemas out of recurrent patterns of perception and action (Piaget; Schneider; Conway and Christiansen; Tomasello 4).

Second language acquisition (SLA) refers to how students learn a second or more foreign languages. Beyond education, second languages play a crucial role in society, especially English, which is widely used in business, science, and international relations, with up to 1.4 billion people using it as a second language (Crystal; Larsen-Freeman and Long 36).

It has been widely held that while acquiring a second language, learners significantly depend on their first language (Gass and Selinker 89). When it comes to the impact of one’s L1 on SLA, Lado (2) states that:

[...] individuals tend to transfer the forms and meanings, and the distribution of forms and meanings of their native language and culture to the foreign language and culture - both productively when attempting to speak the language and to act in the culture, and receptively when attempting to grasp and understand the language and the culture as practiced by natives.

Some individuals learn second languages more effectively due to factors like age, motivation, and socio-psychological influences. The phenomenon of fossilization, recognized since the mid-20th century, suggests learners struggle to progress as much as native-speaking children, impacting nearly all learners, even those advanced, and often stems from personal issues (Han; Gass and Selinker 395).

Learning a second language remains a rational challenge. In simpler terms, we require a theory to clarify why learners ultimately grasp more about a language than they could learn by solely depending on the input they receive. The suggestion is that learners of both first and second languages need to have access to the understanding of UG (Cook; Lighbown and Spada 105).

Usage-based learning focuses on the frequency with which learners encounter specific linguistic features in input. Increased exposure strengthens associations between language characteristics and contexts, creating robust links when they frequently co-occur and

weaker connections when they occur less often (Ellis; Lighbown and Spada 111).

The question of whether exposure timing - whether in a controlled setting or through spontaneous interactions - affects learning, is at the heart of the controversy surrounding the influence of age on second language acquisition. According to some scholars (Genesee, Neufeld), learning a second language works consistently and is equally beneficial for adults and children. They claim that because adults learn more quickly, they might even have an advantage. Others, on the other hand, claim that the evidence is equivocal and that adults might face difficulties, especially in phonology, while younger students might succeed, particularly in reaching high fluency levels, including native-like accents. Numerous studies (e.g. Oyama, Krashen et al.), which emphasize the potential advantage younger people have in learning a second language, support this viewpoint.

We understand that the acquisition of English conditional clauses is made easier because of their rather frequent usage/occurrence in both oral and written communication. Moreover, most of our participants started learning English at a very young age (school / English language courses), which also contributes to faster second language acquisition. What is also important to note here is that the structure of the conditional clauses in their respective mother tongues (BOS/CRO/MNG/SER – ako, kad(a), da; Turkish – the -se/-sa suffix, eğer) is like their structure in English. Consequently, it is expected that the grammaticality of English conditional clauses in their essays will be high.

2.2. Previous Research on Conditional Clauses/Background Studies

ESL /EFL instructors and students face challenges in teaching/learning conditional clauses, which are sophisticated constructions with diverse meanings. These sentences can be difficult to describe due to their semantic nuances, cognitive reasoning, and psychological intent. Despite extensive research, no simple explanation or solution has been provided for practical classroom use (Norris 39).

Fareh (162-168) evaluated Arab EFL learners' recognition and production of conditional sentences. With an overall mastery level of only 44.25% in recognition and production, the study showed that Arab university students studying English had a difficult time learning conditional sentences (167). Given that these students were junior or senior English majors and had been studying English for more than

fifteen years — often since grade one in public or private schools — this low proficiency raised questions about the efficacy of English language instruction in schools and universities.

Akbana (111-118) investigated the impact of hypothetical conditional clauses on interlanguage in argumentative essays written by Turkish students in Turkish and English. The study used four corpora: Turkish University Corpus, Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays, Turkish International Corpus of Learner English, and Japanese International Corpus of Learner English. Results showed that the difference between Japanese and Turkish students was that Japanese students use hypothetical conditional clauses more similarly to native norms, but additional research was needed to confirm these findings.

According to Salimi (199-201), cognitive linguistics was a crucial framework for comprehending language learning and usage, especially for second language learners who had trouble with intricate structures like English if-clauses. Form was frequently prioritized over contextual usage in traditional EFL grammar texts, which left out important details. This study looked at how 60 postgraduate English language learners learned if-clauses using cognitively oriented and task-oriented teaching approaches. The results showed that the cognitively oriented group outperformed the task-focused and control groups, suggesting a more thorough comprehension of if-clauses in a variety of situations. These findings could be important for curriculum designers and English language instructors looking to incorporate cognitive linguistics into language teaching materials.

The goal of Ko's study (157–174) was to find out how L2 English speakers who were fluent in Spanish and Korean learned if-conditionals at varying levels. It looked at how L1 influence, grammatical complexity, and input frequencies affected this acquisition. The results showed that, in line with L1 acquisition patterns, lower hypotheticality if-conditionals were learned before those with higher hypotheticality. Differentiating between their influences was made more difficult by the overlap between input frequencies and typological universals. Furthermore, although L1 had an impact on non-target forms, the if-conditionals learning sequence was the same for all L1 backgrounds. Higher-level L2 learners' production was also significantly impacted by training.

The semantic properties of English "if" clauses were examined in the study by Yavuz (1-5), which also evaluated the awareness of these features by English language learners and the effect of awareness-raising activities on their comprehension. The study included 98 participants who finished pretests and posttests. It emphasized how

crucial the acquisition of a language item was to improving language proficiency and reaching communicative competence. Notably, because of their intricate semantics, "if" clauses posed difficulties for learners. A t-test revealed a statistically significant increase in comprehension after the intervention.

Negotić (87) examined 157 Portuguese and 122 Croatian sentences to compare conditional sentences in the two languages. The study examined the common verb tenses in the protases (p) and apodoses (q) of conditional sentences, relevant conjunctions, and clause orders in both Portuguese and Croatian. Both p–q and q–p clause orders were deemed appropriate in both languages. While "li" was useful in some situations, the Portuguese "se" was equivalent to the Croatian "ako" for real conditionals, "kad(a)" for potential, and "da" for unreal conditionals. The study drew attention to unusual constructions, such as asyndetic sentences devoid of conjunctions and conditional speech acts. Additionally, it highlighted the semantic distinctions in predictiveness between pragmatic, content, and epistemic sentences, highlighting the fact that causality is present in predictive sentences, but succession was primarily needed for predictive content-domain conditionals. This pointed to a nuanced relationship between conditional sentence structure and semantics that needed more research.

Lastrez López's study (53-55) examined the use of if-clauses from a corpus-based cross-linguistic perspective. It highlighted that, while politeness features were emphasized in English and Spanish, French if-clauses primarily expressed sorrow. The analysis revealed differing frequencies of if-clauses across the three languages, with English having more hypothetical conditions. Spanish showed greater marker variety compared to English's constraints. The study also noted that unmarked protases were common, particularly in French, and that nested if-clauses were more frequent than unnested ones.

The purpose of another study (Al Rdaat and Gardner 5-9) was to determine whether Arab students could evaluate the grammaticality of conditional sentences and explain their mistakes. Even though many of the participants had studied in English-speaking countries, the results revealed that almost 50% of them had trouble recognizing the right sentences. 47% correctly chose the right answers, indicating that more than half had trouble with grammatical conditionals. Furthermore, 42% of respondents gave justifications for their answers, suggesting that challenges were common. The findings raised questions about why

fewer participants accurately judged the grammar compared to those who could explain their incorrect choices.

A study by Brdarević Čeljo et al. (19-20) looked at the difficulties 103 Bosnian English majors at the university level had creating past counterfactual conditional clauses as opposed to present/future hypothetical/counterfactual conditional clauses on a variety of tests. The main conclusions showed that students did better overall when using past counterfactual clauses, especially when it came to the English-Bosnian translation and rewriting tasks. The study also showed that the usage of these conditional clauses was highly influenced by grade level and GPA from grammar-teaching courses.

To compare conditional clauses in Arabic and English, Hammadi (110-113) addressed the difficulties that students and English language learners encountered when attempting to comprehend and translate these structures. Like difficult puzzles, conditional sentences could be confusing to learners. Forty lecturers were interviewed for the study to determine the difficulties in learning these clauses. It explained how conditional clauses were categorized in both languages, pointing out their parallels and divergences, analyzing the challenges that students face, and investigating efficient conditional clause teaching techniques.

As can be observed, the issues that have been mentioned in the studies above that require further research are as follows: the usage of conditional clauses for hypothesizing, the difficulty (or the lack of it) of their acquisition due to the learners' L1 or their teaching/learning environment, as well as their grammaticality.

2.3. Statement of the Problem

ESL/EFL students often struggle to understand that clauses like: "If I had the money, I would take a vacation." (Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman 545) refer to the present/future rather than the past because they have been taught to equate past tense with past time. Another issue is that we do not yet know to what extent our students use conditional clauses for hypothesizing since it is an important part of academic writing, especially writing argumentative essays.

3. Research Methodology and Findings

This study aims to provide a deeper insight into the frequency of the usage, grammaticality, and topic dependency of English conditional clauses in 170 argumentative essays written by IUS freshman students.

3.1. Research Questions and Hypotheses:

1. What is the frequency and function of each conditional sentences type used by students in their essays? (%)
2. Do they use the zero conditional to refer to truths and facts in the present? If yes, how often? (%)
3. Do they use the first conditional to refer to possible situations in the present/future? If yes, how often? (%)
4. Do they use the second conditional to refer to hypothetical situations in the present/future? If yes, how often? (%)
5. Do they use the third conditional to refer to the past? If yes, how often? (%)
6. Do they use mixed conditionals to show the relationship between the past and present? If yes, how often? (%)
7. What are the most common errors in the usage of conditional sentences?

Based on the research questions, the study will examine the following hypotheses:

H1: All types of conditional clauses will be used.

H2: The zero conditional will be rarely used.

H3: The first conditional will be the most represented and used clause type.

H4: The second conditional will be used sporadically.

H5: The third conditional will be rarely used.

H6: The mixed conditionals will be rarely used.

H7: The most common errors will relate to the usage of the second conditional to refer to the past.

3.2. Data Collection, Research Design and Participants

The samples for this research are 170 argumentative essays written by the ELIT200 Critical Reading and Writing Course students at the International University of Sarajevo (IUS) in the spring semester of 2023. The first author of this study was the course instructor, and all the essays were written in exam conditions in class. The authors of the study then analyzed the data manually and transcribed the essays to archive them in their electronic versions.

ELIT200 Critical Reading and Writing is a 15-week-long, freshman English course at the IUS that focuses on developing students' critical thinking skills through exposure to different reading and writing tasks. They are asked to critically analyze and debate reading texts/material,

as well as to write argumentative essays on topics such as artificial intelligence (AI), social media, and discrimination, to name just a few. They are also taught how to use different types of arguments, persuasive strategies (ethos, pathos, and logos), inductive and deductive reasoning, as well as how to identify and omit logical fallacies.

The participants were freshman English students in three ELIT200 Critical Reading and Writing Course sections (ELIT200.4, ELIT200.5, and ELIT200.6). They are proficient in English (B2 or C1), as determined by the Placement/Proficiency Exam that is organized by the IUS English Language School (ELS) before the start of each academic year and/or semester. After successfully passing this exam, students enroll in their respective study programs. They were asked to write an argumentative essay for the quiz before the final exam, as well as on the final exam. The corpus was divided into three sections (ELIT200.4, ELIT200.5, and ELIT200.6) because the students were placed in different sections of the same course due to their large numbers. They had different quiz topics but identical exam ones.

ELIT200.4

As for ELIT200.4, out of 34 registered students, 26 did the quiz/assignment and took the final exam.

Table 1. Gender (ELIT200.4)

Female	14
Male	12

Table 2. Nationality (ELIT200.4)

Bosnian	20
Turkish	6

The assignment/quiz topics were the following:

- 1) Fast food should come with a warning, like cigarettes or alcohol (14 students, 54%);
- 2) Life today is better than a hundred years ago (11 students, 42%);
- 3) Being expelled from school/university is a suitable punishment for plagiarism (1 student, 4%).

The average word count was 618 words.

The final exam topics were the following:

- 1) Governments should be allowed to ban certain social media platforms (18 students, 69%);

- 2) Utilizing artificial intelligence (AI) technology in different professions will increase unemployment in the years to come (5 students, 19%);
- 3) In a democratic society, private businesses should have the right to discriminate against their future employees (3 students, 12%).

The average word count was 655 words.

As can be observed from the above-listed data, the most “popular” topics were related to fast food (54%), and social media (69%), which can be explained by the fact that the participants are in their late teens and those two topics were the closest to them in terms of their interests and life experiences. A surprising fact here is that only 5 students decided to write about artificial intelligence (AI) despite its popularity.

ELIT200.5

As for ELIT200.5, out of 35 registered students, 32 did the quiz/assignment and 34 took the final exam.

Table 3. Gender (ELIT200.5)

Female	15
Male	19

Table 4. Nationality (ELIT200.5)

Bosnian	28
Turkish	6

The assignment/quiz topics were the following:

- 1) A China-style lockdown is the only way to stop a global pandemic (11 students, 34%);
- 2) Online education is a perfect substitute for traditional learning (15 students, 47%);
- 3) Companies should not be allowed to collect user data (6 students, 19%).

The average word count was 666 words.

The final exam topics were the following:

- 1) Governments should be allowed to ban certain social media platforms (20 students, 59%);
- 2) Utilizing artificial intelligence (AI) technology in different professions will increase unemployment in the years to come (9 students, 26%);

- 3) In a democratic society, private businesses should have the right to discriminate against their future employees (5 students, 15%).

The average word count was 710 words.

As can be observed from the above-listed data, the most “popular” topics were related to online education (47%), and social media (59%), which again can be explained by the fact that those two topics were the closest to them in terms of their interests and life experiences. The topics concerning companies being allowed to collect user data (6 students) and discrimination by private businesses (5 students) were probably selected by fewer students due to the lack of relevant life experience.

ELIT200.6

As for ELIT200.6, out of 28 registered students, 26 did the quiz/assignment and took the final exam.

Table 5. Gender (ELIT200.6)

Female	9
Male	17

Table 6. Nationality (ELIT200.6)

Bosnian	21
Turkish	5

The assignment/quiz topics were the following:

- 1) Children vaccination should be obligatory (6 students, 23%);
- 2) Climate change is a hoax (8 students, 31%);
- 3) The legal driving age should be raised to 21 (12 students, 46%).

The average word count was 519 words (due to some extremely short, underdeveloped essays).

The final exam topics were the following:

- 1) Governments should be allowed to ban certain social media platforms (17 students, 65%);
- 2) Utilizing artificial intelligence (AI) technology in different professions will increase unemployment in the years to come (7 students, 27%);
- 3) In a democratic society, private businesses should have the right to discriminate against their future employees (2 students, 8%).

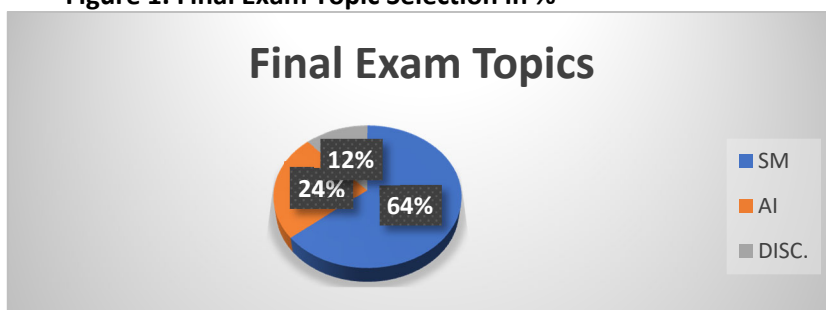
The average word count was 615 words.

As can be observed from the above-listed data, the selection and distribution of the quiz/assignment topics were much closer than in the cases of ELIT200.4 and ELIT200.5. However, the topic related to the legal driving age (46%) was still more “popular” than the other two probably because, at their age, most students are eager to pass a driving test, get a car, and start driving as soon as possible. Yet again, the topic concerning social media (65%) was the most selected one on the final exam.

FINAL EXAM (ELIT200.4 + ELIT200.5 + ELIT200.6)

Concerning the final exam, it is interesting to note the following fact: out of 86 students in total who took the final exam, 55 students (64%) chose the topic concerning social media, 21 students (24%) chose the topic related to artificial intelligence (AI), and 10 students (12%) chose the topic related to discrimination by private businesses. This can easily be explained by the fact that social media are dominating and are present in all important segments of their lives, from education to socialization, and that they would not be able to imagine their lives without the internet, their smart phones, and social media.

Figure 1. Final Exam Topic Selection in %



3.3. Results

This chapter deals with the presentation and analysis of the results regarding the frequency, grammaticality, and topic distribution of conditional clauses in the given corpus (170 argumentative essays).

3.3.1. Frequency

Below is the frequency rating for the given corpus that contains 294 conditional clauses in total.

ELIT200.4 + ELIT200.5 + ELIT200.6 (QUIZZES – OVERALL)**Table 7. Frequency of usage of conditional clauses overall – 3 quizzes**

Structure	Type	Writing (118 conditional clauses)
If + present s. / present s. / present cont.	Zero: Factual present	24 (20.33%)
If + present s. / will (+ be) + verb (+ ing)	First: Probable/predictive future	19 (16.10%)
If + present s. / can/may/should/must/have to + verb	First: Factual present/future inference with somewhat uncertain results	43 (36.44%)
If + past s. / would + verb	Second: Hypothetical/counterfactual present	14 (11.86%)

*The other structures/types occur less than 5%, which makes them statistically irrelevant.

ELIT200.4 + ELIT200.5 + ELIT200.6 (FINAL EXAM – OVERALL)**Table 8. Frequency of usage of conditional clauses – overall**

Structure	Type	Writing (176 conditional clauses)
If + present s. / present s. / present cont.	Zero: Factual present	32 (18.18%)
If + present s. / will (+ be) + verb (+ ing)	First: Probable/predictive future	30 (17.04%)
If + present s. / can/may/should/must/have to + verb	First: Factual present/future inference with somewhat uncertain results	48 (27.27%)
If + past s. / would + verb	Second: Hypothetical/counterfactual present	21 (11.93%)

*The other structures/types occur less than 5%, which makes them statistically irrelevant.

ELIT200.4 + ELIT200.5 + ELIT200.6 (QUIZZES AND FINAL EXAM – OVERALL)

Table 9. Frequency of usage of conditional clauses – overall

Structure	Type	Writing (294 conditional clauses)
If + present s. / present s. / present cont.	Zero: Factual present	56 (19.05%)
If + present s. / will (+ be) + verb (+ ing)	First: Probable/predictive future	49 (16.66%)
If + present s. / can/may/should/must/have to + verb	First: Factual present/future inference with somewhat uncertain results	91 (30.95%)
If + past s. / would + verb	Second: Hypothetical/counterfactual present	35 (11.90%)

*The other structures/types occur less than 5%, which makes them statistically irrelevant.

Tables 7, 8, and 9 show that the most frequently used conditional clause structure was “if + present simple / modal + verb” to describe factual present and future inferences with somewhat uncertain results (91 out of 294 conditional clauses in total – 30.95%). Overall, the first conditional is used in 140 sentences out of 294 in total, making it 47.61%.

As for the least used type “if + past simple / would + verb”, it accounts for only 11.90% (35 out of 294 sentences in total). It is surprising since it is used to speculate about hypothetical and/or counterfactual situations in the present.

3.3.2. Grammaticality

As far as the grammaticality of conditional clauses in the essays is concerned, the fact that only a small portion of the 294 conditional sentences are incorrect (18 in total – making it 6.12%) suggests that participants’ grammatical proficiency is generally high (93.88%).

... Of the 294 sentences, only 18 (6.12% of the total) have form, logic, or style issues. There is only one error in the zero conditional, four in the first conditional, six in the second

conditional, four in the third conditional, and three in mixed conditionals.

- ... Rather than total misinterpretations of conditional structures, most of these errors involve awkward wording, redundancy, or inversion issues. This implies that even though students are usually skilled at creating conditionals, they still occasionally make grammatical, stylistic, and logical mistakes, particularly in more intricate or rhetorically charged contexts. One clear example where the second conditional is used, but the third is more appropriate, is the following sentence: *However, if we **did not have** social media in the time when the coronavirus appeared, we **would not be** informed about the importance of it.* (did not have – had not had; would not be – would not have been!)

3.3.3. Topic Distribution/Dependency

Below is the topic distribution/dependency rating for the given corpus.

Table 10. Topic Distribution/Dependency

Topic	Writing (Out of 294 conditional clauses in total)
Fast food should come with a warning, like cigarettes or alcohol	21 (7.14%)
Life today is better than a hundred years ago	11 (3.74%)
Being expelled from school/university is a suitable punishment for plagiarism	10 (3.40%)
A China-style lockdown is the only way to stop a global pandemic	9 (3.06%)
Online education is a perfect substitute for traditional learning	33 (11.22%)
Companies should not be allowed to collect user data	5 (1.70%)
Children vaccination should be obligatory	4 (1.36%)
Climate change is a hoax	7 (2.38%)
The legal driving age should be raised to 21	18 (6.12%)

Governments should be allowed to ban certain social media platforms (ELIT200.4)	33 (11.22%)
Governments should be allowed to ban certain social media platforms (ELIT200.5)	35 (11.90%)
Governments should be allowed to ban certain social media platforms (ELIT200.6)	26 (8.84%)
Utilizing artificial intelligence (AI) technology in different professions will increase unemployment in the years to come (ELIT200.4)	13 (4.42%)
Utilizing artificial intelligence (AI) technology in different professions will increase unemployment in the years to come (ELIT200.5)	21 (7.14%)
Utilizing artificial intelligence (AI) technology in different professions will increase unemployment in the years to come (ELIT200.6)	14 (4.76%)
In a democratic society, private businesses should have the right to discriminate against their future employees (ELIT200.4)	9 (3.06%)
In a democratic society, private businesses should have the right to discriminate against their future employees (ELIT200.5)	15 (5.10%)
In a democratic society, private businesses should have the right to discriminate against their future employees (ELIT200.6)	10 (3.40%)

Regarding the topic distribution/dependency, we can see that “Governments should be allowed to ban certain social media sites” (ELIT200.4 – 33 clauses – 11.22% and ELIT200.5 – 35 clauses – 11.90%) and “Online education is a perfect substitute for traditional learning” (33 clauses – 11.22%) are the topics with the highest number of conditional clauses.

On the other hand, “Companies should not be allowed to collect user data” (5 clauses – 1.70%), “Children vaccination should be

obligatory" (4 clauses – 1.36%), and "Climate change is a hoax" (7 clauses – 2.38%) are the ones with the lowest numbers of conditional clauses.

3.3.4. Findings Related to the Posed Hypotheses

Based on the research questions, the study has examined the following hypotheses and come to the following findings:

H1: All types of conditional clauses will be used. – Accepted, all types of conditional clauses have been used.

H2: The zero conditional will be rarely used. – Rejected, it is used sporadically – 56 out of 294 sentences in total, making it 19.05%.

