FOLIA LINGUISTICA ET LITTERARIA – ČASOPIS ZA NAUKU O JEZIKU I KNJIŽEVNOSTI

(54)

Filološki fakultet, Nikšić
Univerzitet Crne Gore

Faculty of Philology, Nikšić
University of Montenegro

FOLIA LINGUISTICA ET LITTERARIA – Časopis za nauku o jeziku i književnosti
FOLIA LINGUISTICA ET LITTERARIA – Journal of Language and Literary Studies

Izdavač: Institut za jezik i književnost, Filološki fakultet, Nikšić
Publisher: Institute for Language and Literature, Faculty of Philology, Nikšić

Glavna urednica / Editor-in-chief: Olivera Popović

***Urednice / Editors*:**
Svetlana Kalezić-Radonjić
Branka Živković

Sekretar:
Ljubomir Ivanović
Pomoćnica sekretara:
Isidora Jovović

Uređivački odbor / Board of Editors:
Philip McGowan, Queen's University Belfast
Sanja Roić, University of Zagreb
Vesna Vukićević-Janković, University of Montenegro
Carmen Birkle, Philipps University of Marburg
Ralf Bogner, University of Saarlandes
Marija Krivokapić, University of Montenegro
Ljiljana Pajović-Dujović, University of Montenegro
Alexander Bierich, University of Trier
Vlasta Kučiš, University of Maribor
Aleksandra Nikčević-Batrićević, University of Montenegro
Aleksandra Banjević, University of Montenegro
Ana Pejanović, University of Montengero
Radmila Lazarević University of Montenegro
Vanja Vukićević-Garić, University of Montenegro
Olja Perišić, University of Torino
Jelena Knežević, University of Montenegro

E-mail:
foliaredakcija@gmail.com
folialinguistics@gmail.com

Grafički dizajn / Graphic Design:
Biljana Živković, Studio Mouse

© Filološki fakultet, Nikšić, 2026.

Sadržaj / Table of Contents

Studije književnosti i kulture / Literature and Cultural Studies

Remediation of Crime Fiction in Narrative Picturebooks
Marina Gabelica, Nikola Novaković 7

Reading Human-Nature Relationships in Tim Lebbon's *Coldbrook*
Mahsa Jafari, Farah Ghaderi.....31

Doclea nei resoconti di viaggio italiani tra la fine del XIX e l'inizio del XX secolo
Tatjana Koprivica, Olivera Popović, Slavko Burzanović.....47

Rappresentazioni del corpo femminile e crisi del soggetto maschile in Io e lui di Alberto Moravia
Nikolina Gunjević Kosanović.....73

Narratives About Raped and Abducted Women in the Bible as a Source for Research on Raptus Puellae in Polish Literature from the 16th to 18th Centuries
Monika Szymańska 87

Dubravka Đurić's Poetics of Hope in *The Politics of Hope (After the War)* (2024)
Marija Krivokapić 105

Language Studies / Nauka o jeziku

Language(s) and (National) Identity: The Case of Sephardic Jews in the Ottoman Empire
Novak Malešević 131

Характеристика коридического дискурса и техника перевода терминов уголовного права с хорватского языка на русский
Eugenija Ćuto 155

(Ne)vidljive kolokacije u nastavi italijanskog jezika na primeru udžbenika za osnovnu školu u Srbiji: smernice za rečnike kolokacija za početne nivoe učenja
Katarina Zavišin, Dragana Radojević 183

Personal name-based neologisms in Macedonian online journalistic discourse
Violeta Janusheva 217

Stilska vrednost somatskih frazeoloških jedinica u Sijarićevom romanu Kuću kućom čine lastavice
Adnan Bjelak 237

Die sprechhandlung „beschwerden“ im fremdsprachenerwerb: einflussfaktoren auf die pragmatische kompetenz
Biljana Ivanovska, Gëzim Xhaferri 257

Strategic Clics: Digigal Learning Strategies as Predictors of ChatGPT Use in ESP Instruction among Croatian Students
Ana Penjak.....287

Sprachliche herausfoderungen und lernkultur: erfahrungen albanisher studierender in deutschland
Jonida Bushi, Ema Kristo.....309

Review / Recenzija

Crna Gora i Italija: književna i jezička prožimanja. Studije u čast Vesne Kilibarde
Jelena Knežević 335

UPUTSTVO AUTORIMA..... 339
INSTRUCTIONS FOR CONTRIBUTORS 341

Literature and Cultural Studies

Studije književnosti i kulture

REMEDIATION OF CRIME FICTION IN NARRATIVE PICTUREBOOKS

*Marina **Gabelica**, University of Zagreb, Faculty of Teacher Education, marina.gabelica@ufzg.hr*

*Nikola **Novaković**, University of Zagreb, Faculty of Teacher Education, nikola.novakovic@ufzg.hr*

Original scientific paper
DOI: 10.31902/fll.54.2026.1
UDC:087.5:82.09

Abstract: The paper[1] examines the established conventions of the crime genre and the changes introduced by its remediation in narrative picturebooks for young readers. The aim is to develop an analytical framework that enables the systematic study of crime and detective narrative picturebooks and the strategies employed by authors and illustrators to adapt the genre to children's reception.

The proposed framework examines two levels – thematic-motivic and structural. At the first level, crime mitigation strategies were identified by choosing the motives of the crime or replacing the crimes with mystery, humourising, cumulation, and accumulation. At the second level, the key element was shown to be the conceptual pair of *crime* – *punishment*, with the balance most often restored with mitigated, poetic, or humorous punishment. In addition, accumulation and retardation strategies have been recognised that dynamise the narrative and connect picturebooks with the logic of oral stories and fairy-tale patterns. Strategies that create tension and engage the young reader in the investigative process are also identified, including verbal paralipsis, visual hinting, and information accumulation strategies. Special attention is paid to the role of the characters, and it is suggested that one observe them through the functions they play in the narrative – victim, criminal, investigator/pursuer, and resolver.

In conclusion, the paper demonstrates that detective and crime picturebooks operate at the intersection of the crime genre and fairy-tale logic,

[1] This publication was developed within the framework of the institutional research project Multimodal Artistic Discourses for Children and Youth: Literary, Visual and Film Languages in Correlation (MUDIM) (project No.: UFZG-NPOO-25-476), funded by the European Union – NextGenerationEU and conducted at the University of Zagreb, Faculty of Teacher Education.

confirming the need to expand the concept of crime and detective picturebooks beyond the framework of adult crime fiction theory. This affirms the picturebook's status as an autonomous children's literary form, with its own rules, strategies, and innovations.

Keywords: crime fiction, detective fiction, detective picturebooks, crime fiction picturebooks, remediation, strategies of remediation

1. Introduction

The criminal genre, as Mandić observes, is "a tenacious sort" (2015, p. 11).[2] Throughout history, it has undergone continuous shifts and transformations, with change itself as its constitutive feature. From crime as cautionary tales (Scaggs 2005), to Poe's seminal literarisations of the genre (Cawelti 1976; Franks 2011), through the tightly rule-governed whodunnit narratives of the 1930s (Van Dine 1928), American hard-boiled stories (Cawelti 1976; Scaggs 2005), and British cosy mysteries (Betz 2021), to mass-media adaptations (Silver & Ursini 2010) – the genre has evolved through constant re-examination of its codes. Such transformations – the abandonment of earlier constraints and the establishment of new codes (Todorov 2010) – exemplify the process of remediation essential to its survival.

The criminal act lies at the very core of crime fiction (Cawelti 1976; Priestman 2003; Scaggs 2005; Knight 2010), which is why the genre was long deemed unsuitable for children. Indeed, crime enters children's literature relatively late (Veldhuizen 2023; McGee 2025). Its adaptation can be understood as a process of transformation, or more precisely remediation (see Bolter & Grusin 2000): in order to become readable and acceptable to young audiences, the genre had to be reshaped – from the mitigation of crimes, to shifts in the typology of characters and motifs, and the introduction of a didactic dimension not necessarily present in adult crime fiction.

The classic detective genre has been one of the most popular for decades (Veldhuizen 2023, p. 162) and "most resilient" in children's literature (Boone 2001, p. 46). Its popularity confirms the genre's flexibility, which allows it to retain conventions while adapting to new audiences. Detective stories are "among the genres that capture readers' interest the most" (Yakar & Yatar 2024, p. 72), partly due to features appealing to young readers: links with adventure and play, simple structure, child-friendly style, and discreet educational messages

[2] Our translation.

(Hranjec 1998). Although the plots of children's crime novels may not always be convincing, the characters are compelling (Crnković 1990, p. 133). Children often gather in groups – a topos of the children's novel (Zalar 1983, p. 11) – while the investigation's tension and confusion allow them to prove themselves to peers and adults (Hranjec 1998). This ludic dimension, compared to play, is inherent to the genre (Veldhuizen 2023, p. 167) and reflects what Hranjec (1998, p. 219) calls a "child's thirst for experience, discovery, and confirmation".[3]

Because of their specific narrative structure, crime texts require active participation. The whodunnit implies a question mark, "encouraging the reader to imitate the detective, and to retrace the causative steps from effects back to causes" (Scaggs 2005, p. 34). Readers must fill narrative gaps (cf. Iser 1987), distinguish between the relevant and the irrelevant, and draw conclusions; they play a crucial role in meaning-making (Eco 1979). This is why some consider the genre more suitable for older children, while those under seven are less prepared (Veldhuizen 2023, p. 163). Although popular in novels for older children, detective picturebooks remain rare (Veldhuizen 2022).

However, we could argue that the picturebook format presents unique challenges and opportunities for both the crime and detective fiction genres. As the first children's book, a book *par excellence* (Crnković & Težak 2002, p. 15), it targets younger readers, so authors adapt crime motifs through specific strategies. Being a multimodal narrative where the story is conveyed through verbal and visual discourses (see Narančić Kovač 2015), the picturebook shows how a genre tied initially to the novel structure adjusts to this dual code. The crime genre itself is fabulaic, which aligns well with the pictorial form and the reception abilities of young readers. Additionally, one of the key features of crime fiction is the economy of storytelling, essential for maintaining tension (Pavličić 2008), which is highly compatible with the brevity of the picturebook (Crnković & Težak 2002, p. 15). This form also suits younger audiences, who prefer straightforward plots without chronological dislocations, associative monologues, or other complexities that might impede comprehension (Diklić et al. 1996, p. 151).

The purpose of this study is twofold, with both parts centred on remediation. First, it examines the conventions of the crime genre and their transformation into picturebook form. Second, it identifies strategies used by authors and illustrators to adapt the genre to the medium's specificities and its young audience. From these insights, an

[3] Our translation.

analytical framework for studying narrative crime and detective picturebooks will be developed, grounded in genre conventions.

The initial analysed corpus comprises seventeen narrative picturebooks in English, originating within the Anglo-Saxon cultural tradition, one of which is a wordless picturebook. All works contain familiar signals of crime fiction – crime or a suspicion thereof, detectives, or investigators. The analysis highlights differences between the narrower detective genre and the broader framework of crime fiction. This distinction is, however, sometimes difficult to draw clearly; as Rzepka states: "If the term crime fiction is a bit vague, detective fiction is downright slippery" (2010, p. 2). In children's literature, the term *detective picturebooks* is usually preferred over *crime picturebooks* to avoid directly linking young readers with crime motifs. Since this study explores remediation strategies, the corpus includes both detective picturebooks and those that utilise related genre formulas.

In crime fiction, the central feature is the crime (Knight 2010, p. 221). In detective fiction, the process of detection is the focus (ibid.). The primary narrative difference lies in temporal distance: detective picturebooks reconstruct events through investigation (McGee 2025, p. 4), whereas crime picturebooks present the act and its resolution directly. Both, however, place the young reader as a witness to an enigma and its resolution. However, the corpus excludes generic discovery stories only conditionally labelled as mysteries (cf. McGee 2025), as well as problem picturebooks whose structures do not align with crime fiction.

2. Theoretical framework

As the basic elements of detective fiction in literature, the quadriad of the crime, the culprit, the victim, and the investigator occurs most frequently. In children's literature, this motivic chain is adopted, but with necessary adjustments due to the child's age and experiences. In both crime and detective fiction, the crime must exist – it is central to the plot – in both adult and children's literature (Veldhuizen 2023, p. 164). Nevertheless, children's literature seldom uses capital offences (such as murder), but rather, somewhat softened versions thereof. McGee (2025, p. 3) points out that "watering down the severity of the crime" is necessary for the work to be child-friendly, although it sometimes leads to sillier versions of adult crime fiction, where both the crime and its solution are extremely simplistic, e.g. "missing marbles and dogs, stolen candy".

In the broader sense of crime or detective picturebooks, rather than the crime itself, it is possible to discuss the influence of motifs

motives on the story's structure. In this sense, we will use the term enigma (Solar 1997; Lasić 1973), which disturbs the balance and produces "a shift from certainty to hesitation" (Gavin & Routledge 2001, p. 2). The enigma functions not only as a motive, but also as a structural element that shapes the plot; the storytelling begins with the enigma and ends with its resolution, which emphasises the solid linear-feedback framework of crime fiction (Lasić 1973).

In addition, in the crime narrative structure, especially in children's literature, we might say that a good crime story does not necessarily require a major crime, but rather the use of contrast. Mandić (2015) expands the quadriad (crime, culprit, victim, and investigator) to *conceptual pairs*, such as crime and justice, truth and lie, puzzle and answer, law and lawlessness, criminal and detective, etc. (ibid., p. 20). Conceptual pairings indicate the duality of the enigma: the disruption and the reestablishment of equilibrium. This structure coincides with what Todorov calls *the two stories in detective fiction*: the first is the story of the crime, recounting what really happened, where the second – the story of the investigation – "explains how the reader (or the narrator) has come to know about it" (2010, p. 140).

In children's crime and detective picturebooks, the second story – the investigation – is central. It involves gathering evidence, drawing conclusions, and the processes of trial and error; the competition between detectives and criminals evolves into a competition between authors and readers (Mandić 2015, p. 10). The understanding of the crime – what happened or *whodunnit* – is based on a series of associations and conclusions in the process of retrograde analysis, where we "begin with the end result and work backwards" (Scaggs 2005, p. 33).

Since children's works do not focus on serious crimes, and the crimes therein are mitigated or justified by misunderstanding, many works are classified as adventure or mystery stories (Veldhuizen 2023; McGee 2025; Gavin and Routledge 2001). Just as the enigma occurs in detective fiction, the wondrous, or *the uncanny*, occurs in the genre of fantasy (see Todorov 1987). An indiscriminate inclusion of all works containing elements of crime fiction within the mystery genre may lead to a blurring of boundaries between the genres. For example, Gavin and Routledge (2001) view both rational and supernatural elements as a *mystery*. The authors point out the difference: "the key difference between fantasy and mystery is that a mystery has a question mark in it" (2001, p. 3). However, as McGee emphasises (2025, p. 2), "that question mark can hover over any experiences", further complicating the demarcation. This study accepts McGee's position: picturebooks in

which fantastic elements explain enigmatic events are excluded from the corpus.

Based on literature from literary theory, especially crime and detective fiction theory and picturebook theory, the following chapters will present the results of the analysis of the selected corpus. When analysing the picturebooks, we shall attempt to establish how much was taken from the tradition of detective and crime fiction, and how many elements had to be changed or transformed. Special attention is paid to the strategies by which the genre is transformed to suit the formal features of the picturebook and the expectations of the children's audience.

3. Establishing an analytical framework – picturebook analysis

3. 1. The crime motif and mitigation strategies

Children's literature rarely uses capital crimes; the motifs are softened, most often associated with possession or property (burglary, theft), less often espionage or sabotage, and mostly stylised with humour. If murder does happen to occur, it is "almost always offstage and is never addressed directly" (McGee 2025, p. 3). More serious forms of crime are depicted in novels for older children, whereas picturebooks generally steer clear of such motifs due to pedagogical and emotional protectionism (Veldhuizen 2023, p. 165).

Two basic scenarios can be distinguished in crime-themed picturebooks: the reader is confronted with an already committed act that needs to be resolved, or they witness the act itself as it unfolds. In the first case, it is a reconstruction of the event, which suggests a detective picturebook. However, if the reader follows the crime while it is taking place (e.g., *Cops and Robbers*, *The Big Cheese Robbery*, *How to Catch a Clover Thief*), then we are talking about a narrative with features of a heist story, i.e., picturebooks with a crime theme.

In all the analysed picturebooks, we find mitigated forms of crime. The most common are thefts and mysterious disappearances of items, such as food (*How to Catch a Clover Thief*, *The Great Pie Robbery*, *The Great Cheese Robbery*, *Detective Zebra*, *Where is the Cake?*), books (*The Detective Dog*), and toys (*Cops and Robbers*). Although most often referred to as theft, the term is sometimes softened and replaced in picturebooks with the term *missing* or *something is gone*. Another common motif is the disappearance of a person – birds or pets (*Pigeon P.I.*), a baby mouse (*Sherlock Chick*), cats (*Detective LaRue*), or a teacher (*Miss Nelson is Missing!*). The disappearance of a person can, in principle, be a serious crime, but in picturebooks it is always mitigated. Usually, what occurs is a logical explanation – e.g., the baby mouse saw

a cat and ran away (*Sherlock Chick*) or the missing cats went out of their own accord (*Detective LaRue*). In addition to these motifs, others that occur are playful and almost nonsensical, such as the absence of capital letters (*The Upper Case*) or numbers (*7 Ate 9*).

In cases where the reader witnesses a crime, humour regularly facilitates coping with it. In *Cops and Robbers*, criminals are humorously stylised through funny descriptive names (Grabber Dan, Fingers Maurice, Grandma Swagg, etc.), caricature-like depictions, and a series of comical theft scenes. *The Great Cheese Robbery* follows a similar pattern: thieving mice are humorously named (cheese inspectors, Mascarpone and Manchego), and humour builds through the accumulation of stolen items – from cheese, sausages, and Grandma's pickled onions to the refrigerator and finally the rest of the furniture. It is also heightened by the contrast between the little elephant's naivete and the mice's cunning, as they convince him that the cheese is dangerous, and they are helping him. We can observe a similar effect of cumulation in the picturebook *Baby Monkey, Private Eye*, where, through a series of cases, the seriousness of crimes gradually decreases: from stolen jewels to pizza, clown noses, and a spaceship. Such simplification and humourising help create a sense of the fictionality of the story, that is, distance the act of crime from the young readers' reality.

Therefore, the motif of crime in picturebooks is always stylised. Adaptation strategies include mitigation, humour (primarily in visual discourse), cumulation and accumulation, or replacement of the crime with a mystery in which it is revealed that the crime never occurred. Such *softening* makes it challenging to delineate what can be considered a criminal act in children's literature. For example, in the picturebook *Miss Nelson is Missing!*, the teacher did not actually disappear; instead, she disguised herself to teach her pupils a valuable lesson. Since the case of the missing teacher turns out to be a crimeless incident, we should exclude it from the corpus. Still, a *suspicion of crime* arises, which equally disrupts the story's balance.

At the motivic level, it is not possible to reliably distinguish crime from detective picturebooks. Insisting on a *real crime* would exclude many works, since events are often merely "misunderstood as a crime" (van Nahl 2019, in Veldhuizen 2023, p. 165). Such misunderstandings can be read as allusions to the genre – crime fiction as a feature rather than the dominant element.

Thus, picturebooks with crime or detective themes can be defined in two ways: narrowly, as pure crime or detective picturebooks, or more broadly, where the genre is only one property of the narrative.

Nevertheless, this broader approach remains problematic due to the milder types of crime discussed earlier. Hence, other elements of crime and detective fiction must also be taken into consideration.

3. 2. Conceptual pairs of *crime* – *punishment*: didactisation strategy and emotional protectionism

In the early beginnings of crime fiction, the stories worked as cautionary tales in which the perpetrator had to be caught, tried, and punished – as a warning, but also a confirmation that order could be restored (Scaggs 2005, pp. 13–14). Even though the crime is mitigated, it is integral to the detective picturebook because it is necessary to disrupt the balance in the story; its final reestablishment also requires its counterpart, an element that restores the balance. This can only be achieved if the enigma is solved, but also if the criminal is punished. This is precisely what Mandić (2015) refers to as logical pairs, in which punishment always follows the crime, truth always follows a lie, and so on. We can therefore conclude that the punishment, just like the crime, is an integral part of the detective narrative in picturebooks.

In addition to serving to rebalance the narrative, punishment for criminals also has a clear *didactic function* – its purpose is to teach the child about the difference between good and evil, or right and wrong behaviour. Simultaneously, punishment also acts as a form of emotional protectionism (Veldhuizen 2023), providing the young reader with the assurance that the world operates according to certain rules and that disturbed order can always be restored.

Historically, children's literature often emphasised the didactic role of literature, i.e., moral didacticism (Mills 2016), even through severe and disproportionate punishments, as seen in the works of so-called *black pedagogy* (Rutschky 2001). However, with the development of reform pedagogy, punishments in literature have become milder, focusing on understanding errors and the possibility of correcting them.

On the other hand, punishment for a crime can also be seen as an integral part of *catharsis* – it creates a sense of justice in young readers and strengthens the belief that the world has an internal logic and a moral order (cf. Bettelheim 2000). Punishment of the villain as a form of poetic justice is interpreted as a key element of the fairy tale narrative structure: characters are not punished by accident, but as a result of disrupting the universal order of the fairy tale (cf. Propp 2012).

In detective picturebooks, where the very crime itself is mitigated, the criminal's behaviour is often justified by misunderstanding or human weakness, and punishments range from didactic to humorous. In picturebooks with a more profiled crime or detective narrative,

punishment is most often expressed as *the criminal is caught* – the reader can only assume that the culprits will be sent to prison. We find the prison sentence announcements in only two humorous picturebooks. In *The Upper Case,* where, after a didactic message, the Grammar Police arrives at the scene and makes the criminal *serve a short sentence*, illustrating a clever play on words. In another picturebook by the same author, *Time Flies,* the Book Police tells the culprit that the punishment for stealing clocks is to *serve hard time*.

In some works, punishment assumes an almost poetic character: for example, in *The Great Pie Robbery*, the criminals who stole the pie are sentenced to do the dishes in the kitchen. If it turns out that there was no crime committed at all – whether due to a complete absence of a crime or a misunderstanding – the punishment is absent. In some cases, the culprits themselves admit the mistake and apologise, so a moral lesson follows instead of punishment. For example, in the *Detective Dog* picturebook, in the case of missing books, the culprit is a thief who actually only wanted to read the books and planned to return them to the library the next day. Instead of punishment, the children and the teacher teach him that he can join the library and thus have access to thousands of books, which is a clear didactic moment.

Apart from didactic punishments or moral lessons, punishments are also often presented humorously. If the crime itself is humorous, then the conclusion of the investigation is almost as humorous. Sometimes authors also use humorous hyperbolised punishments similar to those in animated films – for example, in *How to Catch a Clover Thief*, a wild boar discovers that a mole is eating his clover, so he ties it to a rocket and sends it to the Moon.

3. 3. Character functions in the narrative

Characters with specific functions in the narrative – victim, culprit, and investigator (detective) – form the foundations of the detective picturebook. In crime picturebooks, the investigator's role is sometimes taken over by the pursuer – the one who chases the criminals. In picturebooks, we add another function – the resolver, the one who helps restore the disturbed balance in the story.

The victim can be an individual or a group, i.e., those harmed by the culprit's actions. In children's crime literature, crime often poses a threat to the community as a whole (Hopster 2005, p. 518). Regardless of severity, picturebooks emphasise emotional consequences for victims: fear (*The Great Cheese Robbery*; *7 Ate 9*), worry (*The Upper Case*; *The 13th Clue*; *Miss Nelson is Missing!*), or frustration (*How to Catch a Clover Thief*). These emotional states disturb balance and drive the narrative,

showing that the victim is not only a character but also a narrative function.

The culprit causes an imbalance – whether by conscious act (e.g., theft) or by ignorance or chance. The punishment depends on intent: premeditated theft leads to arrest, while crimes out of ignorance may be forgiven.

The investigator – or pursuer – mediates between victim and culprit. The investigator collects clues and resolves the enigma, while the pursuer ensures justice through direct action. Both serve to restore order disrupted by the crime. In most picturebooks, the detective is explicit in the title or name (e.g., *Baby Monkey, Private Eye*; *Sherlock Chick*). Tara Lazar adds playful wordplay by depicting *private eye* as the capital letter I. Still, the mere presence of a detective or police officer does not guarantee a crime narrative. For example, in *Officer Buckle and Gloria*, there are characters – a police officer and his dog – who teach children about safety. However, since the work lacks characters with specific functions or any crimes or investigative processes, we can exclude this picturebook from the analysis.

Detective fiction can also exist without an explicitly named detective, "as long as that character performs the role of successful inquirer" (Cawelti 1976: 132). In picturebooks for young children, this role often belongs to animals or children (Veldhuizen 2023). Amateur investigators strengthen the well-known trope also present in adult crime fiction.

The resolver's function is to ensure justice. Sometimes this role belongs to the detective, victim, or pursuer, and sometimes to a separate figure. In Lazar's books, the Grammar Police appear as a resolver, delivering punishment after the detective identifies the culprit. In *The Great Cheese Robbery*, the mother elephant appears and chases away the robber mice, thus protecting her husband and their little elephant son.

The function of the resolver can be further expanded into sub-functions: the enforcer, who enforces the law or rules; the guardian, who protects the victim or the community; and even the avenger, who punishes in the form of retaliation. This last form rarely appears in picturebooks, but we encounter it, for example, in *How to Catch a Clover Thief*, where the punishment of the culprit turns into excessive revenge.

In *Miss Nelson is Missing!*, the dual victim function is evident (the children and the missing teacher), but no investigator or resolver appears. Detective McSmogg merely observes, "Miss Nelson is missing", which "would not be of much help to children looking for their teacher". The children in the story are only guessing about the possible reasons

for the teacher's disappearance, but they do not engage in the investigative process. For this reason, this picturebook is excluded from further analysis.

Detective picturebooks, like adult crime stories, allow playful twists. Sometimes the victim becomes the investigator (*Detective LaRue*), or the victim turns out to be the culprit, as in *The Upper Case: Trouble in Capital City*, where the number 6 reports the disappearance of the number 9, but it turns out that he is the number 9 – just turned upside down. Such role reversals confirm that the victim is not merely a character, but a narrative function, defined by loss and imbalance.

No analysed example revealed a detective as a culprit – likely unsuitable for younger readers, for whom the detective is a trusted figure. An exception is *Pigeon P.I.*, where the villain is the detective's former associate Stanley. This is a specific twist that is possible precisely because this picturebook is intended for a slightly older audience and visually, linguistically, and stylistically flirts with the hard-boiled/noir tradition of detective fiction. Of course, the character of the pigeon Stanley does not appear in the narrative as the main hero with whom the children would have the opportunity to develop empathy, but is only mentioned incidentally at the beginning as the partner of the detective who "skipped town".

A peculiarity of crime and detective picturebooks is that the victim – detective/pursuer – culprit triad is always clearly defined, enabling the doctrine of fair play (Veldhuizen 2024, p. 163). Readers thus have access to the same information as the detective and can attempt to solve the puzzle themselves. The resolver, however, often appears only at the very end, as a form of poetic justice.

3. 4. Two stories in *whodunnit* – strategies for creating a ludic text

The classic genre of detective fiction is attractive to young readers primarily because of its pronounced ludic dimension, manifested not only in the thematic and motivic dimension, but also in the internal organisation of the story itself.

According to Todorov (2010), detective fiction always consists of two stories – the first being the story of the crime and the second the story of the investigation. In the context of Mandić's (2015) theory on conceptual pairs, the first story is realised through contrasting motives, i.e., conceptual crime–punishment pairs. The first story begins with the enigma – the disturbance of the balance – and ends with its resolution, i.e., the reestablishment of the balance by solving the crime (cf. Lasić 1973). In the first story in detective picturebooks, the primary function

is to distinguish between the victim and the culprit – the one who warns of the crime and the one who commits it and is eventually caught.

However, it is precisely the second story – the process of the investigation or pursuit – that forms the bulk of the narrative. It encompasses the detective's function, including gathering evidence, drawing conclusions, and the processes of trial and error, culminating in the moment of the enigma's final resolution.

In literature for adults, the severity of the crime often fosters the creation of wonder, tension (or suspense), discomfort, and certain anxieties, thereby reinforcing the reader's desire to solve the crime or unravel the enigma (cf. Cawelti 1976). In contrast, children's literature lacks more serious or complex forms of crime, so tension must be built by different narrative means. The dramatic does not rely on the shock caused by the crime, but on patterns such as a scavenger hunt (McGee 2025), where dynamics are based on searching, discovering clues, and gradual unravelling.

Both detective and crime fiction are based on *suspense*, that is, the tension that arises from the questions the reader asks themselves while reading. In detective stories, the entire second story relies on the so-called *what suspense* (Ryan 2015, p. 103), as the investigation is aimed at determining who committed the crime. In a broader understanding of crime picturebooks, in which the reader follows the course of the crime itself and there is no investigation, the so-called *what suspense* (ibid., p. 102) occurs, which is usually a feature of thrillers: the reader wonders *what will happen next* and is anxiously awaiting developments. In this way, such crime picturebooks keep the reader in a state of tension, encouraging them to decipher the crime and identify the perpetrators, and to search for ways to prevent or resolve the crime.

The first story of the crime, however, remains important: it must be engaging, fascinating, and wondrous enough to trigger a desire for further reading. The focus shifts to creating curiosity – either through unusual or humorous enigmas and crimes, or through other elements that motivate children to actively participate in solving them. A special role is played by narrative hooks such as sympathetic, peculiar, and often humorous characters, which further tie the reader to the story. It is precisely because of this specific characterisation that serials are especially common in children's detective literature (cf. Brendel-Perpina & Kretzschmar 2021).

3. 5. The structure of the story

As a fundamental structure of children's crime novels, some authors list the following elements: exposition, rising action, story

development, misleading clues, retardation, resolution, and denouement (cf. Hranjec 1998, pp. 127–128). In simplified form, this structure also appears in detective picturebooks.

a) Exposition

Exposition not only sets the plot in space and time and introduces characters, but also prepares the reader for investigation, directing attention early to what will become the central narrative tension. It introduces the detective and their crucial traits: the dog's keen sense of smell in *The Detective Dog*, or the humorous contrast between infantile traits and a professional role in *Baby Monkey, Private Eye*, creating anticipation for detective engagement.

Exposition often visually sets the context: spaces such as police stations or detective offices contain details key to later investigation. In *Cops and Robbers*, cross-sections of houses – one for the police, one for the thieves – immerse the reader in the characters' everyday lives. Further illustrations expand on this, showing portraits of criminals and Officer Pugh's skills, which signal his importance.

Exposition also signals genre. For example, in *Pigeon P.I.*, the crime is announced already in the exposition: the illustration shows a carton of milk with the image and the inscription "Missing pet cockatoo Curly". In this way, the reader learns how to read a picturebook, that is, to recognise important clues that are sometimes hidden in the illustrations. Additionally, several intertextual cues reference the specific functions of the characters in the narrative: detectives often wear distinctive hats or carry magnifying glasses, while villains typically wear striped suits and masks over their eyes.

b) The announcement of the crime

The announcement of the crime introduces imbalance – something stolen or someone missing – often via the victim's arrival. Emotional states such as fear or worry highlight this disruption. This moment of initial tension (Todorov 2010) acts as the trigger for investigation. Sometimes the investigation begins immediately: in *Cops and Robbers*, the reader studies a large city map on the facing page, from which they learn what has been stolen and where it was taken from. This procedure encourages the reader to organise the information and directs them towards an initial consideration of how the crime might be solved.

c) Story development (investigation/pursuit)

The second story – the story of the investigation or the pursuit – is at the core of all stories. It is a learning-based process (the process of

gathering evidence, questioning witnesses, and reaching conclusions) – which is why Todorov refers to it as a process of slow apprenticeship (2010, p. 295).

In picturebooks, the visual discourse regularly provides more information, creating space for the reader to explore the clues independently and actively participate in drawing possible conclusions. Through analysis, it can be observed that the picturebooks intended for the youngest children generally have a simpler second story structure. In contrast, the picturebooks for slightly older readers (e.g., *Pigeon P.I.*, *The Upper Case*) involve a greater number of peripeteias and side events – such as questioning witnesses or following misleading clues.

Although, in principle, there is no retardation in the form of side actions that would divert the reader from the main course of the story, in picturebooks aimed at the youngest readers, we find interesting narrative procedures, among which the repetition, cumulation and accumulation of story segments and language patterns are particularly prominent. In *Baby Monkey, Private Eye*, the process of the monkey's preparation for investigation is especially prominent, with several pages regularly devoted to it. Baby Monkey always goes through the same sequence of actions: looking for clues, taking notes, eating a healthy snack, and finally putting on his big pants. It is this last action that is constantly repeated – in the visual discourse, we find that the pants are too big, which further emphasises the humour. This connects the phrase *to put one's big boy/girl pants on* to the visual display and alludes to Baby Monkey's readiness for a serious task in a humorous way.

Cumulative narration also structures searches: in *Sherlock Chick*, encounters with animals repeat with the refrain "he went on his way". *The Great Cheese Robbery* escalates theft from cheese to all household items, while *Cops and Robbers* shows toys vanishing vignette by vignette, supported by a recurring rhyme. Such procedures of repetition, cumulation, and accumulation often function as organisational principles of the story in detective or crime picturebooks. Repetition and cumulation occur as narrative patterns that enable "young readers to develop a scheme for making sense of the stories they hear" (Nodelman & Reimer 2003, p. 205), while accumulation creates peripety and contributes to stronger emotional engagement and excitement of the reader.

d) Resolution

The resolution concludes the investigation or pursuit, usually briefly, as most evidence has already been gathered. Sometimes it involves further action, e.g., a chase after the culprits try to escape (*The*

Great Pie Robbery), but in most picturebooks more attention is given to the denouement.

e) Denouement

Here, the crime–punishment pairs restore balance, closing the linear-feedback narrative arc (Lasić 1973). The resolver's function dominates: criminals are punished proportionately, often through symbolic, humorous, or didactic sanctions. The denouement nearly always conveys a moral or educational message, even if it is implicit. Open-ended endings are rare but notable: in *Cops and Robbers*, all the culprits are imprisoned except their leader, Grandma Swagg, who remains on a *Wanted poster* – a narrative device that invites further interpretation by the reader.

3. 6. Narrative strategies in picturebooks

3. 6. 1. Narrator

In detective picturebooks, the story is most often told by a heterodiegetic-extradiegetic narrator, occasionally interspersed with character dialogues in verbal discourse. This is a typical narrative structure in picturebooks for the youngest readers. Visual discourse is dominated by objective frames that cannot be attributed to any of the characters, because they offer the most information and allow for neutral observation. Children of a younger age find it more difficult to discern the focalisation and direction of storytelling from the character's perspective. Of course, there are exceptions. In *Pigeon P.I.,* the pigeon narrates in the first person, while *The 13th Clue* employs a subjective visual view.

Although most picturebooks are narrated in the third person and objective frames, a noticeable discrepancy exists in the temporal distance, which is manifested in different focalisation procedures (cf. Genette 1980; Bal 1986). In verbal discourse, this is evident in verb tenses: while exposition sometimes employs the present tense (e.g., Cops and Robbers), the investigation is most often recounted in the past tense, suggesting that the investigation has already been completed. By contrast, visuals create a *here and now effect*. Nodelman (2017, p. 158) points out that stories "necessarily take place in time, where most pictures report only how things look at one moment". Thus, multiple narrative voices and focalisations (cf. Narančić Kovač 2015) occur in detective and crime picturebooks: the verbal narrator retains a retrospective perspective, while the visual layer creates immediacy. This tension heightens narrative dynamics and prompts readers to integrate both layers of meaning.

Visual discourse often fragments action into vignettes – crimes (*The Great Cheese Robbery*, *Cops and Robbers*) or investigations (*Pigeon P.I.*) – producing a sense of continued action (Nodelman 2017, p. 159). In *Pigeon P.I.*, the first-person, past-tense narration recounts events as they are remembered, while visuals show them unfolding in real time. Such present-tense immediacy is "the closest approximation to an explicit 'here and now' experience" (Nikolajeva 2014, p. 88), drawing the reader into the investigation and confirming their role as model reader (Eco 1979).

3. 6. 2. The visual discourse: strategies of omission or accumulation of information, intertextuality, and intermediality

We have established that the functions of victim, culprit, investigator/pursuer, and resolver are key to identifying detective or crime picturebooks. Another crucial element is the process of investigation or pursuit – the so-called second story. This element raises the problem of classification: books that involve actual crimes versus those built on mystery. For example, in *The 13th Clue*, the process of investigation is highly emphasised, although the crime itself is absent. The story tells of a little girl who is having a birthday, and everyone seems to have forgotten about it. Although this is not a typical detective picturebook, the entire book is permeated with visual cues that the little girl must follow to finally discover the solution: finding her friends at a surprise birthday party. It is a visually rich picturebook in which the reader will participate in the process of solving the mystery. This approach is prevalent in picturebooks aimed at the youngest readers. For example, the wordless picturebook *Where is the Cake?* entirely relies on the visual discourse: readers follow the theft of the cake, the pursuit itself, and finally, the resolution and denouement of the story, when the perpetrators are caught.

Here, we can distinguish between the detective character's investigation and the investigation carried out by the reader. As Veldhuizen notes, children "approach the crime like a serious game, with set rules, roles, and expectations. The act of detection is framed as exciting, occasionally dangerous, but generally fun" (2023, p. 167). Detective picturebooks often rely on paralipsis – "the omission of essential information that is either hidden from the character, or the reader, or both" (Nikolajeva 2014, p. 100). Reading thus mirrors a detective's search for clues: a dance of riddles (Lasić 1973, p. 70),[4] or putting together a puzzle (Nikolajeva 2014, p. 100). Within the

[4] Our translation.

whodunnit frame, readers analyse evidence, consider suspects, and form hypotheses – highlighting the ludic nature of the genre. They must continually fill gaps in the narrative (cf. Iser 1987), discern relevant from irrelevant information, and draw conclusions.

Lasić (1973, p. 9) stresses that the reader and the detective must have equal chances of solving the mystery. In picturebooks, this is achieved by inserting clues into the narrative. As multimodal texts, they combine verbal and visual codes, but since they target younger readers, the visual discourse carries special weight. While verbal narration often omits information, visual discourse relies on two key strategies: hinting and accumulating information.

a) Hinting – visual clues

The visual discourse in detective picturebooks provides more information than the text. Images and other graphic elements can have an exclusively aesthetic and enriching function – for example, allowing the child to observe the character, their environment, and everyday actions in detail – but in the genre context of a detective story, visual clues often become key. By examining the picture in more detail, the reader can discern clues that foreshadow the future development of the plot.

For example, in *Pigeon P.I.*, the disappearance of the canary is announced by the feather on the pavement; in *Baby Monkey, Private Eye*, fingerprints on the floor point to the culprit; in *Detective Zebra*, crumbs of cake lead to the mouse hole, suggesting the identity of the perpetrator, etc. Such visual clues allow for fair play because they enable the reader to participate in the discovery of the solution themselves before the narrative explicitly presents it.

b) Accumulation of information – information noise

Detective picturebooks sometimes employ over-accumulation of clues, making it harder to identify the relevant ones. In *The Great Pie Robbery*, detectives search for criminals marked by cherry pie stains, yet the reader faces a large illustration of dozens of animals, all smeared with red sauce. Similarly, *Where is the Cake?*, told entirely through images, clutters every page with details the reader must sift through.

Such techniques act as narrative retardation, slowing resolution, prolonging the enigma, and heightening reader engagement. The accumulation strategy also appears in other works, where illustrations are often overwhelmed with unnecessary details of space, characters, and actions.

Visual discourse in detective picturebooks also abounds with intertextual references to genre classics (Veldhuizen 2023, p. 170): detectives in hats and coats, holding magnifying glasses, or sitting in offices. These signals primarily serve to mark the genre, though it is uncertain to what extent younger readers recognise them. Intermedial strategies, such as hypermediation (see Bolter & Grusin, 2000), are also frequently employed: *Wanted* posters, letters, postcards, and other second-media devices. A notable example is *Detective LaRue*, structured entirely through newspaper clippings and letters the dog writes to its owner, first from prison and later on release. These serve as recollections of completed events, while the press fragments allow readers to reconstruct the crime and its resolution.

4. Conclusion

Works of crime and detective fiction rest on established conventions recognisable across media, from literature to film and games. At the same time, the genre can function as both a pure form and as a property of other genres (Moody 2003, p. 227). This duality is especially relevant for picturebooks, where crime features are often borrowed, reshaped, and combined with other conventions.

In the process of adapting the criminal and detective genre into picturebooks, it is possible to recognise two degrees of remediation (cf. Bolter & Grusin, 2000).

The first refers to the thematic-motivic and structural levels of the genre, where motives and patterns taken from the crime fiction tradition are necessarily adapted for a younger audience. This is precisely what constitutes the first challenge of genre classification: due to stylisation and softening, the boundaries between detective fiction, the broader framework of crime fiction, and mystery stories often become indistinct. Structurally, the central element is not always crime itself, but conceptual pairs – above all, crime vs. punishment and the resolution of the enigma. Punishment is usually mitigated, often humorous or poetic, yet still affirms order. Many works end with a lesson: earlier texts are didactic, while newer ones are more subtly educational. Strategies of accumulation and retardation in both verbal and visual discourse are also recognised, which act as mechanisms of dynamising the narrative and connect detective picturebooks with the tradition of oral stories and fairy-tale patterns. Characters are best understood as carriers of narrative functions (cf. Propp 2012): the victim signals disorder, the culprit disrupts balance, the investigator or the pursuer acts to restore it, and the resolver ensures final closure –

whether as enforcer, guardian, or avenger. Their roles in the story, more than their professions, define the genre.

The second degree of remediation concerns the specific nature of the picturebook in which the story always functions in a twofold code – verbal and visual. Most picturebooks employ a heterodiegetic-extradiegetic (third-person) narrator, with objective visual frames, though first-person or subjective perspectives occasionally appear both in verbal and visual discourse. The contrast between retrospective verbal narration and the immediacy of visual frames creates narrative tension and fosters reader participation. Paralipsis in verbal discourse and two visual strategies – hinting and accumulation – actively engage the young reader in the process of detection.

It should be noted that the process of genre remediation is by no means new – crime fiction itself has undergone numerous changes and redesigns of codes over the decades. As Todorov points out, "Every change implies a sort of getting rid of the constraints of the genre in order to constitute a new code" (2010, p. 300). In this paper, the new code becomes the subject of research: the remediation process of the crime and detective genre in picturebook form, considering the specifics of the young recipient and the peculiarities of the picturebook as a literary form.

Our analysis reveals that detective picturebooks operate at the intersection of two traditions: on the one hand, they draw on the patterns of the crime genre, and on the other, they inherit the fairy-tale logic of disrupted and restored balance, accompanied by the necessary (and sometimes poetic) justice. This explains how the genre, although rare in picturebooks, can be successfully adapted to children's reception.

This is also the reason why it is necessary to broaden our understanding of what can be encompassed in the concept of crime or detective picturebooks. Although the theoretical starting point is primarily designed within the framework of adult crime fiction theory, children's literature deserves to be viewed as a distinct system, with its own rules, narrative strategies, and ways of engaging with the young reader. This is especially important in the case of the picturebook, a true autochthonous children's literary type (Crnković & Težak 2002, p. 15). Therefore, following genre conventions is just as important as recognising transformations and deviations – because they confirm the vitality, flexibility, and innovation, as well as the autonomy of children's literature.

Works Cited:

Primary literature:

Ahlberg, Janet, and Allan Ahlberg. *Cops and Robbers*. Greenwillow, 1978.

Allard, Harry, and James Marshall. *Miss Nelson is Missing!* Weston Woods, 1977.

Donaldson, Julia, and Sara Ogilvie. *The Detective Dog*. Macmillan, 2018.

Jonas, Ann. *The 13th Clue*. Dell, 1993.

Lazar, Tara, and Ross MacDonald. *7 Ate 9: The Untold Story*. Little, Brown, 2017.

Lazar, Tara, and Ross MacDonald. *The Upper Case: Trouble in Capital City*. Little, Brown, 2019.

Lazar, Tara, and Ross MacDonald. *Time Flies Down to the Last Minute*. Little, Brown, 2022.

McLaren, Meg. *Pigeon P.I.* Clarion, 2017.

McLean, Gill. *Detective Zebra & the Mystery of the Missing Tarts*. Windmill, 2021.

Parsley, Elise. *How to Catch a Clover Thief*. Little, Brown, 2021.

Quackenbush, Robert. *Sherlock Chick and the Peekaboo Mystery*. Parents Magazine, 1987.

Rathmann, Peggy. *Officer Buckle and Gloria*. Scholastic, 1995.

Scarry, Richard. *The Great Pie Robbery*. Sterling, 2014.

Selznick, Brian, and David Serlin. *Baby Monkey, Private Eye*. Scholastic, 2018.

Teague, Mark. *Detective LaRue: Letters from the Investigator*. Scholastic, 2004.

Tjong-Khing, Thé. *Where is the Cake?* Abrams, 2007.

Warnes, Tim. *The Great Cheese Robbery*. Little Tiger, 2016.

Secondary literature:

Bal, Mieke. *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*. 4th ed., University of Toronto Press, 2017.

Bettelheim, Bruno. *Smisao i značenje bajki*. Poduzetništvo Jakić, 2000.

Betz, Phyllis M., editor. *Reading the Cozy Mystery: Critical Essays on an Underappreciated Subgenre*. McFarland, 2021.

Bolter, Jay David, and Richard Grusin. *Remediation: Understanding New Media*. MIT Press, 2000.

Boone, Troy. "The Juvenile Detective and Social Class: Mark Twain, Scouting for Girls, and the Nancy Drew Mysteries." *Mystery in Children's Literature: From the Rational to the Supernatural*, edited by Adrienne E. Gavin and Christopher Routledge, Palgrave Macmillan, 2001, pp. 46-63.

Brendel-Perpina, Ina, and Anna Kretzschmar, editors. *Serialität in der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur: Fachwissenschaftliche und fachdidaktische Perspektiven*. Schneider Verlag Hohengehren, 2021.

Cawelti, John G. *Adventure, Mystery, and Romance*. University of Chicago Press, 1976.

Crnković, Milan. *Dječja književnost*. Školska knjiga, 1990.

Crnković, Milan, and Dubravka Težak. *Povijest hrvatske dječje književnosti od početaka do 1955. godine*. Znanje, 2002.

Diklić, Zvonimir, Dubravka Težak, and Ivo Zalar. *Primjeri iz dječje književnosti*. DiVič, 1996.

Eco, Umberto. *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts*. Indiana University Press, 1979.

Franks, Rachel. "May I Suggest Murder? An Overview of Crime Fiction for Readers' Advisory Services Staff." *The Australian Library Journal*, vol. 60, no. 2, May 2011, pp. 133-143.

Gavin, Adrienne E., and Christopher Routledge, editors. *Mystery in Children's Literature: From the Rational to the Supernatural*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.

Genette, Gérard. *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*. Cornell University Press, 1980.

Hopster, Norbert. "Abenteuer und Reisen." *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur 1933–1945. Band 2: Ein Handbuch*, edited by Norbert Hopster, Petra Josting, and Joachim Neuhaus, Springer, 2005, pp. 503-540.

Hranjec, Stjepan. *Hrvatski dječji roman*. Znanje, 1998.

Iser, Wolfgang. *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.

Jenks, Chris. *Childhood*. 2nd ed., Routledge, 2005.

Knight, Stephen. *Crime Fiction, 1800–2000: Detection, Death, Diversity*. 2nd ed., Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Lasić, Stanko. *Poetika kriminalističkog romana: Pokušaj strukturalne analize*. Liber, 1973.

Mandić, Igor. *Principi krimića: Konture jednog trivijalnog žanra*. VBZ, 2015.

McGee, Chris. *Detective Fiction for Young Readers: Full of Secrets*. Routledge, 2025.

Mills, Claudia. "Introduction." *Ethics and Children's Literature*, edited by Claudia Mills, Routledge, 2016, pp. 1-13.

Moody, Nickianne. "Crime in Film and on TV." *The Cambridge Companion to Crime Fiction*, edited by Martin Priestman, Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 227-243.

Narančić Kovač, Smiljana. *Jedna priča – dva pripovjedača: Slikovnica kao pripovijed*. ArTresor, 2015.

Nikolajeva, Maria. "Memory of the Present: Empathy and Identity in Young Adult Fiction." *Narrative Works*, vol. 4, no. 2, 2014, pp. 86-107.

Nodelman, Perry, and Mavis Reimer. *The Pleasures of Children's Literature*. 3rd ed., Allyn and Bacon, 2003.

Nodelman, Perry. *Words about Pictures: The Narrative Art of Children's Picture Books*. University of Georgia Press, 2017.

Pavličić, Pavao. *Sve što znam o krimiću*. Ex libris, 2008.

Priestman, Martin. "Introduction: Crime Fiction and Detective Fiction." *The Cambridge Companion to Crime Fiction*, edited by Martin Priestman, Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 1-6.

Propp, Vladimir. *Morfologija bajke*. Biblioteka XX vek, Knjižara Krug, 2012.

Routledge, Christopher. "Children's Detective Fiction and the 'Perfect Crime' of Adulthood." *Mystery in Children's Literature: From the Rational to the*

Supernatural, edited by Adrienne E. Gavin and Christopher Routledge, Palgrave Macmillan, 2001, pp. 64-81.

Ryan, Marie-Laure. *Narrative as Virtual Reality 2: Revisiting Immersion and Interactivity in Literature and Electronic Media*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015.

Rutschky, Katharina. *Schwarze Pädagogik: Quellen zur Naturgeschichte der bürgerlichen Erziehung*. Ullstein, 2001.

Rzepka, Charles J. "Introduction: What Is Crime Fiction?" *A Companion to Crime Fiction*, edited by Charles J. Rzepka and Lee Horsley, Blackwell, 2010, pp. 1-11.

Scaggs, John. *Crime Fiction: The New Critical Idiom*. Routledge, 2005.

Silver, Alain, and James Ursini. "Crime and the Mass Media." *A Companion to Crime Fiction*, edited by Charles J. Rzepka and Lee Horsley, Blackwell, 2010, pp. 57-76.

Solar, Milivoj. *Suvremena svjetska književnost*. Školska knjiga, 1997.

Todorov, Tzvetan. "The Typology of Detective Fiction." *Crime and Media*, edited by Chris Greer, Routledge, 2010, pp. 293-301.

Todorov, Tzvetan. *Uvod u fantastičnu književnost*. Rad, 1987.

Van Dine, S. S. "Twenty Rules for Writing Detective Stories." *American Magazine*, Sept. 1928, Boston University, www.bu.edu/clarion/guides/dine.htm.

Veldhuizen, Vera. "The Curious Case of Children's Detective Fiction: Analysing the Adaptation of the Classic Detective Formula for a Child Audience." *Crime Fiction Studies*, vol. 4, no. 2, 2023, pp. 162-178.

Veldhuizen, Vera. "The Detecting Child: TKKG and Adapting Fair Play for Young Audiences." *Adaptation*, vol. 17, no. 3, Dec. 2024, pp. 349-364.

Veldhuizen, Vera. "Picturing Little Detectives: Detective Picturebooks and Cognition." *Narratives of Criminality, Punishment and Social Justice in CYA Literature*, Aug. 2022, Calcutta, India. Conference presentation, www.academia.edu/90441743/Picturing_Little_Detectives_Detective_Picturebooks_and_Cognition.

Yakar, Yasin Mahmut, and Semra Yazar. "Detective Characters in Children's Books: A Literacy Perspective." *International Journal of Education & Literacy Studies*, vol. 12, no. 4, 2024, pp. 72-80.

Zalar, Ivo. *Dječji roman u hrvatskoj književnosti*. Školska knjiga, 1983.

REMEDIJACIJA KRIMINALISTIČKOG ŽANRA U NARATIVNIM SLIKOVNICAMA

Rad istražuje etablirane konvencije kriminalističkog žanra i promjene koje nastaju njegovom remedijacijom u narativnim slikovnicama za mlađe čitatelje. Cilj je oblikovati analitički okvir koji omogućuje sustavno proučavanje kriminalističkih i detektivskih narativnih slikovnica te strategija kojima se autori i ilustratori služe kako bi žanr prilagodili dječjoj recepciji.

Predloženi okvir sagledava dvije razine – tematsko-motivsku i strukturalnu. Na prvoj razini identificirane su strategije ublažavanja zločina izborom motiva zločina, zamjenom zločina misterijem, humorizacijom, kumulacijom i nagomilavanjem. Na drugoj razini, ključni element pokazao se konceptualni par zločin – kazna, pri čemu se ravnoteža najčešće obnavlja ublaženom, poetičnom ili humorističnom kaznom. Uz to, prepoznate su strategije kumulacije i retardacije koje dinamiziraju narativ i povezuju slikovnice s logikom usmenih priča i bajkovitih obrazaca. Dodatno su identificirane pripovjedne strategije koje oblikuju napetost i uključuju mladog čitatelja u proces istrage: paralipsom na verbalnoj razini te vizualne strategije nagoviještanja ili aludiranja i akumulacije informacija. Posebna se pažnja posvećuje ulozi likova te se predlaže sagledavanje likova kroz funkcije koje imaju u narativu – žrtve, zločinca, istražitelja/progonitelja – i razrješitelja.

Zaključno, rad pokazuje da kriminalističke i detektivske slikovnice funkcioniraju na sjecištu kriminalističkog žanra i bajkovite logike te potvrđuje potrebu da se pojam kriminalističkih i detektivskih slikovnica proširi izvan okvira teorije kriminalističke fikcije za odrasle. Time se slikovnici priznaje status autonomne dječje književne vrste, s vlastitim pravilima, strategijama i inovacijama.

Ključne riječi: kriminalistička fikcija, detektivska fikcija, detektivske slikovnice, kriminalističke slikovnice, remedijacija, strategije remedijacije

READING HUMAN-NATURE RELATIONSHIPS IN TIM LEBBON`S COLDBROOK

*Mahsa **Jafari**, Urmia University, Iran, mahsajafari137785@gmail.com*

*Farah **Ghaderi**, Dhofar University, Oman, fghaderi@du.edu.om*

Original scientific paper
DOI: 10.31902/fll.54.2026.2

Abstract: The British dark fantasy writer, Tim Lebbon, fleshes out human and non-human relationships and the challenges of the Anthropocene in his fictions. Even though his novels have been looked at from various perspectives, *Coldbrook* (2012) has been generally understudied. Deploying Donna J. Haraway's conceptualization of the Anthropocene and Terrapolis, we look at human-nature relations on Earth and the alternate world of Gaia in the novel. We argue that the human-nature association on Earth is informed by the conflict between scientists and priests, which has resulted in the destruction of Earth in *Coldbrook*. However, the human-nature relationship on Gaia embodies a Terrapolis, where life prevails and binaristic constructions become meaningless. The study's findings suggest that characters' responses to the differences and mysteries they meet in Gaia is based on an outlook to life in which otherness is not recognized. Rather, it is deciphered based on a man-made hierarchical classificatory paradigm. However, in the Terrapolis world of Gaia, such hierarchal thinking shatters in a receptive outlook that embraces multispecies flourishing, harmonious beauty of nature, and mysterious differences. Gaia is represented as the only hope for a harmonious relationship between humans and nature where humans can find a refuge.

Keywords: nature, Anthropocene, Terrapolis, Donna Haraway**,** Tim Lebbon,

1. Introduction

Destruction of nature, exploitation of natural resources, air pollution and wars are some of the disastrous effects of human activities on earth which have been the concern of many scholars as well as literary figures. They have voiced their concern about environment in fields such as hydrology, meteorology and climatology in science and Ecocriticism, Ecogothic and Anthropocentrism in literature. Many novelists have been dealing with Anthropocentrism in their works including Jeff

VanderMeer`s *The Southern Reach Trilogy*, Brian W. Aldis`s *Hothouse* and Tim Lebbon`s *Coldbrook* (2012). *Coldbrook* is a science fiction that vividly depicts how humans' religious and scientific arrogance affects life on Earth through a zombie plague.

Coldbrook opens with the news of the successful completion of a scientific project in Coldbrook that Jonah Jones along with other scientists have been doing for the last twenty years. Coldbrook is the laboratory built in Appalachian Mountains where they have been trying to make a breach to an alternate world and now it is successfully open and they are ready to go visiting. The scientists celebrate their success unaware of the danger around the corner. They have devised many ways to avoid any probable danger by killing anything coming through the breach from the other world they call Gaia. While happy at their achievements and sure about the power of their technology, scientists suddenly see something like a human entering through the breach; it attacks others and bites one of the scientists. After killing it, the beaten scientist rises, attacks others, and bites them. Through their project, these scientists have brought a zombie plague that turns everyone into a zombie monster by being beaten. One of the scientists manages to escape from Coldbrook, but he leaves the door open which leads the plague out and turns the whole world into a chaos within few days. The remaining scientists try to make a vaccine through the blood of a girl who is immune to zombies. Jonah Jones, fighting for his survival in the laboratory, is visited by an Inquisitor, a religious messenger. He finds out that the plague is sent by the priests to punish scientists for their curiosity. Jonah, visits the scientists of Gaia and becomes infected with the disease as he accompanies the Inquisitor, who takes him to the church and forces him to accept the priests' religion. Jonah turns into a zombie and attacks the members of the church; the other survivors flee to the alternate world of Gaia to escape the chaos of Earth.

Witnessing the effects of human activities on Earth, Lebbon writes most of his works including *Coldbrook* as a warning to his audience of a dystopian future made by human. This novel has been generally overlooked by scholars and has been the subject of few studies. Elana Gomel and Vered Karti Shemtov in "Limbotopia: The "New Present" and the Literary Imagination" analyze this novel through the concept of Limbotopia and define it as "a narrative of the past and to imagine the future" (40). They maintain that *Coldbrook* as a zombie narrative "encapsulate[s] certain features of the chronotope of limbotopia: an episodic structure; long descriptive passages that function as what Genette called 'a stretch'—an expansion of narrative time; and, often, the absence of psychological consistency in, and/or attenuated identity

of, main characters" (43). Similarly, Elana Gomel in her article "Dying all the Time: The Future as the Extended Present and the Zombification of History in the Anthropocene" talks about the relationship between zombie fiction and the Anthropocene maintaining that "the rotting time of the Anthropocene is incarnated in the rotting flesh of our era`s most popular monster; the zombies" (118). Gomel argues that "*Coldbrook* is striking not only in its generic hybridity, but also in the way this hybridity is used to explore the fissure between 'zombie' and 'apocalypse'" (123).

These studies have offered significant findings about *Coldbrook*. Yet, they have not addressed representations of human-nature relationships in the novel. Thus, drawing on Donna Haraway's concepts of Anthropocene and Terrapolis, we look at that relationship. We argue that human-nature relationships in the alternate world of Gaia embody a Terrapolis where all species enjoy a harmonious coexistence. However, conflict between ambitious scientists and misguided priests leads to the destruction of Earth. The human-nature relationship on Earth is shaped by hierarchical thinking which considers the latter as an object to be exploited.

Haraway, in *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene* (2016) provides a brief explanation of anthropocentrism while fleshing out the two main concepts of Anthropocene and Terrapolis. She believes that anthropocentrism consists of "human exceptionalism and bounded individualism" that are "old saws of Western philosophy" (30). Such a perspective is reflected in The Great Chain of Being developed by many philosophers including Plato, Aristotle, Proclus, Plotinus among others. Philosophy has considered human being as the most rational being who is able to think and speak, features which have made him superior to other creatures. Haraway explains that "so-called self-recognition carries great weight in Western-influenced psychology and philosophy, besotted by individualism in theory and method, as these fields have been" (18-19). She maintains that philosophy differentiate between the human and the nonhuman putting the first superior to the second and has an anthropocentric standard by prioritizing human features and comparing other creatures based on them. As Brian Boyed explains, we do not see animals and other creatures as they are, with their own features but "we look to the animal other to discover about the human self" (3). Religion has also contributed to anthropocentrism; in Christianity and Judaism man is praised as the image of God on earth for whom everything is created. Haraway believes that the history of the world is written by man through "beautiful words and weapons" that have made him "in the image of the sky god" as "the Anthropos" who is the "only one real actor" and "one

real world-maker" creating "tale of the hunter on a quest to kill and bring back the terrible bounty" (39). Such a view about the exceptionalism of human beings can create a lot of environmental problems. The development of western science and technology has also influenced the anthropocentric exploitation of nature. One of the other prevalent thoughts in anthropocentrism is that the humans can solve any ecological problem through technology. Haraway describes such thinking "a comic faith in technofixes" according to which "technology will somehow come to the rescue of its naughty but very clever children" (3). Moreover, Haraway demonstrates how "sciences have been especially potent in fermenting notions about all the mortal inhabitants of Earth since the imperializing eighteenth century" and "Homo sapiens—the Human as species, the Anthropos as the human species, Modern Man—was a chief product of these knowledge practices" (30). This kind of thinking also justifies the exploitation of natural resources by considering nature inferior and subjugated to human ambitions.

Haraway introduces the concept of Anthropocene by referring to problems such as Global warming, climate change, extinction of many species and exploitation of natural resources among others which stem from an anthropocentric worldview. Human has made the planet "wretched"; "its soil…is contaminated, eroded, drained, burnt, exploded, flooded and impoverished on a worldwide scale" (Gray and Sheikh 163). Haraway explains that "there had been great losses of kinds of living beings, as rapid climate change and interlocked ecosystem collapses swept Earth; and the mass extinction event of the Capitalocene and Anthropocene was not over" (159). We have entered an era which embraces "climate change" (54) and other forms of threats carrying "the very real possibility of human extinction" and "the extinction of millions of other species" (LaMothe 54). This era is called the Anthropocene era or "the sixth extinction event" (54). The Anthropocene is a time when humans have reached a level of knowledge such that they are "a force of nature responsible for the current extinction event" (LaMothe 55). Haraway describes Anthropocene as a time of "multispecies, including human, urgency: of great mass death and extinction; of onrushing disasters" because of "unprecedented looking away" (35). Anthropocene engages with the effects of humans on the ecosystem as well as the lives of other human beings. The relationship between humans and nature matters along with the relationship between humans with each other. In the Anthropocene, we see how "political violence and exploitation" are used by superpowers to have more natural and human resources while creating "humiliated, depersonalized Others" (59). Haraway maintains

that this "bounded (or neoliberal) individualism", existing in Anthropocene, is not a good model for life as "it misleads us down deadly paths" (33)

Haraway introduces the concept of Terrapolis to suggest that there is still a chance for modern man to repair his relationship with nature through a symbiotic approach. Terrapolis is "an *n*-dimensional niche space" which is "a story, a speculative fabulation, and a string figure for multispecies worlding" (Haraway 10). It is a world that is not inhabited only by humans, but by many kinds of species, and all of them play a role in the world. Haraway refers to the genetic similarity between us and other species to argue that since we have been kin in the past, it is now possible to revive this kinship in a new way. The concept of Terrapolis implies a harmonious relationship with nature; it questions man-made hierarchies and offers a space for multispecies flourishing. Indeed, Haraway theorizes Terrapolis as a solution to the problems of the Anthropocene world. In what follows, we flesh out the human-nature relationship both on Earth and in the alternate world of Gaia in *Coldbrook*.

2. Human-Nature relationship on Earth

The relationship between the human and nature has been complicated and mysterious along history. As the relationship between human beings with each other has changed by discourses such as religion and science, these factors along with other ones such as industry have changed humanity`s relationship with nature as well. In recent centuries "technology has begun to change our species' long-standing experiences with nature. Now we have technological nature—technologies that in various ways mediate, augment, or simulate the natural world" (Kahn et al.37). This change has not been without consequences for both the human and nature. In this article, we focus on the relationship between humans and nature. In the Anthropocene, this relationship is unequal as humans dominate nature for their benefit, leading to the destruction of the environment and other people's lives. We first look at the relationship between humans and nature on Earth in *Coldbrook*.

With the emergence of modernization, humanity`s relationship with nature has changed negatively. In the current anthropocentric relationship, humans misuse nature for various ambitious projects. There are traces of humans' exploitative look at nature on Earth in the novel. Through their scientific project of Coldbrook, the scientists contaminate nature; when Vic tries to escape Coldbrook, he reaches the door where he sees "a wisp of smoke" due to its "securing mechanisms"

and "the smell of burning filled the air, and the acrid whiff of hot metal" (Lebbon 74-75). Trying to climb the ladder, his nostrils are filled "with the acrid stink of melted metal and plastics" (Lebbon 78). Due to their scientific project, the air inside the building is highly polluted; Vic is "desperate to breathe in the air outside the duct" (Lebbon 78-79). The scientists' disastrous impact on nature becomes more tangible when Vic leaves Coldbrook and enters the environment of Appalachian Mountains: "the grass was damp and cool, the fresh air a gentle caress across his sweat-soaked clothing. Above Vic a thousand stars speckled the sky, all of them ancient history" (Lebbon 79). The fresh air of nature is refreshing whereas the air inside Coldbrook is stifling. Haraway explains that, as modern people, we are "living in places ravaged by fossil fuel extraction or by mining of gold, uranium, or other metals" (141) because nature benefits man. Such an anthropocentric outlook has been problematic since "human interests and those of nature conflict" (Sagoff 222).

Another illustrative passage about the devastating impacts of humans on nature in *Coldbrook* comes from the scene when Vic looks at the fire that devours all life on Earth. He sees that "there were three spires of smoke, each arcing gently to the west and spreading into a high haze. Two of them were several miles away, their sources hidden by folds in the land and buildings in the city, but Vic could see the glimmer of fire at the base of the third column. It was perhaps two miles away" (Lebbon 272-273). While the discovery of fire marked the beginning of civilization for primitive man, it has become a symbol and a result of modernization for modern man. Believing that fire figures Anthropocene, Haraway maintains that "fire is an essential element for ongoing, as well as an agent of double death, the killing of ongoingness. The material semiotics of fire in our times are at stake" (44). Fire is the symptom of Anthropocene because it quickly spreads in natural landscapes and destroys them. The fire in the novel is created by the conflict between scientists and the Holy Fathers; it is an effect of the zombie plague and "the fury disease" which Inquisitors encourage "its spread" polluting Earth and the sky causing environmental disasters (Lebbon 438). The ravaging fire in *Coldbrook* suggests that humanity`s relationship with each other impacts not only people's lives but also their environment. Vic notices that the sun is "veiled by the massive spread of smoke that stained the eastern sky" and the clouds are "smeared with a dirty sunrise". This "column of smoke" is "the glow of distant flames" (Lebbon 383).