H3: The first conditional will be the most represented and used clause type. – Accepted, the first conditional is the most represented and used clause type, with almost half of the sentences being in the first conditional (140 out of 294 conditional clauses in total, making it 47.61%); however, it does not use "will" but verbs like "can", "may", "must", and similar ones almost twice as often to show degrees of certainty, probability, necessity, and/or obligation (91 out of 294 conditional clauses in total – making it 30.95%).

H4: The second conditional will be used sporadically. – Accepted, 35 clauses out of 294 in total, making it 11.90%.

H5: The third conditional will be rarely used. – Accepted, there are 5 out of 294 clauses in total, making it 1.7% (statistically insignificant).

H6: The mixed conditionals will be rarely used. – Accepted, there are 7 out of 294 clauses in total, making it 2.4% (statistically insignificant).

H7: The most common errors will relate to the usage of the second conditional to refer to the past. – Rejected, most of these errors involved awkward wording, redundancy, or inversion issues. There is only one sentence where the second conditional is used instead of the third conditional.

As for the topic distribution/dependency, the topics with the highest number of conditional clauses are "Governments should be allowed to ban certain social media sites" (ELIT200.4 – 33 clauses – 11.22% and ELIT200.5 – 35 clauses – 11.90%) and "Online education is a perfect substitute for traditional learning" (33 clauses – 11.22%), whereas the topics with the lowest number of conditional clauses are "Companies should not be allowed to collect user data" (5 clauses – 1.70%), "Children vaccination should be obligatory" (4 clauses – 1.36%), and "Climate change is a hoax" (7 clauses – 2.38%).

4. Conclusion

The grammaticality of conditional clauses in the essays is generally high.

The most frequently used conditional clause structure was “if + present simple / modal + verb” to describe factual present and future inferences with somewhat uncertain results. This may be the case because, to write an argumentative essay, one needs to use speculative language, thus the modal verbs and not “will”, as the latter is used to describe a more probable and/or predictive future. And students might believe that when it comes to writing argumentative essays, it is more important to share facts than to speculate.

As for the least used type, “if + past simple / would + verb”, it is surprising that it is not used more frequently since it is used to speculate about hypothetical and/or counterfactual situations in the present. This is especially true given that topics like “Governments should be allowed to ban certain social media platforms”, “Utilizing artificial intelligence (AI) technology in different professions will increase unemployment in the years to come”, and “In a democratic society, private businesses should have the right to discriminate against their future employees” offer ample opportunity for hypothesizing and speculation. What can be noted is that the students opted for more factual and predictive structures while using verbs like “can”, “may”, “must”, and similar ones to show degrees of certainty, probability, necessity, and/or obligation.

Regarding the topic distribution/dependency, we have seen that “Governments should be allowed to ban certain social media sites” and “Online education is a perfect substitute for traditional learning” are the topics with the highest number of conditional clauses. This is probably because social media and online education are very relevant to them and parts of their everyday lives. It is impossible for them to imagine their lives without their smartphones, internet access, social media, and, as of relatively recently, artificial intelligence (AI).

On the other hand, “Companies should not be allowed to collect user data”, “Children vaccination should be obligatory”, and “Climate change is a hoax” are the ones with the lowest numbers of conditional clauses. This could be explained by the fact that most students still do not work or if they do, it is for their pocket money, so they are not too worried about what companies do with people’s data. Furthermore, it is their parents who worry about and take care of their vaccinations. Last but not least, they do not see the seriousness of climate change as they

cannot yet perceive the full consequences of it in the part(s) of the world where they live.

When it comes to the limitations of the study, some future research and studies might focus on a wider range of topics, which might be more “inviting” to speculate and use conditional clauses more often, and which might provide a more detailed insight into why/to what purposes students use conditional clauses in academic writing. Moreover, some apps, software programs, and other similar tools could be employed on a larger corpus of essays and on a broader scale.

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Učestalost i gramatičnost kondicionalnih rečenica u esejima bruoša IUS-

a

Ovaj istraživački rad je deskriptivna studija koja analizira upotrebu kondicionalnih rečenica u 170 argumentativnih eseja koje su napisali studenti

brucoši na Internacionalnom univerzitetu u Sarajevu (IUS) u proljetnom semestru 2023. Eseji su napisani kao dio njihovog ocjenjivanja na predmetu ELIT200 Kritičko čitanje i pisanje, koji je obavezan predmet za brucoše na IUS-u. Cilj rada je istražiti učestalost pojavljivanja kondicionalnih rečenica, njihove različite vrste i njihovu gramatičnost. Također, u radu se ispituje povezanost učestalosti i gramatičnosti korištenih kondicionalnih rečenica i zadanih tema eseja. Rezultati pokazuju da je tačnost/gramatičnost kada je u pitanju upotreba engleskih kondicionalnih rečenica visoka. Kao što se i očekivalo, najčešće korišteni tip kondicionala je prvi kondicional.

Ključne riječi: kondicionalne rečenice, učestalost, gramatičnost, argumentativni eseji, brucoši

**PRENDERE APPUNTI IN AMBITO UNIVERSITARIO: ABITUDINI
E STRATEGIE DI STUDENTI MADRELINGUA E
INTERNAZIONALI A CONFRONTO**

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Original scientific paper

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Abstract: Saper prendere appunti è un'abilità fondamentale per gli studenti universitari. Gli appunti costituiscono la base per una rielaborazione dei contenuti in forma orale (ad es. colloqui di fine corso) o scritta (ad es. relazione, tesi). Il presente studio analizza e mette a confronto le abitudini e le strategie di presa di appunti adottate da studenti universitari madrelingua italiani e studenti internazionali che usano e apprendono l'italiano come L2 per scopi accademici. Sebbene ci siano numerosi studi in quest'ambito per la lingua inglese (tra cui Bui et al.; Clerehan; Morehead et al.; Reddington et al.; Siegel 2021, 2023a), per quanto riguarda l'italiano, ad oggi gli studi sono molto scarsi e non esistono ricerche relative né all'ambito accademico, né al confronto tra studenti L1 e L2.

Per la raccolta dei dati sono stati adottati due strumenti principali: un questionario e un corpus di appunti redatti, in formato cartaceo o digitale, da studenti dell'Università per Stranieri di Perugia. L'analisi del questionario ha permesso di indagare le funzioni attribuite agli appunti, le strategie impiegate, le condizioni per prendere appunti in modo efficace e le variabili che influenzano le pratiche degli studenti. Parallelamente, l'esame del corpus ha evidenziato modalità diverse di registrazione delle informazioni (ad es. trascrizione letterale, abbreviazioni, parafrasi, *translanguaging*, uso di immagini) e ha messo in luce differenze nelle caratteristiche linguistiche e nell'organizzazione delle informazioni in relazione a variabili quali la L1 e il mezzo di scrittura (manuale vs digitale).

I risultati evidenziano la necessità di strategie didattiche mirate per sviluppare consapevolezza e competenze nella presa di appunti, specialmente in italiano L2. Lo studio si conclude con alcune considerazioni sui percorsi formativi, basati su tecniche diversificate e riflessioni guidate, per migliorare la gestione delle informazioni e per potenziare le competenze linguistiche e cognitive degli studenti nel contesto universitario.

Keywords: Italiano accademico, prendere appunti, italiano scritto, strategie di studio, strategie di apprendimento, italiano L2

1. Prendere appunti: un'abilità fondamentale all'università

Saper prendere appunti è una competenza fondamentale in ambito educativo ed è un'attività trasversale a tutte le discipline. Per quanto riguarda l'ambito universitario, van der Meer la descrive addirittura come la caratteristica distintiva dell'istruzione superiore, onnipresente nell'istruzione accademica. La lezione (frontale) è la modalità di insegnamento più diffusa e quasi tutti gli studenti universitari prendono appunti in classe, anche quando non viene detto loro esplicitamente di farlo. In un'indagine su larga scala condotta tra gli studenti universitari, Morehead et al. hanno registrato le abitudini e le preferenze relative alla presa di appunti. 96% dei 577 partecipanti ha dichiarato di prendere appunti e l'88% ha ritenuto che prendere appunti fosse necessario per garantire un apprendimento efficace. Osserviamo le stesse tendenze anche nelle abitudini degli studenti universitari italiani. I dati sulle domande riguardanti gli appunti incluse nel questionario somministrato a 2137 studenti frequentanti il II anno di laurea triennale nell'ambito del progetto UniverS-ITA¹ dimostrano che l'81,7% degli studenti prende sempre degli appunti.

Prendere appunti è una forma di scrittura funzionale. Gli studenti li considerano utili poiché rappresentano una base fondamentale per la preparazione agli esami o per la redazione di relazioni e tesine. Varie ricerche indicano che gli studenti, quando si preparano per esami ritenuti difficili, si affidano in gran parte alla memorizzazione degli appunti (Karpicke, Butler, and Roediger; Morehead, Rhodes, and DeLozier). Gli effetti positivi della presa di appunti sono evidenziati sin dai primi studi realizzati in questo ambito; infatti, Crawford già nel 1925 ha determinato l'effetto prodotto sui voti dei quiz degli studenti universitari dalla presa di appunti durante le lezioni e dal successivo studio o revisione di tali appunti. L'impatto positivo della presa di appunti sulla performance nello studio è stato ribadito da una lunga serie di lavori (ad esempio, Kobayashi; Liu and Hu).

Dato che il contenuto degli appunti è fondamentale per l'apprendimento degli studenti, sarebbe importante capire quando e in

¹ La descrizione del progetto e dei suoi risultati, nonché i corpora raccolti, sono disponibili al sito <https://site.unibo.it/univers-ita/it> [13/03/2025].

che modo gli studenti prendono appunti e quali strategie utilizzano per studiarli. Ciononostante, i numerosi studi realizzati negli ultimi decenni sull'alfabetizzazione accademica in Italia, pur documentando molti aspetti problematici della comprensione e della produzione di testi per lo studio, ad oggi non includono ricerche su questa forma di scrittura. Parallelamente, sul versante didattico, si tende ad insistere sulla necessità di sviluppare le abilità di comprensione e di scrittura dei testi universitari, senza considerare l'utilità di lavorare sulle tecniche di presa di appunti (per una proposta di percorso a scuola si veda Rossi). Gli studi realizzati sia in contesti L1 che L2 rivelano che la presa di appunti è una sfida sottovalutata. In un'indagine condotta su larga scala in Giappone ($n=739$) (Crawford et al.), poco più della metà degli studenti universitari ha dichiarato di aver ricevuto istruzioni per prendere appunti durante le lezioni di inglese alle scuole superiori. Molti studenti in questi sondaggi esprimono il desiderio di una maggiore e più esplicita attenzione alla presa di appunti nei loro corsi di inglese (ad es. Teng; Crawford et al.; İpek; Siegel 2021).

L'obiettivo principale del presente studio è quello di fornire i dati di una prima indagine sulle abitudini di presa di appunti degli studenti universitari in Italia, di confrontare le abitudini di presa di appunti degli studenti con quelle che sono considerate le buone pratiche secondo la letteratura anglosassone e di riflettere su eventuali differenze tra la realizzazione degli appunti da parte di studenti L1 e L2 per offrire qualche spunto pratico ai docenti.

La complessità funzionale della presa di appunti spesso non viene presa in considerazione, anzi, la capacità di prendere appunti è spesso data per scontata. In genere si presume che si tratti di un'abilità comune che gli studenti possiedono o che impareranno attraverso un processo di tentativi ed errori. Tuttavia, si tratta di un'attività particolarmente complessa che richiede l'attivazione simultanea di abilità ricettive (comprensione del testo, estrapolazione/selezione delle informazioni principali) e produttive (riorganizzazione e resa grafica delle informazioni). Nella definizione di Piolat, Olive e Kellogg, infatti, gli appunti sono "brevi condensazioni di un materiale di partenza che vengono generate scrivendo mentre si ascolta in contemporanea" (292; trad. mia). Chi prende appunti deve seguire la lezione, conservare nella memoria di lavoro le informazioni presentate durante la lezione, selezionare le informazioni importanti da ricordare prima che vengano dimenticate, trascrivere le informazioni prima che vengano dimenticate, e mantenere la continuità di ciò che l'insegnante sta dicendo.

Questa complicata sequenza diventa ancora più impegnativa in L2, in stretto collegamento con la competenza linguistica dello studente². Il *Quadro comune europeo di riferimento per le lingue: apprendimento, insegnamento, valutazione. Volume complementare* (Consiglio d'Europa) include l'attività di prendere appunti sotto l'etichetta di "mediazione di un testo per se stessi". La "mediazione a livello testuale" riguarda la trasmissione del contenuto di un testo a persone che non vi accedono, ma può, appunto, riguardare anche se stessi. Quest'attività di mediazione ha una serie di ricadute positive: prendere appunti aiuta gli studenti a memorizzare, imparare e riflettere su ciò che viene insegnato e li aiuta anche a imparare a scrivere. Tuttavia, analizzando il descrittore relativo all'attività di prendere appunti di un apprendente di livello B2, livello generalmente richiesto per l'accesso ai percorsi universitari, emergono varie limitazioni:

È in grado di comprendere una lezione ben strutturata su un argomento familiare e di prendere appunti sugli elementi che ritiene importanti, anche se tende a concentrarsi sulle parole finendo per perdere parte dell'informazione. È in grado di prendere appunti precisi in riunioni e seminari su quasi tutti gli argomenti relativi al suo campo di interesse (Consiglio d'Europa 113).

Il passaggio evidenzia le difficoltà degli apprendenti, che pur avendo una buona capacità di comprensione e produzione linguistica generale, incontrano ostacoli quando si confrontano con concetti non completamente familiari o quando sono chiamati a comprendere e rielaborare discorsi lunghi e complessi, tipici delle lezioni universitarie.

2. Studi precedenti

Partiamo da una breve panoramica delle ricerche condotte soprattutto sull'inglese L1/L2 e di alcuni manuali di *academic notetaking*. I principali risultati verranno presentati in riferimento a quattro aspetti fondamentali: (1) le funzioni principali degli appunti, (2) le strategie utilizzate dagli studenti, (3) le condizioni per prendere

² Ulteriori ostacoli rilevati negli studi sono legati alle variazioni di accento del parlante, al grado di riduzione fonetica, ai cambiamenti a metà frase, alle auto-riparazioni, alla conoscenza di eventuali espressioni colloquiali e dei segnali discorsivi che indicano l'organizzazione della lezione.

appunti in modo efficace; (4) le variabili che influenzano le abitudini e l'approccio alla presa di appunti degli studenti.

2.1. Le funzioni principali degli appunti

Chi prende appunti svolge due funzioni principali: codificazione (*encoding*) e immagazzinamento (*storage*). La funzione di codificazione riguarda l'atto di prendere appunti, mentre la funzione di immagazzinamento riguarda il modo in cui gli studenti tentano successivamente di apprendere dai loro appunti. I metodi di memorizzazione variano da strategie di "copia-rigurgita" a strategie più complesse di "riformulazione-interpretazione" (Boch and Piolat 102). Queste ultime sono meno utilizzate dagli studenti probabilmente perché sono più rischiose: è più difficile riprodurre fedelmente l'informazione di partenza quando questa è stata riformulata anziché semplicemente trascritta. Eppure, prendere appunti può essere un efficace strumento di elaborazione delle informazioni: contribuisce allo svolgimento di una serie di processi intellettuali, come esprimere giudizi, risolvere problemi e prendere decisioni. Prendere appunti può essere utile sia per consolidare le conoscenze da acquisire e riprodurre durante gli esami, sia per risolvere efficacemente i problemi, che si tratti di comprendere documenti complessi, scrivere relazioni o risolvere equazioni algebriche.

Esaminiamo anche la prospettiva degli apprendenti. Quali sono, secondo loro, le funzioni principali degli appunti? Nello studio di Van Meter, Yokoi e Pressley la maggior parte degli studenti intervistati (n = 252) riferisce che prendere appunti è finalizzato all'obiettivo di ottenere buoni risultati nel corso. Nello specifico, gli studenti riferiscono di prendere appunti per diversi motivi: per prestare attenzione durante le lezioni, per organizzare le informazioni contenute nelle lezioni o per utilizzare gli appunti come aiuto allo studio. Nello studio di Badger et al. tutti i 18 soggetti intervistati hanno citato ragioni orientate al risultato: ricordare i contenuti delle lezioni, superare esoneri ed esami, imparare in senso più generale. Gli studenti hanno riferito effetti sia positivi che negativi sulla concentrazione: alcuni sostengono che l'atto di prendere appunti aiuti la concentrazione, mentre altri lo considerano come una distrazione che impedisce di concentrarsi sull'insegnante. Un'ulteriore motivazione rilevata nello studio di Morehead et al. è quello di evitare di leggere il libro di testo (46% dei rispondenti). Nello stesso studio, il 52% degli studenti dichiara che non prenderebbe appunti se non dovesse sostenere un esame.

2.2. Le strategie utilizzate dagli studenti

La velocità media di scrittura di uno studente è di circa 0,3-0,4 parole/secondo, mentre un docente parla a una velocità di circa 2-3 parole/secondo (Boch and Piolat 102). A meno che non venga detto tutto a velocità di dettato, o che gli studenti non sviluppino eccezionali capacità di stenografia, gli insegnanti non parleranno mai abbastanza lentamente da permettere agli studenti di scrivere tutto ciò che viene detto. Di conseguenza, gli studenti sviluppano intuitivamente metodi che consentono loro di registrare il contenuto delle lezioni.

Uno dei modi per rispondere a una situazione di presa di appunti è, quando possibile, utilizzare un metodo per elaborare le informazioni nella loro globalità. Tuttavia, è stato dimostrato che la maggior parte degli studenti, desiderosi di rimanere fedeli alle parole del docente e di riprodurle in sede d'esame, adotta un metodo lineare di presa di appunti che conferisce agli appunti un aspetto "testuale" relativamente classico. Ma il risultato del prendere appunti va ben oltre alla produzione di un archivio passivo di informazioni "esterne", poiché l'azione stessa di prendere appunti costituisce parte del processo di memorizzazione. Una struttura a matrice per la registrazione delle informazioni si è dimostrata più vantaggiosa di una struttura a schema, che a sua volta è più vantaggiosa della struttura lineare utilizzata dalla maggior parte degli studenti (si veda Piolat; Robinson et al.). Per quanto riguarda il modo in cui gli appunti sono organizzati sulla pagina, in uno studio che ha coinvolto 257 studenti universitari di inglese L2, Song ha dimostrato che prendere appunti usando un formato a scaletta (*outline*) porta a risultati leggermente migliori al test finale rispetto al formato libero. Seguire uno schema, infatti, permette di cogliere le relazioni gerarchiche delle informazioni. I manuali di *academic notetaking* in inglese L2 in commercio, come ad esempio *Lecture Ready* (Sarosy and Sherak) e *Listening & Notetaking Skills* (Dunkel and Lim; Lim and Smalzer; Dunkel and Pialorsi), spesso promuovono determinati sistemi di appunti, come il formato a scaletta o il metodo Cornell³. Hayati e Jalilifar, ad esempio, hanno riscontrato che gli studenti di inglese L2 in Iran (n = 60) addestrati con il metodo Cornell hanno ottenuto risultati migliori nei test di comprensione rispetto agli studenti non istruiti. Inoltre, esistono vari modi in cui una singola informazione può essere registrata, come ad esempio la riproduzione letterale, la parafrasi, l'abbreviazione, l'immagine o una loro combinazione. Gli appunti generativi, rispetto alla

³ Per una panoramica completa del metodo Cornell si veda Pauk e Owens.

trascrizione letterale, risultano più vantaggiosi in termini di elaborazione delle informazioni, memorizzazione e apprendimento, in quanto richiedono un maggiore investimento cognitivo (Piolat, Olive, and Kellogg).

Tuttavia, ci sono una serie di variabili da prendere in considerazione. Ad esempio, il tipo di testo e il contenuto della lezione possono influenzare la scelta del formato. Lezioni in diverse discipline, in particolare quelle in cui il materiale è presentato in forma grafica, di diagrammi o di immagini possono favorire tecniche di presa di appunti basati su forme grafiche. Nello studio di Morehead et al. il 56% degli studenti ha dichiarato di cercare di organizzare i propri appunti piuttosto che limitarsi a copiare quanto detto dall'insegnante. Il 74% ha dichiarato di prendere appunti in modo diverso a seconda del corso. Alla richiesta di spiegazioni, questi studenti hanno riferito di cambiare il loro comportamento nel prendere appunti a seconda dello stile dell'insegnante (21%), della disciplina (18%) o della disponibilità di schemi o diapositive PowerPoint online (17%).

Una successiva revisione degli appunti, associata o meno a una riorganizzazione delle informazioni, rafforza l'integrazione delle conoscenze e la loro archiviazione nella memoria a lungo termine. Bui et al. dimostrano che l'efficacia della modalità della presa di appunti è legata allo studio successivo: gli apprendenti che non possono rivedere gli appunti ottengono migliori risultati al test se prendono appunti in modo organizzato. Se invece possono studiare i propri appunti, raggiungono risultati migliori coloro che trascrivono dalla lezione la maggior quantità di informazioni⁴. Gli autori collegano tali risultati alla teoria dei livelli di elaborazione (Craik and Lockhart): la trascrizione delle informazioni comporta un'elaborazione superficiale, mentre l'organizzazione delle informazioni comporta un'elaborazione semantica più profonda, che favorisce la memorizzazione a lungo termine. Vari altri studi supportano la nozione di senso comune secondo cui rivedere gli appunti porta a un apprendimento migliore rispetto al prendere appunti senza rivederli (ad esempio, Dunkel; Kobayashi; Luo et al.). In più, nella revisione degli appunti, più il processo di apprendimento delle informazioni coinvolge operazioni di comprensione e trasformazione, maggiore è l'intensità e l'efficacia del

⁴ Una potenziale criticità della ricerca è che la lezione sperimentale ha avuto una durata di soli 11 minuti. Nella trascrizione letterale di lezioni più lunghe fattori come l'attenzione e la stanchezza potrebbero giocare un ruolo importante.

processo di apprendimento. Pertanto, è meglio evidenziare gli appunti che leggerli semplicemente, e ancora meglio riassumerli che evidenziarli.

Nel discorso orale sono presenti numerosi segnali, di natura più o meno esplicita, che servono a evidenziare l'importanza di determinati contenuti e che tendono ad attirare l'attenzione di chi è impegnato nella presa di appunti. Tra gli elementi che favoriscono tale attività si annoverano, ad esempio, la scrittura alla lavagna, la dettatura da parte dell'insegnante, l'introduzione di titoli di sezioni o elenchi, le definizioni, le battute a effetto o slogan, nonché l'impiego di marcatori discorsivi volti a rendere più trasparente la struttura dell'esposizione. Al contrario, ci sono segnali che inibiscono la presa di appunti, quali l'uso di incisi o digressioni parentetiche, momenti di interazione tra insegnante e studenti, fenomeni prosodici come l'accelerazione del ritmo dell'eloquio, esitazioni nel parlare e comportamenti non verbali, quali il gesto dell'insegnante che accantona i propri appunti o cammina per l'aula (Branca-Rosoff and Doggen; Boch and Piolat).

2.3. Le condizioni per prendere appunti in modo efficace

Nel 1974 Palmatier e Bennett hanno espresso il sospetto che "l'aspetto del quaderno rilegato a spirale" (216) avrebbe potuto influenzare la presa di appunti da parte degli studenti. I progressi tecnologici introdotti nell'istruzione dal 1974 con molta probabilità superano l'effetto dei quaderni rilegati a spirale. I computer portatili moderni sono leggeri e possono essere facilmente utilizzati per prendere appunti in classe. Più recentemente, gli eWriter e altri tablet consentono agli studenti di prendere appunti a mano senza usare la carta. Gli studi riportati in questo paragrafo si sono focalizzati sull'uso degli strumenti tecnologici, come computer portatili, eWriter, software di registrazione e piattaforme di condivisione di PowerPoint e le conseguenti evoluzioni nelle preferenze e nelle abitudini di presa di appunti degli studenti.

I risultati dello studio condotto da Bui et al. evidenziano che l'utilizzo del computer per la presa di appunti è associato a una performance complessiva superiore nei test rispetto alla scrittura manuale. In particolare, i partecipanti che hanno impiegato il computer durante la lezione hanno prodotto un numero maggiore di appunti e hanno dimostrato una capacità di richiamo delle informazioni superiore rispetto a quando si avvalevano della scrittura a mano. Una possibile spiegazione di questo fenomeno risiede nelle limitazioni fisiche imposte

dalla scrittura a mano. Tale evidenza sottolinea l'impatto potenziale che l'uso del computer può avere sulla presa di appunti in aula, poiché le tastiere consentono di prendere appunti più velocemente e per un periodo di tempo più lungo.

Nello studio di Morehead et al. la maggior parte degli studenti dichiara di prendere appunti a mano su un quaderno (86%), mentre una percentuale significativa (46%) riporta di utilizzare un computer portatile. Il 32% degli studenti riferisce di adottare una modalità mista, alternando l'uso del quaderno e del computer. In merito alle motivazioni che orientano la scelta dello strumento, gli studenti indicano come fattori determinanti la rapidità dell'esposizione da parte del docente (20%), la disponibilità di slide in formato PowerPoint (20%) e la natura del corso seguito (20%). Secondo i dati del progetto Univers-ITA (menzionato in §1) le preferenze per il supporto non sono molto dissimili in Italia: il 56,4% degli studenti universitari italiani prende appunti esclusivamente a mano (l'89,9% a mano o in entrambi i modi), il 7,1% esclusivamente sul computer (40,6% sul computer o in entrambi i modi), il 33,5% in entrambi i modi.

Mentre lo studio iniziale di Mueller e Oppenheimer indicava che la scrittura a mano poteva essere preferibile a quella con il computer portatile in termini di risultati ai test, Morehead, Dunlosky e Rawso (773) non hanno confermato tali risultati. Quest'ultima ricerca ha anche dimostrato che prendere appunti con un eWriter produce una qualità e una quantità simili a quelle degli appunti a mano. Roy, Brine, e Murasawa hanno riscontrato che app come Evernote e Springpad non solo generano reazioni positive da parte degli studenti, ma comportano un migliore risultato nei compiti.

2.4. Le variabili che influenzano le abitudini e l'approccio alla presa di appunti degli studenti

Le variabili cognitive più coerentemente identificate con la presa di appunti nelle ricerche precedenti sono la velocità di scrittura, la comprensione del linguaggio e l'attenzione sostenuta. Prendere appunti richiede un'attenzione focalizzata sull'input, l'organizzazione e la codificazione delle informazioni, un'attenzione molto più intensa rispetto al semplice ascolto di un parlante o alla lettura di un documento (Piolat, Olive, and Kellogg). Infatti, gli studenti fanno spesso riferimento al fatto che prendere appunti li aiuta a rimanere attenti (van Metter et al.).

Per quanto riguarda il genere, varie ricerche hanno evidenziato delle differenze nel comportamento di prendere appunti. Reddington,

Peverly e Block hanno rilevato (su un campione di 139 studenti universitari) che le donne riportano un numero significativamente maggiore di informazioni nei loro appunti rispetto ai maschi.

La metacognizione può anche svolgere un ruolo importante nella pianificazione, nel monitoraggio e nella riflessione sull'attività di presa di appunti. La pianificazione include conoscenze su formati e stili di appunti, su modi di annotazione dei singoli elementi (ad es. abbreviazione, parafrasi), sugli strumenti (ad es. penne specifiche, app, ecc.). Il monitoraggio riguarda l'efficacia della modalità adottata, il controllo del livello di ansia e della "resistenza" dell'attenzione. Una volta conclusa l'attività, lo studente può ragionare sulla realizzazione degli appunti, identificando aree che richiedono qualche intervento migliorativo (Siegel 2021: 14).

Tuttavia la variabile che ci interessa di più per il presente studio è la L1 degli apprendenti. Tra i primi Dunkel ha offerto un focus interculturale sugli appunti delle lezioni di gruppi di studenti L1 e L2. Clerehan ha realizzato una ricerca su una lezione di diritto rivolta a studenti L1 e L2 di economia della Monash University. Le differenze più evidenti sono state riscontrate nella registrazione della struttura gerarchica della lezione: gli studenti L1 hanno registrato il 99-100% degli elementi principali. Nel gruppo L2, invece, si è registrata una media di 19% di omissione dei titoli principali, 34% dei sottotitoli e 40% dei casi giuridici. Gli studenti L1 afferrano la forma retorica e quindi la "struttura di primo livello" in modo più completo rispetto agli studenti L2. La forma retorica è un fattore significativo, più importante del contenuto, nella comprensione della struttura narrativa di un testo e nella comprensione delle sequenze di eventi e delle relazioni temporali tra eventi.

La scelta della lingua è rilevante per la stesura degli appunti. Alcuni studenti L2 preferiscono tradurre ciò che sentono e scrivere gli appunti nella loro L1, mentre altri riferiscono che scrivere gli appunti nella stessa lingua in cui li sentono è più comodo e meno impegnativo dal punto di vista mentale (Siegel 2021: 16). Tsai e Wu hanno esaminato se l'uso della lingua (cinese L1 o inglese L2) influisce sulla qualità degli appunti presi dagli studenti universitari taiwanesi (n = 104) durante l'ascolto dell'inglese L2. Hanno riscontrato che gli studenti che prendevano appunti nella stessa lingua in cui stavano ascoltando hanno ottenuto risultati migliori nei test di comprensione successivi all'ascolto. Siegel (2020, 2023b), invece, sostiene l'utilità del *translanguaging*, una strategia che consente agli studenti di svolgere il compito di rappresentare le idee nel modo per loro più efficace. Gli studenti

possono scrivere la maggior parte degli appunti in L2, ma utilizzare la L1 per le informazioni che non sanno come scrivere in L2 o che sono più semplici e chiare da registrare in L1.

3. Analisi delle pratiche di presa di appunti in un contesto universitario plurilingue

In questa sezione si presenta una prima analisi basata su un corpus di appunti raccolti presso l'Università per Stranieri di Perugia durante l'anno accademico 2023/24⁵. Gli informatori sono studenti universitari, italiani e internazionali, che frequentano vari corsi di laurea. Gli appunti sono stati presi durante lezioni relative a varie discipline.

Gli strumenti adottati per la raccolta dei dati nell'ambito dell'indagine sono stati un questionario, elaborato attraverso la piattaforma Google Moduli, e un corpus di appunti redatti dagli studenti partecipanti. Il questionario era articolato in due sezioni distinte. La prima, composta da sette domande a risposta chiusa, mirava a raccogliere informazioni relative al profilo dei partecipanti, quali genere, età, paese di origine, lingua madre, durata e contesto dell'apprendimento dell'italiano, nonché il livello di competenza dichiarato. La seconda sezione, costituita da ventidue domande a risposta multipla, era volta ad indagare le modalità con cui gli studenti prendono e rielaborano gli appunti, con particolare attenzione alle funzioni di codifica e di immagazzinamento delle informazioni, all'organizzazione e registrazione dei contenuti, alle caratteristiche linguistiche della scrittura e all'uso di strumenti tecnologici. La formulazione delle domande è stata guidata dai quattro criteri individuati nella letteratura di riferimento (cfr. §2), al fine di garantire la comparabilità con studi precedenti. Al termine del questionario, su base volontaria, è stato richiesto agli studenti di allegare, tramite la medesima piattaforma, una copia degli appunti presi durante la lezione conclusasi con la somministrazione dello strumento, al fine di costituire un corpus di testi autentici da sottoporre ad analisi.

Nell'a.a. 2023/24 il questionario è stato somministrato 68 studenti, tra cui 27 italiani (40% del campione) e 41 stranieri (60% del campione). Gli informatori sono in prevalenza donne (77,9%), di età compresa tra 22 e 25 anni (52,9%). Le L1 degli studenti internazionali sono molto variegate: troviamo il francese, l'arabo standard, il cinese mandarino, il vietnamita, il russo, lo spagnolo, il serbo-croato e il montenegrino, il

⁵ La raccolta dati è stata realizzata nell'abito di due tesi di laurea, ad opera di Carla Spinello e Isabella Marocco.

polacco, l'ungherese, il giapponese, il chichewa e l'inglese. La maggior parte degli studenti internazionali (77,5%) studia l'italiano da almeno 4 anni e il 66% dichiara di avere una competenza linguistica tra il B2 e il C1 del QCER.

La presa di appunti rappresenta una pratica scrittoria ampiamente diffusa in ambito universitario, come confermato dal fatto che la maggior parte degli studenti dichiara di redigere appunti in occasione di (quasi) ogni lezione (Fig. 1). Tuttavia, l'analisi dei dati evidenzia una differenza significativa tra studenti madrelingua italiani e studenti internazionali: questi ultimi, infatti, tendono a prendere appunti con minore regolarità rispetto ai loro colleghi italofoni.

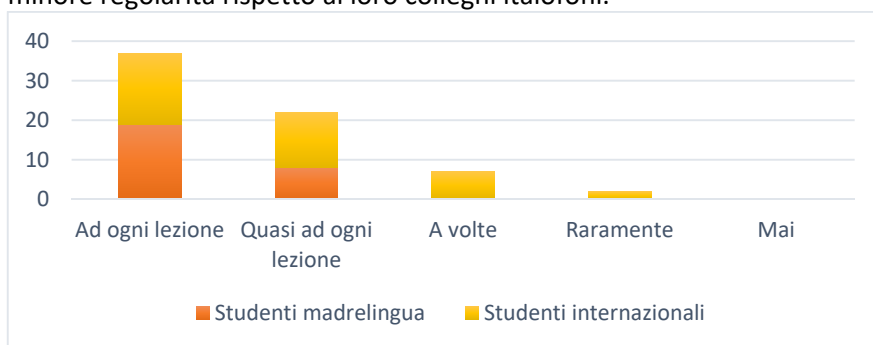


Figura 1: Frequenza della presa di appunti

Passiamo ora all'analisi delle abitudini di *note-taking* degli studenti in base alle quattro tematiche presentate nella sezione precedente. Relativamente alle funzioni degli appunti (v. §2.1), le motivazioni principali per cui gli studenti prendono appunti confermano i risultati delle ricerche precedenti: perché aiutano a fissare i concetti (66,2%), perché aiutano a studiare in vista dell'esame (66,2%), perché aiutano a rimanere concentrati durante la lezione (39,7%). Motivazioni meno citate sono: perché è un'abitudine (11,8%), per poterli vendere a chi non frequenta le lezioni (2,9%), per sapere cosa è importante per l'insegnante (1,5%). Nelle motivazioni identificate non si osservano differenze sostanziali tra studenti madrelingua e studenti internazionali. Il 61,8% degli studenti usa gli appunti propri o altrui per prepararsi agli esami, contro il 30,9% che preferisce il libro di testo e il 7,5% che usa sia gli appunti, che le slide e il libro di testo. Rispetto agli studenti madrelingua, quelli internazionali tendono ad usare meno i propri appunti (51% vs 67%) e più i libri di testo (37% vs 22%).

Quasi tutti gli studenti ritornano sugli appunti presi, soprattutto per prepararsi all'esame (55%), indipendentemente dalla L1. Sono relativamente pochi gli studenti che rielaborano i propri appunti creando schemi (Fig. 2). Se nel rileggere gli appunti gli studenti trovano delle imprecisioni, li integrano consultando le slide della lezione (66,2%) o riascoltando la registrazione della lezione (33,8%), chiedono chiarimenti ai colleghi (38,2%) o all'insegnante (23,5%), controllano online (39,7%) o sul libro di testo (36,8%).

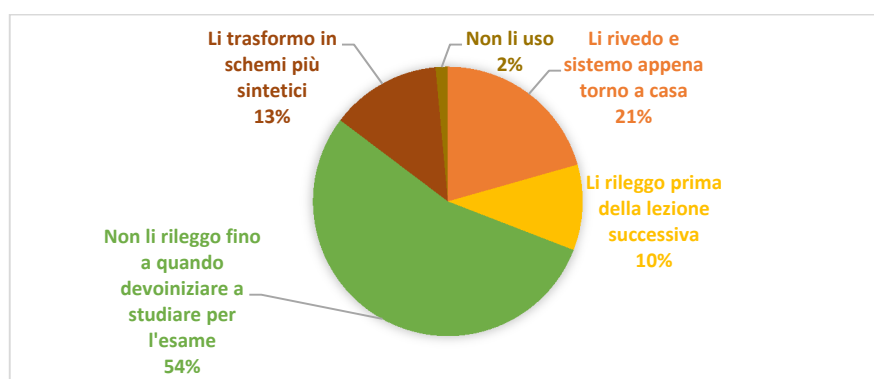


Figura 2: Funzione di immagazzinamento degli appunti

Passiamo alle strategie utilizzate dagli studenti (v. §2.2). Per quanto riguarda la codificazione, il 54,4% dichiara di utilizzare simboli e abbreviazioni, il 44,1% preferisce una stesura discorsiva, mentre il 32,4% opta per una struttura schematica con grafici, disegni e schemi. Il 26,5% tenta di annotare ogni informazione, anche accessoria, mentre il 73,5% seleziona solo i contenuti principali. Tuttavia, l'analisi in base alla L1 evidenzia differenze significative: gli studenti internazionali tendono a privilegiare simboli e abbreviazioni (42,5%), mentre gli italiani preferiscono una forma discorsiva (42,5%), mentre gli italiani prediligono una struttura discorsiva (43%) (v. Fig. 3). Per gli studenti internazionali, questa scelta può riflettere una difficoltà di comprensione completa, che li porta ad adottare strategie di tachigrafia spontanea; in tale quadro, il ricorso al registratore vocale assume una funzione compensativa.

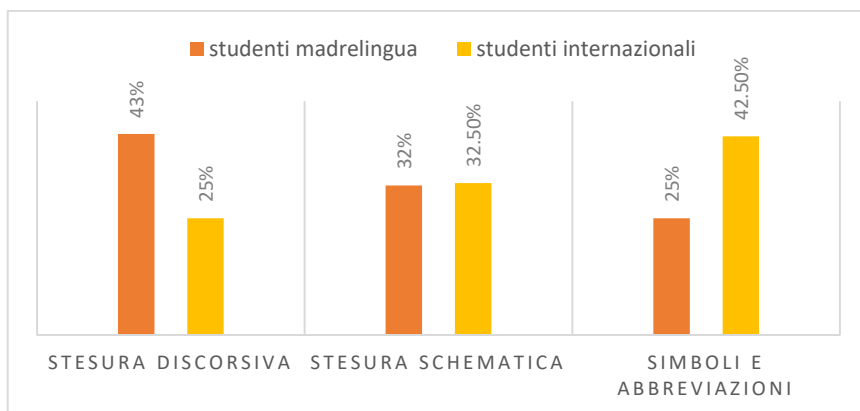


Figura 3: Formato generale degli appunti e L1

Riguardo alle condizioni per prendere appunti in modo efficace (v. §2.3), gli studenti del nostro campione preferiscono prendere appunti cartacei (64,7%), solo il 23,6% dichiara di prendere appunti sul laptop e 11,8% su tablet. Per il 47,1% degli studenti il supporto cambia in base al tipo di lezione. Tra gli strumenti tecnologici utilizzati per prendere appunti con maggiore facilità gli studenti menzionano il registratore audio (30,9%), il correttore ortografico (11,8%), lo smart pen (7,4%), il software di riconoscimento vocale (4,4%), solo uno studente usa reMarkable (un eWriter). In relazione all'uso delle tecnologie, emergono alcune correlazioni significative: il 50% degli studenti italiani utilizza laptop o tablet per la presa di appunti, a fronte del 25% degli studenti stranieri. Al contrario, il ricorso al registratore vocale o a software di riconoscimento vocale è più diffuso tra gli studenti stranieri (45%) rispetto agli italiani (21%).

Tra i fattori che rendono difficile l'atto di prendere appunti gli studenti evidenziano soprattutto il modo in cui l'insegnante spiega i contenuti (63,2%), il ritmo impegnativo e veloce della lezione (58,8%), il mancato utilizzo di slide (27,9%) o slide troppo corpose (26,5%). Tra i due gruppi emergono differenze significative: gli studenti internazionali segnalano prevalentemente difficoltà legate al ritmo e alla velocità della lezione, nonché all'uso delle slide in termini generali, mentre gli studenti madrelingua appaiono proporzionalmente più sensibili alle distrazioni causate dai compagni e alla densità informativa delle slide (v. Fig. 4).

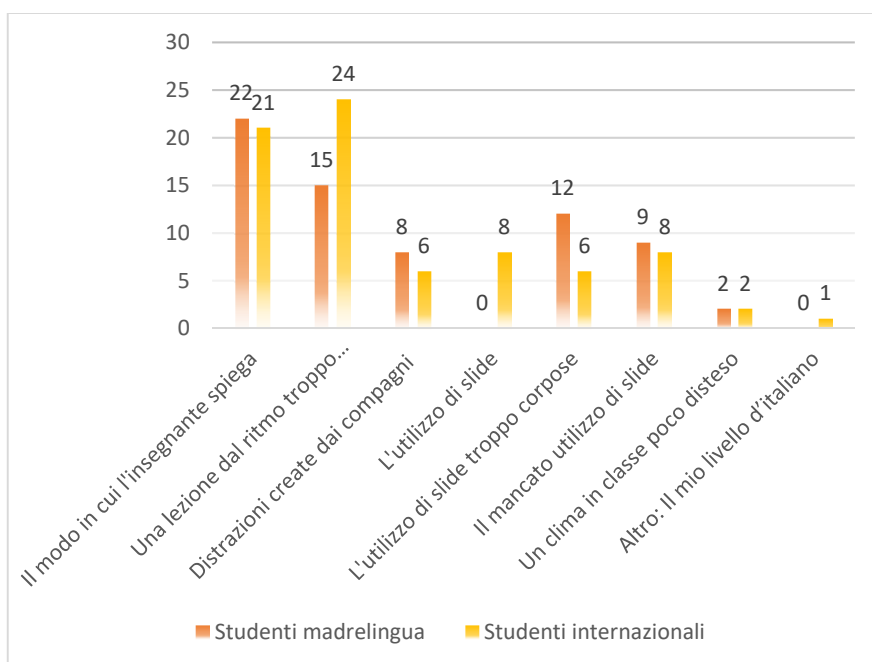


Figura 4: Fattori che influenzano negativamente la presa di appunti

Alcuni fattori si rivelano particolarmente favorevoli alla presa di appunti. Tra questi, la chiarezza espositiva dell'insegnante (69,1%), l'utilizzo di slide in generale (42,6%), e in particolare quelle che evidenziano con efficacia i concetti chiave (57,4%) e il ritmo scorrevole della lezione (32,4%).

Tra le variabili che influenzano le abitudini e l'approccio alla presa di appunti degli studenti (v. §2.4) la L1 risulta avere un ruolo fondamentale, come confermato dai dati finora esaminati. La L1 influisce anche sulla lingua utilizzata negli appunti: se per i madrelingua è l'italiano, lo è anche per la maggior parte degli studenti stranieri (43%). Tuttavia, il 13% dichiara di alternare L1 e L2, mentre un ulteriore 4% utilizza esclusivamente una L1 diversa dall'italiano (Fig. 5).

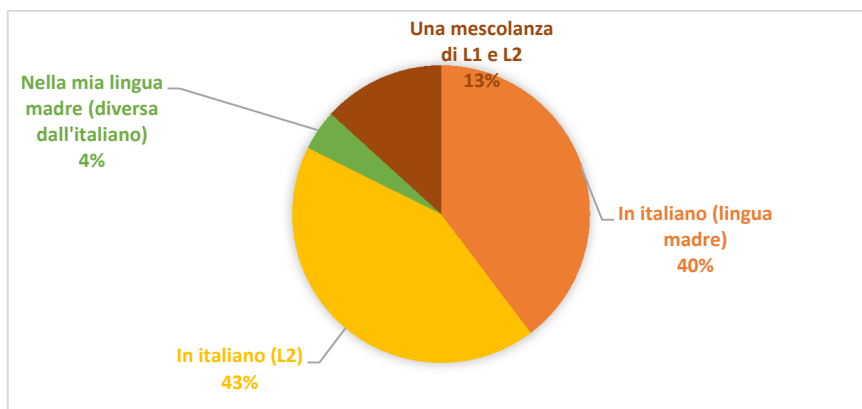
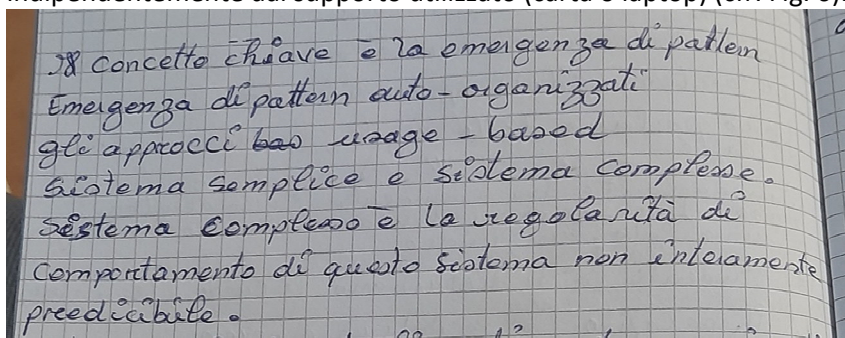


Figura 5: La lingua usata negli appunti

Per quanto riguarda la raccolta degli appunti, sebbene tutti gli studenti abbiano compilato il questionario, solo il 79% ha accettato di condividerli. Tra questi, 10 hanno fornito appunti relativi a lezioni precedenti (talvolta già rielaborati) e 4 hanno inviato fotografie casuali o commenti rivolti al ricercatore. La lunghezza e la completezza degli appunti variano sensibilmente: alcuni coprono l'intera lezione, altri solo una parte. Tale disomogeneità ha reso impossibile un'analisi quantitativa, ma ha comunque permesso alcune osservazioni di carattere qualitativo. Dei materiali raccolti, 40 serie di appunti appartengono all'area umanistica e 14 a quella scientifica.

Analizzando i formati effettivamente adottati dagli studenti, emerge una preferenza generale per uno stile discorsivo, indipendentemente dal supporto utilizzato (carta o laptop) (cfr. Fig. 6).