3. Human-Nature relationship on Gaia

The story of the Anthropocene is occupied with humans' dire effect on Earth. Haraway proposes that humans need another story which can be "one of the big-enough stories in the netbag for staying with the trouble of our ongoing epoch" (54). Men need another story in which the human is not the only actor, but all species have important roles. The urgency of creating a story with a new world can be felt deeply, a world which is "neither sacred nor secular" and this earthly worlding is "thoroughly terran, muddled, and mortal—and at stake now" (Haraway 55). Haraway theorizes such a world through the concept of Terrapolis where there are no hierarchical binaries. The human-nature relationship in Gaia embodies a Terrapolis world in the novel offering a place for multispecies flourishing, harmonious beauty, and mysterious differences. In what follows we explore all these three features by providing textual evidence.

The different types of species living peacefully in Gaia in *Coldbrook* represent a Terrapolis in which there is an opportunity for all species to live and die together. After going through the breach to Gaia, Holly, one of the scientists, observes that "the small valley was home to several types of plants, not all of them completely familiar" and as she goes further, she sees "a clump of black oaks" and "a single tree" containing "apple blossom" (Lebbon 83). She smells the heather which is "soft and silky to the touch" and flowers that are "unfamiliar" (Lebbon 83); she also witnesses a river streaming near her in which "a thousand small plants grew along its bank on tripod-like stalks" (Lebbon 83-84). She watches the dawn over the hill; "the colours were stunning, smears of yellow and orange merging into a deeper red higher up, though the clouds must have been high indeed, because she could not make out any texture to the sky. High up, a few hawks circled slowly on morning thermals" (Lebbon 84). In a multispecies perspective, the creatures are not categorized based on their usefulness to humans, but based on the impact they have on each other`s lives. This represents how the lives of various species in nature are entangled with the lives of people, suggesting that Gaia belongs to all creatures not just to humans. Haraway believes that "this Terrapolis is not the home world for the human as *Homo*, that ever parabolic, re- and de-tumescing, phallic self-image of the same; but for the human that is transmogrified in etymological Indo-European sleight of tongue into guman, that worker of and in the soil" (11). Walking through Gaia, Holly can see how different kinds of plants and other animals grow and live with each other peacefully without trying to destroy the other types. Haraway is correct

to point out that Terrapolis is "a niche space for multispecies becoming-with" (11) unlike Anthropocene, the space of "bickerings, hatreds, and fighting, useless waste and petty destructiveness" (Menninger 4).

In Terrapolis world of Gaia, humans are called to join other species once again and start a new relationship with them not as the dominant one but as companions to all other species. As Holly walks in the alternate world's natural environment, she hears "something called softly. She turned back to the breach, terrified that Melinda had come through. But there was no movement there, and when the call came again, she looked up at the hawks, swooping now instead of circling. 'Gaia,' she said " (Lebbon 85). This soft call reminds her as a human to join other species in having a harmonious peaceful life together. It is Gaia's call back for Holly to have a harmonious relationship with nature, the one humans on Earth have lost due to their obsession with scientific or religious projects. In Haraway's view, humans and nonhumans are kins and Terrapolis is the place where such a harmonious relationship can be revived as it "manifests the meaningful lived connections for sustaining kinship, behavior, relational action—for *hózhó*—for humans and nonhumans. Situated worlding is ongoing, neither traditional nor modern" (91). However, the Holy Fathers' anthropocentric worldview makes them "obsessed by and convinced of their own exclusive holiness that they cannot allow any other" (Lebbon 438). That is why they spread a plague to destroy all humans who are not members of their Catholic church for their "sins of errant belief" (Lebbon 631).

The interconnectedness between different species on Gaia suggests that the multispecies flourishing of Terrapolis is the only structure that runs through nature. In Gaia, Holly walks through nature; "the breeze whispered through stiff bushes and it was as if the laws of acoustics were different here" (Lebbon 358). While Holly has seen "people dying", "burning fields", "black glass deserts" and "stranger things" which are related to "the disease those furies are spreading" on Earth (Lebbon 433), here on Gaia, she observes that life goes on peacefully for different species on Gaia: "plants still grew and people still lived, and she'd seen that the sun still found its way through" (Lebbon 358-359). The only structure running in Terrapolis is multispecies flourishing as they need each other for a peaceful living. As Haraway explains, "staying with the trouble requires making oddkin; that is, we require each other in unexpected collaborations and combinations, in hot compost piles. We become-with each other or not at all. That kind of material semiotics is always situated, someplace and not no place, entangled and worldly" (4). As Haraway remarks, in Terrapolis, "all are welcome" (216). Walking in the natural environment of Gaia after

entering through the breach, Holly feels that "birds welcomed in the dawn from the tree canopy with songs she knew and some she did not"; as she goes further, "a growing feeling of warmth was close and inviting" (Lebbon 86).

Becoming with nature leads to humans' harmonious relationship with other species and their peaceful physical and mental health. Multispecies flourishing is the only law in Gaia as all lives are connected. When Holly joins this structure as a specie in contact with others, she is allowed to release herself from the painful disasters of Anthropocene. In Gaia, she sees waterfalls whose "sound was soporific, and as she closed her eyes she felt the pain easing slightly. To sleep now" (Lebbon 155). Using Terrapolis and Chthulucene as the terms synonymous with each other, Haraway explains that:

> Specifically, unlike either the Anthropocene or the Capitalocene, the Chthulucene is made up of ongoing multispecies stories and practices of becoming-with in times that remain at stake, in precarious times, in which the world is not finished and the sky has not fallen—yet. We are at stake to each other. Unlike the dominant dramas of Anthropocene and Capitalocene discourse, human beings are not the only important actors in the Chthulucene, with all other beings able simply to react. The order is reknitted: human beings are with and of Earth, and the biotic and abiotic powers of this earth are the main story. (55)

In Terrapolis, all species are important as they play a role in each other`s lives. In this world, the power of people through science, religion, and capitalism, among others, is of no consequence; what matters is shattering all these artificial structures to offer an equal opportunity for all species "to live and die well in a habitable world" (Haraway 216). All human-made structures, the history-making projects of ambitious scientists, and the religious crusade of Holly Fathers in the name of God become meaningless in Terrapolis. As Davis and coauthors rightly argue, "whether or not individuals feel 'close' or 'connected' to nature, they are interdependent with nature in the sense that the wellbeing of nature can affect the wellbeing of individuals" (174).

The harmonious beautiful nature of Gaia is another illustrative embodiment of the concept of Terrapolis in *Coldbrook*. At the end of the novel, the survivors of Earth leave their chaotic world through the breach and go to Gaia, which becomes a new "home to them all"; instead of horror and chaos, they find "so much beauty" in Gaia (Lebbon 627). The nature of Gaia is beautiful because of "right relations of

humans and nonhumans" which is based on harmony rather than hierarchies (Haraway 14). This feature relates humans more to nature because "the beauty of nature affects our emotions" and such influence increases "our emotional bond with, and love for nature, deepen" (Van Gordon et al. 1657). As soon as Holly enters Gaia, "the first touch of somewhere else brought the smell of spicy heather and the taste of cool fresh air" (Lebbon 81). Holly is amazed by the beauty of the natural environment of Gaia; "She watched dawn break over eastern hills, and the sunrise was a palette of colour. […] she viewed it simply for its beauty. And she enjoyed the peace" (Lebbon 622). The peaceful harmonious world of Gaia is in sharp contrast to the chaos on Earth, which is the result of humans' hierarchical thinking, scientists' ambitions, and priests' bigotry. In the Terrapolis world of Gaia, such hierarchies do not exist and beauty prevails.

Holly notices that the harmonious beauty of Gaia is because it, unlike Earth, has not been contaminated by industry and technology. Holly observes that "the breeze was stronger up here [in Gaia], and it was fresh and untainted by the tang of industry" (Lebbon 88). While various species enjoy symbiotic relationships in Gaia, humans' relationship with nature on Erath is parasitism which refers to the relationship between two kinds of species in such a way that one gains profit while the other gets hurt; This parasitic relationship has led to "the natural world's relentless destruction at the hands of militarized, power-mad, technological humans" (Haraway 151). Watching a "blackbird" with "orange chest" and "white wings" (Lebbon 152) enjoying itself in Gaia reminds Holly that "one much like this had been killed by the eradicator and stored in the breach containment area" on Earth (Lebbon 153). While the technologically built eradicator of Coldbrook on Earth kills the bird, in the Terrapolis world of Gaia, birds thrive. Similarly, Jonah is captivated by the healthy nature of Gaia. When Jonah enters the breach to Gaia, he feels that its air gives "a hint of something alien to this place — flowing water, soil, healthy plants"; Jonah "breathed in and held his breath: the scents of another world were startling" (Lebbon 281).

The alternate world of Gaia in Coldbrook is an embodiment of Terrapolis not only because of its multispecies flourishing and harmonious beauty but also because of its impenetrable mysteries. The natural environment of Gaia contains mysteries that the characters from Earth cannot decipher. Having gone through the breach, Holly scrutinizes the nature of Gaia and feels that "the muted sunlight bathed its features, forest and bare slopes alike, and the darker depths of the valleys could have held any number of mysteries. What disturbed Holly

so much was the mystery of what might lie beyond them" (Lebbon 88). Haraway believes that in Terrapolis we enter "into specific crossings from familiar worlds into uncomfortable and unfamiliar ones to weave something that might come unraveled, but might also nurture living and dying in beauty in the n-dimensional niche space of Terrapolis" (16). Going from her own chaotic world to the unfamiliar world of Gaia, Holly is disturbed by the structure of nature unknown to her. As a scientist who has spent most of her life researching, she cannot explain the process happening in Gaia, which represents the limit of her knowledge in realizing nature. The anthropocentric conflict between religion and science in her world does not occur here, making her think about the structure of Gaia that is different from that of her world. Holly`s moving away from Earth to Gaia is a movement from the familiar anthropocentric world of science and religion to the unfamiliar world of Terrapolis where a harmonious relationship between nature and humans exists.

One of the reasons that nature is a mystery for humans in Terrapolis is because nature does not act based on the values, philosophy, and hierarchies made by and known to humans in the Anthropocene. In nature, all these artificial structures become meaningless. As Haraway explains, in Terrapolis there is "collectively-producing systems that do not have self-defined spatial or temporal boundaries" which is in contrast with Anthropocene in which "autopoietic systems are 'self-producing' autonomous units 'with self-defined' spatial or temporal boundaries that tend to be centrally controlled, homeostatic, and predictable" (33). Anthropocene is a system that operates based on hierarchies. It is a "socio-ecological crisis" that is "characterized by hierarchies imposed by human beings on one another (intra-species hierarchies) and upon non-human entities (inter-species hierarchies)" (Calzadilla and Kotzé 398). Such hierarchies are not applicable in Terraplois. Conflicting hierarchical discourses of religion and science have separated humanity from nature on Earth as they represent humans as "the dominant and most important life form" while nonhumans are considered "useful" to the extent they help humans to keep his position "at the top of the social hierarchy" (Calzadilla and Kotzé 398).

Nature`s mysteries in the Terrapolis world of Gaia are disturbing to Holly because she looks at it based on her scientific paradigm, in which everything must be transparent to her. As Holly walks in the natural environment of Gaia, she tastes the air's moisture and frowns "as the tang of something unknown played across her taste buds. She didn’t like it, but perhaps only because it was a mystery" (Lebbon 82). Haraway

explains that “Gaia is not about a list of questions waiting for rational policies; Gaia is an intrusive event that undoes thinking as usual. She is what specifically questions the tales and refrains of modern history” (44). Gaia is not about hierarchies and conflicts but "the balance" meaning that all critters of the environment live "in harmony as a result of the balance between opposing but interdependent forces" (Wu and Loucks 440). Holly does not like the mysteriousness of Gaia because she is unable to scrutinize it through her science as "science does not deal with ‘naturally occurring’ phenomena, but produces its own facts and evidence through the mediation of highly complex technical apparatus and mathematical models" (Descola and Palsson 8). The possible solution to the novel's chaotic life on Earth is moving away from the world characters have known through science and technology to the world of nature without artificial man-made structures.

Walking through nature in Gaia, Holly feels that "the breeze whispered through stiff bushes and it was as if the laws of acoustics were different here" (Lebbon 358). Moreover, "the darkness hid the differences between here and her own world from sight. Made them even more threatening" (358). Nature in Gaia acts differently from what Holly has observed on Earth. Gaia “intrudes on our categories of thought, … intrudes on thinking itself" (Haraway 43). The laws of Terrapolis operating in Gaia are different from those of the anthropocentric world where the Holy Fathers start genocide as a response to scientists which turns into a religious crusade against the universe. Unlike the human-defined structures of religion and science in the anthropocentric world of Coldbrook, the Terrapolis depicted in Gaia is "full of kinds-in-the-making, full of significant otherness" and has "kin-making" as well as "practices of worlding" (Haraway 12). As Holly responds to nature based on a scientific paradigm, she does not understand the features of a Terrapolis world in which humans cannot decode everything. Accordingly, this frightens her.

Similarly, Jonah feels the different structure of the Terrapolis in Gaia. He finds nature “beautiful” and “breathed in and smelled heather and the subtle perfume of unfamiliar flowers, and beyond the gurgle of the stream all he could hear was the soft whisper of a breeze through the shallow valley” (451). Even though the unfamiliarity may be disquieting for Jonah, it arouses his sense of wonder and fills him with enjoyment: “There were plants close to the stream that seemed to be propped on three stems instead of one. They looked alien and elegant” (451). The nature creates in Jonah "a sense of uncertainty"; yet it is a sweet reminder that he is "a part of something larger than oneself" (Piff et al. 884). Observing the mystery of life existing in the natural

landscapes of Gaia creates an opportunity for Holly and Jonah to join the structure of the Terrapolis and enjoy the awe they feel when encountering difference. Haraway explains that "Terrapolis is in place; Terrapolis makes space for unexpected companions" and "exists in the sf web of always-too-much connection" (11). Accordingly, Jonah and Holly show receptivity to the symbiotic structures of the Terrapolis which "emphasize[s] their membership in larger categories, for example by describing themselves as 'a person' or 'an inhabitant of Earth'" rather than "defin[ing] themselves using individuated terms such as 'special' or 'one-of-a-kind'" (Piff et al. 884).

4. Conclusion

This study has attempted to explore human-nature relationships on Earth and the alternate world of Gaia in Lebbon's *Coldbrook*. The focus has been on analyzing the effects of human activities on the lives of other humans and nonhumans deploying Haraway`s concepts of Anthropocene and Terrapolis. Anthropocene highlights the disastrous impact of human activities on Earth. Haraway describes it as an epoch when we see the consequences of human supremacy. This concept is well depicted in the novel through the war between scientists and the Holy Fathers. Scientists' ambition makes them perform dangerous projects many of which pollute the environment. On the other hand, misguided Holy Fathers react to these scientific endeavors by sending zombie plague through their Inquisitors to destroy Earth. Reviving the productive relationship between humans and nature is the only solution for the chaotic world of Anthropocene in *Coldbrook*, which is explained through Haraway`s concept of Terrapolis. Terrapolis embraces a worldview in which all creatures are valued and their difference is recognized. It offers a place for multispecies flourishing where the harmonious beauty of nature is cherished. All these features are present on Gaia in the novel which is depicted as the only refuge for humans escaping from Earth.

Works Cited:

Boyed, Brian. "Archaeology and Human–Animal Relations: Thinking Through Anthropocentrism." *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 46, no. 1, 2017, pp. 299-316.

Calzadilla, Paola Villavicencio, and Louis J. Kotzé. "Living in Harmony with Nature? A Critical Appraisal of the Rights of Mother Earth in Bolivia." *Transnational Environmental Law*, vol. 7, no. 3, 2018, pp. 397-424.

Davis, Jody L., et al. "Interdependence with the Environment: Commitment, Interconnectedness, and Environmental Behavior." *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, vol. 29, no. 2, 2009, pp. 173-180.

Descola, Philippe, and Gísli Pálsson. *Nature and Society: Anthropological Perspectives*. Routledge, 1996.

Gomel, Elana. "Dying All the Times." *The Anthropocene and the Undead: Cultural Anxieties in the Contemporary Popular Imagination*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2022. *(Napomena: u izvornom unosu nedostaje paginacija za ovo poglavlje – potrebno je dodati brojeve stranica).*

Gomel, Elana, and Vered Karti Shemtov. "Limbotopia: The 'New Present' and the Literary Imagination." *Comparative Literature*, vol. 70, no. 1, 2018, pp. 60-71.

Gray, Ros, and Shela Sheikh. "The Wretched Earth." *Third Text*, vol. 32, no. 2-3, n.d., pp. 163-175. *(Napomena: u izvornom unosu nije navedena godina izdanja – označeno s "n.d." – no date).*

Haraway, Donna. *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene*. Duke University Press, 2016.

Kahn, Peter H. "The Human Relation with Nature and Technological Nature." *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, vol. 18, no. 3, 2009, pp. 37-42.

Lamothe, Ryan. "A Radical Pastoral Theology for the Anthropocene Era: Thinking and Being Otherwise." *Journal of Pastoral Theology*, vol. 31, no. 1, 2021, pp. 54-74.

Lebbon, Tim. *Coldbrook*. Hammer, 2012.

Menninger, Karl A. *Man Against Himself*. Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc, 1938.

Piff, Paul K., et al. "Awe, the Small Self, and Prosocial Behavior." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol. 108, no. 6, 2015, pp. 883-889.

Sagoff, Mark. "On Preserving the Natural Environment." *The Yale Law Journal*, vol. 84, no. 2, 1974, pp. 205-267.

Van Gordon, William, et al. "Mindfulness and Nature." *Mindfulness*, vol. 9, no. 5, 2018, pp. 1655-1658.

Wu, Jianguo, and Orie L. Loucks. "From Balance of Nature to Hierarchical Patch Dynamics: A Paradigm Shift in Ecology." *The Quarterly Review of Biology*, vol. 70, no. 4, 1995, pp. 439-466.

خوانش روابط انسان و طبیعت در رمان کلدبروک اثر تیم لبن

مهسا جعفری، دانشگاه ارومیه، ایران

فرح قادری، نویسنده مسئول، دانشگاه ظفار، عمان

چکیده: نویسنده بریتانیایی داستان های فانتزی-ترسناک، تیم لبن، روابط بین انسان و سایر موجودات و چالش های انتروپوسین را در آثارش به تفصیل شرح می دهد. گرچه آثار لبن از جنبه های مختلفی بررسی شده، رمان *کلدبروک* کمتر مورد توجه قرار گرفته است. با استفاده از مفاهیم

انتروپوسین و تراپلیس دانا هاراوی، ما رابطه بین انسان و طبیعت در زمین و جهان موازی گایا را در رمان مورد بررسی قرار می دهیم. ما استدلال می کنیم که ارتباط انسان و طبیعت تحت تاثیر تضاد میان دانشمندان و کشیشان قرار دارد که منجر به نابودی زمین در رمان *کلدبروک* شده است. گرچه، رابطه انسان و طبیعت در گایا نمایان گر تراپلیس است مکانی که در آن زندگی پابرجاست و دوگانگی های ساخت انسان بی معنی می شوند. یافته های این مطالعه نشان می دهد که واکنش شخصیت های رمان به تفاوت ها و رمز و راز هایی که در گایا با آنها مواجه می شوند، بر اساس نگرش آنها به نوعی از زندگی است که در آن دیگری شناسایی نمی شود. بلکه، این تفاوت بر اساس سیستم دسته بندی طبقاتی ساخت انسان درک می شود. با این وجود، در جهان موازی گایا چنین تفکر طبقاتی در نگرش پذیرنده ای که رونق گونه های مختلف، زیبایی موزون طبیعت و تفاوت های رمزآلود را در بر می گیرد، از بین می رود. گایا به عنوان تنها امید برای ارتباط موزون انسان و طبیعت مجسم می شود که در آن انسان ها می توانند پناه یابند.

کلیدواژه ها: طبیعت، انتروپوسین، تراپلیس، دانا هاراوی، تیم لبن.

DOCLEA NEI RESOCONTI DI VIAGGIO ITALIANI TRA LA FINE DEL XIX E L'INIZIO DEL XX SECOLO

*Tatjana **Koprivica**, Univerzitet Crne Gore, Istorijski institut, tkoprivica@ucg.ac.me*

*Olivera **Popović**, Univerzitet Crne Gore, Filološki fakultet, oliverap@ucg.ac.me*

*Slavko **Burzanović**, Univerzitet Crne Gore, Istorijski institut, sburzanovic@ucg.ac.me*

Original scientific paper
DOI: 10.31902/fll.54.2026.3
UDC: 902/904:821.131.1-992"18/19"

Abstract: : Il tema del presente articolo è la presenza del sito archeologico di Doclea nelle opere dei viaggiatori italiani della seconda metà del XIX secolo e dell'inizio del XX secolo. Si analizzano i motivi del loro interesse per questo tema, il posto che esso occupava nell'insieme della loro narrazione di viaggio, la conoscenza dell'argomento, la funzione delle descrizioni, le influenze reciproche e il discorso a cui ricorrevano nella rappresentazione del patrimonio archeologico romano in Montenegro.

Parole chiave: Montenegro, Italia, letteratura di viaggio, Doclea, ricerche archeologiche

1. Introduzione

Il territorio dell'attuale Montenegro all'epoca dell'Impero romano, costituiva parte integrante della provincia di Dalmazia (Wilkes) e di Prevalis (Mijović; Stevović). I più importanti siti archeologici dell'antichità in quest'area erano Doclea, Risinium e Municipium S (Marković, *Praistorijsko i antičko nasljeđe*). Doclea è menzionata anche nell'opera di un viaggiatore anonimo, che potrebbe essere identificato con Marin Cavalli. Durante il suo viaggio in Albania lungo il lago di Scutari, compiuto tra il 1557 e il 1560, egli riferisce ex auditu: "Esser una terra chiamata Dioclia, fabricata in honor di Diocletiano, hora del tutto

rovinata" (Matković 251-252).[5] Un resoconto più significativo su Doclea fu lasciato dal nobile cattarino Marin Bolizza, che nel 1614 percorse il sangiaccato di Scutari, gran parte dell'Albania, il Montenegro e una porzione dell'Erzegovina, presentando poi al governo veneziano una relazione sul proprio viaggio (Lenorman 277). La sua descrizione di Doclea costituisce la testimonianza oculare di un osservatore sufficientemente colto da riconoscere tra le rovine della città alcuni edifici pubblici e religiosi e da tentare di ricostruirne idealmente l'antica grandezza e importanza. Tra le rare menzioni di Doclea nel corso dei secoli XVII e XVIII figurano anche quelle presenti nelle rappresentazioni cartografiche, per lo più di provenienza veneziana (Ongania; Milović 59-60). I cartografi ispirati dallo spirito dell'umanesimo continuarono infatti a inserire Doclea nelle loro mappe anche in un'epoca in cui essa non rivestiva più alcuna rilevanza né demografica né viaria.

Fig. 1: Mapa del Montenegro del 1790, dettaglio di Doclea (Milović)

[5] Si presume che Marin Cavalli possa essere identificato con l'ambasciatore veneziano a Costantinopoli, eletto nel 1557. La relazione in questione fu da lui presentata nel 1560.

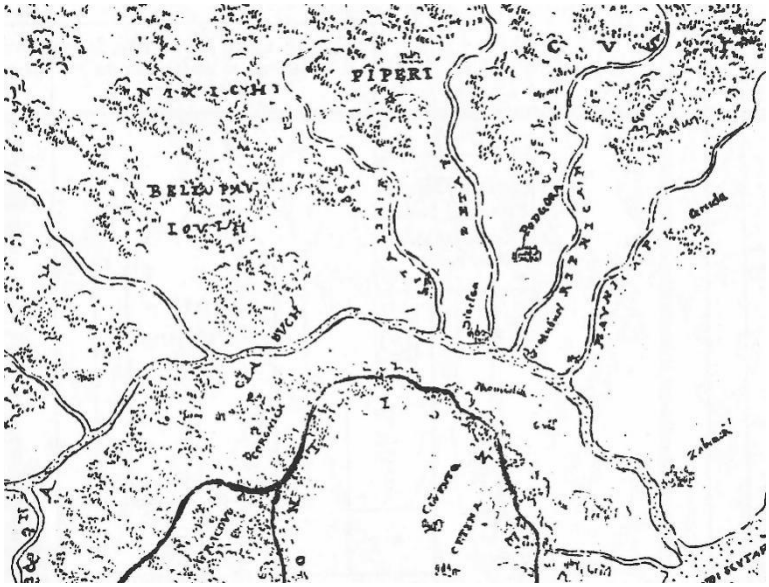


Fig. 2 Mappa del Montenegro del 1699 con l'indicazione di Doclea (Ongania)

L'interesse della scienza europea per Doclea fu stimolato dalla scoperta della cosiddetta "Coppa di Podgorica". Le raffigurazioni a motivi biblici dipinte su di essa suscitarono un vivo interesse tra gli studiosi di archeologia cristiana (De Rossi, "Podgoritza in Albania – Insigne tazza vitrea figurata"; "L'insigne piatto vitreo di Podgoritza oggi nel museo Basilewsky in Parigi"; Nagel; Živanović). Oltre all'italiano De Rossi, il riconoscimento del valore del reperto è dovuto anche al console italiano a Scutari Lorenzo Perrod, al quale si deve la sua inclusione nella raccolta del grande collezionista Vasilievskij. (Kryzahnovskaya; Koprivica and Burzanović 54).

A partire dalla metà del XIX secolo, con la crescita dell'interesse italiano per il Montenegro, anche il tema dei suoi siti archeologici dell'antichità divenne sempre più presente nella letteratura italiana. Gli autori delle opere odeporiche potevano acquisire conoscenze su questa materia sia direttamente durante i loro viaggi, sia attraverso la letteratura esistente, dominata da dizionari enciclopedici e vocabolari, nonché dagli studi di Marino Sanudo e Coletti, prevalentemente orientati alla storia medievale e rinascimentale, ma contenenti anche alcuni riferimenti agli eventi storici più antichi.

Contributi più ampi e approfonditi, animati dall'ambizione di presentare il Montenegro in maniera sistematica, comparvero sotto forma di resoconti di viaggio pubblicati in periodici di maggiore prestigio o in monografie. Durante la Grande crisi d'Oriente (1875-1878), ossia nel

periodo della guerra montenegrino-ottomana, il pubblico italiano ebbe accesso, oltre ai reportage di viaggio scritti in lingua italiana, anche alle traduzioni di resoconti stranieri, come l'opera di Charles Yriarte, che esercitò una forte influenza sui viaggiatori successivi, i quali lo citarono frequentemente (Popović, "Crna Gora u italijanskom putopisnom časopisu Il Giro del mondo"). Nella letteratura odeporica di altri paesi europei, infatti, i contributi dedicati al Montenegro iniziarono ad apparire leggermente prima rispetto a quelli italiani. Gli autori francesi se ne occupano già in epoca napoleonica, a cavallo tra il Settecento e l'Ottocento, mentre i viaggiatori francesi, inglesi, russi e tedeschi tornano a interessarsi del Montenegro in occasione delle guerre combattute negli anni Cinquanta e Sessanta del XIX secolo. Una delle ragioni di questo relativo "ritardo" dell'interesse italiano risiede nel fatto che, negli anni Cinquanta e Sessanta, gli italiani erano principalmente impegnati nelle questioni legate all'unificazione nazionale. L'esperienza del Risorgimento fece sì, tuttavia, che l'opinione pubblica italiana, a partire dagli anni Settanta dell'Ottocento, seguisse con particolare simpatia e interesse i movimenti di liberazione nazionale nei Balcani e, di conseguenza, anche in Montenegro (Burzanović, "Garibaldi, Garibaldinci i Crna Gora 1861-1920"; Tamborra). Nelle opere dei viaggiatori e pubblicisti italiani di questo periodo, ossia di Eugenio Popovich, Alfredo Serristori e Nicola Lazzaro, domina soprattutto un discorso eroico, fondato sulla rappresentazione dei montenegrini come cavalieri cristiani che, grazie alla loro lotta eroica, respingono dall'Europa gli oppressori turchi (Popović, "Ratni dopisi iz Crne Gore Evgenija Popovića"; "Un parlamentare italiano nel Montenegro ai tempi della Grande crisi d'Oriente (1875-1877)"). I siti archeologici dell'antichità in Montenegro vengono menzionati in queste opere soltanto marginalmente, come luoghi in cui si svolgevano le operazioni militari, oppure come parte del loro itinerario di viaggio.

Negli anni successivi pubblicarono le loro opere in lingua italiana anche alcuni viaggiatori stranieri, come Giuseppe Modrich e Patrick Mac Sweeny de Mashanaglass. Modrich, in quanto dalmata, apparteneva a un ambiente culturale nel quale molti autori prediligevano l'italiano quale lingua di una tradizione culturale ritenuta più sviluppata. Egli scrisse due resoconti di viaggio nei quali descrive il proprio soggiorno in Montenegro, rispettivamente nel 1892 e nel 1902 (Popović, "Putopisi Josipa Modrića o Crnoj Gori"). In tali opere non menziona i siti archeologici dell'antichità in Montenegro, ma sostiene che Doclea, ritenuto luogo di nascita di Diocleziano, si trovasse nei pressi dell'antica Salona; aggiunge inoltre che vicino a Stagno esiste un sito chiamato Dioclea, che sarebbe stato fondato dallo stesso imperatore (Modrich

293). Il nobile irlandese Patrick Mac Sweeny de Mashanaglass si interessa invece a Doclea soprattutto in quanto città sede dell'episcopato che precedette l'arcivescovado di Antivari (298).[6]

2. L'interessamento per il patrimonio archeologico montenegrino in occasione delle nozze Savoia-Petrović

Dal 1896, con l'imparentamento tra la dinastia montenegrina e quella italiana, l'interesse dell'opinione pubblica italiana per il Montenegro aumentò rapidamente. Numerose pubblicazioni e articoli di giornale affrontavano diversi aspetti della vita del piccolo principato balcanico: dalla sua storia all'etnografia, dall'economia al patrimonio antico presente sul suo territorio, che in Italia veniva percepito come parte della propria eredità culturale. Dopo l'annuncio del fidanzamento della coppia principesca a Cettigne nel 1896, nella capitale del principato giunsero i rappresentanti dei quotidiani e dei settimanali italiani a più ampia diffusione.[7] Tra le firme giornalistiche più rilevanti figuravano Adolfo Rossi, Vico Mantegazza, Mario Borsa, Edoardo Scarfoglio e Silvio Gelli ("Italijanski novinari"; Burzanović, "Crnogorski motivi na naslovnicama Akila Beltrama"). Alcuni di questi giornalisti pubblicarono successivamente i loro reportage di viaggio anche in forma di monografia (Borsa; Mantegazza; Rossi). Negli anni seguenti il Montenegro fu visitato e descritto anche da autori italiani di diversa formazione professionale, come il tenente Eugenio Barbarich (1897), il generale Manfredo Cagni (1899), il pittore Hermann Corrodi (1899), il geografo Guido Cora (1901) e il botanico Antonio Baldacci (1897) (Popović, "Putopisno upoznavanje Italijana sa Crnom Gorom", Brajović e Koprivica). La letteratura odeporica sul Montenegro nata in occasione del matrimonio dinastico assunse un marcato carattere propagandistico e svolse tre funzioni principali: far conoscere agli italiani un Paese fino ad allora quasi ignoto, patria della loro futura regina; accrescere il prestigio della dinastia regnante montenegrina; e mettere in evidenza i legami tra i due Paesi esistiti in precedenti fasi storiche (Popović, "The Discourse of Progress in Italian Travel Writing on Montenegro").

Nella ricerca di un passato comune, gli autori menzionati dedicarono particolare attenzione alla presenza della Repubblica di

[6] Nel suo breve resoconto di Doclea non si trovano informazioni più dettagliate rispetto a quelle presenti presso gli altri autori di quel periodo. La sua descrizione potrebbe inoltre essere stata desunta dalla letteratura esistente.

[7] Inviati speciali furono mandati da *Corriere della Sera*, *La Nazione*, *Illustrazione Italiana*, *La Perseveranza*, *Gazzetta di Venezia*, *La Tribuna*, *Il popolo Romano*, *Il Corriere delle Puglie*.

Venezia sulla costa montenegrina, ai suoi rapporti con le tribù montenegrine dell'entroterra e al sostegno offerto alla loro lotta di liberazione contro l'Impero ottomano (Baldacci, *Crnagora* 83-84; Rossi 28). L'opera più significativa di questo filone è *Relazioni dei provveditori veneti*, commissionata dallo stesso re d'Italia Umberto I. All'interno di questo quadro interpretativo, gli autori italiani riservarono invece uno spazio assai più ridotto al patrimonio antico presente sul territorio montenegrino quale elemento dei legami storici tra i due popoli.

La maggior parte degli autori citati visitò Doclea e due di essi, Vico Mantegazza e Adolfo Rossi, ebbero il privilegio di farlo in compagnia del principe italiano Vittorio Emanuele III.[8] Mantegazza inserì nella sua opera una fotografia del sito archeologico. Per Rossi, il resoconto della visita a Doclea serviva soprattutto a mostrare ai lettori che i legami tra l'Italia e il Montenegro risalivano addirittura all'epoca dell'Impero romano d'Occidente. Egli sottolinea che Doclea fu il luogo di nascita dell'imperatore Diocleziano, mentre la sua descrizione del sito non va oltre l'espressione di ammirazione per la presunta magnificenza degli edifici antichi di cui poté osservare i resti. Nella sua opera, Rossi commette un grave errore attribuendo al professor Šafárik i primi scavi effettuati nel sito archeologico.[9]

Al tempo della visita di Rossi e Mantegazza, a Doclea erano già state condotte diverse campagne di scavo archeologico. La prima, nel 1890, fu diretta dallo studioso russo Pavel Rovinskij, che dedicò al Montenegro una parte significativa della propria vita e della propria attività scientifica, ma che nel campo dell'archeologia possedeva soltanto una esperienza limitata. Nel corso di queste ricerche furono portati alla luce

[8] È singolare che, nelle descrizioni di questa visita, i due colleghi non si menzionino reciprocamente. Vittorio Emanuele III visitò Doclea nell'agosto del 1896 e nuovamente nell'agosto del 1910 ("Un'escursione del Principe di Napoli" 1; "Il principe di Napoli a Podgorica" 3; "Le feste nel Montenegro. Alle rovine romane di Doclea e nel lago di Scutari" 1). Possedeva un'importante collezione numismatica, composta da circa 110.000 monete, oggi conservata presso il Museo di Palazzo Massimo a Roma. Tra il 1909 e il 1943 pubblicò, insieme ai suoi collaboratori, venti volumi intitolati *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum* (Koprivica e Burzanović, 2021: 57; "La collezione numismatica di Vittorio Emanuele III di Savoia").

[9] Il professor Pavel Šafárik, slavista slovacco al quale potrebbe riferirsi questa affermazione, non era un archeologo e il passato montenegrino lo interessava soprattutto dal punto di vista letterario (Šafárik). A quanto pare, anche Giuseppe Marcotti riprese acriticamente questo dato nelle proprie opere (*Il Montenegro e le sue donne*, 5; *L'Adriatico orientale*, 184).

la basilica del foro, tre templi antichi, una casa privata, nonché un gran numero di frammenti architettonici, iscrizioni, sculture e altri reperti. (Sticotti; Marković, "Pavel Apolonovič Rovinski kao arheolog" 1992; Rovinski; Koprivica, "Nikola I Petrović Njegoš i istraživanje Duklje";). Le notizie relative alle ricerche condotte da Rovinskij suscitarono l'interesse del Ministero degli Affari Esteri italiano, che si rivolse al direttore del *Museo Nazionale alle Terme di Diocleziano* di Roma, Felice Barnabei, per ottenere una valutazione dell'importanza di tali indagini (Koprivica e Burzanović 55).

Un'altra campagna di ricerca, assai più qualificata, realizzata nel settembre del 1892, fu condotta dal triestino Piero Sticotti e dallo spalatino Luka Jelić, ai quali si unì anche Vido Petričević, anch'egli originario di Spalato. La descrizione di questo viaggio fu lasciata da Sticotti sotto forma di note diaristiche in lingua italiana. Egli fornisce dati essenziali sulle tappe del viaggio e, a differenza di altri autori che trattano Doclea solo incidentalmente, dedica le sue annotazioni proprio a questo sito, considerato l'oggetto principale della missione. In tale contesto egli menziona l'ottenimento delle autorizzazioni per le ricerche da parte di Pavel Rovinskij, indicato come responsabile degli scavi. Annota inoltre l'esistenza, presso il teatro nazionale *Zetski dom*, di un museo nel quale erano conservati reperti provenienti da Doclea; museo che egli, tuttavia, non visitò nemmeno, essendo stato informato della povertà e della scarsa rilevanza degli oggetti lì custoditi (Koprivica e Burzanović 55-56).

Con maggiore attenzione descrisse invece i reperti osservati nel palazzo principesco di Kruševac a Podgorica. Sebbene, per ampiezza, il suo resoconto non differisca sostanzialmente da quello di altri viaggiatori che testimoniarono l'esistenza di questa collezione principesca, la sua descrizione risulta la più precisa. Il lavoro della missione consisteva nel fotografare il sito e nel disegnare le planimetrie degli edifici riportati alla luce da Rovinskij. Con i medesimi obiettivi, oltre a Doclea, i ricercatori visitarono anche il vicino sito di Zlatica, località medievale nella quale erano presenti iscrizioni romane. Documentarono inoltre l'acquedotto romano sulla riva sinistra del fiume Morača. Il lavoro di Sticotti e Jelić culminò nella pubblicazione della monografia *Die Römische Stadt Doclea in Montenegro* (1913) che per oltre un secolo sarebbe rimasta lo studio più completo sull'antica Doclea (Koprivica, "Italijanski doprinos istraživanjima Duklje krajem XIX i početkom XX vijeka" 61; "Lične vijesti"; "S Duklje").

Una campagna di ricerca con importanti risultati fu realizzata da una missione inglese guidata da John Arthur Ruskin Munro, che concentrò la propria attenzione soprattutto sulle tracce degli strati

tardoantichi e altomedievali presenti nel sito: la basilica A, la basilica B e una chiesa con pianta a croce (Munro et. al.; Koprivica "Diary Entries and Photographic Documentation of J. A. R. Munro Related to the Archaeological Exploration of Doclea (Montenegro) in 1893"; Sfameni et. al.).

Come la maggior parte dei visitatori italiani ed europei di Doclea, anche Vico Mantegazza testimonia il continuo degrado e la progressiva devastazione del sito archeologico.[10] Egli attribuisce la distruzione della città e la cessazione della vita urbana all'invasione degli Avari (Mantegazza 285). Mantegazza dedicò maggiore attenzione alla sorte del sito durante il dominio ottomano. L'informazione secondo cui la vicina Podgorica sarebbe stata costruita in larga parte con pietre provenienti da Doclea poteva essergli stata riferita dalla popolazione locale; nella sua opera, tuttavia, egli si avvale anche di una citazione tratta dalla descrizione di Doclea redatta nel 1614 dal già menzionato Mariano Bolizza. Alla sintetica descrizione di Bolizza, l'autore aggiunge la propria testimonianza personale, osservando che parte degli oggetti menzionati dal nobile cattarino non si trovavano più a Doclea. Tra gli oggetti di valore museale che i montenegrini gli avevano mostrato, Mantegazza menziona la collezione di bandiere, armi e altri trofei di guerra, ma, a differenza di Giuseppe Marcotti, non fa menzione dei reperti provenienti da Doclea conservati presso il palazzo di Zetski dom[11] Egli annota tuttavia che alcuni frammenti architettonici provenienti dal sito si trovavano nei pressi del palazzo principesco di Kruševac (Mantegazza 284). Nel suo resoconto di viaggio del 1896, Mantegazza si servì in misura considerevole della letteratura disponibile per illustrare il passato montenegrino, compresa l'opera *Storia del Montenegro* (1882) del pubblicista e traduttore dalmata Giacomo Chiudina, nella quale, sulla base dell'autore tedesco Mommsen, venivano riportate diverse iscrizioni provenienti da questo sito, conservate nel palazzo principesco di Cettigne.[12]

[10] Per maggiori dettagli sulle opere di Mantegazza dedicate al Montenegro si veda Burzanović e Popović 2016.

[11] Marcotti menziona inoltre che nel museo erano conservate anche iscrizioni romane provenienti da Doclea (*L'Adriatico orientale* 183).

[12] Mommsen fu curatore del *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* e visitò Cettinje nel 1862 (Knežević e Köck).

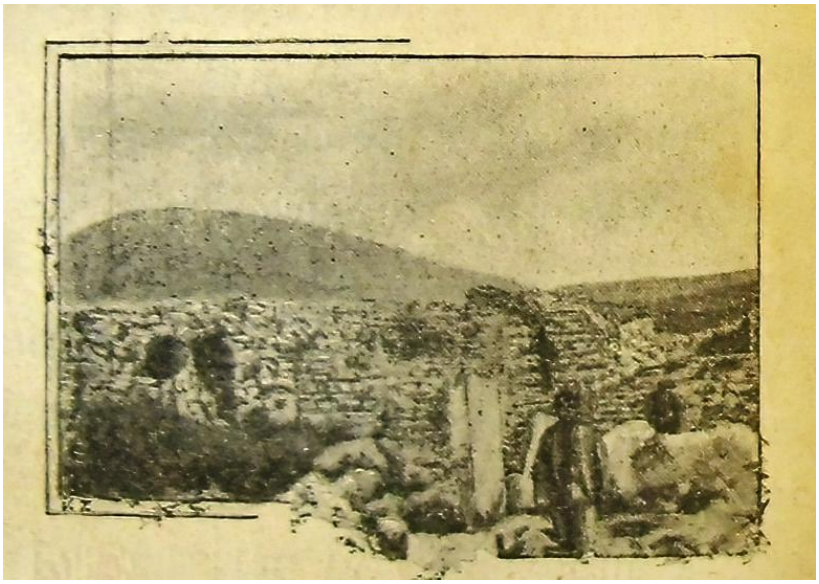


Fig.3 Fotografia di Doclea dal libro di Vico Mantegazza

Anche Giuseppe Marcotti cita la menzionata descrizione di Doclea tratta dall'opera di Mariano Bolizza, sebbene non sia certo che egli abbia visitato personalmente il sito archeologico. La sua descrizione, presente nelle opere *L'Adriatico orientale* e *Il Montenegro e le sue donne*, potrebbe infatti essere stata elaborata sulla base della ricca bibliografia da lui consultata. Rimandando i lettori all'opera di Farlati *Illyricum Sacrum*, Marcotti contesta le affermazioni degli autori precedenti riguardo al luogo di nascita dell'imperatore Diocleziano. Egli ricorda inoltre che fino al X secolo a Doclea si trovava la sede dell'arcivescovado, successivamente trasferita ad Antivari.[13] L'autore attribuisce infine la distruzione della città alla spedizione dello zar bulgaro Simeone, che tuttavia confonde con Samuele di Macedonia.[14]

Mario Borsa scrive invece delle ricerche in corso a Doclea avviate da Pavel Rovinskij. La sua opera rappresenta, dal punto di vista letterario, il miglior resoconto di viaggio sul Montenegro di questo periodo (Popović, "Il Montenegro nel libro odeporico di Mario Borsa" 327-338). L'autore inserisce inoltre due fotografie del sito archeologico.

[13] Daniele Farlati è stato un gesuita e storico italiano specializzato nella storia della Chiesa cattolica. La sua opera enciclopedica *Illyricum Sacrum* tratta della storia cristiana della regione corrispondente alla parte occidentale della penisola balcanica.

[14] Lo stesso errore si riscontra anche nel resoconto di viaggio di Patrick Mac Sweeny de Mashanaglass.

La descrizione di Borsa rivela la sua concezione delle epoche e delle civiltà del passato in contrapposizione al mondo contemporaneo. Egli richiama l'attenzione sul livello di sviluppo, sulla magnificenza e sul fasto di questo centro della civiltà romana rispetto all'aspetto modesto di Podgorica, la più grande città del Montenegro contemporaneo. Presentando le rovine romane come simbolo di una grandezza civile perduta – attraverso l'enfasi posta sulla razionalità dell'impianto urbano, sulle proporzioni architettoniche, sulle condizioni igieniche garantite dalla città antica, nonché sulla sua elevazione estetica e persino morale – e il Montenegro contemporaneo come uno spazio di inferiorità estetica e culturale, Borsa ricorre al paradigma delle rovine quali fonte di fascinazione, custodi della memoria e misura del valore di una civiltà. Il suo approccio riflette, da un lato, una nostalgia per il mondo classico e, dall'altro, uno sguardo altezzoso verso le popolazioni contemporanee, che vivono tra quelle rovine senza piena consapevolezza della loro grandezza.[15] Borsa sottolinea la necessità di ulteriori e vaste ricerche archeologiche, ma, conoscendo le condizioni del Montenegro, esprime scetticismo circa la loro concreta realizzazione, osservando con lucidità che il Paese, reduce da una guerra recente, dall'ampliamento del territorio e dalla necessità di costruire nuovi centri urbani, aveva altre priorità.

[15] Che se volete sentire la grandezza vera di Roma non andate nel Poro, non a Pompei, non nei mille musei delle città nostre e straniere: bisogna venir qui su questo lembo povero e deserto del Montenegro! Tra le ruine odora il timio alto, guizzano le lucertole, si scavano la tana le tartarughe; ma che importa? esse si lasciano egualmente sfuggire un sorriso di superba ironia. E questa colonna spezzata, guardando laggiù verso Krusevac, dove sorge il palazzo del Principe Nikola, pare che dica: *Ma come, tu sei un Principe e ti sei fatto quella modesta casina col sasso greggio e rozzo del Ljubovic, mentre io, che sostenevo la casa di un semplice edile, fui fatta di marino, venuto da Paro?* E questo capitello corinzio grida al goffo minaret della moschea e al grottesco campanile della chiesa ortodossa: *Ehi! dite, che artefice vi ha lavorato? È scaduta dunque si basso l'arte di Prassitele? E le terme cercano indarno collo sguardo fra le mura della città sporca: Dove diavolo si lavano i tuoi? Giù nella Ribnica? E non fosti capace di fabbricare un bagno?* (Borsa 77–78).

Fig. 4 Fotografia di Doclea dal libro di Mario Borsa

Solo un anno prima del matrimonio della coppia principesca, Doclea fu visitata dal professore e pubblicista russo Evgenij Markov, che nel suo resoconto *Viaggio in Serbia e Montenegro* dedicò al sito archeologico uno spazio assai maggiore rispetto agli autori italiani menzionati. Markov offre una descrizione molto più dettagliata dell'architettura e dell'ambiente visitato, mostrando particolare interesse per gli strati cristiani scoperti poco tempo prima durante la missione britannica. Egli osserva inoltre che quasi tutte le iscrizioni romane erano già state asportate dai precedenti ricercatori. Sul sito segnala anche la scultura di "una donna nuda, con una faretra sulle spalle", identificata come una statua della dea Diana. [16]

A cavallo tra il XIX e il XX secolo, il Montenegro attirò anche l'interesse degli ambienti scientifici. Gli studiosi erano orientati soprattutto verso l'analisi delle sue risorse naturali, mossi anche dal desiderio di promuovere relazioni economiche tra l'Italia e il Montenegro. Alcuni di loro visitarono anche Doclea, incoraggiandone lo studio da un punto di vista scientifico. Nel 1899 giunse in Montenegro il

[16] Per il suo viaggio in Montenegro, Markov si preparò leggendo la letteratura pertinente, tra cui anche il resoconto di viaggio di Egor Kovalevskij, che nel 1841 visitò Doclea e tentò di condurvi degli scavi (cfr. Kovaljevski 390).

geografo Guido Cora,[17] che lasciò testimonianza del suo soggiorno di un mese nel resoconto di viaggio intitolato *Nel Montenegro*. Il suo viaggio fu sostenuto sia dalle autorità italiane sia da quelle montenegrine. Nella prefazione dell'opera, Cora sottolinea, accanto all'importanza scientifica, anche il significato politico ed economico di tali ricerche nella penisola balcanica (Cora 3). Egli afferma inoltre che un ulteriore impulso a intraprendere il viaggio gli derivò dalla percezione di una certa affinità tra l'Italia e il Montenegro, poiché le stesse idee avevano caratterizzato tanto il Risorgimento italiano quanto la storia montenegrina; né erano prive di influenza le relazioni dinastiche instaurate attraverso il matrimonio Savoia – Petrović, così come le "reciproche simpatie" coltivate da montenegrini e italiani (Cora 4). Cora segnala anche l'esistenza di un'ampia letteratura scientifica sul Montenegro, composta da circa trecento libri, articoli e carte geografiche, mettendo in evidenza il contributo degli studiosi che avevano esaminato il Paese da differenti prospettive, come Pavel Rovinskij, Kurt Hassert, Bernhard Schwarz, Oscar Baumann, Antonio Baldacci e Jovan Cvijić.

In quest'opera Cora offre anche una panoramica della storia del Montenegro, dall'epoca dell'Impero romano fino ai tempi contemporanei, utilizzando come fonte principale la *Storia del Montenegro* di Giacomo Chiudina del 1882. Egli dedica particolare attenzione ai legami tra il Montenegro e l'Italia, ricordando con nostalgia il periodo in cui tali relazioni erano molto più intense, ossia quando il territorio montenegrino faceva parte dell'Impero romano e quando le coste delle Bocche di Cattaro erano governate dalla Repubblica di Venezia. Cora considerava la presenza veneziana sulle coste orientali dell'Adriatico come un forte impulso civilizzatore, esprimendo al tempo stesso il timore che l'influenza slava potesse cancellarne le tracce (Cora 5).

Nel suo resoconto di viaggio Cora fornisce una descrizione geografica dettagliata della posizione di Doclea e del suo aspetto,

[17] Guido Cora nacque a Torino. Sul modello della più importante rivista geografica tedesca, *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen*, fondò la pubblicazione *Cosmos* e successivamente divenne membro corrispondente della Royal Geographical Society di Londra, dalla quale ricevette nel 1886 una medaglia d'oro. Per la casa editrice Paravia di Torino realizzò numerose carte geografiche e globi, fisici e politici, considerati allora tra i migliori in Italia. Fu professore presso la Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia di Torino e presso l'Università di Roma, nonché fondatore della Società geografica ed etnografica. Nel 1898 partecipò anche ad alcune spedizioni speleologiche. Nel 1914 compì un viaggio intorno al mondo della durata di sei mesi, durante il quale raccolse un vasto materiale per le proprie ricerche scientifiche. Dati biografici tratti da Surdich.

corredandola anche di una fotografia del sito. Come gli autori precedenti, osserva che la popolazione locale continuava a devastare l'area archeologica, asportando pietre da utilizzare nella costruzione delle abitazioni. Durante il soggiorno egli realizzò fotografie, elaborò schizzi, trascrisse iscrizioni e raccolse alcune monete romane. Informa inoltre i lettori che il principe montenegrino Nicola possedeva una significativa collezione di monete e reperti provenienti dal sito.[18] Cora non pubblicò nel resoconto gli schizzi e le trascrizioni delle iscrizioni, annunciando che il materiale raccolto sarebbe stato oggetto di uno studio separato (Cora 46). Tornato in patria, l'autore cercò di interessare le autorità italiane all'organizzazione di una grande spedizione scientifica che avrebbe studiato il Montenegro e, in particolare, Doclea da differenti prospettive disciplinari (Burzanović e Koprivica, "Antičko rimsko nasljeđe u Crnoj Gori i italijanska spoljna politika," 221–222). Presentò il progetto alla coppia principesca italiana – il principe ereditario Vittorio Emanuele e la principessa Elena – nel tentativo di ottenerne il sostegno (222). La spedizione, tuttavia, non venne organizzata a causa della mancanza di risorse finanziarie.[19]

[18] Già nel 1866 William Denton testimonia che il principe Nicola possedeva una collezione di monete provenienti da Doclea (Denton 144-146). Pure gli antenati del principe Nicola mostravano interesse per Doclea. J. D. F. Neugebaur, che soggiornò in Montenegro nel 1850, testimonia che a Pietro II Petrović Njegoš (1813-1851) fu portata una lastra con un'iscrizione latina proveniente da Doclea (Neugebauer 73–74). Njegoš possedeva una buona conoscenza dell'arte antica e in Italia visitò numerosi siti archeologici di rilievo. Durante la sua visita a Pompei, nel marzo del 1851, una casa appena riportata alla luce (VII, 16, *Insula Occidentalis* 10) fu denominata in suo onore *Casa del Principe del Montenegro* (Kilibarda 103; Brajović 250–151).

[19] Il ministro dell'Istruzione Nunzio Nasi destinò alla spedizione fondi provenienti da una voce di bilancio inadeguata, motivo per cui gli organi finanziari competenti (*Corte dei Conti*) si rifiutarono di autorizzarne l'erogazione (Burzanović e Koprivica, "Antičko rimsko nasljeđe u Crnoj Gori i italijanska spoljna politika" 222).

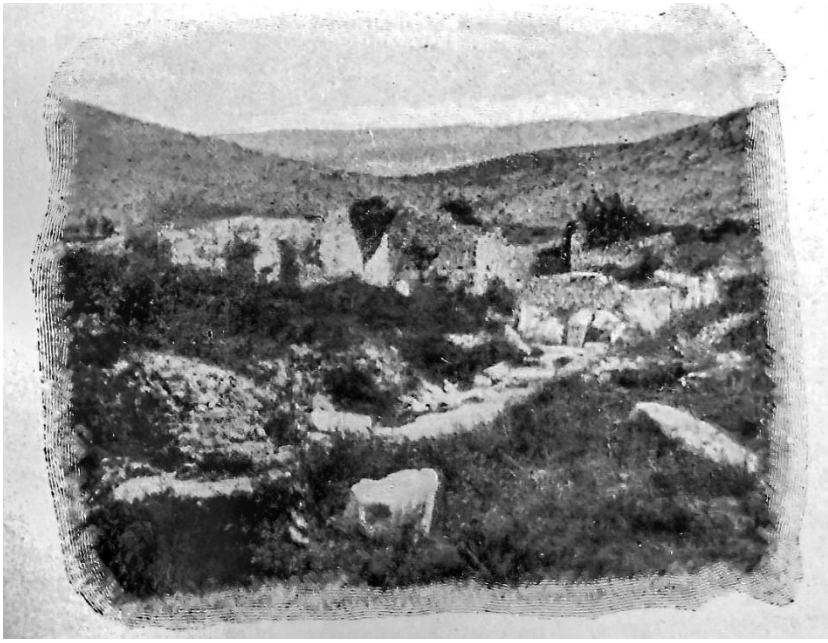


Fig. 5 Fotografia di Doclea dall'opera di Guido Cora

Accanto alle notizie sulla preparazione di questa spedizione, nella stampa italiana comparvero anche commenti sulla rivalità tra Italia e Austria nello studio dei siti archeologici balcanici. La rivista *Rassegna d'arte* scriveva infatti: "L'Austria, per esempio, la quale va ostacolando ogni cosa che avvicina l'Italia alla sponda orientale dell'Adriatico, sarebbe felice di sostituire gli italiani negli scavi al Montenegro" ("Montenegro – Gli scavi di Dioclea" 161).

Nell'ottobre del 1901 il noto archeologo italiano Roberto Paribeni compì una breve campagna di ricerca individuale a Doclea, Spuž, Martinići, nei dintorni di Podgorica, a Tuzi e a Nikšić (Salmieri 210; Koprivica, "Italijanski doprinos istraživanjima Duklje krajem XIX i početkom XX vijeka" 63). Egli rivolse la propria attenzione soprattutto alla trascrizione delle iscrizioni romane, attività alla quale dedicò successivamente un articolo scientifico (Paribeni; Koprivica e Pelcer Vujačić 44). Sulla base di questo contributo e della testimonianza di Paribeni, il botanico Antonio Baldacci pubblicò un resoconto contenente elementi odeporici (Baldacci "Un'escursione archeologica del dott. Roberto Paribeni nel Montenegro").[20]

[20] Presso la popolazione locale di Doclea, Paribeni vide circa 100 monete romane. A Tuzi, che a quel tempo si trovava sul territorio dell'Impero Ottomano, il suo lavoro fu ostacolato dalle autorità. Dobbiamo a Paribeni

La possibilità di utilizzare le ricerche archeologiche come strumento dell'espansione italiana nel Mediterraneo iniziò a essere percepita dal governo italiano alla fine del XIX secolo (Petricioli). Prendendo a modello l'Austria-Ungheria e i progetti di ricerca da essa condotti in Bosnia, il ministro Nasi e, successivamente, il presidente del Consiglio Zanardelli sostennero la realizzazione dell'idea di una grande spedizione scientifica in Montenegro, affidandone però la direzione ad Antonio Baldacci, che dal 1885 visitava regolarmente il Paese e documentava i propri soggiorni in resoconti di viaggio e studi scientifici (Burzanović, "Antonio Baldači i Crna Gora"; Burzanović e Koprivica, "Antičko rimsko nasljeđe u Crnoj Gori i italijanska spoljna politika" 224). La spedizione fu preceduta dal promemoria che Baldacci inviò al ministro dell'Istruzione Nunzio Nasi il 15 giugno 1902, nel quale veniva delineato non solo il programma della missione, ma anche una più ampia prospettiva dell'espansione imperialistica italiana sulla sponda orientale dell'Adriatico. Attraverso ricerche antropologiche, folkloriche e sociologiche si sarebbe dovuta dimostrare la tesi secondo cui gli abitanti slavi della Dalmazia meridionale, della Vecchia Serbia, del Montenegro e dell'Erzegovina fossero in realtà discendenti di popolazioni slavizzate di origine illirica, dalle quali avrebbero avuto origine anche i vicini albanesi. Baldacci si attendeva ricchi ritrovamenti archeologici relativi alla colonizzazione greca e romana e, in particolare, la scoperta dei resti di stazioni commerciali e militari romane e delle relative strade. Dietro questa "nostalgia dell'antichità" emergeva il desiderio, non dissimulato, di restaurare la presenza economica e militare di Roma nei Balcani e di trasformare l'Adriatico in un "mare italiano" – *Mare Nostrum* (Burzanović e Koprivica, "Antičko rimsko nasljeđe u Crnoj Gori i italijanska spoljna politika" 223-224). Tanto in Cora quanto in Baldacci si percepisce inoltre una certa rivalità nei confronti dei paesi che avevano già condotto missioni archeologiche in un sito da loro considerato parte del patrimonio culturale italiano (Burzanović, *Crna Gora u italijanskoj spoljnoj politici 1861 – 1923* 242).[21]

---

l'informazione che la popolazione locale trovava monete e manufatti antichi, vendendoli poi al mercato di Scutari.

[21] Quattro decenni più tardi, nel 1941-1943, le autorità italiane di occupazione in Montenegro ricorreranno a questo tipo di retorica (Koprivica e Burzanović 64-65). La propaganda del regime fascista assegnò una rilevante centralità al simbolismo della Roma antica, presentando l'Italia come l'erede del glorioso impero e celebrando Benito Mussolini nelle vesti di un moderno Augusto (Beeg 20-21).

Oltre a Baldacci, facevano parte della spedizione italiana finalmente organizzata il professor Dante Vaglieri, ispettore dei monumenti archeologici, il professor Ugo Vram dell'Istituto Antropologico di Roma, il professor Alessandro Martelli dell'Istituto Geologico di Firenze, il dottor Luigi Santagata, fisico e naturalista, e il fratello di Baldacci, Annibale, agronomo che aveva già svolto in precedenza ricerche in Montenegro. I membri della missione rimasero in Montenegro per circa un mese, dal 10 agosto al 19-20 settembre 1902. [22] Essi condussero le proprie ricerche in diverse regioni del Principato e, in parte, anche nel territorio dell'Albania ottomana, sebbene non nella misura prevista dal progetto originario, a causa dei disordini lungo il confine montenegrino-ottomano. Per gran parte della durata della spedizione, la base operativa della missione si trovò a Podgorica (Burzanović e Koprivica, "Antičko rimsko nasljeđe u Crnoj Gori i italijanska spoljna politika" 225). I risultati soddisfacenti della spedizione sono attestati anche dalla pubblicazione di diversi studi scientifici. Due membri della missione, Antonio Baldacci e Ugo Vram, lasciarono testimonianza del loro soggiorno in Montenegro sotto forma di resoconti di viaggio. Baldacci descrisse lo svolgimento della missione nel testo intitolato *Nel paese del Cem* (1904). In esso fornisce informazioni sui partecipanti, sulle rispettive attività di ricerca, sulle date di arrivo e di partenza, nonché sull'assistenza logistica ricevuta dalle autorità montenegrine. L'autore non descrive direttamente il sito di Doclea e, nella ricca raccolta di fotografie realizzate durante il soggiorno in Montenegro, solo poche furono scattate nel sito archeologico. Dall'opera di Baldacci apprendiamo tuttavia che i ricercatori si dedicarono allo studio del terreno sul quale era sorto il centro romano, dell'acquedotto che vi convogliava l'acqua dal fiume Cem e delle strade che collegavano la città ai centri circostanti.

Ugo Vram pubblicò il suo breve diario di viaggio, intitolato *Viaggio in Montenegro e Albania nel 1902*, alcuni anni più tardi (1906). L'opera raccoglie le osservazioni etnografiche e antropologiche compiute dall'autore nel corso della ricerca. In essa non compaiono informazioni su Doclea né sulle indagini svolte nel sito, poiché durante il soggiorno in Montenegro gli studiosi condussero alcune esplorazioni individualmente e altre in gruppo, e Vram non faceva parte del gruppo che si occupava di questo sito archeologico.

A differenza degli altri partecipanti alla missione, l'ispettore dei monumenti archeologici Dante Vaglieri, pur dichiarandosi parzialmente

[22] Sull'arrivo della spedizione: "Naučna ekspedicija iz Italije".

soddisfatto dei risultati ottenuti, non pubblicò alcun articolo sull'argomento.

Anche nel 1903 il governo italiano finanziò in Montenegro una missione scientifica di dimensioni più ridotte, ancora una volta sotto la direzione di Baldacci, ma senza la partecipazione di Vram e Vaglieri (Burzanović e Koprivica, "Antičko rimsko nasljeđe u Crnoj Gori i italijanska spoljna politika" 226). Sul piano archeologico, dopo la ricognizione del 1902, il passo successivo più naturale sarebbe stato l'avvio di ricerche sistematiche, vale a dire di campagne di scavo a Doclea o in altri siti archeologici. Il governo italiano, tuttavia, decise di non intraprendere tale iniziativa (Burzanović e Koprivica, "Antičko rimsko nasljeđe u Crnoj Gori i italijanska spoljna politika" 226).

Le eccessive aspettative delle autorità montenegrine – secondo cui gli scavi a Doclea avrebbero potuto condurre alla scoperta di una "nuova Pompei" e, di conseguenza, accrescere il prestigio del Principato – non si realizzarono.

3. Conclusione

Si può concludere che in Montenegro i siti archeologici dell'antichità rimasero pressoché sconosciuti al pubblico italiano per gran parte dell'Ottocento. Ricerche più approfondite e una conoscenza più ampia di questi luoghi si svilupparono soltanto a partire dagli anni Novanta del XIX secolo, soprattutto grazie al contributo di studiosi provenienti dalla monarchia asburgica, dalla Russia, dalla Gran Bretagna e dall'Italia. Tuttavia, gran parte di tali informazioni non era accessibile al vasto pubblico dei lettori e spesso non veniva utilizzata neppure da quei viaggiatori che preparavano accuratamente i propri itinerari con l'intento di scrivere opere odeporiche sul Montenegro.

Nei resoconti di viaggio italiani pubblicati a cavallo tra il XIX e il XX secolo, le descrizioni di Doclea raramente superano alcune brevi osservazioni, generalmente superficiali, fondate su impressioni personali o sull'impiego di una bibliografia limitata. Ciononostante, tali descrizioni svolgevano diverse funzioni: dalla divulgazione della conoscenza del patrimonio culturale antico del Montenegro fino alla sottolineatura della necessità di ristabilire una presenza italiana sulla sponda orientale dell'Adriatico. Nelle opere dei giornalisti che scrissero di questo sito in occasione del matrimonio Savoia-Petrović, Doclea rappresentava il simbolo degli antichi legami tra l'Italia e il Montenegro, legami che ora si rinnovavano attraverso l'unione dinastica. Ricordando la storia comune di montenegrini e italiani e mettendo in risalto l'antica importanza di questo centro urbano romano, gli autori cercavano di rendere più familiare ai lettori italiani la patria della futura regina

d'Italia, ossia un piccolo stato slavo e ortodosso. A tale intento contribuivano anche le osservazioni diffuse negli ambienti mondani, secondo cui sarebbe stato più opportuno che il principe scegliesse la propria sposa in una delle corti influenti di uno Stato già alleato dell'Italia o dal quale il Regno avrebbe potuto ottenere determinati vantaggi geopolitici.

Alcuni autori si servirono delle descrizioni di Doclea anche per sottolineare la superiorità della propria cultura, glorificando la grandezza e la potenza dell'antico Impero romano. È questo il caso di Mario Borsa, le cui impressioni costituiscono al tempo stesso la descrizione letterariamente più suggestiva del sito. La "nostalgia dell'antichità" si trasformò progressivamente in aspirazioni imperialistiche, come dimostrano gli obiettivi della missione scientifica italiana realizzata in Montenegro nel 1902, anch'essa descritta nei resoconti di viaggio dei membri della spedizione. Il tentativo delle autorità italiane di accrescere, attraverso le ricerche a Doclea, il prestigio dell'archeologia nazionale fu sfruttato da alcuni viaggiatori, soprattutto da Baldacci, per ottenere il sostegno governativo ai propri ambiziosi progetti multidisciplinari. Le aspettative delle autorità montenegrine circa grandi scoperte archeologiche non si realizzarono. Tra gli italiani, il contributo più significativo agli scavi di Doclea fu offerto, con la sua monografia, da un triestino operante nell'ambito delle istituzioni scientifiche austro-ungariche.