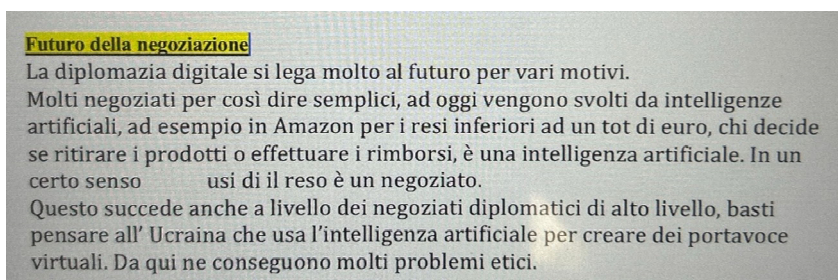
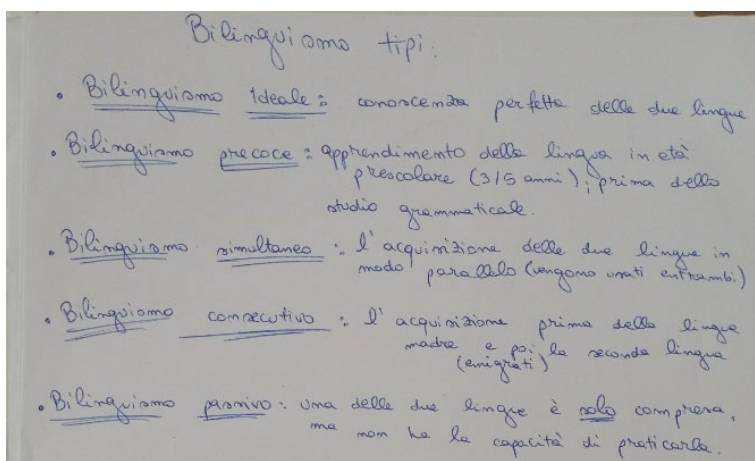


Figura 6: Appunti in stile discorsivo

L'impiego di elenchi di vario tipo – puntati, numerati, con trattini o simboli – risulta piuttosto diffuso e distribuito in modo equilibrato tra i diversi stili di scrittura (cfr. Fig. 7).



Tre criteri per definire un insieme di testi un corpus:

- 1) il criterio di autenticità;
- 2) il criterio di rappresentatività;
- 3) criterio di adeguatezza al trattamento automatico;

Principali forme di trattamento dei dati contenuti nei corpora:

- **Tokenizzazione** (L'albero >> due parole: articolo + nome) → scomporre e dividere le parole in token
- **Lemmetizzazione** (mangiavo, mangi, mangiate >> mangiare) → ovvero creare una connessione tra ogni singola forma e il lemma di appartenenza
- **Annotazione per parti del discorso** (il >> articolo determinativo; albero >> nome; mangiare >> verbo). → associa ogni singola forma ad una categoria grammaticale.

Figura 6: Appunti in forma di elenco

All'interno del corpus si rilevano inoltre alcune mappe concettuali, mentre sono relativamente pochi gli studenti che ricorrono a una strutturazione fortemente schematica e al tempo stesso funzionale.

Per quanto riguarda l'impiego delle tecnologie, diversi studenti ricorrono alla fotografia per acquisire contenuti dalla lavagna o dalle

presentazioni PowerPoint proiettate in aula, integrandoli successivamente nei propri appunti con commenti personali (cfr. Fig. 7). Un aspetto critico dell'utilizzo tecnologico si riscontra nell'adozione di software di riconoscimento vocale per la trascrizione integrale delle lezioni. Questa modalità, priva di un'efficace selezione e rielaborazione dei contenuti, può rivelarsi poco funzionale, in particolare per gli studenti stranieri con una padronanza limitata della lingua italiana, i quali potrebbero avere difficoltà a distinguere le informazioni rilevanti dalle digressioni tipiche del discorso orale.

Che cos'è questo testo che troviamo all'inizio?

Un proemiale sonetto a due versi per riga, non va a capo, va a capo dopo la fine di due versi.

Formato da 7 righe di scrittura.

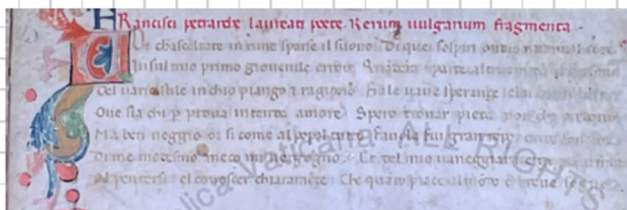


Figura 7: Appunti integrati da fotografie

Negli appunti di alcuni studenti stranieri è stato riscontrato il fenomeno del *translanguaging*. In alcuni casi, si osserva l'inserimento di singole parole, mentre in altri vengono utilizzate intere frasi nella L1, come nel caso di un informatore senegalese, che studia italiano da meno di un anno, e ricorre sistematicamente all'uso di più lingue (italiano, francese) (v. Fig. 8).

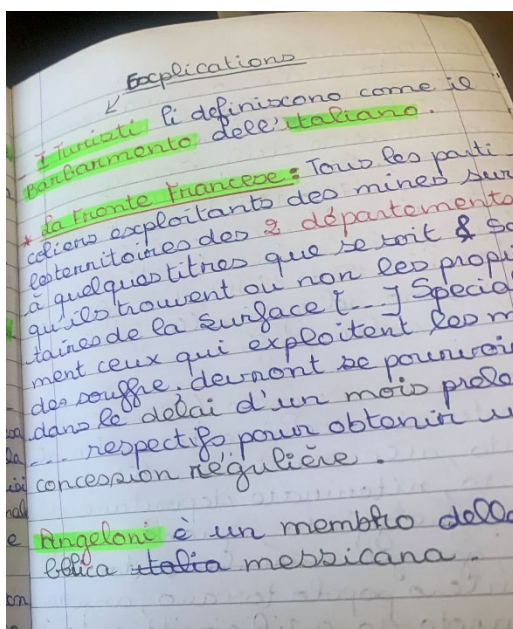


Figura 8: Translanguaging negli appunti

In altri casi la L1 viene impiegata per tradurre o spiegare concetti espressi in italiano, in particolare da parte di studenti cinesi, come evidenziato nell'esempio riportato nella Fig. 9.

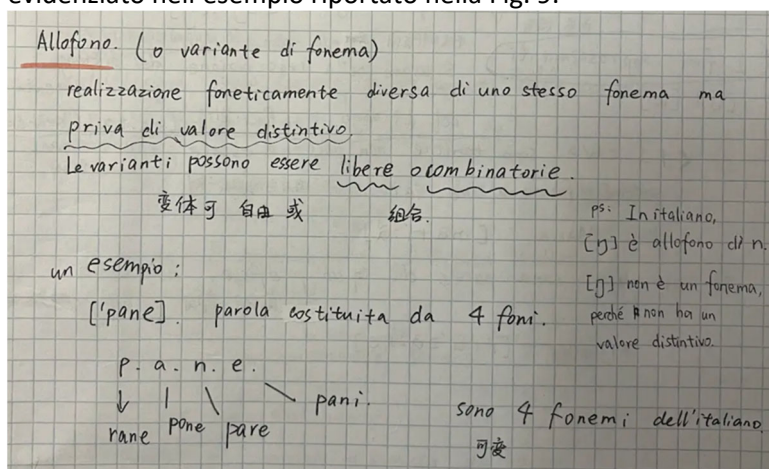


Figura 9: Uso di più lingue e traduzioni

Nel prendere appunti, gli studenti non seguono le stesse convenzioni della produzione di testi standard; l'ortografia, la sintassi e la disposizione delle informazioni sulla pagina sono soggette a variazioni

significative. Per quanto riguarda in particolare l'ortografia, la sintassi e il lessico, gli studenti internazionali presentano vari problemi. Rimane da indagare come il livello di competenza generale e come il livello delle abilità (in particolare la ricezione orale e la produzione scritta) determinino specifiche difficoltà nella presa di appunti.

4. Conclusioni e suggerimenti per insegnare il *note-taking* all'università

Le università italiane stanno accogliendo un numero crescente di studenti la cui lingua madre non è l'italiano, rendendo necessario considerare con maggiore attenzione gli effetti differenziali che una lezione può avere sui suoi fruitori. Sebbene gli insegnanti possano fornire supporti utili, come schemi della lezione o diapositive PowerPoint, la responsabilità di decidere come e quando prendere appunti ricade generalmente sugli studenti stessi. Tuttavia, la letteratura sull'apprendimento autoregolato ha evidenziato che le scelte degli studenti riguardo le strategie di apprendimento e il loro utilizzo non sono sempre ottimali (Bjork, Dunlosky, and Kornell).

I docenti spesso trascurano l'importanza del linguaggio come sistema di trasmissione che può facilitare o ostacolare involontariamente l'apprendimento. Lo studio di Flowerdew e Miller sui docenti di *English as Medium of Instruction* (EMI) a Hong Kong ha rivelato che nessuno degli intervistati aveva conoscenza delle teorie sull'apprendimento linguistico o del ruolo che i docenti stessi potrebbero svolgere nel fornire input modificato e opportunità di sviluppo linguistico. Una panoramica delle ricerche pertinenti sia in contesti L1 che L2 è stata fornita da Crawford (2016), con l'obiettivo di informare meglio la comunità degli insegnanti di L2. Tra i punti sollevati dall'autore vi è l'enfasi sulla necessità di sviluppare le abilità di prendere appunti degli studenti, piuttosto che lasciarli a se stessi, impiegando una varietà di tecniche (ad esempio, abbreviazione, sottolineatura ed evidenziazione) per aumentare l'efficacia degli appunti e incoraggiando gli studenti a concentrarsi sull'annotazione delle parole di contenuto, in contrapposizione agli elementi funzionali. Alla luce di tali considerazioni, appare fondamentale estendere l'indagine anche alle percezioni e alle attitudini dei docenti in Italia, al fine di comprendere in che misura essi siano consapevoli delle implicazioni linguistiche della propria pratica didattica e del potenziale ruolo che possono assumere nel supportare lo sviluppo delle competenze di ascolto, comprensione e presa di appunti,

soprattutto in contesti caratterizzati da crescente eterogeneità linguistica e culturale.

Le ricerche sui vari aspetti della presa di appunti in una L2 sono ancora piuttosto limitate. Di conseguenza, c'è poca consapevolezza rispetto a questa abilità, sia da parte dei docenti che da parte degli studenti. Auspicando che questo articolo possa contribuire a una migliore conoscenza e consapevolezza delle dinamiche relative alla presa di appunti in italiano, sia per gli studenti di L1 che di L2, è fondamentale sottolineare l'importanza di strategie didattiche mirate che possano supportare gli studenti nell'acquisizione di tecniche efficaci per la presa di appunti e la gestione delle informazioni. In questa prospettiva, sia gli studenti internazionali sia quelli italiani potrebbero trarre beneficio da percorsi formativi specifici che li introducano a una varietà di stili e strategie di *note-taking*, offrendo loro strumenti per selezionare consapevolmente le modalità più adatte al proprio stile cognitivo. Per gli studenti stranieri, in particolare, sarebbe utile inserire momenti di riflessione guidata sulla struttura gerarchica delle informazioni e proporre strategie per distinguere tra elementi essenziali e contenuti secondari. Tali percorsi potrebbero includere anche attività di consapevolezza sul *translanguaging* come risorsa linguistica, oltre a suggerimenti sull'uso mirato delle tecnologie a supporto della comprensione orale, soprattutto in presenza di difficoltà legate alla rapidità dell'input o alla complessità lessicale. Una maggiore attenzione alle modalità di apprendimento autogestito, unita a un'adeguata sensibilizzazione da parte dei docenti, potrà favorire il miglioramento delle competenze linguistiche e cognitive degli studenti, offrendo loro gli strumenti necessari per ottimizzare il loro percorso formativo nel contesto universitario.

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TAKING NOTES IN THE UNIVERSITY CONTEXT: A COMPARISON OF HABITS AND STRATEGIES OF NATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

Note-taking is a crucial skill in education, particularly in university education, where it proves to be a ubiquitous practice and fundamental to learning. According to van der Meer, the ability to take notes is a defining characteristic of higher education, widespread in all disciplines. Lectures are the main teaching method, and most university students take notes, even without an explicit instruction to do so. In a large-scale study by Morehead et al., 96% of 577 university students reported taking notes regularly, and 88% believed it was essential for effective learning. Similar patterns have been observed among Italian students: data from the UniverS-ITA project, which involved 2,137 second-year undergraduates, showed that 81.7% of students always take notes.

Notetaking is a form of functional writing. Students often rely on their notes to prepare for exams and write assignments. Research suggests that in preparing for difficult assessments, students tend to focus heavily on memorizing their notes (Karpicke, Butler, and Roediger; Morehead, Rhodes, and DeLozier). The educational benefits of notetaking have been recognized since as early as 1925, when Crawford demonstrated its impact on quiz scores. Numerous subsequent studies (e.g., Kobayashi; Liu and Hu) have reinforced the idea that notetaking positively influences academic performance.

Given the importance of note content for learning, it is vital to understand how and when students take notes and what strategies they use. However, in Italy, research on academic literacy has mostly overlooked notetaking. While there has been significant attention to reading comprehension and academic

writing, notetaking techniques have received little instructional focus, despite their potential benefit. Studies conducted in both L1 and L2 contexts reveal that notetaking is a frequently underestimated challenge. For example, in a large-scale survey in Japan ($n = 739$), just over half of the students said they had received formal instruction in notetaking during high school English classes. Many students expressed a strong desire for more explicit training in this skill (Teng; Crawford et al.; İpek; Siegel 2021).

This study aims to present preliminary data on notetaking habits among university students in Italy, compare these habits with best practices from Anglo-American literature, and explore differences between L1 and L2 students' approaches to offer practical insights for educators.

Despite its importance, the functional complexity of notetaking is often overlooked. It is commonly assumed to be self-acquired skill through trial and error. Yet, notetaking is cognitively demanding: it requires simultaneous use of receptive skills (listening comprehension, identifying key information) and productive skills (summarizing, organizing, and writing). As Piolat, Olive and Kellogg define it, notetaking involves generating shortened versions of a source material while simultaneously listening. The notetaker must follow the lecture, store information in working memory, select what is important, and write it down quickly—all while maintaining continuity with what the speaker is saying.

This process becomes even more difficult in a second language, depending on the learner's proficiency. The *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment. Companion Volume with new descriptors* classifies notetaking as a form of mediation for oneself—a process of rephrasing or summarizing input for personal use. This type of mediation aids memory, learning, reflection, and even writing skills. However, the B2-level descriptor for notetaking reveals limitations. A B2 learner can follow a well-structured lecture on a familiar topic and take notes on perceived important points, but often focuses on individual words and misses parts of the content. They can take accurate notes in meetings and seminars on topics related to their field of interest. This highlights the difficulties learners face—even those with strong general comprehension and writing skills—when encountering unfamiliar concepts or engaging with long, complex university lectures.

Previous studies on note-taking have explored different aspects of this practice, especially in contexts of learning L1 and L2 English. The main findings of the research can be presented in four key areas: (1) the primary functions of notetaking, (2) the strategies adopted by students, (3) the conditions for effective notetaking, and (4) the variables that influence students' notetaking habits and approaches.

Notes perform two main functions: encoding and storage. Encoding involves the act of writing notes during lectures, while storage refers to how students later use these notes to learn. Although encoding strategies vary, most students adopt simpler methods, such as direct reproduction of content, rather than more complex reformulation and interpretation techniques, which are associated with more risk. Students themselves report multiple motivations for

taking notes, primarily aiming to succeed academically. They cite reasons such as maintaining attention during lectures, organizing information, and using notes as study aids. While some believe note-taking enhances focus, others see it as a distraction. Interestingly, many students admit to taking notes to avoid reading textbooks. Given the mismatch between lecture speed and writing speed—professors speak much faster than students can write—learners develop intuitive strategies. Most opt for a linear format aiming to remain faithful to the instructor's words. However, research shows that matrix and outline-based note structures lead to better learning outcomes than the linear format. Using structured formats helps students grasp hierarchical relationships between ideas. L2 English academic note-taking textbooks often advocate methods like the Cornell system or outlines. Generative notes, involving summarization or paraphrasing, prove more beneficial than verbatim transcription because they require higher cognitive engagement. The choice of format also depends on lecture content and delivery. Classes using diagrams or images may benefit more from graphic-based notes. Students often adapt their strategies based on discipline, instructor style, or the availability of digital materials. Reviewing and reorganizing notes further supports long-term memory consolidation, especially when it includes active cognitive tasks like highlighting or summarizing. Various verbal and non-verbal cues during lectures influence note-taking behavior. These include blackboard writing, the teacher's dictation tone, headings, definitions, or discourse markers. Conversely, parenthetical comments, fast speech, or teacher movement in class may discourage note-taking.

Technology has transformed note-taking habits. While many students still take handwritten notes, others use laptops or tablets. Research suggests that digital note-taking enables greater quantity and recall due to faster typing speed. Although some earlier studies favored handwriting for comprehension, more recent ones challenge this view, showing comparable results across handwritten, digital, and eWriter formats. Apps like Evernote also enhance note quality and student satisfaction.

Previous research has consistently linked note-taking to key cognitive variables such as writing speed, language comprehension, and sustained attention. Note-taking demands a focused engagement with input, requiring the organization and encoding of information—an effort far more intense than simply listening or reading (Piolat, Olive, and Kellogg). Gender differences in note-taking behavior have also been observed. In a study involving 139 university students, Reddington, Peverly, and Block found that female students recorded significantly more information in their notes than male students. Metacognitive skills are also important, including planning, monitoring, and reflecting on the note-taking process. Planning involves knowing various note formats and tools (e.g., specific pens, apps), while monitoring includes assessing effectiveness, managing anxiety, and maintaining focus. The first language is a crucial variable, especially when the lecture is delivered in a

language other than the learner's L1. Studies show that L2 students often miss structural cues in lectures that native speakers capture. Some prefer taking notes in their L1 for better clarity, while others favor staying in the L2 to reduce mental load. Translanguaging, involving the creative use of all the languages known by the learner, is increasingly recognized as a valid method to optimize comprehension and expression.

The study presents an initial analysis of a corpus of notes collected at the University for Foreigners of Perugia during the 2023/24 academic year. The participants include both Italian and international students enrolled in various degree programs and attending lectures across different disciplines. Data was collected through two instruments: a Google Forms-based questionnaire and samples of students' handwritten or digital lecture notes. The questionnaire comprised two sections. The first gathered demographic and linguistic information, including age, gender, country of origin, mother tongue, and self-assessed proficiency in Italian. The second section focused on students' note-taking habits, strategies, and use of technology, drawing on the four criteria listed above, drawn from existing literature to ensure comparability with previous research. A total of 68 students participated: 27 Italians (40%) and 41 international students (60%), predominantly female (77.9%), and mostly aged between 22 and 25. The international cohort was linguistically diverse, including speakers of French, Arabic, Mandarin, Vietnamese, Russian, Spanish, and others. Most had studied Italian for at least four years, with 66% reporting proficiency at B2 or C1 CEFR levels.

Note-taking emerged as a widespread academic practice, though international students were less consistent than Italian peers. The primary reasons for taking notes were to retain concepts (66.2%), prepare for exams (66.2%), and maintain focus during lectures (39.7%). While most students revisited their notes for exam preparation, fewer reorganized or summarized them using visual methods. Note-taking strategies varied: 54.4% used abbreviations, 44.1% favored full sentences, and 32.4% employed visual structures. International students more frequently used shorthand and technological aids (e.g., voice recorders), while Italians preferred laptops or tablets. Language background influenced not only strategy but also the language of the notes—43% of international students wrote entirely in Italian, 13% used both L1 and L2, and 4% used only their L1. Challenges to effective note-taking included rapid lecture pace, lack of clear slides, and teachers' delivery style. Conversely, clarity, effective slide design, and lecture fluency were seen as facilitators. Overall, the data highlights the importance of linguistic background in shaping students' note-taking behaviors and suggests a need for targeted pedagogical support to address diverse learner needs.

Although all students completed the questionnaire, only 79% agreed to share their notes. Of these, 10 submitted notes from previous (sometimes revised) lessons, and 4 sent unrelated photos or comments. The notes varied in length and completeness, preventing quantitative analysis but allowing for qualitative observations. Forty sets were from humanities courses, and 14 from

scientific disciplines. Students generally preferred a discursive format, regardless of whether they used paper or laptops. Lists (bulleted, numbered, or symbolic) were common across all formats, while few adopted highly schematic structures. Some used concept maps. Technologies were often employed to photograph content from the board or slides, which was later integrated into notes, occasionally with added personal comments. Voice recognition software was less effective, especially for international students with limited Italian proficiency, as it often led to unfiltered transcriptions. Translanguaging appeared in some foreign students' notes, involving the use of their L1 alongside Italian. Note-taking conventions often diverged from standard writing norms, with international students showing notable issues in spelling, syntax, and vocabulary.

Italian universities are experiencing a growing presence of international students, prompting a need to better understand how lectures affect linguistically diverse learners. Although some teachers offer supports such as diagrams or slides, the responsibility for taking notes largely falls on the students. However, research on self-regulated learning has shown that students' choices of study strategies are not always optimal. Moreover, instructors often underestimate the role of language as a medium that can either support or hinder learning. For instance, Flowerdew and Miller's study on EMI lecturers in Hong Kong revealed that none of the participants were aware of language acquisition theories or their own potential role in offering modified input to support comprehension. Crawford (2016) further emphasized the importance of teaching note-taking strategies—such as abbreviations and highlighting—especially in L2 contexts, advocating for structured guidance rather than leaving students to navigate these skills alone.

In light of this, it is essential to investigate the perceptions and attitudes of university instructors in Italy regarding the linguistic aspects of their teaching. Understanding their awareness of how language impacts comprehension, especially in increasingly multilingual classrooms, could inform better pedagogical practices. Currently, research on L2 note-taking remains limited, and both students and instructors lack sufficient awareness of its cognitive and linguistic dimensions. Therefore, both Italian and international students would benefit from targeted training programs introducing a range of note-taking methods. For L2 learners in particular, guided reflection on the hierarchical organization of information and strategies to distinguish key from secondary content is crucial. Such training should also include awareness of translanguaging practices and the strategic use of technology to compensate for oral comprehension challenges. Enhancing students' autonomy, combined with greater instructor awareness, could ultimately support more inclusive and effective teaching practices in Italian higher education.