Opere citate:

Baldacci, Antonio. *Crnagora: memorie di un botanico*. Nicola Zanichelli, 1897.

---. *Nel paese del Cem. Viaggi di esplorazione nel Montenegro Orientale e sulle Alpi Albanesi. Itinerari del 1900–1901–1902*. Estratto del Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana, 1904.

---. "Un'escursione archeologica del dott. Robero Paribeni nel Montenegro." *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, vol. 2, 1901, pp. 945-950.

Beeg, D. J. Ian. "Fascism in the Desert, a Microcosmic View of Archeological Politics." *Archeology under Dictatorship*, edited by M. L. Galaty and C. Watkinson, Springer, 2006, pp. 19-33.

Borsa, Mario. *Dal Montenegro: lettere*. Istituto italiano d'arti grafiche, 1896.

Burzanović, Slavko. "Antonio Baldači i Crna Gora." *Matica*, vol. IX, no. 34-35, 2008, pp. 91-110.

Burzanović, Slavko, and Tatjana Koprivica. "Antičko rimsko nasljeđe u Crnoj Gori i italijanska spoljna politika." *Matica*, no. 48, 2011, pp. 219-230.

Burzanović, Slavko. "Garibaldi, Garibaldinci i Crna Gora 1861-1920." *Garibaldi, Garibaldinci i Crna Gora: od devetnaestog vijeka do kraja Drugog svjetskog*

rata = Garibaldi, Garibaldini e il Montenegro: dall'Ottocento alla fine della Seconda guerra mondiale, edited by Slavko Burzanović and Federiko Godi, Zajednica Italijana Crne Gore, 2023, pp. 36-53.

Burzanović, Slavko, and Olivera Popović. "Vico Mantegazza e il Montenegro." *Acta histriae*, vol. 24, no. 3, 2016, pp. 511-527.

Cora, Guido. "Nel Montenegro. Impressioni di viaggio." *Nuova antologia*, vol. 174, 1900, pp. 652-680; vol. 175, 1901, pp. 73-97, 243-261.

De Rossi, Giovanni Battista. "L'insigne piatto vitreo di Podgoritza oggi nel museo Basilewsky in Parigi." *Bulletino di Archeologia Christiana*, serie terza, 1877, pp. 77-85.

---. "Podgoritza in Albania – Insigne tazza vitrea figurate." *Bulletino di Archeologia Christiana*, seconda serie, 1874, pp. 153-155.

Denton, Viljem. "Nekoliko dana u Crnoj Gori." *Zapisi: Glasnik cetinjskog Istorijskog društva*, 1937, pp. 144-146.

"Il principe di Napoli a Podgorica." *La Stampa*, 29 Aug. 1896, p. 3.

Kilibarda, Vesna. *Njegoš i italijanska kultura*. Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, 2021.

Knežević, Jelena, and Julian Köck. "Theodor Mommsen in Montenegro (1862)." *Acta histriae*, vol. 30, no. 2, 2022, pp. 347-376.

Koprivica, Tatjana. "Diary Entries and Photographic Documentation of J. A. R. Munro Related to the Archaeological Exploration of Doclea (Montenegro) in 1893." *Zograf*, vol. 37, 2013, pp. 1-15.

---. "Italijanski doprinos istraživanjima Duklje krajem XIX i početkom XX vijeka." *Crna Gora i Italija – književne, kulturne i jezičke veze*, edited by Niko Martinović, CANU, 2017, pp. 59-68.

Koprivica, Tatjana, and Slavko Burzanović. "La ricerca italiana in Montenegro tra la fine dell'Ottocento e la seconda guerra mondiale." *Archeologia italiana in Montenegro. Storia e prospettive di una cooperazione scientifica*, edited by Carla Sfameni and Tatjana Koprivica, CNR, 2020, pp. 53-81.

Koprivica, Tatjana. "Nikola I Petrović Njegoš i istraživanje Duklje." *Istorijski zapisi*, vol. 4, 2010, pp. 215-223.

Koprivica, Tatjana, and Olga Pelcer Vujačić. "Historical and Epigraphical Survey of Inscriptions from Doclea." *Archeologia e Calcolatori*, Supplemento 11, 2019, pp. 43-57.

Kovaljevski, Jegor. *Crna Gora i slovenske zemlje*. CID, 1999.

Kryzahnovskaya, Marta. "Alexander Petrovich Basilevsky, A Great Collector of Medieval and Renaissance Works of Art." *Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 2, 1990, pp. 143-155.

"La collezione numismatica di Vittorio Emanuele III di Savoia." *Museo Nazionale Romano*, n.d., museonazionaleromano.it/palazzo-massimo/medagliere/la-collezione-numismatica-di-vittorio-emanuele-iii-di-savoia/. Accessed 15 May 2026.

"Le feste nel Montenegro. Alle rovine romane di Doclea e nel lago di Scutari." *Il Giornale d'Italia*, 27 Aug. 1910, p. 1.

Lenorman, Fransoa. *Turci i Crnogorci*. CID, 2002.

"Lične vijesti." *Glas Crnogorca*, 5 Sept. 1892.

Mantegazza, Vico. *Al Montenegro: un paese senza parlamento: note ed impressioni (agosto–settembre 1896)*. Successori Le Monnier, 1896.

Marcotti, Giuseppe. *Il Montenegro e le sue donne: il matrimonio del Principe Ereditario d'Italia*. Treves, 1896.

---. *L'Adriatico orientale: da Venezia a Corfù*. R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1899.

Marković, Čedomir. "Pavel Apolonovič Rovinski kao arheolog." *Bibliografski vjesnik*, vol. 3, 1992, pp. 89-94.

---. "Praistorijsko i antičko nasljeđe." *Istorija umjetnosti Crne Gore*, vol. 1, Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, 2021, pp. 33-177.

Matković, Petar. "Dva talijanska putopisa po balkanskom poluotolu iz XVI vieka, Descriptione del viaggo per terra di Constantinopoli e delle cose principali del paese." *Starine JAZU*, vol. 10, 1878, pp. 201-256.

Mijović, Pavle. "Ranohrišćanski spomenici Prevalisa." *Pradavne i davne kulture Crne Gore*, Leksikografski zavod Crne Gore, 1987, pp. 59-94.

Milović, Jefto M. *Istorijsko-geografski atlas Crne Gore XVI-XX vijek*. ITP Unireks, 1993.

Modrich, Giuseppe. *La Dalmazia romana – veneta – moderna. Note e ricordi di viaggio*. Roux e C., 1892.

"Montenegro – Gli scavi di Dioclea." *Rassegna d'arte*, vol. 10, Oct. 1901, p. 161.

Munro, John Arthur, et al. "On the Roman Town Doclea in Montenegro." *Archaeologia*, vol. 55, 1896, pp. 33-99.

Nagel, Stefanie. "Die Schale von Podgorica. Bemerkungen zu einem außergewöhnlichen christlichen Glas der Spätantike." *Bonner Jahrbücher*, vol. 213, 2023, pp. 165-198.

"Naučna ekspedicija iz Italije." *Glas Crnogorca*, 10 Aug. 1902, p. 3.

Neugebauer, Johann Ludwig. *Die Südslawen und deren Länder*. Leipzig, 1851.

Ongania, Ferdinando, editor. *Il Montenegro: da relazioni dei Provveditori veneti 1687–1735*. Roma, 1896.

Paribeni, Roberto. "Iscrizioni Romane di Doclea e di Tusi." *Bulletino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*, vol. 4, 1903, pp. 374-379.

Petricioli, Marta. *Archeologia e Mare Nostrum. Le missioni archeologiche nella politica mediterranea dell'Italia 1898/1943*. V. Levi, 1990.

Popović, Olivera. "Crna Gora u italijanskom putopisnom časopisu Giro del Mondo." *Cetinjski filološki dani III*, edited by Novica Vujović, Fakultet za crnogorski jezik i književnost; Department of Slavic and Euroasian Languages and Literatures, University of Kansas; University of Kansas Libraries, 2022, pp. 412-442.

---. "Il Montenegro nel libro odeporico di Mario Borsa." *L'Adriatico tra sogno e realtà*, edited by Persida Lazarević Di Giacomo and Maria Rita Leto, Edizione dell'Orso, 2019, pp. 327-338.

---. "Putopisi Josipa Modrića o Crnoj Gori." *Croatica et slavica iadertina*, vol. 14, no. 2, 2019, pp. 351-365.

---. "Putopisno upoznavanje Italijana sa Crnom Gorom." *Lingua montenegrina*, vol. 11, no. 21, 2018, pp. 157-177.

---. "Ratni dopisi iz Crne Gore Evgenija Popovića." *Cetinjski filološki dani II*, edited by Novica Vujović, Fakultet za crnogorski jezik i književnost, Univerzitet u Kanzasu, 2021, pp. 389-401.

---. "The Discourse of Progress in Italian Travel Writing on Montenegro." *Primerjalna književnost*, vol. 47, no. 3, 2024, pp. 47-63.

---. "Un parlamentare italiano nel Montenegro ai tempi della Grande crisi d'Oriente (1875-1877)." *Aevum*, vol. 90, no. 3, 2016, pp. 671-679.

Rovinski, Pavle Apolonovič. *Crna Gora u prošlosti i sadašnjosti*. Vol. 4, Centralna narodna biblioteka "Đurđe Crnojević" – Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, 1994.

"S Duklje." *Glas Crnogorca*, 12 Sept. 1892.

Salmieri, Giovanni. "Epigrafica e storia antica nel Mediterraneo: Il 'caso' Italiano." *L'Archeologia Italiana nel Mediterraneo fino alla Seconda Guerra Mondiale*, Centro Studi per l'Archeologia Greca C. N. R., 1986, pp. 203-229.

Sfameni, Carla, et al. "Doclea (Montenegro) in Late Antiquity: Some Remarks from the Italian Montenegrin Bilateral Projects." *Chronicles of HAEMUS*, vol. 1, 2025, pp. 21-85.

Stevović, Ivan. *Praevalis. Obrazovanje kulturnog prostora kasnoantičke provincije [Praevalis. The Making of the Cultural Space of the Late Antique Province]*. Društvo arheologa Crne Gore, 2014.

Sticotti, Piero. *Die römische Stadt Doclea in Montenegro*. Schriften der Balkankommission Antiquarische Abteilung Heft 6, Kommission bei A. Hölder, 1913.

---. *Rimski grad Doclea u Crnoj Gori*. Matica crnogorska, 1999.

Surdich, Francesco. "Cora, Guido." *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 1983, www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/guido-cora_(Dizionario-Biografico)/. Accessed 15 May 2026.

Šafárik, Paul Joseph. *Geschichte der slawischen Sprache und Literatur nach allen Mundarten*. Verlag von Friedrich Tempsky, 1869.

Tamborra, Angelo. *Garibaldi e l'Europa: impegno militare e prospettive politiche*. Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito – Ufficio storico, 1983.

"Un'escursione del Principe di Napoli." *La Stampa*, 27 Aug. 1896, p. 1.

Vram, Ugo. *Viaggio in Montenegro e Albania nel 1902*. B. Lux, 1906.

Wilkes, John Joseph. *Dalmatia*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969.

Živanović, Miloš. "Preispitivanje čuvene Podgoričke čaše [Revisting the Famous Podgorica Cup]." *Nova antička Duklja [New Antique Doclea]*, vol. 6, 2015, pp. 79-109.

DOCLEA IN ITALIAN TRAVEL WRITING AT THE END OF THE NINETEENTH AND THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The territory of present-day Montenegro formed an integral part of the Roman province of Praevalis during the period of the Roman Empire. The most important ancient sites in this area were Doclea, Rizon and Municipium S. European scholarly interest in Doclea was initiated by the discovery of the so-called Podgorica Cup at this site. The depictions of biblical motifs painted on it attracted particular attention from specialists in Christian archaeology. Among them were also Italians, such as De Rossi, while the value of this artefact was first recognised by the Italian consul in Scutari, Lorenzo Perrod, who was responsible for its transfer to the collection of the great collector Vasilievsky.

From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, with the growth of Italian interest in Montenegro, the subject of its ancient sites also became increasingly present in Italian literature. Travel writers could acquire knowledge on this subject either directly during their journeys or from the existing literature, dominated by encyclopaedic dictionaries and lexicons, as well as by the works of Sanudo and Coletti, which were primarily focused on medieval and renaissance history but also contained certain references to earlier historical events. More extensive and thorough contributions, aspiring to present Montenegro in a systematic manner, appeared in the form of travel accounts published in prestigious periodicals or monographs.

The experience of the Risorgimento led the Italian public, from the 1870s onwards, to follow the national liberation movements in the Balkans, particularly in Montenegro, with considerable sympathy and interest. In the works of Italian travel writers and publicists of this period, such as Eugenio Popovich, Alfredo Serristori and Nicola Lazzaro, a heroic discourse predominates, depicting the Montenegrins as Christian knights whose valiant struggle expelled Ottoman oppressors from Europe. Within these accounts, Montenegro's ancient sites are mentioned only in passing, either as settings for military operations or as stops along travel itineraries.

From 1896 onwards, following the dynastic alliance between the Montenegrin and Italian royal houses, Italian public interest in Montenegro increased rapidly. The travel literature produced on this occasion had a pronounced propagandistic character and fulfilled three important functions: it introduced Italians to a country, the homeland of their future queen, that until then had been almost unknown to them; it enhanced the prestige of the Montenegrin ruling dynasty; and it highlighted the historical ties that had existed between the two countries in earlier periods.

In their search for a shared past, Italian authors devoted most attention to the presence of the Venetian Republic on the Montenegrin coast and to its relations with the Montenegrin tribes in the neighbouring hinterland, as well as to its support and encouragement of their struggle for liberation against the Ottoman Empire.

Most of these authors visited Doclea, and two of them, Vico Mantegazza and Adolfo Rossi, had the privilege of doing so in the company of Italian Prince Vittorio Emanuele III. Rossi emphasises that Doclea was the birthplace of the Emperor Diocletian, while his description of the site goes little beyond expressions of admiration for the presumed former magnificence of the buildings whose remains he had the opportunity to see.

By the time Rossi and Mantegazza visited, several archaeological missions had already carried out excavations at Doclea. The first, in 1890, was led by the Russian scholar, Pavel Rovinsky. A much more qualified research campaign conducted in September 1892, consisted of the Triestine Piero Sticotti and the Split-born Luka Jelić, joined by Vido Petričević, also from Split. Sticotti left an account of this journey in the form of diary notes written in Italian. Unlike many authors, who usually mention Doclea only in passing, he devoted his notes specifically to this site as the principal object of his mission, which consisted of photographing the site and sketching plans of the structures excavated by Rovinsky. The work of Sticotti and Jelić resulted in the monograph *Die Römische Stadt Doclea in Montenegro* (1913) which for more than a century remained the most comprehensive study of ancient Doclea. The research campaign carried out in 1893 by a British mission led by Munro focused primarily on the traces of the late-antique and early-medieval layers at the site (Basilica A, Basilica B and a cruciform church).

Like most Italian and other European visitors to Doclea, Vico Mantegazza also bears witness to the continuous devastation of the site. He supplements the brief description of Doclea by Mariano Bolizza from 1614 with his own personal testimony, noting that some of the objects mentioned by Bolizza were no longer to be found at Doclea. Mantegazza records that certain architectural fragments from the site were located around the Prince's palace at Kruševac. In presenting the Montenegrin past, he also relied to a considerable extent on the work *History of Montenegro* (1882) by the Dalmatian publicist and translator Giacomo Chiudina, in which, according to the German scholar Mommsen, several inscriptions from the site preserved in the Prince's palace at Cetinje were mentioned.

The aforementioned description of Doclea from the work of Mariano Bolizza is also cited by Giuseppe Marcotti, although it is uncertain whether this author personally visited the site. His account, which appears in two works, *L'Adriatico orientale* and *Il Montenegro e le sue donne*, may have been based on the extensive literature he cites there. Referring readers to Farlati's *Illyricum Sacrum*, Marcotti disputes the claims of earlier authors concerning the birthplace of the Emperor Diocletian. He also reminds readers that until the tenth century Doclea was the seat of an archbishopric, which was later transferred to Bar. He attributes the destruction of Doclea to the campaign of the Bulgarian Tsar Simeon, whom he confuses with Samuel of Macedonia.

Mario Borsa writes about the ongoing investigations at Doclea initiated by Pavel Rovinsky, and his work represents the finest literary travel account on Montenegro from this period. Borsa's description reveals his perception of past epochs and civilisations in contrast to the modern age. He emphasises the

development, magnificence and splendour of this centre of Roman civilisation in comparison with the unimpressive appearance of Podgorica, the largest town in contemporary Montenegro. By presenting the Roman ruins as a symbol of lost civilisational greatness – through stressing their rational construction, proportions, hygienic conditions and aesthetic and even moral superiority – while depicting contemporary Montenegro as a space of aesthetic and cultural inferiority, Borsa employs a narrative of ruins as sources of fascination, carriers of memory and measures of civilisational value. His approach reflects both a nostalgia for the classical world and a condescending attitude towards the modern peoples living among those ruins without awareness of their greatness. At the turn of the twentieth century, Montenegro also attracted the interest of the scholarly public concerned with the study of its natural resources. In 1899, the geographer Guido Cora visited the country and left an account of his month-long stay in the travelogue *Nel Montenegro*. Cora's work also contains an overview of Montenegrin history, from the period of the Roman Empire to modern times. The author devotes particular attention to the ties between Montenegro and Italy, nostalgically recalling the period when these relations were much more intense, namely when the territory of Montenegro formed part of the Roman Empire and when the coasts of the Bay of Kotor were ruled by the Venetian Republic. Cora regarded the Venetian presence on the eastern Adriatic coast as a powerful civilising influence, while at the same time expressing his fear that Slavic influence might erase its traces.

In this travelogue, Cora provides a detailed geographical description of the location and appearance of Doclea. He took photographs, made sketches, copied inscriptions and collected a number of Roman coins. He informs readers that Prince Nikola of Montenegro possessed a significant collection of coins and artefacts from the site. Cora did not publish his sketches or transcriptions of inscriptions in the travelogue itself, announcing instead that the material gathered at the site would become the subject of a separate study. Upon returning to his homeland, this author attempted to organise a major Italian expedition that would study Montenegro, and especially Doclea, from a variety of scientific perspectives. He presented his project to Italian Crown Prince Victor Emmanuel and Princess Elena in order to secure support for its implementation. The expedition, however, was never organised due to a lack of financial resources.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Italian government had begun to recognise the potential of using archaeological research as an instrument of expansion in the Mediterranean. Taking Austria-Hungary and the research projects it conducted in Bosnia as a model, Minister Nasi, followed by Prime Minister Zanardelli, supported the idea of organising a scientific expedition to Montenegro under the leadership of Antonio Baldacci, a botanist who had regularly visited Montenegro since 1885 and had documented his stays in the form of travel accounts and scholarly studies. Baldacci expected rich archaeological discoveries relating to Greek and Roman colonisation, particularly the remains of Roman trading and military stations and roads. Behind this "nostalgia for antiquity" lay his undisguised desire to restore

Rome's economic and military presence in the Balkans and to transform the Adriatic into an "Italian sea" – *Mare Nostrum*. Both Cora and Baldacci displayed a certain rivalry stemming from the fact that other states had already conducted archaeological missions at a site they perceived as part of Italian heritage.

In addition to Baldacci, the members of the mission, which carried out research in the principality during August and September and partly in the territory of Albania, included Professor Dante Vaglieri, Inspector of Archaeological Monuments, and Professor Ugo Vram of the Anthropological Institute in Rome, among others. Antonio Baldacci and Ugo Vram both left accounts of their stay in Montenegro in the form of travel writings. Baldacci described the course of the mission in his travelogue *Nel paese del Cem*. In it, he provided information about the participants themselves, their research activities within the expedition, their arrival and departure dates, as well as the logistical assistance they received from the Montenegrin authorities. Baldacci did not describe the site of Doclea itself, and among his rich collection of photographs taken in Montenegro only a few were made at Doclea. From Baldacci's work we learn that the researchers studied the terrain on which the Roman settlement had been built, the aqueduct that supplied it with water from the River Cem, and the roads connecting it with nearby centres. Ugo Vram's travel diary, however, contains no information about the investigations carried out at Doclea.

In 1903, the Italian government again financed a smaller scientific mission in Montenegro, once more headed by Baldacci, though without Vram and Vaglieri. From an archaeological perspective, after the reconnaissance undertaken in 1902, the logical next step would have been the organisation of systematic investigations or excavations at Doclea or at another archaeological site. However, the Italian government ultimately decided not to undertake such a project.

It may be concluded that the ancient sites in Montenegro remained largely unknown to the Italian public throughout almost the entire nineteenth century. More detailed research and greater familiarity with these sites emerged only from the 1890s onwards, owing primarily to the contributions of scholars from the Habsburg Monarchy, Russia, Great Britain and Italy. However, most of this information was not accessible to the wider reading public and was often not even used by those travel writers who carefully prepared their journeys with the explicit intention of writing travel accounts on Montenegro.

In Italian travel writing published at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, descriptions of Doclea rarely go beyond a few brief and usually superficial observations, based either on personal impressions or on limited literary sources. Nevertheless, these descriptions fulfilled several functions: from disseminating knowledge about Montenegro's ancient heritage to emphasising the need to restore an Italian presence on the eastern Adriatic coast. In the works of journalists who wrote about the site in connection with the Savoy–Petrović marriage, Doclea represented a symbol of the long-standing ties between Italy and Montenegro, ties now being renewed

through dynastic alliance. By recalling the shared history of Montenegrins and Italians and stressing the former importance of this Roman urban centre, the authors sought to make the homeland of the future Italian queen – a small Orthodox Slavic state – more familiar to Italian readers. Such efforts were also encouraged by comments circulating in fashionable circles that it would have been more appropriate for the prince to have chosen a bride from one of the influential European courts, from a country already allied with Italy or from which Italy might have gained certain geopolitical advantages.

Some authors also used descriptions of Doclea to underline the superiority of their own culture, glorifying the former magnificence and power of the Roman Empire. Mario Borsa is a notable example, and his impressions at the same time constitute the most striking literary description of the site. Over time, this "nostalgia for antiquity" evolved into imperialist aspirations, as demonstrated by the aims of the Italian scientific mission conducted in Montenegro in 1902, which were likewise described in the travel writings of the expedition's members. The efforts of the Italian authorities to enhance the prestige of Italian archaeology through research at Doclea were used by certain travel writers, above all Baldacci, to secure governmental support for their ambitious multidisciplinary projects. The expectations of the Montenegrin authorities regarding major archaeological discoveries were ultimately not fulfilled. Among Italians, the greatest contribution to the excavations at Doclea was made, through his monograph, by a Triestine scholar working within Austro-Hungarian academic institutions.

Keywords: Montenegro, Italy, travel writing, Doclea, archaeological researches

RAPPRESENTAZIONI DEL CORPO FEMMINILE E CRISI DEL SOGGETTO MASCHILE IN *IO E LUI* DI ALBERTO MORAVIA

*Nikolina **Gunjević Kosanović**, Sveučilište u Zadru, ngunjevi@unizd.hr*

Original scientific paper
DOI: 10.31902/fll.54.2026.4
UDC: 821.131.1-31.09

Riassunto: Il saggio analizza le rappresentazioni del corpo femminile nel romanzo *Io e lui* di Alberto Moravia, mettendo in rilievo come esse contribuiscano alla costruzione narrativa della crisi del soggetto maschile. Attraverso la figura di Fausta, il cui corpo è descritto nel suo passaggio dalla giovinezza alla maturità, Moravia articola un complesso dispositivo simbolico in cui la donna diventa superficie di proiezione delle ansie, delle frustrazioni e delle fantasie del protagonista Rico. La scissione tra Rico e "Lui" – il fallo personificato, forza autonoma che interferisce con la volontà cosciente – permette di leggere il romanzo come una riflessione sullo smantellamento del paradigma fallocentrico. Il soggetto maschile appare infatti frammentato, dipendente dalla pulsione e incapace di integrare il desiderio all'interno di un'identità coerente. Il contributo mette in dialogo il testo moraviano con le teorie di Lacan, Kristeva, Irigaray, Barthes e Foucault: il corpo di Fausta emerge così come luogo dell'abiezione (Kristeva), campo di segni sovrascritti dallo sguardo maschile (Barthes), oggetto disciplinato da norme estetiche e morali (Foucault) e immagine modellata sulla fantasia maschile (Irigaray). La distinzione ricorrente fra la "Fausta di ieri" e la "Fausta di oggi" rivela l'impossibilità, per Rico, di confrontarsi con la temporalità e con la materialità del corpo femminile, percepito come minaccia alla stabilità del sé. Il saggio sostiene che *Io e lui* non sia soltanto un romanzo centrato sull'oggettivazione della donna, come suggerito da alcune letture femministe degli anni Sessanta e Settanta, ma piuttosto una critica ironica e corrosiva dell'identità maschile e delle sue illusioni di controllo. Moravia mostra come il potere fallico si rovesci nel suo contrario: non principio di ordine, ma nucleo di vulnerabilità. Il corpo femminile diventa allora lo specchio in cui si rivela la disgregazione del soggetto maschile, rendendo il romanzo un testo di sorprendente modernità nella rappresentazione delle dinamiche di genere.

Parole chiave: Alberto Moravia, *Io e lui*, corpo femminile, fallocentrismo, soggetto maschile, abiezione, desiderio e identità

1. Introduzione

In questo contributo si intende offrire un'analisi delle rappresentazioni del corpo femminile nel romanzo *Io e lui* (1971) di Alberto Moravia, con particolare attenzione alle modalità attraverso cui l'autore costruisce il rapporto tra soggetto maschile e corpo della donna all'interno di una struttura narrativa dominata da logiche fallocentriche.

Il saggio mette in rilievo la tensione tra la bellezza del corpo giovane e la percezione negativa del corpo femminile invecchiato, nonché il modo in cui il protagonista maschile proietta sul corpo della moglie Fausta le proprie fragilità, insicurezze e fallimenti esistenziali. Figure autorevoli del femminismo italiano del secondo Novecento hanno spesso riconosciuto in Moravia un intellettuale capace di comprendere e rappresentare, con lucidità e sensibilità, la condizione della donna contemporanea. Come osserva Carla Ravaioli, Moravia non solo si definisce pubblicamente femminista, ma riconosce il femminismo come uno dei fenomeni più significativi del suo tempo e dedica all'universo femminile una vasta produzione narrativa, attenta alle contraddizioni e alle fatiche dell'identità femminile moderna (Ravaioli 8-9). Tuttavia, tale lettura non è condivisa da tutte. Liliana Caruso e Bibi Tomasi, ad esempio, accusano Moravia di reiterare una passività ideologica nei confronti del pregiudizio sessuale più antico della cultura occidentale e di ridurre la donna a oggetto del desiderio maschile, elemento funzionale alla costruzione narrativa dell'uomo "dominante" (*Padri della fallocultura*, 1974). Secondo loro, «l'immobilismo sul pregiudizio più antico e immorale […] unito al qualunquismo fa della sua una letteratura d'evasione deresponsabilizzante» (Caruso e Tomasi 85). Nel loro giudizio, l'universo moraviano è governato da un modello in cui l'uomo è sempre orientato alla conquista sessuale, senza mai essere realmente sconfitto da una donna: «L'uomo è sempre interessato alla conquista di una donna […] nella mente di Moravia non esiste uomo sconfitto da una donna sul piano sessuale» (Caruso e Tomasi 7). Queste osservazioni risultano particolarmente pertinenti per una lettura di *Io e lui*, romanzo in cui il corpo femminile appare come spazio di proiezione dei conflitti interiori del protagonista Rico, mentre la vera forza che domina la narrazione è "Lui", il fallo personificato, entità autonoma che interferisce continuamente con le scelte, i desideri e la volontà cosciente dell'io narrante. La scissione tra Rico e "Lui" costituisce, in termini psicoanalitici, una vera e propria frattura del soggetto, in cui il fallo diventa non soltanto organo, ma simbolo del potere, dell'identità e della perdita di controllo (Lacan 579-585).

2. Fallocentrismo e oggettivazione: la donna come "puro oggetto"

Queste prime considerazioni aprono la strada a un'analisi più approfondita del modo in cui il romanzo mette in scena la logica fallocentrica e la sua incidenza sulla costruzione narrativa della donna come oggetto.

La donna è dunque un puro oggetto, privo di un proprio "io", che l'uomo alla fine riesce sempre a sottomettere o, meglio, ad adeguare ai propri bisogni. Questa posizione delle autrici menzionate trova un riscontro significativo nel romanzo *Io e lui*, poiché il precedente passo conferma il fatto che l'uomo, sebbene talvolta manipolato dalle donne, può essere sconfitto unicamente dal proprio organo sessuale, che detta il suo comportamento. Ciò vale soprattutto per il romanzo stesso, in cui il protagonista discute incessantemente con il proprio pene, chiamandolo con vari nomi e attribuendogli diversi epiteti (Moravia, *Io e lui* 7). Il fallocentrismo, pur potendo essere interpretato come uno scarto ironico rispetto alla durezza del quotidiano, è al centro delle critiche femministe sopra citate. Alla prima apparizione di "Lui" (Lui – con la maiuscola), il narratore ne evidenzia sin da subito le "qualità": è consapevole di sé, ostinato, inflessibile, autoritario, benché nella maggior parte dei casi agisca contro ciò che Rico aveva immaginato: «Enorme, rigido, congestionato […] testardo individuo!» (Moravia, *Io e lui* 6). Il mondo dei romanzi moraviani si fonda, come osservano Caruso e Tomasi, su una vera e propria presunzione fallocentrica: non a caso, in uno dei capitoli del loro libro, esse definiscono Moravia come uno dei padri della fallocultura (Caruso e Tomasi 28). *Io e lui* ne costituisce l'esempio più esplicito, poiché accanto al protagonista agisce una seconda figura principale, il suo organo riproduttivo, che diventa personaggio autonomo e forza motrice della narrazione. Rico, protagonista del romanzo, è un regista fallito che non riesce in alcun modo a realizzare il suo film d'esordio. Da quindici anni ci pensa continuamente; lo sogna quasi ogni notte, in incubi che si concludono regolarmente con la sua completa sconfitta, demotivazione e frustrazione, ossia con la sua incapacità di concentrarsi sul lavoro a causa delle interferenze di Lui, che puntualmente gli stravolgono i piani, spingendolo verso fantasie e avventure sessuali. In uno di questi sogni, posto all'inizio del romanzo, egli immagina il protagonista e la protagonista del film, e quest'ultima si trasforma poi in sua moglie, oggetto della sua insoddisfazione esistenziale: «Fausta, sì, con la sua facciona doppia, il suo seno da mucca, la sua panciona traboccante» (Moravia, *Io e lui* 28). All'inizio del romanzo compaiono numerose descrizioni di Fausta, la moglie del protagonista, vista quasi esclusivamente come causa della maggior parte dei suoi problemi. È lei

che egli ha "salvato" dalla strada, rendendola moglie e madre, e che ora – secondo lui – non apprezza affatto tale condizione e non lo rispetta. In cerca di ispirazione per il film, Rico decide di allontanarsi per un po' da casa; ma, al suo ritorno (spinto, come sempre, dalle insinuazioni di Lui), trova una situazione caotica: il bambino lasciato da solo, la casa sporca e in disordine, l'odore acre del bucato e dei piatti non lavati, mozziconi e cenere sparsi ovunque: «Entro in casa e resto quasi soffocato dal cattivo odore […] il corpo imbolsito» (Moravia, *Io e lui* 28-29). Ciò che egli rimprovera alla moglie è anche il suo stato fisico, un portamento e un aspetto che giudica inadeguati: «Tu non devi aspettare che qualcuno ti visiti per renderti presentabile […] per rispetto a te stessa» (Moravia, *Io e lui* 24). Fausta tocca il proprio viso con la mano, gesto che lo riporta alla sua immagine di dieci anni prima, quando il suo corpo giovane e attraente suscitava in lui desiderio e tenerezza. Le descrizioni del corpo di Fausta oscillano così tra due poli: da un lato l'immagine della donna giovane, snella e desiderabile; dall'altro, quella del corpo maturo, appesantito e non più conforme ai canoni estetici interiorizzati da Rico. Lui, il fallo personificato, è colui che guida Rico nelle sue associazioni, costringendolo a ricordare la Fausta di un tempo: «Sono io che ti fa trovare un motivo di desiderio nella metamorfosi della Fausta […] nella Fausta di oggi, slombata, disfatta, deformata» (Moravia, *Io e lui* 25). Fausta diventa così oggetto del desiderio e della frustrazione di Rico, ma in ogni caso lei e il suo corpo rimangono oggetti, senza mai divenire soggetto. Rico arriva perfino a percepirla come "simile a lui", ossia prigioniera del medesimo potere di "Lui", ma anche in questo caso ella non acquisisce statuto soggettivo. Resta dunque aperta la domanda se Rico possa davvero considerarsi un soggetto autonomo, poiché neppure lui, nonostante gli sforzi, riesce a resistere agli impulsi dettati da un semplice organo sessuale, con il quale discute ricorrendo a un lessico intriso di riferimenti psicoanalitici e argomentazioni freudiane. L'intera dinamica richiama il concetto lacaniano di scissione del soggetto, secondo cui l'io non coincide mai con sé stesso, ma è attraversato da un'alterità interna – il *désir* come mancanza strutturale. In questo senso, "Lui" funziona come simbolizzazione del fallo lacaniano: non l'organo, ma il significante del potere, della legge e della mancanza. Rico non domina il fallo: è il fallo a dominare il soggetto (Lacan 579-585). Proprio qui risiede il paradosso: mentre Fausta appare come oggetto passivo, Rico è altrettanto – se non maggiormente – oggetto, perché schiavizzato da un impulso pulsionale che non riesce a integrare nell'ordine simbolico. Moravia rende tutto ciò evidente attraverso un'ironia tagliente, visibile anche nel passo seguente: «Alla de sublimazione di Fausta […] "lui" che, nel frattempo, si è fatto enorme» (Moravia, *Io e lui*

22). La presunta "uguaglianza" tra Rico e Fausta riguarda infatti solo la loro comune sottomissione a "Lui": «Siamo eguali! Identici! […] Egualmente incapaci di resistergli!» (Moravia, *Io e lui* 25). Ma la donna, osserva Rico, rimane schiava "per amore", mentre lui lo è per pura compiacenza nei confronti del fallo personificato: «[...] io, invece, gliela facevo per compiacere "lui"» (Moravia, *Io e lui* 25). L'episodio della rivista pornografica, ironico e umiliante, mostra con particolare chiarezza questa dissociazione tra io e desiderio: «Io, un uomo di trentacinque anni […] che sfoglia furtivamente una rivista pornografica» (Moravia, *Io e lui* 26). Qui il testo dialoga anche con la teoria foucaultiana del corpo disciplinato: il soggetto moderno, credendosi libero, è in realtà governato da micropratiche del potere che interiorizza come desideri propri. Rico incarna perfettamente questa logica: crede di scegliere, ma è scelto dal meccanismo che lo attraversa (Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* 135-141).

3. Ostilità, simbolizzazione e controllo: la donna secondo la critica femminista e Moravia

Il meccanismo di oggettivazione delineato nel romanzo si inserisce in un panorama critico più ampio, in cui la figura femminile è stata letta come luogo di tensioni simboliche e ideologiche.

Il primo grande attacco critico contro Moravia da parte di una donna risale al 1964, quando Lilia Crocenzi pubblica *La donna nella narrativa di Alberto Moravia*. Secondo lei: «Il rapporto che lega Moravia alla donna è un rapporto di ostilità […] il gusto di denigrarla, offenderla, immiserirla» (Crocenzi 5). Crocenzi nota che, anche nei romanzi in cui le donne sono protagoniste (*La romana*, *La ciociara*), l'attenzione è sempre polarizzata sul personaggio maschile: «Disprezza la donna […] eppure è costretto ad innalzarla fino a farne un simbolo; poi […] la riconduce in limiti angustissimi» (Crocenzi 39). E ancora: «Non ha importanza se […] siano figure femminili a riempire la scena; […] è sempre l'uomo al centro» (Crocenzi 47). Questa oscillazione tra svalutazione e simbolizzazione richiama da vicino ciò che Julia Kristeva definisce abiezione: il movimento attraverso cui il soggetto espelle ciò che minaccia la sua identità, pur non potendo liberarsene del tutto. Il corpo femminile – materno, carnale, mutevole – diventa così insieme desiderato e respinto, necessario e temuto (Kristeva 3). In *Io e lui*, Fausta rappresenta esattamente questa ambivalenza: attrazione per il corpo giovane, repulsione per quello maturo; desiderio e disgusto; nostalgia e rifiuto. L'attacco critico alla scrittura moraviana si intensifica con l'affermazione del femminismo italiano negli anni Sessanta e Settanta. In un'intervista, Moravia stesso riconosce: «Nella società patriarcale la

donna è stata e continua ad essere un oggetto» (Ravaioli 71). Durante un'altra intervista, lo scrittore si scusa in anticipo con la giornalista dicendo: «Lei deve accettare di essere ridotta ad oggetto», poiché – come precisa – lui è il soggetto dell'intervista e la donna «oggetto in quanto contrario di soggetto» (Moravia, *Claudia Cardinale* 7). È significativo che Moravia, nelle sue recensioni cinematografiche per *L'Espresso*, utilizzi spesso immagini femminili provocatorie a margine di articoli che trattano temi come contraccezione, femminismo, divorzio e omosessualità femminile. Tale contraddizione fra discorso progressista e visualità oggettificante è coerente con ciò che Foucault descrive come regimi del vedere – dispositivi che producono significato attraverso la ripetizione di immagini normalizzanti (Foucault 135-141). Nel 1975 Moravia dichiara: «Le donne mi sono più simpatiche degli uomini […] nel descriverle mi sento più sciolto, più libero» (Ravaioli 14). Non si tratta necessariamente di una semplice valorizzazione estetica. Piuttosto, il passo rivela – come suggerirebbe Roland Barthes – un desiderio semiotico: la donna diventa un testo da leggere, un campo di segni su cui proiettare interpretazioni, ansie e fantasie (Barthes 171-173). In *Io e lui*, questo meccanismo è evidente nella metamorfosi del corpo di Fausta, che appare al protagonista come un archivio vivente di memorie sensoriali: il passato sensuale, idealizzato, riemerge sotto la superficie del corpo presente, vissuto come materico, decadente, quasi "abietto" in senso kristeviano (Kristeva 55-58). L'ambivalenza di Rico nei confronti di Fausta rispecchia perfettamente la logica dell'abiezione: ciò che attrae è anche ciò che disgusta; ciò che rassicura è anche ciò che minaccia; il corpo della donna è familiare e straniero allo stesso tempo. Lacan, da parte sua, ci aiuta a comprendere perché Rico non riesca a sottrarsi alla tirannia di "Lui". Il fallo lacaniano è un significante maestro, fondamento della legge simbolica; ma nel romanzo esso si ribella, diventa personaggio, sovverte la gerarchia tra soggetto e significante. Rico pretende di dire «io», ma è il fallo a parlare, desiderare, comandare. La sua identità è letteralmente disarticolata. Per questo la sua lotta contro "Lui" appare tragica e comica allo stesso tempo: la soggettività maschile, che dovrebbe essere compatta e dominante, si sgretola in un dialogo schizofrenico con la propria pulsione. Questa dinamica mette a nudo l'illusione del potere maschile che la cultura occidentale ha edificato per secoli – un potere che non governa nulla, nemmeno il proprio corpo. (Lacan 685-695; 793-827). Fausta, nel romanzo, è descritta come un corpo che si trasforma, che decresce, che "cade", e tale caduta è osservata da Rico con un misto di disgusto, nostalgia e fascinazione. Egli giudica il corpo presente attraverso il ricordo idealizzato del corpo passato: un meccanismo che richiama la logica

barthesiana del corpo come simulacro, ossia come superficie che viene letta più che realmente percepita (Barthes 13-15). «Non dice niente. Continua a passarsi la mano sul viso […] la faccina semplice di dieci anni fa» (Moravia, *Io e lui* 25). Le trasformazioni del corpo femminile diventano per Rico una prova della propria sconfitta, un memento della caducità non solo della carne, ma della virilità stessa. Come osserva Susan Bordo, il corpo della donna viene spesso utilizzato come "schermo" su cui il maschile proietta le proprie ansie identitarie (Bordo 14-17). Nel romanzo, Fausta è esattamente questo: un doppio specchio – specchio del desiderio e specchio del declino. In un passo di grande intensità emotiva, il fallo personificato richiama a Rico il corpo che fu: «Io ti farò ritrovare sotto le dita […] la Fausta di ieri» (Moravia, *Io e lui* 25). Qui emerge con forza il concetto kristeviano di abiezione: il corpo femminile è luogo in cui riaffiora ciò che il soggetto tenta di espellere – la perdita, la materia, la mortalità. Fausta è al tempo stesso oggetto del desiderio e figura dell'abietto: il corpo che non corrisponde più all'immagine idealizzata viene percepito come minaccia per l'identità del soggetto (Kristeva 3-10, 55-58). La descrizione delle sue "due arance acerbe di dieci anni fa" diventa così gesto di violenta idealizzazione: «Due enormi borse di gomma […] le due arance acerbe di dieci anni fa» (Moravia, *Io e lui* 27). Il linguaggio è volutamente crudo, segnato da un immaginario che Roland Barthes avrebbe definito iper-semiotico: ogni parte del corpo femminile è tradotta in un segno, un emblema, un oggetto sostituibile. La donna reale scompare dietro la donna immaginaria. A questo punto il romanzo mostra con chiarezza che non è Fausta ad essere "doppia", ma Rico – diviso tra corpo reale e immaginario, tra desiderio e disgusto. Come direbbe Lacan, il soggetto abita la distanza tra l'immagine e il reale: Fausta reale appartiene all'ordine del Reale lacaniano, perturbante e intrusivo; Fausta ideale appartiene all'ordine dell'Immaginario (Lacan 93-100, 793-827). Questa dialettica appare evidente anche nel seguente passaggio: «Non la senti, dentro la facciona badiale […] la faccina perfetta di un tempo?» (Moravia, *Io e lui* 25). In una prospettiva foucaultiana, potremmo dire che il corpo di Fausta viene "disciplinato" dal discorso maschile: Rico stabilisce ciò che il corpo deve essere, come deve apparire, quale valore deve avere. Il corpo che non obbedisce diventa corpo "sbagliato", corpo "non conforme", e dunque corpo punibile attraverso il ridicolo, il disgusto o la svalutazione. Il culmine di questa dinamica si trova nell'analisi dei suoi glutei e del sesso: «Oggi il sesso ti fa pensare a una sciabolata […] la piccola ventosa prensile di dieci anni fa?» (Moravia, *Io e lui* 30). Qui emerge uno dei punti più alti della teoria dell'abiezione: il sesso femminile, descritto in termini di ferita, fenditura, macchia,

incarna esattamente ciò che Kristeva definisce ciò che non dovrebbe essere visto, e tuttavia insiste a mostrarsi (Kristeva 70-75). Il corpo materno e sessuale si configura, nel quadro teorico kristeviano, come la scena privilegiata dell'indicibile: luogo in cui riemergono la materia, la perdita e il perturbante che il soggetto tenta invano di espellere. In *Io e lui* questo ritorno del corpo come "informe" è reso con particolare forza nella metamorfosi dei glutei di Fausta: la sovrapposizione dei glutei "di ieri" a quelli "di oggi" mette in scena il conflitto tra immagine idealizzata e realtà carnale. Questa sovrapposizione non è un semplice gioco di memoria sensoriale, ma un gesto di riscrittura del corpo femminile che richiama il concetto irigarayano di mimesis: la donna è indotta a rappresentare la figura che l'immaginario maschile proietta su di lei, a incarnare un'immagine che non le appartiene e che le viene imposta come norma di desiderabilità. Il corpo si trasforma così in superficie simbolica, un palinsesto in cui l'uomo riscrive il proprio ideale, cancellando l'autonomia della soggettività femminile (Irigaray 133-150).

4. Identità maschile e corpo femminile: un conflitto irrisolto

Se le letture femministe mettono in luce la costruzione della donna come oggetto, altrettanto rilevante è osservare come il romanzo riveli, in controluce, la fragilità del soggetto maschile che tale oggettivazione produce.

La dinamica tra Rico e "Lui" rende evidente la crisi dell'identità maschile moderna. Ciò che Moravia mette in scena non è semplicemente il conflitto tra ragione e pulsione, ma – come direbbe Lacan – un profondo frazionamento del soggetto, diviso tra l'Io immaginario e la voce perturbante dell'Altro interno. Quando Rico esclama: «Non siamo 'noi', siamo 'io' e 'tu'» (Moravia, *Io e lui* 11) egli riconosce la separazione tra soggetto e desiderio. Il fallo – che nella tradizione simbolica occidentale rappresenta il potere, la coerenza, l'autorità – qui si ribalta nel suo contrario: diventa principio di disordine, ridicolo, interiorità scissa. Ci troviamo di fronte a un'inversione della funzione fallica così come Lacan la definisce: il fallo non opera più come significante maestro che istituisce la Legge, ma come elemento eccedente che sfugge alla simbolizzazione, generando una dispersione del soggetto, la cui identità non riesce più a stabilizzarsi nel discorso (Lacan 685-695; 793-827). Per questo Rico è un antieroe fallocentrico: abitato dalla norma, sedotto dalla trasgressione, ma incapace sia di aderire al codice patriarcale sia di superarlo.

L'incapacità del protagonista di riconoscere Fausta come soggetto, e non solo come corpo, è amplificata dal modo in cui egli percepisce il

suo mutamento fisico. Fausta non è semplicemente "invecchiata": ella rappresenta, in senso kristeviano, la materia che ritorna, ciò che il soggetto tenta di espellere per mantenere la propria coerenza identitaria. Il corpo femminile è: memoria (Fausta di ieri); decadimento (Fausta di oggi); minaccia (l'immagine del materno); desiderio (l'oggetto erotizzato); dolore (la perdita del fantasma erotico). Esattamente ciò che Kristeva descrive come abiezione: «ciò che non può essere né totalmente assunto né completamente rifiutato» (Kristeva 5). Irigaray osserva che la cultura patriarcale costruisce le donne come superfici riflesse del desiderio maschile (Irigaray 24-30; 133-150). Rico ne è la dimostrazione narrativa: egli non vede Fausta, ma la Fausta che desidera vedere. Quando "Lui" gli ricorda: «Dentro la Fausta di oggi c'è la Fausta di ieri» (Moravia, *Io e lui* 13) non parla del corpo reale, ma dell'immagine che Rico pretende di ritrovare. Si tratta di un movimento di *mimesis*, in cui la donna deve corrispondere al modello immaginato dall'uomo, pena la perdita di valore. Fausta non è libera di invecchiare, cambiare, vivere: deve somigliare al suo passato per mantenere significato. Rico non esercita solo uno sguardo estetico, ma anche normativo. Egli stabilisce: come Fausta deve apparire; come deve mantenere la casa; come deve reagire alla sua presenza o assenza; come deve essere desiderabile. È ciò che Foucault definirebbe un atto di biopotere: controllo dei corpi attraverso giudizi estetici, morali e sessuali interiorizzati (Foucault, *La volontà di sapere* 95-99; 135-137). L'ordine domestico, l'igiene, la cura del corpo – tutti vengono attraversati dal giudizio maschile. La donna, per Rico, è organismo da correggere. Alla luce di tali dinamiche, il romanzo rivela una sorprendente modernità, che invita a ripensare criticamente il rapporto fra desiderio, corpo e soggettività.

5. Verso la conclusione

Ciò che emerge, in ultima analisi, è un quadro complesso in cui il corpo femminile non è semplice oggetto narrativo, ma dispositivo che porta alla crisi il soggetto maschile stesso.

Il romanzo non rafforza il fallocentrismo: lo demistifica, lo ridicolizza, lo svuota. Rico non è il padrone di sé stesso; Fausta non è semplicemente oggetto; "Lui" non è simbolo di forza ma di vulnerabilità. Moravia, con ironia corrosiva, mette in scena il crollo della mascolinità moderna: il fallo non governa, ma comanda; l'uomo non desidera, ma è desiderato dal proprio desiderio; il corpo femminile non è problema, ma specchio doloroso dell'identità maschile. La crisi del soggetto maschile è dunque la vera chiave del testo. Il corpo della donna non è più oggetto passivo, ma superficie rivelatrice – ciò che Lacan definirebbe il "punto di verità" del soggetto. In conclusione, *Io e lui* si rivela un'operazione

narrativa complessa, che travalica i limiti del romanzo umoristico o erotico per addentrarsi nel territorio più profondo della crisi identitaria maschile. Moravia utilizza la figura di Rico non per celebrarne la virilità, ma, al contrario, per smascherarne le fragilità strutturali. Il continuo dialogo tra Rico e "Lui" mostra che il desiderio maschile non è un movimento libero e spontaneo, bensì una forma di assoggettamento. Il soggetto maschile, che la cultura patriarcale pone al centro del discorso, risulta in realtà scisso, dipendente, vacillante: un soggetto che Lacan descriverebbe come diviso tra il simbolico e il reale, incapace di governare la pulsione che lo attraversa. Fausta, il cui corpo muta e decade come qualunque corpo reale, diventa allora il catalizzatore della crisi. La trasformazione fisica della donna non è la "colpa" di Fausta, come Rico tende a percepirla, ma la rivelazione della fragilità del suo sguardo. È infatti lo sguardo maschile – per citare Irigaray – a pretendere che la donna rimanga immobile nel tempo, fissa, sempre uguale a sé stessa, eternamente "desiderabile" secondo codici estetici e affettivi stabiliti dall'uomo. Attraverso la metamorfosi di Fausta, Moravia porta alla luce ciò che Kristeva definisce l'abietto: tutto ciò che destabilizza l'identità del soggetto, che appare familiare e straniero insieme, che non può essere integrato né respinto. Il corpo femminile, segnato dal tempo, diventa il luogo dell'abiezione proprio per l'uomo che si illude di possedere un'identità stabile. Al tempo stesso, la rappresentazione della donna come "doppia" – la Fausta di ieri contenuta nella Fausta di oggi – rinvia alla logica barthesiana del corpo come testo, come stratificazione di significati che il soggetto legge attraverso le proprie fantasie, i propri ricordi, i propri desideri. Il corpo reale scompare dietro l'immagine, e l'immagine rivela più l'uomo che la donna. In questo senso, il romanzo può essere letto anche attraverso Foucault: il rapporto di Rico con Fausta insiste sulle dinamiche di disciplinamento del corpo, sulla costruzione culturale del desiderio e sulla gestione maschile delle norme estetiche e morali. Rico pretende ordine, controllo, prevedibilità – ma il corpo femminile, come la sessualità, sfugge a ogni tentativo di normazione. Per questo *Io e lui* non è un romanzo misogino, come talvolta sostenuto, ma un romanzo che mette in scena la miseria del fallocentrismo. La donna non è svilita: è l'uomo, piuttosto, a essere mostrato nella sua vulnerabilità. L'ironia di Moravia non è contro Fausta, ma contro Rico, contro l'illusione maschile di poter governare il desiderio, il tempo, il corpo. Moravia riesce così a capovolgere la logica patriarcale dall'interno: il fallo non garantisce identità, ma la smonta; l'uomo non domina la donna, ma è dominato dall'immagine che egli stesso proietta su di lei; la donna non è oggetto del desiderio, ma specchio della crisi del soggetto maschile. Il romanzo, letto oggi, mostra

una sorprendente modernità: non offre una soluzione, non indica una via d'uscita, ma mette in scena un conflitto che tocca ancora la contemporaneità. L'identità maschile resta un territorio instabile, l'immaginario fallico un'illusione da cui il soggetto può emanciparsi solo riconoscendo la propria dipendenza. *Io e lui* è dunque un testo che, pur partendo dal corpo femminile, si chiude con un atto di radicale sincerità nei confronti del maschile: la crisi del fallo non è la crisi dell'uomo, ma la possibilità del suo superamento.

Works Cited:

Barthes, Roland. *Mythologies*. Translated by Annette Lavers, Hill and Wang, 1972.

Bordo, Susan. *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body*. University of California Press, 1993.

Caruso, Liliana, and Bibi Tomasi. *Padri della fallocultura*. SugarCo, 1974.

Crocenzi, Lilia. *La donna nella narrativa di Alberto Moravia*. Gianni Mangiarotti, 1964.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Vintage Books, 1995.

—. *La volontà di sapere (Storia della sessualità I)*. Feltrinelli, 1978.

Irigaray, Luce. *Speculum. L'altra donna*. Feltrinelli, 1975.

Kristeva, Julia. *Poteri dell'orrore: Saggio sull'abiezione*. Spirali, 1988.

Lacan, Jacques. *Scritti*. Translated by Giacomo B. Contri, Einaudi, 1974.

Moravia, Alberto. *Claudia Cardinale: dialogo e fotografie*. Lerici, 1962.

—. *Io e lui*. Bompiani, 1971.

Ravaioli, Carla. *La mutazione femminile: conversazioni con Alberto Moravia sulla donna*. Bompiani, 1975.

Scarry, Elaine. *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World*. Oxford UP, 1985.

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE FEMALE BODY AND THE CRISIS OF THE MALE SUBJECT IN ALBERTO MORAVIA'S *IO E LUI*

This article examines the representation of the female body and its relationship to the crisis of masculine subjectivity in Alberto Moravia's novel *Io e lui* (1971). While Moravia has often been accused – particularly by feminist critics of the 1960s and 1970s – of portraying women as static, objectified figures within a predominantly male-centred narrative universe, this paper argues that *Io e lui* in fact destabilises the foundations of phallocentrism and exposes the instability of patriarchal identity. Through a close reading of the protagonist Rico's relationship with his wife Fausta and with the anthropomorphised figure of his penis ("Lui"), the article shows how Moravia dramatises the fragmentation of the male subject, highlighting the

contradictions, anxieties and illusions that underlie male desire. The female body in the novel functions as a symbolic surface on which the male protagonist projects fantasies, desires, frustrations and fears. Fausta, once youthful and erotically idealised, now appears to Rico as a body marked by time – heavy, worn, "imbolsito" and therefore perceived as less desirable. Her transformation becomes, for Rico, not merely a sign of physical decay but a direct threat to the coherence of his own identity. The contrast between "Fausta di ieri" and "Fausta di oggi", repeatedly emphasised throughout the novel, crystallises the male protagonist's inability to accept the human dimension of change, ageing and corporeality. The female body becomes the repository of a loss that Rico cannot attribute to himself and thus he transfers the weight of his own crisis onto Fausta. This dynamic resonates strongly with Julia Kristeva's notion of abjection. For Kristeva, the abject is that which disturbs identity, system and order; it is what the subject must expel to maintain the illusion of a stable self. Fausta's changing body embodies precisely this disturbing materiality: it reminds Rico not only of the passage of time but also of the instability of his own self-image. Her flesh, marked by softness, folds and loss of firmness, triggers in him a reaction that oscillates between disgust and longing. At the same time, he persistently overlays her present form with the memory of her past beauty, reconstructing through imagination the youthful figure she no longer possesses. In this way, Fausta becomes simultaneously real and unreal, a palimpsest in which Rico reads the traces of his own desire and the failure of that desire to anchor him in a stable identity.

The article argues that the tension between Fausta's present body and the memory of her past self establishes a key motif in the novel: the confrontation between reality and fantasy, between the corporeal and the imaginary. Rico does not see Fausta as she is; rather, he sees the discrepancy between what she was and what she has become. In this sense, the female body functions as a surface of inscription, much in line with Roland Barthes's reflections on the body as text. Rico reads Fausta's body not as a living organism but as a system of signs that either confirm or disrupt his perception of control. The past body is manageable and coherent; the present body is excessive, ungovernable, and therefore threatening. This dynamic reflects the crisis of the male subject that Jacques Lacan describes in relation to the split between the imaginary ego and the symbolic order. Rico is not a unified subject: he is divided between the self-image he wishes to maintain and the unconscious forces of desire represented by "Lui". The penis, personified and endowed with its own voice and agency, becomes a figure of the Lacanian phallus – not the organ itself, but the signifier of power, identity and desire. Yet in Moravia's novel, this signifier is unstable, comic and tyrannical. Rather than securing authority, it undermines Rico's autonomy. The male protagonist attempts to assert control through rationality, discipline and artistic ambition, but "Lui" constantly interrupts, redirects and dominates him. This personification of the phallus makes explicit the illusion at the core of patriarchal subjectivity: the man does not control desire; desire controls him. In this respect, *Io e lui* constitutes a critique of the traditional foundations of patriarchy. The novel reveals that the male subject – supposedly

rational, authoritative and dominant – is internally fragmented and dependent on forces he cannot understand or resist. Rico's conversations with "Lui" are filled with irony, self-deception and frustration. His inability to complete his film project, his recurring nightmares, his compulsive sexual fantasies and his humiliating behaviour (as in the episode at the newspaper kiosk) all point to the disintegration of the masculine ideal. Moravia lays bare the comic tragedy of a man who is dominated by the very symbol of dominance. This interpretation challenges earlier feminist readings that accused Moravia of misogyny. Critics such as Lilia Crocenzi and the duo Liliana Caruso and Bibi Tomasi argued that Moravia's writing belittles women and reinforces patriarchal norms by relegating female characters to passive roles. While such readings capture a recurrent surface structure in Moravia's fiction, they overlook the way in which *Io e lui* reverses the logic of domination. The novel does not simply present women as objects; rather, it exposes the male subject as an object – an object of his own desire, of his bodily impulses and of his fantasies. In this inversion lies Moravia's subtle critique: the female body is not the true site of weakness; the male ego is.

The article further argues that Fausta does not embody moral inferiority or intellectual vacuity. On the contrary, she is the only character who remains consistent in her emotional orientation and unaffected by the internal conflicts that torment Rico. Although she is marginalised by Rico's narrative perspective, she emerges as a figure of authenticity: she acts out of affection, not compulsion; she seeks emotional connection rather than domination. In this sense, Moravia creates a contrast between Rico's fractured identity and Fausta's quiet resilience. Her subjectivity may not be expressed through explicit internal monologue, but it surfaces through her actions, her patience and her refusal to conform to Rico's idealisation. Furthermore, the novel's depiction of the domestic sphere – disorderly, chaotic and saturated with sensory excess – illustrates Michel Foucault's theory of disciplinary power. Rico expects Fausta to maintain both the household and her physical appearance according to codes of order and hygiene that are socially constructed rather than intrinsic. The tension between these expectations and Fausta's failure (or refusal) to meet them demonstrates how patriarchal norms are inscribed onto the female body and how women are judged not only aesthetically but morally based on their adherence to these norms. Yet Moravia subverts this mechanism: Fausta's "failure" destabilises Rico, not her. She remains emotionally intact; he collapses. Additionally, Luce Irigaray's theory of mimesis provides an interpretive lens for understanding the male desire to reproduce the idealised female image. Rico's obsession with the Fausta of ten years earlier reveals his attempt to freeze the female body in time, to force it into a constructed identity that serves his needs. The fact that the older Fausta no longer corresponds to this image is perceived by Rico not as a natural consequence of ageing but as a personal loss, a withdrawal of value. Moravia thereby exposes the violence implicit in the male gaze – the demand that the female body conform to an aesthetic norm that exists only in male fantasy.

In its final sections, the article argues that *Io e lui* transcends its temporal context and offers insights into contemporary debates about gender, identity and sexuality. The novel portrays masculinity not as a stable essence but as a performance shaped by internal and external pressures. Rico is not a villain but a tragicomic figure whose struggle reflects broader cultural anxieties regarding male identity in the late twentieth century. His failure to reconcile his artistic aspirations, sexual impulses and relational responsibilities mirrors the fragmentation of modern subjectivity. Thus, the representation of the female body in *Io e lui* is neither ornamental nor secondary; it is central to the novel's exploration of the male psyche. Fausta's body, in its temporal transformations, forces Rico to confront the impermanence of his own desires and the illusions that underpin his self-conception. The female body becomes a mirror in which the male protagonist sees his own decline – physical, emotional and symbolic. In this way, Moravia's novel offers not a reaffirmation of patriarchal values but a critique of their fragility. In conclusion, this work situates *Io e lui* as a novel that challenges traditional interpretations of Moravia's relationship to feminism and offers a nuanced reading of his portrayal of women. It reveals the instability of male subjectivity, the limits of phallocentric logic and the complexity of the female body as both symbol and lived reality. By integrating literary analysis with theoretical frameworks drawn from psychoanalysis, feminist philosophy and cultural theory, the article demonstrates that Moravia's text remains profoundly relevant to contemporary discussions of gender, desire and the politics of the body.

Keywords: Alberto Moravia, *Io e lui*, female body, phallocentrism, male subject, abjection, desire and identity

NARRATIVES ABOUT RAPED AND ABDUCTED WOMEN IN THE BIBLE AS A SOURCE FOR RESEARCH ON RAPTUS PUELLAE IN POLISH LITERATURE FROM THE 16TH TO 18TH CENTURIES[1]

*Monika **Szymańska**, University of Silesia, Katowice, Poland, monika.szafranska@us.edu.pl*

Original scientific paper
DOI: 10.31902/fll.54.2026.5

Apstrakt: Rape is a phenomenon present in many discourses: legal, social, psychological, religious, and artistic. We can also observe it from a philological perspective. It is also a theme deeply rooted in culture, dating back to classical and biblical traditions. Representations of rape and abduction in the Bible and Greek and Roman literature become a literary-cultural background for research on *raptus puellae* theme in European literature of the Early Modern Age. Researching Polish literature from the 16th to 18th century, the paper focuses on the Polish translations of the Bible from the 16th to 17th century (Leopolita, Brzeska, Jakub Wujek, Gdańska). The analysis raises questions as to whether and how the narratives of rape or abduction have changed in individual translations of the Bible, how abduction and rape are presented in these narratives, and whether it has any connection with later representations of this theme in Old Polish literature. We can also see how the descriptions of individual rape cases in the Bible are influenced by the "meeting" of the concept of rape, language, and literary conventions.

Keywords: *Raptus puellae*, rape, abduction, rape and abduction in the Bible, violence against women, rape in old-Polish literature

1. Introduction – Various Research Perspectives, References, and Introductory Remarks on the Rape in the Bible

Since the dawn of European culture, rape has always been one of its essential phenomena. This topic is widely known, and we have become accustomed to it. Rape remains a subject of interest for many branches

[1] This paper has been written under the research project Preludium 37 (entitled "Raptus puellae – between life and literature. An unknown poem from a silva rerum by Alexander Minor, Cupbearer of Chełm, as a new source to the literary tradition of rape"), no. 2020/37/N/HS2/03660 financed from the funds of the National Science Centre, Poland.

of academic study: law, social science, religion, and psychology, as well as for art and literature. Reflection on the literature of the past gives us an insight into the contemporary world, its problems, culture, and history. It lets us think about current issues concerning the past and its paradigms. In my PhD dissertation, *Raptus puellae in the 16th–18th-century Polish literature. Between life and literature* (Szafrańska, 2025), I focus exclusively on the issue of Polish "rapt", a term which derives from the Latin *raptus puellae* and refers to the abduction of a maiden. However, to be specific, the definitions of Latin *raptus* and *rapio*, *-ere* include various kinds of sexual violence against women, not only abduction but also rape (*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 1573–1574). The European culture offers a wide range of representations of rape, but the tradition defines the smallest sample of literary text about it, and it is a part of it. Rape is a theme deeply rooted in culture, dating back to the classical and biblical traditions.

In this paper, I will outline the issue of rape, limiting myself to the Bible. In my analysis, I use the principal Polish translations of the Bible from the 16th to 17th centuries: Leopolita's Bible (1561), catholic translation; the Brzeska Bible (1563), evangelical translation; the Jakub Wujek Bible (1599), catholic translation; and the Gdańska Bible (1632), evangelical translation. Polish translations differ slightly in the moments describing the rape and the victim, which seems interesting; however, I just point it out in the notes, as a linguistic perspective is not the subject of my paper. Being aware of these slight differences in nomenclature – for instance, in one of the passages discussed, the main female character may be called a wife or a concubine – allows us to better find our way around the studies on rape in the Bible, which usually give a single, up-to-date version of the record. It also allows us to notice how the ways of talking about rape have changed, what attention has been paid to, and what has been omitted while translating the passages.

The interest of English-speaking scholars (this topic is not yet recognised in Polish literary studies) while analysing biblical narratives of rape focuses on three representations – the story of Dinah (Gen 34), the concubine of the Levite (Judg 19-20) and Tamar (2 Sam 13). Scholars read the passages from a multi-methodological perspective, for instance, gynocentric hermeneutic, intertextuality, and narrative criticism, but mainly from a literary-feminist perspective (See, e.g., Trible, 1984; Freedman, 1990; Bechtel, 1994; Washington et al., 1998; Fuchs, 2000; Frymer-Kensky, 2002; Bader, 2006; Yamada, 2008; Blyth, 2010; Cooper-White, 2012; Feinstein, 2014; Scholz, 2010, 2017; Rediger Schulte, 2017). A careful and critical reading of the literature on rape in the Bible leads to an important conclusion that the literary-feminist

perspective can, at times, lead to particular dangers for analysis and interpretation:

> […] feminist interpreters have tended to focus on the experience of women within these texts, rising issues that revolve around the lives of women. […] Modern understandings of rape emphasize that it is an act of power and sexual violence done against the will of another. Such an understanding has affected the ways in which biblical scholars, especially feminist biblical scholars, have understood rape in the Bible (Yamada, 12).

A woman-centred approach is valid, but we should take care not to allow the todays perspective and understanding of sexual violence to obscure the perception of sexual violence by society in biblical times when such events occurred. As far as my research is concerned, Leah Rediger Schulte's study is significant, as she is the only one who distinguishes common elements of biblical rape narratives:

> The four elements of biblical rape include: the *absence* of God; the *presence* of a foreigner or outsider as rapist, victim, or collaborator; and a *persistent problem* throughout each book that is *resolved incorrectly* with increased violence (Rediger Schulte, 69).

As a common element of the passages discussed in this article, one can certainly also mention, for example, that the assault was always preceded by the victim leaving her safe place. This detail is equally important in the case of research on the *raptus puellae* literary texts of various literary genres, such as romance.[2] If we consider the Bible from the point of view of the *raptus puellae* tradition in the sense of both rape and abduction, it turns out that there are more such passages, not only the three narratives discussed by scholars.

2. Abduction and Rape in the Bible – An Overview of Examples

When we think about the Old Testament in terms of rape and abduction, the fundamental question is: How many and what examples can the reader find? Biblical references to the rape – with one exception from Acts 8:3 – appear only in the books of the Old Testament.[3] Of the

[2] In my dissertation, I observe it on the example of Polish Baroque romances from the 16th to the 1st half of the 18th century.

[3] Gen 31:26, Gen 34, Ex 21:16, Deut 20:14, Deut 21:10-14, Deut 22:23-29, Judg 19-20:6, Judg 21, 1Sam 30:3-6, 2Sam 13, 2Chr 28:8 and 29:9, Jdt 4:12 and 9:4,

twenty-eight such passages in the entire Bible,[4] sixteen refer in general to the war slavery, collective abduction into slavery.[5] For instance, in the First Book of Maccabees 1:32, we read that women and children were taken captive and cattle were requisitioned; in Genesis 31:26, we learn about the abduction of daughters as prisoners of war, whereas in Judith 4:12, the people of Israel begged God not to allow their children to be abducted. Their wives were not to be treated as spoils of war. Rapes, like those described in the verses above, tend to be merely mentioned in the Bible as one of the elements of battles and wars but never described in detail. These examples relate to yet another broad topic, present both in literature and in other fields: rape and abduction as committed by a soldier. There are about a few to a dozen verses on the topic that generally refer to the actions of the Israelites, including the law, its observance or breaking, as well as presenting rape as a sin, for example, in Deuteronomy 21:10-14, describing how to deal in a case of bride abduction, and then in Deuteronomy 22:13-29, where the issue of adultery is discussed. The nature of the actions against the victim's will is what verses from Deuteronomy have in common. The specific consequences for the guilty party result from the circumstances in which the kidnapping/abduction and rape take place – while a rapist can dismiss war slavery, he cannot abandon a virgin married as a result of rape. Elements such as screaming as the victim's protest against the violator's intentions and an attempt to call for help, as well as the field as a place far from home and dangerous for a woman exposed to violence from a man, are also characteristic of the second example. These details prove to be important when analysing examples relating to the abduction and rape of a woman.

Among the Old Testament passages, there are also four that present specific stories of violence against women. These are the stories of Dinah (Gen 34), the wife of the Levite (Judg 19-20), the virgins of the tribe of Shiloh (Judg 21), and Tamar (2 Sam 13). The story of Dinah is part of Genesis, representing the earliest stage of Israel's history and the

Est 7:8, 1Macc 1:32, 1Macc 5:13, 1Macc 8:10, Ps 106:46, Isa 13:16, Isa 49:21, Jer 50:33, Jer 52:27-28, Lam 5:11, Ezek 22:10-11, Dan 13, Obad 1:11.

[4] Gen 31:26, Gen 34, Ex 21:16, Deut 20:14, Deut 21:10-14, Deut 22:23-29, Judg 19-20:6, Judg 21, 1Sam 30:3-6, 2Sam 13, 2Chr 28:8 and 29:9, Jdt 4:12 and 9:4, Est 7:8, 1Macc 1:32, 1Macc 5:13, 1Macc 8:10, Ps 106:46, Isa 13:16, Isa 49:21 Jer 50:33, Jer 52:27-28, Lam 5:11, Ezek 22:10-11, Dan 13, Obad 1:11, Acts 8:3.

[5] Gen 31:26, Deut 20:14, Deut 21:10-14, 1Sam 30:3-6, 2Chr 28:8, 2Chr 29:9, Jdt 4:12, Jdt 9:4, 1Macc 1:32, 1Macc 5:13, 1Macc 8:10, Ps 106:46 Isa 49:21, Jer 50:33, Jer 52:27-28, Obad 1:11, Acts 8:3.

formation of law (*Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu*…, 17). The passages about the Levite's wife and the girls of Shiloh are included in the appendix to Judges, which contains two examples relating to the internal history of the Danites and Benjamites tribes. According to the book's assumptions, they present a picture of the religious-political relations of the Israelite community – moral decay, superstition, and intertribal conflicts (*Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu*…, 228–229). It is a society which has fallen into chaos and violence. Women are vulnerable and unprotected (Rediger Schulte, 50). The narrative of Tamar is part of the Second Book of Samuel, which reconstructs the history of the early monarchy and presents the impact of David's reign on the theocratic structure of the Israelite community, its religiosity, and transformations (*Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu*…, 257). The background for the examples is selected moments in the history of the Israelites and their relationship with Yahweh, which remains in a deepening crisis. The abduction and rape of Dina are meant to draw the reader's attention to the relationship between firstly, the girl and her relatives (especially male relatives); secondly, her family and those of her rapist; thirdly, men; fourthly, the rapists and victims, and finally the communities of Israelites and non-Israelites. On the other hand, passages from Judges 19-21 conclude the cycles of alternating believers turning away from God, defeats and failures they experienced due to rejecting Him, and finally, the Israelites' pleas for forgiveness, ending with God's mercy and help (Rediger Schulte, 50).

In these narratives, violence against women is one of the concrete signs of a deteriorating relationship with God. It manifests itself in various ways: the maidens of Shiloh were abducted, the Levite wife and Tamar were raped, and Dinah was abducted and raped. Among the fragments, the one about the virgins from the tribe of Shiloh stands out because it is the only one that implements the assumptions of *raptus puellae* – it is abduction for marriage. The Old Testament examples of violence against women take on a narrative form in which assault is one of the following elements of the cause-and-effect chain. Although sexual violence against women is not the subject of the narrative, it turns out to be a critical point in any story, bringing out and emphasising its meaning. When rape and abduction are at the centre of the story, we can divide them into three parts – before, during, and after the assault, and they differ in length depending on when the theme of violence appears. The first part has an introductory function – the narrator presents the individual characters, explains their relationships, and places them in a specific situational context (Bader, 123). At this point, the pursuit of the narrative's climax – the act of violence – begins. The

second part consists of a story about the moment of the assault and the circumstances in which it occurred. The third part of the narrative consists of: the reaction of the characters to the abduction and rape and the direct consequences of the assault, presented from two perspectives: a narrow perspective (immediate, concerning the characters, especially the victim and the rapist) and a broad perspective (long-term, showing the impact of the act on the history of the Israelites).

3. Narratives about Rape and Abduction – Characteristic Elements

The absence of Yahweh remains common to the presented narratives, especially since, in the remaining chapters of the books, he may be an active or a passive hero (his name is invoked). The absence of God allows the other characters to come to the fore – their actions show the state of the Israelites' relationship with the Creator. Of all the heroines, only Dina and Tamar are introduced by name. The victims – the maiden is not just the Levite's wife – are introduced at various points in the narrative. The story of Dinah is recounted from the viewpoints of society and family (Frymer-Kensky, 179). It begins *in medias res* when Jacob and his household reach the city of Shechem in the land of Canaan from Paddan-Aram and settle nearby, buying a field belonging to the sons of Hamor the Hivite, the prince of that land (Gen 34:2-4). Shechem, the son of Hamor and a prince fell in love with Dinah, abducted her, and raped her. Was the event described in Genesis 34 a rape, as some scholars ask, or was it love? The Vulgate provides a clear answer: "Shechem […] adamavit eam: et rapuit, et dormivit cum illa, vi opprimens virginem" (*Biblia Sacra juxta Vulgatam Clementiam*, 31); we can translate it: Shechem fell in love with Dinah, abducted her, and raped her. *Opprimo*, *-ere* refers to violence. It may denote "crush, strangle, take by surprise, attack or conquer." The Vulgate also says his soul bonded with her and soothed her sadness. Then, we can learn of his plan to marry her.[6] Dina significantly disappears from the narrative

[6] The narration about Dinah appears in each of the old Polish translations. In the catholic translations, Dinah is depicted as the daughter of Leah, while in the evangelical translations, Dinah is the daughter of Leah, whom she bore to Jacob. In fact, Jacob is an active protagonist in the narrative. The mother does not make an appearance and her name appears only at the beginning for informative purposes. In each of the translations, it is indicated in different words that Dinah had been raped (*he slept with her; he had raped the maiden; abused her; he had raped their sister*). In the translations, the reader may notice

immediately after the rape, becoming only a character recalled in the background – not by name, but as a sister or daughter. Her feelings about the situation and the prince are also unknown, while Shechem's feelings and intentions remain public. As a result of the rape, Dina's father loses her virginity, which is the only asset that would allow her daughter to marry correctly. The perspective of the raped woman turns out to be irrelevant to the narrative because, in society's understanding, she is not the real victim:

> The fact that rape was a serious violation of the woman's bodily and sexual integrity […] appears to have been of little concern within the world view of biblical Israel; women […] had no legal claim to sexual self-determination and consequently no right to consent or withhold consent to sexual intercourse (Blyth, 113).

Sexually assaulting an unmarried woman is a crime seen as a violation of her father's property. In Bible times, virginity was treated as a valuable "commodity/good" owned by a male relative. The "theft" of this commodity, even if replaced by some form of reparation, would not erase the disgrace because the undermined authority of male relatives can no longer be restored – they are seen as those who cannot effectively protect the integrity of the women in their care (Blyth, 112–113). Shechem leads to the extreme by abduction and rape – the maiden remains at his mercy, and the only reasonable solution is for her guardian to agree to the marriage. In this case, marriage would be the act of uniting two different groups and forming a covenant, but there is no marriage.

The reader also meets the Levite's wife at the beginning of the narrative, when her husband takes her away from her father's house (Judg 19:1-2). He is portrayed as a man who married a native of Bethlehem. However, his wife, guilty of adultery, left him and returned to live with her father for four months. The Levite comes for her after four months because only after this time is it possible to determine

---

that Shechem first saw the maiden. Hence, we may analyse the case, taking into account the presence of *quinque gradus amoris* topos, according to which the first step to love (perhaps to love understood in a different way) is a gaze. There is also a difference between the translations – in the catholic translations, the sequence of events is presented as follows: Shechem sees Dinah, falls in love with her, kidnaps her, and rapes her. Then he falls in love again and tries to arouse love in Dinah. In the evangelical translations, the information that Shechem fell in love appears only after the rape of the maiden.

whether a woman is pregnant after committing adultery. This symbolic, tiring journey and the abandonment of her husband can also refer to the entire Judges – they remind us of the struggles of the Israelites who rejected God and tried to control their destiny, ultimately plunging into chaos and crime. The wife's previous actions, morally fallen (like the entire nation of Israel) and guilty of adultery, set in motion a course of events that ultimately leads to rape, death, and, more broadly, war.

Tamar begins a new episode in David's story (2 Sam 13:1-2).[7] The narrator introduces the main characters, outlines their relationship, and explains why they triggered the events. Tamar is David's daughter, Absalom's sister, and Amnon's half-sister (by another mother). From the beginning, the reader's attention is directed to Amnon's character. The reader can observe the unfolding of events from the perspective of the rapist, which is a unique narrative strategy. A man first looks at a girl and then falls in love with her. The narrator tries to see Tamar through the eyes of her half-brother – he describes her as beautiful, but her beauty puts her in danger. Chaos introduces the emerging motif of illness and madness out of love, which indicates the sexual context. Amnon plans to get closer to his sister but runs into an obstacle. Tamar is a protected property, inaccessible to men, and as a virgin, she lives in a house intended exclusively for women. It can be said that the heroine is between two brothers, Absalom, who protects her, and Amnon, David's firstborn, who plans to rape her.

The most minor information about the rape victims appears in the narrative of the virgins of Shiloh – the story does not need such detail, especially since there are four hundred virgins. The only thing that remains relevant in this case is the cause, as mentioned above, and the purpose of the abduction – an extension of the dying tribe.

The abduction and rape of Dina occur in the very first sentences of the fragment and becomes the actual beginning of the plot. Essential for the narrative's development are the woman's male relatives. Jacob, Dina's father, is a passive and mute character throughout the narrative, allowing events to occur beyond him (Blyth, 110–111). When he learns that his daughter has been raped, he does not react in any way, waiting for his sons to return from the field and then wholly surrender to their actions. The narrator presents Jacob's character in such a way that it is as if he is not interested in his daughter's situation but only in his reputation (Blyth, 117). He speaks only once, at the very end of the

[7] Although the story of Tamar does not appear in the Leopolita's Bible, the other translations remain consistent, regarding the sequence of events as well as the protagonists' names.

story, accusing his sons of having brought misfortune upon him – the hatred of the Canaanites, who at any moment could attack him and kill Jacob's family. The only active characters whose decisions lead to defeat are Dina's brothers. Hamor, Shechem's father, and his sons respond to Shechem's request with a proposal to resolve the problematic situation (Gen 34:8-12). He asks that Dinah be given to be Shechem's wife because he loves her. He also wants to unite the two peoples by giving each other women as wives and thus sharing land ownership and other opportunities that may arise from this type of exchange and union of tribes, e.g., trade. Dinah's brothers are emotionally acting protagonists (Blyth, 120), from the beginning, very moved by the disgrace that has befallen their family, especially since Shechem is not an Israelite ("uncircumcised"), so in the act of revenge, they commit a ruse that ends up leading to tragedy. Most likely, they are also acting in their self-interest, not wanting to allow intermarriage with non-Israelite women. They understand the idea of exchange in the opposite way to Hamor, which is why they deceive the Shechemites and make a false covenant, asking that all the men of Shechem be circumcised. When Hamor fulfils his contract, they raid the city, kill all the men, take the women and children into slavery, and rob the houses. Dina, Shechem, and Hamor are open toward outsiders, while the heroine's brothers are oriented toward their closed group. Whether there was rape or not, premarital sex disrupted the functioning of both groups and violated their boundaries.

Other acts of violence are introduced at the peak of the development of the presented narratives – the Levite and his wife are forced to spend the night in a strange, lawless city during their journey. At the same time, Tamar and the maidens of Shiloh fall into a trap set by the rapist according to the plan known to the reader. Perhaps the rapes would not have happened if the men had not made bad decisions. The Levite sets out on her journey in the evening instead of in the morning, rejecting the offer of the woman's father, who tries to delay the departure by offering another overnight stay. In the course of the journey, the servant asks to stop for the night in the city of Jebus, but the Levite also refuses (Judg 19:12). This is a clear signal to the reader because it is in the city of Israel, which is supposed to be a safe place, where rape will take place. When they finally reach Gibeah, where the Benjamites live, they stop at the home of another newcomer, who, like the Levite, comes from the south, from Mount Ephraim. However, the Benjamites knock on the door of the house with a demand to "know" the Levite, which translates in the context of a desire for sexual violence. The older man refuses to let his guest get hurt, so he offers his virgin

daughter and the Levite's wife in return. He describes the very possibility of male-male rape as an indignity – it would be a disgrace if a man visiting someone's home were raped like a woman (Rediger Schulte, 43). He also excludes the young servant from possible sacrifices. The Levite and the farmer lead the women outside, each for whom he is responsible, but the narrator directs the reader's attention solely to his wife. The gang rape of the Levite's wife and the farmer's daughter takes place throughout the night, which is a perilous time when help is hard to come by (Judg 19:25-27). The situation was as follows: The attackers did not want to listen to the man, so he took his concubine/wife outside, gave her into their hands, and let them do whatever they wanted with her. The men raped the woman all night and left at sunrise, leaving her behind. She came to the farmer's house and fell. As the Levite went out to continue his journey, he found a woman lying with her hands on the threshold of the door. The threshold separating the interior from the square could symbolise the space between the safety of the home and the danger of the outside. The narrator does not indicate whether the woman is still alive when her husband, refreshed and rested, unlike her, finds her in the morning.[8] Her hands, resting on the threshold, could suggest, however, that at the beginning of the day, she crossed the line between life and death, and from that moment on, she is safe in the house of God (Rediger Schulte, 44–45). It is worth taking a closer look at the figure of the Levite – he is a member belonging to the Israelite tribe

[8] In the catholic translations, the chapter begins with a verse depicting the figure of a Levite, that here was a man, Levite, whose home was deep in the highlands of Ephraim. In the evangelical translations, this sequence is preceded by information about the time and place of the events – the interregnum period in Israel. We also learn a bit more about the female protagonist of the story by comparing the catholic and evangelical translations. In the catholic one, information is provided according to which Levite took a wife who later left him and returned to his father's house. In the evangelical ones, he married a concubine who later committed adultery and returned to his father's house. The Levite (living in the north) goes to reconcile with his unnamed wife to Bethlehem (in the south), to her father's house. Further translation divergences appear at a critical moment of the action when a resident of Gibeah offers accommodation to the protagonists. In the catholic translations, the men demand that the guest should go out because they want to assault and rape him or do whatever they want with him. The host calls it madness and a shameful act. However, according to the evangelical translations, the men demanded that the Levite be released in front of the house because they wanted to get to know him. The host sees anger, inconsistency and lewdness in their intentions.

of priests – his ancestors avenged the rape of Dinah. Meanwhile, the protagonist of the narrative not only lies but also does not prevent rape, he allows it. When he discovers that his wife is dead,[9] he puts her on a donkey and continues his journey, then cuts the woman's body into twelve pieces, sending them to all parts of Israel (Rediger Schulte, 35). He conceals his involvement when the Israelites ask him what happened at Gibeah. At last, he says that the people of Gibeah came at night to kill him and that they raped his wife so brutally that she died. So, the Levite cut her body into pieces, which he sent to all the lands of Israel, showing what a shameful thing those men had done (Judg 20:5-6). This leads not only to war but also to the destruction of the four hundred virgins of Shiloh. The Israelites, having conquered the Benjamites, swear to Jahweh that none of them would give his daughter as a wife to the Benjamite. However, lest the tribe of Benjamin is extinct, they attack the inhabitants of Jabesh, taking the virgins captive and giving them as wives to the Benjamites. There are too few women, so during the Feast of Tabernacles, more of the maidens of Shiloh are abducted. They commanded the Benjamites to hide in the vineyards and watch, and when the virgins of Shiloh gathered to dance, they kidnapped them. In this way, each would have one wife for himself, with whom he would return to the land of Benjamin. They also decreed that when their fathers or brothers came for the virgins, they were to answer them that these women were neither war captives nor maidens given as wives by their guardians. Thus, the guardians of the abductees would not be guilty of failing to take care of them. The Benjamites did as they were told—they abducted the virgins, returned to their land, built cities, and dwelt in them (Judg 21:20-23). As it is the closest to the meaning of *raptus puellae*, this narrative remains the story of the Abduction of the Sabine Women by the Romans. Both the Romans and the Benjaminites abducted the virgins to become their wives. The goal was

[9] Researchers raise questions about the woman's precarious condition and debate whether or not she was found alive by the Levite. The catholic translations indicate the following sequence of events: the woman falls to the floor by the door, the Levite finds her and thinks she is asleep, he asks her to get up, she does not answer, he realises that she is dead, he takes her home on a donkey and then cuts her body into twelve parts. The evangelical translations omit the element indicating the death of the woman: she collapses by the door, he finds her, and asks her to get up she does not answer, so the Levite carries her on a donkey and dismembers her body. The condition of Levite's wife is not described.

obvious: for the lack of women, their tribes would not have survived otherwise as no children were born.

A key element in the narrative of Tamar is Amnon's acceptance of the bad advice of Jonadab, David's nephew described as a cunning friend and made the fateful decision to deceive both his father and Tamar and lure her straight into the rapist's chamber. The manipulations of Amnon, pretending to be ill, lead the father and sister to act according to his wishes – King David sends Tamar to prepare a meal for him in his presence. The fact that the characters believe in the possible improvement of the prince's health after eating a meal prepared and served by his sister indicates their naivety. However, obedient to her father, the girl leaves the safety of the space – the home she shared with the other women – and goes to Amnon, falling into an ambush. The narrator presents the reader with a range of elements that immediately precede the rape – the prince asks for possible witnesses while remaining alone with his sister and asks her to serve a meal in the bedroom. When Tamar gives her brother food, he grabs her and tells her to "lie down" with him. When the sister refuses and asks him not to do such violence to her and to give up this madness, she asks how she could remove the shame of a raped woman and tells Amnon that he will be seen as insane in Israel. She asks him to speak to King David first, as he would not refuse her hand. However, Amnon does not listen to Tamar and decides to rape her against her will. Immediately after the rape, he feels more disgust and hatred for his sister than affection. He orders her to get up and throws her out the door. She says that Amnon is doing even worse by getting rid of her after being raped, but he does not react. He orders the servant to throw the woman out and close the door behind her. The servant does as Amnon commands and throws Tamar out. She sprinkles dust on her head, tears her royal dress, puts her hands on her head, and walks screaming (2 Sam 13:10-19).

A characteristic behaviour of women who are to be raped is that they leave their home – a safe place: Dina goes to the field. The Levite's wife and the host's daughter spend the night on the streets of a crime-ridden city because of the guardians' decision; Tamar finds herself in Amnon's bedroom. Victims at the time of the assault and after are passive. Their screams will not be heard because either the time or the place of the attack is not conducive to rescue. Only Tamar tries but makes unsuccessful attempts to influence her situation and, to avoid being raped, offers Amnon possible solutions. Only in this narrative does the reader listen to a conversation between the violator and the victim, in which the violator is in a superior relationship. If Amnon had listened to Tamar, he would have had a chance to choose the right solution and

change the course of events. After useless attempts to save her, Tamar's voice finally falls silent, and the woman is powerless. Tamar, shown against her brother's background, remains mute, weak, and disgraced; he is strong, brutal, and aggressive. Unlike Amnon, however, she is shown as a wise heroine, aware of the consequences and her situation. She defies her brother twice, once in the rape case and the other when Amnon orders her to be banished to the streets. However, her refusals and requests remain disrespected – the woman speaks but is not listened to. When the prince orders to banish his sister, the narrator directs the reader's attention to her physical appearance and behaviour – Tamar tears the sleeves of the royal robe, sprinkles gunpowder on her head, and walks away in grief. No one wants to hear her voice; not even her father, David, reacts to what happened. Only Absalom intercedes for his sister and accuses Amnon of rape. Later, he also arranges the murder of the rapist. The biblical heroines lack subjectivity – in the eyes of rapists, they are the only object that can be used (actually abused) to satisfy the need for domination, control, and possession (Blyth, 87). The rapist always "robs" the guardian of the bride both of the possibility of a future dowry, which she would receive as a result of a good marriage, as well as of increasing the social status of the family (Rediger Schulte, 11). The only way out for the victim is to remain at the mercy of the violator, as the disgraced woman no longer has a real chance of getting married (Rediger Schulte, 15). When raped, they become damaged, incomplete, and disgraced, not with themselves, but with their families and male relatives, treated by society as real victims (Blyth, 94–96).

4. Conclusions

Each of the narratives could be discussed in great detail, but even in such a brief analysis, it is possible to observe that the active protagonists are men (in Tamar's case, she tries to be active, but her voice is ignored after all). The women appear only at the crucial moment of the stories as victims of abduction or rape. These narratives do not present women as subjects. The female protagonists are shown as mute, invisible, transparent, and passive. However, they play a vital role in highlighting the conventions and social structure and describing relationships between fathers and household members, between different tribes, between men and women, between the woman and the male world, and finally, between the Israelites and God. We may say that these stories are not about a "violation of the rights of the victim but instead […] a violation of the property rights of the one who acts as owner/protector of the victim's sexuality" (Rediger Schulte, 11).

Although the translations may differ slightly, the narratives tell the same stories and have some common elements. The first element is the absence of a deity. These rape cases are part of a bigger story about the relationship between the Israelites and God. All the chaos and violence (rapes, abductions, and murders) that took place did not happen because God had abandoned the Israelites but because they were the ones who had turned their backs on Him. Without God, the Israelites tend to make wrong choices. The second element is the appearance of an outsider or a foreigner. Shechem, a non-Israelite and foreign prince, raped Dinah. An unnamed woman from Judges was a victim of a gang rape committed by the Benjaminites from the city of Gibeah. Tamar's rapist was Amnon, her brother from another mother. The last common element is related to the attempt to live without God. All these present ill-advised decisions, constantly made by the people of Israel, which indicate the failure of the community, with the act of rape being one of the manifestations of this failure.

Re-reading the subject of rape while keeping the female perspective in mind reminds us that it is an act of violence. However, the old culture fails to acknowledge the deed as violence in the name of higher goals: creating the hero himself and a marriage subordinated to the patriarchal order. This is also shown by the following three long biblical narratives: the story of Dinah (Genesis 34), the story of the Levite's wife (Judges 19), and the story of Tamar (2 Samuel 13). While these stories have female protagonists, and these narratives probably would not make sense without them, they are not just about women. The rapes described there constitute a part of a larger biblical story – the story about the Israelites and the story about men. Since rape belongs to the male world, it is possible to overlook these women, who play the role of silent victims, not only because of rape but also because of their place in the world of men.

Although the issue of rape discussed in the article refers only to the Bible, it should be emphasised that the Bible, the mythology, and literature of ancient Greece and Rome are rich sources of research on the functioning of *raptus puellae* in Polish literature from the 16th to the 18th century. However, the rape presented by these representations, apart from the stories about the maidens of Shiloh and the Sabine women, differs from the representation of *raptus puellae* in the old-Polish literature. Examples located at the foot of the European tradition in Polish literature function as an exemplum in poetry, showing a rich reservoir of literary possibilities and erudition of the lyrical subject. Among them, however, there are no references to biblical heroines and plenty of mythological examples, e.g., the abduction of Europa, Helen,

or Persephone. The lack of examples of Dinah, the wife of the Levite, and Tamar in old Polish literature can probably be found in the difference in Catholic treatment of the Bible as a sacred story, as opposed to profane mythology. In the 16th to 18th-century epic, of which romance is a prime example, the narratives of the adventures of the abducted heroines share some standard features with the biblical women, especially when it comes to the critical elements of the narration about the abduction, which include a secluded place, characteristics of the abductor (outsider) and the victim (weak, the lack of woman's will), etc.

However, a characteristic feature of the old Polish examples of *raptus puellae* is the lack of rape. *Raptus puellae*, in Polish history, customs, and literature, is an abduction for marriage. This clearly distinguishes Polish literary examples. It should be noted, however, that among the literary texts, there are works such as Jan Kochanowski's *Song 5*, which tells the story of the devastation of Podolia (Kochanowski, 178–182). In the poem, the *raptus puellae* is one of many examples constituting a permanent element of old Polish works dealing with Tatar-Turkish captivity (Ryba, 2014). War abductions, which immediately bring to mind the war rape, are also a characteristic element of the entire epic. Nevertheless, the development of the functioning of *raptus puellae* in the literary tradition, as well as the rootedness of biblical and mythological stories and our awareness of it, allows us to ask a question about the shape of the narrative preserved in the Bible and ancient literature, including the narrative scheme, which could be a potential point of reference for the stories told in Polish literature, which, after all, grew out of the rich and diverse European tradition.

Bible Translations:

Biblia to jest Księgi Starego i Nowego Przymierza według łacińskiego przekładu starego, w Kościele powszechnym przyjętego, na polski język znowu z pilnością przełożone, z dokładaniem tekstu żydowskiego i greckiego, i z wykładem katolickim trudniejszych miejsc do obrony wiary świętej powszechnej przeciw kacerstwom tych czasów należących, przez D. Jakuba Wujka z Wągrowca, Theologa Societatis Jesu. Kraków, 1599.

Biblia Święta to jest Księgi Starego i Nowego Przymierza z żydowskiego i greckiego języka na polski pilnie i wiernie przetłumaczone. *Cum Gratia & Provilegio S. R. M.* Gdańsk, 1632.

Biblia to jest Księgi Starego i Nowego Zakonu na Polski język z pilnością według łacińskiej Biblicy od Kościoła Krześcijańskiego powszechnego przyjętej nowo wyłożona. *Cum Gratia & Provilegio S. R. M.* Kraków, 1561.

Biblia Święta to jest Księgi Starego i Nowego Zakonu właśnie z żydowskiego, greckiego i łacińskiego na nowo na polski język z pilnością i wiernie wyłożone. Brześć Litewski, 1563.

Biblia Sacra juxta Vulgatam Clementiam, editio electronica. Ed. M. Tuueedale et al. London, 2005.

Works Cited:

Bader, Mary Anna. *Sexual Violation in the Hebrew Bible: A Multi-Methodological Study of Genesis 34 and 2 Samuel 13*. Peter Lang, 2006.

Bechtel, Lyn M. "What If Dinah Is Not Raped?" *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, no. 62, June 1994, pp. 19-36.

Bielski, T., and W. Markowski, editors. *Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu w przekładzie z języków oryginalnych*. Wydawnictwo Pallottinum, 1971.

Blyth, Caroline. *The Narratives of Rape in Genesis 34: Interpreting Dinah's Silence*. Oxford University Press, 2010.

Cooper-White, Pamela. *The Cry of Tamar: Violence Against Women and the Church's Response*. Fortress Press, 2012.

Feinstein, Eve Levavi. *Sexual Pollution in the Hebrew Bible*. Oxford University Press, 2014.

Freedman, David Noel. "Dinah and Shechem, Tamar and Amnon." *Austin Seminary Bulletin: Faculty Edition*, vol. 105, 1990, pp. 51-63.

Frymer-Kensky, Tikva. *Reading the Women of the Bible: A New Interpretation of Their Stories*. Schocken Books, 2002.

Fuchs, Esther. *Sexual Politics in the Biblical Narrative: Reading the Hebrew Bible as a Woman*. Sheffield Academic Press, 2000.

Kochanowski, Jan. *Dzieła wszystkie: Pieśni*. Ossolineum, 1990.

Meyers, C., T. Craven, and R.S. Kraemer, editors. *Women in Scripture: A Dictionary of Named and Unnamed Women in the Hebrew Bible, the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books, and the New Testament*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2000.

Rediger Schulte, Leah. *The Absence of God in Biblical Rape Narrative*. Fortress Press, 2017.

Ryba, Renata. *Literatura staropolska wobec zjawiska niewoli tatarsko-tureckiej*. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2014.

Scholz, Susanne. *Introducing the Women's Hebrew Bible: Feminism, Gender Justice, and the Study of the Old Testament*. Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2017.

Scholz, Susanne. *Sacred Witness: Rape in the Hebrew Bible*. Fortress Press, 2010.

Souter, A., et al., editors. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford University Press, 1968.

Szafrańska, Monika. "*Raptus puellae* w literaturze polskiej XVI–XVIII wieku: Między życiem a literaturą." Unpublished doctoral thesis, Uniwersytet Śląski w Katowicah, 2025, opus.us.edu.pl/info/phd/USL3bbee23e404f4840b64f811863ed553e/.

Trible, Phyllis. *Texts of Terror: Literary-Feminist Readings of Biblical Narratives*. Fortress Press, 1984.

Washington, H.C., S.L. Graham, and P. Thimmes, editors. *Escaping Eden: New Feminist Perspectives on the Bible*. Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.

Yamada, Frank M. *Configurations of Rape in the Hebrew Bible: A Literary Analysis of Three Rape Narratives*. Peter Lang, 2008.

ERZÄHLUNGEN ÜBER VERGEWALTIGTE UND ENTFÜHRTE FRAUEN IN POLNISCHEN BIBELÜBERSETZUNGEN ALS QUELLE FÜR DIE FORSCHUNG ZU *RAPTUS PUELLAE* IN DER POLNISCHEN LITERATUR DES 16. BIS 18. JAHRHUNDERTS

Vergewaltigung ist ein Phänomen, das in vielen Diskursen präsent ist: rechtliche, soziale, psychologische, religiöse und künstlerische. Wir können es auch aus philologischer Perspektive betrachten. Es ist auch ein Thema, das tief in der Kultur verwurzelt ist und auf die klassischen und biblischen Traditionen zurückgeht. Darstellungen von Vergewaltigung und Entführung in der Bibel sowie in der griechischen und römischen Literatur werden zu einem literarisch-kulturellen Hintergrund für die Erforschung des Themas *raptus puellae* in der europäischen Literatur der Neuzeit. Bei der Untersuchung der polnischen Literatur des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts konzentriert sich die Autorin auf polnischen Bibelübersetzungen des 16. bis 17. Jahrhunderts (Leopolita, Brzeska, Jakub Wujek, Gdańska). Die Analyse wirft die Frage auf, ob und wie sich die Erzählungen von Vergewaltigung oder Entführung in einzelnen Bibelübersetzungen verändert haben, wie Entführung und Vergewaltigung in Erzählungen dargestellt werden und ob sie einen Zusammenhang mit späteren Darstellungen des Themas in der altpolnischen Literatur haben. Wir können auch sehen, wie die Beschreibungen einzelner Vergewaltigungsfälle in der Bibel durch das "Zusammentreffen" von Vergewaltigungsbegriff, Sprache und literarischen Konventionen beeinflusst werden.

Keywords: *Raptus puellae*, Entführung, Vergewaltigung, Entführung und Vergewaltigung in der Bibel, Gewalt gegen Frauen, *raptus puellae* in der altpolnischen Literatur

DUBRAVKA ĐURIĆ'S POETICS OF HOPE IN THE POLITICS OF HOPE (AFTER THE WAR) *(2024)*

Marija ***Krivokapić****, University of Montenegro, marijak@ucg.ac.me*

Professional paper
DOI: 10.31902/fll.54.2026.6
UDC: 821.163.41-1.09

Abstract: Dubravka Đurić's collection of poetry, *The Politics of Hope* (*After the War*), features a selection of works dating from 1982 to 2024. The anthology is edited and translated into English by Biljana D. Obradović, with an introductory foreword authored by Charles Bernstein. Đurić's book received prestigious recognition from the North American Society for Serbian Studies (NASSS) in 2024 for its exceptional cultural achievement, while, in his review, Mark Wallace argues that it is one of Southeast Europe's most important poetic events. Drawing mainly on poststructuralism, Đurić's poetry employs experimental structures, multilingual elements, and the interplay of poetic, prose, and visual forms to explore the fragility of form, language, names, and identities; the blurring of boundaries between diversities; and the fractures and tensions of post-Yugoslav and transnational crises. It is also a brilliant act of resistance against traditional forms and meanings, demanding focused agency from the reader. Building on the critique of conceptual and language poetry, I will address language as a locus of identity and conflict; experimental poetics as a form of political expression; art as a venue for resistance and introspection; post-Yugoslav discourse and its wider implications; and the crises of displacement and environmental degradation.

Keywords: language, poem, concept, form, identity

1. Introduction

Dubravka Đurić's poetry collection *The Politics of Hope (After the War)* traces the trajectory of her writing since her debut in 1982. It is a body of work shaped by Wittgenstein's demanding legacy and situated within Yugoslav, post-Yugoslav, and global avant-garde traditions. Đurić's poetry foregrounds the constructed nature of language and invites sustained reflection on its themes. Its conceptual orientation privileges idea over aesthetic finish, merging avant-garde procedures with contemporary technologies to stage the tension between idea and materiality (cf. Goldsmith). This generates a dense meta-poetic inquiry into the writing process, the material mediation of meaning, reflexive

entanglement with social contexts and registers, and the dynamics of reading.

When awarding The Politics of Hope (After the War) with the prestigious honor from the North American Society for Serbian Studies (NASSS), Nikolai Gladanac highlights that Đurić's poetry challenges imposed power structures through linguistic play. It creates a space where historical forces are present but not entirely controlling, allowing for ongoing transformation. By rejecting sovereign self-possession and emphasizing the playful nature of language, Gladanac argues, Djurić's poetry stays open and resistant to the influences of power—whether from Communism, Nationalism, or Arbitrary Monopoly Capitalism. In the process, her work, by breaking down and rearranging signs through the materiality of language, preserves "hope" that something better is inherently present. With a similar perspective, Charles Bernstein describes the book as "an act of defiance and delight: both a refusal to be caught in the 'traps' that are given state of things, aesthetically or politically, but also an insistence on the pleasure of possibilities […] it's as if the cosmos is constantly coming into being in the here and now of the poems" (13).

Structured in eight parts—ranging from early cycles such as *Clouds and Shores / Clouds and Shapes* (1982–1983) and *Nature of the Moon / Nature of the Woman* (1989), through *Stretching the Frames / Slash of / Context* (1988–1990), *Traps* (1995), *Cosmopolitan Alphabet* (1995), *All Over* (1996–2004), *Ka politici nade (Nakon rata)* (2015), and concluding with *New Poems*—the collection stages a cosmos in continual transformation. Mark Wallace notes that its unifying ground is a sustained restlessness: movement between positions, tensions among languages and identities, and shifting temporalities. Rather than a fixed origin or endpoint, it offers a poetics of transformation, marked by radical hybridity at the intersection of experience (Wallace).

Biljana D. Obradović, herself a poet, achieves notable results in translating Đurić's Serbo-Croatian poetic codes into English. The process is described as "total translation" (Dojčinović 138), as both poets worked closely on intricate poetic problems, often clarifying decisions through extensive footnotes that form a substantial meta-textual, trans-poetic, interdisciplinary, and intertextual layer. These annotations elaborate inspirations, influences, allusions, dense philosophical references, structural complexity, multilingual and cultural contexts, and intersections of epistemologies, while preserving a singular voice within a multi-voiced dialogue with the reader. In this sense, the footnotes become integral to the collection's transgressive mode (cf. Dočjinović 139).

From reflection to resistance

In Đurić's poetry, the act of writing is profoundly linked to existential questions regarding the poet's agency during the creative process. Although both conceptual and language poetry emphasize the creative process over the outcome, the extended dialogue with a poem and the writing of it evolves here into a self-referential journey of drafting, redrafting, and reconsidering the fleeting nature of the poet's identity, the poem's meaning, and the mediated reality of the post-truth era (cf. Bubaš; Keyes), and the fragility of the poem's primary medium—language—leading to vague, incomplete, disrupted contemplations.

The first short poems establish the book's concept and poetic persona, grounded in reflection rather than interpretation of an unsettled reality, emphasizing, thus, sensory experience provided through the blank spaces that suggest movements in the air:

> Changes
> Gray white blue
> sky
> Wind currents spread the colors. (Đurić 21)

Accentuating the artificiality of concepts, the poem "Prayer for Today" first proposes to "transform sadness into joy" and then undermines the meaning of both: "Let there be no joy/ Let there be no sadness" (22), as if suggesting that these words should be unlearned (Bernstein 262). Similarly, in the phenomenological play of the poem "I see," the blueness of the space is understood as a reflection of the perceiving subject, i.e., the intentional mind: "I see/ If the space is blue/ Let it be/ What I see is reflected" (Đurić 23). Although the submission in "Let it be" suggests that reality is accepted without any attempt at imposing a structure upon it, the reflective perception engages in a mirrored relationship with the external blue, confusing the subject and the object. Consequently, a dynamic process is started, generating an existential immediacy that is later complicated by the exploration of language and its stasis.

In the poem "Searching," the "liquid surface" of language is summoned by seemingly calm coastal imagery, which, nevertheless, is in constant transformation as waves shape rocks, birds build nests, someone hears screams that traverse the pages, alongside the rain that "falls on the sea/ surface" with "[e]very drop hit[ing] the sea" (31). The phenomena of remolding and the "pure music/ of transformation" (32) are highlighted through the repetition of onomatopoeic

DRIP DRIP DRIP
DROP DROP DROP

Although, Place notes, "distinction between manipulation and production, object and sign, contemplation and consumption" disappears, the most mimetic words, such as "MURMUR" (32), cannot convey the fluid reality, which is here conveyed through varying indentations, repetitions, blank spaces, the absence of punctuation—"There is no period/ No comma," the poem states in its self-reflectiveness—and the capitalization of words that imply the absence of sound:

Often I say
the word
SILENCE (30).

In the way that the words themselves "don't carry experience/ the adventure" (29) but "enable" them, "[t]he sentence doesn't have to make sense" (31), a poem asserts. The meaning is found in the poetic play "WITH THE SENSE/ OF NONSENSE" or "NONSENSE/ OF SENSE" (32), or "that fear/in front of/ NONSENSE/ OF SENSE" (34). While the sentence follows the flow of a single culturally informed mind, one might, for example, say, "the rock is covered by the sea." However, the insistently fragmented sentences in this poem complicate the notion that "the word is covered by sense," that sense is acquired, and that a sentence, once the guardian of meaning, is, as Silliman suggests, "merely a limit" (67). Further reflecting on the abstract, introspective exploration of language, identity, and perception, the poem insists: "The sentences don't make sense" (Đurić 38). Yet, by inviting the reader to create meaning by "Imagin[ing] a word/ Imagin[ing] a sentence," the poem suggests the power of language, words, and sentences to construct the world in our minds. From here, the poem conjures the physical experience of words and sentences—"Look at a word/ Look at a sentence"—underscoring the dual nature of language, which now becomes a tangible marker on a page, a conveyor of some sense. In the philosophically paradoxical continuation—"Letters appear on things/ Letters are the opposite picture of the world"—language mediates between the material and immaterial by being imposed onto the physical world, thus standing in opposition to it by abstracting it. Finally, the personal movement in the line "I walk in rain" transitions to the

external, shared world of language that produces a multifaceted reality in which "I" becomes an observed "she": "Walks in rain/ SHE IS ME."

Identities and realities shift and cannot neatly fit into any one language, which is why the poem insists:

Break the rules

BRE AK!

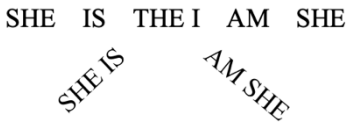
WILLLL BREEE AKKKKK!

BBBB

RRRRRRRRR

KKKKKKKKKKKK (39)

This compelling visual experience captures the raw energy of creation while simultaneously illustrating the disintegration of its structure, in both language and concept. The opening command clearly signifies a revolt against the constraints. The imperative is supported by a phonetic rupture that intensifies when B, R, and K are repeated, echoing the act of breaking and exposing the vulnerability of language and its traditional function. The structure has now literally exploded on the page. The elongated vowels and consonants work to transform a visual piece into sound and rhythm, eager to break free. When the boundaries of art and life are questioned by the use of letters and words, the lyrical persona proclaims, "I BELIEVE IN THE WORD" and concludes in a rapturous design:



(39).

Nature of the Moon / Nature of the Woman – Nine Metapoems continues the visual dance, creating verses in circles and blocks, diagonally and horizontally, crossing over written words ("~~reflection~~"), and introducing arrows that indicate directions in which the signs should be read, but also suggesting that this poetry should be performed. As Đurić implies in conversation with Đurđević, her work is a study of "the relationship between performance and poetry" and the rhythms of language: "Movement and voice do not depend on the poem's content;

conventional content, in a way, does not exist. I work with parataxis, which is also crucial for language poetry. In performance, movement, and voice act as media in their own right" (Đurđević). In other words, the movements of the reading voice and the body should reflect the poem's flow, which is not merely a reflection of a learned reality, but a "thread of many threads" (Đurić 43) that vanish in the void of memory. Therefore, the paradoxical interaction of language, mind, and consciousness:

Memory is an ECHO

Aporia of ↘
MIND
Paradox of ↗

(43)

LANGUAGE	→	LANGUAGE
LANGUAGE	←	MIND
MIND	→	WORLD
WORLD	←	CONSCIOUSNESS
CONSCIOUSNESS	→	LANGUAGE

(45)

Taking on the futuristic channeling of kinetic energy onto the page, this poetry at times delivers a chaotic performance. This is particularly evident when the poem adopts an abstract, philosophical direction, aligning with linguistic post-structuralist theories to examine how language, as a system of signs within a logical framework, defines and constrains experience, constructs consciousness, and shadows the multiplicity of selves. "The world is divided into many languages, many selves" (47), the poem asserts, while each fragmented "self" is portrayed as a "general self of language." The meta-linguistic assertion, "reduced language to the pure relationship/ of language and language/ of language and mind" (48), illustrates how language becomes a self-contained system, incapable of accurately reflecting reality, "reduc[ing] the language of the mind to it/itself." The recurring phrase "meta-language of the mind" suggests an infinite loop in which language reflects human consciousness while striving to comprehend itself. Now exploring poetic existentialism—"To feel the language by the language itself"—the poem depicts language as having sensory capacity, experiencing itself in its Derridean instability, becoming both a tool and an object of experience. Parentheses, dashes, slashes, and other punctuation marks highlight the disruption of flow and draw attention to the parallels of reduction and language games as inescapable aspects of the mind.

The poems from *Stretching the Frames / Slash of / Context* (2020) adhere to a conceptual language while incorporating visual and prosodic forms. While exploring how language clarifies and obscures truths, Đurić performs a quest for "the bottom" of all meanings, navigating through static and dynamic states and examining familiar and elusive transformations alongside the boundaries that shape her political and aesthetic concerns. The quality of the opening section is particularly incantatory and rich with symbolic imagery of elemental forces—darkness, water, fire, and wind—that ground the human tireless search "to the bottom/ to the bottom" (60). This mantric repetition, akin to a gravitational pull, traverses various realms of consciousness, drawing upon the imagery of darkness and caves and invoking primeval habitats and the subconscious. The mention of the mythical Silen, god of the woods, reflects the poet's desire to reach the metaphysical "bottom" but also implies the paradoxical idea that life's actual state is chaos—woods are vibrant yet dark. As a consequence, the syntax avoids narrative unity and demands disruption. The soundscape, mirroring the physical movement of elemental forces, heightens the sense of disjunction, while the language resembles dripping water, with each line flowing horizontally down the caves, providing moments for textual breathing.

w
a d
t r f
e i r w o
r p o a f
s m l
l
s c
a
v
e
s

(56).

This comfort is abruptly disturbed by the intense alliteration of "springing up sizzling very searing and seawater," which transitions into another "home," indicating that these turbulent motions are intrinsic to existence and self-awareness. The nonlinear verses, such as "flows flows ---------- word forwards," imply that the ultimate meaning—the bottom—is unattainable. As the poem resists closure, it fuses the traditional binaries, the real and the symbolic, water and fire, language and physicality, thought and matter, suggesting a pre-textual or conceptual elemental unity: "water lead/ where fire and water are home to the wind." Additionally, words are elemental themselves, as

"word breaks/ in the mouth." In the monumental capitalized meta-linguistic declaration, "MY PATH IS THE PATH OF WORDS" (56), the speaker embraces the dynamic nature of language and recognizes its self-sustaining strength. Words may fluctuate, yet they remain steadfast, anchoring us in an unyielding pursuit.

Although the definite article in the title of the narrative poem "The Border" (Đurić 59) suggests a specific border, the poem retains the ideas of fluidity and transition. While borders serve as painful scars in contemporary life, which categorize subjects as wanted or unwanted, paradoxically, the central metaphor refers to their liminality as crossing points that initiate an irreversible change—"Nothing remains halfway which has crossed a certain path." The border is not a static line but a permeable meeting point, an active agent of encounters, transformations, and creations. The spiraling syntax crafts a stream-of-consciousness text that seamlessly transitions into "even though the words are always there to say what cannot be said in the telling." The language is paradoxically both present and inadequate to express the interloping movements of thoughts and the elusive image of the border as an illusory threshold. The ineffable is sought through another interplay of opposites, perhaps in an attempt at balancing or merging them: the celestial bodies symbolizing consciousness and sensuality, the natural forms of the human and non-human world—"One is the Moon's body and the other the Sun's body." Cyclical movement is repetitive and, therefore, laden with memories ("guided by a forethought of consciousness or without it") that, in a Heraclitian manner, transform the past with each traversal: "It is never identical to itself, and when it is identical, it is different in itself for itself." The bodies, though vessels for (phenomenological) memory, can only move in a Bergsonian time. Thus, the central motif is an imprintable site because it is interconnected with all cosmic forms, always in flux, in a dialogue with a difference, generating enrichment, in the Nietzschean sense—"Traces are imprinted in the body of words, the body of bodies, of the sky and of the earth." Therefore, identities, as the systems of meanings, can only be relational (cf. Silliman 75)—"according to that beyond itself that it gets its meaning" (Đurić 59). The recursive patterns of the poem—"And beginning again from the starting point means movement in the same or a different direction"—emphasize endless reinterpretation or transformation of the self that crosses "the border" in the Deleuzean rhizomatic cosmos the poem evokes, which can be entered from anywhere.

The poem "Disordering" (60) suggests that we define ourselves in relation to the mentioned flux. By stating, "Simply spit out name's

names," the poem reflects an interest in meta-names, self-aware constructs layered with meanings. Spitting out suggests a physical expulsion, presenting a speaker tired of the inevitable constraints. By proclaiming, "I give myself to names," the poem acknowledges that it cannot escape language but may still disorder the Derridean signifying force of names to shape its own reality. An intentionally disruptive syntax follows this in "[n]ot apparently in words names' letters gave for names," suggesting that meanings do not derive from words constructed from letters and melancholically hinting at the existence of an intrinsic essence that evades Lacanian symbolical order. Returning to the relationality of the preceding poem, the demand in "[m]y names in you spit out" implies the spilling over of the speaker's multiple identities, as well as the anxiety surrounding these identities, articulated by external forces. It also invites a reevaluation of the possibility for both an authentic recognition and a yearning for it, especially as "names" and "words" become hypnotically repeated and rearranged, accompanied by the play of pronouns and possessives ("my names in you"). This unsteady naming terrain evokes the existential unease stirred by naming experienced as both a demonstration of power and a source of vulnerability, as the poem leaves the reader feeling that naming cannot be finished.

In its self-referentiality, the narrative poem "Shifts" (65) explains:

> I glanced over the already completed / in order for the written /spoken sentences to function like a leitmotif and therefore given the rhythm to the already written text. I turned a page over in order to start a New Life over. New elements reshape the old. What's left to do is to vary the limited number of elements. That's why I placed a period. So that the new sentence could begin again. So that a New Life of words begins in the portion of the texture of the text. The meaning is the same. When it exists.

Although writing proposes a cyclical process of renewal, with each page continuing the previous one while introducing new concerns, the "new elements" that "reshape the old," again, suggest that meaning is connected to iteration. Still, the meta-narration in "what's left to do is to vary the limited number of elements," while acknowledging how language limits creativity, also shows that, despite the finite number of elements, reshaping produces novelty. This idea is further illustrated by the concept, both optimistic and ironic, of creating a New Life on a blank page. The assertion that "the meaning is the same when it exists" aligns

with earlier thoughts on how language tries to express the inexpressible. It also playfully suggests that meaning might not exist in the saturation of discourses, echoing the philosophical fears of *horror vacui* and the book's decisive insistence to reject closures*, absences, silences* through *continuous questioning, movement, and reconfiguration* of poetic and ideological landscapes. "Shifts" continues to explore rhythm as an organizing principle that defines boundaries and their transgression, as demonstrated by the deliberate placement of a period: "That's why I placed a period." Similar to "Disordering," where physical forces reflect linguistic dynamics, "Shifts" self-destructs while analyzing the mechanics of language.

Nevertheless, as long as we view language as striving for something beyond, "Shifts" relies on the act of writing as an inherently material process that must evolve, even when fading into nonexistence. Therefore, the insistence on materializing language through the use of punctuation, rhythm, and repetition, as seen in the segment of the narrative poem "death looked at itself into the eyes…" (70):

> motion inscribes signs in arm movements and empty paper is filled a word follows a word and already meaning is constituted in death words speak in the world where the trace hides a trace new layers of earth arranged on the earth meaning leans on meaning the world empties itself when there are no words and fills up when they are present in one move the world gets ruined through words three meanings don't include all possibilities reduced to one stone is dust and the ground under the arm a trace on paper and in death's space ashes are scattered all over the earth meaning dies till its uncertain death

In this abstract existential narrative, the material realities of a moving arm or a stone gathering dust are paralleled with intellectual processes. The blank paper signifies potentiality, a void filled by creation, memory, and interpretation—not the horror of emptiness. The sequential nature of language forces meanings out of the void and gives rise to coherence. The metaphorical language surrounding traces of death transforms into cyclical imagery of meaning accumulating beneath time or context. While physical decay culminates in ashes, it also suggests the possibility of dispersal and, therefore, redistribution.

Resistance to maintaining a singular definition is accompanied by a series of minimalist poems supported by photographs of the poet, establishing a direct connection between the image, the representation,

and the self. In addition, the poems employ colons, slashes, equality signs, brackets, capitalized letters, fragmented syntax, and diagonally ordered phrases to create an ambiguous relationship among these elements and suggest that identity exists concurrently as personal, visual, symbolic, and performative (cf. Butler). In the poem "Identiteti" (121), the emphasis on "(mistake misreading misunderstanding)" may indicate that identities can also be misconstrued by ourselves, as suggested by the parentheses. The provocative problematization of context in "out of context = what is your context" invites the reader to consider their own frameworks for understanding, repeating the question of whether identities exist independently of a frame. The repeated references to emptiness, such as in "EMPTY PLACE," imply a void, unmarked identity, the unattainability of authenticity, or the impossibility of defining an "authentic" identity. The same idea is supported by paradoxical lines, such as: "particular context that DOESN'T exist/ SHOULD NOT exist."

The title of the poem "Poništavanje" (translated as "delete") (120), accompanied by the image of the poet waving at the camera from the edge of a beach, creates a sense of liminality and a striking contrast between presence (the beach as the threshold) and absence (the sea), through the act of unmaking, erasure, and nullification. The relentless repetition of "ništa" (nothing) suggests this void is intentional and profound. "Ništa" is repeated twelve times, six times diagonally as if to encircle the photo's space, and then vertically, presenting a linguistic void that consumes the area. This gradually descending path, although resonating with nihilism, also introduces a dynamism: as it shifts across the page, "ništa" appears alive and deliberate. When the dynamic movement gives way to the static monotony of a column, "ništa" becomes consolidated. The reader is left with a heavy absence within the bracketed ("emptiness") that concludes the poem. However, the waving in the photograph carries an ambiguously cheerful tone. It is a farewell, a greeting, or a wave at something/someone, or a fleeting presence against the tide of erasure.

Building on Charles Bernstein's poem "The Manufacture of Negative Experience," the poem "Silence Is the Only Noise Which Threatens" is a free-associative meditation on human emotions, memory, and the unsettling noise of persistent silence revealed through mundane events. "In modern times we have lost our rapport with language," Bernstein says, "ceasing to think of meaning as inhering in words and imagining instead that words have primarily psychological or social or historical or conventional meaning" (260). Thus, the ellipses in the opening lines indicate the fractured emotional landscape, "...and

she orders me... come closer and knock" (Đurić 164) which creates a pause already as the poem begins. The commands that include an invitation and a reminder that the speaker should knock contrast closeness with barriers and warmth with authority. The sudden mention of the creation of man—"Because a man was created"—alludes to the culturally construed gender roles. "I wish to let you know" is a gentle appeal in contrast to the earlier authoritative tone, expressing a desire for connection and enhancing the emotional complexity and instability. As we think that "she" was given agency in the initial lines, the thought loops introduce another voice that blends command and polite request—"...and, he orders me, I beg you nicely"—creating a triangular perspective and an effort to maintain harmony within an unresolved context of manipulation through the gendered language, internal struggle, or hesitation.

Silence is a paradoxical concept of threat and absence that amplifies the growing dissonance. Lines like "You can sing/ You can scream" highlight that attempts to fill the silence are futile, as if sound cannot occupy a void dominated by noise. Noise manifests literally through slamming doors, crying, anger, and gossip. The exploitation of fragments embodies unstable thoughts and memories while spiraling repetitions, fleeting dialogues, and scattered imagery merge surrealism with mundane details. The meta-narrative collapses the differences between experience, creation, and perception: "I moved away and thought/ I can't do anything about it. I can dream [...] Then they thought. Then they wrote..." The repetitive yet irregular rhythm, found in clauses "Then they went to the forest. Then they disappeared/ at the beach. Then they descended the staircase..." (165) mimics a childlike recounting of events while a mechanical quality in these sentences evokes the monotony of daily life. The emotional charge felt in the daily activities of running, laughing, and arguing makes them seem like failed attempts to find meaning. This opens space for fear and powerlessness—"I thought I'd collapse from shock... I can't do anything about it"—embodied through traditional images of forests, hunting, and traps. The poem's surrealist tone is enforced through ethereal images and physical sensations: "The smell of young wine/ The smell of dew/ Body odor/ It has spread all over the planet" (164). These elements emphasize how memory and experience intertwine, confuse the real and the imagined, and complicate relationships. The distance between people—"Little by little I moved away from her anger"—is reinforced by the anthropomorphized bed "making faces," the lines sounding like gossip—"She is immoral/ She is crazy," and the existential denial of

judgment—"I ask myself what your name is, what you're thinking, where you're going." Silence remains threatening.

The hybrid, vibrant piece "I Hate Narration" offers a poetic and philosophical exploration of the traditional boundaries of poetry and its interpretation, especially within a post-communist context. By fusing diverse theoretical perspectives and striking imagery, the poem contends that poetry represents a vast, transformative space that resists outside influence. The repeated confrontational statement "I HATE NARRATION" (144) underscores the poet's frustration with conventional, linear storytelling in poetry. The narration is seen as reductive and controlling—"With magnetic plates/ ideology is inscribed in every incarnation/ and every materialization, reification/ in everyone's sexuality" (146). It operates on predetermined codes that maintain established ideologies and limit artistic expression—"Critics with their (mis)understanding kill poetry" (145). In contrast, poetry ought to function as a means of resistance, exploration, and reconstruction, dismantling logocentric conventions and affirming that it "doesn't reflect, doesn't express, doesn't tell a story" (144). Conceptualized as a living entity, poetry is described as "a body, a passionate body"—metaphorical and tangible, layered, sensual, and resistant to disembodied intellectualism. As an expansive entity, it actively interacts with contemporary realities—"VR—MTV—Postcommunism" and censures the ideological hold of political orders. Their critics, referred to as "JOYFUL POLITICIANS" (145) echo authoritarian practices—such as silencing the Other—and seek to dictate the essence and form of poetry. Resistant poetry, therefore, "speaks of infinite possibilities," becoming an act of political significance, not merely aesthetic value.

Citing Russian Formalists, this political polemics rejects the idea of "one acceptable form," which stifles both contextual and formal innovations, and prefers experimental, exploratory, genre-fluid poetry, as seen in avant-garde poets such as McGann, Bernstein, Hejinian, and Perloff. The poem's fluid form mirrors this theoretical stance, evolving through a collision of philosophical vocabulary (e.g., "logocentricity," "ideology of textuality") and poetic and corporeal metaphors ("Poetry is a body, a passionate body"), along with disjointed lines that are thematically connected nonetheless. Thus, we encounter phrases like "with magnetic plates ideology is inscribed," which read like theoretical essays, alongside lines such as "the dictator's will still doesn't determine the writing/ of each individual" (146), which push the poem into the realm of politics. Referencing Lotman, the poem asserts that poetry does not merely represent a world but creates worlds: "A poem

produces meaning—it's a direct product of ideology" (147). Concurrently, the poem dismisses Lyotard's "Grand Narratives" and posits that poetry thrives in fragments, non-linear forms, and the disruption of universals through the intersections of contemporary poetic, technological, and sensual materials. The poem employs repetition to reinforce its key arguments, as seen in "Poem = politics/ Poem = ideology/ Poem = the body of the text." As the act of writing is a form of exploration, the poem becomes intensely self-reflexive, continuously questioning its medium, form, and purpose: "That's why in poetry, as in politics, the question of control/ is a question of power." Simultaneously, the elusive speaker oscillates between embodied statements—"I hate narration"—and theoretical observations: "A poem is put together from fragments of stories" (145).

"A Non-Narrative Poem of Poetry" takes its title from Gertrude Stein's "Winning His Way. A Narrative Poem of Poetry" (Đurić 185), while referencing several contemporary writers. It roots its ruminations at a specific moment in time—Podgorica Airport on October 10—as if to equate writing with a journey. This enables the development of an emotionally resonant multilingual, code-switching method. The poem merges English and South Slavic languages ("pjesma," "lacuna," "plate," etc.) to point to its hybridity, as exemplified in the question: "*Pjesmo*, where are you going?" (193). The tonal and rhythmic elements of Slavic languages enhance the emotional depth: "In the abyss—*bezdan*—I lose my footing,/ caught in a song too heavy for one tongue." Translating this emotional depth is challenging, as these terms are not merely decorative but serve as cultural touchstones. For instance, the word "pjesma" facilitates cross-linguistic dialogue, reflecting the poet's quest for self-expression. To emphasize its original context, the poem keeps the regional case system: "Think of yourself because whoever worries/ about pjesmi will ask what is important there" (192). Furthermore, the translation of these terms found in footnotes prompts readers to engage with the unfamiliar and fosters an appreciation for the multicultural reality that defies erasure. Lastly, the language switching highlights the poet and the "pjesma" as they navigate a liminal space, existing at the intersection of linguistic and cultural identities.

Drawing on meta-poetic reflections, this text personifies the poem as an autonomous being, a companion, confidant, muse, and source of solace, but also as a site of frustration, an adversary, and an entity capable of betrayal. The poem's self-awareness emphasizes its autonomy as it seeks its own space, uncertain whether it can sustain itself in a world that may not fully understand it:

Self-awareness of *pjesme* is searching for a space for itself
It's not certain it can handle the emptiness
of the surface (196)

At the same time, the *pjesma* is presented as a reflection of the poet's essence, making its existence inseparable from the poet's sense of self.

If I lose you, *Pjesmo*,
I lose myself in you and tears won't touch the foundation of sadness
because only the *pjesma* knows there's no exit (198)

The paradoxical phrasing suggests that while poetry is a creation, it also defines and even absorbs the creator's identity. The inability of tears to touch the "foundation of sadness" implies a deep, almost untouchable sorrow that lies beyond emotional expression. Here, the pjesma is depicted as the only entity capable of accessing the core truth, the chronicler of despair, and a testament to its inescapability. It offers no liberation, as suggested in the final Sartrean words.

The dynamic interplay between creation and creator, materiality and transcendence, reflects a broader creative struggle: the poet's simultaneous reverence for the craft and frustration with its inadequacy in capturing experience or emotion (cf. Bernstein 261). The poem continually interrogates itself—what it means to be a poem or engage with one. Recurring lines like "If the poem has written itself" (191) challenge the concept of authorship and agency, and the author rebels: "If the poem writes itself, it writes itself/ If a poem enters a dialogue with *pjesma*/ I want to retreat." The speaker forms a tender yet complicated relationship with the poem, which establishes a tense circular concept: "The poem writes itself, in spite of the rage and sadness [...] I have not moved because the circle has been closed." The poet appears ensnared in a loop, unable to seek meaning or relief outside the poem. The poem also positions itself in liminal spaces—between writing and silence, presence and disappearance, material and immaterial, as seen in the lines: "If the poem abandons me, stupidity increases" (195) and "If I part from you, it'll be such a great misfortune" (197). This liminality enables abstract thoughts to connect to tangible objects, enhancing the contrast between the two realms:

The poem doesn't wish to write itself when I want it to
The poem writes itself when I close my eyes

The poem writes itself when the book
closes/opens
Don't tell me about that
how the heart is beating when the book
closes/the heart opens (187)

Additionally, this alternately playful and cruel dialogue is embodied in the poem's rhythmic irregularity, variations in indents, and sudden shifts from anger to affection: "Pjesmo, I don't love you, because poetry/ is insufficient" (193) and "*Pjesmo*, I love you passionately, don't leave me" (197).

The poem's emotional foundation revolves around the repeated theme of stupidity, or self-doubt. It juxtaposes vulnerability with insight, complicating the poet's relationship with their art: "Stupid pjesma is in the power of reason, I am not" (194). While these repetitions may come across as excessive—repeating the same idea without further exploring it—they could detract from the poem's overall effect. Nonetheless, whether the poem actively fights against the poet or simply remains apathetic, the deliberate redundancy illustrates how the poem occupies the poet's mind and signifies a stifled creative advance: "If sadness is stupidity, pjesma stumbles" (195), or

There isn't that poem which would cancel
sadness
of stupidity
If stupidity spawns in a poem, I'll
leave it
Poem, *Pjesmo* enlighten me
If you enlighten me with stupidity, Poem
I'll die again

In conceptual poetry, redundancy is a concept, not an accident. The concept halts progression to emphasize the dynamics between the poet and the poem. It serves as a meta-commentary on what it entails for a poem to create and sustain the poet's identity. Yet, when read as a piece of language poetry that destabilizes conventional expectations of meaning-making, redundancy is not a weakness but a demonstration of language as an inescapable system. Although the poem is anthropomorphized, the question remains: Can the poem—still an abstract entity—truly "know" or "be lost"? In this scenario, the words circle meaning without capturing it, as evident in the repetition—"If I lose you, *Pjesmo*." This becomes particularly intriguing when the

emotional weight of the dialogue (the poet's dependency on *pjesma*) intertwines with its conceptual weight (*pjesma* as a language construct) to show how the poet and the poetic construct are elevated and hindered by their mutual dependability.

From resistance to hope

Yugoslavia's civil war takes up approximately one-third of the book, coinciding roughly with one-third of the poet's life. This poetry inspires rethinking, as Wallace suggests:

> How can poetry that resists naivety about the limitations of language confront war and the human and material destructiveness that comes with it? How can one deal with the brutal idea that some groups of people should be "cleansed" of the existence of culturally different others? How can poetry that emphasizes the contested nature of language, rather than the belief that the direct physicality of experience is supposedly not mediated by language, respond to the problem of political brutality?

Reflecting the fragmentation of a once-coherent world, "Messenger of embers" stands as a trans-poetic summons of various texts. It acts as an expansive allegory and a reflection of historical sorrow, interlacing metaphor and discord to express the era's chaos and brutality. It illustrates the fierce battles, ruin, and losses, building abundant imagery of destruction—"graves," "graveyards," and "smashed fragile towers." The recurrence of the word "death" among discordant voices, representing death as a physical and metaphysical concept, is self-explanatory and culminates in the lines "death, death; death/sings a song" (81). A cultural landscape stripped of meaning appears in the lines "Steeples of hell, fields of darkness" and "shapes-shades […] mounted on the ground." Wars burn libraries, desecrate monuments, and rewrite histories, invalidating truths for the new identities forged at the expense of countless lives. The lines "Hatred flares, lighting the maze cages" (77) and "Crucify, fructify, vivider divots of homes" condense the cycles of violence and the endless self-perpetuation of destruction. The poem now sarcastically laughs at the "liberty from Hades" (78) and through the invocation of "new epics."