Keywords: Academic Italian, note-taking, written Italian, study strategies, learning strategies, Italian L2

**FENOMENI (NE)UČTIVOSTI U XVIII STOLJEĆU: ANALIZA
UDŽBENIKA ITALIJANSKOG JEZIKA ZA ANGLOFONE
GOVORNIKE**

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Apstrakt: U ovom radu istražujemo fenomen (ne)učtivosti u udžbenicima italijanskog jezika za anglofone govornike. Analizirani su Casottijev *A New Method of Teaching the Italian Tongue to Ladies and Gentlemen* (1709), Palermov *A Grammar of the Italian Language. In Two Parts* (1755) i Barettijev *Easy Phraseology for the Use of Young Ladies who Intend to Learn the Colloquial Part of the Italian Language* (1775). Ovi udžbenici, koji se fokusiraju na govorni jezik, obuhvataju sociopragmatičke aspekte jezika, uključujući norme učtivosti. S obzirom na utjecaj italijanske kulture, posebno u Engleskoj, očekuje se da udžbenici reflektiraju norme italijanske učtivosti, engleske interpretacije tih normi, kao i elemente engleske učtivosti. Poređenjem dvaju sistema učtivosti, istražujemo moguće jezičke univerzalije i promjene u konceptu učtivosti kroz vrijeme. Metodološki okvir temelji se na priručnicima bontona iz XVIII stoljeća: Della Casinom *Galateo* (1558) i Stanhopovom *Principles of politeness* (1776). Analiziramo odlomke dijaloga iz udžbenika na temelju savremenih tradicionalnih i postmodernih teorija učtivosti, fokusirajući se na ublažavanje, pojačavanje ili modifikaciju neučtivih govora poput odbijanja, postavljanja pitanja i uvreda. Rezultati pokazuju da su uvredljivi činovi u konverzaciji ublaženi, dok su otvorene uvrede prisutne samo u kontekstu razgovora o odsutnim osobama ili zadirkivanja. Također, primjećuje se značajna sličnost u normama učtivosti između dviju kultura. Ovi nalazi mogu biti korisni u didaktici, sociologiji, historiji i lingvistici.

Ključne riječi: (ne)učtivost, ublažavanje, sociopragmatika, italijanski za strance, knjige bontona

1. Uvod

Proučavanje učtivosti, iz kojeg će nastati i teorije učtivosti, dobiva svoj zamah sedamdesetih godina XX stoljeća uz uspon pragmatike kao naučne discipline. Uspostavljanjem historijske pragmatike kao samostalne nauke (v. Jucker 1994; Jacobs & Jucker 1995; Jucker 2008), raste interes i za historijske manifestacije učtivosti kao jednog aspekta mogućih analiza pragmatičkih manifestacija jezika u historijskom ključu (Kádár & Culpeper 2010; Kádár, Held, Paternoster 2023). Upravo zbog relativne novine historijske pragmatike kao samostalne naučne discipline smo kao glavnu temu ovog rada izabrali fenomene jezičke (ne)učtivosti u XVIII stoljeću i to na korpusu priručnika italijanskog jezika za anglofone govornike.

Razlozi sa ispitivanje ovog korpusa i historijske učtivosti su višestruki. Prvi razlog zbog kojeg se učtivost i njene manifestacije ispituju u historijskom ključu je kako bi se zaključilo da li je došlo do semantičke promjene u načinu na koji percipiramo učtivost (Watts 2003: 14). Analizirajući historijski aspekt učtivosti također se možemo približiti potencijalnom univerzalnom modelu učtivosti ako utvrdimo na koji način i zašto se događaju promjene (Hickey & Stewart 2005). Zbog same problematike u definiciji učtivosti, o čemu će biti riječi u teorijskom dijelu rada, prikladno je analizirati građu koja se tiče dva jezika kako bismo potencijalno došli do dodirnih tačaka u koncepciji pojma učtivosti u različitim lingvokulturama. Dodatnu motivaciju za ovo istraživanje smo pronašli i u činjenici da je historijski razvoj gramatika za strance relativno slabo istraženo područje (Pizzoli 2004: 11). Uz sve navedeno, odnos između dvije zemlje u pitanju je detaljno istražen u historijskom i književnom ključu (Pizzoli 2004: 13), međutim lingvistički aspekti i jezički kontakt su često zanemarivani.

Ovim istraživanjem smo željeli provjeriti koje su norme (ne)učtivosti prisutne, da li je primjetna razlika između italijanskih i engleskih normi učtivosti te da li su udžbenici za strance prihvatljiv korpus za ovakva istraživanja.

2. Teorijsko-metodološki okvir

2.1. Definicija učtivosti

Kako bismo se mogli baviti historijskim manifestacijama učtivosti, potrebno je najprije definisati taj pojam, a pogotovo jezičku učtivost budući da postoji opsežna problematika definisanja samog koncepta. U najširem mogućem smislu, učtivost je moguće interpretirati kao

uzajamnu saradnju u verbalnoj interakciji i iskazivanje razumijevanja za druge učesnike (Watts 2003: 1)

Međutim, problematika definisanja učtivosti je dublja. Watts (2003: 1) učtivost smatra i društveno „tačnim“ ponašanjem, ali i skreće pažnju na činjenicu da često može imati i negativne konotacije, tj. biti interpretirana kao odbojna, uobražena ili neiskrena. Isti autor (Watts 2003: 33) ističe i ulogu učtivosti u društvenoj diskriminaciji, odnosno podcrtava da se društveno prihvatljivo ponašanje često koristi(lo) u svrhe društvene diskriminacije i kao elitizam više klase. Pri definisanju pojma ne smijemo zaboraviti ni na činjenicu da je učtivost također i česta meta pučke pragmatike jer svaki govornik nekog jezika ima vlastitu koncepciju i doživljaj tog pojma (Niedzielski & Preston 2000: VII; Preston & Niedzielski 2017; Bulić 2023). Uz to, učtivost može biti i „uglašeno“ ponašanje, ono koje pripadnici društva ili zajednice smatraju kao uzajamno puno poštovanja prema drugome (Watts 2003: 24). France (1992: 2) ističe da je učtivost set vrijednosti koje odražavaju evropsku kulturu i civilizaciju te da se ne može sastojati samo od manira. Radilo bi se o pojmu koji uključuje i moral, ali i površnost i zablude evropskog društva (France 1992: 58-59). Lakoff (1975: 64) smatra da učtivost pogoduje smanjivanju trenja u međuljudskim interakcijama. Radi se o sličnom shvaćanju kao kod Leecha (1980: 19) koji također naglašava konfliktnu prirodu učtivosti tako što smatra da učtivost služi strateškom izbjegavanju konflikta. Na približnom tragu je i Kasper (1990: 194) koja učtivost definiše kao strategije koje koristimo da otklonimo opasnost i minimizujemo antagonizam. Dio problematike definisanja učtivosti leži i u činjenici da je teško odrediti da li se radi o definiciji učtivosti ili objašnjenju njene uloge u društvu.

Budući da ne možemo biti sigurni da li koncept učtivosti ima isto značenje na svim jezicima¹, a također ne možemo biti sigurni ni da li su načini na koje je učtivost shvaćana u prethodnim stoljećima drugačiji od načina na koji je doživljavamo danas (Watts 2003: 13), smatramo da je bitno obratiti pažnju na historijske definicije italijanskog pojma *cortesía* i engleskog pojma *politeness*:

¹ O problematici univerzalnosti učtivosti i interkulturalnim aspektima pogledati Ide (1989) i Pizziconi (2011).

Tabela 1 – Definicije učtivosti

<i>Cortesia</i> (TLIO²)	<i>Politeness</i> (THTE³)
L'esser cortese: bontà e lealtà d'animo; valore; assennatezza, razionalità, gentilezza ed eleganza nei modi. [Come qualità di Dio, di Cristo e della Madonna:] l'essere misericordioso, pietoso.	Good behaviour: good manners / polite behaviour: polish / refinement of manners politeness
Učtivo biće: dobrota i čestitost duha; vrijednost; razum, racionalnost; ljubaznost i otmjenoš u ponašanju. [Kao osobina Boga, Hrista i Bogorodice:] milosrdno, pobožno biće.	Ponašanje: dobro ponašanje, dobri maniri / učtivo ponašanje: uglađenost / rafinisanost manira učtivosti

Definicija imenice *cortesia* naglašava unutrašnje kvalitete osobe koje možemo percipirati kao vrline. Radi se o moralnoj osobini i načinima na koje se te osobine manifestuju prema svijetu. Bitno je primijetiti i da italijanska definicija imenici *cortesia* daje i vjerski aspekt tako što je povezuje sa Bogom, Hristom i Bogorodicom. Definicija imenice *politeness*, s druge strane, usmjerena je prema spoljašnjim aspektima društveno prihvatljivog ponašanja. Također možemo tvrditi da je druga definicija više zavisna od kulture, tj. od okruženja nego prva jer nije usmjerena na unutrašnje osobine nego na društvenu manifestaciju učtivosti kroz „ispravno“ ponašanje.

2.2. Tradicionalne i postmoderne teorije učtivosti

Osnovni metodološki pristup građi zasnivamo na kombinaciji tzv. tradicionalnih i postmodernih teorija učtivosti⁴. Najveći doprinos prvom valu analiza daju P. Brown i S. Levinson (1987) oko kojih se koncentrišu tradicionalne teorije učtivosti. Uprošteno govoreći, prema ovoj teoriji,

² Tesoro della Lingua Italiana delle Origini.

³ The Historical Thesaurus of English

⁴ Budući da su ovi teorijski modeli već uspješno primjenjivani u dijahronijskom ključu (npr. King 2011; Lalić 2023), u ovom radu se nećemo baviti opravdanošću i mogućnostima primjene teorijskih modela iz XX i XXI stoljeća na historijsku građu.

ukoliko govorni čin⁵ prijeti obrazu (eng. *face*)⁶ sagovornika – neučtiv je; ukoliko ne prijeti – učtiv je. Dakle, učtivost se manifestuje u onom trenutku u kojem učesnici komunikacije obraćaju pažnju na potrebe obraza onog drugog. Za detaljnije objašnjenje, potrebno je obratiti pažnju na pojam obraza koji, uopšteno, predstavlja mišljenje pojedinca o sebi i njegovu idealizovanu sliku koju želi projicirati u svijet. Sâm pojam je posuđen od Goffmana (1982: 5) koji ga definiše kao „pozitivnu društvenu vrijednost koju osoba sebi pripisuje ^...` u odnosu na odobrene društvene karakteristike, što može biti slika koju drugi dijele kao kada osoba pozitivno predstavi svoju profesiju ili religiju ili se predstavi u dobrom svjetlu.“ U tradicionalnom okviru učtivosti, obraz je koncept koji nadilazi kulture i sastoji se od dva dijela: pozitivnog i negativnog. Pozitivni obraz predstavlja onaj dio javne slike o sebi koji je vezan za vlastitu sliku o sebi i ličnost, dok se negativni obraz odnosi na želju svakog pojedinca da mu drugi ne nameće svoju volju (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 61). Dakle, određeni govorni činovi ne djeluju na obraz na isti način. Naredbe, zahtjevi, prijetnje ili upozorenja prijete negativnoj strani obraza zato što impliciraju nametanje sagovornikove volje i nemogućnost pojedinca da sam raspolaže svojim vremenom i svojom ličnošću. S druge strane, kritike, uvrede i žalbe za metu imaju pozitivnu stranu obraza zato što dovode u pitanje pozitivno mišljenje o samom

⁵ Ako želimo istraživati učtivost, potrebno je naglasiti činjenicu da se ta istraživanja oslanjaju na teoriju govornih činova (eng. *speech acts*) koju u lingvistiku uvode Austin (1962) i njegov učenik Searle (1969, 1975). Teorija govornih činova je snažan oslonac za istraživanje učtivosti budući da na sistematičan način dijeli iskaze i olakšava nam klasifikaciju određenih činova na učtive ili neučtive. Čak i u pučkom shvatanju pragmatike (Niedzielski & Preston 2000: VII; Bulić 2023) se zahtjevi ili prijetnje mogu klasifikovati kao neučtivi, a komplimenti ili saučešća su učtivi. Budući da teorija govornih činova nije glavna tema našeg rada, nećemo je detaljno predstavljati u teorijskom i metodološkom okviru. Ukratko ćemo naglasiti da prema ovoj teoriji jezik koristimo ne samo kako bismo prenijeli informaciju, već i kako bismo njime izvršavali radnje. Ugrubo se mogu podijeliti u lokucijske (sami postupak artikulacije govora), ilokucijske (namjera govornika – npr. naređenje, čestitke, saučešće) i perlokucijske (utjecaj koji je govorni čin proizveo na primaocu poruke – ubjeđivanje, uzbuna, strah). Za više o govornim činovima pogledati Austin (1962) i Searle (1969, 1975), a za govorne činove u dijahroniji u Bertucelli Papi (2002), Jucker i Taavitsainen (2000), King (2011), Lalić (2020a). Detaljniji opis primjene teorije govornih činova u učtivosti se može vidjeti u Lalić (2023).

⁶ U radu smo se odlučili za prevod *obraz* iako se koncept iz engleskog jezika može shvatiti i kao lice, ugled, (samo)svijest pa čak i čast (v. Bakšić 2012: 6-7).

sebi. Uz to, Brownova i Levinson (1987: 74) izdvajaju relativnu moć primaoca poruke nad pošiljaocem, stepen impozicije govornog čina i društvenu distancu⁷ između pošiljaoca i primaoca poruke kao tri vrste međuljudskih odnosa koje utječu na primjenu učtivosti.

Brownova i Levinson (1987: 103-211) kao strategije upućivanja potencijalno neučtivih govornih činova⁸ navode sljedeće:

1. Otvoreno upućivanje – najdirektnija strategija u kojoj se pošiljalac ne trudi da minimizuje prijetnju po obraz primaoca. Može se koristiti u zavisnosti od odnosa između učesnika komunikacije ili u zavisnosti od konteksta. Npr. *Pomozi mi!* ili *Donesi mi vode*.
2. Pozitivne strategije – obraćaju se pozitivnom dijelu obraza primaoca poruke i nastoje pokazati da pošiljalac poruke cijeni i poštuje primaoca. Npr. *Jako bih cijnila kada bi mi pomogao*.
3. Negativna učtivost – obraća se negativnoj strani obraza, odnosno pazi da se ne nameće primaocu poruke. Npr. *Jako mi je žao što smetam, ali bi mi bila potrebna pomoć*.
4. Nekonvencionalni indirektni iskazi – upućivanje dvosmislenih i indirektnih iskaza iz kojih primalac poruke mora zaključiti o kojem se govornom činu radi. Npr. *Ovdje je vruće, smeta li ikome još vrućina?* umjesto otvorenog zahtjeva *Otvori prozor*.
5. Ne čini ništa – ukoliko društvena situacija to zahtijeva, moguće je da pošiljalac poruke uopće ne upotrijebi potencijalno neučtiv govorni čin.

⁷ I kasnija istraživanja (npr. Brown & Gilman 1989; Wood & Kroger 1991) potvrđuju da postoji veza između manifestacije učtivosti i socijalnog položaja.

⁸ Culpeper (1996) razrađuje i obrnute strategije neučtivosti kao neku vrstu odraza u ogledalu: 1. Otvorena neučtivost (upućivanje direktne i nedvosmislene uvrede sa ciljem prijetnje po obraz sagovornika); 2. Pozitivna neučtivost (cilj im je da povrijede pozitivni obraz – ignorisanje, upotreba tabu riječi, uvrede, nezainteresovanost); 3. Negativna neučtivost (nanose štetu negativnom obrazu – prijetnje, snishodljivost, prezir, nepoštivanje tuđeg doslovnog i metaforičkog prostora); 4. Nekonvencionalni indirektni neučtivi iskazi (implikacija koja se ne može protumačiti drugačije nego uvreda); 5. Suzdržavanje od učtivosti (nedostatak učtivosti tamo gdje bi bila očekivana – izostanak zahvaljivanja). Izdvaja i sarkazam ili hinjenu učtivost kao metastrategiju u onim slučajevima kada je jasno da pošiljalac poruke nije iskren.

U vezi sa mitigacijom govornih činova, Blum-Kulka (1989: 60) unutrašnje modifikatore zahtjeva definiše kao elemente unutar zahtjeva⁹ koji su vezani sa centralnim činom, a čije prisustvo nije od suštinske važnosti za iskaz kako bi se on shvatio kao zahtjev. Economidou Kogetsidis (2008: 115) dodaje kako takvi zahtjevi imaju dvostruku sociopragmatičku ulogu, odnosno da se radi o ublaživačima (eng. *downgraders*) ili pojačivačima (eng. *upgraders*) značenja. Zapravo, radi se o sintaksičkim i leksičkim mehanizmima koji omogućavaju ublažavanje značenja centralnog čina. U sljedećoj tabeli smo prikazali najčešće mitigatore (House & Kasper 1987):

Tabela 1 - Mitigatori

Unutrašnja mitigacija		Vanjska mitigacija
Ublaživači značenja	Pojačivači značenja	
Umanjivači (eng. <i>downtoners</i>) – prilozi koji se koriste kako bi ublažili zahtjev (npr. <i>Bi li mi slučajno mogao pomoći?</i>)	Intenzifikatori (eng. <i>intensifiers</i>) – prilozi koji pojačavaju značenje (npr. <i>Zaista mi je potrebna pomoć.</i>)	Pripremni iskazi (eng. <i>preparators</i>): daju temelj zahtjevu i uvode ga (npr. <i>Mogu li te nešto zamoliti?</i>)
Markeri učtivosti – lekseme kao što je <i>Molim te pomozi mi.</i>	Naglašivači (eng. <i>overstaters</i>) – lekseme koje pretjerano naglašavaju značenje (npr. <i>Hitno moraš doći.</i>)	Razoružavači (eng. <i>disarmers</i>): unaprijed daje razlog zašto se zahtjev ne bi smio odbiti (npr. <i>Znam da si zauzet, ali...</i>)
Podcjenjivači (eng. <i>understaters</i>) – prilozi koji se koriste kako bi umanjili značenje zahtjeva (npr. <i>Možeš li govoriti malo glasnije?</i>)	Vremenski intenzifikatori (eng. <i>time intensifiers</i>) – vremenske odrednice koje ograničavaju zahtjev (npr. <i>Nazovi me čim stigneš.</i>)	Objektivna objašnjenja (eng. <i>grounders</i>): daju objašnjenja zašto je zahtjev opravdan i ne predstavlja teret sagovorniku kao što je „hladno nam je“ u iskazu <i>Bi li zatvorila prozor, hladno nam je;</i>
Glagolski aspekt ili vrijeme – kondicional ili prošla vremena (npr. <i>Bi li mi mogao pomoći?</i>)	Ekspletivi (eng. <i>expletives</i>) – koriste se da pokažu frustraciju	Možemo ih podijeliti u pre-justifikatore i post-justifikatore.

⁹ Iako se navedeni autori u najvećoj mjeri referišu na zahtjeve i modulaciju tog govornog čina, u prethodnim istraživanjima smo navedeni okvir i mitigaciju uspješno primjenjivali i na druge govorne činove (v. Lalić 2020a, 2020b, 2022a, 2022b, 2023, 2024)

Konsultativni mehanizmi (eng. <i>consultative devices</i>) – izrazi koji se koriste da bi se neko ljubazno zamolio da nešto uradi (npr. A šta misliš da otvoriš prozor?) Ograde (eng. <i>hedges</i>) – izrazi koji se koriste da zahtjev zvuči neodređeno (npr. <i>Je li ikako moguće?</i>) Kondicionalne rečenice – <i>Bila bih ti zahvalna kad bi...</i> Privjesna pitanja (eng. <i>tag questions</i>) – <i>Možeš govoriti glasnije, zar ne?</i> Umetnute rečenice (eng. <i>tentative embedding</i>) – Pitam se bismo li mogli odgoditi? Negacije – Zar ne možeš govoriti glasnije?	govornika (npr. Dođavola, pomози mi.)	Umekšivači (eng. <i>sweeteners</i>) – laskaju sagovorniku (npr. <i>Ti si najbolja osoba za posao.</i>) Skretanja pažnje (eng. <i>alerters</i>): koristi se da privuče pažnju sagovornika. Mogu se koristiti imena, titule ili okamenjeni izrazi. Npr. <i>gospođo, ministrice, učitelju.</i> Obećanja nagrade – npr. <i>I ja ću tebi pomoći kad bude trebalo.</i>

Veliki dio kritika tradicionalnih teorija učtivosti, iz kojih će izrasti tzv. postmoderne teorije teorije učtivosti je usmjeren prema ideji da indirektnost govornog čina implicira učtivost, kao i prema oslanjanju na iskaz, a ne na širi kontekst u kojem se pojedinačni iskazi nalaze (Watts 2003: 95). Također, kritike tradicionalnog modela su upućene prema ideji da učtivost zavisi samo od svjesnih namjera pošiljaoca poruke, a zanemaruju odgovor primaoca (Watts 2003; Locher 2004; Culpeper 2011)¹⁰. Odnosno, učtivost se u praksi ne manifestuje samo zahvaljujući

¹⁰ Na meti se nalaze i univerzalnost kao i transkulturalni karakter tradicionalnih teorija učtivosti (v. Eelen 2001; Ide 1989; Culpeper 2011).

namjerama pošiljaoca poruke već i na osnovu reakcija primaoca. U vezi s tim, Locher i Watts (2008) uvode pojam *okvira očekivanja* (eng. *expectation frames*)¹¹ koji objašnjava da značajnu ulogu u doživljavanju učtivosti igraju očekivanja učesnika komunikacije. Odnosno, svaku interakciju je potrebno promatrati u njenom vlastitom kontekstu i uzeti u obzir da se identiteti i učtivost konstruišu u odnosu na datu situaciju i komunikacijski trenutak. Npr. učtivost iskaza *Možemo li porazgovarati o seminarskom radu?* snažno zavisi od pošiljaoca poruke – da li ga upućuje student ili profesor. Ukoliko majka djetetu kaže *Bi li vaše visočanstvo pospremilo sto?* jasno je da se radi o ironiji i kritici, a ne o strategiji učtivosti impersonalizacije govornika ili obraćanja titulom. Učtivost također nije neophodna ni u situacijama koje se često ponavljaju i koje su uspostavljene kao uobičajeni načini ponašanja. Nepotrebno je dodatno modifikovati iskaz *Bi li mi posudio auto?* ukoliko učesnici komunikacije imaju takav odnos da često posuđuju stvari jedno od drugog. Odnose učtivosti dodatno komplikuje i činjenica da je zadirkivanje (eng. *banter*) često odlika bliskih odnosa i da se „uvrede“ između bliskih prijatelja ili članova porodice ne doživljavaju neučtivim već samo potvrđuju prislan odnos (Culpeper 1996). Npr. nije nezamislivo da prijatelji na vijest o vjenčanju reaguju izjavom saučešća umjesto čestitki.

Radi svega navedenog smo odlučili u radu primijeniti kombinaciju tradicionalnih i postmodernih teorija učtivosti i primjenjujemo sljedeći model. Iz tradicionalnih teorija učtivosti preuzimamo terminologiju jer nam omogućavaju da na praktičan i sistematičan način analiziramo i klasifikujemo dijelove diskursa. Tradicionalne teorije učtivosti i njihova terminologija su naročito korisne prilikom analize izolovanih rečeničnih dijelova. Ipak, smatramo da ne postoje objektivni kriteriji, kao što je indirektnost, zahvaljujući kojima bismo određeno ponašanje ili jezički repertoar klasifikovali kao (ne)učtiv (Watts 2003: 166). Također odbijamo koncept da ijedna jezička struktura može biti inherentno učtiva već ih moramo posmatrati u kontekstu. U sličnom tonu, smatramo da nijedan model nije „vidovit“, to jeste da ne možemo unaprijed znati da li je neka jezička pojava učtiva ili ne bez obzira na namjere govornika. Upravo zbog toga je u analizi potrebno uzeti u obzir i reakcije sagovornika, a ne samo namjere govornika ili modulaciju govornog čina. Konačno, prihvatamo i koncept obraza, međutim ne kao trajnog koncepta nego kao slike o sebi koja se neprestano mijenja i koja

¹¹ Uporediti sa *emerging network theory* (Watts 2003).

se pregovara i usvaja u zavisnosti od okruženja u kojem se nalaze pošiljalac i primalac poruke.

2.3. Priručnici bontona kao modeli učtivosti

Budući da su autori priručnika bontona¹² preteče naučne analize učtivosti (Alfonzetti 2018; Paternoster 2022: 17), upravo dva priručnika bontona koristimo kako bismo utvrdili kriterije jezičke (ne)učtivosti u XVIII stoljeću. Za potrebe ovog članka smo izabrali dva priručnika: *Galateo ovvero de' costumi* (1558/1990)¹³ Giovannija della Case i *Principles of politeness* (1776) Philipa Stanhopa. U sljedećoj tabeli smo sumirali najbitnije odlike jezičke manifestacije učtivosti iz oba priručnika:

Tabela 2 - Prikaz normi učtivosti u bontonima

Galateo	Principles of Politeness
- Ne približavaj se drugom i ne pljuj mu u lice, ne diši u sagovornika; - Ne treba govoriti nešto što će drugome dati do znanja da ga ne volimo ili ne cijenimo; - Obraćaj pažnju na ono što ti sagovornik govori; - Svakim svojim gestom pokaži da cijeniš sagovornika; - Ne hvali se, ne budi tašt; - Ne daji netražene savjete; - Ne rugaj se; - Ne ponižavaj samog sebe i ne pravi budalu od sebe; - Izražavaj jasno ideje; - Razgovijetno govori kako bi zadržao dostojanstvo; - Radije udovolji tuđoj želji nego da je odbiješ;	- Ne hvali se, budi skroman, pohvali druge i ostavi dobar utisak; - Nemoj reći ništa neljubazno; - Ne budi vulgaran u govoru; - Nastoj se izraziti najelegantnije moguće; - Često govori, ali ne predugo, ne ponavljaj se; - Ne drži sagovornika za dugme dok mu govoriš; - Pusti sagovornika da dođe do riječi jer, ako ga ne pustiš, impliciraš da njegove misli nisu jednako bitne kao tvoje; - Nemoj uvijek protivriječiti i ne slagati se; - Ne daji netražene savjete; - Neki izrazi su neučtivi i valja ih se kloniti;

¹² O vezi između priručnika bontona i učtivosti vidjeti Paternoster (2022).

¹³ Iako se radi o djelu iz XVI stoljeća, *Galateo* je jedan od najutjecajnijih priručnika bontona u evropskoj historiji čiji se utjecaj osjećao još stoljećima i na čijem osnovu nastaju drugi evropski, a pogotovo italijanski, priručnici (Pons 1990; Woodhouse 1994). Naročito je osvjedočen utjecaj *Galatea* na engleske norme učtivosti (Woodhouse 1994). Iz tog razloga ga smatramo odgovarajućom osnovom i za utvrđivanje normi učtivosti iz XVIII stoljeća.

- Ne pokazuju drugima neodobranje ni riječima ni gestama; - Ne upadaju u riječ; - Ne komentarišu jelo kako se domaćin ne bi uvrijedio; - Ne mašu rukama dok govoriš.	- Ne govori loše o ljudima koji nisu tu; - Ne smij se drugom osim ako taj drugi nije upoznat sa šalom; - Ako si učeniji od drugih, ne pokazuj to previše.

Primjećujemo da su norme učtivog razgovora prilično slične u obje lingvokulture¹⁴ i potenciraju poštovanje prema sagovorniku, samosvijest i skromnost.

3. Odabir i opis korpusa

Ako želimo istraživati učtivost, jako je bitno da analiziramo podatke koji dolaze iz prirodno prikupljene građe, odnosno one na koju možemo naići u realnim situacijama (Watts 2003: 25). Zbog toga smo izabrali upravo udžbenike jezika namijenjene strancima i to one koji su orijentisani prema podučavanju vještine govora jer moraju, čak i nesvjesno, primijeniti i norme učtivosti. Autori u dijalogima predstavljaju živi i govorni dio jezika, ali otmjeni i ugađeni (Pizzoli 2004: 74). Izabrali smo sljedeće udžbenike¹⁵:

1. *A New Method of Teaching the Italian Tongue to Ladies and Gentlemen* - Casotti (1709). Sastoji se od pregleda gramatike i sintakse kojima slijede uobičajeni izrazi i rečenice (*familiar words* i *modern phrases*) i dijalozi.

¹⁴ Za model mogućnosti „učtivog evropskog razgovora“ kao transkulturalnog koncepta vidjeti Alfonzetti (2023).

¹⁵ Najveći zanos učenja italijanskog je bio tokom XVI stoljeća, ali ne možemo zanemariti ni XVIII kada veliki broj učenih i bogatijih Engleza uči italijanski zbog *grand tour* ili iz kulturnih razloga kao što je poznavanje opere ili muzike. Italijanski je također na istoku bio *lingua franca* pa je bio potreban i trgovcima, putnicima i hodočasnici (Palermo & Poggioni 2010). Prethodno intenzivno zanimanje za italijanski se zaustavlja između 1735. i 1755, a zatim nastavlja oko 1760. kada se na raspolaganje stavlja veći broj nastavnika i dolazi do ekspanzije nastavnih materijala (Pizzoli 2004: 20). Odabrani udžbenici reflektuju te tri epohe – intenzivni interes, opadanje interesa, ekspanzija učenja italijanskog jezika.

2. *A Grammar of the Italian Language. In Two Parts* – Palermo (1755). Također sadrži pregled gramatike kojem slijede korisne rečenice i dijalози.
3. *Easy Phraseology for the Use of Young Ladies who Intend to Learn the Colloquial Part of the Italian Language* – Baretti (1775). Sadrži isključivo dijaloge.

4. Analiza (ne)učtivosti

4.1. Analiza metakomentara učtivosti

Najprije ćemo ukazati na metakomentare učtivosti, odnosno na kontekst u kojem se učtivost otvoreno spominje. Učtivost se u navedena tri udžbenika otvoreno spominje na samo dva mjesta:

- Sappiate dunque, che in Italia la gente civile non si parla mai nella seconda persona del plurale, come fa qui in Ighilterra;¹⁶ (Baretti 1775: 12)
- In the Italian language, either for civility or duty towards a person, we very frequently make use of another Third Person, for both sexes in any polite company. (Palermo 1755: 69)

U oba slučaja autori govore o učtivosti koja se ogleda kroz persiranje i porede kulturološke norme u Italiji i Engleskoj. Baretti jezičku učtivost direktno veže sa civilizovanim ponašanjem tako što tvrdi da civilizovana osoba nikada ne koristi drugo lice množine da se obrati nekome za razliku od Engleza koji koriste istu zamjenicu i za formalno i neformalno obraćanje. Palermo ima sličan komentar, s tim što on savjetuje koje lice je potrebno koristiti kada se učtivo obraćamo nekome – treće jednine (ili zamjenicu *Lei* ili neku drugu počasnu titulu). Bilo koji drugi način obraćanja se može percipirati neučtivim ili nedovoljno formalnim te ne dozvoljava potrebnu dozu društvene udaljenosti. Oba autora impliciraju da je učtivost vezana i uz jezičke manifestacije, a ne samo uz ponašanje, tj. da jezički izbori utječu na percepciju da li je neko civilizovan ili ne.

¹⁶ Primjere iz priručnika navodimo vjerno i bez intervencija, uključujući i karakteristike koje su agramatične prema savremenoj normi italijanskog jezika.

4.2. Analiza izolovanih rečenica

U nastavku ćemo analizirati norme učtivosti prema tradicionalnom modelu u izolovanim rečenicama. Radi se o rečenicama koje su izvučene iz konteksta, ali za koje autori smatraju da bi trebalo da ih učenik poznaje. Analizu govornih činova započinjemo grupom rečenica iz dijela *frasi familiari* Casottijevog priručnika. Prvi govorni čin koji analiziramo je čin molbe i zahtjeva:

1. Prego V.S. mi dia; (68)
2. V.S. mi faccia questa grazia. (68)

U ova dva govorna čina je učtivost izražena upotrebom apelativa V.S. (*vostra signoria*) koji izražava poštovanje. Također se savjetuje upotreba imperativa *mi dia* i *mi faccia* koji s poštovanjem upućuju zahtjev. Uz to, imperativ u rečenici (2) je ublažen i laskavom imenicom *grazia* koja upućuje na to da će sagovornik učiniti uslugu pošiljaocu poruke ako prihvati zahtjev. Takvom upotrebom umekšivača značenja se štiti obraz primaoca poruke jer zahtjev uokviruje kao uslugu, a ne kao nametanje volje. Konačno, u rečenici (1) je upotrijebljen marker učtivosti *prego* kao ublaživač.

3. Non sarebbe meglio; (70)
4. Amerei meglio. (70)

Ova dva iskaza označavaju ljubazan prijedlog ili savjet. Kao strategija učtivosti, tj. ublaživač značenja, je upotrijebljen bezlični oblik trećeg lica jednine kondicionala - *sarebbe meglio* - zahvaljujući kojem se sagovorniku ne nameće tuđa volja i zahtjev se ublažava jer pošiljalac poruke odgovornost za zahtjev prebacuje na bezličnu "treću osobu". Kondicional *amerei meglio* dodaje lični ton upotrebom prvog lica jednine, ali također ne prisiljava primaoca poruke da posluša zahtjev ili da se složi sa prijedlogom budući da je zahtjev indirektan zahvaljujući kondicionalu.

5. È una falsità; (70)
6. Io mi burlo; (70)
7. Dicevo per ridere. (70)

U ova tri primjera primjećujemo na koje načine Casotti savjetuje da se uputi govorni čin poricanja. Primjer (5) je otvoreno poricanje kojim se ne štiti obraz sagovornika. Upotrebom lekseme *falsità* se upućuje

otvorena i kategorička optužba primaocu poruke. Budući da nedostaju strategije mitigacije i da je govorni čin koji prijeti obrazu u potpunosti direktan, možemo tvrditi da primjer (5) predstavlja slučaj neučtivosti u korpusu. S druge strane, (6) i (7) objašnjavaju da se prethodni iskazi nisu trebali ozbiljno shvatiti te unošenjem ležernog i šaljivog tona uklanjaju potencijalnu napetost, a sve vrijeme štiti obraz sagovornika jer uklanja sumnju da je pošiljalac poruke želio nametati svoju volju. Rečenice (6) i (7) su također u skladu sa tradicionalnom strategijom učtivosti poricanja da se čin koji prijeti obrazu želio uputiti.

8. Mi dica V.S.; (71)

9. Si può sapere. (71)

U zadnja dva primjera iz Casottija analiziramo njegove savjete kako se postavlja pitanje. Primjer (8) predstavlja učtiv poziv na odgovor budući da je upotrijebljena počasna titula *vostra signoria* kao i indirektni imperativ *mi dica*. Primjer (9) je odlučniji i čvršći, ali ipak učtiv prema svom obliku jer je pitanje postavljeno indirektno i upotrebljavajući bezličnu formu. Budući da je upotrijebljena umetnuta rečenica kao strategija učtivosti, ostavlja prostor sagovorniku da zaštiti svoj obraz u slučaju da ne želi odgovoriti na pitanje.

Nastavljamo s analizom rečenica iz Palerma:

10. Cara Signora, fatemi questa grazia. (336)

Prvi govorni čin je molba i upućuje učenika kako da na učtiv način uputi molbu. *Cara Signora* je formalan pozdrav koji upotrebljava titulu čije je značenje intenzifikovano upotrebom pridjeva *cara* koji implicira određenu bliskost ili naklonost, ali ostaje učtiv i izražava poštovanje. Izraz *fatemi questa grazia* jasno daje do znanja da se radi o zahtjevu, ali o zahtjevu koji je usluga, a ne impozicija za primaoca poruke budući da ton lekseme *grazia* izražava molbu i poštovanje, a ne nametanje. Zanimljivo je da Palermo, u suprotnosti sa savjetom navedenim u odjeljku 4.1, savjetuje da se persira upotrebljavajući drugo lice množine što svjedoči činjenici da je ovaj način ukazivanja poštovanja još uvijek u upotrebi. Dakle, cijela formula kojom se upućuje zahtjev je formulisana kao laskavi umekšivač.

11. Non più complimenti, la supplico. (339)

Jedanaesti primjer ilustruje kako odbiti komplimente i zanimljivo je da je cijeli iskaz u potpunosti u skladu i sa engleskim i sa italijanskim normama učtivosti koje savjetuju da osoba bude skromna i ne hvali se previše vlastitim postignućima. Sami dio iskaza *non più complimenti* možemo shvatiti kao vrstu zahvale, dok je *la supplico* direktno učtiv čin budući da pokazuje želju pošiljaoca poruke da nešto postigne na učtiv način. Molba u ovom primjeru je izuzetno ponizna i pokazuje poštovanje.

Palermo jedan dio priručnika posvećuje i uvredama, odnosno načinima da nekome poželimo zlo (*to wish ill*):

12. Ti venga la peste o la rabbia; (343)
13. Vatti a impicare; (343)
14. Va al Diavolo; (343)
15. Dio non voglia. (p. 343)

Primjeri (12) i (13) su otvorene kletve koje žele zlo primaocu poruke i u potpunosti su udaljene od normi učtivosti. Broj (14) iskazuje prezir prema primaocu poruke i predstavlja neučtiv način da se nekome stavi do znanja kako njegovo prisustvo nije poželjno. Pokazuje i emotivnu obojenost zazivanjem bića sa vjerskom konotacijom kao što je đavo. Konačno, broj (15) je formulska fraza koja se koristi da se izrazi želja da se ne dogodi negativan događaj. Jasno je da su iskazi 12-15 neučtivi budući da krše i engleske i italijanske norme učtivosti kao i da predstavljaju otvoren napad na obraz primaoca poruke. Budući da se radi o uputama za govorni jezik, a uvrede pripadaju i govornom jeziku, možemo zaključiti da autor obraća pažnju na taj dio jezika. U ovoj skupini rečenica primjećujemo strategije pozitivne neučtivosti budući da su upotrijebljene tabu riječi i uvrede.

Pažnju također posvećuje i prijetnjama:

16. Guardati; (344)
17. Tene faro pentire; (345)
18. T'ammazzerò; (344)
19. Ti darò dei calci in culo. (345)

Prvo što primjećujemo je da nisu sve prijetnje na istom stepenu direktnosti. Broj (16) možemo shvatiti kao strogu opomenu, ali opomenu koja ne govori ništa o posljedicama po primaoca poruke. Budući da je upotrijebljen direktni imperativ, prijetnja ima autoritaran ton. Ostale prijetnje manifestuju verbalno nasilje, ali impliciraju i fizičko.

Broj (17) se odnosi na osvetu i otvoreno govori da će primalac poruke patiti zbog svojih radnji koje je nanio pošiljaocu. Broj (18) je otvorena prijetnja smrću i izraz ekstremnog nasilja. Konačno, (19) je vulgarna prijetnja fizičkim nasiljem koja zbog vulgarnog tona izražava i nisko mišljenje i prezir prema primaocu poruke. Kao što je bio slučaj i u prethodnoj skupini rečenica, prijetnje su dio govornog repertoara koji učenik treba savladati i zbog toga se nalaze u udžbeniku, a predstavljaju jezičku manifestaciju neučtivosti koja ima za metu negativnu stranu obraza. Također možemo primijetiti i manifestacije negativne neučtivosti budući da se radi o prijetnjama.

4.3. Analiza dijaloga

Budući da smo u prethodnom dijelu mogli primijeniti samo tradicionalni okvir učtivosti, kako bismo pokazali na koji način možemo na ovu građu primijeniti teorije učtivosti u kojima je bitno na koji se način pregovaraju odnosi između učesnika, izabrali smo dva odlomka. U prvom odlomku se u situaciji nalaze italijanski plemić i kočijaš, a u drugoj dvije mlade žene koje uče italijanski jezik. Na ova dva primjera ćemo pokazati razliku u normama učtivosti u zavisnosti od društvenog položaja učesnika u komunikaciji.

Tabela 3 - Dijalozi

20. Casotti (76)	21. Casotti (80-82)
Siete <u>voi</u> impegnato? Che <u>dice</u> V. S. Non m'intendete? Parlo chiaro. Non so quel che lei dica. Io non intendo l'Italiano. Parli V. S. Inglese. <u>Vi dimando se siete impegnato?</u> - Intendo adesso benissimo. Non, <u>Signore</u> , dove vuole andare? A Londra. In che luogo? Alla Borsa Regale. Quanto volete? Due Shillini. <u>E' troppo. Vene darò uno.</u> E' troppo poco. Voulete dieciotto soldi? /.../	SIGNORA, humilissima serva sua. Ben venuta la mia cara Signora. /.../ Signora mia vengo qui con due intentioni; <u>la prima per vederla et assicurarla de' miei humilissimi rispetti</u> ; la seconda per parlar Italiano seco. <u>Di tutto cuore</u> ; parliamo dunque Italiano. /.../ <u>V. S. mi faccia</u> un favore? <u>Due ancora</u> comandi mia Signora. <u>La prego condurmi</u> in casa della Signora Contessa N.

<u>Entri V. S. in carozza.</u> <u>Cocchiere fermatevi qui.</u> Apprite la portiera. Hà V. S. negoti qui? Habbiate un poco di pazienza. Mà, Signore, il tempo passa. Non vi prendete fastidio ui pagherò. Starà V. S. moto tempo? Non, ritornerò adess' adeso. V. s. s'è arestata molto tempo. Non saprei che fare. Prendete, ecco'l vostro dannaro. Mi viene d'avantaggio. <u>Non haverete d'avantaggio.</u> <u>Bisogna dunque che mi</u> <u>contenti.</u>	Lo farò con piacere; Ella haurà gran sodisfatione di conoscer V. S. <u>Mia cara</u>, gli son infinitamente obligata. Io son tutta di lei. Signora, io mene vado, <u>la prego</u> <u>di scusarmi.</u> Tanta fretta hà VS? M'aspettano in casa. Addio dunque, <u>fin'all honore di</u> <u>rivederla.</u> <u>Serva sua.</u>

Prvi odlomak predstavlja situaciju u kojoj učesnici komunikacije nisu na istom socijalnom položaju budući da je jedan plemić, a drugi radnik. Upotrijebljeni govorni činovi uključuju postavljanje pitanja, cjenkanje, nuđenje, naređivanje i odbijanje. U odlomku primjećujemo da postoji odnos između indirektnosti i učtivosti koji se najviše očituju u obraćanju počasnom titulom *vostra signoria* – V.S. Ovakav indirektan način obraćanja, titulom i trećim licem jednine, pokazuje da pošiljalac poruke poštuje društvenu hijerarhiju i na socijalno prihvatljiv način se obraća osobi koja ima viši društveni status. Indirektnost također primjećujemo u pitanju *Non m'intendete* koje je postavljeno negacijom i zahvaljujući kojem se ublažava ilokucijska snaga pitanja. Govorni čin cjenkanja pokazuje osjetljiv balans između asertivnosti i želje za učtivošću. Iskaz *E' troppo. Vene darò uno* pokazuje element cjenkanja budući da se odbija prvobitna ponuda (*E' troppo*), ali se i daje dodatna ponuda. Ipak, ovaj govorni čin je direktan i možemo zaključiti da je direktan zato što ga upućuje plemić, a ne kočijaš. Razliku u društvenom položaju sagovornika najviše primjećujemo kada su u pitanju naređenja ili zahtjevi. Naređenje *Entri V.S. in carozza* je indirektno zbog upotrebe titule i time je ublaženo, dok plemić upućuje otvorene i neublažene imperative *fermatevi qui* i *apprite la portiera* bez obraćanja pažnje na potrebe obraza svog sagovornika. Iz toga možemo zaključiti da plemić ima veći autoritet od kočijaša. Posljednji govorni činovi na koje ćemo

ukazati su odbijanje i prihvatanje. Odbijanje je izraženo u iskazu *Non haverete d'avvantaggio* koji plemić upućuje kočijašu. Radi se o čvrstom i neublaženom odbijanju da se plati više. Na to se kočijaš predaje iskazom *Bisogna dunque che mi contenti* kojim pokazuje niži položaj od plemića jer nije u situaciji da dalje pregovara o cijeni vožnje, odnosno moguće je da kočijaš ne reaguje na odbijanje i cjenkanje zato što se ne nalazi u takvom položaju da može otvoreno izraziti svoje negodovanje.

U drugom odlomku je prikazan razgovor između dvije djevojke koje uče italijanski jezik i koje se nalaze na istom društvenom položaju. Govorni činovi koje ćemo analizirati su zahtjevi, izjave zahvalnosti i pozdravi. Prije nego pređemo na govorne činove, ukazat ćemo na općenite karakteristike učtivosti u odlomku – pretjeranu učtivost i formalnost i indirektnost. Za razliku od prethodno analiziranog odlomka, učesnice komunikacije koriste niz pripremljenih iskaza kojima spremaju teren za razgovor koji će uslijediti i time cijeli odlomak čine indirektnijim. Obje dame se jedna drugoj obraćaju titulama – ili *V.S.* ili *Signora*. Za razliku od prethodnog odlomka u kojem autor nije savjetovao učeniku da pozdravi kočijaša i koristi pripremljene iskaze, dame prije nego pređu na temu razgovora – vježbanje italijanskog jezika – upućuju jedna drugoj pozdrave pune dubokog poštovanja. Izuzetno formalan, čak i ceremonijalan, jezik, kao što je *humilissima serva sua* upotrebom tipičnog toposa poniznosti i autounižavanja daje ton izuzetnog poštovanja i potčinjenosti. Druga dama na to odgovara formulom dobrodošlice *Ben venuta* koju dodatno umekšava komplimentom *la mia cara Signora* koji dodaje toplinu i prijateljski ton razgovoru. Zahtjev da dame razgovaraju na italijanskom jeziku je ublažen pripremljenim iskazom *vengo qui con due intenzioni*. Prvi iskaz laska sagovornici i nastavlja sa upotrebom formalnog i ceremonijalnog jezika tako što tvrdi da je jedan razlog da se izrazi „ponizno poštovanje“, a tek drugi, onaj pravi, da razgovaraju na italijanskom jeziku. Čak je i sami zahtjev uobičajen kao prijedlog koji sagovornica može odbiti. Sagovornica, ipak, prihvata molbu i to markerom učtivosti *di tutto cuore* kojom izražava entuzijazam i želju da udovolji molbi. Zahtjev *la prego condurmi* je ublažen umetnutom rečenicom i markerom učtivosti *la prego*, ali i uvodnim pitanjem *V.S. mi faccia un favore* kojim se priprema teren za budući zahtjev. Druga dama na pripremljeno pitanje odgovara da će učiniti i dvije usluge čime pokazuje spremnost da pomogne, ali i daje do znanja da joj obraz nije u opasnosti, to jeste da se sve vrijeme nalaze u granicama učtivog razgovora. Zahvala se izražava formulom *son infinitamente obbligata* koja iskazuje pretjeranu zahvalnost i zaduženost kod primaoca

poruke. Konačno, pozdrav je iskazan formulom *la prego di scusarmi* i uobličen je kao zahtjev da primateljica poruke oprostí što mora íći čime se povećava njegova indirektnost. Drugi pozdrav koji je upotrijebljen je *addio*, ali i taj pozdrav je intenzifikovan formulom *fin'all honore di rivederla koja ne samo da pojačava značenje pozdrava već i naglašava poštovanje prema sagovornici. Slično poštovanje pokazuje i sagovornica koja razgovor završava toposom službe, tj. sa serva sua i time naglašava uzajamno ceremonijalno poštovanje.*

U zadnjem dijelu analize ćemo još ukazati na nekoliko slučajeva potencijalne neučtivosti iz Barettija. Radi se o sljedećim primjerima:

22. H: /.../ Credete voi che potreste volermi bene come se vi fossi figlia?

M: Ah, ladroncella! Già vi siete accorta che vi ho per tale! (str. 66)

Učitelj svojoj učenici upućuje načelnu uvredu *ladroncella*, međutim ilokucijsku snagu tog čina ne možemo shvatiti kao uvredu već radije kao prijateljsko zadirkivanje (eng. *banter*). Sama leksema unosi ton dragosti koji nije neučtiv već na šaljiv način upućuje blagu kritiku ili ukazuje na lukavost učenice. Odnos između učitelja i učenice dozvoljava da se na šaljiv način i upotrebom registra koji bi u drugim kontekstima mogao biti neučtiv stvara zajednički teren i ukazuje na intimnost i neformalan karakter odnosa. Zadirkivanje je također u potpunosti u skladu sa engleskim normama učtivosti koje propisuju da se ne šali osim ako druga osoba nije upoznata sa šalom.