The breakdown of shared spaces and communities (physical and symbolic structures of order) is supported by the abrupt shifts in tone and subject of this chaotic poetic structure, with lines leaping unpredictably, filled with jarring contrasts (*"Lines, knives, doors, merry-*

go-rounds"), neologisms (*"stamen-haven," "flaming-amen"*) to echo the cacophony of the disjointed community. Frustrated by the war, the poem cannot help the brimming references to the political creation of hatred, othering, and malice—*"veils of malice/ and fines"* (78)—evoking the propaganda that fueled ethnic animosities. The politicization of language into *"bipolar, three-polar language"* (79) and *"notations of soundlessness flow in the ether"* echo the creation of splintered linguistic variations codified to enforce divisions: *"Fights between words narrate/ 'Words in freedom' submit to new meters/ killers" (77).* The poignant concept of a *"hermaphrodite" language denotes the ruin of communication when* "milk" becomes *"mlijeko"* or *"mleko"* to mark national exclusion. The line *"opponent-slogans fall alive into graves"* captures the rhetoric as deadly and observes that hatred loves to perpetuate itself: *"Round dances make the world go round." The image evokes numerous absurdist artworks, yet it also ironically alludes to the Balkan round dance kolo, created as a symbol of unity.*

Poets witness and chronicle ruination, becoming "messenger[s] of embers," while also serving as mediators of hidden truths, "poets of veil" (77), revealing significances obscured to unpoetic minds. Thus, while the poem translates destruciton, it also reflects the collapse of logic—"gigantic, wild, stray [...] I am your servant, Oh, Word" (81)—and attempts at self-destruction: "I destroy words, I destroy rhymes, I destroy rhythms." The disorder of the real world is invoked by the phrase "Oh, Word/ Let the blood bleed" (81). This wording suggests an ironic reverence for language, seen as both a savior and destroyer, a carrier of suffering and judgment. The glimpses of regeneration that emerge through chaos—"New suns/ New dawns/ New stars" (80)—are fleeting, as someone's dawn turns into someone else's "twilight of nightmares" (77). The hope glimmering in the tension between destruction and creation, as in the line "Crucify, fructify," remains sardonic, equating real hope with mere advertisement. The omnipresent death—"Smashed fragile towers/ stamen-haven/ flaming-amen/ crushed" (77)—challenges accepted morality and proposed redemption. Instead, the poem advocates for utter purification, reminiscent of Eliot's "Fire Sermon"—"Purify yourself in the white flame of the snowstorm" (78), "Burn the face, picture of the self"—to heal the wounded, fragmented identity, as chaotic times demand collective reconstruction of disparate shards. The plea in "Give amnesty! Bestow indulgences/ to the simple death!" (82) crushes the futile vengeance reflected in Christian forgiveness. Death is anything but simple. Yet, there may be a yearning for death that is not violent but natural and peaceful. Thus, the last verse may implore humanity to reclaim its

dignity by accepting universal, inevitable death, unadorned by cultural or religious connotations.

The mix of drama, poetic monologue, dialogue, and prose in "My Love of Narrative Is Satisfied by Television Series" reflects conceptual poetry concerned with ideas more than aesthetic cohesion. The poem is overtly self-referential and comments on its boundaries: *"Does it belong to poetry […] or does it border nonfiction essay?" (204). The poem concurrently* explores cultural production and fragmented political climate as they intersect in post-Yugoslav contexts: discontinuous identities, histories, and cultural frameworks; conversational and ideological disputes in public and private spaces. The *"first character's"* question epitomizes the political rifts: *"why would the Latin alphabet be our alphabet" (202).* The clash between Cyrillic script, associated with Serbian cultural heritage, and Latin, perceived as dangerously foreign, foregrounds tensions in cultural self-definition. The "*third character*" explores various layers of *"yugonostalgia"*: yearning for youth, idealizing socialism, critiquing mononationalism, and dismantling identity constructions in newly established states. Yet, this discomfort concerning the "new identifying matrices" is equally dubious. Moreover, the poem comments on how the proposal that the term "*post-Yugoslavian*" should be replaced with seemingly pacifying *"South Slavic space"* throws another "ideological veil" over artificial political realities—hyperpoliticizing the situation. The "*fourth character*" mocks attempts to strip this space of its Yugoslavian ideological and cultural memory, pointing out the contradictions in simultaneously rejecting and continuing those legacies. A juxtaposition with nationalist discourses of division is found in the reality of art, in the example of actress Branka Petrić's performance in Albanian in Belgrade. Yet, when the selected audience celebrates this demonstration of how art can transcend political divides to rekindle collective memory, does it, perhaps, attempt to adopt someone else's heritage?

Now, the poem addresses ideological conformity, *"denouncement"* of dissent, and *"deceitful self-censorship" (204) to comment on* the autonomy of art, education, and public discourse, suggesting that cultural spaces are still constrained by nationalist and neoliberal pressures. The manual's satirical directives—*"Actors should perform as many gags as possible […] audience wants hilarious laughter"* (203)—denounce the self-proclaimed depoliticized art, pointing to the ways art production is influenced by economic and political demands. Lines like *"my love toward the narrative is satisfied by television series" (202)* are repeated verbatim, creating a rhythmic yet mechanical tone of passive television consumption. The appearance of the chorus chanting *"WE*

WANT TO HAVE FUN" (203) functions as a satire of the anti-intellectualism of the hyper-commercialized entertainment industry. The poem's declaration that *"depoliticization IS actually HYPER-POLITICIZATION"* confronts how entertainment and anti-intellectualism mask political control. Nationalism and neoliberal ideologies permeate culture subtly and pervasively. In her conversation with Đurđević, Đurić explains:

> the system of literature is being transformed globally—the fact that poetry has entered the public sphere is part of the neoliberal processes of monetization and commodification of all areas of human production, including finally poetry. The genre system was transformed by the neoliberal principle of hybridization, with which the once rigid boundaries between genres, especially poetry and prose, became porous. In the new regime, in order to reach an audience, poetry must be easily understood, which is the imperative of the times.

When personal exhaustion as a form of resistance blurs with political commentary, "I'm searching for a female critic" (139) emerges as a bold quest for a critic attuned to contemporary shifts in discourse—one who embraces the complexities of identity and expression. The repetition of the title line signals that this search is urgent because female and non-binary voices continue to be marginalized. The absence of acknowledgment for "a newly liberated language of poetry" is lamented in the phrase that this critic "doesn't exist." This new language of feminism, hybridity, and destabilized norms "uncovers" and "discloses" truths buried beneath traditional constructs—"the norms of representation" and "the norms of a heightened poetic language." "Media images," which saturate visual culture and impact identities, are contrasted with "hybrid identities" of an increasingly intersectional world. Consequently, this female critic will actively strive to deconstruct and reshape these biases by "manipulating with them/ using them as their own primary language," which suggests a subversion of constraining structures and their retooling into new modes of representation. "Feminism" is now linked with "the universal language," implying inclusivity and broader humanistic relevance. The poem equally rejects the gendering of poetry and criticism by acknowledging "female and male voices" as interconnected and rich when liberated through innovation with sensitivity.

The poem "Migrants [Bodies-in-Motion]" concludes the collection by identifying human and nonhuman loss through violence,

displacement, dehumanization, and environmental destruction. It employs a fragmented, experimental structure, irregular syntax, repeated phrases, and unstable punctuation to reflect the prevailing apprehension. The enjambment and scattered repetitions—"barbed wire" (224), "wires wires," "garbage, garbage, garbage"—create a relentless, suffocating rhythm of emotional exhaustion and physical entrapment. The integration of multilingual elements employed in the original Serbo-Croat cases, such as "dekama" (blankets), mirrors the transnational experiences of migrants and emphasizes language's role in portraying displacement. The denigration of control begins with images of migrants being objectified as moving hazards rather than humans seeking safety. The term "migrant bodies [bodies-in-motion]" (224) reduces individuals to mere physical entities stripped of agency and individuality. *Society's "hysterical indifference" (226) is seen in targeting migrants as "dangerous others," while the phrase "migrant men-migrant women are dangerous others—move around like/ viruses—run away from them" reflects historical xenophobia and the stigmatization surrounding migration, particularly during the COVID-19 crisis.* The recurring imagery of "barbed wire" symbolizes division, exclusion, and hostility. Borders are depicted not as protections but as zones of death and desolation, "which separate and cannot be crossed"—therefore, "you can banish them." The images of "bodies-in-motion [...] running away" convey both resilience and endless uncertainty in a continuous uprooting. *Systemic exploitation is further highlighted by the imagery of polar bears losing their habitats to melting glaciers, paralleling the loss of homes amid "demolished cities." This relationship boldly suggests that the violence inflicted on nonhuman entities is reflected in the normalization of violence against marginalized humans: "you can beat them without impunity, abuse them, you can kill them." The capitalist hands in this scenario are seen in the images of "garbage," "robbery," and "economic borders." The migration, therefore, is depicted as a global crisis of displacement caused by systemic inequalities, environmental degradation, and political violence: "migrant men and women are on the move/ from continent to continent" (225).*

En guise de conclusion

Đurić's poem "The End of Language" summons this amazing collection's meta-poetic reflection on artistic categorization, the fluidity of post-Yugoslav identity, the resistance to rigid definitions, and its working within the language that does not exist. Political on the level of form, this poem works with disjunction, fragmentation, and the

conceptualization of the sign system. **C**hallenging traditional narrating, this language poem employs fragmented syntax, abrupt thematic shifts, and layers of diverse imagery to emphasize the materiality and autonomy of language and put an end to the rotting reference—"THE END OF REFERENCE" (84). The self-reflective repetitions, such as "while I was writing" (85) and "I have finished that," mark a meta-poetic attention to the artifice of composition. When these commentaries are blended with urban imagery, the poem places language at the heart of human experience. The post-structuralist argument, "Language is not the instrument of expression, but the substance" (86), proclaims language as an agent in structuring the world rather than a vehicle for conveying meaning. Derridean utterances, such as "neither beginning nor end" (85) and "shifting directions," hint that the meaning is delayed due to the mutability and multidimensionality of language. Language opens battlegrounds for reimagining systems, "[r]eorganizing and replicating the existing structures" (86), while its physical presence in words transversing pages—"words were flying," "all these on my forehead words are/ seen"—confuses the distinction between the symbol and the tangible experience. The specificities of the urban landscape seen through impressionistic lenses—**"**the island of the City" (84), "beautiful square," "intervals and bridges," "tall miters"—collapse through flux into a dreamlike movement in "ALL MOVE FROM EAST TO WEST" (85). The disorientation thus built is mirrored by temporal ambiguity. Nonlinear time blends reflections, such as in "Was it a vision or a waking dream?" (84) and "Over and back/ Over and back," pointing to an important identification of the speaker with the transformative power of words, exactly when the poem says: **"**I am responsible for Utopia in my very desire" (86). This responsibility creates tension in the poem, as the fragmented persona, depicted through the repeated "I," grapples with the intersections of material existence, abstract thought, and multiplying identities: **"**Your you is also You, though You might be Them to you" (86). Đurić's Whitmanesque "I" recognized by the NASSS Committee, contains multitudes. Those are not only the migrants who are othered into dangerous "them," but the self is always deferred (Derrida), a projection of a symbolic order (Lacan), performed through social norms (Butler). The destabilized structures, even in this poem that resists categorizations, cannot but yearn for a Utopian renewal through the potentialities of language. The poem, thus, remains open.

Works Cited:

Bernstein, Charles. *My Way: Speeches & Poems*. University of Chicago Press, 1999.

Bubaš, Josipa. "Dubravka Đurić: Bivamo zaronjeni u kaotičan medijski prostor u kojemu se događa relativizacija fiksnih značenja." *Žene i mediji*, 24 Aug. 2023, www.zeneimediji.hr/dubravka-duric-bivamo-zaronjeni-u-kaotican-medijski-prostor-u-kojemu-se-dogada-relativizacija-fiksnih-znacenja/. Accessed 20 Dec. 2024.

Dojčinović, Biljana. "Na tečnoj površini jezika" (Dubravka Đurić: The Politics of Hope (After the War): Selected and New Poems, Edited and Translated With an Interview by Biljana D. Obradović, Roof Books, New York, 2024. Foreword by Charles Bernstein). *Polja*, no. 549, 2024, pp. 137-141, polja.rs/wp-content/uploads/2024/11/Polja-549-latinica-137-141.pdf. Accessed 25 Dec. 2024.

Đurić, Dubravka. *The Politics of Hope (After the War): Selected and New Poems*. Foreword by Charles Bernstein, edited and translated by Biljana D. Obradović, Roof Books, 2024.

Đurđević, Miloš. "Dubravka Đurić: Moja je poezija politička na nivou forme." *Kulturne Novosti*, 2 Dec. 2024, portalnovosti.com/dubravka-duric-moja-je-poezija-politicka-na-nivou-forme. Accessed 25 Dec. 2024.

Gladanac, Nikolai. "2024 NASSS Book Prize." *North American Society of Serbian Studies*, www.serbianstudies.org/mihajlo-misha-djordjevic-book-prize. Accessed 20 Dec. 2024.

Goldsmith, Kenneth. "Conceptual Poetics." *Poetry Foundation*, 9 June 2008, www.poetryfoundation.org/blog/uncategorized/51078/conceptual-poetics-kenneth-goldsmith. Accessed 10 Jan. 2024.

Keyes, Ralph. *The Post-Truth Era: Dishonesty and Deception in Contemporary Life*. St. Martin's Press, 2004.

Place, Vanessa. "From Notes on Conceptualism." *poets.org*, 7 Mar. 2011, poets.org/text/notes-conceptualisms. Accessed 25 Dec. 2024.

Silliman, Ron. "The New Sentence." 1987, writing.upenn.edu/library/Silliman-Ron_The-New-Sentence.pdf. Accessed 5 Jan. 2025.

Wallace, Mark. "O knjizi Dubravka Đurić, The Politics of Hope (After the War) – Selected and New Poems." *Ars*, OKF Cetinje, 2024, okf-cetinje.org/mark-wallas-o-knjizi-dubravka-duric-the-politics-of-hope-after-the-war/. Accessed 1 Jan. 2025.

POETIKA NADE DUBRAVKE ĐURIĆ – U *POLITICI ANDE (POSLIJE RATA)* (2024)

Zbirka Dubravke Đurić *Politika nade* (*Poslije rata*) (2024) sakuplja pjesme pisane od 1982. do 2024. godine. Knjigu je prevela na engleski jezik i priredila Biljana D. Obradović, a predgovor za nju napisao je Čarls Bernstein, jedna od vodećih ličnosti u razvoju jezičke poezije. Za svoje jedinstveno kulturno postignuće, ova knjiga dobila je prestižno priznanje Sjevernoameričkog društva

za srpske studije (North American Society for Serbian Studies, NASSS), koje je ističe kao jedan od najznačajnijih pjesničkih događaja u Jugoistočnoj Evropi. Inspirisana poststrukturalizmom, poezija Dubravke Đurić koristi eksperimentalne strukture, višejezične elemente i međuigru između poetskih, proznih i vizuelnih oblika kako bi istražila krhkost forme, jezika, imena i identiteta, magljenja granica, te postjugoslovenske napetosti i transnacionalne krize. Svi zajedno proizveli su briljantan čin otpora tradicionalnim oblicima i značenjskim sistemim, zahtjevajući od čitaoca koncentrisanu integraciju u kreiranju novih značenja. Polazeći od kritike konceptualne i jezične poezije, u ovom radu raspravljam o nekoliko tema: jeziku kao mjestu identiteta i sukoba, eksperimentalnoj poetici kao političkom izrazu, umjetnosti kao prostoru otpora i razmišljanja, postjugoslovenskom diskursu i njegovim rezonancama, te krizi raseljavanja i ekološkoj propasti.

Ključne riječi: jezik, pjesma, koncept, forma, identitet.

Language Studies

Nauka o jeziku

LANGUAGE(S) AND (NATIONAL) IDENTITY: THE CASE OF SEPHARDIC JEWS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

*Novak **Malešević**, Institute for Literature and Arts, Belgrade, malesevicnovak@yahoo.com*

Original scientific paper
DOI: 10.31902/fll.54.2026.7
UDC: 94(497)(=924)"15/18"

Abstract: Following the exodus from the Iberian Peninsula, a large number of Jews found refuge in – the Ottoman Empire. In the new surroundings, the Jews had the autonomy guaranteeing the preservation of both faith and the language they spoke. Shortly their Spanish origin became an important (distinguishable) quality in the Ottoman Empire. Judeo-Spanish came to be valued in the domains of commercial activities. Historical circumstances, however, also implied the struggle to preserve Judeo-Spanish as the language of the Ottoman Jews. Due to the influence of French culture, and then the impact of the languages of newly-formed national states in the Balkans, the Jewish experienced several language shifts which threatened to extinguish the Judeo-Spanish. By forming the state of Israel, there is another (final) language shift whereby it is transferred to – Hebrew. In the text, we deal with the question of what (actually) the final identity of a Jewish national being is, whether that identity can be fully outlined, and how it is defined according to ideological (signifying) pressures. We will begin by delineating the theoretical framework that underpins this study; the focus will be on Althusser's concepts of *interpellation*, along with Močnik's and Renan's reflection on the notion of *nation*. Through this relatively modern analytical lens, we will attempt to explain the position of Jewish settlers in the Ottoman Empire and their subsequent transition from ethnic minority to national state.

Keywords: Sephardim, identity, language, interpellation, ethnic minority, the Ottoman Empire, ideology, nation

1. Introduction

We will examine the relationship between identity and language through the example of the Jewish Sephardic community, which, following the exodus from the Iberian Peninsula, found refuge, among other parts of the European continent, in the Ottoman Empire.[1] The

[1] It is estimated that somewhere between 100.000 and 150.000 Jews left Spain at the end of the 15th century. (Benbassa and Rodrigue xxxvii).

guiding question of this paper is: What has served as the primary reference point of Jewish national identity throughout the long history of the Jewish people's wondering – a history that, among other things, dates back further than the Iberian exodus? Or, to put it simply: what can we identify as the *conditio sine qua non* while determining Jewish identity being? The problem with this question is that the terms "nation" and "identity" themselves enter into theoretical use several hundred years after the Jewish exodus, and their insufficiently clear definition in the context of the "Jewish national issue" can cause certain difficulties. Understandably, the syntagm "national identity" also requires clarifications. Therefore, we will first deal with the terminology.

We understand identity as a construct shaped by (dominant) discursive practices, where the characteristics of an individual or a group are *signified* or singled out. "Characteristics" are identification categories with which an individual is drawn into a complex system of interpellating signifiers even before it manages to form some sort of judgment about them. This means that ideology possesses signifiers that precede the existence of the subject – signifiers that are accepted as "natural" and are necessary for individuals to orient themselves within an axiologically structured world. The value of the individual is (pre)determined by ideological roles – those ascribed at birth (e.g., "nation", "gender", "name") and those accumulated over time (e.g. "proffesion", "nicknames", etc.) By positioning itself within an ideologically structured place, an individual enters a social game of signification, aware of its tasks and limitations. Abandoning these limitations is possible only through adding new ideologically approved roles, a process that ultimately leads to the (re)invention of identity. Ideology thus *saying* (producing signs) assigns signifiers to individuals by interpellating them into subjects, all to establish a harmoniously organized, controlled, community. [2] "By responding to ideological speech, the interpellated are established as subjects by 'finding themselves' there where the ideology *put* them." (Močnik 3) "Response" to the speech of ideology represents identification momentum whereby an *individual* is "caught" in a complex network of signifiers, which paves axiological paths for them (moral, esthetic, and the like) at whose end they are (now already as *subjects*) to attain the meaning of their existence. Therefore, by response itself, they are

[2] For more details about the mechanisms of interpellation and control see in Малешевић 2013, 144 and so on. It should be borne in mind that the "speech" of ideology is never without its addressee, without recipient which is *unconditionally* tinged with semantic determinism of ideological discourse.

automatically "put" in a *proper* place. Not only have they positioned themselves in a value system of ideology, but they become flywheels of class reproduction. (Althusser 7) It is clear, however, that a multitude of discursive patterns creates many identities that a given social group may carry.[3] Hence the process of *identifying*, or identity structuring, is constant. A group, or an individual, thus remains enclosed in a kind of semantic prison determined by the strict structure of own identities, which are always being rebuilt.

We can observe a nation as a convergent point of a multitude of discursive (identity) patterns which (ultimately) becomes a discourse in itself, which is specified in the name of the state: "Serbia", "Israel", "France", etc. The name of a nation, "the name of a state" is the discourse of ideology. Precisely due to the possibility of holding many heterogeneous discourses together, a nation represents, as Močnik teaches us, a kind of "zero institution", which reconciles (ideological) differences, by compensating for intolerance (bias) between various "organizational elements" (i.e. other institutions with a clearly identifiable function) in society.

> Our hypothesis is that a nation is a special kind of zero institution. [...] While other institutions, facilities, distinctions, oppositions and similar organizational elements in modern societies perform some function or even more functions simultaneously, it seems that the nation is 'without function'. However, we could hardly say that the nation is not functional, but it is tempting to say that the nation has no function, except the one to enable the society to exist. Accordingly, the function of the nation is to 'hold together' all the other (functional) institutions, facilities, organizational elements and to unite and to totalize them into a 'society' (94)

[3] A multitude of discursive patterns leads to the issue of ideological pluralism and (in)ability of establishing communication (interaction) between various ideological formations, or, as Močnik calls them, "background beliefs". Solving the problem of ideological pluralism, however, goes beyond the bounds of our text, and therefore we refer to: Močnik 3-76. It should be emphasized that ideological pluralism (and the consequences arising from it) does not influence the mechanism of the identity determination of the addressee, that is, the individual the ideology is addressing. In other words, no matter how many different background beliefs the individual comes across, the interpellation mechanism remains identical.

The function of the nation is to position itself between heterogeneous ideological pressures and to neutralize conflicts and differences from that "zero" place, by converting the energy of various interest groups and views of the world into a *modus vivendi* acceptable to all – the nation. On that dividing line of interest groups, "the nation" becomes an empty signifier which is to be filled with the meaning of common identity. The starting point of that identity is a compromise, based in the "nonpertinent" (93) aspects of the other's worldview, a mutually accepted empty (zero) point that serves as the basis for the accumulations of the shared symbolic traits. Therefore, we can state that *national identity represents a meaningful convergence* of heterogeneous "worldviews" (ideologies), for the purpose of social homogenization with the aim of realizing a common interest.

It is not easy to delineate (or quantify) what we have called "shared symbolic traits." For such traits to be recognized as a foundation of (national) identity, they must be embedded in collective memory as undeconstructible and enduring form of ethnic inheritance. They need to be historically validated (evidenced through documents), transmitted and cultivated across generations. In instances where historical evidence fails to substantiate the permanence of these traits, myths often intervene to fill the epistemological void left by the absence of scientific explanation. In either case (whether scientifically or mythologically) memories (of a glorious past) ought to be preserved. It is precisely through the concept of the perpetuation of "received heritage" as well as "desire [of people] to live together" that Ernest Renan finds the basis for the idea of a nation.

> A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things that, in truth, are but one constitute this soul, this spiritual principle. One is in the past, the other in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of heritage that one has received in an undivided form. (…) The cult of ancestors is the most legitimate of all; our ancestors have made us who we are. A heroic past, great man, glory (I mean genuine kind), this is the capital stock upon which one bases a national idea. To have common glories in the past, a common will in the present; to have performed great deeds together, to wish to perform still more, these are the essential preconditions for being a people. (261)

Ergo, a nation reconciles differences between various types of institutions (with their respective assignments) while accumulating

everything that can be signified as a "glorious past." The foundation of this accumulation shapes the idea of national unity. National pride is built upon an inherited symbolic "stock" derived from that "glorious" past. Needless to say, this "stock" must be stripped of all negative aspects of ethnic uprisings (such as war crimes, acts of aggression, etc.) that could call into question the ethical and symbolic purity of the people being unified. In short, nations (or rather, national pasts) are always presented as immaculate; this is the prevailing rule.

Millet[4] system in the Ottoman Emipire recognized ethno-religious communities as autonomus social structures. These communities were granted freedom of religion, as well as the right "to run their own education system with curriculum and language based on their preferences." (Hidayat 30, 32) This relatively liberal ethno-religious policy, adopted by the Otoman Empire, enabled minority groups to preserve core features of their identity – language, religion, history, legends, rituals etc. – which would later provide a simbolic foundation for the emergence of national consciousness. At the same time, through pseudo-institutions ("education system with curriculum and language based on their preferences") allowed by the Ottoman government, these communities preserved their inherited symbolic habitus and an idealized vision of their own (glorious) history.

However, this does not suggest that the ethno-religious non-Muslim communities recognized under Sharia law possessed *all* the characteristics of a (modern) nation. Rather, it indicates that the socio-political structure of the Empire allowed these communities to maintain and transmit their historical heritage, thereby facilitating a smoother transition into nationhood. This explains why so many nation-states emerged in Balkans after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. The transformation of ethno-religious communities into national entities was significantly easier in this region – compared to the experience of ethnic minorities in Western Europe – due to the strict religious differentiation enforced by Ottoman state, which largely prevented assimilation and acculturation. The concept of nation entails features

[4] The term *millet*, of Arabic origin, can be translated as "nation." The *millet system* regulated the relationship between Muslim and non-Muslim communities within the Ottoman Empire. Non-Muslim groups were granted protection by the state based on Qur'anic injunctions concerning religious freedom. Jews and Christians were recognized as "People of the Book", and as such, were accorded a protected status within the Islamic framework of the Ottoman state. (Öztürk 72-73)

that were absent in earlier ethnic, or, as Victor Roudometof terms them, *premodern social formation*:

> An *ethnie* may have the following characteristics to differing degrees: a collective proper name, a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, some elements of common culture (e.g., langue, religion), an association with a specific homeland, and a sense of solidarity. (…) Contrary to modern secular nations, characterized as they are by a mass public culture, common economy, and the legal rights and duties of their members, *ethnie* are predominately premodern social formations. (12)

Ethno-religious communities, on the other hand, encompass many of the elements found in complex national structures. What they lack, however, are the discursive (ideological) mechanisms that bind diverse ethnic traits – "a collective proper name, a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories…" – into a single unifying entity. The "nation" serves as the name for that unification: a construct that articulates the legal (equal rights and duties among members), political (relations with other nations, discourses on "national interests" and historical narratives), cultural (symbolic assets, including language), and economic (frameworks for development and growth) dimensions of an integrated population. If we are permitted to appropriate Marxist terminology here, one could argue that the nation functions as the ideological superstructure of the ethnie (base).

However, one should wonder what role, in that process of nation forming and identity building is played by – language? Language represents a correlate between a nation and identity. *The way* we speak conditions what we *are*. Language *inscribes* meaning in nation by illuminating its past (if not *by historical* facts, then by *myths and legends*) and showing it the future (through a hazy membrane of "national interests"). A community, ultimately, has to *speak* in order to represent itself to others and others to itself. Language is therefore at the same time both the object and means of representation. It accumulates symbolic goods of the nation in order to represent itself to others through them (as the primary "symbolic good").

The appearance of romanticism in Europe influenced the birth of patriotism and the liberation of national feelings. At the same time, considerable attention was paid to the development of the *language*, its standardization and institutionalization, as the bearer of the national identity. The issue of language was of exceptional importance for forming and maintaining a national consciousness for countries that

were in the process of gaining independence and rebuilding their national identity within a newly-formed states, particularly in the Balkans, where nations were slowly freeing themselves from Ottoman rule during the 19th century. For the Jewish communities living within these countries, the rise of national awareness combined with radical language policies implemented by the states posed a significant threat to Judeo-Spanish—the language of the Sephardic Jewish ethnic minority. After almost four hundred years, the language spoken by the Balkan Jews was in danger of extinction. Language shift, whereby the mother tongue was slowly replaced with a dominant language of the community, finally took off in the 20th century. Due to the radicalization of the language policy of newly-formed national states, where the institutional support to the language of the Jewish national minority did not exist, as well afterwards, due to the infestation of the Nazis, the number of the speakers of Judeo-Spanish was reduced as much as possible. However, the national feeling of Jews was (still) not threatened by that. Numerous Jewish intellectuals advocated for the full adoption of the dominant community's language as a means of facilitating active engagement in its political and cultural spheres, while simultaneously striving to preserve Jewish identity. (Filipović and Vučina Simović 2008, 311-315; Filipović and Vučina Simović 2014, 531) The question that arises at this moment is whether speaking Jewish (Serbian or French) confers a deeper sense of belonging or identity – making one "more" of a Jew (a Serb, or a Frenchman) – than those who do not engage with that language. Although this comparison is lacking only in its logical-grammatical plain (whether it is possible to be "more Serbian" compared to another Serb), within the domain of identity formation (specifically the discourses produced by state apparatuses) it remains an indispensable point of reference for national constitution.

This paper seeks to highlight the connection between language and identity through the example of the Jewish ethnic minority that settled in parts of the Ottoman Empire following the Iberian exodus. The issue of language will also be amended after the realization of the Zionist dream, where according to the established logic of national identity formation, Hebrew, through state ideological apparatuses, took primacy in the newly-formed state – Israel. In the context of the transformation from an ethno-religious community to a modern nation-state, we examine the historical development of the two primary languages used by Sephardic Jews: Judeo-Spanish and Hebrew. We will explore the role of language not only as a means of communication but also as a symbolic and ideological force in the process of national awakening and identity construction.

2. Exodus and Settling

In 1492, Spanish king Ferdinand II of Aragon signed a decree mandating the expulsion of Jews from the Iberian Peninsula. A large number of expelled Jews found refuge in the Balkans, i.e. in the territory of the Ottoman Empire. There were two large Sephardi centres in that area, Thessaloniki and Tsarigrad, from where, the areas of Serbia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Dalmatia, etc. were later inhabited. The Sephardi culture centers were mainly concentrated in bigger cities – Sarajevo, Belgrade, Bitola, etc.

The Ottoman Empire therefore received, within its borders, the exiles from the West. According to the legend retold in Sephardic circles, the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II said that he was enriching his empire by accepting Jews into his fold. Namely, Bayezid said the following: ”Can you call such a king wise and intelligent? [Ferdinand II of Aragon] He is impoverishing his country and enriching my kingdom.“ (Benbassa and Rodrigue 7) Bayezid hoped that the commercial class in the Empire would be strengthened with the arrival of educated and enterprising Jews. The Ottoman Empire enabled a high level of autonomy to minority ethnic groups. Even though different ethnic groups (Greek, Slavic, Armenian) shared the same religion (Orthodox Christianity), they were not treated as a single community. “Rather, the Ottoman authorities embedded ethnicity into religiosity to create ethno-religious identification for the minority groups, especially in dealing with the Balkans.” (Hidayat 2014: 30) In essence, religious commonality alone was insufficient criterion to override deeply rooted ethnic affiliations. However, the autonomy implied the unobstructed practice of confession as well as the use of own language. Furthermore, minority communities had independent judiciary, whereby they could resolve the current issues in the society (inheriting, marrying, etc.). The Ottoman Empire resembled a cultural mosaic, where ethnic groups were able to harbor inherited cultural goods specified in the form of practicing religion and language autonomy.

> Within the Turkish state, they [Sephardim] had a high level of autonomy. They had the freedom of worship and all the communal issues were resolved within the Sephardic community itself, which had its judiciary. Sephardic communities were long isolated from the external environment and, for a long time, commercial connections were the only contacts. Because of that, the communities were very interconnected – in economic and cultural aspect – while they were mainly isolated from the external environment. This

> enabled the conservation of the culture which the Sephardim transferred from their old homeland. By this, we are referring to heritage such as the spoken language (Judeo-Spanish) and oral tradition (folk songs, stories and proverbs) as well as other aspects of Sephardic culture that were closely related to faith and the language of the holy books – Hebrew. (Vidaković Petrov 10)

Minority ethno-religious communities were obliged to pay taxes for their autonomy to the Empire. This relationship between Muslim and non-Muslim populations (primarily Jews and Christians) was guaranteed through a contract (*dhimma*). The contract did not only regulate the tax obligation of the subdued populace, but it also guaranteed social hierarchy whereby the "symbolic as well as practical" inferiority of the non-Muslim population was confirmed. (Benbassa and Rodrigue 3) Although they were not equal to the Muslim population of the Empire, non-Muslim communities were granted astonishingly broad freedoms to organize and establish self-governance within their own millet. Minority communities were allowed to elect their own religious leaders – patriarch or rabbi (*Milletbasi*) – who served as official representatives of their millet before the Ottoman state. "With this community they were absolutely allowed to live freely their religion, language, tradition and customs. The government completely gave the management of the authority and responsibilities for all education and cultural institutes, churches and hospitals of minorities' community to this patriarch." Non-Muslim communities are allowed to impose their own jurisdiction over religious and personal matters, such as family law, marriage, divorce, and inheritance. The rulings of non-Muslim courts on these issues were recognized and enforced by the State authorities. (Öztürk 72, 78, 80-81; Hidayat 32-33) In essence, millets maintained its own institutions and internal hierarchy, which were respected by the Ottoman state. These structures enabled a significant degree of self-governance, providing the foundation for communal autonomy that would later evolve into claims for nationhood in the 19th and 20th centuries. Thus, we can explain (or at least understand) a) the "conservation" of the inherited cultural capital within non-Muslim communities and b) the marginalization of the Sephardic Jews from participating in the distribution of power within the Empire. Ultimately, they were perceived as *others*; ones who did not believe in the dominant ideological discourse (of *true* faith) and subsequently ones whose *existence* confirmed the higher *value* of the dominant religion. The *dhimma*, which outlined the coordinates of this

tolerated yet subordinate status, was, in essence, a formal agreement that legalized religious (and social) hierarchy.

What did "conserved" and closely guarded cultural capital of Sephardim consist of?

> The 1492 Expulsion had disintegrated communal and family structures, and, as a result of this trauma, the Sephardim were obsessed with the task of "continuity" of culture and identity. Therefore, the concept of Sephardic Jews as exiled Spaniards became a sine qua non element of their Judaism. The transmission of their Jewish identity implied the transmission of their Hispanicity, both in cultural and linguistic forms. (Romero 21)

Ironically, Jews legitimized their Jewishness by the identity of the nation that banished them. Jewish Hispanicity signified much desired distinction that outlined new social inequalities separating not only Jews from Turks but also Sephardic Jews from the Jews who were previously settled in the Ottoman Empire.

> This separate Spanish identity different from other Jews developed early in the Ottoman Diaspora, as the first exiles refused to be represented before the Sultan by the Greek-speaking Romaniot Jewish authorities, which had settled in Istanbul centuries before. The Sephardic community was ultimately allowed to appoint their own spokepersons from within the Spanish-speaking community. (Ibid)

The Spanish past brought Sephardim a new legitimizing discourse whereby this, conditionally speaking, noble Jewishness was confirmed. In fact, during the initial years of their settlement in the Ottoman Empire, the Sephardim enjoyed a relatively high social status. As they became more economically independent, the Sephardim succeeded in imposing Judeo-Spanish, not only as the dominant language of the Ottoman Jews, where various Jewish communities slowly adopted the language abandoning Greek and Turkish they had spoken until then, but also as a language slowly being spoken by non-Jews engaged in trade and artistic pursuits. (Ibid 19-20) The Judeo-Spanish language thus became the language of value, the language which enabled economic mobility and advancement. In that way one of the first language shifts in the area of the Ottoman Empire, which involved Jewish communities, occurred precisely at the end of the 15th century, when the Jews from around Istanbul and Thessaloniki slowly began to adopt not only the

Judeo-Spanish language, but also Sephardic customs and religious practices.

The complete silhouette of Jewish identity cannot be outlined without taking into account the Hebrew language, which remained the indispensable language of liturgical practice. Hebrew was always present in the consciousness of Jews as one of the main bearers of Jewish identity. Considering that the Jewish community suffered a few language shifts before the Iberian exodus (the transmission from Greek to Latin, then from Latin to various Romance language varieties, in order to transfer to Arabic after Muslim advancement in the peninsula, and then again, after the fall of Seville, they returned to the Romance varieties – primarily Castilian language), we can assume that Jews did not pay too much attention to constant adoption of new languages, nor did they feel some kind of identity discomfort ("crisis"), because they considered Hebrew a true foothold of Jewishness. To Iberian Jews, Hebrew represented a necessary condition (or perhaps, more precisely, a sufficient requirement) of Jewish identity, just as Hispanicity became an important feature of Jewishness in the Ottoman Empire. Even in the 19th century, when Judeo-Spanish faced decline, Hebrew emerged as a natural alternative upon which a renewed Jewish identity discourse could be constructed.

Thus we conclude that the identity of Sephardic Jews in the Ottoman Empire was constituted from the following components:

1) The Judeo-Spanish language.
2) The Hebrew language (which made a connection with the religious aspect of Jewish identity).
3) The rituals and culture transferred from Spain.

2.1 Embedded in the Signifier

Appropriating the signifier of ideology the subject is added to the social mosaic as a valuable part of the system. It is necessary for an individual to be identified (identity card, occupation, etc.) in order to get the right to participate in the symbolic distribution of values offered by the given system.

> And one of the major instruments of State control – along with the police force, the school system and taxation – is the identity card [...] If individuals are described there in greater and greater detail – from genealogical and biographical data down to the whorls on their fingerprints, the patterns of their irises or their gait – it is indeed so that they can be ''recognized'

> and 'identified', but on what terms? Certainly not on their own... (Riley 77)

The system assigns names to subjects not only to recognize them, but to ensure that they understand how they are expected to behave. "Jewish Hispanicity" is a signifier whereby Iberian Jews joined the Empire. They entered the Empire bearing a distinct cultural value, which they introduced themselves to the others by assuming its own place in the system. The others also accepted them and treated them according to the role which their value brought them ("able merchants and educated people"). The Empire recognized them via the signifier that they themselves brought in and which Sephardim, refusing "to be represented before the Sultan" by Jewish chiefs of the time in the Greek language, defended as well.

Such a discursive conception of identity should be borne in mind in first introduction of Sephardim to the Ottomans upon entering the Empire. The arrival of Jews in the Empire was preceded by a poster where the sultan welcomed the guests and informed the local population that the death penalty was prescribed for mistreating newcomers. (Romero 17-18) This was the primary signifier through which the Ottomans came to know the Jews. They were the ones "who were not to be mistreated" due to the relevance ("relevance") they brought to the Empire. Those first Sephardim were also known as *Andalavizos,* a name that literally answered the question: "Who are you?" Namely, *anda al avizo* means: "go see the poster". (Kohen and Kohen-Gordon 25) Jews introduced themselves in a discursive form – their arrival was announced through *inscription*. There is one collective personal/identity card that goes along with the trust in the protection afforded by the signifier! There is one successful interpellation! Only with their Spanish past they fell under the signifiers inscribed on the poster, which protected them from too curious locals. And which contributed to their economic prosperity. "They could even run their own business and other informal professions based on particular identity. For example, due to their ability to speak European languages the Jews were mainy engaged in international trade and foreign relation and civil service in general." (Hidayat 2014: 34) Jews received a new signifier in a new state, completely surrendering to the caprices of a new ideology. In a word, the Empire *put* them in a *proper* place.

How did Sephardic identities persist within the community for such an extended period, and what factors contributed to their resilience against the new identifying influences of the Ottoman Empire? One of the reasons for this persistence is the previously mentioned

"conservation" of the Jewish community. Positions of power within the imperial administration were predominantly reserved for Muslims. The inability to integrate into the state apparatus, the impossibility of sharing symbolic capital Ottomans believed in (confessions, histories, etc.), led to Jews looking for a foothold for their identity in the signifiers they already possessed. Their tradition and history became discursive bases from which they could draw the content for getting (more) acquainted with – themselves. *The past* so becomes an inexhaustible symbolic oasis which is considerably drained whenever one's own identity is to be confirmed (or endengered) in *the present*. This leads to a paradox (specific to all nations) where the very value of the inherited symbolic goods proves itself through their *antiquity*. The past, in that sense, justifies (explain, support, confirms, valorized) itself through – itself. The understanding of the present is often shaped by identity constructs that language rooted into deep (and rich) forest of glorious antiquity. The more strongly a cultural good is tied to a specific historical period, person, or event, the greater its perceived value in the present becomes. This, in turn, intensifies the desire to preserve and protect it from signifying changes. To the Sephardim, Judeo-Spanish was a language of enduring, antique value – "the language of Cervantes" – and, as such, it was regarded not only as worthy of preservation, but as indespensable corner stone of they present indentity (and status). The fact that Cervantes was born a few decades after the Iberian exodus did not prevent Judeo-Spanish from being ascribed a logocentric cultural value. (Filipović and Vučina-Simović 2014, 534) The same logocentric operation applied to Hebrew as well; as one of the oldest monuments of the Jewish culture, connected to liturgical religious practice, the symbolic power of Hebrew was never questioned in the context of Jewish identity building.

The economic power of the Jews was conditioned by the economic power of the Ottoman Empire. The end of the 17th century marked the beginning of the decline of the power of the great Ottoman Empire. The failed siege of Vienna (1683) led to the formation of the anti-Ottoman coalition (the "Holy League"), which later (1699) also caused territorial losses (Hungary was handed over to the Austrians, while Athens and the Peloponnese fell to Venice) which significantly shook the Empire. (Imber 85-86) The tax on the minority ethnic communities was then increased, which led to a large number of Jews deciding to leave the Empire. At the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, the impoverished Jewish community was doomed to do less valuable work, since they could not bear the burden of the tax of dealing in commerce, whereby, at the same time, their economic influence almost completely

disappeared, which again conditioned numerous segregation regulations that the Ottoman administration brought (the manner of dressing, the way of building synagogues, etc.). (Göçek 3; Romero 24)

The beginning of the 19th century brought the Ottoman Empire a multitude of reformation attempts, which aimed at contributing to the social development, modeled after the advanced countries of the West at that time, primarily France. Thus, in 1839, a law was brought whereby the rights of non-Muslims with the Muslim population in the Empire were equaled. Almost twenty years later (1856), the tax on the non-Muslim populace was abolished and they were given the possibility of officer promotion in the imperial army of that time.[5] The reform from 1856 also implied the inclusion of minority communities into a newly organized education system. (Göçek 522) It also meant that the minority communities, which up to then enjoyed juridical and cultural autonomy, slowly began to participate in the ideological nomenclature of the Ottoman Empire. The reforms of 1856 granted them the right to hold positions that allowed, at least in principle, their participation in the more equitable distribution of power.[6] It simultaneously meant exiting the "conserved", self-sufficient and greatly static way of life, which was common during the almost five-century Ottoman rule.

The readiness of the Ottoman Empire to enter social reforms and to adjust the principles of social organization to the Western political system led to the expansion of the influence of the Western forces (and Russia) in the already shaken Empire.[7] Each of the great powers tried to

[5] These reforms were not without resistance of Muslim population in the Empire. The Muslims experienced the equaling before law as treason. Furthermore, not only did they see it as a degradation of century-long dominant Muslim populace ("a day of mourning and despair for the Muslims"), but they also believed that the kind of equality, especially in military service, is almost impossible. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa would emphasize religious division of a potential multi-confessional army, which could lead to practical, organizational difficulties (diet, the number and type of priests, etc.), which may again be fatal for performing military duties. For more details about this, see Göçek 517, 527

[6] A small percentage of educated people from the minority communities who were schooled under the imperial patronage managed to access state bureaucratic system. The reasons for that could still be founded in latent religious discrimination, but also in the fact that a relatively small number of people from minority communities decided to enroll in the state school at all. Ibid, 522.

[7] Meddling of foreign powers in the political organization of the Ottoman Empire reflected first in financing and support of minority communities that lived on the Ottoman soil. The following breakdown of the Empire and the

influence that community with which it shared certain identity characteristics. Russia influenced the Orthodox population in the Ottoman Empire, while Western countries extended their impact to other minority communities. The Sephardic community though was under the influence of France, more specifically, under the influence of the French school founded in 1860 in Paris, which aimed at educating Jewish youth in the spirit of the Enlightenment. The school was called *Alliance Israelite Universelle*.[8] French was considered the language of progress and rationalism. The Alliance opened a large number of schools in the whole Empire. Until 1905, almost a third of the Jewish children attended this school. (Romero 28) Via this influence on the lives of Ottoman Jews, the Alliance created the basis for their new identity positioning. The French language and culture (new signifiers) became for the Jewish community what Hispanicity had been at the beginning of the 16th century. To speak French meant to speak a language of the enlightened Europe.

> French culture dominated every aspect of Sephardic culture, and French quickly became the language of the elite, reducing Judeo-Spanish as the language to be spoken at home only. People began to discard traditional Sephardic names and adopted Gallicized versions for the boys [...] and entirely new French names for girls, a tradition that survived well into the late 1930s. (Ibid 29)

---

formation of national states in the Balkans, according to some historians, is the consequence of the lack of trust between these powers, which, in order to retain their influence in the Balkans (and, at the same time, to limit the influence of others), strived to create and form new, sovereign territories. For more details about this, see Halden 2013.

[8] Although the Ottoman Empire also adjusted its education system to the French one (especially in the military), Jews (and other minority communities) rather opted for newly-opened schools that were not under the patronage of the Empire, but under direct French influence. However, the influence of French thought (which then launched ideas about the importance of national spirit, and implicitly the nation-state), as Fatma Göçek argues, did not have the same significance for minority communities and young Turks. French models of the social bourgeois order were interpreted according to the position which, in the Ottoman Empire, was held by Turks (majority) and minority communities. While the former understood these ideas as theoretical bases for further reformation of the state, thus far did minority communities see, in these ideas, an incentive towards attaining political autonomy. (Göçek 526)

This coordinated practice, which aimed to bring French culture closer to Spanish Jews, shed new light on the ethnic profiling of Sephardim. A new narrative was born and identification with the values that this narrative produced ("enlightenment", "nation", "liberty", "equality", etc.) led to new interpellation possibilities. Although Judeo-Spanish was continuously discredited through the Alliance and the journals financed by that school (*El Tiempo*, *Le Boz de Oriente*), while at the same time the role of French as the language of cultural Europe was glorified, the complete rejection of Judeo-Spanish never happened. (Ibid 31) This means that the new narrative did not completely suppress the old one; both discourses left deep marks on Jewish national identity.

French was not the last ideological mark used as a complement (or correction) of Jewish identity. The end of the 19th century marked the beginning of "turkification", i.e. gradual introduction of Turkish in schools attended by minority communities in the Empire. "The Young Turks sought to transform the Ottoman Empire into a modern, centralized state, but this in turn led to a nationalistic sense of 'Turkism', which directly or indirectly established a strong link between the new government and Turkish ethnicity and language." (Ibid 35) The emergence of national consciousness gave the right to new reformers (Turkish youth educated in Western schools) not only to establish a strong connection between state and nation, and implicitly language as well, but also to forbid minority communities in the Empire to gain education in *their* language. Even French *El Tiempo* actively participated in the process of turkification, referring thus to Judeo-Spanish as a `backward` language which ought to be replaced by more advanced Turkish and French languages. In 1920, the Turkish government issued an official document forbidding learning in foreign languages, whereby the influence of the French-Jewish Alliance was officially ended.

Nationalization did not affect just Turkey. Through the breakdown of the Ottoman Empire, new states were created in the Balkans, which also led very restrictive language policies. The languages of the hitherto larger minority communities in the Ottoman Empire now became the official languages of the newly formed states. Not knowing those languages meant exclusion from the political sphere of those states. Jews, who remained a minority in the new states were forced to once again adjust their language policies. This adjustment was not without serious discussions in the Jewish intellectual circles of the time. A fundamental dilemma which Jewish intellectuals tried to solve was whether the language of national states where Jews suddenly found themselves should be completely accepted, or should Judeo-Spanish be retained, even if it implied the exclusion from the domain of economic

distribution of power.[9] The desire to preserve Judeo-Spanish is explained by the wish to maintain a common identity reference that connects the Sephardim settled in all parts of the now former Ottoman Empire.

> In the debate which was published in the journal *El amigo del puevlo* [...] points out that the Sephardim feel that Judeo-Spanish is the language which has enabled the Sephardic communities scattered all over the world to remain connected over a very long period of time. (Filipović and Vučina-Simović 2008, 312)

The identity aspect of the Judeo-Spanish language (as a language that "connects") remained the main reason why some Jewish intellectuals were reluctant to renounce it.

By founding the state of Israel, the issue between language and national identity was revived. The Zionist movements, which were founded long before the creation of Israel,[10] mainly observed Hebrew as fundamental for the Jewish national identity. The ancient language, which survived only in the domain of liturgical practice, after the founding of Israel, was supposed to serve secular purposes. It did not go without disagreements though. Many believed that Hebrew was impractical for everyday use and that as such it was improper for

[9] Angel Pulido recognizes several ideological intentions relating to potential Sephardic policy towards their language (or perhaps their languages), which the Jewish intellectuals devoted their attention. In principle, according to Pulido, we could single out four such groups: 1) "Anti-Castillian' language ideologies: Zionist and Integrationist", which would imply the rejection of Judeo-Spanish and the integration in the language domains of the dominant linguistic community or revitalization of Hebrew; 2) "Language ideology favoring independent development of Judeo-Spanish", which would realize its linguistic standardization by relying on Spanish (whose lexis would actually replace all loan words from other languages, which Judeo-Spanish abounds in), 3) "Pragmatic and eclectic evaluation of Judeo-Spanish", where Judeo-Spanish would not be abandoned in favor of national languages, but where it would still be necessary to study them because of the inclusion of Jewish community in economic affairs of the given state. 4) „Pro-Castillian' languge ideology", where Judeo-Spanish is observed as "non-grammatical", i.e. unstandardized and insufficiently developed to be of use to the Jewish community. Therefore, this group advocated for the revitalization of Spanish modern language in the Sephardic community. For more details about this, see Filipovic and Vučina-Simović 2014, 527 etc.

[10] The first international Zionist congress was held in Basel in 1876.

building a modern nation. (Safran 49, 52) However, Hebrew took primacy in the new state.[11] Jews who came from the Diaspora to a newly-formed Jewish state (as well as those who came to Palestine before the formation of Israel) were forced to slowly switch to institutionally supported Hebrew. (Ibid 50) In that way, the long Jewish identity journey ended in a state and a national language – Hebrew. And, in the end, the most archaic identity features of Jews (the Hebrew language) which gave momentum to the new identity narrative, which should be believed in, was revived.

> Hebrew is not the language of the majority of Jews globally; but it is the *national* language of citizens of Israel, at least of its Jewish ones. Hebrew is *natural* language of native-born Israelis (*sabras*), who are not concerned about its historic antecedents or its biblical basis to justify their use of it. (Ibid 52)

So, the tale about acquiring (and guarding) the identity, where the main actors are *nation, state and language,* is told (for the umpteenth time) with an unmistakable Proppian narrative structure; language is there to support nation and state, nation is there to protect language, while state is there to keep the entire identity balance together (by guarding, of course, language and nation).

3. Conclusion

Identity is a discursive construction which implies symbolic values. A collective identity would represent the inheritance of common values, whose distribution makes a sort of symbolic (or cultural) connection between people. The value order itself, which provides content to

[11] Even before the formation of Israel, there was a clear consciousness with Jews about the need and necessity of the Hebrew revitalization. Hebrew had to exit the state of religious hibernation and secularize itself, to make it pragmatic and practical. If Judeo-Spanish was the identity basis on which the Sephardim in different parts of the Ottoman Empire connected, Hebrew was the bond of *all* Jews. Hence its inviolable symbolic significance. "Eliezer Ben Yahuda (1858-1922), a major figure in the revival of Hebrew, realised that this language was becoming increasingly irrelevant and useless to Jewish life in the Diaspora, because of both the pressures of assimilation and the dominance of Yiddish for those Jews in Eastern Europe who still maintained a collective Jewish identity. He therefore advocated a territorial solution – increased immigration to Palestine, because only through practical quotidian use could Hebrew be revived. He set a personal example in 1881 by settling in Jerusalem and refusing to speak to anyone who was Jewish – including his own children – in a language other than Hebrew." (Safran 45)

identity, can be questioned in a certain historical event. *Language* plays an important role in the process of national identity awareness or constituting ethnic legitimacy. Language gives form to the symbolic good we inherit.

Historical circumstances may be such that language shifts (replacing one language with another) may be relatively frequent. In that case, the question that arises is whether the language abandoned by the ethnic community continues to influence the process of identity constitution (of that community). Would the rejection of one language, followed by acceptance of another (a dominant one), result in forgetting a part of ethnic or national identity whose symbolic capital remains memorized in the lost language? This is the dilemma that Jews faced every time during numerous language shifts they experienced, starting from the settlement on the Iberian Peninsula, until the constitution of their own state. It is valid to assume that the identity, which was formed in the domain of one language practice, is not lost, but is transmitted to a new language and together with it forms a kind of symbolic wealth (including the language itself which was lost, i.e. which is no longer spoken) of a people. In this way, we might introduce the concept of *quantitative identity* as a theoretical tool – conceiving identity as the sum of all characteristics of a people, from their earliest known historical origins to the present, transmitted primarily through the medium of modern spoken language. However, the reality is that such a comprehensive awareness of identity is not possible. It is not clear either whether that type of identity awareness would be a product of apocryphal identity or scientifically classified knowledge. Language is not only a means of communicating what something *is*, but also a means of filling in certain lacunae in the historical linear structure. We will remember, for example, Bayezid's words, with which he welcomed Jews in Turkey, and which we cited at the beginning of our research ("Can you call such a king (Ferdinand II) wise and intelligent? He is impoverishing his country and enriching my kingdom."). There is not a single Turkish source that confirms these words. Still, were they truly spoken or were they a result of certain need?

> All these quotations [this also refers to the quotations that additionally describe Bayezid's affection towards Jews – N.M.] are taken from Jewish sources; nothing equivalent can be found in Ottoman documentation. [...] However, these apocryphal sentences throw more light on the state of mind of the Jews of the period than on formal Ottoman policy. They also express deep-seated Jewish expectation, in the face of the terrible shock of the Expulsion... (Benbassa and Rodrigue 7)

Is Bayezid's affection a historical fact or the need of Jews to confirm their value? To whom? To themselves? To others? To Other? In any case, language (driven by desire?) intervened and wrote a part of Jewish identity (as "able merchants and educated people who enriched Bayezid's empire") in history books. We are fated to continue writing that identity, but without illusions about its *comprehensiveness*. And the ultimate truth.

However, is it possible to pose the question of the identity of the Israeli Jews, without mentioning the Sephardic Jews? Does what we might consider *sine qua non* of Judaism today (Hebrew, faith, etc.) encompass what was considered the *sine qua non* of the Ottoman Sephardim in the 16th century: *Hispanicity*? Can the Israeli national identity ever be complete without incorporating *Hispanicity* – the very identity that once helped the Jewish people attain a more favorable position within the Ottoman Empire? By expanding this idea, we can ask ourselves whether the Jewish cultural mosaic, which was formed on the soil of various parts of Europe, participates now, as a syncretic identity feature in the newly formed Jewish state? It should not be overlooked that Israel institutionally supports the preservation of languages that the Jewish community used in the Diaspora. (Yitzhak 2011) What is gained by this? Protection (or even better, another "conservation") of the past which, as necessary, can be activated at some moment in the future? Or, perhaps, a better, "more comprehensive" insight into the structure of Jewish identity, under the assumption that the sum of all identities gives one, *final*, ultimate identity which determines Jewishness in its essence. It is understandably an illusion to which every discourse about nation and identity is beforehand doomed.

What matters, in our view, is not the question of how to syncretize various identity layers into a single form, but rather how (and whether) these identities produce a potent desire for ethnic unification. If we take Renan's assertion that "a nation is a soul, a spiritual principle", we can deduce that nationhood does not require a fixed checklist of traits to initiate the process of identification. Instead, the nation is rooted in a collective desire for unity – one that can emerge from many identity elements, or from only a few. The Ottoman Empire allowed its minority populations the opportunity to conserve their ethnically significant features. What was preserved during that time proved sufficient to ignite a desire for unification (under a shared flag, within a shared system, etc.) into a single nation**.** So, is it possible to be a Jew (a Serb, etc.) without knowing Hebrew (or one of the languages that Jews have used in their history) without faith in God and awareness of the Jewish

cultural and historical heritage? The answer is undoubtedly – yes. The nation is always capable of producing a shared discursive ground. It compensate for internal differences among its various "organizational elements," (Močnik) enabling peaceful coexistence. Being a Jew (a Serb, a French) is always readily filled with meaning – with signifiers that grant access to the larger process of identification. In a word, being a Jew becomes just a discourse, open, among other things, to new inputs, which at least in principle can be typically non-Jewish. Nation is a discourse burdened by (empty) signifiers in which we unquestionably believe. Nation, that is *us*.

Works Cited:

Althusser, Louis. *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*. Verso, 2008.

Benbassa, Esther, and Aron Rodrigue. *Sephardi Jewry: A History of the Judeo-Spanish Community, 14th-20th Centuries*. University of California Press, 2000.

Filipović, Jelena, and Ivana Vučina-Simović. "Language and Identity among the Sephardim in the Territory of the former Yugoslavia." *The Romance Balkan*, edited by B. Sikimić and T. Ašić, Institut des études Balkaniques, 2008, pp. 303-319.

—. "Language Ideologies in Times of Modernity: the Case of Sephardim in the Orient." *Estudios hispánicos en el siglo XXI*, edited by A. Kuzmanović Jovanović et al., Facultad de Filología, 2014, pp. 517-547.

Göçek, Fatma Müge. "Ethnic Segmentation, Western Education, and Political Outcomes: Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Society." *Poetics Today*, vol. 14, no. 3, 1993, pp. 507-538.

Halden, Peter. "A Non-sovereign Modernity: Attempts to Engineer Stability in the Balkans 1820-90." *Review of International Studies*, vol. 39, no. 2, 2013, pp. 337-359.

Harris, Tracy K. "The State of Ladino Today." *European Judaism*, vol. 44, no. 1, 2011, pp. 51-61.

Hidayat, Syahrul. "Minority Groups in Ottoman Turkey before 1856: Different Arrangements of the Jews and the Christians under Millet System." *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, vol. 4, no. 1, 2014, pp. 25-50.

Imber, Colin. *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650: The Structure of Power*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Kohen, Elli, and Dahlia Kohen-Gordon. *Ladino-English/English-Ladino Concise Encyclopedic Dictionary (Judeo-Spanish)*. Hippocrene Books, 2000.

Малешевић, Новак. „Језик и идеологија." *Култура*, vol. 138, 2013, pp. 144-162.

Močnik, Rastko. *3 teorije: institucija, nacija, država*. Centar za savremenu umetnost, 2003.

Öztürk, Fatih. "The Ottoman Millet System." *Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol. 16, 2009, pp. 71-86.

Pinto, Avram. *Jevreji Sarajeva i Bosne i Hercegovine*. Veselin Masleša, 1987.

Renan, Ernest. *What Is a Nation? And Other Political Writings*. Columbia University Press, 2018.

Riley, Philip. *Language, Culture and Identity: An Ethnolinguistic Perspective*. Continuum, 2007.

Romero, Reynaldo. *Structural Consequences of Language Shift: Judeo-Spanish in Istanbul*. 2008. Georgetown University, PhD dissertation.

Roudometof, Victor. "From Rum Millet to Greek Nation: Enlightenment, Secularization, and National Identity in Ottoman Balkan Society, 1453-1821." *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, vol. 16, no. 1, 1998, pp. 11-48.

Safran, William. "Language and Nation-Building in Israel: Hebrew and its Rivals." *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2005, pp. 43-63.

—. "Nationalism." *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity*, edited by J. A. Fishman, Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 77-94.

Stein, Sarah Abravaya. "Asymmetric Fates: Secular Yiddish and Ladino Culture in Comparison." *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. 96, no. 4, 2006, pp. 498-509.

Vidaković-Petrov, Krinka. *Kultura španskih Jevreja na jugoslovenskom tlu*. Svjetlost, 1990.

Yitzhak, Navon. "The Israeli National Authority for Ladino and its Culture." *European Judaism*, vol. 44, no. 1, 2011, pp. 4-8.

LANGUE(S) ET IDENTITE (NATIONALE) : LE CAS DES JUIFS SEPHARADES DANS L'EMPIRE OTTOMAN

Cet article traite de la relation entre langue et identité dans l'exemple des Juifs séfarades. Suite à leur exode de la péninsule ibérique, un grand nombre de Juifs ont trouvé refuge dans l'Empire Ottoman. Dans ce nouvel environnement, les Juifs disposaient d'une autonomie garantissant la préservation de la foi et de la langue qu'ils parlaient. Peu de temps après, leur origine espagnole est devenue une qualité importante dans l'Empire ottoman. Le judéo-espagnol est devenu valorisé dans les domaines des activités commerciales. Mais les circonstances historiques impliquaient également une lutte pour le préserver comme la langue des Juifs ottomans. En raison de l'influence de la culture française, puis de l'impact des langues des états nationaux nouvellement formés dans les Balkans, l'identité juive a connu plusieurs changements linguistiques qui ont menacé d'éteindre le judéo-espagnol. L'invasion nazie au XXe siècle a presque mis la menace à exécution. En formant l'État d'Israël, il y a un autre (dernier) changement de langue par lequel il est basculé vers – l'hébreu. Dans ce texte, nous abordons la question de savoir quelle est (en réalité) l'identité finale du peuple juif, si cette identité peut être pleinement décrite et comment elle est définie en fonction des pressions idéologiques.

Mots-clés : Sépharades, identité, langue, Empire ottoman, idéologie, nation

ХАРАКТЕРИСТИКА ЮРИДИЧЕСКОГО ДИСКУРСА И ТЕХНИКА ПЕРЕВОДА ТЕРМИНОВ УГОЛОВНОГО ПРАВА С ХОРВАТСКОГО ЯЗЫКА НА РУССКИЙ

*Eugenija **Ćuto**, Sveučilište u Zadru, ecuto@unizd.hr*

Original scientific paper
DOI: 10.31902/fll.54.2026.8
UDC: 34:[811.163.42:811.161.1]

Аннотация: Интеграция лингвистики и правоведения, наблюдаемая в западной Европе с конца 60-х годов прошлого века *(forensic linguistics — судебная лингвистика, лингвистическая экспертиза)*, а в России приведшая к появлению юрислингвистики в начале XXI века, обусловливается во многом прагматическими целями. Потоки мигрантов, стекающиеся на европейский континент в течение десятка последних лет, актуализировали вопрос перевода устных и письменных текстов правовой тематики и составления двуязычных словарей и глоссариев юридических терминов, особенно при отсутствии таковых, как в случае с хорватско-русской комбинацией языков. Статья посвящена проблематике перевода текстов судебного дискурса, сочетающего в себе черты научного и официально-делового функциональных стилей: клишированность, эмоциональную нейтральность, модальную семантику глагола, пассивный залог, преобладание форм настоящего времени, трафаретность структуры и т. п. В русле теории эквивалентности В. Н. Комиссарова проанализированы языковые трансформации и переводческие техники и приёмы на примерах перекодирования хорватских терминов уголовного права на русский язык. Корпус для анализа составлен из текстов письменных жанров судебного дискурса: судебных постановлений, протоколов допросов свидетелей, повесток в суд, обвинительных заключений и т. п. С помощью методов контекстуального, сопоставительного, лингвостилистического и трансформационного анализа подобраны русские эквиваленты лексических единиц исходного (хорватского) языка. Даны практические рекомендации по оформлению ссылок на законодательные документы в двух языках.

Ключевые слова: лингвистика, официально-деловой стиль, приём перевода, теория эквивалентности, трансформации, уголовное право, юридический дискурс

1. Актуальность исследования, цели и методология

На европейском континенте миграционные процессы всегда отличались повышенной динамикой, однако с 2015 года миграция в Европу приобрела особо бурный характер. Наплыв переселенцев из других регионов влечёт за собой потребность юридически урегулировать их статус, легализовать документы, включить в экономическую, образовательную и культурную жизнь местного сообщества и, естественно, разрешать неизбежно возникающие правовые споры и конфликты. Востребованными становятся услуги судебных переводчиков, играющих роль «толмача» в делопроизводстве и судопроизводстве, без участия которых невозможна или сильно затруднена коммуникация между иностранным гражданином и органами власти государства, на территории которого он пребывает. Актуализировались исследования лингвистов, посвящённые проблематике юридического перевода и призванные помочь переводчикам-практикам в выполнении важнейшей социальной функции перевода — обеспечении межъязыкового общения людей. Предпринимаются усилия в составлении двуязычных глоссариев в области права, особенно в тех странах, где таковые полностью отсутствуют, мы говорим о хорватско-русской комбинации языков. Настоящее исследование вносит определённый вклад в настояния отдельных хорватских энтузиастов (И. Микулацо) восполнить лексикографическую лакуну. Цель настоящего исследования — рассмотреть языковые (лексические, семантические, морфологические и синтаксические) особенности судебного дискурса в свете теории функциональных стилей и проанализировать технические приёмы перевода лексических единиц из области криминальной юстиции с опорой на теорию эквивалентности как одну из ведущих концепций современной традуктологии. Прикладная ценность работы состоит в том, что мы предлагаем русские эквиваленты хорватских слов и выражений, которые могут быть использованы при составлении хорватско-русского глоссария терминов уголовного права. Кроме того, в работе даются практические рекомендации судебным переводчикам Хорватии по оформлению ссылок на положения законодательных актов. Корпус для исследования был составлен на материале тридцати шести оригинальных документов разного объёма (от одной машинописной страницы до шести), письменно переводившихся автором-судебным переводчиком в период с февраля по август 2024 года. Перевод осуществлялся по запросу Районной прокуратуры города Задара (Хорватия) в рамках ведения

одного уголовного дела. В работе использованы следующие методы: метод сплошной выборки, лингвостилистический анализ, контекстуальный анализ, методы сопоставительного, описательного и трансформационного анализа (приёмы наблюдения, интерпретации языкового материала).

2. Вводные замечания

Право и язык Т. В. Губаева называет «величайшими ценностями культуры, которые имеют фундаментальное значение для бытия человека» (2003: 1 в: Шепелёв 217). Право обеспечивает всем участникам общественных отношений единый справедливый порядок, а формулируется и устанавливается он с помощью языка. Сами юристы признают, что для их профессии чрезвычайно важны широкие лингвистические знания и речевые умения, «поскольку правоведческая деятельность […] во многом зависит от их понимания многих языковых сторон и от умения ими пользоваться» (Лебедева 52). В случае же включённости в правовую систему людей разных культур, многократно возрастает роль переводчика как «медиатора» — посредника в коммуникации. От уровня профессиональности переводчика напрямую зависит степень эффективности донесения законодательных норм и постулатов до правонарушителя-иностранца и, в свою очередь, объяснения позиции противоположной стороны (обвиняемого) касательно деталей уголовного дела. Таким образом, на переводчика ложится большая ответственность за судьбу конкретного человека, который совершил правонарушение. Недостаточно, чтобы переводчик безупречно владел двумя языками — исходным языком (ИЯ) и целевым, языком перевода (ПЯ), — то есть обладал лингвистической компетенцией и языковым чутьём, он также должен хорошо разбираться в правовой системе обеих стран, знать основные юридические идеи и концепции, а также уметь выбирать адекватные переводческие приёмы для подбора эквивалента юридического термина. Иными словами, практика перевода юридических текстов опирается, по выражению Дж. Э. Джозефа, на теоретические исследования трёх областей: теории языка, теории права и теории перевода (Хижняк 2022, 23).

Неслучайно в XXI веке на стыке права и лингвистики возникла и динамично развивается юрислингвистика, в русле междисциплинарного подхода к познанию, возобладавшего в конце прошлого века. Генезис этого процесса Е. С. Кубрякова выводит из «экспансионизма» современной лингвистики, проявляющегося в возникновении «сдвоенных» наук, к примеру,

психолингвистики, социолингвистики, инженерной лингвистики, компьютерной лингвистики и др. (53). Юрислингвистику Н. Д. Голев определяет как «лингвистическую дисциплину, объектом которой является сфера взаимодействия языка и права» (2021, 9). Юрист-переводчик имеет дело с текстом, схожим с научным, с одной стороны, и инструкцией, с другой, так как юридический текст выполняет и познавательную, и предписывающую функции (Голев 2021, 164). Для создания адекватного перевода совершенно необходим выход не только в сферу гуманитарного знания (о языке), но и в область общественных наук (правоведение). Тенденции к наблюдаемому сближению лингвистики и юриспруденции Голев считает объективными, всё чаще встречаются «стихийные терминологические перекрещивания» (2021, 15): к терминам типа *норма, закон, регламентация* прибавляются новые: *прецедент, презумпция, лингвистическая дискриминация, защита экологии языка* и т. п. (там же). Задачами осмысления подобных тенденций и занимается юридическая лингвистика, имеющая все предпосылки стать самостоятельной интегративной наукой. Вклад в её становление уже внесли Н. Д. Голев, Н. Б. Лебедева, С. П. Хижняк, А. Н. Шепелёв, А. С. Пиголкин, А. А. Ушаков, З. К. Тарланов, М. А. Грачёв, В. М. Савицкий и др. Первыми на нужность объединения методов языковедения и правоведения в решении уголовных дел обратили внимание зарубежные учёные: Ян Свартвик (Jan Svartvik), Дэвид Мелинкофф (D. Mellinkoff), Николаус П. Химмельманн (N. P. Himmelmann), Р. И. Вальбаум (R. I. Walbaum), К. Годдард (C. Goddard), М. Култхард (M. Coulthard), Н. М. Смит (N. M. Smith), Р. В. Шай (R. W. Shuy) и др., создав на базе лингвистики и юриспруденции научную отрасль — судебную лингвистику (*forensic linguistics*). Одним из основных направлений изучения юридического языка является юридический перевод, один из старейших видов публичной человеческой деятельности, нужность исследования которого носит прикладной характер.

3. Историческая справка

Практика перевода юридических текстов имеет глубокие корни, достаточно вспомнить первый исторически задокументированный мирный договор между Древним Египтом и Хеттским царством из 1259 года до н. э., который существовал в двух версиях, на хеттском и древнеегипетском языках. Важность документированного слова в процессе судопроизводства признавали древние восточные цивилизации: в *Законах Хаммурапи*

(XVIII век до н. э.) статья 1 предусматривала смертную казнь за ложное обвинение (Голев 2021, 17). *Свод римского гражданского права (Corpus Juris Civilis)*, известный ещё как *Свод Юстиниана* (529–534 гг.), на котором сформировалась вся правовая система Византии и который во многом определил путь развития европейской юридической науки, является ещё одним примером древнего переводного текста (Графский). Документами правовой практики древнерусского государства являются договоры Руси с Византией, заключённые в 907, 911, 944 и 971 годах и юридически закреплявшие результаты военных кампаний князей Олега, Игоря и Святослава. В них содержались статьи о судебном процессе и исполнении наказания за преступление (убийство, кражу, грабёж), о способах разрешения конфликтов двух стран (Руси и Византии), регулировались торговые отношения и разграничивались понятия «обычай» и «закон русский» (Глушаченко, Цветков 29). Согласно практике тех лет, подобные договоры составлялись на греческом и языке другой стороны, что предполагало выполнение перевода юридических документов. Основой всего русского законодательства, которая значительно повлияла на правовые документы русских княжеств, а также Великого княжества Литовского, стала «Русская правда»[1]. Её краткая редакция в двух частях («Правда Ярослава» и «Правда Ярославичей») датируется XI веком и представляет собой положения древнерусского уголовного права, в котором в качестве наказания предусмотрены денежные штрафы, а за особо тяжкие правонарушения — расправа на месте преступления (Лукин). О практическом применении прописанных законов свидетельствуют многочисленные берестяные грамоты, найденные в Новгороде, Пскове и других городах. Складывание законодательной системы у любых народов является признаком образования государства с различными категориями населения, чьи взаимные права и обязанности необходимо нормативно определить (Якеменко 45).

4. Лингвистические особенности судебного дискурса

Вместе с переводом появился и так называемый переводческий дуализм, обозначенный сначала Цицероном, а позднее Св. Иеронимом как verbum pro verbo и sensum de sensu: «буква или дух», буквальный перевод или вольный (Баринова, Нестерова 67). И если в художественном переводе буквальный

[1] Само слово *правда* в Древней Руси имело значение ‘суд, закон’ (Якеменко 45).

метод («слово в слово») чаще всего подвергается критике[2], то в специальном переводе, куда входит и юридический, вольность недопустима.

Среди российских исследователей отсутствует единство в определении места юридического языка относительно общелитературного. Одни (Н. Д. Голев, М. Л. Давыдова, Н. В. Маланина, Н. А. Мартынова, И. А. Матюшин, Р. П. Щеглов, С. П. Хижняк, Ю. В. Чеметева, Н. С. Валгина) считают юридический язык функциональным подстилем только официально-делового стиля речи или комбинации официально-делового и научного. Другие (В. Б. Исаков, А. Н. Шепелёв, А. А. Ушаков) выделяют юридический язык как самостоятельный функциональный стиль языка, наряду с научным, официально-деловым, публицистическим, разговорным и художественным. Не вдаваясь в полемику относительно соотнесенности юридического языка и функциональных стилей, попытаемся перечислить отличительные особенности языка судебного дискурса. Воспользуемся определением юридического языка, данным Голевым: «Юридический язык — это функциональная разновидность языка, которая образует относительно замкнутую систему» (2021, 35), имеющую собственные составные элементы (понятийно-терминологический аппарат), способы их организации (конструкции), стилистические и семантические особенности, а также механизмы функционирования.

Юридическому языку свойственны точность, ясность и недвусмысленность, ведь «правовая норма по своей природе — команда» (Голев 2021, 32), а расплывчатая, нечёткая команда невыполнима. Язык юридических текстов отличается сухостью и эмоциональной нейтральностью, потому что он не должен раскрывать юридическую оценку, а тем более давать личностные оценочные суждения, чтобы не оказывать эмоционального давления на участников судебного процесса в принятии решения по тому или иному правовому конфликту. Исключением, пожалуй, являются публичные речи адвокатов, прокуроров, судей, в которых силён прагматический аспект юридического дискурса. Сухость,

[2] В лагере противников буквального перевода на протяжении разных эпох находились Вольтер, Р. Бекон, М. Лютер, А. фон Эйб, К. И. Чуковский, Нора Галь, С. Я. Маршак, И. Л. Альтман, И. А. Кашкин, А. В.Фёдоров, Э. А. Вартаньян. Защищали переводчиков-буквалистов Ф. Шлейермахер, В. Беньямин, Х. Гассет, М. Хайдеггер, Л. Венути, Дж. Штайнер. Х. Ортеги-и-Гассета, В. Брюсов, В. Набоков, М. Гаспаров и др.

точность юридического языка достигается широким применением терминов, которые характеризуются нейтральной стилистической окраской, а потому диапазон их прагматических возможностей достаточно узок. Тексты уголовного права выполняют, в первую очередь, информационную и предписывающую функции. Приведём несколько примеров терминов из нашего корпуса:

sudac istrage, istražni sudac	*следственный судья*
sudac izvjestitelj	*судья-докладчик*
dokazna radnja	*доказательное действие*
sudski vještak	*судмедэксперт*
sudski tumač	*судебный переводчик*
presuda	*приговор*
kazneni postupak	*уголовный процесс, уголовное судопроизводство*
sudski postupak	*судебный процесс, судопроизводство*
kaznena prijava	*обвинительное заявление, заявление о преступлении*

Анализируя категории юридического языка, такие как лицо, состав преступления, деяние, юридический факт и др., Голев утверждает, что им, с одной стороны, присуща высокая степень абстрактности, а с другой, они «удивительно конкретны» (2021, 32), что в совокупности делает их системными, описывающими определённую область реальности.

В области семантики в языке закона, естественно, преобладает строгая модальная семантика, в силу того что закон призван «приказывать», «запрещать», «наказывать», «разрешать». В нашем корпусе текстов уголовного права содержатся следующие примеры глаголов модальной семантики:

dozvoliti	*разрешить, дать разрешение*
naložiti	*приказать, предписать, распорядиться*
valjati	*следовать*
odrediti	*определить*
odlučiti	*решить, постановить*
odbiti	*отказать, отклонить*
prihvatiti	*принять*
osporiti	*обжаловать, оспорить*
ukinuti	*отменить*

Отсутствуют слова с эпистемической модальностью типа возможно, вероятно, скорее всего, наверное, часто, в большинстве случаев, не встречаются слова оценочной и в общем субъективной модальности, как и не используется в текстах уголовного права сослагательное наклонение. Распорядительный и указательный характер судебных текстов уголовного права проявляется через «имплицитную, скрытую императивность» (Голев) без использования глаголов в повелительном наклонении. Глаголы в форме изъявительного наклонения настоящего времени создают ощущение вневременной, «вечной» законности изложенного, обладают модальностью предписания (Голев 2006, 26).

На лексическом уровне для судебного дискурса характерно использование клише, речевых штампов, устойчивых сочетаний слов, причём имена прилагательные и имена существительные сознательно не употребляются в оценочных и любых коннотативных значениях, чтобы придать юридическому тексту объективность, например:

postojanje osnovane sumnje	*наличие обоснованного подозрения*
po osnovama iz članka…	*на основании статьи…*
branitelj po službenoj dužnosti	*защитник по назначению суда*
ponavljanje kaznenog djela	*рецидив преступления*
blagodat nesvjedočenja	*свидетельский иммунитет*
u ime Republike Hrvatske	*именем Республики Хорватии*
slijedom iznijetog	*вследствие изложенного*
žalba nije dopuštena	*обжалованию не подлежит*
kaznena odgovornost	*уголовная ответственность*

С точки зрения морфологии, в текстах уголовного права наблюдается активное использование конструкций пассивного залога, которые отличаются гораздо большей частотностью, чем в общелитературном хорватском языке, где, как утверждает сетевое издание Хорватской энциклопедии, «пассивный залог не употребляется так часто, как в некоторых других европейских языках (напр., английском)»[3]. Вот несколько примеров из корпуса:

[3] *Перевод наш* — Е. Ч.

određen je istražni zatvor	*определена мера пресечения в виде заключения под стражу*
dijagnosticirane su ozljede	*обнаружены повреждения/раны*
navodi nisu utemeljeni	*доводы не обоснованы*
osumnjičenik nije osuđivan	*подозреваемый не был осуждён*
žalba je odbijena	*апелляционная жалоба отклонена*
održano je ročište	*проведено слушание*
kazneno djelo stavljeno je na teret	*вменяется преступление*
okrivljenik je pozvan	*обвиняемый вызван*
svjedok je upitan	*свидетелю задан вопрос*

Наряду с пассивными конструкциями в судебном дискурсе широко применяются безличные, в которых отсутствуют глаголы в форме 1-го и 2-го лица настоящего времени, а формы 3-го лица используются в неопределённо-личном значении, тем самым подчёркивается неличный, не субъективный характер действия правосудия, решения принимает абстрактный «суд» и «закон», а не конкретный судья:

prihvaća se prijedlog	*удовлетворяется ходатайство*
računa se	*отсчёт ведётся, отсчитывается*
navodi se	*указывается*
odbija se žalba	*отклоняется апелляция*
ukida se istražni zatvor	*отменяется заключение под стражу, отменяется содержание под стражей*
problematizira se postojanje osnovane sumnje	*ставится под вопрос наличие обоснованного подозрения*
da se zaključak	*делается вывод*
ističe se	*отмечается, подчёркивается*
utvrđuje se	*устанавливается*
konstatira se	*подтверждается, утверждается*

Говоря о дискурсивных и синтаксических особенностях языка уголовного права, следует отметить чёткую, последовательно соблюдаемую структуру разного рода письменных судебных

решений. Анализируя многообразные постановления, решения, представления, мы вычленили следующую закономерность: решение суда (*rješenje*) обычно состоит из четырёх частей: вводной, описательной, мотивировочной и резолютивной. Во вводной части (*uvod*) указывается номер дела, наименование суда, состав суда (единоличный или коллегиальный), секретарь-протоколист судебного заседания, стороны, другие лица, участвующие в заседании (*судебный переводчик, свидетель, судмедэксперт* и др.), предмет спора или заявленное требование. Описательная часть содержит указание на требование заявителя (прокурора, защитника, подозреваемого и др.). Мотивировочная (*obrazloženje*) — самая обширная часть, однако она не подаётся в виде сплошного повествования, а делится на пронумерованные части — абзацы. В мотивировочной части указываются установленные судом обстоятельства дела, выводы суда, доказательства в пользу требования заявителя или отвергающие его, законы, которыми суд руководствуется в принятии решения. Резолютивная часть (*izrjeka, dispozitiv*) должна содержать выводы суда об удовлетворении или отказе в удовлетворении ходатайства и порядок обжалования судебного решения. Каждый документ снабжён гербом Республики Хорватии в начале документа, а завершается подписью судьи, вынесшего решение, чаще всего электронной, и QR-кодом, по которому можно проверить достоверность документа, хранящегося в реестре на сайте «Услуги судебной системы Республики Хорватии».

Описанная структура характерна для документов с прескриптивной и аргументирующей функциями юридического дискурса типа судебного решения, постановления, распоряжения. Не менее чёткой структурой обладают документы, выполняющие информативную функцию юридического дискурса: протокол допроса (*zapisnik o ispitivanju*) (регистрационный номер, наименование суда, дата, состав участников заседания, указание на статью закона, по которой вменяется обвинение, время начала и окончания допроса, подписи участников заседания) или повестка в суд (*poziv za sud*) (регистрационный номер, наименование суда, дата и время назначенного судебного слушания, адрес и номер зала заседаний, повод назначенного заседания и список лиц, которым нужно доставить повестку). Соблюдение принятых в судебной системе правил и предписаний для составления юридических документов способствует унификации, единообразию формы и структуры правовых текстов. В. Г. Костомаров называет их «обобщёнными бланками», которые выработал деловой язык «для

кодирования типовой информации в чётком обслуживании сложного управленческого аппарата государства и социально-хозяйственного организма» (96). Стандартизированный, в какой-то степени даже трафаретный, юридический язык обеспечивает доступность и простоту понимания содержимого для всех участников судопроизводства и сводит к минимуму проявления субъективности в охране правопорядка.

5. Техника перевода терминов уголовного права

5.1. Адекватность и эквивалентность перевода

В общей теории перевода адекватность и эквивалентность являются двумя основными требованиями к переводу, что справедливо и в отношении юридического перевода. *Словарь иностранных слов* определяет *адекватный* (от лат. *adaequātus* ‘приравненный’) как «вполне соответствующий, совпадающий, тождественный» (Крысин 32). Адекватность, скорее, относится к процессу перевода, который должен происходить адекватным способом. Адекватный перевод, по Комиссарову, обеспечивает прагматические задачи переводческого акта на максимально возможном для достижения этой цели уровне эквивалентности, соблюдает жанрово-стилистические требования к текстам данного типа и не допускает нарушения норм и узуса ПЯ (246).

Говоря об эквивалентности, мы имеем в виду результат перевода, причём отмечаем функциональное соответствие текста перевода тексту оригинала. Эквивалент (от фр. *équivalent* ‘равноценный’ < лат. *aequus* ‘равный’ + *valēns, valentis* ‘имеющий силу, здоровье, крепкий, основательный’) — «нечто равноценное, равнозначащее, равносильное другому, полностью заменяющее его» (Крысин 826). Основоположник теории уровней эквивалентности В. Н. Комиссаров под эквивалентностью перевода понимал «общность содержания (смысловую близость) текстов оригинала и перевода» (47). Эквивалентность может достигаться на пяти иерархически взаимосвязанных уровнях:

1. уровень цели коммуникации,
2. уровень описания ситуации,
3. уровень способа описания ситуации,
4. уровень структуры высказывания,
5. уровень лексико-семантического соответствия (Гарбовский 298).

Модель эквивалентности вполне применима к переводу судебных текстов уголовного права в силу их принадлежности к официально-деловому функциональному стилю речи, а

«официально-деловые тексты полностью ориентированы на передачу содержания» (Виноградов 22). Принадлежность исходного текста к конкретному функциональному стилю, по Комиссарову, оказывает влияние на характер протекания переводческого процесса и требует от переводчика использования особых методов и приёмов (109). В настоящей работе мы ограничимся данным подходом, однако представляется возможным проанализировать перевод юридической лексики в свете функционалистской скопос-теории, разработанной зарубежными учёными Катариной Райс (Katharina Reiss), Хансом Фермеером (Hans Vermeer), Кристиан Норд (Christiane Nord). Теория скопос также говорит об адекватности перевода, однако адекватности не тексту оригинала, а адекватности цели, намерению перевода, от греч. *σκόπου* — 'цель'. Позиции сторонников функциональной лингвистики близко утверждение Н. К. Гарбовского, что категория адекватности является характеристикой не степени соответствия текста перевода тексту оригинала, а степени его соответствия ожиданиям участников коммуникации (289), причём под участниками коммуникации он подразумевает не только автора исходного текста, но и реципиента текста перевода. Такому мнению категорически противится В. С. Виноградов, для которого цель перевода состоит «не в подгонке текста под чьё-то восприятие, а в сохранении содержания, функций, стилевых, стилистических, коммуникативных и художественных ценностей оригинала» (20).

Тождественно этим двум целевым установкам, выделяют две стратегии перевода юридических текстов: первая направлена на целевой язык и подразумевает использование эквивалентов, схожих по своим функциям с аналогами в ПЯ, вторая ориентируется на язык оригинала, переводчик стремится максимально сохранить семантику исходного термина. Проиллюстрируем на примере: нам нужно перевести на хорватский язык название российской коммерческой компании *Общество с ограниченной ответственностью «Прогресс»*. В соответствии с первой переводческой стратегией (ориентация на ПЯ), название следует перевести как «*Napredak*» *d.o.o*.[4], по второй стратегии (ориентация на ИЯ), переводчик транслитерирует наименование: ООО «*Progres*». Возьмём ещё один пример из нашего корпуса. В хорватской юрисдикции одним из базовых является закон под названием *Zakon*

[4] d.o.o. — društvo s ograničenom odgovornošću, что соответствует термину *общество с ограниченной ответственностью*

o kaznenom postupku. Если применять вторую переводческую стратегию и ориентироваться на исходный язык, то название можно перевести как *Закон об уголовном судопроизводстве.* Подбор же эквивалента в языке перевода (первая переводческая стратегия) приведёт нас к названию *Уголовно-процессуальный кодекс*. Важно подчеркнуть, что к переводу юридически защищённых наименований коммерческих компаний, известных брендов и т. п. стоит подходить очень осторожно, потому что перевод может повлечь за собой утрату их узнаваемости и правового статуса. И хотя на практике встречаются случаи перевода известных мировых брендов на национальные языки (*Spiderman — Человек-паук*, *Red Wings — Красные крылья*), в большинстве случаев рекомендуется сохранять оригинальное наименование или передавать оним средствами графической системы другого языка, т. е. транслитерацией. В настоящей работе мы руководствовались первой переводческой стратегией, предполагающей подбор лексических эквивалентов в языке перевода, максимально близко отражающих семантику юридических терминов исходного языка и выполняющих тождественные функции.

5.2. Переводческие трансформации и приёмы перевода лексики уголовного права

Рассмотрим теперь набор конкретных трансформаций и приёмов, к которым мы прибегли для передачи хорватских терминов уголовного права на русский язык. Для начала вспомним дефиницию термина. Комиссаров определяет термины как «слова и словосочетания, обозначающие специфические объекты и понятия, которыми оперируют специалисты определённой области науки и техники» (110). Большинство терминов всё же полисемантичны, принадлежность слова к лексике определённой научной или профессиональной области не исключает её функционирования в общеупотребительном языке. Обращение к доступным двуязычным словарям (хорватско-русским) не всегда даёт возможность подобрать оптимальный вариант перевода термина. Задачей переводчика становится выбор именно терминологического значения слова путём анализа лингвистического контекста.

Возьмём два примера:

poziv — 1) приглашение, зов,
2) воззвание, обращение, призыв,
3) зов, призыв, клич (*книж*.), окрик, оклик,
4) вызов,

5) (*воен.*) призыв,
6) повестка
7) (*перен.*) призвание, профессия, специальность

Приведённые значения взяты из двуязычного хорватско-русского словаря Матии Даутовича (139–140). В нём некоторые лексические единицы на русском языке снабжены пометами о стилистической или профессиональной принадлежности слова, указано и переносное значение, однако недостаёт последовательности в маркировке, что существенно осложняет задачу переводчика. Отсутствует помета принадлежности слова повестка к юридическим терминам, что фиксирует *Большая юридическая энциклопедия* А. Б. Барихина (821). И только контекстуальный анализ коллокаций *sudski poziv — судебная повестка, повестка в суд* приводит к нужному результату перевода.

Ещё один пример, когда отсутствие помет о принадлежности слова к терминам конкретной области знаний вынуждает переводчика прибегнуть к методу контекстуального анализа:

nalog — 1) распоряжение, приказание, приказ, предписание, поручение, задание,
2) заказ, наряд, требование

Из девяти вариантов перевода лишь одно снабжено примером сочетания с термином *судебный*: *sudski nalog — предписание суда*. Среди коллокаций словарь Даутовича приводит *nalog za uhićenje — ордер на арест* (581), однако лексема *ордер* не включена в список значений. Несовершенство единственно доступного в Хорватии хорватско-русского словаря налицо, что является ещё одним аргументом в пользу необходимости создания двуязычного глоссария терминов уголовного права.

Процесс перевода состоит из нескольких этапов, первым из них является пословный и дословный перевод компонентов словосочетания, после которого следует погружение в культурно-правовой контекст ПЯ, позволяющий вычленить из совокупности смыслов лучшее соответствие денотату. Рассмотрим термин *blagodat nesvjedočenja*. Хорватское слово *blagodat* переводится на русский как

1) благодать, блаженство, счастье, благополучие, благо, выгода, польза,
2) (*рел.*) благодать, благословение, милость, дар, благодеяние (Даутович 47).

В предложенных вариантах перевода проявляется оценочная семантика, эмоциональная окраска, не свойственная

юридическому дискурсу. Единственный приемлемый вариант перевода из предложенных — слова *выгода* или *польза*. Хорватскую лексему *nesvjedočenje* можно предварительно перевести на русский с помощью приёма лексического добавления и приёма грамматической трансформации: *не давать свидетельские показания*. Промежуточным переводом мы получаем достаточно громоздкое выражение *выгода/польза не давать свидетельские показания*. После обращения к русской терминологии уголовного права находим лучший лексико-семантический эквивалент, причём с антонимическим переводом: *свидетельский иммунитет.*

В рамках стратегии перевода выбор конкретных переводческих техник и приёмов определяется типом текста (И. С. Алексеева в: Скворцов 12). При переводе хорватских документов уголовного права на русский язык часто приходится использовать различные приёмы трансформаций:

branitelj po službenoj dužnosti	*защитник по назначению суда*

— грамматическая трансформация, замена части речи: «прилагательное + существительное» на «существительное + существительное»,

žalba nije dopuštena	*обжалованию не подлежит*

— грамматическая трансформация, замена типа предложения: пассивная конструкция заменена безличной,

kazneno djelo	*преступление*

— приём опущения,

fizički, psihički zlostavljati	*применять физическое, психологическое насилие*

— комплексная лексико-грамматическая трансформация, приём экспликации, замена глагола глагольным словосочетанием,

odrediti istražni zatvor	*определить меру пресечения в виде заключения под стражу*

— лексическая трансформация, генерализация как лексико-семантическая замена: *istražni zatvor — следственный изолятор* заменён на более широкое метонимическое понятие *заключение под стражу.*

Остановимся на переводе понятия «местопребывание подозреваемого в совершении преступления». В хорватском уголовном праве встречаются три термина: *pritvor, istražni zatvor, zatvor,* что не следует переводить на русский терминами *тюрьма, следственная тюрьма* и т. п. Анализ справочной литературы[5] и законодательных документов[6] показал, что слова *pritvor* и *istražni zatvor* имеют значение действия (‘арест, задержание’, ‘предварительное заключение’), а местом пребывания задержанного является тюрьма. Однако в российском правовом поле фигурируют лексемы с семантикой места: *тюрьма, следственный изолятор (СИЗО), изолятор временного содержания (ИВС)*. Сопоставив основания для содержания подозреваемого в пенитенциарном учреждении и время его содержания в правовой практике России и Хорватии[7], мы пришли к выводу, что термину *pritvor* соответствует русский *содержание в ИВС*, тогда как термину *istražni zatvor* тождественен *заключение в СИЗО, содержание в СИЗО,* тем более что словарём Даутовича подтверждены эквиваленты *istraga* и *следствие, istražni* и *следственный*. Учитывая разницу в семантическом наполнении терминов (действие и место), мы прибегли к лексической трансформации и заменили *заключение в СИЗО* на метонимическое *мера пресечения в виде заключения под стражу* с помощью приёмов генерализации и добавления.

Попробуем разобраться в терминах, именующих фигуранта уголовного дела. В хорватском юридическом дискурсе встречаем

---

[5] «Pritvor». *Hrvatski opći leksikon,* https://hol2.lzmk.hr/clanak/pritvor. 4 августа 2024; «Pritvor». *Hrvatska enciklopedija,* https://www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/pritvor. 4 августа 2024; Dautović, Matija. *Hrvatsko-ruski rječnik.* Sv. 2. 2002.

[6] *Zakon o kaznenom postupku, https://www.zakon.hr/z/174/Zakon-o-kaznenom-postupku*. 4 августа 2024.

[7] *Kratki rječnik pojmova,* https://www.sigurnomjesto.hr/informacije/kratki-rjecnik-pojmova/. 5 августа 2024; Optuženik (kazneni postupak). *Službene internetske stranice Europske unije,* https://e-justice.europa.eu/169/HR/defendants_criminal_proceedings?CROATIA&action=maximizeMS&clang=hr&idSubpage=1&member=1. 5 августа 2024; Федеральный закон от 15 июля 1995 г. № 103-ФЗ «О содержании под стражей подозреваемых и обвиняемых в совершении преступлений», https://base.garant.ru/1305540/493aff9450b0b89b29b367693300b74a/#friends. 5 августа 2024; Изолятор временного содержания. Правила содержания обвиняемых и подозреваемых, отличия ИВС от СИЗО, (https://zakonguru.com/zpp/sud/izolyator.html. 5 августа 2024.

четыре имени существительных: *osumnjičenik, okrivljenik, optuženik, osuđenik,* в российском — четыре субстантивированных причастия: *подозреваемый, обвиняемый, подсудимый, осуждённый.* Два из них не вызывают трудностей в подборе эквивалентов:

osumnjičenik	*подозреваемый*
osuđenik	*осуждённый*

Однако две остальных единицы *okrivljenik* и *optuženik* не имеют единичных соответствий в русском, обе переводятся как *обвиняемый, подсудимый*. Не вносят ясность и хорватские источники, например, Портал хорватского языка (*Hrvatski jezični portal*) определяет термин *optuženik* как ‘тот, кому предъявлено обвинение’[8], хорватский *Уголовно-процессуальный кодекс* (*Zakon o kaznenom postupku*) дефинирует его как ‘лицо, против которого подтверждено обвинение’ [9]. Речь идёт о расхождении в этапах досудебного расследования. Если же мы обратимся к термину *okrivljenik*, то *Хорватская энциклопедия* утверждает, что он может употребляться в широком смысле, как родовое понятие для обозначения обвиняемого на разных стадиях уголовного процесса (*okrivljenik, optuženik, osuđenik)*, а в узком смысле — для обозначения лица, против которого ведётся уголовный процесс[10]. В *Уголовно-процессуальном кодексе Хорватии* (*Zakon o kaznenom postupku*) *okrivljenik* — это ‘лицо, против которого вынесено решение о проведении расследования’ [11]. Данные российского *Уголовно-процессуального кодекса* [12] приводят к выводу, что термин *обвиняемый* применителен на всех стадиях уголовного судопроизводства вплоть до назначения судебного разбирательства, когда его следует заменить на термин

[8] *Перевод наш* — Е. Ч. Оригинал: *Optuženik je onaj protiv koga je podignuta optužnica,* https://hjp.znanje.hr/index.php?show=search. 5 августа 2024.

[9] *Перевод наш* — Е. Ч. Оригинал: *Optuženik je osoba protiv koje je optužnica potvrđena,* https://www.zakon.hr/z/174/Zakon-o-kaznenom-postupku. 5 августа 2024.

[10] *Перевод наш* — Е. Ч. Оригинал: *Okrivljenik, u kaznenome procesnom pravu, osoba protiv koje se vodi kazneni postupak; u širem smislu, naziv za okrivljenika, optuženika i osuđenika,* https://www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/okrivljenik. 5 августа 2024.

[11] *Перевод наш* — Е. Ч. Оригинал: *Okrivljenik je osoba protiv koje je doneseno rješenje o provođenju istrage,* https://www.zakon.hr/z/174/Zakon-o-kaznenom-postupku. 5 августа 2024.

[12] https://sudact.ru/law/upk-rf/. 5 августа 2024.

подсудимый. Таким образом, для разграничения хорватских и русских терминов следует принять во внимание ситуативный контекст, чтобы установить, в каком значении выступает та или иная единица:

okrivljenik (на всех стадиях уголовного процесса)	*обвиняемый*
optuženik (после предъявления обвинения и подтверждения обвинения)	*обвиняемый*
optuženik (после назначения судебного разбирательства)	*подсудимый*

5.3. Оформление ссылок на законодательные акты

«Успешное выполнение социальной функции перевода возможно лишь в том случае, если переводчик глубоко и всесторонне знает язык оригинала и отражённую в нём историю и культуру народа», — утверждал Комиссаров (9). Осуществляя перевод юридической документации с хорватского языка на русский и обратно, переводчик должен обращать внимание не только на языковое содержание, но и на экстралингвистические особенности нормативного построения юридических текстов. Он должен учитывать требования узуса — «языковые привычки носителей языка перевода» — и не нарушать «привычное восприятие правового документа» читателем (Щепотина, Рыжкова 133). Игнорирование или пренебрежение данным правилом существенно затрудняет восприятие текста носителем языка, на который перевод осуществляется. Письменные документы уголовного права изобилуют ссылками на положения законов, в соответствии с которыми предпринимаются судебные действия, а порядок расположения частей нормативного акта в ссылках в хорватском и российском делопроизводстве различаются. Если в хорватских текстах уголовного права ссылаются сначала на статью закона (*članak*), затем на часть статьи (*stavak*) и наконец пункт (*točka*), то российские нормативы, наоборот, предписывают ссылаться на положения закона от наименьшей части к наибольшей (*пункт – часть – статья*):

na temelju čl. 123 st. 1 t. 2 Zakona o kaznenom postupku	*на основании положений п. 2 ч. 1 ст. 123 Уголовно-процессуального кодекса*

Хорватская и российская правовые системы принадлежат к одной правовой модели (континентальное, романо-германское право), что в значительной степени сближает их правовые нормы и принципы, тем самым облегчает перевод. И всё же единицы юридической терминологии в каждом конкретном национальном государстве различаются, являются культурно-маркированными (Хижняк 2008, 97), потому что право любой страны тесно связано с её политикой, идеологией и культурой. Переводчик обязан владеть основами юридической компетенции, которая вкупе с лингвистической, культурной и переводческой, позволит ему адекватно передать, по меткому выражению Э. А. Вартаньяна, «чужое» на «своё» (290).

6. Выводы

Проведённое исследование показало, что перевод документов уголовного права с хорватского языка на русский является комплексной задачей, поскольку в Хорватии отсутствуют двуязычные лексикографические источники по юридической области знания, а единственный доступный хорватско-русский словарь автора Матии Даутовича, при всех его достоинствах, не предлагает полного охвата всех вариантов значения и не проводит последовательную маркировку юридических терминов. В таких условиях большая нагрузка ложится на плечи переводчика, от которого требуется владение тремя отраслями науки: теорией языка, теорией права и теорией перевода. Его труд — поистине подвижнический (Вартаньян 296), его мастерство, по Комиссарову, «заключается в умении отыскать ряд соответствий единице оригинала и выбрать из этого ряда вариант, наиболее подходящий по условиям контекста» (145). Для создания адекватного и эквивалентного перевода переводчик использует весь арсенал доступных ему инструментов, чтобы получить в итоге текст, который звучит так, «как его написал бы автор оригинала» (Комиссаров 199). В проведённом исследовании нами предложены русские юридические эквиваленты хорватских терминов, полученные применением разнообразных языковых трансформаций (лексических, грамматических, лексико-грамматических), переводческих приёмов добавления, опущения, экспликации, генерализации и проведением поэтапного процесса перевода, включающего пословный, дословный перевод и погружение в контекст. Предложенные в работе эквиваленты могут стать хорошим подспорьем в составлении так необходимого

двуязычного хорватско-русского глоссария терминов уголовного права.

Литература:

"Africa Day Celebrated in Havana." *Granma International*, English ed., 31 May 2009, p. 16.

Аванесов, Р. И. *Словарь древнерусского языка (XI–XIV вв.)*. Русский язык, 1988, rus-old-russian-dict.slovaronline.com/. Accessed 2 Aug. 2024.

Баринова, И. А. "О национально-культурной специфике перевода юридического текста." *Вестник РХГА*, no. 4, 2012, cyberleninka.ru/article/n/o-natsionalno-kulturnoy-spetsifike-perevoda-yuridicheskogo-teksta. Accessed 31 July 2024.

Баринова, И. А., and Н. М. Нестерова. "Перевод: 'поверженный/неповерженный' буквализм." *Вестник Череповецкого государственного университета*, no. 6, 2018, pp. 66-77.

Барихин, А. Б. *Большая юридическая энциклопедия*. Книжный мир, 2010.

Брокгауз, Ф. А., and И. А. Ефрон. *Энциклопедический словарь*. Брокгауз–Ефрон, 1890-1907, rus-brokgauz-efron.slovaronline.com/. Accessed 2 Aug. 2024.

Counting Crows. *August and Everything After*. DGC, 1993. CD.

Cross, Susan, and Christine Hoffman. *Bruce Nauman: Theaters of Experience*. Guggenheim Museum; Thames & Hudson, 2004.

Dautović, M. *Hrvatsko-ruski rječnik*. Sv. 1, 2, Školska knjiga, 2002.

Dean, Cornelia. "Executive on a Mission: Saving the Planet." *The New York Times*, 22 May 2007, www.nytimes.com/2007/05/22/science/earth/22ander.html?_r=0. Accessed 29 May 2019.

Дохова, З. Р. "Лингвистические особенности судебного дискурса." *Вопросы русского языка в юридических делах и процедурах*, Первый класс, 2021, pp. 20-32.

Федеральный закон от 15 июля 1995 г. № 103-ФЗ «О содержании под стражей подозреваемых и обвиняемых в совершении преступлений». base.garant.ru/1305540/493aff9450b0b89b29b367693300b74a/#friends. Accessed 5 Aug. 2024.

Гарбовский, Н. К. *Теория перевода*. Издательство Московского университета, 2007.

Gilman, Sandor, et al. *Hysteria beyond Freud*. U of California P, 1993.

Глушаченко, С. Б., and Р. Т. Цветков. "Обычное право в договоре между Русью и Византией 911 года." *Ленинградский юридический журнал*, no. 2:52, 2018, pp. 20-30, cyberleninka.ru/article/n/obychnoe-pravo-v-dogovore-mezhdu-rusyu-i-vizantiey-911-g. Accessed 29 July 2024.

Голев, Н. Д. "Правовая коммуникация в зеркале естественного языка." *Юрислингвистика*, no. 7,

2006, cyberleninka.ru/article/n/pravovaya-kommunikatsiya-v-zerkale-estestvennogo-yazyka-1. Accessed 2 Aug. 2024.

---. *Юрислингвистика. Вводный очерк теории: учебное пособие*. Кемеровский государственный университет, 2021.

Графский, В. Г. "Кодекс Юстиниана." *Большая российская энциклопедия*, 2023, bigenc.ru/c/kodeks-iustiniana-03545a. Accessed 29 July 2024.

Хижняк, С. П. "Новое в исследовании терминологических систем (на примере юридической терминологии)." *Известия высших учебных заведений. Поволжский регион. Гуманитарные науки*, no. 1, 2008, pp. 92-99, cyberleninka.ru/article/n/novoe-v-issledovanii-terminologicheskih-sistem-na-primere-yuridicheskoy-terminologii. Accessed 29 July 2024.

---. "Юридический перевод как вид специального перевода." *Вестник ПНИПУ. Проблемы языкознания и педагогики*, no. 3, 2022, pp. 20-30.

Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje. Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2013-2024, www.enciklopedija.hr/. Accessed 3 Aug. 2024.

Hrvatski jezični portal. hjp.znanje.hr/. Accessed 29 July - 5 Aug. 2024.

Hrvatski općí leksikon. hol2.lzmk.hr/Projekt. Accessed 29 July - 5 Aug. 2024.

"Изолятор временного содержания. Правила содержания обвиняемых и подозреваемых, отличия ИВС от СИЗО." *ZakonGuru*, 2014-2024, zakonguru.com/zpp/sud/izolyator.html. Accessed 5 Aug. 2024.

Комиссаров, В. Н. *Теория перевода (лингвистические аспекты)*. Высшая школа, 1990.

Костомаров, В. Г. *Жизнь языка*. Педагогика, 1984.

Kowalewski, Michael. "Jack Kerouac and the Beats in San Francisco." *San Francisco in Fiction: Essays in a Regional Literature*, edited by David Fine and Paul Skenazy, U of New Mexico P, 1995, pp. 126-143.

Kratki rječnik pojmova. www.sigurnomjesto.hr/informacije/kratki-rjecnik-pojmova/. Accessed 29 July - 5 Aug. 2024.

Крысин, Л. П. *Иллюстрированный толковый словарь иностранных слов*. Эксмо, 2008.

Кубрякова, Е. С. "Эволюция лингвистических идей во второй половине XX века (опыт парадигмального анализа)." *Язык и наука конца XX века*, 1995, pp. 46-59.

Лебедева, Н. Б. "О метаязыковом сознании юристов и предмете юрислингвистики (к постановке проблемы)." *Юрислингвистика*, no. 2, 2000, cyberleninka.ru/article/n/o-metayazykovom-soznanii-yuristov-i-predmete-yurislingvistiki-k-postanovke-problemy-1. Accessed 31 July 2024.

Лукин, П. В. "Русская правда (кодекс)." *Большая российская энциклопедия: научно-образовательный портал*, 2023, bigenc.ru/c/russkaia-pravda-kodeks-912465/?v=7312014. Accessed 31 July 2024.

Mikulaco, I. *Hrvatsko i rusko pravno nazivlje*. Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli, 2024.

Скворцов, О. Г. *Перевод деловой и юридической документации*. Издательство Уральского университета, 2019.

Шепелёв, А. Н. "Характеристика юридического языка." *Социально-экономические явления и процессы*, no. 1, 2012, cyberleninka.ru/article/n/harakteristika-yuridicheskogo-yazyka. Accessed 30 July 2024.

Щепотина, Е. В., and Е. А. Рыжкова. "Национально-культурные аспекты перевода юридического текста." *Филология и лингвистика в современном обществе: материалы IV Международной научной конференции*, Буки-Веди, 2016, pp. 132-142.

Уголовно-процессуальный кодекс Российской Федерации от 18.12.2001 № 174-ФЗ (ред. от 29.05.2024). sudact.ru/law/upk-rf/. Accessed 5 Aug. 2024.

Вартаньян, Э. А. *Язык. Слово. Речь*. Галерея, 2007.

Виноградов, В. С. *Введение в переводоведение (общие и лексические вопросы)*. Издательство института общего среднего образования РАО, 2001.

Zakon o kaznenom postupku. www.zakon.hr/z/174/Zakon-o-kaznenom-postupku. Accessed 5 Aug. 2024.

Якеменко, Б. Г. *История России с древнейших времен до наших дней*. Яуза, 2024.

CHARACTERISTICS OF LEGAL DISCOURSE AND TECHNIQUES FOR TRANSLATING CRIMINAL LAW TERMS FROM CROATIAN INTO RUSSIAN

1. Relevance of the Study, Objectives and Methodology

The integration of linguistics and legal science, which began in Western Europe in the late 1960s (forensic linguistics) and in Russia in the early 21st century (jurislinguistics), has intensified significantly in recent years. This integration is largely driven by pragmatic needs. The migrant influx to Europe over the past decade has highlighted the importance of translating legal texts (both oral and written) and compiling bilingual legal dictionaries and glossaries. The translation issue becomes especially pressing when no specialised bilingual glossaries are available, as is the case with the Croatian–Russian language pair. This constitutes the relevance of the present study.

The aim of the study is to examine the linguistic features (lexical, semantic, morphological, syntactical) of judicial discourse within the framework of functional style theory and to analyse translation techniques for lexical units of criminal law from Croatian into Russian. The applied value lies in offering Russian equivalents for Croatian legal terms and expressions used in criminal proceedings, which can be employed in the creation of a Croatian–Russian criminal law glossary. The research corpus is based on original Croatian court documents translated by the author into Russian from February to August 2024. The following methods were used: continuous sampling, linguistic analysis, contextual analysis, comparative, descriptive and transformational analysis, as well as observation and interpretation techniques.

2. Introductory Remarks

Legal professionals acknowledge the importance of broad linguistic knowledge and communication skills for their work. When representatives of different cultures are involved in a legal system, the role of the translator as a "mediator" in communication increases significantly. Translators must have a perfect command of both the source and target languages, as well as a solid understanding of the legal systems of both countries. Moreover, they must be able to select appropriate translation techniques to find equivalents for legal terms. Thus, legal translation, as J. E. Joseph put it, relies on theoretical foundations from three areas: language theory, legal theory and translation theory (Khizhnyak 2022, 23).

Foreign scholars such as Jan Svartvik, D. Mellinkoff, N. P. Himmelmann, R. I. Walbaum, C. Goddard, M. Coulthard and R. W. Shuy were among the first to emphasise the need for combining linguistics and legal methods in criminal cases, laying the groundwork for forensic linguistics as a scientific field.

3. Historical Background

Legal translation has deep historical roots. One example is the earliest documented peace treaty between Ancient Egypt and the Hittite Empire in 1259 BC, which existed in two versions – Hittite and Ancient Egyptian. The Roman *Corpus Juris Civilis*, which significantly influenced the development of European legal science, is also a prominent example of a translated legal text. In ancient Rus', legal documents included treaties between Rus' and Byzantium (907, 911, 944, 971), which regulated judicial procedures, punishments for crimes and trade relations (Glushachenko & Tsvetkov, 29). These treaties were written in both Greek and the language of the counterpart, requiring legal translation. The foundational document of Russian law is Russkaya Pravda, the oldest legal code from the eleventh century.

4. Linguistic Features of Judicial Discourse

Russian scholars differ in their views on where legal language fits within literary language. Some (N. D. Golev, M. L. Davydova, N. V. Malanina, N. A. Martynova, I. A. Matyushin, R. P. Shcheglov, S. P. Khizhnyak, Yu. V. Chemeteva, N. S. Valgina) classify legal language as a functional substyle of official-business or a combination of official-business and scientific styles. Others (V. B. Isakov, A. N. Shepelev, A. A. Ushakov) treat it as an independent functional style alongside scientific, official-business, journalistic, colloquial and artistic styles.

Legal language is characterised by precision, clarity and unambiguity, as "a legal norm by its nature is a command" (Golev 2021, 32). Legal texts are emotionally neutral and devoid of subjective opinions to prevent emotional influence during judicial decision making. An exception may be courtroom speeches, where the pragmatic function is more prominent. The precision and dryness of legal language result from frequent use of stylistically neutral legal terms, restricting their pragmatic flexibility. Criminal law texts primarily serve informative and prescriptive functions.

Semantically, legal language tends to favour strict modal semantics due to the law's prescriptive nature ("to order", "to prohibit", "to punish", "to permit"). Examples from the corpus include:

dozvoliti – разрешить, дать разрешение
naložiti – приказать, предписать, распорядиться
odbiti – отказать, отклонить
osporiti – обжаловать, оспорить
ukinuti – отменить

There is a notable absence of words of epistemic modality such as: *possibly*, *probably*, *often* and subjunctive mood constructions. The prescriptive nature of criminal law discourse is conveyed through implicit imperative constructions using the indicative mood in the present tense, which implies timeless legal validity and prescriptive force (Golev 2006, 26).

Lexically, judicial discourse relies on clichés, set phrases and fixed expressions. Adjectives and nouns are deliberately stripped of evaluative or connotative meanings to maintain objectivity.

Morphologically, passive constructions are widely used in criminal law texts, more so than in general literary Croatian. Examples:

određen je istražni zatvor – определена мера пресечения в виде заключения под стражу
dijagnosticirane su ozljede – обнаружены повреждения/раны
žalba je odbijena – апелляционная жалоба отклонена
održano je ročište – проведено слушание
kazneno djelo stavljeno je na teret – вменяется преступление

Impersonal constructions also prevail, avoiding first- and second-person verb forms and using third-person forms to emphasise the depersonalised nature of legal decisions, made by the abstract entities the "court" and "law" rather than individual judges:

prihvaća se prijedlog – удовлетворяется ходатайство
računa se – отсчёт ведётся, отсчитывается
odbija se žalba – отклоняется апелляция
da se zaključak – делается вывод
konstatira se – подтверждается, утверждается

The syntactical structure of Croatian legal decisions consistently follows a four-part format: (1) Introduction, (2) Descriptive part, (3) Reasoning, and (4) Resolution. In the introductory part (*uvod*), the case number, the name of the court, the composition of the court (single judge or panel), the court session secretary, the parties and other participants in the hearing (court interpreter, witness, forensic expert, etc.) are indicated, as well as the subject of the dispute or the claim submitted. The descriptive part outlines the claim made by the applicant (prosecutor, defence attorney, suspect, etc.). The reasoning part (*obrazloženje*) is the most extensive section; however, it is not presented as a continuous narrative, but rather divided into numbered parts – paragraphs.

This part sets out the facts established by the court, the court's findings, the evidence supporting or refuting the applicant's claim, and the laws upon which the court relies in reaching its decision. The resolutive part (*izrjeka, dispozitiv*) contains the court's conclusion on whether the claim is granted or denied and provides information on the procedure for appealing against the court's decision. Every document features the Croatian coat of arms, a judge's signature (often digital) and a QR code verifying the document's authenticity on the official Croatian judiciary portal.

Summing up the description of legal discourse, it should be emphasised that adherence to the rules and regulations established within the judicial system for drafting legal documents contributes to the unification and uniformity of the form and structure of legal texts. V. G. Kostomarov refers to them as "generalised templates" developed by business language "for encoding standard information in the efficient servicing of the complex administrative machinery of the state and the socio-economic system" (96). They help to standardise and simplify complex legal communication, ensuring clarity, objectivity and minimal subjectivity.

5. Techniques for Translating Criminal Law Terms

5.1. Adequacy and Equivalence in Translation

In general translation theory, adequacy and equivalence are two essential criteria, which also apply to legal translation. The Dictionary of Foreign Words defines "adequate" (from the Latin *adaequatus* – "equalised") as "fully corresponding, matching or identical" (Krysin, 32). Adequacy typically refers to the translation process, which should proceed in an adequate manner. According to Komissarov, an adequate translation fulfils the pragmatic goals of the translation act at the highest possible level of equivalence, adheres to genre and stylistic norms of the target text and complies with the norms and usage of the target language (246).

Equivalence, in contrast, refers to the outcome of the translation, specifically to the functional correspondence between the source and the target texts. The term "equivalent" (from French *équivalent* < Latin *aequus* – "equal" + *valens* – "strong") means "something equal in value, meaning or force" (Krysin, 826). Komissarov, the founder of the theory of equivalence levels, defined translation equivalence as the "semantic proximity or content similarity" between the original and the translated texts (47).

Skopos theory, developed by Reiss, Vermeer and Nord, also addresses adequacy – though not in relation to the source text, but to the translation's purpose (*skopos* = "goal" in Greek). In this context, N. K. Garbovsky argued that adequacy refers not to fidelity to the original, but to the degree to which the translation meets the expectations of communication participants (289), including the source text author and the target audience. This view is opposed by V. S. Vinogradov, who insists that the goal of translation is "not to adapt the text to someone's perception, but to preserve its content, function, stylistic and communicative values" (20).

5.2. Translation Transformations and Techniques for Criminal Law Terms

Komissarov defines terms as "words and expressions denoting specific objects and concepts used by specialists in a given field" (110). However, most terms are polysemous and may function in general language as well. Croatian–Russian bilingual dictionaries do not always offer optimal translations of legal terms, so the translator must identify the terminological meaning through contextual analysis.

For example: *poziv* can mean:

1. *приглашение, зов*
2. *воззвание, обращение, призыв*
3. *зов, призыв, клич (книж.), окрик, оклик*
4. *вызов*
5. *(воен.) призыв*
6. *повестка*
7. *(перен.) призвание, профессия, специальность* (Dautovich, 139–140).

Although some meanings are marked stylistically, legal usage is not consistently labelled, which complicates the translator's task. For instance, *повестка* is not marked as a legal term, although it is listed in The Great Legal Encyclopedia (Barikhin, 821). Only contextual collocations such as *sudski poziv (судебная повестка)* clarify the correct interpretation. This illustrates the need for a specialised bilingual criminal law glossary.

Translation proceeds in stages, starting with a literal rendering, followed by interpretation in the target legal and cultural context. Consider the term *blagodat nesvjedočenja*. *Blagodat* may mean:

благодать, блаженство, счастье, благополучие, благо, выгода, польза,

(рел.) благодать, благословение, милость, дар, благодеяние (Dautovich, 47).

These meanings carry emotional connotations not suitable for legal language. Only *выгода* or *польза* are stylistically neutral. *Nesvjedočenje* could be translated through lexical addition and grammatical transformation as *не давать свидетельские показания.* A literal phrase such as *выгода/польза не давать свидетельские показания* is awkward. Instead, Russian legal terminology offers the more appropriate functional equivalent: *свидетельский иммунитет* (witness immunity).

Depending on the text type, different translation strategies are used (Alekseeva in Skvortsov, 12). When translating Croatian criminal law documents into Russian, the following transformational techniques are often applied:

žalba nije dopuštena – обжалованию не подлежит

→ grammatical transformation, replacing a passive with an impersonal construction,

kazneno djelo – преступление → omission technique,

fizički, psihički zlostavljati – применять физическое, психологическое насилие

→ lexical-grammatical transformation, explication, converting verbs into verb phrases,

odrediti istražni zatvor – определить меру пресечения в виде заключения под стражу

→ generalisation and metonymy: *istražni zatvor (следственный изолятор)* is generalised into the broader term *заключение под стражу*.

Let's consider the concept *местопребывание подозреваемого в совершении преступления*. The Croatian legal terms *pritvor, istražni zatvor* and *zatvor* should not be translated as *тюрьма* or *следственная тюрьма*. Analysis shows:

pritvor and *istražni zatvor* refer to actions (*арест, задержание, предварительное заключение*), not physical locations, and

Russian uses terms indicating locations (*тюрьма, следственный изолятор – СИЗО, изолятор временного содержания – ИВС*).

By comparing the grounds for detaining a suspect and the duration of their detention in the legal practices of Russia and Croatia, we concluded that the term *pritvor* corresponds to the Russian term *содержание в ИВС*, whereas the term *istražni zatvor* is equivalent to з*аключение в СИЗО, содержание в СИЗО*. Considering the difference in the semantic content of these terms (action versus place), to bridge the semantic gap, we resorted to lexical transformation and replaced *заключение в СИЗО* with the metonymic expression *мера пресечения в виде заключения под стражу* using the techniques of generalisation and addition.

5.3. Formatting References to Legal Acts

When translating legal documents from Croatian into Russian and vice versa, the translator must pay attention to the extralinguistic features of the normative structure of legal texts. Written documents in criminal law abound with references to legal provisions according to which judicial actions are taken, and the order of parts of a normative act in references differs between Croatian and Russian legal practice. If Croatian criminal law texts refer first to the article of the law (*članak*), then to the paragraph (*stavak*) and finally to the point (*točka*), Russian regulations, on the contrary, prescribe referencing legal provisions from the smallest part to the largest (пункт – часть – статья):

Example:

na temelju čl. 123 st. 1 t. 2 Zakona o kaznenom postupku

— на основании положений п. 2 ч. 1 ст. 123 Уголовно-процессуального кодекса

6. Conclusion

This study demonstrates that translating criminal law documents from Croatian into Russian is a multifaceted task, particularly given the lack of bilingual legal lexicographical resources. The only available Croatian–Russian legal dictionary is inconsistent in marking terminology, placing a heavy burden

on the translator. Successful translation requires knowledge in three disciplines: linguistics, law and translation theory.

Keywords: criminal law, jurislinguistics, legal discourse, official-business style, terms, theory of equivalence, translation techniques, transformation

(NE)VIDLJIVE KOLOKACIJE U NASTAVI ITALIJANSKOG JEZIKA NA PRIMERU UDŽBENIKA ZA OSNOVNU ŠKOLU U SRBIJI: SMERNICE ZA REČNIKE KOLOKACIJA ZA POČETNE NIVOE UČENJA[1]

*Katarina **Zavišin**, Filološki fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu, katarina.zavisin@gmail.com*

*Dragana **Radojević**, Filološki fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu, dragana.radojevic@fil.bg.ac.rs*

Original scientific paper
DOI: 10.31902/fll.54.2026.9
UDC: 371.3:811.131.1(497.11)

Apstrakt: Usvajanje kolokacija u nastavi stranih jezika najčešće se dovodi u vezu sa srednjim i višim jezičkim nivoima. Na to ukazuju i relevantni dokumenti koji su osnov za nastavu stranih jezika u Srbiji: *Zajednički evropski referentni okvir za žive jezike*, *Pravilnik o standardima obrazovnih postignuća za kraj prvog ciklusa osnovnog obrazovanja i za kraj osnovnog obrazovanja*, kao i *Pravilnici o programu nastave i učenja za peti, šesti, sedmi i osmi razred osnovnog obrazovanja i vaspitanja*. Međutim, detaljnom analizom pomenutih dokumenata uočeno je da se kolokacije u najširem značenju, tj. shvaćene kao slobodne kombinacije reči, „kriju“ iza mnogih opisa komunikativnih jezičkih funkcija i ishoda učenja predviđenih za početne nivoe učenja. Pored toga, na osnovu analize udžbeničkog kompleta *Amici 1, 2, 3* i *4* za italijanski jezik (od 5. do 8. razreda osnovne škole) utvrđeno je da su kolokacije prisutne i na početnim nivoima učenja stranog jezika. U analizi navedenog korpusa autorke su, u skladu sa smernicama za izradu dvojezične onlajn platforme kolokacija na italijanskom i srpskom jeziku u okviru projekta ColSI_ConStud, sačinile bazu kolokacija koje odgovaraju početnom nivou učenja italijanskog jezika. Ova baza može predstavljati model za sastavljanje dvojezičnih (i višejezičnih) rečnika kolokacija u budućim udžbenicima za učenje stranih jezika na početnim nivoima koji bi značajno pomogli učenicima u usvajanju leksike i usmeravanju ka celoživotnom i samostalnom učenju stranog jezika.

[1] Istraživanje se sprovodi uz podršku Fonda za nauku Republike Srbije, 7330, *Collocations in Serbian and in Italian: a contrastive study of lexical combinations – ColSI_ConStud*.

Ključne reči: dvojezični rečnik kolokacija, onlajn platforma, početno učenje, italijanski, srpski, osnovna škola

1. Uvod

U naučnoj i stručnoj literaturi usvajanje kolokacija prevenstveno se vezuje za srednje i napredne nivoe učenja jezika. Međutim, sve češće stručnjaci u nastavi stranih jezika ukazuju na njihov značaj i na početnim nivoima učenja.[2]

U vezi s upotrebom kolokacija i idioma na početnom nivou učenja (nivoi A1 i A2) u radu su analizirani dokumenti koji čine osnov za nastavu stranih jezika u Srbiji:

Zajednički evropski referentni okvir za žive jezike (u daljem tekstu QCER pošto se citira italijanski *Quadro comune europeo di riferimento*);

Pravilnik o standardima obrazovnih postignuća za kraj prvog ciklusa osnovnog obrazovanja i za kraj osnovnog obrazovanja (u daljem tekstu: PSOO);

Pravilnik o programu nastave i učenja za peti i šesti razred osnovnog obrazovanja i vaspitanja (u daljem tekstu*:* PPN5-6);

Pravilnik o programu nastave i učenja za sedmi razred osnovnog obrazovanja i vaspitanja (u daljem tekstu*:* PPN7);

Pravilnik o programu nastave i učenja za osmi razred osnovnog obrazovanja i vaspitanja (u daljem tekstu*:* PPN8).

Cilj rada je da se ukaže na prisustvo leksičkih kombinacija u širem smislu (prevashodno kolokacija shvaćenih kao slobodne kombinacije reči) u nastavi stranih jezika na primeru italijanskog jezika na početnim nivoima učenja iako se ovi pojmovi u pomenutim dokumentima uglavnom vezuju prvenstveno za više jezičke nivoe. Naime, iako pomenuti dokumenti ne ukazuju na ove leksičke kategorije na nivoima A1 i A2, one su svakako prisutne i na njima, što potvrđuje analiza akreditovanog udžbeničkog kompleta za italijanski jezik od petog do osmog razreda osnovne škole iz koje je proistekao korpus u poglavlju 4. ovog rada, a koji je sačinjen na osnovu kriterijuma za izradu dvojezične onlajn platforme kolokacija na italijanskom i srpskom jeziku u okviru projekta ColSI_ConStud.[3] Navedeni korpus kolokacija može poslužiti kao model za sastavljanje dvojezičnih (i višejezičnih) rečnika kolokacija prilikom izrade budućih udžbenika za početne nivoe učenja stranih

[2] Uporedi: Projekat DICI-A Univerziteta za strance u Peruđi (https://www.unistrapg.it/it/ricerca/progetti-di-ricerca/dici-a-dizionario-delle-collocazioni-italiane-per-apprendenti).

[3] https://collocsi.com/

jezika. Takvi rečnici u okviru udžbenika svakako bi bili od velike pomoći učenicima za usvajanje leksike od samih početaka učenja stranih jezika. Pored toga, u poglavlju 4. ovog rada posebno su izdvojene kolokacije iz analiziranih udžbenika koje su u vezi s razvojem metalingvističke kompetencije učenika budući da je ona relevantna za postizanje viših nivoa jezičkog znanja.

2. Strani jezici u obrazovnom sistemu Srbije

Obrazovni sistem Srbije obuhvata sledeće cikluse: predškolsko vaspitanje i obrazovanje, osnovno obrazovanje i vaspitanje, srednje i univerzitetsko obrazovanje. Osnovna škola je obavezna i podeljena je u dva ciklusa: prvi ciklus podrazumeva prve četiri godine, dok drugi ciklus obuhvata period od petog do osmog razreda. Deca polaze u osnovnu školu sa 6 i po do 7 i po godina i završavaju osnovnu školu sa 14-15 godina[4].

Iako je zakonski omogućeno da se učenje šest stranih jezika (engleski, francuski, italijanski, nemački, ruski i španski) može učiti u različitim ciklusima obrazovanja kao prvi, odnosno drugi strani jezik, te su na taj način u potpunosti izjednačeni, u praksi se međutim ova mogućnost ne primenjuje. Naime, status prvog stranog jezika u osnovnom obrazovanju gotovo isključivo ima engleski jezik, dok su ostali strani jezici prisutni u samo 3% škola kao prvi strani jezici (Jovanović 98).

Status ostalih stranih jezika u srednjim školama dodatno je ugrožen jer samo trećina učenika srednjih škola uči dva strana jezika, dok preostali deo učenika ima samo jedan strani jezik kao obavezan predmet (Jovanović 102).

3. Definicije kolokacija: kratak pregled

Prvu definiciju kolokacija dao je Firth (181): "Collocations of a given word are statements of the habitual or customary places of that word in collocational order but not in any other contextual order and emphatically not in grammatical order"[5]. U potonjim decenijama sve do

[4] https://eurydice.eacea.ec.europa.eu/eurypedia/serbia/overview (23/09/2025)

[5] „Kolokacije određene reči jesu iskazi uobičajenih i ustaljenih pozicija te reči u kolokacionom poretku (tj. u okviru ustaljenih leksičkih kombinacija, prim. prev.), ali ne i u bilo kom drugom kontekstualnom poretku (tj. ne zavise od širokog konteksta teksta ili situacije, prim. prev.), a naročito ne u gramatičkom poretku (tj. ne zavise od gramatike)". Prevode svih definicija uradile su autorke rada, ukoliko nije drugačije naznačeno.

danas mnogi autori su ih definisali iz perspektive različitih lingvističkih disciplina i teorijskih okvira. Navodimo neke od tih definicija:

Cruse (132): "sequences of lexical items which habitually co-occur, but which are nonetheless fully transparent in the sense that each lexical constituent is also a semantic constituent"[6];

Choueka (612): "a sequence of two or more consecutive words, that has characteristics of a syntactic and semantic unit whose exact and unambiguous meaning or connotation cannot be derived directly from the meaning or connotation of its components"[7];

Sinclair (170): "the cooccurrence of two or more words within a short space of each other in a text"[8];

Evert (17): "a word combination whose semantic and/or syntactic properties cannot be fully predicted from those of its components, and which therefore has to be listed in a lexicon"[9];

Bartsch (76): "lexically and/or pragmatically constrained recurrent co-occurrences of at least two lexical items which are in a direct syntactic relation with each other"[10];

Ježek (192): "una combinazione di parole soggetta a una restrizione lessicale, per cui la scelta di una specifica parola (il collocato) per esprimere un determinato significato, è condizionata da una seconda parola (la base) alla quale questo significato è riferito"[11];

[6] „nizovi leksičkih jedinica koje se uobičajeno pojavljuju zajedno, ali koje su ipak potpuno transparentne u smislu da je svaki leksički element ujedno i semantički element."

[7] „niz od dve uzastopne reči ili više njih koji ima obeležja sintaksičke i semantičke celine čije se tačno i nedvosmisleno značenje ili konotacija ne mogu izvesti direktno iz značenja ili konotacije njenih delova."

[8] „zajedničko pojavljivanje dve ili više reči unutar kratkog tekstualnog raspona (tj. na maloj udaljenosti između njih u jednom tekstu, prim. prev.)."

[9] „kombinacija reči čija se semantička i/ili sintaksička svojstva ne mogu u potpunosti predvideti na osnovu svojstava elemenata od kojih je sačinjena i koja stoga mora biti navedena u rečniku."

[10] „leksički i/ili pragmatički ograničena učestala zajednička pojavljivanja najmanje dve leksičke jedinice koje su u direktnoj sintaksičkoj vezi jedna s drugom."

[11] „kombinacija reči podložna leksičkoj restrikciji, zbog koje je izbor specifične reči (kolokata) za izražavanje određenog značenja uslovljen drugom rečju (bazom) na koju se to značenje odnosi."

Tiberii (3): “espressioni formate da due o più parole che per uso e consuetudine lessicale formano una unità fraseologica non fissa ma riconoscibile”[12];

Zingarelli: “combinazione di due o più parole che, sebbene rimangano autonome tra loro dal punto di vista del senso e siano sostituibili, formano insieme un’espressione resa tipica dall’uso”[13].

U skladu sa ciljevima projekta u okviru kojeg je sprovedeno ovo istraživanje, od kojih je jedan taj da se istraži na koji način dvojezični italijansko-srpski i srpsko-italijanski rečnici tretiraju kolokacije shvaćene kao slobodne kombinacije reči, u ovom radu kolokacije posmatramo upravo u tom njihovom najširem značenju, tj. kao slobodne kombinacije reči.

3.1. Kolokacije u *Zajedničkom evropskom referentnom okviru za žive jezike*

U ažuriranom izdanju *Zajedničkog evropskog referentnog okvira za žive jezike* istaknuto je da su autori, pored određenih novina za koje u prethodnom izdanju nisu bili dati deskriptori, pružili detaljnije opise deskriptora za početni nivo A i napredni nivo C (QCER 21).

Umesto termina *kolokacije* u dokumentu se najčešće koristi pojam *espressioni idiomatiche* ’idiomatski izrazi’ (QCER 50, 79, 142, 149) i to prilikom opisivanja kompetencija prevashodno na višim jezičkim nivoima (C1 i C2), dok se termin *collocazioni* ’kolokacije’ javlja veoma retko[14].