23. M: Avete altro che dire?

H: Ho vari altri motivi di lagnarmi di voi. (str. 118)

U primjeru (23) ukazujemo na kritiku *ho vari altri motivi di lagnarmi di voi* koju učenica upućuje svom učitelju. Samu kritiku primjećujemo zahvaljujući performativnom glagolu *lagnarmi*. Budući da se radi o privatnom učitelju, učenica je dovoljno slobodna da mu uputi kritiku, ali ipak zadržava formalan ton i poštovanje jer mu se obraća tako što ga persira čime signalizuje društvenu udaljenost i zadržava formalnost. Bitno je napomenuti da je u kontekstu dijaloga kritika više upućena kao šala ili ironija nego kao žalba koja će nekome biti prenesena.

24. Casetta: La bottegaia non era opulente, ma era maravigliosamente grassa. (str. 410)

Zadnji primjer koji ćemo analizirati je uvreda upućena nekome ko nije prisutan. Sintagmom *maravigliosamente grassa* se ukazuje na negativnu karakteristiku prodavačice – na njenu debljinu. Uvreda je i intenzifikovana upotrebom priloga *maravigliosamente* u ulozi intenzifikatora. U kontekstu rečenice sama uvreda ima ironičnu dimenziju, čak i šaljivu, budući da se uvredom ukazuje na činjenicu da prodavačica nije samo “krupna”. Međutim, budući da i priručnik bontona ukazuje da nije poželjno loše govoriti o nekome ko nije prisutan, jasno je da su ironične šale na račun prodavačice neučtive u ovom kontekstu.

5. Zaključak

Nakon sprovedene analize prigodnih odlomaka iz priručnika, možemo zaključiti da se učtivost ne podučava otvoreno, međutim da jesu prisutne norme (ne)učtivosti. Italijanske norme učtivosti smo mogli primijetiti u impersonalizovanom obraćanju, odnosno u persiranju. Također moramo napomenuti da su i norme učtivosti u obje lingvokulture slične te da je i bilo očekivano da nećemo primijetiti velike razlike u ophođenju. Jedan od zaključaka analize je da u ova tri udžbenika postoji veza između indirektnosti i učtivosti jer se kao strategije mitigacije govornih činova izdvajaju markeri učtivosti, titule, umekšivači i kondicional. U korpusu smo mogli smogti primijetiti i norme neučtivosti što je također bilo očekivano budući da se radi o priručnicima govornog jezika i neučtivost je njegov sastavni dio. U izolovanim rečenicama smo mogli primijetiti neučtivost u upućivanju uvreda i prijetnji i tada se radi o otvorenim i neublaženim govornim činovima. Pored tih slučajeva, otvoreno uvredljivi govorni činovi u dijalozima su prisutni kada se govori o nekome ko nije tu, dok se u drugim slučajevima radi o prijateljskom zadirkivanju i ne možemo te činove klasifikovati kao neučtive. Također smo uspjeli potvrditi da postoji razlika u manifestaciji normi učtivosti u zavisnosti od društvenog položaja učesnika komunikacije. U dijalogu između plemića i kočijaša, plemić upućuje otvorene i direktne govorne činove zahtjeva dok je isti čin u dijalogu između dvije žene na istom društvenom položaju ceremonijalan i indirektan. Ipak, jedno od ograničenja analize ovakvog korpusa je što se moramo zapitati da li su podučavane situacije realne i koliko možemo očekivati da će sagovornik zaista reagovati onako kako autor priručnika očekuje da hoće. Tj. možda je očekivano da bi se kočijaš duže cjenkao ili da bi došlo do verbalnog sukoba iako autor nije tako predvidio. Također

moramo ukazati na činjenicu da udžbenici stranih jezika ciljaju na određenu skupinu i da vrlo vjerovatno predstavljaju učtivost i društvene norme ograničenog sloja ljudi.

U budućnosti namjeravamo proširiti korpus na različite vrste komunikacije koje sežu i dalje u prošlost kao i uraditi kvantitativnu analizu sintaksičkih i leksičkih karakteristika jezika. Nadamo se da bi nam takva analiza mogla dati dublji uvid u upotrijebljene norme učtivosti kao i njihove promjene u dijahorniji u zavisnosti od spola, društvenog položaja, žanra kojem pripada korpus kao i epohe.

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THE PHENOMENA OF (IM)POLITENESS IN THE 18TH CENTURY: AN ANALYSIS OF ITALIAN LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS FOR ANGLOPHONE SPEAKERS

This study examines the phenomena of (im)politeness in 18th-century Italian language textbooks designed for Anglophone speakers. The analysis focuses on three textbooks: Casotti's *A New Method of Teaching the Italian Tongue to Ladies and Gentlemen* (1709), Palermo's *A Grammar of the Italian Language. In Two Parts* (1755), and Baretti's *Easy Phraseology for the Use of Young Ladies who Intend to Learn the Colloquial Part of the Italian Language* (1775). These textbooks prioritize spoken Italian and include dialogues that implicitly reflect the sociopragmatic norms of politeness relevant to both Italian and English-speaking cultures of the time. Given the influence of Italian culture in England during this period, the study aims to determine how these textbooks balance Italian norms of politeness, their English interpretations, and the broader linguistic universals governing polite discourse.

The research adopts a methodological framework based on historical etiquette manuals, specifically *Galateo* (1558) by Giovanni Della Casa and *Principles of Politeness* (1776) by Philip Stanhope. These etiquette books serve as reference points for analyzing the norms of politeness in 18th-century society. The study employs both traditional and postmodern theories of politeness to research mitigation, upgrading, downgrading or modification of potentially impolite speech acts such as refusals, questions, and insults. The findings indicate that offensive conversational acts tend to be mitigated, and overt insults appear mainly in the context of discussing absent individuals or banter. Furthermore, there is a significant overlap between Italian and English politeness norms, suggesting common underlying principles in both linguistic cultures. These insights contribute to fields such as didactics, sociology, history, and linguistics by providing a deeper understanding of historical pragmatics and the evolution of politeness.

The study begins by outlining the theoretical and methodological framework used to analyze historical politeness. The field of politeness studies

gained momentum in the 1970s alongside the rise of pragmatics as a scientific discipline. With the establishment of historical pragmatics as a distinct field, scholars began to explore politeness as a historical linguistic phenomenon. This study relies on the works of Jucker (2008), Jacobs and Jucker (1995) to examine pragmatics in historical contexts and identify potential universal models of politeness. One of the primary reasons for investigating politeness in a historical context is to determine whether semantic shifts have occurred in the perception of politeness over time. Analyzing historical data allows researchers to explore whether certain politeness norms have remained stable or evolved due to cultural and linguistic changes.

The complexity of defining politeness is a central issue in politeness research. In its broadest sense, politeness can be interpreted as cooperative verbal interaction and an expression of consideration for interlocutors. However, politeness is often seen as context-dependent, and some scholars argue that it can carry negative connotations, such as being perceived as insincere or pretentious. Watts highlights the role of politeness in social discrimination, emphasizing that socially acceptable behavior has historically been used to reinforce class distinctions. Additionally, the perception of politeness varies among speakers, further complicating its definition. Some scholars, such as Lakoff (1975) and Leech (1980), view politeness as a mechanism for reducing friction in interpersonal interactions. Others, like Kasper (1990), define it as a set of strategies aimed at minimizing antagonism. Given these complexities, the study examines historical definitions of the Italian term *cortesia* and the English term *politeness* to identify cultural differences in their conceptualization.

The analysis reveals that *cortesia* emphasizes internal qualities such as kindness, rationality, and loyalty, with a religious dimension that associates it with divine mercy. In contrast, *politeness* is more focused on external behavior and refinement of manners, indicating a stronger dependence on cultural context. This distinction suggests that Italian politeness norms historically emphasized moral character, while English politeness was more concerned with outward social behavior.

The study combines traditional and postmodern politeness theories to analyze the textbooks. Traditional theories, particularly the work of Brown and Levinson (1987), define politeness as a strategy to mitigate face-threatening acts. They categorize face into two types: positive face (an individual's desire for approval) and negative face (an individual's desire to act freely without imposition). According to this framework, speech acts that threaten positive face include criticism and insults, while speech acts that threaten negative face include commands and requests. Brown and Levinson identify several politeness strategies, ranging from direct speech to various degrees of mitigation, including indirect requests, honorifics, and hedging. However, traditional models have been criticized for their reliance on indirectness as an indicator of politeness and their focus on speaker intentions rather than recipient responses. Postmodern theories of politeness, such as those

proposed by Locher and Watts (2008), argue that politeness is context-dependent and constructed through interaction. These theories emphasize that politeness cannot be universally defined but must be analyzed within specific social and historical contexts.

To assess politeness norms in 18th-century Italian textbooks, the study examines both explicit metacommentary on politeness and implicit representations of polite discourse in dialogues. Politeness is explicitly mentioned in only two instances in the analyzed textbooks, both of which discuss formal address. Baretti asserts that civilized Italians never use the second-person plural form when speaking to one another, in contrast to English speakers, who use “you” for both formal and informal address. Palermo similarly notes that polite Italian speakers frequently use the third person when addressing others. These observations indicate that politeness in 18th-century Italy was closely tied to the use of honorifics and formal pronouns, which reinforced social hierarchy and respect.

The study further focuses on an analysis of familiar phrases and dialogues. Familiar phrases are analyzed using the traditional framework, whereas dialogues are analyzed using a combination of traditional and postmodern theories. The analysis of familiar phrases and dialogues in the selected 18th-century Italian language textbooks focuses on how politeness is conveyed through speech acts such as requests, refusals, commands, and expressions of gratitude. The study examines both explicit and implicit markers of politeness, considering their sociopragmatic functions in historical and cross-cultural contexts. In the section on familiar phrases, the research highlights how politeness is embedded in formulaic expressions used for requests and suggestions. Examples from Casotti’s textbook illustrate how requests are softened through the use of honorifics like *Vostra Signoria* and the imperative mitigated with respectful expressions such as *mi dia* or *mi faccia questa grazia*, which appeal to the recipient’s goodwill. Indirectness is another key strategy, with the use of conditional forms such as *Non sarebbe meglio?* or *Amerei meglio*, which allow the speaker to propose actions without imposing on the interlocutor. The analysis also examines how potential face-threatening acts, such as refusals and criticisms, are either mitigated or expressed more directly depending on the social dynamics at play. Casotti provides examples of blunt negations like *È una falsità*, which directly accuse the interlocutor of lying, contrasting with more indirect forms like *Dicevo per ridere*, which downplay confrontational statements by framing them as jokes. Similarly, when posing questions, the use of indirect constructions such as *Si può sapere?* allows speakers to inquire without appearing too demanding.

The study extends this analysis to dialogues, illustrating how politeness is negotiated between speakers of different social statuses. In one exchange between a nobleman and a coachman, the use of *Vostra Signoria* signals deference, while the nobleman’s speech remains more direct, especially when issuing commands like *fermatevi qui* or *apprite la portiera*. The contrast in how

directives are framed underscores how social hierarchy influences linguistic politeness. The negotiation of payment further exemplifies how politeness strategies vary, with the coachman using mitigated refusals, while the nobleman employs firmer, more direct rejections like *Non haverete d'avvantaggio*. In another dialogue between two young women practicing Italian, politeness is heightened through elaborate honorific language and ceremonial expressions. Their conversation begins with highly formal greetings, such as *Signora, humilissima serva sua* and *Ben venuta la mia cara Signora*, setting a tone of exaggerated courtesy. Requests are framed through preparatory statements and embedded clauses, making them appear less imposing. For instance, before making a request, a speaker asks, *V.S. mi faccia un favore?*, signaling deference and leaving room for the interlocutor to decline. The interaction is filled with expressions of gratitude and obligation, such as *son infinitamente obligata* and *lo son tutta di lei*, further reinforcing the highly ritualized nature of politeness in this setting. Even the farewell exchange includes additional layers of politeness, with one speaker saying *la prego di scusarmi* instead of simply announcing her departure.

The study also explores instances of impoliteness, particularly in Baretti's textbook, where certain remarks contain insults or sarcastic elements. In one example, a teacher playfully calls his student *Ah, ladroncella!* in a way that functions as affectionate teasing rather than outright rudeness. Another dialogue presents a student criticizing her teacher with *Ho vari altri motivi di lagnarmi di voi*, though the use of formal address helps maintain a degree of decorum. The final example highlights how insults are more acceptable when directed at absent third parties, as seen in the description of a shopkeeper as *maravigliosamente grassa*, an ironic and exaggerated comment that violates etiquette norms.

The conclusion of the study highlights that while politeness is not explicitly taught in the analyzed 18th-century Italian language textbooks, norms of (im)politeness are clearly present. Italian politeness conventions, particularly the use of formal address are evident throughout the dialogues. The study also confirms that politeness norms in both Italian and English were similar during this period, making significant differences between the two cultures unlikely. Instances of impoliteness were also expected, given that these textbooks focused on spoken language, where rudeness is sometimes a natural component of interaction. The analysis found that openly offensive speech acts were mostly directed at absent individuals or used in playful teasing rather than in direct confrontation. Mitigation strategies were commonly employed to soften potentially impolite utterances, but notable differences appeared in conversations between social classes. The study suggests that speakers of lower status tended to use more indirect and deferential language, while those of higher status were more direct, particularly in commands and refusals. One limitation of the analysis is that it is difficult to determine whether the dialogues accurately reflect real-life speech patterns or if they present an idealized version of politeness. For example, a coachman in reality might have negotiated

more aggressively over the price of a ride, but the textbook portrays a more compliant response. Additionally, these textbooks were likely designed for a specific social class, meaning that their representation of politeness may not be universally applicable. Further research avenues are suggested, including expanding the corpus to different historical periods and conducting a quantitative analysis of the syntactic and lexical features of politeness. A broader investigation could reveal more about how politeness strategies evolved over time, particularly concerning gender, social status, and genre differences.

Keywords: (im)politeness, mitigation, sociopragmatics, Italian for foreigners, etiquette books

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF PEACE EDUCATION IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE CURRICULUM FOR PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN CANTON SARAJEVO

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Abstract: Language learning requires personal, cultural and social interactions. Since today's world is interconnected and interrelated, mono-cultural education cannot give appropriate answers to present-day postmodern challenges, including learning languages. In these circumstances, peace education aims to empower students with problem-solving skills, conflict resolution skills and the promotion of tolerance for diversity and cultural differences. In a post-conflict country like Bosnia and Herzegovina, peace education is pivotal and it needs to be included in different curricula at all levels of education, including foreign language curricula. English Language subject in primary schools should promote peace education and raise students' awareness of peace-building and multicultural understanding. The aim of the article is content analysis of peace education in the English Language curriculum for primary schools. An overview of peace education development is presented, as well as the relevant conceptual framework. Qualitative content analysis was applied to analyze the relevant materials within the conceptual framework. The content analysis and results indicate that peace education themes are partially included in English Language curriculum for primary schools. Education policymakers, curriculum developers and teachers in Bosnia and Herzegovina are recommended to (re)consider peace education implementation in a holistic way that would enhance students' knowledge, skills and values for promoting cultural diversity and multicultural understanding. This would lead to positive transformations and reconciliation processes in the society.

Keywords: peace education, English Language subject curriculum, peace-building, multicultural understanding

1. Introduction

1.1. Education for international understanding

The idea of education for international understanding (EIU) was developed in the 20th century as a response to social, cultural, political, economic and other changes and developments in the world. It was recognized that school curricula need to increase awareness of the importance of peaceful international and inter-cultural relations (Toh 13). During 1960s, EIU was no longer observed only through understanding between societies and nations, but also through internal issues that influence international relations. Different peace institutions and NGOs emerged promoting education for human rights and EIU, and campaigning for issues of hunger, poverty and inequalities to be integrated in curricula. In 1970s, environmental destruction became another important concern in school programs. UNESCO had a significant role in promoting EIU, in particular its historic "Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental freedoms" adopted in 1974 and the "Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy" adopted in 1995. Following the bloodshed of the wars in the 20th century, the new millennium seemed as a unique opportunity to put a stop on violence and crimes against humanity. The United Nations declared 2000 as the International Year for the Culture of Peace.

Terms "education for international understanding" (EIU), "education for the culture of peace" and "peace education" all refer to the concept promoted through numerous international programs and organizations with the aim of building a violence-free and safe world where all nations can prosper. This concept is multi-layered and complex in its structure and dimensions, but very straightforward and clear in its mission and goals.

It is most meaningful to conceive of EIU as an educational movement and nonviolent force for the building of a culture of peace in all spheres of life, from local and national to international and global levels. EIU must foster values, awareness, knowledge, and skills enabling all peoples, communities, institutions, nations and movements to join in hand, heart, and spirit to move

towards a nonviolent, just, compassionate, and sustainable world. (Toh 15)

Nevertheless, the reality of today's world shows that the world has not learned the lessons from the past. New wars, more violent, brutal and merciless, broke out and it seems as if human life has no value. Peace education may now be more important than ever. For next generations of children and youth, peace education should be the foundation of their schooling and should be integrated in curricula of different subjects at all levels of formal education.

1.2. Peace Education and Language

Peace is a human need and necessity, which is acquired through the process of socialization that requires language skills. Human nature also tends towards peaceful coexistence, cooperation, solidarity, dialogue, and harmony with nature. This natural inclination to peace has motivated researchers to study peace throughout history (Martinez Guzman and Ahmed Ali 2008; Galtung 1969, 1990; Richmond 2003, 2016).

Most of the researchers on peace education make reference to Galtung (1969) because of his focus on peace which has been perceived as the absence of war. Peace education scholars introduced notions of positive peace and culture of peace in contrast to direct, structural and cultural violence. Then, several studies began addressing the culture of peace by emphasizing dialogue among civilizations. Harris and Morrison (2003), in addition to positive and negative peace, were influenced by post modernity. Their peace education definition addresses different aspects such as the absence of war, a balance in international system, international peace, the absence of structural violence, the absence of interpersonal violence and injustice, intercultural peace, inner peace, holistic peace and harmony, environmental harmony etc. Harris and Morrison (2003) conceptualized their definition by stating that: "For an individual to live peacefully he or she must be able to satisfy basic needs and resolve conflicts within friendships, workplaces, families, and communities in a way that promotes the well-being of all" (12). The promotion of peace depends on human capacity to prevent and resolve conflicts, the implementation of justice, ability to make peace through transformation and politics, implementing peace through sustainability, and teaching peace in schools (Harris and Morrison 17-28). Peace education "teaches non-violence, love, compassion and reverence for all life" (Harris and Morrison 9). Similarly, Rapoport (1992) envisioned six concepts of how peace could be implemented through strength, the

balance of power and collective security, peace through law, personal pacifism and revolutionary pacifism. Dietrich (2012) talked about five families of peace: energetic perception, moral, modern, postmodern and trans-rational. According to Harris and Morrison (2003), peace education is complementary to human rights education, environmental education, international education, multicultural education, conflict resolution education and development education. Enlisted complementary branches cover similar subjects as peace education.

Peace education is the process which ultimately aims at the creation of skills, knowledge and attitudes that would ensure peace. Thus, peace education leads to the appreciation of peace, addressing human fears, providing security, understanding war and its consequences, developing intercultural understanding, providing peace guidance, teaching peace as a process, promoting peace within social justice, promoting the respect for life and managing conflicts nonviolently (Harrison and Morrison 32). Consequently, peace education could inevitably lead to human, intellectual and social transformation and change.

By combining language, culture and peace education, language teachers and foreign language teachers promote peace and multicultural understanding among students. Learning a foreign language pits learners into an area of different cultures and understanding of peace. Once students are made aware of the relationship between culture and language, they will learn to understand and accept differences among people. This is a great opportunity to familiarize students with the contemporary issues related to peace education and multicultural understanding. Currently, there is a trend among linguists to view second language learning as an essentially socio-psychological process in which a wider socio-cultural context should not be neglected. A teacher or a researcher must strive to understand the identities of the learners in terms of their socio-cultural background. Thus, the socio-cultural context is closely related to language learning, whereby teachers and students should strive to understand other cultures when learning a new language (Tulgar 2017; Kruger 2012; Fenner 2008).

This article argues that, in post-conflict and divided societies, peace education is crucial for peacebuilding and reconciliation, which are vitally important for Bosnia and Herzegovina to fight against discrimination, injustice, and violence. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, English is taught as the first foreign language in primary and secondary schools. Thus, English language curriculum can make a significant

contribution to developing peace education in the country and educating the youth for the culture of peace.

1.3. Assessing Contextual Conditions

For many centuries, the three main ethnic groups and constituent nations, Bosniacs, Serbs and Croats, lived together in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and students of different ethnicities attended schools and played together. However, the break-up of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s and bloody conflicts that followed affected relationships between people and the education system. The education system and schools were segregated. Children of different ethnicities started attending separate schools, with separate curricula. Bosnia and Herzegovina is still struggling with consequences of these divisions. Crimes against humanity, ethnic cleansing and genocide strongly affected the relationship between major ethnic groups in the country. Bosnian society at large is greatly affected by ethno-nationalism and many people are, at times and under different circumstances, exposed to different kinds of ethnic and cultural discrimination. Such ethnic polarization has been strongly articulated through family, education and media (Bar-Tal and Rosen 2007, 2009). In the societies that have experienced violent conflicts, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, education has an important role in the post-conflict development, including peacebuilding and reconciliation processes.