Tako na primer, za neformalnu komunikaciju između prijatelja od govornika na nivou B1 očekuje se da je u stanju da prati izlaganje u vezi s opštim temama ukoliko sagovornici izbegavaju da koriste idiomatske izraze (QCER 83). Na sličan način se definišu kompetencije učenika na ovom nivou i za formalnu komunikaciju, te se tako smatra da je učenik u stanju da prati veći deo izlaganja ukoliko se ono odnosi na teme iz njegovog domena interesovanja (QCER 83).

---

[12] „izrazi sačinjeni od dve ili više reči koji po svojoj upotrebi i ustaljenoj leksičkoj praksi čine jednu frazeološku celinu koja nije fiksna, ali jeste prepoznatljiva.“

[13] „kombinacija dve ili više reči koje, iako svaka ima svoje značenje i iako su zamenljive, zajedno predstavljaju izraz koji je zahvaljujući čestoj upotrebi u jeziku postao tipičan“.

[14] S obzirom da je predmet našeg istraživanja analiza kolokacija u udžbenicima na osnovnoškolskom nivou, ne bavimo se ovde detaljnom analizom kolokacija na naprednim nivoima

Kada je reč o usmenoj interakciji na nivou A1, ističe se da je za uspešno vođenje dijaloga s učenikom na ovom nivou neophodno, pored usporenog govora, ne koristiti idiomatske izraze (QCER 89).

Pored toga, analiza dodatnog dokumenta *Zajedničkog evropskog referentnog okvira za žive jezike* pod naslovom *Collated Representative Samples of Descriptors of Langugage Competences Developed for Young Learners* (u daljem tekstu CSDLCYL) u kome su opisane očekivane kompetencije učenika od 11 do 15 godina ukazuje na slične rezultate. Naime, u navedenom dokumentu kolokacije se pominju samo u deskriptoru za nivo B2 u okviru poznavanja leksike (kao dela komunikativne kompetencije) u kojem se ističe da učenik može uglavnom dosledno da koristi odgovarajuće kolokacije mnogih reči u različitim kontekstima (CSDLCYL 147). Međutim, primećujemo da se na svim ostalim nivoima koriste termini koji bi se mogli odnositi na kolokacije. Tako na primer, od pripremnog nivoa za A1 do nivoa A2+ uglavnom se koriste sledeći termini: ustaljeni izrazi (*formulaic expressions*), svakodnevni izrazi (*everyday expressions*), osnovni izrazi (*basic expressions*), izrazi ili kombinacije jednostavnih reči (*formulaic expressions and combinations of simple words*), standardni izrazi (*standard expressions*), kratki izrazi (*short expressions*), uobičajeni izrazi (*common expressions*) i sl. (CSDLCYL 25-79).

Za detaljnije opisivanje kompetencija učenika na B nivoima koriste se termini koji bi se mogli odnositi na naše šire poimanje kolokacija, poput sledećih: osnovni izrazi (*basic expressions*), kombinacije (reči) i izrazi (*combinations and expressions*), kolokvijalne ili stručne kombinacije (*colloquial and special expressions*), teški izrazi (*difficult expressions*), idomatski izrazi (*idiomatic expressions*) (CSDLCYL 90-153), dok se za nivo C isključivo koristi termin idiomatski izrazi (CSDLCYL 153-169).

3.2. Kolokacije u *Pravilniku o standardima obrazovnih postignuća za kraj prvog ciklusa osnovnog obrazovanja i za kraj osnovnog obrazovanja*

Važeći PSOO obuhvata sve predmete na osnovnoškolskom nivou. Standardi postignuća učenika za kraj osnovnog obrazovanja definisani su na tri nivoa: osnovnom, srednjem i naprednom nivou. Ova tri nivoa standarda opisuju očekivane rezultate učenika po završetku osnovne škole iz domena opšte predmetne kompetencije i specifičnih predmetnih kompetencija.

Naime, standarde postignuća čine tri glavne komponente: opšta predmetna kompetencija (OPK), specifične predmetne kompetencije (SPK) i ishodi obrazovnog ciklusa (IOC). Opšta predmetna kompetencija

opisuje glavnu svrhu učenja nastavnog predmeta, dok specifične predmetne kompetencije detaljnije određuju predmet, način i primenu znanja. Nadalje, specifične predmetne kompetencije podeljene su u tri dodatne kompetencije: SPK 1 se odnosi na predmetna znanja koja učenik treba da stekne do kraja obrazovnog ciklusa, SPK 2 se odnosi na načine saznavanja, tj. kako se stiče znanje određenog predmeta, dok SPK 3 podrazumeva primenu znanja i objašnjava zašto su potrebna znanja iz određenog predmeta[15].

U opisima kompetencija za strani jezik[16] ne nalazimo pojmove poput *kolokacije* ili *leksičke kombinacije*, međutim, u dokumentu se uočava upotreba termina *izraz* za jezičke funkcije koje bi mogle upućivati na kolokacije u značenju koje se primenjuje u projektu ColSI_ConStud.

Tako se, na primer, u opisu SPK 1 od učenika očekuje da na osnovnom nivou koriste „elementarne i najfrekventnije reči i izraze za iskazivanje osnovnih komunikativnih aktivnosti u školskom i vanškolskom kontekstu“ (PSOO 136). Na srednjem nivou SPK 1 učenici treba da „koriste ograničeni repertoar gotovih izraza i višečlanih konstrukcija za iskazivanje osnovnih komunikativnih aktivnosti u školskom i vanškolskom kontekstu (PSOO 141), dok se na naprednom nivou u okviru SPK 3 od učenika očekuje traži da „razumeju opšti smisao i frekventne fraze, formulacije i izraze u tekstovima popularne muzike“ (PSOO 149).

3.3. Kolokacije u *Pravilnicima o programu nastave i učenja za peti, šesti, sedmi i osmi razred osnovnog obrazovanja i vaspitanja*

U skladu sa PPN5-6, PPN7 i PPN8, nastava italijanskog jezika kao drugog stranog jezika podrazumeva nedeljni fond od 2 školska časa[17], tj. 72 časa u školskoj godini u petom, šestom i sedmom razredu i 68 u osmom razredu.

U programima je istaknuto da je cilj nastave stranih jezika za sva četiri razreda da se učenici usvajanjem funkcionalnih znanja o jezičkom sistemu i kulturi, kao i razvijanjem strategija učenja stranog jezika, osposobe za pismenu i usmenu komunikaciju, steknu pozitivan odnos

[15] Detaljnije o reformama u oblasti osnovnog i opšteg srednjeg obrazovanja i vaspitanja u Republici Srbiji: https://eurydice.eacea.ec.europa.eu/sr/eurypedia/serbia/reforme-u-oblasti-osnovnog-i-opshteg-sredneg-obrazovana-i-vaspitana

[16] U radu su dati primeri koji se odnose na standarde postignuća za drugi strani jezik s obzirom da je predmet analize u našem radu udžbenički komplet za italijanski kao drugi strani jezik u obrazovnom sistemu Republike Srbije.

[17] Školski čas traje 45 minuta.

prema drugim jezicima i kulturama, sopstvenom jeziku i kulturnom nasleđu (PPN5-6 196). S tim u vezi, glavni kriterijumi za izbor jezičkih sadržaja (jezičke aktivnosti u komunikativnim situacijama, gramatički i interkulturni sadržaji) predstavljaju: ishodi (koji proizilaze iz Standarda u skladu sa tri nivoa razvoja kompetencija na kraju osnovnog obrazovanja), teme (oblasti) i komunikativne funkcije.

Svi pomenuti elementi nastavnog plana i programa u svakom razredu se delimično ponavljaju, proširuju i usložnjavaju. Ovu cikličnu progresiju ilustrovaćemo primerom u vezi s opisom aktivnosti i događaja. Naime, tema i komunikativna funkcija u vezi s opisom aktivnosti, planova i sposobnosti u petom razredu odnosi se na opisivanje uobičajenih i trenutnih aktivnosti, planova i sposobnosti, te podrazumeva sledeće ishode: „učenik može da razume jednostavne iskaze o uobičajenim i trenutnim aktivnostima i sposobnostima i reaguje na njih; opiše i planira uobičajene i trenutne aktivnosti kratkim jednostavnim jezičkim sredstvima; opiše šta ume / ne ume da (u)radi“ (PPN5-6 205). U šestom razredu tema i komunikativna funkcija se proširuju na opisivanje događaja i radnji u sadašnjosti i prošlosti, kao i na iskazivanje planova i namera, te se samim tim i komunikativne funkcije usložnjavaju: „razume jednostavne tekstove u kojima se opisuju stalne, uobičajene i trenutne radnje; razmeni informacije koje se odnose na opis događaja i radnji u sadašnjosti; opiše stalne, uobičajene i trenutne događaje/ aktivnosti koristeći nekoliko vezanih iskaza; razume kraće tekstove u kojima se opisuju događaji u prošlosti; razmeni informacije u vezi sa događajima u prošlosti; opiše u nekoliko kraćih, vezanih iskaza događaj iz prošlosti; razume planove i namere i reaguje na njih; razmeni jednostavne iskaze u vezi sa svojim i tuđim planovima i namerama; saopšti šta on/ona ili neko drugi planira, namerava“ (PPN5-6 430). U sedmom razredu (PPN7 149) i osmom razredu (PPN8 170) tema i komunikativna funkcija obuhvataju, pored opisa radnji u sadašnjosti i prošlosti, i opis budućih radnji, te tako i ishodi postaju zahtevniji u skladu sa standardima za kraj osnovnog obrazovanja.

Iako u sadržaju programa nisu navedeni termini *kolokacije* ili *leksičke kombinacije*, u okviru opisa različitih jezičkih funkcija nailazi se na kolokacije u njihovom najširem značenju. Tako na primer, kako bi učenici ostvarili ishod (tj. razvili jezičku funkciju) za opisivanje živih bića, predmeta, mesta i pojava jednostavnim jezičkim sredstvima, neophodno je da koriste kombinacije reči poput: „crna kosa“, „plave oči“, „kratka suknja“, „lepo vreme“ i sl. Pomenuti primeri pripadaju po svojoj strukturi kolokacijama, tj. slobodnim kombinacijama reči, te stoga dolazimo do zaključka da se iza različitih ishoda i jezičkih funkcija „kriju“ kolokacije u skladu sa strukturama opisanim u našem radu.

3.4. Kolokacije u udžbenicima *Amici 1, 2, 3 i 4* za učenje italijanskog jezika u osnovnim školama

Udžbenici koji se koriste u osnovnim i srednjim školama u Srbiji moraju se nalaziti u Planu udžbenika [18] za nastavne predmete koji predlaže Zavod za unapređivanje obrazovanja i vaspitanja po pribavljenom mišljenju Nacionalnog prosvetnog saveta, dok ga konačno donosi ministar prosvete. Pored toga, važno je napomenuti da udžbenik mora biti usklađen sa Standardima kvaliteta udžbenika, čime se želi garantovati učenicima kvalitetno obrazovanje. Nakon odobrenja udžbenik se uvrštava u Katalog udžbenika i može se koristiti u školama za određene predmete. Svi odobreni udžbenici dostupni su na sajtu Ministarstva prosvete, a razvrstani su po školskim godinama odobrenja. U Katalogu odobrenih udžbenika za italijanski jezik nalaze se strani (italijanski) udžbenici, kao i udžbenici u izdanju Zavoda za udžbenika koji su ujedno i jedini udžbenici domaćeg izdavača[19].

U fokusu našeg istraživanja je udžbenički komplet (*Amici 1, 2, 3* i *4*) domaćeg izdavača Zavoda za udžbenike koji je namenjen učenju italijanskog jezika kao drugog stranog jezika u osnovnoj školi prema sledećem planu:

Amici 1 (Blatešić 2019) – 5. razred
Amici 2 (Blatešić i Stojković 2019) – 6. razred
Amici 3 (Blatešić i Stojković 2020) – 7. razred
Amici 4 (Stojković 2020) - 8. razred

U udžbenicima je zastupljen induktivni metod podučavanja stranog jezika koji podrazumeva da učenici imaju aktivnu ulogu u učenju stranog jezika. Naime, induktivnom metodom učenici se podstiču da, uz pomoć nastavnika, dolaze do gramatičkih pravila, kao i da učestvuju u interakciji sa sagovornikom (Nunan 10). Stoga je u udžbenicima istaknuta funkcionalna strana jezika koja podrazumeva da učenici usvajaju gotove izraze za različite komunikativne situacije (Cook 38).

S tim u vezi, u udžbenicima se nalaze posebni odeljci u kojima se ističu izrazi i jezičke strukture korisne za pojedinačne komunikativne situacije: u udžbenicima *Amici 1* i *Amici 2* oni se nalaze u odeljcima *Come si dice?* , dok se u udžbenicima *Amici 3* i *Amici 4* nalaze u odeljcima *Come fare per…* U pomenutim odeljcima nalazimo kolokacije koje su u skladu

[18] https://prosveta.gov.rs/prosveta/udzbenici/
[19] Spisak udžbenika dostupan je na https://prosveta.gov.rs/prosveta/udzbenici/udzbenici-za-osnovnu-skolu/ (4/10/2025).

sa strukturom kolokacija koja se primenjuje u projektu ColSI_ConStud, kao u sledećim primerima[20]:

Amici 1: *Dove hai lezioni d'italiano?* (18) kolokacija *avere lezioni* (glagol + imenica); *Che taglia porti?* (58) kolokacija *portare la taglia* (glagol +imenica); *Il treno parte fra qualche minuto.* (78) kolokacija *il treno parte* (imenica+ glagol); *Ho mal di testa / gola / denti.* (78) kolokacija *avere mal di testa / gola / dente* (imenica + predlog + imenica) i sl.

Amici 2: kolokacije *farsi la barba*, *fare colazione*, *lavarsi i denti* (40) (glagol + imenica); *Ti ricordi quando si festeggiano queste feste in Italia?* (60) kolokacija *la festa si festeggia* (imenica + glagol); *Cosa diciamo a un amico che compie gli anni?* (60) kolokacija *compiere gli anni* (glagol + imenica); *Giochiamo a calcio* (70) kolokacija *giocare a calcio* (glagol + predlog + imenica); *Il lunedì pomeriggio fanno una gita in barca*. (80) kolokacija *fare una gita* (glagol + imenica) i sl.

Amici 3: *Ho passato le vacanze a/in…* (10) kolokacija *passare le vacanze* (glagol + imenica); *Ero sistemato/a in albergo* (10) kolokacija *essere sistemato in albergo* (glagol + predlog + imenica) i sl.

Amici 4: […] *aveva i capelli corti e ricci e gli occhi verdi.(21)* kolokacije *capelli corti* i *occhi verdi* (imenica + pridev) i sl.

Naša analiza udžbeničkog kompleta *Amici 1, 2, 3* i *4* ukazuje na prisustvo kolokacija u svim delovima udžbenika, kao što su: uvodni deo, osnovni tekst svake lekcije, sheme i shematski prikazi, nalozi u vežbanjima, rečnik i radna sveska svakog udžbenika koja je namenjena za samostalni rad učenika kod kuće.

4. Korpus kolokacija iz udžbeničkog kompleta *Amici 1, 2, 3 i 4* s prevodom na srpski jezik

Metodologija izrade ovog korpusa zasniva se na kriterijumima primenjenim prilikom sastavljanja italijansko-srpskog rečnika kolokacija u okviru projekta ColSI_ConStud prema sledećoj shemi:

imenica + pridev, pridev + imenica
imenica + predlog + imenica
imenica + imenica
glagol + imenica
glagol + predlog + imenica
imenica (subjekat) + glagol

Na osnovu analize korpusa moguće je izdvojiti kolokacije koje su u vezi sa temama predviđenim nastavnim planovima i programima za sva

[20] Brojevi stranica navedeni su u zagradi posle primera, a prevodi kolokacija u poglavlju 4.

četiri razreda: pozdravljanje, školska sredina, iskazivanje potreba, oseta i osećanja, iskazivanje prostornih odnosa i veličina, iskazivanje vremena (hronološkog i meteorološkog), opisivanje uobičajenih aktivnosti, planova i sposobnosti, opisivanje živih bića, predmeta, mesta i pojava (PPN5-6 196-200). Pored tema u vezi s opštim i svakodnevnim komunikativnim situacijama, u udžbeničkom kompletu *Amici 1, 2, 3 i 4* obrađene su i društveno relevantne teme kao što su: jednakost ljudi, negovanje tolerancije i empatije, rešavanje problema zaštite i unapređivanja životne okoline i uključivanje učenika u rešavanje tih problema, zaštita zdravlja i promovisanje zdrave ishrane i zdravog načina života, razvijanje kulturnih i umetničkih aktivnosti u školi i lokalnoj sredini, poznavanje i prezentovanje sopstvene kulture, kao i poređenje sa kulturama drugih zemalja u cilju razvijanja interkulturne komunikativne kompetencije učenika.

U potpoglavljima koji slede posebno su izdvojene kolokacije iz naloga zadataka u kojima se autorke udžbenika direktno obraćaju učenicima i usmeravaju ih na gramatičke strukture u cilju razvijanja metajezičke kompetencije i upućivanja na samostalan rad i praćenje sopstvenog napretka. Naime, autorke udžbenika objašnjavaju različitim jezičkim ili grafičkim sredstvima nepoznate pojmove i termine i upućuju učenika na rad sa rečnikom, kao i na konsultacije sa nastavnikom i drugim učenicima.

4.1. Imenica + pridev, pridev + imenica

4.1.1. Imenica + pridev

abitudine quotidiana svakodnevna navika

acqua gassata gazirana voda

acqua naturale negazirana voda

affettati misti suhomesnati proizvodi

agente investigativo detektiv

alto volume visoka jačina zvuka (*Mi piace ascoltare la musica ad alto volume*. Volim da slušam glasnu muziku)

animale abbandonato napuštena životinja

animale affamato gladna životinja, izgladnela životinja

animale domestico domaća životinja

animale ferito povređena životinja

animale randagio životinja bez doma, napuštena životinja

anno scorso prošla godina

aria aperta svež vazduh, napolju (*Quando sono in montagna, cerco di passare tanto tempo all'aria aperta*. Kada sam na planini, trudim se da provodim dosta vremena napolju / na svežem vazduhu)

aria condizionata klima-uređaj

articoli sportivi sportski artikli
aspetto fisico fizički izgled
associazione ambientalista ekološko udruženje, udruženje za zaštitu životne okoline
attività culturale kulturna aktivnost
attività domestiche kućni poslovi
attività extrascolastica vannastavna aktivnost
attività sportiva sportska aktivnost
attore protagonista glavni glumac
auto elettrica električni automobil, električna kola
bellezze culturali kulturne lepote
bellezze naturali prirodne lepote
beni culturali kulturna dobra
bevanda gasata gazirano piće
bonifico bancario bankovni transfer, bankovni prenos
braccio rotto polomljena ruka, slomljena ruka
buona impressione dobar utisak
campo estivo letnji kamp
campo sportivo sportski teren
cane randagio pas lutalica
capelli biondi plava kosa
capelli castani kestenjasta kosa, smeđa kosa
capelli corti kratka kosa
capelli lunghi duga kosa, dugačka kosa
carta colorata papir u boji, kolaž papir
cartone animato crtani film
catena montuosa planinski lanac
cellula grigia siva ćelija
centro commerciale tržni centar
centro culturale kulturni centar
centro industriale industrijski centar
centro sportivo sportski centar
centro storico stari centar grada
cibo grasso masna hrana
cinema tridimensionale 3D bioskop
città romantica romantičan grad
clinica veterinaria veterinarska klinika
colonna sonora muzika iz filma, filmske muzičke kompozicije (*Morricone è autore di tante colonne sonore del cinema*. Morikone je autor mnogih filmskih muzičkih kompozicija)

condizione commerciale uslov za trgovinu, trgovinski uslov (*Questa ditta offre le migliori condizioni commerciali*. Ova firma nudi najbolje trgovinske uslove)

consiglio utile koristan savet

corso intensivo intenzivni kurs

corso standard standardni kurs

crema solare krema za sunčanje

cucina "povera" "siromašna" kuhinja, kuhinja siromašnih, sirotinjska hrana

cucina italiana italijanska kuhinja

cucina locale lokalna kuhinja

cucina toscana toskanska kuhinja

cucina veneziana venecijanska kuhinja

dati personali lični podaci

detective privato privatni detektiv

difficoltà economiche finansijske poteškoće, ekonomske poteškoće

educazione artistica likovna kultura (školski predmet)

educazione fisica fizičko vaspitanje

evento passato događaj iz prošlosti, prošli događaj

febbre alta visoka telesna temperatura

festa popolare narodna svečanost, narodni praznik (*Il Palio è una delle più famose feste popolari in Italia*. Palio je jedan od najpoznatijih narodnih praznika u Italiji)

festa religiosa verski praznik

film poliziesco kriminalistički film, triler

forza fisica fizička snaga

frutta fresca sveže voće

frutti di mare morski plodovi

fumetto giallo kriminalistički strip

genere letterario književni žanr

gita scolastica školski izlet

gonna corta kratka suknja

gonna lunga dugačka suknja, duga suknja

grande fan veliki obožavalac

guida turistica turistički vodič

infanzia difficile teško detinjstvo

investigatore privato privatni detektiv

lavoro manuale fizički posao, ručni rad, manualni rad (*Il lavoro di falegname prevede molto lavoro manuale*. Stolarski posao podrazumeva mnogo ručnog rada)

lezione online onlajn čas

lezione privata privatni čas

lingua originale izvorni jezik (*Guarderò film in lingua originale*. Gledaću filmove na izvornom jeziku)

lingua straniera strani jezik

luogo pubblico javno mesto

macchina fotografica foto-aparat

materiale scolastico školski materijal

modo elegante elegantan način

mondo moderno savremeni svet

montagne russe rolerkoster

musica straniera strana muzika

numero verde telefonski broj za besplatne pozive

nuovi amici novi prijatelji

nuovo amico nov prijatelj

olio extravergine nerafinirano ulje

opinione personale lično mišljenje

orientamento professionale profesionalna orijentacija

panna cotta desert od slatke pavlake, mleka, šećera i želatina s prelivom od voća, karamela ili čokolade

panna montata šlag

parco nazionale nacionalni park

pasti principali glavni obroci

patatine fritte pomfrit

pecora nera (*fig*.) crna ovca

persona famosa čuvena osoba, čuvena ličnost, slavna ličnost, slavna osoba

piatto tipico tipično jelo

piazza principale glavni trg

posto giusto pravo mesto

primo piano prvi plan (na slici ili fotografiji), prvi sprat

prodotto tipico tipičan proizvod, karakterističan proizvod

prosciutto cotto kuvana šunka kao praška šunka

prosciutto crudo sirova šunka, pršuta

punti cardinali strane sveta

raccolta differenziata prikupljanje i razvrstavanje smeća, diferencirano sakupljanje otpada

regione italiana italijanska regija, italjanska pokrajina (administrativna jedinica u Italiji)

rete sociale društvena mreža

ricerca attenta pažljiva pretraga

riscaldamento globale globalno zagrevanje

risposta giusta tačan odgovor

risposta sbagliata pogrešan odgovor

romanzo storico istorijski roman
scarpe eleganti elegantne cipele
scuola elementare osnovna škola (od prvog do petog razreda)
scuola media osnovna škola (od šestog do osmog razreda)
scuola superiore srednja škola
segnale acustico zvučni signal
segnale stradale saobraćajni znak
segreteria telefonica telefonska sekretarica
serie televisiva televizijska serija
sito ufficiale zvanični sajt
social media društvene mreže
specialità locale lokalni specijalitet
spedizione gratuita besplatna dostava
spettacolo teatrale pozorišna predstava
stanza doppia dvokrevetna soba
stanza singola jednokrevetna soba
strisce pedonali pešački prelaz
studio dentistico zubna ordinacija
studio medico lekarska ordinacija
tempo atmosferico atmosfersko vreme
tempo libero slobodno vreme
tempo meteorologico vreme (vremenski uslovi, vremenske prilike)
trasmissione radiofonica radio emisija
turismo naturalistico turizam u prirodi, ekoturizam
turismo sportivo sportski turizam
ufficio turistico turistička kancelarija
vaglia postale poštanska uputnica
vecchio amico stari prijatelj
vino bianco belo vino
vino rosso crno vino
vino toscano toskansko vino
visita guidata vođena tura, vođeni obilazak
zona industriale industrijska zona
zona pedonale pešačka zona
zona verde zelena zona (deo grada sa zelenilom)

4.1.1.1. Kolokacije za razvoj metalingvističke kompetencije: nalozi za zadatke

appendice grammaticale gramatički dodatak
azione abituale uobičajena radnja
contenuto grammaticale gramatički sadržaj
forma corretta pravilan oblik

frasi tipiche tipične rečenice
ripasso generale utvrđivanje gradiva
risposta corretta tačan odgovor
risposta sbagliata pogrešan odgovor

4.1.1.2. Kolokacije za razvoj metalingvističke kompetencije: gramatički sadržaji

articolo determinativo određen član
articolo indeterminativo neodređen član
articolo partitivo partitivan član
condizionale presente sadašnji kondicional
futuro semplice prost futur
imperativo irregolare nepravilni oblici imperativa
imperativo regolare pravilni oblici imperativa
numero cardinale osnovni broj
numero ordinale redni broj
participio passato prošli particip
passato prossimo složeni perfekt
preposizioni articolate predlozi spojeni s članovima
pronome diretto zamenica u funkciji direktnog objekta
pronome indiretto zamenica u dativnoj funkciji
superlativo assoluto apsolutni superlativ
superlativo relativo relativni superlativ
verbo ausiliare pomoćni glagol
verbo modale modalni glagol
verbo riflessivo povratni glagol
verbo transitivo prelazni glagol

4.1.2. Pridev + imenica

bel tempo lepo vreme *(Fa bel tempo*. Lepo je vreme)
bel voto dobra ocena
bella vista lep pogled
brutto tempo ružno vreme (*Fa brutto tempo*. Ružno je vreme)
continua evoluzione stalan razvoj, kontinuiran razvoj
dolce italiano italijanski slatkiš
grande ispirazione velika inspiracija, veliko nadahnuće
grande magazzino robna kuća
ottimo voto odlična ocena
primo piatto prvo jelo (testenina, pirinač, supa)
secondo piatto drugo jelo, glavno jelo (meso, riba, povrće)
sette meraviglie sedam svetskih čuda

4.2. Imenica + predlog + imenica

abitante del posto lokalni stanovnik
account degli influencer nalozi influensera
agenzia di viaggi turistička agencija
amici di scuola školski drugovi
amico del cuore prisan prijatelj, najbolji prijatelj
associazione di volontariato volonterska organizacija
barca a vela jedrilica
bicchiere d'acqua čaša vode
bicchiere di latte čaša mleka
biglietto d'auguri čestitka (uručuje se lično slavljeniku)
biglietto di andata e ritorno povratna karta
biglietto di andata karta u jednom pravcu
bistecca alla fiorentina biftek na firentinski način
buco dell'ozono ozonska rupa
cabina di una nave brodska kabina
campo da tennis teniski teren
capo di abbigliamento komad odeće
carta di credito kreditna kartica
cartina di una città mapa grada
cartolina d'auguri čestitka (šalje se slavljeniku poštom)
cassa di legno drveni sanduk
città d'arte grad umetnosti
compagno di banco drug iz klupe
compagno di classe drug iz odeljenja, drug iz razreda
corsa di cavalli konjska trka
corso di cucina kurs kuvanja
corso di lingua kurs jezika
corso di pittura kurs slikanja
costume da bagno kupaći kostim
cotoletta alla milanese pohovana šnicla, kotlet na milanski način
crostata alla ciliegia kolač sa trešnjama
difesa dell'ambiente zaštita životne sredine
energia del sole energija sunca, solarna energija
energia del vento energija vetra
esercizio di matematica zadatak iz matematike
fermata dell'autobus autobusko stajalište
festa all'aperto žurka na otvorenom, proslava na otvorenom
festa di compleanno rođendanska proslava, rođendanska žurka
film d'amore ljubavni film
film d'azione akcioni film
fuochi d'artificio vatromet

gelato al gusto di vaniglia sladoled od vanile
gelato alla fragola sladoled od jagode
giornata di lavoro radni dan
insegnante d'italiano nastavnik italijanskog, nastavnica italijanskog
lezione di italiano čas italijanskog
lezione di musica čas muzičkog
lezione di storia čas istorije
lista della spesa spisak za kupovinu
luogo del delitto mesto zločina
mal di denti zubobolja
mal di gola bol u grlu
mal di pancia bol u stomaku
mal di testa glavobolja
membro della famiglia član porodice
mercato all'aperto pijaca na otvorenom
meta di turismo turistička destinacija
mezzi di trasporto prevozna sredstva
modalità di pagamento način plaćanja
modulo di iscrizione formular za upis
negozio di abbigliamento prodavnica odeće
negozio di alimentari prodavnica hrane
negozio di calzature prodavnica obuće
numero di telefono broj telefona, telefonski broj
occhiali da sole naočare za sunce
opera in prosa prozno delo
orario dei pasti vreme obroka
orario delle lezioni raspored časova
paese di campagna selo
parco di divertimento zabavni park
parti del corpo delovi tela
partita di calcio fudbalska utakmica
pizza al taglio pica na parče
previsione del tempo vremenska prognoza
problema di attenzione problem sa održavanjem pažnje
problema di concentrazione problem sa koncentracijom
pupazzo di neve Sneško Belić
quaderno a righe sveska na linije
racchetta da tennis teniski reket
sala d'attesa čekaonica
scarpe da ginnastica patike
scompartimento di un treno kupe
scuola di lingue škola (stranih) jezika

senso dell'orientamento osećaj za orijentaciju
servizio di assistenza služba za pomoć, služba za podršku
spaghetti alla bolognese špageti na bolonjski način s mesom i paradajzom
spinaci al burro spanać na puteru
spremuta di arancia sok od ceđene pomoranže
spremuta di limone sok od ceđenog limuna
storia d'amore ljubavna priča
succo di frutta voćni sok
tavoletta di cioccolata tabla čokolade
test d'inglese test iz engleskog
test di orientamento test profesionalne orijentacije
torneo di tennis teniski turnir
torta al cioccolato torta od čokolade, čokoladna torta
trama del film radnja filma
turismo di massa masovni turizam
tuta da sci ski-odelo
uovo di cioccolato čokoladno jaje
uovo di Pasqua uskršnje jaje
verdura alla griglia grilovano povrće, povrće na žaru
vicino di casa komšija
vino della casa domaće vino
violenza nella famiglia nasilje u porodici
vista sul mare pogled na more
vita in campagna život na selu
vita in città život u gradu

4.2.1. Kolokacije za razvoj metalingvističke kompetencije: nalozi za zadatke

lavoro di gruppo rad u grupi, grupni rad
lavoro in coppia rad u paru

4.2.2. Kolokacije za razvoj metalingvističke kompetencije: gramatički sadržaj

avverbio di luogo prilog za mesto
sostantivo al plurale imenica u množini
sostantivo al singolare imenica u jednini
verbo al passato glagol u prošlom vremenu
verbo al presente glagol u sadašnjem vremenu
verbo all'infinito glagol u infinitivu
verbo di movimento glagol kretanja

4.3. Imenica + imenica

centro SOS animali SOS centar za životinje, centar za pomoć životinjama
collana portafortuna lančić koji donosi sreću, lančić amajlija
contact center kontakt centar
stile Liberty secesija

4.4. Glagol + imenica (objekat)

abbassare la febbre spustiti telesnu temperaturu
accendere la TV uključiti televizor
accettare l'invito prihvatiti poziv
allacciare le cinture vezati pojas (u kolima, avionu)
annaffiare i fiori zaliti cveće
aprire la finestra otvoriti prozor
assaggiare il formaggio probati sir
attraversare la strada preći ulicu
aver fame biti gladan
aver freddo osećati hladnoću (*Ho freddo*. Hladno mi je)
avere fretta žuriti se
avere paura plašiti se
chiedere informazioni pitati za informacije
chiedere scusa izviniti se
chiudere la finestra zatvoriti prozor
coltivare le verdure uzgajati povrće
combattere l'inquinamento boriti se protiv zagađenja
compiere gli anni puniti godine
compiere un delitto počiniti zločin
compilare il modulo popuniti obrazac, popuniti formular
convalidare il biglietto poništiti kartu, overiti kartu, otkucati kartu
curare il paziente lečiti pacijenta, negovati pacijenta
dare informazioni dati informacije
dare l'acqua ai fiori zaliti cveće
dare una mano pomoći
diventare amici sprijateljiti se
divertirsi un mondo odlično se zabaviti
divertirsi un sacco odlično se zabaviti
fare acquisti ići u kupovinu
fare benzina natočiti benzin
fare canestro dati koš
fare colazione doručkovati
fare compagnia (a qcn.) praviti društvo (nekome)
fare due passi prošetati se (malo)

fare ginnastica baviti se gimnastikom, vežbati
fare gli scherzi šaliti se
fare il bagno kupati se, okupati se
fare il compito uraditi domaći zadatak, raditi domaći zadatak
fare il cruciverba rešavati ukrštene reči
fare il letto namestiti krevet
fare il pieno napuniti rezervoar
fare il test raditi test
fare il tifo navijati
fare immersioni roniti
fare impressione ostaviti utisak, impresionirati, potresti
fare la classifica napraviti redosled, poređati po važnosti (*Fate la classifica dei vostri passatempi preferiti*[21]. Poređajte po važnosti vaše omiljene hobije)
fare la doccia tuširati se
fare la spesa ići u nabavku
fare la valigia spakovati se
fare le sfilate učestvovati na modnim revijama
fare lezioni držati časove
fare nuove amicizie sklopiti nova prijateljstva
fare rafting ići na rafting, baviti se raftingom
fare sci nautico skijati se na vodi
fare shopping ići u kupovinu
fare sport baviti se sportom
fare telefonate obavljati telefonske pozive
fare un esame polagati ispit
fare un giro in barca provozati se čamcem
fare una foto fotografisati, slikati
fare una gita ići na izlet
fare una passeggiata prošetati se, šetati
fare una pausa napraviti pauzu
fare windsurf jedriti na dasci
festeggiare il compleanno proslaviti rođendan
formare la fila stati u red, formirati red
frequentare un corso pohađati kurs
gettare la moneta baciti novčić
girare il film snimiti film, snimati film
imparare una lingua (straniera) naučiti (strani) jezik
indossare una maglietta nositi majicu
inviare il modulo poslati obrazac, poslati formular

[21] Amici 4: 47.

inviare un messaggio poslati poruku
lasciare al sicuro ostaviti na sigurnom
lasciare i videogiochi ostaviti video igrice
lasciare le sigarette ostaviti cigare
lasciare un messaggio ostaviti poruku
lavare i piatti oprati sudove
lavarsi i denti prati zube
leggere i libri čitati knjige
mandare una lettera poslati pismo
mettersi i pantaloni obući pantalone
mettersi in fila stati u red
mettersi la giacca obući jaknu
passare il pallone dodati loptu, dobaciti loptu
passare il pane dodati hleb
passare il sale dodati so
passare le vacanze provesti raspust, provesti odmor
portare la taglia nositi određenu veličinu (odeće)
praticare il windsurf baviti se jedrenjem na dasci
praticare lo sci nautico baviti se skijanjem na vodi
prendere il sole sunčati se
prendere il treno ići vozom, putovati vozom, uhvatiti voz
prendere l'autobus ići autobusom, putovati autobusom, uhvatiti autobus
prendere un bel voto dobiti dobru ocenu
prenotare una camera rezervisati sobu
preparare il pranzo spremiti ručak, pripremiti ručak
raccogliere le foglie skupljati lišće
scendere le scale sići stepenicama
scrivere i compiti pisati domaće zadatke
segnare la rete dati gol, postići gol
seguire la moda pratiti modu
seguire le istruzioni slediti uputstva
servire il cliente uslužiti klijenta
stare insieme biti zajedno
suonare la chitarra svirati gitaru
superare l'esame položiti ispit
tagliare l'erba kositi travu
togliersi le scarpe izuti se, izuti cipele
trovare un lavoro naći posao
vincere il premio osvojiti nagradu

4.4.1. Kolokacije za razvoj metalingvističke kompetencije: nalozi za zadatke

ascoltare il dialogo slušati dijalog
assegnare un tema zadati temu za pisani sastav
chiedere un consiglio tražiti savet
chiedere indicazioni tražiti uputstva, tražiti smernice
collegare i disegni povezati crteže
completare il dialogo dopuniti dijalog
completare il testo dopuniti tekst
completare le frasi dopuniti rečenice
consegnare i temi predati pisane sastave
dare consigli dati savete
dare indicazioni dati smernice
dare istruzioni dati uputstva
dare la risposta dati odgovor, odgovoriti
dare ordine narediti, dati naređenje
drammatizzare i dialoghi dramatizovati dijaloge
esprimere accordo izraziti slaganje
esprimere disaccordo izraziti neslaganje
esprimere dubbi izraziti sumnje
esprimere un'ipotesi izraziti pretpostavku
esprimere un'opinione izraziti mišljenje
fare il dialogo sastaviti dijalog, napraviti dijalog
fare una discussione voditi diskusiju, diskutovati
formare delle frasi napraviti rečenice, sastaviti rečenice
indicare la quantità naznačiti količinu
inserire le parole (nelle frasi) ubaciti reči (u rečenice)
inventare il dialogo izmisliti dijalog
leggere le parole pročitati reči, čitati reči
migliorare la pronuncia poboljšati izgovor
osservare il disegno posmatrati crtež
scrivere un tema pisati/napisati pisani sastav
segnare i numeri označiti brojeve
seguire le istruzioni slediti uputstva, pratiti uputstva
svolgere un tema napisati pisani sastav
trovare l'intruso pronaći uljeza

4.5. Glagol + predlog + imenica

abitare al (secondo) piano stanovati na (drugom) spratu
abitare in un palazzo stanovati u zgradi
abitare in via stanovati u ulici
andare a cavallo jahati

andare a letto ići u krevet
andare a pesca ići na pecanje
andare al cinema ići u bioskop
andare al mare ići na more
andare al mercato ići na pijacu
andare in bici voziti se biciklom
andare in canoa voziti se kanuom
andare in crociera ići na krstarenje
andare in piscina ići na bazen
andare in spiaggia ići na plažu
andare in vacanza ići na odmor
avere per merenda imati za užinu
combattere la fame (del mondo) boriti se protiv gladi (u svetu)
combattere la violenza nella famiglia boriti se protiv nasilja u porodici
dedicarsi al volontariato posvetiti se volonterskom radu
entrare in casa ući u kuću
essere in forma biti u formi
essere in offerta biti na sniženju, biti na popustu, biti u ponudi
giocare a calcio igrati fudbal
giocare a carte igrati karte, kartati se
giocare a pallacanestro igrati košarku
giocare a tennis igrati tenis
giocare ai videogiochi igrati video-igrice
giocare al cellulare igrati se na mobilnom telefonu
giocare con i videogiochi igrati video-igrice
iscriversi al corso upisati se na kurs
lavorare nei campi raditi u polju, raditi na njivi
navigare in internet surfovati po internetu
parlare a quattr'occhi razgovarati u četiri oka
parlare dietro le spalle di qcn. pričati nekome iza leđa
partecipare alle iniziative učestvovati u inicijativama
prendere in affitto uzeti u zakup, uzeti pod najam, iznajmiti
pulire con aspirapolvere usisati
pulire con la scopa počistiti metlom
recitare a teatro glumiti u pozorištu
ricevere in regalo dobiti na poklon
rimanere a bocca aperta ostati otvorenih usta (od čuđenja)
scendere alla (quinta) fermata sići na (petoj) stanici
stare all'aperto biti na otvorenom
studiare all'università studirati na univerzitetu
tirare a canestro šutirati na koš, pucati na koš

tuffarsi nel mare zaroniti u more, skočiti u more
viaggiare in macchina putovati kolima
viaggiare in pullman putovati autobusom
viaggiare in treno putovati vozom

4.5.1. Kolokacije za razvoj metalingvističke kompetencije: nalozi za zadatke

dividersi in gruppi podeliti se u grupe
lavorare in coppia raditi u paru
lavorare in gruppi raditi u grupama
leggere ad alta voce pročitati / čitati naglas
mettere in ordine i testi urediti tekstove
mettere in ordine il dialogo urediti dijalog
mettere in ordine le frasi urediti rečenice
rispondere alle domande odgovoriti na pitanja

4.6. Imenica (subjekat) + glagol

la fabbrica produce (le macchine) fabrika proizvodi (automobile)
i giocatori entrano in campo igrači izlaze na teren
l'industria produce (molto smog) industrija proizvodi (mnogo smoga)
la lezione comincia čas počinje
la lezione finisce čas se završava
la lezione inizia čas počinje
la luna brilla mesec sija
il mare bagna (la costa) more zapljuskuje (obalu)
la natura si sveglia priroda se budi
la neve cade pada sneg
le piante fanno (le foglie) biljkama raste (lišće)
le piante perdono (le foglie) biljkama opada (lišće)
il tempo passa vreme prolazi
il traffico produce (molto smog) saobraćaj stvara (mnogo smoga)
il vento soffia duva vetar

5. Zaključak: smernice za rečnik kolokacija za početne nivoe učenja italijanskog jezika

U dokumentima koji čine osnov za nastavu stranih jezika u Srbiji (*Zajednički evropski referentni okvir za žive jezike*, *Pravilnik o standardima obrazovnih postignuća za kraj prvog ciklusa osnovnog obrazovanja i za kraj osnovnog obrazovanja*, kao i *Pravilnici o programu nastave i učenja za peti, šesti, sedmi i osmi razred osnovnog obrazovanja i vaspitanja)* na prvi pogled se može zaključiti da se upotreba kolokacija i idioma vezuje

isključivo za srednji i napredni nivo učenja stranog jezika. Međutim, detaljnom analizom pomenutih dokumenata (u poglavljima 3.1, 3.2. i 3.3), primećeno je da se kolokacije u najširem značenju, tj. shvaćene kao slobodne kombinacije reči, „kriju" iza mnogih opisa komunikativnih jezičkih funkcija i ishoda učenja predviđenih za nivoe A1 i A2 prema *Zajedničkom evropskom referentnom okviru za žive jezike*. U skladu s tim, analiza udžbeničkog kompleta *Amici 1, 2, 3* i *4* za italijanski jezik (od 5. do 8. razreda) u poglavlju 4. pokazala je da je ova kategorija reči prisutna i na početnim nivoima učenja stranog jezika.

U analizi navedenog korpusa u ovom radu autorke su, u skladu sa kriterijumima primenjenim prilikom sastavljanja italijansko-srpskog rečnika kolokacija u okviru projekta ColSI_ConStud, sačinile bazu kolokacija koje odgovaraju početnom nivou učenja italijanskog jezika budući da obuhvataju i tematske oblasti i domene predviđene početnim nivoima učenja stranog jezika: predstavljanje, svakodnevne aktivnosti, slobodno vreme, školska sredina, opisivanje živih bića, predmeta, mesta i pojava i sl. Pored tema u vezi s opštim i svakodnevnim komunikativnim situacijama prisutnih u udžbeničkom kompletu *Amici 1, 2, 3 i 4* obrađene su i društveno relevantne teme kao što su: jednakost ljudi, negovanje tolerancije i empatije, rešavanje problema zaštite i unapređivanja životne okoline, promovisanje zdrave ishrane i zdravog načina života, poznavanje i prezentovanje sopstvene kulture, kao i poređenje sa kulturama drugih zemalja u cilju razvijanja interkulturne komunikativne kompetencije učenika i sl.

Takođe, imajuću u vidu rezultate istraživanja u vezi s usvajanjem stranog jezika koja ukazuju da komunikativne aktivnosti u čijem fokusu je isključivo prenošenje značenja poruke nije dalo zadovoljavajuće rezultate, te se nastavnicima preporučuje da postepeno podstiču učenike na promišljanje o jezičkim strukturama (Doughty i Williams 1998; Garcìa Mayo i Pica 2000), na osnovu detaljnog uvida u leksičke kombinacije u sačinjenom korpusu, u poglavlju 4. posebno su izdvojene kolokacije u vezi s razvojem metalingvističke kompetencije učenika, koja je relevantna za kasnije dostizanje viših nivoa jezičkog znanja.

Model primenjen u izradi korpusa kolokacija u poglavlju 4. mogao bi se koristiti prilikom sastavljanja dvojezičnih (i višejezičnih) rečnika kolokacija unutar budućih udžbenika za početne nivoe učenja stranih jezika budući da bi takvi rečnici u velikoj meri pomogli učenicima da što efikasnije počnu da usvajaju leksiku stranog jezika već od samog početka učenja.

Literatura:

Bartsch, Sabine. *Structural and Functional Properties of Collocations in English: A Corpus Study of Lexical and Pragmatic Constraints on Lexical Co-occurrence*. Gunter Narr, 2004.

Choueka, Yaacov. "Looking for Needles in a Haystack or Locating Interesting Collocational Expressions in Large Textual Databases." *Proceedings of the International Conference on User-Oriented Content-Based Text and Image Handling*, 1988, pp. 609-623.

Cook, Guy. *Applied Linguistics*. Oxford UP, 2003.

Cruse, David Alan. *Lexical Semantics*. Cambridge UP, 1986.

Doughty, Catherine, and Jessica Williams. *Focus on Form in Classroom Second Language Acquisition*. Cambridge UP, 1998.

Evert, Stefan. *The Statistics of Word Cooccurrences: Word Pairs and Collocations*. 2005. Universität Stuttgart, PhD dissertation.

Firth, John Rupert. *Papers in Linguistics 1934–1951*. Oxford UP, 1957.

García Mayo, María del Pilar, and Teresa Pica. "L2 Learner Interaction in a Foreign Language Setting: Are Learning Needs Addressed?" *IRAL: International Review of Applied Linguistics*, 2000, pp. 35-58.

Ježek, Elisabetta. *Lessico. Classi di parole, strutture, combinazioni*. Il Mulino, 2005.

Jovanović, S. Ana. "Strani jezici u formalnom obrazovanju Srbije: Strategija višejezičnosti." *Ruski jezik u Srbiji i Republici Srpskoj danas: zbornik radova povodom 75 godina Slavističkog društva Srbije*, edited by Biljana Marić, Jelena Ginić, and Luka Medenica, Slavističko društvo Srbije, 2023, pp. 95-113.

Nunan, David. *Second Language Teaching & Learning*. Heinle & Heinle, 1999.

Sinclair, John. *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation*. Oxford UP, 1991.

Tiberii, Paola. *Dizionario delle collocazioni*. Zanichelli, 2018.

Zingarelli, Nicola. *Lo Zingarelli 2025. Vocabolario della lingua italiana*. Zanichelli, 2024.

Dokumenta:

Consiglio d'Europa. *Quadro Comune Europeo di Riferimento per le Lingue: Apprendimento, Insegnamento, Valutazione*. Università degli Studi di Milano, 2020.

Council of Europe. *Collated Representative Samples of Descriptors of Language Competences Developed for Young Learners*. Council of Europe, 2018, www.mined.gob.cu/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/collated representative samples descriptors 1.pdf. Accessed 17 Oct. 2025.

Ministarstvo prosvete Republike Srbije. *Pravilnik o planu nastave i učenja za peti i šesti razred osnovnog obrazovanja i vaspitanja i programu nastave i učenja za peti i šesti razred osnovnog obrazovanja i vaspitanja*. Službeni glasnik 15, 30 Aug. 2018, pravno-informacioni-sistem.rs/slglrsViewPdf/39629e1d-f299-4641-896c-22822d565c3a?fromLink=true. Accessed 17 Oct. 2025.

—. *Pravilnik o programu nastave i učenja za osmi razred osnovnog obrazovanja i vaspitanja*. Službeni glasnik 11, 15 Aug. 2019, pravno-informacioni-sistem.rs/slglrsViewPdf/7f60db16-8760-4e25-bc8a-f69fe1fb2e2c?fromLink=true. Accessed 17 Oct. 2025.

—. *Pravilnik o programu nastave i učenja za sedmi razred osnovnog obrazovanja i vaspitanja*. Službeni glasnik 5, 27 May 2019, pravno-informacioni-sistem.rs/slglrsViewPdf/1cd9f883-ccfe-4a73-8ccd-95bc212169e1?fromLink=true. Accessed 17 Oct. 2025.

—. *Pravilnik o standardima obrazovnih postignuća za kraj prvog ciklusa osnovnog obrazovanja i za kraj osnovnog obrazovanja*. Službeni glasnik 104, 25 Dec. 2024, pravno-informacioni-sistem.rs/eli/rep/sgrs/ministarstva/pravilnik/2024/104/6/reg. Accessed 17 Oct. 2025.

—. *Zakon o udžbenicima*. Službeni glasnik 27/2018-13, 92/2023-336, pravno-informacioni-sistem.rs/eli/rep/sgrs/skupstina/zakon/2018/27/2/reg. Accessed 4 Oct. 2025.

Udžbenici:

Blatešić, Aleksandra. *Amici 1. Italijanski jezik za 5. razred osnovne škole. Prva godina učenja*. Zavod za udžbenike, 2019.

—. *Amici 1. Italijanski jezik za 5. razred osnovne škole. Prva godina učenja. Radna sveska*. Zavod za udžbenike, 2019.

Blatešić, Aleksandra, and Jasmina Stojković. *Amici 2. Italijanski jezik za 6. razred osnovne škole. Druga godina učenja*. Zavod za udžbenike, 2019.

—. *Amici 2. Italijanski jezik za 6. razred osnovne škole. Druga godina učenja. Radna sveska*. Zavod za udžbenike, 2019.

—. *Amici 3. Italijanski jezik za 7. razred osnovne škole. Treća godina učenja*. Zavod za udžbenike, 2020.

—. *Amici 3. Italijanski jezik za 7. razred osnovne škole. Treća godina učenja. Radna sveska*. Zavod za udžbenike, 2020.

Stojković, Jasmina. *Amici 4. Italijanski jezik za 8. razred osnovne škole. Četvrta godina učenja*. Zavod za udžbenike, 2020.

—. *Amici 4. Italijanski jezik za 8. razred osnovne škole. Četvrta godina učenja. Radna sveska*. Zavod za udžbenike, 2020.

(IN)VISIBLE COLLOCATIONS IN TEACHING ITALIAN IN SERBIAN PRIMARY SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS: GUIDELINES FOR COLLOCATION DICTIONARIES FOR BEGINNERS' LEVELS

In scientific and professional literature, the acquisition of collocations is primarily associated with intermediate and advanced levels of language learning. However, foreign language teaching experts increasingly emphasise their importance even at the beginners' levels (cf. the DICI-A Project by the University for Foreigners in Perugia).

Regarding the use of collocations and idioms at the beginners' levels (Basic users: A1 and A2), this paper analyses the foundational documents for foreign language instruction in Serbia:

The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (hereafter QCER because we cite the Italian *Quadro comune europeo di riferimento*);

Pravilnik o standardima obrazovnih postignuća za kraj prvog ciklusa osnovnog obrazovanja i za kraj osnovnog obrazovanja [Bylaw on Standards of Educational Achievement for the End of the First Cycle of Primary Education and for the Completion of Primary Education] (hereafter: PSOO);

Pravilnik o programu nastave i učenja za peti i šesti razred osnovnog obrazovanja i vaspitanja [Bylaw on the Teaching and Learning Programme for the Fifth and Sixth Grades of Primary Education] (hereafter: PPN5-6);

Pravilnik o programu nastave i učenja za sedmi razred osnovnog obrazovanja i vaspitanja [Bylaw on the Teaching and Learning Programme for the Seventh Grade of Primary Education] (hereafter: PPN7);

Pravilnik o programu nastave i učenja za osmi razred osnovnog obrazovanja i vaspitanja [Bylaw on the Teaching and Learning Programme for the Eighth Grade of Primary Education] (hereafter: PPN8).

The aim of this paper is to highlight the presence of lexical combinations in a broader sense (primarily collocations understood as free word combinations) in foreign language teaching, using Italian as an example at the beginners' levels, despite these concepts being predominantly associated with higher language levels in the aforementioned documents. Although these documents do not explicitly reference such lexical categories at the A1 and A2 levels, they are nonetheless present, as confirmed by the analysis of an accredited textbook set for Italian language teaching from the fifth to eighth grades. This analysis resulted in the corpus presented in Chapter 4 of this paper and is based on criteria developed for a bilingual online platform of Italian–Serbian collocations within the ColSI_ConStud project. This corpus of collocations may serve as a model for compiling bilingual (and multilingual) collocation dictionaries for future textbooks aimed at the beginners' levels of foreign language learning. Such dictionaries, integrated into textbooks, would undoubtedly support learners in acquiring vocabulary from the very start of their language education. Additionally, in Chapter 4 of this paper there are specific subchapters consisting of collocations from the analysed textbooks that relate to the development of students' metalinguistic competence, given its relevance for achieving higher levels of language proficiency. In line with the objectives of the ColSI_ConStud project within which this research was conducted – one of which is to examine how bilingual Italian–Serbian and Serbian–Italian dictionaries treat collocations understood as free word combinations – this paper adopts the broadest definition of collocations, i.e. as free combinations of words.

In analysing the first document, the updated edition of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*, it is noted that the authors, in addition to introducing descriptors not present in the previous edition, provided more detailed descriptions for levels A (basic users) and C (proficient

users) (QCER 21). Instead of the term *collocations*, the document more frequently uses expressions such as *idiomatic expressions* (QCER 50, 79, 142, 149), primarily when describing competencies at higher language levels (C1 and C2), while the term *collocations* appears only rarely. For informal communication among friends, a B1-level speaker is expected to follow general-topic discourse provided that the interlocutors avoid idiomatic expressions (QCER 83). Similarly, competencies at this level for formal communication are defined by the learner's ability to follow most of the discourse if it pertains to his area of interest (QCER 83). For oral interaction at level A1, it is emphasised that successful dialogue with a learner at this level requires slow speech and avoidance of idiomatic expressions (QCER 89). Furthermore, our analysis of an additional QCER document titled *Collated Representative Samples of Descriptors of Language Competences Developed for Young Learners* (hereafter CSDLCYL), which outlines expected competencies for learners aged 11 to 15, reveals similar findings. In this document, collocations are mentioned only in the descriptor for level B2 under lexical knowledge (as part of communicative competence), where it is stated that the learner is generally able to use appropriate collocations of many words consistently across different contexts (CSDLCYL, 147). However, we observe that other levels use terms that may refer to collocations. For instance, from the preparatory level for A1 to level A2+, the following terms are commonly used: *formulaic expressions*, *everyday expressions*, *basic expressions*, *formulaic expressions and combinations of simple words*, *standard expressions*, *short expressions*, *common expressions*, etc. (CSDLCYL, 25–79). To describe learner competencies at the B levels in more detail, the document employs terms that may correspond to our broader understanding of collocations, such as: *basic expressions*, *combinations and expressions*, *colloquial and special expressions*, *difficult expressions*, *idiomatic expressions* (CSDLCYL, 90–153), whereas at level C, the term *idiomatic expressions* is used exclusively (CSDLCYL, 153–169).

The second relevant document for foreign language instruction, PSOO, encompasses all subjects at the primary school level. Student achievement standards for the end of primary education are defined across three levels: basic, intermediate and advanced. These three levels describe the expected outcomes upon completion of primary school in terms of general subject competence and specific subject competences. Specifically, the achievement standards consist of three main components: general subject competence (GSC), specific subject competences (SSC) and educational cycle outcomes (ECO). General subject competence outlines the primary purpose of learning the subject, while specific subject competences define the subject matter, methods and application of knowledge in more detail. Furthermore, specific subject competences are divided into three subcategories: SSC 1 refers to the subject knowledge that the student should acquire by the end of the educational cycle; SSC 2 pertains to modes of learning, i.e. how knowledge of a particular subject is acquired; and SSC 3 involves the application of knowledge and explains why such knowledge is necessary. In the descriptions of foreign language competencies, terms such as *collocations* or *lexical combinations* are

not explicitly mentioned. However, the document does include the term *expression* in reference to language functions, which may imply collocations in the sense used by the ColSI_ConStud project. For example, SSC 1 expects students at the basic level to use elementary and most frequent words and expressions to convey basic communicative activities in school and extracurricular contexts (PSOO, 136). At the intermediate level, SSC 1 requires students to use a limited repertoire of fixed expressions and multi-word constructions to convey basic communicative activities in school and extracurricular contexts (PSOO, 141), while at the advanced level, SSC 3 expects students to understand the general meaning and frequent phrases, formulations and expressions in popular music texts (PSOO, 149).

The third set of documents central to our analysis – PPN5-6, PPN7 and PPN8 – emphasises that the goal of foreign language instruction across all four grades is to equip students, through the acquisition of functional knowledge about the language system and culture and the development of foreign language learning strategies, for written and oral communication and to foster a positive attitude toward other languages and cultures, as well as their own language and cultural heritage (PPN5-6, 196). Accordingly, the main criteria for selecting language content (language activities in communicative situations, grammatical and intercultural content) include: learning outcomes (derived from the Standards in accordance with the three levels of competence development at the end of primary education), topics (domains) and communicative functions. Although the terms *collocations* and *lexical combinations* are not explicitly listed in the programme content, descriptions of various language functions reveal collocations in their broadest sense. For instance, to achieve the outcome (i.e. develop the language function) of describing living beings, objects, places and phenomena using simple linguistic means, students must use word combinations such as *black hair*, *blue eyes*, *short skirt*, *nice weather*, etc. These examples structurally qualify as collocations, i.e. free word combinations, leading to the conclusion that many learning outcomes and language functions "conceal" collocations consistent with the structures described in this paper.

In addition to the aforementioned documents, our research focuses on the textbook series *Amici 1*, *2*, *3* and *4* published by the Serbian publisher Zavod za udžbenike, intended for learning Italian as a second foreign language in primary school according to the following plan:

- *Amici 1* (Blatešić 2019) – fifth grade
- *Amici 2* (Blatešić & Stojković 2019) – sixth grade
- *Amici 3* (Blatešić & Stojković 2020) – seventh grade
- *Amici 4* (Stojković 2020) – eighth grade

Our analysis of the textbooks *Amici 1*, *2*, *3*, and *4* reveals the presence of collocations throughout all sections of the textbooks, including: introductory parts, core texts of each lesson, diagrams and schematic representations, exercise instructions, glossaries and workbooks designed for independent student practice at home.

The methodology for compiling the corpus in Chapter 4 is based on criteria used in the development of the Italian–Serbian collocation dictionary within the ColSI_ConStud project, following this structure:

1. noun + adjective, adjective + noun
2. noun + preposition + noun
3. noun + noun
4. verb + noun
5. verb + preposition + noun
6. noun (subject) + verb

Based on the analysis of this corpus, it is possible to identify collocations that correspond to topics outlined in the curriculum for all four grades: greetings, school environment, expressing needs, sensations and emotions, spatial relations and dimensions, expressing time (chronological and meteorological), describing routine activities, plans and abilities, and describing living beings, objects, places and phenomena (PPN5-6, 196–200). In addition to general and everyday communicative situations, the *Amici* textbooks also address socially relevant topics such as: human equality, fostering tolerance and empathy, addressing environmental protection and improvement, student involvement in solving these issues, health protection and promotion of healthy eating and lifestyles, development of cultural and artistic activities in school and the local community, knowledge and presentation of one's own culture, and comparison with cultures of other countries to foster students' intercultural communicative competence. Additionally, in Chapter 4 of this paper there are specific subchapters consisting of collocations from the analysed textbooks found in task instructions where the textbooks' authors directly address students, guiding them toward grammatical structures to develop metalinguistic competence and encouraging independent work and self-monitoring of progress (namely, the authors of the textbooks explain unfamiliar concepts and terms using various linguistic or visual means and direct students to consult dictionaries, teachers and peers).

In conclusion, the authors of this paper emphasise that although it may seem that in the mentioned foundational documents for foreign language instruction in Serbia the use of collocations and idioms is reserved only for intermediate and advanced levels of foreign language learning, detailed analysis of these documents (in Chapters 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3) reveals that collocations in their broadest sense – as free word combinations – are embedded within many descriptions of communicative language functions and learning outcomes intended for levels A1 and A2 according to the QCER. Accordingly, analysis of the *Amici* textbook series for Italian in Chapter 4 confirms that this lexical category is indeed present at the beginners' levels of foreign language learning. In analysing the corpus in Chapter 4, the authors, following the criteria applied in the development of the Italian–Serbian collocation dictionary within the ColSI_ConStud project, compiled a database of collocations appropriate for beginner-level Italian language learning. These collocations encompass thematic areas and domains outlined for beginners' levels of foreign language instruction: self-introduction, everyday activities,

leisure time, school environment and descriptions of living beings, objects, places and phenomena. In addition to the general and everyday communicative situations covered in the *Amici* textbook series, socially relevant topics are also addressed, such as: human equality, fostering tolerance and empathy, environmental protection and improvement, promotion of healthy eating and lifestyle, knowledge and presentation of one's own culture, and comparison with other cultures to develop students' intercultural communicative competence. Moreover, based on the belief that it is important to gradually encourage students to reflect on linguistic structures and communicative functions from the very beginning of foreign language learning in Chapter 4 of this paper there are specific subchapters consisting of collocations related to the development of students' metalinguistic competence, which is essential for achieving higher levels of language proficiency later on.

Finally, the model applied in compiling the collocation corpus in Chapter 4 of this paper could be used in the development of bilingual (and multilingual) collocation dictionaries within future textbooks for beginners' levels of foreign language learning, as such dictionaries would greatly assist students in efficiently acquiring foreign language vocabulary from the very start of their learning journey.

Keywords: bilingual collocation dictionary, online platform, basic users, Italian, Serbian, primary education

PERSONAL NAME-BASED NEOLOGISMS IN MACEDONIAN ONLINE JOURNALISTIC DISCOURSE

*Violeta **Janusheva**, University „St. Kliment Ohridski“, Republic of North Macedonia, violeta.januseva@uklo.edu.mk*

Original scientific paper
DOI: 10.31902/fll.54.2026.10
UDC: 070:811.163.3’373.43

Abstract: Languages are permanently expanding their vocabulary with new words, which is an inevitable and constant process. The new words can be produced by the means of one language, borrowed from a foreign language, or created as a combination of one’s language means and borrowed elements. These novel words appear for the first time mainly in the journalistic articles, and then, depending on many factors, either spread into the general lexicon, or remain a part of a specialized language. The research question relates to the personal name-based neologisms in the Macedonian journalistic discourse aiming to reveal the most frequent word formation devices journalists use when creating such neologisms in their text. Thus, 2000 online news articles, informative and opinion based, are selected by using personal name-based neologisms as key words on Google Search. They serve as a sample, which is purposeful and cohesive. The data analysis rests upon the general qualitative inductive method and is enriched by the coding, i.e. organizational boxes are established in which the data are sorted for further analysis. The research results showcase that Macedonian journalistic discourse contains personal name-based neologisms which support the view that they are a common phenomenon in many modern languages. Further, the findings reveal that the suffixation is the most frequent language means used by journalists when generating personal name-based neologisms which reinforces previously stated outcomes. Furthermore, from the results it is obvious that the new personal name-based words are created with prefixes and that there are new compounds as well. In addition, these answers unveil that the personal name-based neologisms assist in achieving stylistic expression of the journalists’ text.

Keywords: Macedonian online journalistic discourse, personal name-based neologisms

1. Introduction

As a most sophisticated means which provides communication among people, language constantly changes, expanding its vocabulary with new words (neologisms), primarily to address its speakers' needs. This enrichment is a common feature of many modern languages (Winford 2007). These novel words are mostly borrowings from the English language although there are new words created in accordance with the language word formation processes as well. As in any language, there are a number of ways to form words in the Macedonian language, such as using prefixes or suffixes in nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs and in formation of compound words (Koneski 1995), which showcases the similarities among languages regarding the word formation processes. These brand-new words are observed in the journalistic discourse, which informs about previous and actual occurrences perceived as relevant or interesting for the speech community, and reflects the changes in the society (Minova-Gjurkova 2003). After their appearance, each single new word has a different life cycle in the language, which depends on many factors.

In spite of the efforts to depict the complex nature of neologisms, in the dictionaries, they are often defined in a similar way as new words or meanings in the language or new meanings added to already existing words which are not yet part of the active vocabulary (Cambridge online dictionary; Collins online dictionary; Croatian online encyclopedia; Encyclopedia Britannica; Longman online dictionary of contemporary English; Merriam-Webster online dictionary; Oxford learners' dictionary). The *online Dictionary of linguistic terms in the Serbian language* adds that new words may be standardized, i.e. become elements of the general everyday language and reveals the inconsistency among the terms specifying neologism, such as: neologisms, coinages, hapax, author neologism, occasionalism. There is a difference between the denominative neologisms, which serve to designate a new concept or phenomenon and the stylistic neologisms, which are markers of a specific authors' expression in the same Dictionary.

Further, a great amount of research determines the neologisms in the same manner as the dictionaries, stressing out their exclusion from peoples' active lexicon and from the current dictionaries and their non-acceptance in the general lexicon (Bolganbaev 1988; Algeo and Algeo, 1991; Sablayrolles 2008; Usevičs 2012; Kerremans 2015; Durham 2018; Anesa 2018); their comprehension as new words, i.e. psychological factors (Herberg 1988; Karlík, Nekula and Pleskalova 2002; Dasgupta

2004); their potential to spread in the general vocabulary and, at the end, become a language norm and part of the contemporary dictionaries (Kinne 1990; Sablayrolles 2008); their recent entrance in the language (Shipka 1988; Budiu and Anderson 2001; Peprník 2006). Similarly, the term neologism is elucidated by many others (Assanova, Zhampeiis, Toyshibaeva, Ismaguloca and Ermagambetova 2019; Holubnycha, Kostikova, Besarab, Moshtagh, Lushchyk and Dolgusheva 2020; Nelcoska 2020; Mweri 2021; Nam 2021;)

Furthermore, numerous studies offer different criteria to determine the neologisms, including: psychological, lexicographic, diachronic, and corpus based (Jaansen 1996); concretization of the time in which the neologism appears for the first time, concretization of the place where it emerges, i.e. in the general language, in the sublanguage or in the literary language (Kotelova 1998); instability of the word (Cabré 1998); level of novelty (Sablayrolles 2002); chronological and functional (Otashevikj 2008); frequency (Aymerich 2010); socio-pragmatic (Kerremans 2015) etc.