In this regard, it is important to inculcate in future generations the ability to cope with ethnic, cultural and socio-political challenges. Educational institutions, through their curricula, should focus on peace education to improve human relationships in the family, schools, at the workplace, within country and across borders (Murithi 2009). The education system needs to contribute towards peacebuilding and reconciliation process. The promotion of the culture of peace should be advanced through research, education policy, culture policy and media. Peace education is a process which goes on throughout the education journey. Such long-term engagement is especially important in post-conflict societies, which require time for the creation of peace culture and ability in coping with multicultural challenges.

Education is pivotal for the long-term societal transformation and cohesion. Peace education teaches students knowledge, skills, values and attitudes for building a peaceful society that has the ability to suppress violence, hatred and discrimination. Schools and curricula have a major impact on students, communities and society at large. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, peace education has been slowly implemented with the support of international organizations. Peace education was

introduced as a pilot project with the aim of enhancing the reconciliation process, peace-building and multicultural understanding. Clarke-Habibi (2005) was among the earliest researchers who examined the implementation of peace education projects in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the post-war period.

During the period from July 2000 to June 2002, the Office of the High Representative and the Embassy of Luxemburg, in collaboration with the ministries of education at the entity level, implemented the first pilot project on education for peace in several primary and secondary schools, involving more than 400 teachers, 60,000 students and 10,000 parents. The project trained teachers in using pedagogical tools to adopt a culture of peace with the adoption of standard curriculum components. In the following years, many other international organizations and embassies replicated similar projects and peace education was incorporated in schools through projects, not a subject or part of the curriculum.

The main rationale of this article is to analyze the presence of the main peace education themes in English Language subject in primary schools in Sarajevo Canton. The results may help improve peace education in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which will contribute to the creation of peace culture, multicultural understanding and reconciliation processes.

1.4. Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework applied in the research at hand is the “flower-petal” model of peace education which was developed by Toh (13-31). The framework was initially presented by Toh and Cawagas as a metaphor of a flower with 6 petals, representing 6 main themes of the education for peace: (1) Dismantling the culture of war; (2) Living with justice and compassion; (3) Promoting human rights and responsibilities; (4) Building cultural respect, reconciliation and solidarity; (5) Living in harmony with the Earth; and (6) Cultivating inner peace (figure 1).



Figure 1: Flower-petal model of peace education conceptual framework

Source: Swee-Hin, Toh and Virginia F. Cawagas. Presentation at the Experts Consultation on EIU toward a Culture of Peace, Suva, Fiji, July 2002 (as cited in: Toh 31).

The flower metaphor illustrates the need for a holistic approach to peace education. Each petal is equally important for the essence of the flower and they all need to be taken into account for the holistic interpretation and analysis of peace education (Toh 2004). In the text below, each main theme is discussed briefly.

(1) Dismantling the culture of war

The contemporary world is the scene of many wars, sufferings, pain, death, hardships, which are stark reminders of the importance of the education for peace and non-violence. Different programs focus on peace-building and non-violent conflict resolution, ranging from sport events to campaigns to abolish arms trade and to ban land mines (Toh 18). In recent decades, violence at schools has become a major problem in many countries, with incidents of shootings at schools, bullying and cyber bullying. Nonviolence and its principles have been integrated in school curricula worldwide promoting violence prevention and conflict resolution. Children and adults need to be educated about media violence, family violence, gun ownership, toys which incite war culture and a variety of other forms of violence that surround them.

(2) Living with justice and compassion

The modernization paradigm of development was supposed to ensure rapid economic growth of all countries in the world. However,

nowadays we have an increase in structural violence, unjust and unequal distribution of resources and economic power, and an increase in the income gap between the richest and the poorest countries. Millions of people in marginalized societies suffer from the lack of basic needs, thousands of children die every day from preventable causes, millions of people lack adequate housing, millions are homeless, millions of children are exploited as child laborers, millions of people do not have proper health care. We must recognize the fact that the root causes of world poverty are injustices and inequalities (Toh 17).

It is necessary to question the truth behind the modernization paradigm and to reconsider the role of critical education for the marginalized people. Within the holistic EIU framework, justice is closely related to the concept of compassion, which is very important in different religions and civilizations. Compassion is not the same as pity. Compassion implies ability to express genuine feelings about suffering of people, then to be moved by conscience to help those in need, but also the willingness to take responsibility for results of structural violence and show solidarity with the marginalized people through personal and social activities in the quest for justice (Toh 17-18). Education needs to raise critical consciousness about people's accountability and responsibilities in the world full of poverty and injustice, but also unsustainable consumerism in the developed world. Education can develop the spirit of justice and compassion among students, who are future policymakers and leaders.

(3) Promoting human rights and responsibilities

Since the adoption of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights by the United Nations in 1948, many different treaties, conventions and covenants have been adopted to confirm inalienable rights of all people. However, in practice, the situation is quite the opposite, with numerous violations of human rights present daily across the world, affecting millions of people. It is important to promote all rights, not just individual civil and political rights, but also economic, cultural, social, solidarity rights and others. In addition to promoting human rights, we need to promote responsibilities in defending the rights, freedom and dignity of others. The right to freedom of speech entails responsibility not to slander other people (Toh 22). The importance of human rights has been recognized in school curricula, with students taught to embrace the culture of human rights, whereby the culture of peace is also fostered.

(4) Building cultural respect, reconciliation and solidarity

Ongoing conflicts between different peoples and cultures have led to serious issues of "peacelessness and tragic violence" in the world (Toh

22). Deeply rooted causes of conflicts include colonization, injustices brought by the modernization paradigm and others. Migration is another major issue which emphasizes the need for promoting respect and mutual understanding among different people. For peace to be achieved, people need to be willing to live non-violently and appreciate diversity (Toh 24). Intercultural and multicultural education have become pivotal, along with promoting inter-religious dialogue. Dialogue and respect will lead to reconciliation and healing. Another crucial aspect is cultural solidarity, especially for those in advantageous positions towards the marginalized, indigenous and minority population.

(5) Living in harmony with the Earth

The world has been experiencing unprecedented environmental destruction over the last decades with far reaching consequences. Pollution of air, water and land, deforestation, exhaustion of natural resources and global warming are some signs of man's violence against the earth. While there have been some improvements in raising awareness of environmental crisis the entire humanity is facing, with green policies and sustainable development emphasized across different sectors, it is crucial for humans to adopt "the ethics of inter-generational responsibility" and promote the concept of "earth rights" so that future generations will be able to survive (Toh 21). Environmental education, which has become integrated in curricula of formal education systems, needs to address personal and social green awareness, but also the holistic approach which integrates the issues of justice and rights of peoples and nations.

(6) Cultivating inner peace

While the previous themes of education for peace focus on visible concepts and relationships, the theme of inner peace refers to each individual's need for inner tranquility and equilibrium as intrinsic aims in life (Toh 25). This concept is included in all the religions, holy texts, oral wisdom and doctrines. While cultivating our inner peace, we must not be self-centered. It is important to relate our own inner peace with our responsibility to build outer peace in the society and world. Programs of holistic education integrate the theme of inner peace with an individual's personal and interpersonal growth and finding a citizen's place in the community. Education for inner peace must be contextualized in relation to building relationships, promoting human rights, justice, non-violence, solidarity, cultural respect and environmental care (Toh 26).

The final, crucial dimension of EIU is the pedagogy behind it: the way the process of educating for peace is conducted. The main

pedagogical principles that can guide us towards peace education are: holistic understanding, dialogue, values formation and critical empowerment (Toh 26).

1.5. Research Objectives

Bosnia and Herzegovina has been making some progress in education reform and curriculum development. This is especially the case with peace education that is seen as crucial for peacebuilding and reconciliation processes. In 2024, a major step was taken towards improving and reforming primary and secondary education in Canton Sarajevo with the new subject curricula adopted, while their implementation commenced in the school year 2024/2025. The main features of the new subject curricula are: (1) their foundation on learning outcomes and (2) their interdisciplinary character and integrated approach to all the subjects students attend during their formal education at primary and secondary level.

The main objective of the research at hand is to analyze the new English Language subject curriculum for primary education within the framework of peace education.

1.6. Research Questions

The research at hand is guided by the following research questions: RQ1: Which aspects of the flower-petal model of peace education are included in the content of the English language subject curriculum for primary schools?

RQ2: Which aspects of peace education can be improved in the English Language subject curriculum for primary schools?

2. Methodology

The qualitative content analysis was applied to determine the presence and content of peace education in the English Language subject curriculum for primary schools in Canton Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. We explored the relevant materials following the conceptual framework of the “flower-petal” model of peace education (Toh 13-31).

The English Language subject curriculum was analyzed with QCamap software (see <https://www.qcamap.org/ui/en/home>). This software is designed for a systematic text analysis based on the techniques of qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2022). The qualitative content analysis is a rule-guided procedure that consists of several qualitative steps: definition of categories, assignment of categories to the text passages, definition of coding guidelines, coding

of the text, and analysis. Following the established research question and the theoretical background, it was important to decide on the most appropriate content analytical technique. In the research at hand, deductive category assignment was applied, with the main themes of the flower-petal model of peace education used as the main categories for the analysis: (1) Dismantling the culture of war; (2) Living with justice and compassion; (3) Promoting human rights and responsibilities; (4) Building cultural respect, reconciliation and solidarity; (5) Living in harmony with the Earth; and (6) Cultivating inner peace. Coding units were defined along with the context unit, definitions of category units were set, anchor examples provided and coding rules established.

3. Analysis and discussion

In primary schools in Canton Sarajevo, English language is taught as the first foreign language from grade I to the final grade of primary education – grade IX. The number of English language classes per week differs from grade to grade (table 1).

Table 1

The number of English classes per week in primary schools

Required subject	The number of English language classes per week for each grade								
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
The first foreign language – English language	1	1	2	2	2	3	3	2	2

Students in grades I and II have one English language class per week; in grades III-V and VIII and IX they have 2 classes per week; while in grades VI and VII they have 3 classes per week. The goal of English language classes is for students to achieve oral and written communication competence, along with sociocultural, intercultural and literary competences, but also communication skills, teamwork and problem-solving skills (Ministry of Education 3). At the primary level of education, students should achieve A2.2 level of oral and written communication skills in English language, following the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR).

Among the key competences for the 21st century, the Curriculum highlights the following competences to be developed through English language classes: (1) linguistic and communication competences, (2) enabling students to read and understand texts in English language

independently, (3) enabling students for written communication in English language, and (4) developing awareness of one's own identity, one's own and other's cultures, traditions and customs (Ministry of Education 4). The curriculum was developed across four main areas which are harmonized with CEFR with regard to learning outcomes and levels of knowledge students need to achieve (table 2).

Table 2

Main areas and elements of teaching English language

Main areas of teaching English language	Elements of the main areas
Listening and comprehension	Understanding heard content Vocabulary, linguistic structures and phonetic rules Understanding communication patterns through listening
Reading and comprehension	Reading to understand Acquiring vocabulary, linguistic structures and rules Learning about and respecting one's own culture and other cultures
Speaking and verbal communication	Characteristics of spoken language Speech development Speaking in different contexts
Writing and written communication	Developing proper written expressions Developing functional linguistic literacy Developing linguistic literacy within multilingualism and multiculturalism

The main areas and their elements represent the common framework for each grade of primary school, indicating the main goals of the instruction. English language classes need to equip students with adequate linguistic and communication skills and competences which will enable them to communicate at the international level and use sources in English language, which will increase their academic and business mobility, but also raise their awareness of their own culture and other cultures (Ministry of Education 5-8).

In addition to the common areas, curriculum for each grade also consist of the following segments: (1) key content (highlighting the main

themes of English classes for each grade), and (2) recommendations for the achievement of learning outcomes (including: methodological guidelines for efficient teaching and learning, with recommended themes, vocabulary and grammar; possible interdisciplinary connections and correlations between English language and other school subjects; possibilities for character-building activities and development of key competences: linguistic and communicative competences, learning how to learn, social and civic competences, entrepreneurial, intercultural, digital and creative-productive competences).

An important emphasis is placed on the interdisciplinary aspect of teaching and learning English as a foreign language and other school subjects, whereby, in each grade of primary education, teachers should be aware of the holistic approach to students' learning and discovering the world around them.

The qualitative content analysis of the English language subject curriculum for primary schools has shown that the main peace education themes are all included in the curriculum, but to a different extent. Theme (4) Building cultural respect, reconciliation and solidarity has the highest frequency (142), followed by theme (6) Cultivating inner peace (57), theme (3) Promoting human rights and responsibilities (46), theme (5) Living in harmony with the Earth (19), theme (1) Dismantling the culture of war (5) and theme (2) Living with justice and compassion (5).

The theme that is present in the curriculum to a high extent is theme (4) Building cultural respect, reconciliation and solidarity. Themes that are present to a moderate extent are: theme (6) Cultivating inner peace and theme (3) Promoting human rights and responsibilities. The themes that are present to a low extent are: theme (5) Living in harmony with the Earth, theme (1) Dismantling the culture of war and theme (2) Living with justice and compassion (table 3).

Table 3
Overview of the results of qualitative content analysis

Category label and definition	Frequency	Examples
Theme 1: Dismantling the culture of war	5	"[...] promoting non-violent communication and conflict resolution, is of the utmost

		importance in learning and teaching English.”
Theme 2: Living with justice and compassion	5	“[...] developing empathy [...] is of the utmost importance in learning and teaching English.”
Theme 3: Promoting human rights and responsibilities	46	“Modern English language teaching also involves introducing students to human rights, global citizenship responsibilities, and socio-cultural and intercultural norms and rules in ways that will be interesting to students (project work), as well as applicable in their relationships with their own and other cultures and communities.”
Theme 4: Building cultural respect, reconciliation and solidarity	142	“The purpose of the English subject is to help students develop linguistic-communication competencies and acquire sociolinguistic knowledge and skills that will be beneficial for their personal growth and advancement. This helps them shape their identity, develop intercultural competence and cultural awareness, foster solidarity, and appreciate diversity.”
Theme 5: Living in harmony with the Earth	19	“In the 7 th grade, key content topics can include: [...] Nature and Ecology (endangered animal species and environmental protection) [...]”
Theme 6: Cultivating inner peace	57	“The selection of reading materials, based on the teacher's assessment and student interest, contributes to [...] development of their own opinions, and understanding of themselves and others.”

The peace education theme which is predominant in the curriculum is theme (4) Building cultural respect, reconciliation and solidarity. The underlying peace education principles which stem from this theme

include: multicultural society, mutual respect and understanding, sensitivity towards other cultures, diversity, tolerance, interculturalism and multiculturalism, reconciliation and healing processes, inter-religious dialogue, cultural solidarity and others. In the English language subject curriculum, the theme of building cultural respect, reconciliation and solidarity is present throughout the primary education, in each grade.

English language classes help students “develop intercultural competence and cultural awareness, foster solidarity, and appreciate diversity”. By developing their intercultural competences through English language classes, “students become familiar with their own culture and traditions”, but also “develop a positive attitude towards the cultures and traditions of other countries”. Students grow into “individuals who respect diversity and challenge established prejudices”. Students learn about “recognizing intercultural differences while respecting diversity, respecting others and differences” (between people) and learn about “customs of certain holidays and festivals”. Students analyze “the role of media and information-communication technologies within interculturalism and critically reflect on communication patterns in everyday intercultural contexts”. They learn how to identify “specific examples of positive behaviors toward members of other cultures and examples of respecting their own and other cultures, developing a positive attitude towards humanistic values”, and they write their “reflections on intercultural experiences”. These are very current and important topics for Bosnia and Herzegovina; they were recognized by education authorities as such and adequately included in the curriculum.

Among the themes that are preset to a moderate extent is theme (6) Cultivating inner peace. This important theme relates to crucial issues of one’s inner peace, spiritual growth, contemplation, building relationships with others, and finding one’s place in the society and the world. The theme is moderately addressed in the curriculum, mainly by highlighting the importance of students’ “development of their own opinions, understanding of themselves and others”; also the development of their competences, knowledge and skills which “will be beneficial for their personal growth and advancement”. English language classes should foster students’ “curiosity, creativity, innovation, and help them develop as responsible citizens in a democratic society”. Students need to acquire “healthy habits, learn how to express opinions, (dis)agreement and emotions”, “develop creative-productive competences”, and “boost persistence, motivation, self-confidence, and independence in learning”. An important aspect of

cultivating one's inner peace lies in relationships with others, especially family, friends and peers. The curriculum includes the topics of "family relations, generational gap, friendship, relationships with peers, youth issues in the modern world", "growing up, understanding oneself and others", and "self-reflection".

Theme (3) Promoting human rights and responsibilities is also present in the curriculum to a moderate extent. This theme addresses the balance between one's rights and responsibilities, which is a very important lesson that should be taught in primary schools. The curriculum includes the key concepts of "human rights, global citizenship responsibilities, and socio-cultural and intercultural norms and rules", as well as "universal human values, social and civic competences". Significant attention is paid to students' use of "polite communication structures" and "common rules of polite behavior", but also fostering students' "responsibility for learning". It is very important that students learn about different "phenomena in society", recognize examples of "inclusion and/or exclusion of others" and discover ways they can "contribute to the local community". Older students are encouraged for "proactive actions for social change", included in "socially useful projects", while "collaboration, teamwork, leadership, and a sense of responsibility towards personal and collective work and life are stimulated". To embrace the culture of human rights means to embrace the culture of peace. This is especially relevant for the countries like Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Theme (5) Living in harmony with the Earth is among the themes that are present to a low extent in the curriculum. Students are reminded of the important "ecological habits like turning off the light" and closing the tap to save water. Students also discuss "natural wealth" and "natural resources". The topic of nature and ecology is integrated as key content in grades VI-IX. Within this topic, students learn about "environmental protection, climate change and endangered animal species". Theme 5 is also discussed in the parts of the curriculum in which interdisciplinary approach is promoted between English language and other subjects; for example: Chemistry ("water pollution"), Biology ("environmental protection, pollution, recycling, endangered species in Bosnia and Herzegovina"), Geography ("weather and climate changes, endangered species, natural resources, environment"), and My Environment ("environmental protection; interdependence of living and non-living nature – humans, plants, animals, sun, water, air, soil; forests, rivers").

Theme (1) Dismantling the culture of war is barely present in the curriculum, with only few references to this theme. The curriculum

highlights the importance of “promoting non-violent communication” and “conflict resolution” through English language classes. Also, it includes the topic of “acceptable and unacceptable behavior”.

Theme (2) Living with justice and compassion is also merely mentioned in the curriculum. There are references to the importance of empathy. In addition to underling that “developing empathy” is very important for English language teaching and learning, the importance of developing “social inclusion” is also mentioned in the context of using technology in English language teaching.

4. Conclusion

Although all aspects of the flower-petal model of peace education are included in the English language curriculum for primary schools, peace education content is partially covered. The theme of Building cultural respect, reconciliation and solidarity is the most present theme of peace education and it is included in the Curriculum for each grade of primary education. This is understandable taking into account how important these topics are for the post-conflict, multiethnic and multicultural country in transition.

The themes of Cultivating inner peace and Promoting human rights and responsibilities are also crucial for the society of Bosnia and Herzegovina and are both present in the Curriculum with various topics, including developing one’s opinion, self-confidence, awareness of oneself and others, building relationships with peers, as well as promoting human rights, responsibilities and contributing to the community. For one’s inner peace, the topics of spirituality and meditation are very important, but they are not included in the Curriculum. Given the current mental health issues which are present among children and youth around the world, the theme of cultivating one’s inner peace is crucial for peace education. In addition, it is important to connect students with their local community, whereby their responsibilities in the society are promoted. The theme of Living in harmony with the Earth has never been more relevant than today and it is included in the Curriculum through topics of environmental protection, pollution, climate change and other topics. However, there are other relevant topics that can be included to raise students’ awareness of green and sustainable living. These topics should be an integral part of the curriculum for each grade and each level of formal education.

Although included in the Curriculum, the theme of Dismantling the culture of war is present through only few topics related to promoting non-violent communication and conflict resolution. However, there are

no references to the topics that are very relevant for Bosnia and Herzegovina as a post-conflict country: the war and its consequences, dangers of illegal weapons, and others. Some of the most current topics in the modern education context are also not addressed; for example, the issue of violence at schools, bullying, cyberviolence, family violence, or violence against women.

The theme Living with justice and compassion is reflected through developing empathy and social inclusion. On the other hand, important topics related to this theme were not included at all, such as the concept of justice, fighting against injustices and inequalities and the issue of poverty. All these topics are very current in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where many people are still searching for justice for themselves and their families in the aftermath of the war and atrocities which were committed. Poverty is a major issue in the country, with increasing inequalities and many people in need of basic necessities.

English language subject curriculum has contributed to the development of peace education in Bosnia and Herzegovina significantly. Nevertheless, the complex and multilayered nature of peace education requires additional topics to be included and discussed, especially in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is noteworthy that English teachers need proper professional development activities and training in the field of peace education and its implementation. Peace education requires the holistic approach to each of its main themes. Thus, it is necessary to continue educating all the stakeholders in education about the importance of peace education for the next generations, future leaders and decision-makers.

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**ANALIZA SADRŽAJA OBRAZOVANJA ZA MIR U OKVIRU PREDMETNOG
KURIKULUMA ZA ENGLESKI JEZIK ZA OSNOVNE ŠKOLE U KANTONU
SARAJEVO**

Učenje jezika podrazumijeva međuljudske, kulturološke i društvene interakcije. U savremenom svijetu koji je međusobno povezan, obrazovanje usmjereno na samo jednu kulturu ne može da odgovori na izazove postmodernog vremena, a to se odnosi i na učenje jezika. U tim okolnostima, obrazovanje za mir ima za cilj da osnaži učenike i da im pomogne da usvoje vještine rješavanja problema, rješavanja konflikata i promovisanje tolerancije prema kulturološkim različitostima. Obrazovanje za mir je od ključnog značaja za zemlje koje su preživjele ratove i potrebno ga je uključiti u nastavne planove i programe na svim nivoima obrazovanja, pa tako i u nastavne planove i programe stranih jezika. Nastava iz Engleskog jezika, kao obaveznog predmeta i prvog stranog jezika u osnovnim školama, treba da promovira obrazovanje za mir kako bi se podigla svijest učenika o važnosti izgradnje mira i multikulturalnog razumijevanja. Cilj ovog rada je analiza sadržaja obrazovanja za mir u okviru predmetnog kurikuluma za Engleski jezik za osnovne škole. Najprije je ukratko predstavljen razvoj obrazovanja za mir i relevantni konceptualni okvir. Kvalitativna analiza sadržaja je primijenjena u analizi kurikuluma unutar konceptualnog okvira. Analiza sadržaja i dobiveni rezultati pokazuju da je obrazovanje za mir djelomično uključeno u predmetni kurikulum za Engleski jezik. Kreatorima obrazovnih politika, nastavnih planova i programa, te nastavnicima u Bosni i Hercegovini se preporučuje holistička implementacija obrazovanja za mir na način koji će kod učenika razviti znanje, vještine i vrijednosti koje promovišu kulturološku raznolikost i multikulturalno razumijevanje. To će dovesti do pozitivnih promjena u društvu i pomirenja među narodima.

Ključne riječi: obrazovanje za mir, predmetni kurikulum za Engleski jezik, izgradnja mira, multikulturalno razumijevanje

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