Moreover, multiple probes propose various types of neologisms, such as: real transnominations, and semantic neologisms (Crystal and Davy 1969); new words, new creations, abbreviations, new coinages and neosemantisms (Xuefo 1987); morphological, semantic, loaned and coinages (Helfrich 1993; Smyk-Bhattacharjee 2009); formal, semantic, and pragmatic (Rey 1995); language and contextual and authors' (Litnevskaja 2006;); instable, diffuse, and stable (Peprnik 2006; Bhagavan and Mishra 2013); neologisms according to the origin and word formation processes, neologisms meteors (Murray 2013) etc.

As for the authors' neologisms, it is relevant that they are coined by writers of a literary work to evoke stylistic effects according to the word formation processes in the language. They live their life only on the pages of the literary work and almost never transfer in the dictionaries and in the general language. The journalistic discourse's function is not only to inform but to reveal authors' opinions and attitudes on some relevant topic, thus it can be said that these articles are one type of written work and that their authors utilize various means to attract the readers' interest much like the authors of literary works who coined new words to express stylistic nuances and to challenge their readers' attention. Surely, they differ from the authors' neologisms.

In this sense, the present paper's research question relates to the personal name-based neologisms used in the Macedonian journalistic discourse aiming to reveal the word formation process journalists utilize

when creating neologisms based on personal name to increase the readability of their articles.

2. Broader research context

A substantial body of research worldwide related to the personal name-based neologisms showcase that they are present in many contemporary languages.

In this regard, Aleksandrova (2016) examines the mechanisms by which the personal name-based neologisms are formed in Bulgarian, revealing that the metonymic shift of meaning (transfer of meaning based on metonymy, affixation and blending) is among the most productive. She finds out that these types of neologisms are conditioned by the cultural and political context and lists examples from which it is obvious that the suffix -ism has high word formation capacities: *Obamaizm*, *zhivkovizm*, *boykovizm*. Further, she discloses other suffixes as well: -izacija (*Orbanizacija*), -shtina: *borisovshtina*; -stan: *Trampistan*; -otija: *Trampotija*, and instances of blending, such as: *Brangelina*, *Brexit*, *Frexit* etc. She concludes that these types of neologisms express the text producers' attitude toward people and situations. In different discourses, Katermina (2018) analyzes the word formation models of personal name-based neologisms in the English language. In the political discourse, she registers examples such as: *trumpism*, *trumper*, and *Millifan* (a (young) fan of the UK Labor leader, Ed Miliband), showing the productivity of suffixes in the creation of these neologisms. She concludes that, due to their emotional potentials, these models serve as the most frequent stylistic devices which impact the audience. Aleksandrova (2019) investigates the mechanism in which personal name-based neologisms are able to continue the process of creating new coinages by forming other neologisms in Bulgarian and English. She presents several examples, such as the productivity of the suffix -gate which is present in media text related to scandals; the productivity of the component Brexit which has become a base for generating new words, for example: *Frexit*, *Nexit*, and *Brexiter* whose phonological form may vary. Bilous and Novohatska (2019) state that the personal name-based neologisms are created using various word formation processes and are used to designate political or society events, languages of political figures or the way they express their thoughts, emotions, drinks and food. Among the word formation devices, they mention the derivation and offer many examples: *Obama-nation*, *Obamaism*, *Trumplication*, *Trumpism*,

Trumpocrisy etc. They assert that these types of neologisms are always positively or negatively marked.

Using the diachronic aspect, Héois (2020) focuses on verbs originating from proper names and reveals that some suffixes, like -ify, -ize, are productive in contemporary English, as well as the conversion of words. He uses the examples *Americanize* and *Manhattanize* (v). Bozhko (2023) scrutinizes the proper name-based neologisms which have a stylistic function on social media and indicates the word formation processes. She unveils that these types of neologisms are very close to the authors' neologisms because they are not used to denote new concepts or phenomena, but rather have stylistic puropses. She also claims that the personal name-based neologisms are a fruitful source for generating new neologisms using various word formation processes, and that this is specific for the Ukrainian, French and English language. Inspecting the new blended words in various English language dictionaries, Gao (2023) gives many examples which use the proper name, such as blending of two proper names, like: *Afrabia* (Africa + Arabia), *Hongcouver* (Hong Kong + Vancouver), *Merkozy* (Merkel + Sarkozy), and blending of a proper name and a common word, such as: *Obomber* (Obama + bomber), *Trumperor* (Trump + emperor) etc.

3. Methodology

Given the relevance and vitality of the research question in the research process (Luis and Munn 1987), the paper at hand seeks an answer to the question: What types of personal name-based neologisms are noticed in the Macedonian journalistic discourse? The goal is to discover the most frequent word formation processes journalists use when creating these types of neologisms.

Therefore, 2000 online news articles, informative and opinion based, serving as a sample, are selected by using personal name-based neologisms as key words on Google Search. This sample is also purposeful, i.e. it is collected to fulfill a certain goal (Patton 2002). In regard to the two types of articles that are taken into account, the sample is cohesive as well, and this according to Saumure and Given (2008) provides faster saturation or information power (the sampling ends when more articles do not provide new information). In addition, the sample choice reflects the attitude of Mason (2002) that the journalists' articles are source of information which helps to answer the research question.

The data are analyzed following the general qualitative approach used by many researchers (Thomas 2006; Morse 2011; Kahlke 2014; Harding and Whitehead 2016). They state that the qualitative data

analysis implements the inductive thinking, which leads to generating ideas from the collected data. According to Thomas (2006), this perspective reveals new concepts and themes via the researcher's interpretation. This method is enriched with the coding which is perceived as a strategy for data analysis as well. The coding allows breaking of data and establishing organizational boxes in which the data are sorted for further analysis (Maxwell 2005).

After carefully reading the sampled articles, two organizational boxes are established, i.e. the name of domestic or foreign leading figures and the word formation devices used for generating personal name-based neologisms.

4. Result, analysis and discussion

In the first organizational box/category, many names of current or past domestic and foreign superiors emerge, such as: Albin, Biden, Bujar, Gruevski, Erdogan, Ljubcho, Mao, Mickovski, Meloni, Merkel, Orban, Putin, Simion, Tito, Trump, Zaev, Zhivkov, Hitler, Viktor, Vuchikj. The utilization of these names in the Macedonian journalistic discourse discloses their main function, i.e. to inform people on current or past topics perceived as relevant in the community and demonstrates that similar topics related to these names are viewed as significant in many other countries.

As for the word formation devices used to generate personal name-based neologisms, several organizational boxes/categories emerge. From the analyzed examples, it is obvious that the dominant word formation device is the suffixation. Almost all of the personal name-based neologisms are produced with a suffix although there are derivates with prefixes and even compounds. These findings support the research results of Aleksandrova (2016; 2019), Katermina (2018), Bilous and Novohatska (2019), Héois (2020) and Gao (2023) who also note the suffixes' supreme role. Results indicate that, in the Macedonian journalistic discourse, the new personal name-based word formations are predominantly nouns, but verbs and adjectives can be noticed as well.

The following suffixes are used to produce personal name-based neologism in the Macedonian journalistic discourse:

-ist: brankovist, gruevist, Ljubchovist, merkelist, mickovist, putinist, titoist, trampist, zaevist, zhivkovist.

This suffix has a large word formation potential. In the Macedonian language, it belongs to the group doers of the action, i.e. 'nomina agentis' (Koneski 1995). It appears mostly in words from the international lexis.

These derivates are motivated by a noun and have three meanings (Koneski 1995):

a) a person who has an active relation toward what is denoted with the base: novelist [novelist], guitarist [guitar player];

b) a member of a socio-political, scientific or religious period: pacifist [pacifist], socialist [socialist];

c) a member of a group: gimnazist [student in gymnasium], seminarist [one who attends a seminar].

In the analyzed material, there are also plural forms: bajdenists [Bidenists], gruevists, mickovists, putinists, trumpists, zaevists and determined forms: zhivkovistot – the zhivkovist.

Examples:

> Ocenki za Ivanov: Govor na itrec, nacionalist, gruevist [Grades for Ivanov: Speech of a cunning man, nacionalist, gruevist] (Blazhevska, 28.12.2018, dw.com).
>
> …Simion, romanskiot trampist, koj se zalaga za obedinuvanje so Moldavija… […Simion, Romanian trumpist who advocates unification with Moldavia…] (S. D., 1.12.2024, slobodenpecat.mk).
>
> Stoiljkovikj ne krie deka e putinist [Stoiljkovikj does not hide that he is a putinist] (27.9.2024, faktor.mk).

It is evident that these personal name-based neologisms refer to 'a person who has an active relation toward what is denoted with the base' or 'member of a group that follows the socio-political views and actions of the person named with the base, which is usually the leader of a political entity', i.e. X follows the views, ideas, attitudes, and actions of Y or X is a proponent of views, ideas, attitudes, and actions of Y. All derivates mentioned above are written with a small first letter, which proves that they are perceived as common nouns and correspond to the Macedonian language norm.

Interestingly, besides many derivates from the surname, there is one personal name-based neologism motivated by the first name, i.e. Ljubchovist. However, the meaning stays the same but derivations such as this one should be written with a small first letter.

This suffix is not observed in the research listed in the broader context research, although some equivalence can be made with the suffix -er present in the personal name-based neologisms that Katermina (2018) analyzes. In Macedonian context, the appearance of this suffix, instead of the suffix -er (which also signifies the doer of the action) can indicate its increased productivity in word formation processes.

These neologisms serve as a base for forming new personal name-based neologisms. Namely from the above-mentioned nouns, adjectives are formed with the suffix -chki: putinistichka politika [putinist politics], trampistichka partija [trumpist party].

Examples:

Iako sum protivnik na opshtata putinistichka politika… [Although I am an opponent of the general putinist politics…] (Sadikario, 11.12.2024, novamakedonija.com.mk).

Nie sme eden vid trampistichka partija… [We are a type of trumpist party…] (S. D., 1.12.2024, slobodenpecat.mk).

These results are in line with the outcomes of Aleksandrova (2019) and demonstrate that the Macedonian journalistic discourse shares identical word formation devices for creating neologisms from already new words with Bulgarian and English. Additionally, these derivates are written with a small first letter which is in accordance with the Macedonian language norm.

-izacija: orbanizacija, trapmizacija, putinizacija, erdoganizacija, melonizacija, simonizacija [orbanization, trumpization, putinization, erdoganization, melonization, simonization].

In the Macedonian language, the word formations with the suffix -acija are in fact 'nomina actions', i.e. they are names of actions (Koneski 1995). This suffix assists in foreign noun formation, which is motivated by the appropriate verbs, ending in -ira: konsolidira – konsolidacija (consolidate – consolidation). Nevertheless, the suffix -acija is extended by placing the element -iz in front of it, which originates from the Greek language: nacionalizira – nacionalizacija (nationalize – nationalization). The presence of this suffix in the Macedonian journalistic discourse is in line with the results of Aleksandorva (2016) who finds the same suffix

exploited as a word formation device in the new personal name-based words in Bulgarian.

Examples:

Se sluchuva li orbanizacija na Makedonija? [Does orbanization of Macedonia occur?] (Jovanovska, 6.4.2024, smk.mk).

Putinizacija na Istochna Evropa – opasnost za EU? [Putinization of Eastern Europe – danger for EU? (Shvarc & Georgievski, 26.9.2014, dw.com).

Trampizacija gi zafati pazarite [The trumpization affects the markets] (Nikolovski, 7.4.2024, mk.bloombergadria.com).

Evidently, these formations signify an action in which X (may) become Y, or X possesses Y, i.e. Macedonia may be orbanized, Eastern Europe may be putinized, and the markets are trumpified. These derivates can also designate that X implements the political decisions of Y. Further, these new words are written with a small first letter, which supports the Macedonian language norm.

-izam: albinizam, Brankovizam, brankovizam, erdoganizam, gruevizam, maoizam, merkelizam, mickovizam, orbanizam, putinizam, titovizam, trampizam, obamaizam, hitlerizam, vuchizam, zhivkovizam, zaevizam [albinism, Brankovism, brankovism, erdoganism, gruevism, Maoism, merkelism, mickovism, orbanism, putinism, titovism, trumpism, obamaism, hitlerism, vuchism, zhivkovism, zaevism].

In the Macedonian language, the formations with this suffix are known as names of abstract features, i.e. 'nomina essendi' (Koneski 1995). Mainly, these formations are nouns from the international lexis. They have four meanings, such as:

a) feature or phenomenon: karierizam [careerism];
b) socio-political system: imperijalizam [imperialism];
c) philosophical, religious, esthetic, and scientific method: objektivizam [objectivism];
d) nouns with terminological meaning: dialektizam [dialectism].

In the elaborated examples, some of these formations appear in determined form (gruevizmot – the gruevism, zaevizmot – the zaevism, mickovizmot – the mickovism) and double quotation marks.

Examples:

Shto e toa putinizam? [What is putinism?] (Elchaninof, 15.10.2015, lokalno.mk).

Da go definirame poimot gruevizam [Let us define the term gruievism] (Tavchiovski, 18.10.2017, a1on.mk).

Kako prvo, trampizmot go negira globalizmot [First, the trumpism negates the globalism] (S. R., 31.1.2025, novamakedonija.com.mk).

The most appropriate meaning of these personal name-based neologisms refers to the socio-political scene and to the period of time in which a leader (X) governs the state, political party (Y) etc. This period is characterized with the ideas and political decisions of that particular person. These motivated words can also signify a style of governing, i.e. X governs in a certain way which is received in a different way by the public.

The existence of this suffix in the Macedonian journalistic discourse for generating personal name-based neologisms supports the findings of Aleksandrova (2016) who reveals that this suffix has prominent formation capacities in Bulgarian. Further, the appearance of this suffix correlate with the outcomes of Giaber (2017) who shows that this suffix has multiple meanings and with the findings of Katermina (2018). Furthermore, this suffix is found in the research of Bilous and Novohatska (2019) as a very productive personal name-based word formation device in the English language. In addition, almost all of the examples, except one (Brankovizam) are written with a small first letter, thus being recognized as common nouns, and this shows journalists' awareness of the need to protect the Macedonian language norm.

In relation to the connotation these formations show, according to Bilous and Novohatska (2019), they are always marked positively or negatively. In addition to this claim, it can be said that their affirmative or unfavorable implications depend on the public or a group's opinion toward the leader's political decision or his governing style. Thus, conditioned by the collective's beliefs, there will always be a group which supports X, and there will always be a group that denies X's action.

-izira > gruevizira, putinizira, trampizira [to gruevize, to putinize, to trumpify].

This suffix is an extension of the suffix -ira which has a German origin with the element -iz, which is of Greek origin. It is used for verbs

formations from nouns which have foreign bases: avtor – avtorizira (author – to authorize), ironija – ironizira (irony – to ironize). These word formations have several meanings (Koneski 1995) and the most suitable for the context in which it appears is 'X does what is named by the base of the noun': analizira (to analyze), terorizira (to terrorize).

Examples:

Na slednite pretsedatelski izbori, SAD povtorno bi mozhele da se trampiziraat, so ili bez Donald Tramp [On the next presidential elections, USA may trumpize itself one more time, with or without Donald Trump] (Garton, 7.4.2023, okno.mk).

Tie baraat od premierot Viktor Orban da prestane da ja putinizira Ungarija [They request from the premier Viktor Orban to stop putinizing Hungary] (17.2.2015, slobodnaevropa.mk).

…negovite izjavi deka nema da gi priznae izbornite rezulttai nitu instituciite koi samiot maksimalno gi gruevizira… […his announcement that he will not recognize the election's results, nor the institutions which he has maximally gruevized] (Gelevski, 18.12.2016).

These outcomes confirm the results of Héois (2020) who finds that the suffixes -ify and -ize are very beneficial for formation of personal name-based neologisms in contemporary English and showcase that the same devices are used in the Macedonian journalistic discourse.

-ec: bujarovci, sdsmovci [bujarists, sdsmovists].

Examples:

Za zhivkovistite Makedoncite se Titova izmislica, a sa sdsmovci i za bujarovci – Putinova ekspozitura [For the zhivkovists, the Macedonian people are result of Tito's fiction, for the sdsmovists and bujarists − part of Putin's branch] (Gerovski, 29.1.2023, plusinfo.mk).

In the Macedonian language, this suffix belongs to the group carriers of traits, i.e. 'nomina attributiva' (Koneski 1995). These derivates are motivated by nouns via adjectives: aristotelov – aristotelovec [Aristotle's – aristotelist] and are in plural form in the given instances. In relation to their meaning, they signify a supporter of

various groups based on ideology, religion, politics etc., i.e. X supports Y.

-nje: trampuvanje, putiniziranje, grueviziranje [trumpizing, putinizing, gruevizing].

In the collected examples, there are also three verb nouns ending in -nje motivated form the verbs ending in -izira: realizira – realiziranje, organizira – organiziranje (to realize – realizing, to organize – organizing). These formations are closely connected with the meaning of the verb (Koneski 1995).

Examples:

…vo vreme na ekonomska i politichka kriza i stravuvanje od putiniziranje na Istochna Evropa… [in a time of economic and political crisis and fear of putinizing of Eastern Europe] (Janku, Shvarc & Aceska, 2.11.2014, dw.com).

Vo toj bran na grueviziranje na bezbednosniot sistem… [In the wave of gruevizing the security system…] (Tashevska-Remenski, 6.5.2017, lokalno.mk).

Opposite of the verbs ending in -izira, in the Macedonian language, there are verbs formed with the domestic suffix -uva (Koneski 1995): identifikuva, kritikuva [to identify, to criticize]. In the examined examples, there is one verb noun with the suffix -nje which is motivated by the verb ending in -uva: trampuvanje [trumpization].

Example:

Trampuvanje na kapitalizmot [Trumpizing of the capitalism] (Kalecki, A., 10.2.2017, okno.mk).

In relation to the meaning, these derivates belong to the group names of actions, i.e. 'nomina actionis' (Koneski 1995) and denote doing an action. These personal name-based derivates are motivated by verbs and they name the action, abstracting it from the concrete doer.

Their presence in the Macedonian journalistic discourse signifies that besides the foreign suffixes the journalists use domestic ones as well, and this showcases their attitude towards affirmation of the Macedonian language norm.

-shtina: gruevshtina, zaevshtina [gruevness, zaevness].

In the Macedonian language, the derivations with this complex suffix belong to the group of abstract traits, i.e. 'nomina essendi' (Koneski 1995). These motivated words are derived from adjectives and nouns and are specific to the conversational style: lakomshtina, itroshtina [greediness, cleverness]. They denote a negative trait.

Examples:

Takov e sluchajot i so poimot zaevshtina koj... [That is the case with the concept zaevness which...] (25.7.2018, aldokliman.com).

…gospogja Arsovska, aktuelna gradonachalnichka na Skopje, izbrana e so jaka doza na gruevshtina… […miss Arsovska, the current mayor of Skopje, is elected with a strong dose of gruevness...] (Jovanovikj, 31.5.2022, iportal.mk).

These findings are in accordance with Aleksandrova (2016) and showcase that the Macedonian and the Bulgarian language share the same suffix to form personal name-based neologisms.

Among the personal name-based neologisms, there is one occurrence of blending which, as a word formation process, is not specific to the Macedonian language.

Example:

Merkozi – dvoecot shto go vodi kormiloto [Merkozi – the duo that drives the rudder] (Mok, Vranovikj, 19.1.2012, okno.mk).

This one example indicates that blending as a word formation process that is common in the English language, starts to be noticed in the Macedonian journalistic discourse as a word formation device as well. Further, this one occasion correlates with the findings of Aleksandrova (2016) and Gao (2023) and confirms that the Macedonian journalistic discourse has the same devices as the English language.

Although the prefixes are not a very frequent means when deriving new words (Koneski 1995), in the investigated examples there are several occasions. The prefix modifies the meaning of the word, which is itself motivated. The following prefixes are noticed:

anti-: antigruevist, antimickovist, antizaevist.

Examples:

Kako ubeden antigruevist, toj odeshe od TV na TV da drzhi predavanja za demokratija [As a sworn antigruevist, he changed multiple TV stations giving lectures about democracy] (Dauti, 1.6.2024, koha.mk).

Da mu posakame dobredojde na ushte eden antimickovist [Let us welcome another antimickovist] (17.5.2023, factor.mk).

…koj e dokazhan antizaevist […who is a proven antizaevist] (Stojanovski, 10.3.2023, focus.mk).

These derivates signify the opposite of what has been designated with the noun: antifashist [antifascist], i.e. X is opposite of what the motivated word signifies.

de-: degruevizira [degruevized].

This prefix of foreign origin designates the execution of the action as opposed to the action of the verb (Koneski 1995): deblokira [unblock].

Example:

Nevozhmozhno e VMRO-DPMNE da se degruevizira [It is impossible for VMRO-DPMNE to degruevize itself] (13.2.2019, narodenglas.com).

The meaning can be presented as X does something opposite of what is denoted with the verb which is new word.

Compounds

In the analyzed material, there are two new compound nouns – trampomanija [trumpmania] and brankofobija [brankofobia]. They are formed by two components which are nouns, A and B, and the formal indicator of the compounding - the infix -o- (Koneski 1995).

Examples:

Trampomanija: Tramp dobi ulica so negovoto ime… [Trump gets a street with his name…] (Gerasimovski, 23.1.2017.kanal5.com.mk).

> Gruevski pati od brankofobija – go gleda Crvenkovski pod sekoj kamen i vo sekoj protest [Gruveski suffers from brankofobia – he sees Crvenkovski under each stone and in each protest] (24.8.2012, okno.mk).

These new words are endocentric compounds which means that the first component explains the meaning of the second. As word formation devices, the compounds are found in Aleksandrova's (2016) and Katermina's (2018) research, pointing to the similarities between the Macedonian, Bulgarian and English language.

As can be observed, all of the aforementioned personal name-based neologisms are not used to signify new concepts or new phenomena. They are rather the authors' creations for already existing concepts and carry stylistic expression, showcasing the journalists' inventive potential, mainly to address the readers' interest and to communicate with their audience in an innovative and unusual way. These insights are stressed in Bozhko's (2023) research and suggest that the Macedonian language has similarities with the English, French and Ukrainian languages. It appears that in coining these words, Macedonian journalists use different word formation devices, such as suffixes, prefixes, and infixes. Further, all of the derivates are created by using the existing word formation processes.

However, it should be noted that these authors' neologisms (journalists' neologism) are clearly different in nature form those in their literary works. The latest neologisms never leave the pages of poems or novels and they are markers of the authors' style. Basically, there are no occasions where several Macedonian authors of literary works use the same neologism. Each author has his/her own created neologisms. Conversely, it is apparent that one personal name-based neologism, for example, 'trumpism', is present in the texts of many journalists in the Macedonian journalistic discourse. Hence, there are two groups of authors' neologisms, and this enriches the classification offered by with additional category.

3. Conclusion

Each leader of a state, coalition, or political party governs for a certain period of time, which is characterized by certain political decisions and way of ruling and it is a common practice to identify this period via the name or the surname of the leading figure. This habit seems to be a common feature in many world languages and discourses

as well as in the devices used to form new word based on the name of these chief figures.

In regard to the Macedonian journalistic narrative, perceived as close to authors' literary works, but different in nature, it is obvious that personal name-based neologisms are formed dominantly with suffixes, although the use of prefixes and infixes is noticed as well. The most exploited ones are: -ist: *brankovist*, *gruevist*; -chki: *putinistichka politika* [putinist politics]; -izacija: *orbanizacija*, *trampizacija* [orbanization, trumpization]; -izam: *brankovizam*, *erdoganizam* [brankovism, erdoganism]; -izira: *gruevizira*, *putinizira* [to gruevize, to putinize]; -ec: *bujarovci*, *sdsmovci* [bujarists, sdsmovists]; -nje: *trampuvanje*, *putiniziranje* [trumpizing, putinizing]; -*shtina*: *gruevshtina*, *zaevshtina* [gruevness, zaevness]. Regarding the prefixes, the most used are: anti-: *antigruevist*, *antimickovist*; de-: *degruevizira* [*degruevized*]. The infix -o- is used only in two compounds: *Trampomanija*, *brankofobija* [trumpmania, brankofobia]. This demonstrates the authors' creativity in coining new words and the rich Macedonian language word formations devices as well. These new formations introduce freshness in the expressions and certainly attract the readers' attention.

Works Cited:

Aleksandrova, Aleksandra. "From Watergate to Bremain: Forming Name-Based Neologisms from Already Existing Ones." *Knowledge*, vol. 30, no. 5, 2019, pp. 1161-1165.

—. "Understanding Name-Based Neologisms." *Series in Linguistics, Culture and FLT*, vol. 1, Asenevtsi Trade, 2016, pp. 65-77.

Algeo, John, and S. Adele Algeo, editors. *Fifty Years among New Words: A Dictionary of Neologisms, 1941–1991*. Cambridge UP, 1991.

Anesa, Patrizia. *Lexical Innovation in World Englishes: Cross-Fertilization and Evolving Paradigms*. Routledge, 2018.

Assanova, Gulnar, et al. "Modern Status and Development Trends of Neologisms in the Kazakh Language." *Humanities and Social Sciences Reviews*, vol. 7, no. 4, 2019, pp. 926-934, https://doi.org/10.18510/hssr.2019.74125.

Aymerich, F. Judit. "Paraules amb rareses." *Terminàlia*, vol. 1, 2010, pp. 7-16.

Behera, Bhagavan, and Priyadarshani Misha. "The Burgeoning Usage of Neologisms in Contemporary English." *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)*, vol. 18, no. 3, 2013, pp. 25-35.

Biloys, P. Natalija, and V. Natalija Novohatska. "Rendering English Neologisms with Obama and Trump Root Morphemes." [Вітворення англійських відонімних неологізмів з основами Obama і Trump]. *Закарпатські*

філологічні студії, vol. 2, no. 7, 2019, pp. 86-89. Видавничий дім "Гельветика".

Bolganbaev, D. Artur. "Lexicology in Kazakh Language." *Almaty Mektep*, 1988, pp. 14-23.

Bozhko, S. Iryna. "Proper Name-Based Neologisms as a Means of Expressive Online Communication." *Zhytomyr Ivan Franko State University Journal. Philological Sciences*, no. 3, 2023.

Budiu, Raluca, and John R. Anderson. *Word Learning in Context: Metaphors and Neologisms*. School of Computer Science, Carnegie Mellon University, 2001.

Cabré, M. Teresa. *La terminología. Teoría, metodología, aplicaciones*. Empúries, 1998.

Cambridge Online Dictionary, tinyurl.com/3n27hrxz.

Collins Dictionary, tinyurl.com/2mtdjchr.

Croatian Online Encyclopedia, www.enciklopedija.hr/.

Crystal, David, and Derek Davy. *Investigating English Style*. Routledge, 1969.

Dasgupta, Probal. "Archives Arcades, and the Translation of Neologisms." *Translation Today*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2004, pp. 6-28.

Durham, C. Gabrielle. "Back Formations and Neologisms." *3 Quarks Daily*, 3 Sept. 2018, www.3quarksdaily.com/3quarksdaily/2018/09/back-formations-and-neologisms.html.

Encyclopedia Britannica, tinyurl.com/3fbm3sza.

Gao, Yongwei. "A Lexicographical Approach to Neologisms Created through Blending." *Lexicography: Journal of ASIALEX*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2023, pp. 161-172, https://doi.org/10.1558/lexi.26356.

Harding, Thomas, and Dean Whitehead. "Analyzing Data in Qualitative Research." *Nursing and Midwifery Research: Methods and Appraisal for Evidence-Based Practice*, 5th ed., edited by Z. Schneider and D. Whitehead, ch. 8, Elsevier, 2016.

Héois, Aurélie. "When Proper Names Become Verbs: A Semantic Perspective." *Lexis, Journal of English Lexicology*, vol. 16, 2020, Université Jean Moulin - Lyon 3, https://doi.org/10.4000/lexis.4681.

Herberg, Dieter. "Neologismus – lexikologisch und lexikographisch betrachtet." *Sprachpflege*, vol. 37, no. 8, 1988, pp. 109-112.

Holubnycha, Liudmyla, et al. "Semantic and Structural Aspects of Donald Trump's Neologisms." *Postmodern Openings*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2020, pp. 43-59.

Janssen, Maarten. *Orthographic Neologisms: Selection Criteria and Semi-Automatic Detection*.
1996, maarten.janssenweb.net/Papers/neologisms.pdf.

Kahlke, Renate M. "Generic Qualitative Approaches: Pitfalls and Benefits of Methodological Mixology." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, vol. 13, no. 1, 2014, pp. 37-52.

Karlík, Petr, Marek Nekula, and Jana Pleskalová. *Encyklopedický slovník češtiny*. Lidové noviny, 2002.

Katermina, Veronika V. "Proper Name in Different Types of Discourse (Based on English Neologisms)." *Vestnik of Northern (Arctic) Federal University. Series "Humanitarian and Social Sciences"*, no. 3, 2018, pp. 83-89, https://doi.org/10.17238/issn2227-6564.2018.3.83.

Kerremans, Daphné. *A Web of New Words: A Corpus-Based Study of the Conventionalization Process of English Neologisms*. Peter Lang, 2015.

Kinne, Michael. "Der lange Weg zum deutschen Neologismenwörterbuch." *Neologie und Korpus (Studien zur deutschen Sprache 11)*, edited by Wolfgang Teubert, Nar, 1990, pp. 63-110.

Koneski, Kiril. *Zboroobrazuvanjeto vo sovremeniot makedonski jazik [The Word Formation in the Contemporary Macedonian Language]*. Bona, 1995.

Kotelova, Z. Nadezhda. *Selected Works*. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Linguistic Researches, Nestor-Istoriya, 2015.

Lewis, Ian, and P. Munn. *So You Want to Do Research: A Guide for Teachers on How to Formulate Research Questions*. Scottish Council for Research in Education, 1987.

Litnevskaja, E. I. *Russkij jazyk: Kratkij teoreticheskij kurs dlja shkoljnikov*. MGU "M. V. Lomonosov", 2006.

Longman Online Dictionary of Contemporary English, www.ldoceonline.com/.

Mason, Jennifer. *Qualitative Researching*. 2nd ed., Sage, 2002.

Maxwell, Joseph A. *Qualitative Research: An Interactive Design*. 2nd ed., Sage, 2005.

Minova-Gjurkova, Liljana. *Stilistika na sovremeniot makedonski jazik [Stylistics of the Contemporary Macedonian Language]*. Magor, 2003.

Morse, Janice M. "Molding Qualitative Health Research." *Qualitative Health Research*, vol. 21, no. 8, 2011, pp. 1019-1021.

Murray, Thomas E. *The Structure of English: Phonetics, Phonology, Morphology*. Allyn and Bacon, 1995.

Mweri, Jewfa. "Corona Virus Disease (COVID-19) Effects on Language Use: An Analysis of Neologisms." *Linguistics and Literature Studies*, vol. 9, no. 1, 2021, pp. 36-47, http://doi.org/10.13189/lls.2021.090105.

Nam, Kilim. "Overcoming Issues in Frequency-Based Extraction and Lexicographic Inclusion of Korean Neologisms: A Triangulation Approach." *Lexicography: Journal of ASIALEX*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2021, pp. 3-31.

Nelcoska, Verica. "Neologisms under the Influence of Social Media: Morpho-Semantic Analysis." *Anglisticum Journal (IJLLIS)*, vol. 9, no. 10, 2020, pp. 13-19.

"Neologism." *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, tinyurl.com/4wwk5486.

Otashevikj, Gj. *Nove rechi i znachenja u savremenom standardnom srpskom jeziku [New Words and Meanings in the Modern Standard Serbian Language]*. Alma, 2008.

Oxford Learners' Dictionary, www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/.

Palys, Ted. "Purposive Sampling." *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, edited by Lisa M. Given, Sage, 2008, pp. 697-698.

Peprník, Jaroslav. *English Lexicology*. Univerzita Palackého, 2006.

Rechnik lingvistichkih termina [Online Dictionary of Linguistic Terms in the Serbian Language]. SANU, Institute for Serbian Language, tinyurl.com/ytv635aj.

Sablayrolles, Jean-François. "Diversité des relations entre néologie et noms propres [Diversity of Relationships between Neology and Proper Names]." *Cahiers de lexicologie, Néologie et noms propres*, vol. 113, 2018, pp. 29-43.

—. "Fondements théoriques des difficultés pratiques du traitement des néologismes." *Revue Française de Linguistique Appliquée*, vol. 7, no. 1, 2002, pp. 97-111.

Saumure, Kristie H., and Lisa M. Given. "Nonprobability Sampling." *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, edited by Lisa M. Given, Sage, 2008, p. 562.

Shipka, Danko. *Osnovi leksikologije i srodnih disciplina [Basics of Lexicology and Related Disciplines]*. Matica srpska, 1998.

Smyk-Bhattacharjee, Dorota. *Lexical Innovation on the Internet – Neologisms in Blogs*. 2009. University of Zurich, Doctoral thesis.

Thomas, David R. "A General Inductive Approach for Analyzing Qualitative Evaluation Data." *American Journal of Evaluation*, vol. 27, no. 2, 2006, pp. 237-246.

Usevičs, Sergejs. *Neologisms in British Newspapers*. Daugavpils University, 2012.

Winford, Donald. "Some Issues in the Study of Language Contact." *Journal of Language Contact*, vol. 1, pp. 22-40.

Xuefu, Dou. "Neologismen im heutigen Deutsch." *Sprache und Literatur in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, vol. 59, 1987, p. 101.

NEOLOGISMEN, DIE SICH AUF PERSONENNAMEN BASIEREN, IM MAZEDONISCHEN JOURNALISTISCHEN ONLINE – DISKURS

Sprachen erweitern ihren Wortschatz ständig um neue Wörter, was ein unvermeidlicher und ständiger Prozess ist. Die neuen Wörter entsthen durch die mittel einer Sprache, durch Entlehnung oder durch deren Kombination. Diese neuartigen Wörter tauchen zum ersten Mal hauptsächlich in journalistischen Artikeln auf und gelangen dann, abhängig von vielen Faktoren, entweder in den allgemeinen Lexikon oder bleiben Teil einer Fachsprache. Es gibt Neologismus- Meteore, die auftauchen und nach kurzer Zeit nicht mehr in der Sprache vorhanden sind. Es gibt auch Neologismen, die von den Autoren eines literarischen Werkes hervorgebracht werden und somit stilistische Nuancen tragen. Angesichts der Tatsache, dass die journalistischen Artikel als Autorentexte wahrgenommen werden können, bezieht sich die Forschungsfrage dieser Arbeit auf den namenbasierten Neologismus im mazedonischen journalistischen Diskurs und zielt darauf ab, die häufigsten Wortbildungstechniken aufzudecken die Journalisten verwenden, wenn sie

neue namensbasierte Wörter in ihren Texten nutzen. Somit wird ein Korpus von 2000 Artikeln (informativ und mainungsbasiert) gesammelt. Es dient als Muster, das zielgerichtet und zusammendhängend ist. Die Datenanalyse basiert auf der allgemeinen qualitativ- induktiven Methode und wird durch die Kodierung angereichert, d.h. es werden organisationsboxen eingerichtet, in denen die Daten für die weitere Analyse sortiert werden. Die Forschungsergebnisse zeigen, dass der mazedonische journalistische Diskurs Namensneologismen enthält, die die Ansicht stützen, dass sie in vielen modernen Sprachen ein weit verbreitetes Phänomen sind. Darüber hinaus zeigen die Ergebnisse, dass die Suffixierung das am häufigsten von Journalisten verwendete Sprachmittel bei der Generierung namenbasierter Neologismen ist, was zuvor angegebene Ergebnisse verstärkt. Darüber ist aus den Ergebnissen ersichtlich, dass die neuen namensbasierten Wörter mit Präfixen erstellt werden und dass es auch neue Wörter geben wird. Zusätzlich zeigen diese Antworten, dass der auf Namen basierende Neologismus dazu beiträgt, den Text des Journalisten stilistisch zum Ausdruck zu bringen.

Schlüsselwörter: mazedonisch journalistisch Diskurs, Neologismen

STILSKA VREDNOST SOMATSKIH FRAZEOLOŠKIH JEDINICA U SIJARIĆEVOM ROMANU KUĆU KUĆOM ČINE LASTAVICE

*Adnan **Bjelak**, Državni univerzitet u Novom Pazaru, Departman za filološke nauke, Srpska književnost i jezik, abjelak@np.ac.rs*

Original scientific paper
DOI: 10.31902/fll.54.2026.11
UDC: 821.163.44:811.163.44'373.7

Apstrakt: U radu se bavimo ispitivanjem stilske vrednosti frazeoloških jedinica sa određenim somatskim komponentama (ruka, noga, glava i oči) u kontekstu romana *Kuću kućom čine lastavice* Ćamila Sijarića. Polazeći od simboličkih i semantičkih značenja ovih leksema u kulturnom i jezičkom kontekstu, analiziramo njihovu ulogu u oblikovanju narativne strukture, karaktera i unutrašnjeg sveta likova. Frazeološke jedinice koje sadrže neku od somatskih leksičkih jedinica koriste se kao izrazita stilska sredstva u jeziku ovog autora. Njihova upotreba omogućava prikazivanje različitih aspekata ljudske snage, slabosti, emocionalnog stanja i društvenog položaja. Analizom ekscerpirane građe ukazujemo na činjenicu da frazeologizmi nisu samo deo leksičke slike sveta u romanu, već i značajan instrument za građenje psihološkog aspekta, simboličke slojevitosti i kulturne ukorenjenosti pripovedanja. Ovakva upotreba frazeoloških jedinica potvrđuje njihovu funkciju kao izrazitog sredstva stilske individualizacije i poetičke specifičnosti Sijarićevog proznog izraza.

Ključne reči: somatski frazeologizmi, stilska upotreba, Ćamil Sijarić

1. Uvod

Svaki jezik nosi u sebi idiomatsku prirodu, što znači da je prožet specifičnim frazeološkim izrazima koji čine njegovu jedinstvenu stilsku i kulturnu obeleženost. Budući da frazeologija, kao deo leksičkog sistema jezika, obogaćuje izražavanje, ona doprinosi i njegovoj prepoznatljivosti, ističući nacionalni identitet i način mišljenja jezičke zajednice. Upravo zbog toga se frazeološko bogatstvo smatra jednim od ključnih elemenata jezičke autentičnosti. Ovladavanje frazeološkim jedinicama – razumevanje njihovog značenja, upotrebe i kulturnih konotacija –

predstavlja viši nivo znanja jezika.[1] Ispravno i prirodno korišćenje frazeologizama pokazuje, pored poznavanja gramatike i rečnika, i konkretnije razumevanje duha jezika i njegove svakodnevne upotrebe u različitim komunikacijskim situacijama. Stoga se frazeologija s pravom smatra jednim od najvažnijih pokazatelja funkcionalnog znanja jezika.

Prema Mušoviću, frazeološka jedinica predstavlja ustaljeni, dvokomponentni ili višekomponentni izražajni oblik koji se u govoru koristi kao gotova celina. Njene sastavne komponente često imaju potpuno ili delimično preneseno značenje, a sama frazeološka jedinica u rečenici funkcioniše kao njen sastavni deo (1997, 13). Frazeološke jedinice su stilski markirane, a pojam stila nas suočava sa stvarnošću jezika u neiscrpnoj raznolikosti njegove upotrebe, s obzirom na to da podrazumeva konkretnu, slobodnu i stvaralačku realizaciju jezika u živoj stvarnosti govorne ili pisane reči (Lešić 2011, 145). Posebno su takvi somatski frazeologizmi, koji su deo uže frazeologije, a s obzirom na to da su se somatizmi razvijali unutar narodne jezičke prakse, ubrajaju se među najstarije i najstabilnije utemeljene slojeve frazeološkog sistema jednog jezika. Njihovo poreklo je usko povezano s načinom na koji su ljudi kroz svakodnevni govor izražavali svoja opažanja, emocije, iskustva i stavove koristeći termine koji označavaju delove tela. Zbog svoje ukorenjenosti u tradicionalnom govoru, kao i zbog bogate simbolike koju nose, somatizmi su se održali kroz vreme i postali sastavni deo frazeološke građe. Upravo zato su veoma zastupljeni u frazeološkim rečnicima i leksikonima, gde se beleže kao značajan deo jezičkog nasleđa i izraza narodne mudrosti i kulturnog identiteta. Njihova česta pojava u tim izvorima govori i o njihovoj važnosti za razumevanje kako jezika, tako i načina mišljenja i vrednosnog sistema zajednice u kojoj su nastali i opstali (Mršević Radović 1987, 30). Ovakav stav potvrđuje i Razdobudko Čović, apostrofirajući da somatizmi predstavljaju duboko ukorenjen i nezaobilazan deo svake kulture, jer se kroz njih izražavaju osnovne ljudske vrednosti, iskustva i pogledi na svet. Njihova frekventnost u svakodnevnom jeziku ukazuje na to da imaju centralnu ulogu u oblikovanju jezika, odnosno da doprinose formiranju jezgra rečničkog sistema jedne jezičke zajednice (14). Ovi izrazi, kako oslikavaju emocionalna i mentalna stanja pojedinca, tako u sebi nose i odraz

[1] Ovakav stav zauzima i Kovačević (2012, 16), navodeći da somatski frazemi koriste delove tela kao konstitutivni element, a da proučavanje ove vrste frazeoloških jedinica potpomaže boljem razumevanju odnosa između jezika i kulture.

različitih ljudskih aktivnosti – onih ličnih i telesnih, ali i društvenih i profesionalnih.

Mršević Radović (30) naglašava da je, na osnovu leksičkog značenja sastavnih delova frazeoloških jedinica koje su u nefrazeološkoj upotrebi motivisale nastanak frazeologizama, moguća podela na dve osnovne grupe: prva obuhvata izraze koji se odnose na čoveka – njegove fizičke i psihičke osobine – kao i na njegovo neposredno okruženje, uključujući biljni i životinjski svet, predmete iz domaćinstva i slično, dok druga grupa obuhvata izraze koji su motivisani čovekovom delatnošću kao društvene i ekonomske jedinke, njegovim profesionalnim životom i ponašanjem. Izrazi iz prve grupe, koji se odnose na čovekove osobine, nazivaju se somatski frazeologizmi, somatski izrazi ili jednostavno – somatizmi. Ti izrazi u sebi sadrže komponentu koja označava neki deo tela (npr. glava, oko, noga), organ ili telesnu tečnost. Takvi frazeologizmi najčešće označavaju čovekove fizičke ili psihičke osobine, imaju univerzalan karakter i zasnivaju se na tradicionalnoj simbolici delova tela, gestovima, mimici svakodnevice, narodnim verovanjima, običajima i sujeverju. Slična su i naredna zapažanja. Glušica ih određuje kao frazeologizme "koji u svom sastavu sadrže komponentu kojom se imenuje neki dio tijela (glava, ruka, obraz), unutrašnji organ ili tjelesna tečnost" (15), podvlačeći da "takvi frazeologizmi pokazuju emocionalne i mentalne sposobnosti čovjeka i različite postupke i ponašanje ljudi koji odražavaju ljudske stavove prema unutrašnjem čovjekovom svijetu i naglašavaju ulogu tradicionalne simbolike pojedinih dijelova ljudskog tijela" (15).

Na sličan način ih definiše i Vujović, koja kaže da "posebnu grupu frazema čine somatizmi, frazeološke jedinice koje u svom sastavu sadrže somatski konstituent, odnosno leksemu koja označava deo tela, organ ili telesnu tečnost" (62). Marmelić, u tom kontekstu, ukazuje da među frazeolozima postoje shvatanja da u grupu somatskih frazeologizama spadaju samo oni koji kao konstituent imaju deo ljudskog tela, te da se u tom slučaju isključuju unutrašnji organi, dok drugi zastupaju većinski stav da su uključeni i delovi tela životinja, kao i frazeologizmi koji kao sastavnicu imaju imenice poput *duša*, *jetra*, *bubreg*, *um* itd. (17).

Baveći se ovom vrstom frazeoloških jedinica, Sarić (65) upoznaje da se u frazeološkoj literaturi mogu pronaći podele somatskih frazema na osnovu osobina pojedinih delova tela koje somatizmi sadrže, kao i načina na koji motivišu značenje frazema u celini. U skladu s tim, somatski frazemi, upućuje autorka (65), mogu sadržati topografske somatizme (unutrašnji i spoljašnji organi, organi koji se nalaze na prednjem ili zadnjem delu tela, levoj ili desnoj strani i slično), dok je kod anatomskih somatskih frazema značenje motivisano izgledom, odnosno samom anatomijom organa, naglašavajući da najveći broj somatskih frazema

obuhvata funkcionalne osobine somatizama (na primer motoriku, varenje ili funkcije čula), što dovodi do zaključka da je fiziologija delova ljudskog tela mnogo značajnija od njihovog izgleda i položaja.

Šulović sa saradnicama navodi da "budući da prevashodno upućuju na čoveka (njegove osobine, stanja, ponašanje, odnos sa okruženjem), somatski frazemi su izrazito antropocentrični i antropometrični i izviru iz univerzalno prisutnih metafora motivisanih čovekovim telesnim iskustvom. Oni predstavljaju kompleksan i dragocen materijal, koji se često i svrsishodno upotrebljava u savremenom jeziku" (337–338).

2. Metodologija istraživanja

Istraživanje se zasniva na kvalitativnoj lingvostilističkoj analizi frazeoloških jedinica sa somatskim komponentama *ruka*, *noga*, *glava* i *oči* u romanu *Kuću kućom čine lastavice* Ćamila Sijarića. Rad obuhvata nekoliko analitičkih koraka, koji su sprovedeni u skladu s ciljem da se utvrdi stilska i semantička funkcija navedenih frazeoloških jedinica unutar književnog teksta. Nakon ekscerpcije frazeoloških jedinica iz celokupnog korpusa romana, pri čemu su identifikovani izrazi koji sadrže navedene somatske lekseme, izdvojene frazeološke jedinice su klasifikovane prema semantičkim poljima i konotacijama (pozitivna, negativna). Zatim smo pristupili kontekstualnoj i stilskoj analizi, u kojoj ispitujemo funkciju frazeologizama u konkretnom diskursu. Posebna pažnja posvećena je načinu na koji ovi izrazi doprinose izgradnji likova, dinamici radnje i simboličkoj strukturi romana.

3. Analiza materijala

U nastavku rada dajemo pregled simbolike i semantike somatskih frazeoloških jedinica. Posebna pažnja posvećena je frazeološkim jedinicama koje sadrže komponente *ruka*, *noga*, *glava* i *oči*. Analiza datih jedinica omogućava bolje razumevanje značenja i stilskih funkcija koje one imaju u književnom tekstu. U kontekstu romana *Kuću kućom čine lastavice*, kako nas u to upućuje Petrović Račić (267), frazeološki elementi imaju bitnu ulogu u razgradnji kulturnog koda patrijarhata i simboličkom predstavljanju likova kao žrtava društvenih obrazaca i istorijskih promena, čime se postiže polisemična struktura i dodatno osvetljava autorova poetika.

3.1. Simbolika i semantika frazeoloških jedinica sa komponentom *ruka*

Simbolika ruke u jezicima i kulturama širom sveta ukazuje na njenu višeslojnu ulogu u izražavanju identiteta, delanja i odnosa sa svetom. Kamings (295–296) ističe da je ruka univerzalan simbol akcije, prelaska iz apstraktnog u konkretno, iz misli u delo. U tom kontekstu, ruka postaje metaforičko sredstvo kojim se oslikava ljudska sposobnost da utiče na okolinu – bilo kroz stvaranje, pomaganje, upravljanje ili izražavanje moći. U različitim simboličkim sistemima, zapaža Kamings, značenje gestova ruku poprima raznovrsne kulturne konotacije: podignute ruke označavaju molitvu, traženje zaštite ili čin predaje, dok jedna podignuta ruka može značiti zakletvu i prizivanje istine. Dve ruke zajedno u mnogim religijskim i filozofskim tradicijama simbolizuju spoj mudrosti i delovanja, ravnotežu između uma i prakse. Egipatski hijeroglifi dodatno potvrđuju funkcionalni značaj ruke, gde ona predstavlja bilo koju ljudsku aktivnost – od fizičkog rada, preko zaštite, do kontrole. Ruka se, međutim, ne tumači samo u odnosu na fizičku radnju, već i kao nosilac moralnih i duhovnih vrednosti. U nekim tradicijama, desna ruka simbolizuje dobrotu, zakonitost i božansku volju, dok leva može označavati hrabrost, ali i nepredvidivost i skrivenost. U hinduizmu i budizmu, prikazi božanstava sa više ruku ukazuju na multifunkcionalnu, kosmičku prirodu božanskog delovanja, gde svaka ruka predstavlja određeni aspekt moći, zaštite ili mudrosti. U hrišćanskom okviru, Božja ruka simbolizuje silu, zaštitu i volju nebeskog autoriteta, dok fraze *Božja ruka* ili *ruka pravde* u jeziku nose značenje višeg reda i moralnog poretka. Time ruka postaje most između svetovnog i svetog, između svakodnevnog ljudskog iskustva i metafizičkog autoriteta (Ibid.).

Lingvistički aspekt imenice *ruka* dodatno potvrđuje bogatstvo njenih značenja u srpskom jeziku. U *Rečniku srpskoga jezika* Matice srpske (1152), ova imenica obuhvata široko semantičko polje: osim primarnog značenja kao *gornjeg ekstremiteta kod čoveka*, ona obuhvata i pojmove kao što su vlast, moć, nadležnost, svojina, rukopis, strana ili položaj u prostoru ili odnosu. Ova polisemija omogućava frazeološko oblikovanje izraza kao što su: *uzeti stvar u svoje ruke* (preuzeti kontrolu), *ruka pravde* (simbol zakonske sile), *biti nečija desna ruka* (pouzdani pomoćnik), *dići ruke od nečega* (odustati), *prati ruke od nečega* (oprati savest), itd. Na taj način, imenica ruka pokazuje i jezičku fleksibilnost i kulturnu dubinu, jer svaki njen frazeološki oblik reflektuje određene društvene odnose, norme i vrednosti. Ruka je, u tom smislu, semantičko i simboličko središte brojnih kulturnih narativa, i predstavlja jedan od ključnih nosilaca značenja u okviru somatske frazeologije.

U kontekstu romana *Kuću kućom čine lastavice*[2], leksička jedinica *ruka* registrovana je kroz frazeološke jedinice sa trima semantičkim vrednosima: ne raditi ništa, odnosno biti sasvim pasivan, preuzimati vlasništvo i imati kontrolu nad nečim ili nekim. Na osnovu datih semantičkih polja, možemo uvideti da Sijarić češće upotrebljava frazeološke jedinice sa komponentom *ruka* u pozitivnom značenju.

Tabela 1 – Somatski frazeologizmi sa komponentom *ruka*

Primer iz romana	Frazeologizam	Semantika	Obeležje
Sa nekakvom tihom kuknjavom u sebi, on je bdio nad svim tim – jer zemlja je njegova postala kao živ stvor: stotinu udova i stotinu naravi imala je ona, i sve je to trebalo *držati u ruci*, savijati i ne dati da se rasipa (KKČL, 44).	držati u ruci	imati kontorlu nad nekim / nečim	pozitivno
Počinjalo je dijeljenjem zemlje – od koje je Emrul zatražio da se otcijepi cijela jedna polovina, ona ženina, i *prevali na njegove ruke* (KKČL, 28).	prevaliti na ruke	preuzimati vlasništvo	pozitivno
... i da otkud imaju *ruke*, oni bi ih *zabacili* za leđa kao i starci (KKČL, 6).	staviti ruke na leđa	ne raditi ništa, odnosno biti sasvim pasivan	negativno

Na osnovu navedenih primera, zaključujemo da Sijarić date frazeološke jedinice koristi kako bi pojačao izražajnost i simboličku vrednost radnje i likova, kao i da recipijenti bolje razumeju odnose moći, odgovornosti i životne uloge likova. Prikazani frazeologizmi služe da prikažu psihološko stanje likova, ukažu na odnos prema radu i imovini, razlikuju aktivne od pasivnih likova, te da simbolički predstave vlast, moć i ulogu čoveka u zajednici. U tom smislu, jezik kod Sijarića ne predstavlja samo sredstvo komunikacije, već i važan oblik karakterizacije likova, čime se dodatno potvrđuje tvrdnja Muratagić Tune da su Sijarićevi likovi

[2] Umesto punog naziva romana *Kuću kućom čine lastavice*, koristićemo skraćenicu KKČL.

nosioci jezičkih osobenosti svoje sredine, bilo da je reč o socijalnoj, etnografskoj, dijalekatskoj ili nekoj drugoj (107).

3.2. Simbolika i semantika frazeoloških jedinica sa komponentom *noga*

Stopalo, kao i noga, simbolizuje slobodu kretanja, dobrovoljnu službu, poniznost i sposobnost da se izdrži život na zemlji. Kroz različite kulturne, religijske i mitološke sisteme, ova telesna komponenta često se tumači kao temelj čovekove stabilnosti i njegove povezanosti sa svetom koji ga okružuje. U egipatskim hijeroglifima stopalo predstavlja uspravno držanje, uzdizanje i snalaženje u prostoru, što proizlazi iz činjenice da čovek, za razliku od većine životinja, hoda uspravno (Kamings 2004, 299–300). Takva uspravnost nije samo fizička karakteristika, već i simbolički izraz ljudske usmerenosti ka višem, duhovnom, ali i racionalnom poretku stvari. Na taj način, stopalo dobija značenje koje prevazilazi anatomski aspekt, postajući metafora za čovekovu orijentaciju u životnom prostoru i njegovu sposobnost da se kreće, napreduje i održi sopstvenu ravnotežu. U mnogim religijskim praksama, upoznaje nas Kamings, stopalo se posmatra kao mesto poniženja, ali i poštovanja i svetosti. Gestovi kao što su ljubljenje ili pranje stopala izražavaju najdublje oblike poniznosti, duhovnog očišćenja ili čak obožavanja. Pranje stopala drugome često se tumači kao čin pokajanja, pomirenja ili služenja drugom biću, naglašavajući moralnu i duhovnu dimenziju tog dela tela (Kamings 2004, 299–300). U kineskoj tradiciji, stopalo simbolizuje protok vremena, što se može tumačiti i kroz filozofsku prizmu shvatanja hoda kao napredovanja kroz život, odnosno kao neprekidnog kretanja kroz faze i cikluse postojanja (Kamings 2004, 300). Na sličan način, u nekim mitološkim narativima, stopala božanstava ostavljaju tragove koji označavaju početke svetih puteva, a njihova moć nije samo u kretanju već i u osveštavanju prostora kroz koji prolaze. Jung (prema Kamingsu 2004, 299) stopalo vidi kao arhetipski simbol čovekove povezanosti sa zemljom, odnosno sa ovozemaljskim – s onim što je konkretno, opipljivo i utemeljeno. U tom smislu, stopalo je opozicija uzvišenom i neuhvatljivom – ono nas prizemljuje, vraća stvarnosti i upućuje na temeljne aspekte egzistencije. Nedostatak noge, u tom kontekstu, može se tumačiti kao moralni ili duhovni nedostatak, ali i kao metafora posebne snage, izdržljivosti ili darovitosti, s obzirom na to da pojedinci bez ovog telesnog dela često razvijaju natprosečne unutrašnje kapacitete i simbole otpora i nadilaženja. U savremenim tumačenjima simbolike stopala i noge prisutno je i shvatanje da one predstavljaju osnovu identiteta i socijalne stabilnosti – kroz mogućnost hoda, kretanja, bega ili dolaska, individua izražava svoju slobodu, pripadnost, ali i granice

koje joj društvo postavlja. Stopalo drži telo, ali istovremeno i određuje smer kretanja; ono je tačka oslonca, ali i pravac akcije. Upravo zbog toga ova telesna komponenta dobija značenje koje se ne može svesti samo na fiziologiju, već se mora sagledavati kao složena kulturna i semantička kategorija.

U *Rečniku srpskoga jezika* Matice srpske (823), imenica *noga* se definiše kao jedan od dva donja ekstremiteta kod čoveka, koji služi za hodanje, kao i jedan od više vertikalno postavljenih ili ukrštenih krakova nekog predmeta na koji se oslanja gornji deo tog predmeta. Ova definicija potvrđuje dvostruku prirodu semantike noge: s jedne strane, ona upućuje na biološku funkciju kretanja, dok s druge strane označava osnovu, oslonac, temelj – bilo da je reč o čoveku ili predmetu. Ta višeznačnost omogućava bogatu simboličku i frazeološku eksploataciju u jeziku i književnosti. Sve navedeno ukazuje na to da stopalo i noga, osim što imaju važnu ulogu u fiziološkom smislu, zauzimaju značajno mesto u kulturološkoj, religijskoj i jezičkoj simbolici. Njihovo tumačenje u okviru semantičkih polja omogućava konkretnije razumevanje načina na koji jezik artikuliše egzistencijalne i kulturne dimenzije ljudskog postojanja.

Tabela 2 – Somatski frazeologizmi sa komponentom *noga*

Primer iz romana	Frazeologizam	Semantika	Obeležje
Predsjednik koji je prije mene sjedio na ovoj stolici bio je slijep, a onaj prije njega bio je *uzet u obje noge* (KKČL, 91).	uzet u obe noge	nesposobnost, iznemoglost	negativno
Mlada li, stara li – *noge je dobro nose* (KKČL, 49).	noge ga dobro nose (nekoga)	sposobnost, zdravlje	pozitivno

Frazeološke jedinice sa komponentom *noga* Sijarić koristi za dva semantička polja: izražavanje nesposobnosti i iznemoglosti, i sposobnosti i zdravlja. Prikazana semantička polja su u kontekstu romana nosioci konkretnijih značenjskih slojeva, i služe da ocrtaju moć ili nemoć likova. Navedene frazeološke jedinice imaju izuzetnu funkcionalnu i simboličku funkciju s obzirom na to da ukazuju na psihičko i fizičko stanje likova, kao i na njihovu (ne)sposobnost da se suoče sa životnim okolnostima. Frazeologizam sa negativnom konotacijom, pored toga što

ističe fizičku nemoć, u kontekstu romana predstavlja i metaforu i za društvenu i moralnu nemoć.

3.3. Simbolika i semantika frazeoloških jedinica sa komponentom *glava*

Prema navodima Kamingsa (280–281), glava se smatra sedištem životne snage, duše, intelekta i mudrosti, što joj daje centralnu ulogu u simbolici ljudskog postojanja i identiteta. Kao izraz duhovnog principa, glava je metafora za suštinske aspekte čovekove svesti i bića. Njena simbolika često obuhvata suprotnosti – istovremeno može biti izvor mudrosti i gluposti, poštovanja i ismevanja, što ukazuje na njenu kompleksnost i višeslojnost u tumačenju. Ove suprotnosti reflektuju se i u kulturnim narativima, gde glava simbolizuje vrhovnu kontrolu i orijentaciju, odnosno mesto sa kog potiče razum, volja i upravljanje. Kamings (280–281) upućuje da se u brojnim tradicijama glava često prikazuje sa više lica ili glava, kao kod božanstava sa dve ili tri glave, što simbolizuje višedimenzionalne pojave kao što su vreme, ciklusi i dualiteti (na primer, početak i kraj, prošlost i budućnost, sunce i mesec) (Kamings 2004, 280–281). Ovaj arhetipski motiv ukazuje na ideju jedinstva suprotnosti i njihove međusobne povezanosti kroz simbolički lik glave, koja objedinjuje različite dimenzije postojanja. Takođe, povezanost glave sa muškim i ženskim principom nosi značenje komplementarnosti i harmonije suprotnosti, naglašavajući njen značaj u održavanju ravnoteže. U keltskoj kulturi, glava je dodatno simbol snage, plodnosti i duhovnosti, što osvetljava njenu ulogu kao centra vitalnosti i života. Ovakav položaj glave u mitološkom i duhovnom okviru ukazuje na duboko ukorenjenu veru u moć intelekta kao izvora energije i trajanja. Nadalje, pokrivanje glave, bilo velom, kapom ili drugim ukrasom, nosi značenje skrivanja znanja i zaštite životne energije, čime se naglašava i sakralni karakter glave u društvenim i religijskim praksama (Kamings 2004, 280–281).

Semantička polja imenice *glava* su višestruka i raznovrsna, što se jasno vidi u definiciji datoj u *Rečniku srpskoga jezika*. Pored osnovnog značenja gornjeg dela čovekovog tela, glava se koristi i u prenesenim značenjima koja obuhvataju pamet, inteligenciju, um, razum, svest, misli, kao i osobu ili ličnost, naročito onu koja rukovodi, upravlja ili je starešina. Ova polisemija potvrđuje da je glava simbol fizičke, intelektualne i društvene moći (RSJ 2011, 183). Takođe, glava se odnosi i na gornji, prošireni ili zadebljali kraj ili deo nekog predmeta, vrh ili vršak nečega, što proširuje njeno značenje izvan antropocentričnog konteksta, pokazujući njenu ulogu u označavanju vrhunskih, najvažnijih ili vodećih delova. U svakodnevnom govoru, glava može označavati i određeni oblik

objekata, kao što su loptasti, kupasti ili valjkasti komadi materije, često prehrambeni proizvodi (npr. glavica luka, glavica kupusa). Pored toga, leksema glava koristi se i u organizacionim i tekstualnim kontekstima, kao što su prednji ili čeoni deo povorke, kolone ili čelo, odnosno deo knjige ili spisa koji čini zasebnu celinu – poglavlje, odlomak ili odeljak. Ova široka primena pokazuje da glava kao pojam u jeziku ima funkciju označavanja prvog, najvažnijeg ili upravljačkog segmenta u različitim domenima. Ovim, zapravo, potvrđujemo da je glava višedimenzionalni simbol i leksička jedinica sa bogatim slojem značenja koja se proteže od najkonkretnije telesne komponente do najapstraktnijih pojmova kao što su intelekt, moć i liderstvo. Takva polisemija i simbolička dubina čine glavu jednim od ključnih elemenata u proučavanju frazeologije, kulture i jezika.

Tabela 3 – Somatski frazeologizmi sa komponentom *glava*

Primer iz romana	Frazeologizam	Semantika	Obeležje
Kroz glave im prolaze balkanski ratovi, i ono silno miješanje svijeta, i pri tome otme im se uzdah (KKČL, 13).	proći kroz glavu	razmišljati, setiti se	pozitivno
Skinula sam ja sad *uzdu s glave*, uhvatio je mene moj đavo (KKČL, 97).	skinuti uzdu s glave	izgubiti kontrolu	negativno

U romanu *Kuću kućom čine lastavice*, frazeološke jedinice sa leksemom *glava* služe kao snažan simbolički instrument za prikazivanje unutrašnjeg stanja likova i njihovog odnosa prema stvarnosti. Izraz *proći kroz glavu* ima pozitivnu konotaciju i ukazuje na razmišljanje, sećanje i psihološku dubinu – glava postaje prostor gde se sabiraju traume, istorija i lična iskustva. Nasuprot tome, fraza *skinuti uzdu s glave* nosi negativnu semantiku i označava gubitak kontrole, prepuštanje strastima i emocionalnu nestabilnost. Obe frazeološke jedinice pokazuju da glava simbolizuje razum, ali i njegove granice. Sijarić kroz ove izraze oblikuje likove kao složene, emocionalno i mentalno angažovane, istovremeno oslikavajući šire društvene i istorijske kontekste u kojima se kreću.

3.4. Simbolika i semantika frazeoloških jedinica sa komponentom *oko*

Oko kao leksička i simbolička jedinica nosi veoma bogatu i višeslojnu simboliku koja se proteže kroz različite kulture i tradicije, ističe Kamings (291–293). Ono je često povezano sa duhovnom moći, prosvetljenjem, saznanjem, budnošću i zaštitom, što ga čini jednim od najvažnijih simbola u ljudskoj svesti i kulturi. U svojoj osnovi, oko predstavlja organ vida, ali u širem filozofskom i simboličkom smislu ono označava sposobnost duše da spozna istinu i da sagleda suštinu stvari, odnosno metaforički *duhovni vid*. Povezanost oka sa suncem i svetlošću dodatno osnažuje njegovu ulogu kao simbola mudrosti i prosvetljenja, jer svetlost kao osnovni izvor vida i saznanja ima ključnu ulogu u mnogim religijskim i filozofskim sistemima. Kamings posebno ističe koncept *trećeg oka* koje simbolizuje natprirodnu svest, intuiciju i dublju percepciju stvarnosti, van granica običnog čula vida. Ovo treće oko često se javlja u istočnjačkim tradicijama kao simbol unutrašnjeg prosvetljenja i nadsvesti. S druge strane, jedno oko može imati i negativnu konotaciju, kao znak zla i destrukcije, naročito u kontekstu simbola poput *zlog oka*, koje se pojavljuje u mnogim kulturama kao moćna forma uroka ili zle namere (Kamings 2004, 291–293). Simbolika oka varira u različitim kulturnim kontekstima, ali se uvek veže za ideje vida, saznanja, istine, moći i duhovnog buđenja. U japanskoj, kineskoj, sumerskoj, keltskoj i islamskoj tradiciji, oko se koristi kao simbol koji povezuje ljudsku percepciju sa višim, božanskim ili natprirodnim nivoima stvarnosti. Umetnički i religijski prikazi često koriste oko kao most između vidljivog i nevidljivog sveta, izražavajući ideju da kroz oko čovek može komunicirati sa božanskim, ali i biti pod nadzorom božanske sile.

Osim filozofskih i duhovnih značenja, oko ima i praktična semantička obeležja koja su zabeležena u *Rečniku srpskoga jezika*. Tu se oko definiše kao organ čula vida, ali i kao izraz nežnosti i ljubavi u govoru (npr. naziv od milošte za dragu osobu), kao i tehnički termin – otvor na ribarskoj ili drugoj mreži (854). Ova polisemija pokazuje da oko ima široku primenu u svakodnevnom govoru, ali i u složenim simboličkim sistemima jezika i kulture.

Ukupno gledano, oko predstavlja kompleksan simbol koji povezuje fizičku percepciju sa višim nivoima saznanja i duhovnosti, te istovremeno nosi i praktična značenja u svakodnevnoj komunikaciji. Takva višeslojnost obogaćuje frazeološki i metaforički repertoar jezika, što ga čini ključnim elementom u proučavanju jezičke simbolike, kulture i mentaliteta.

Tabela 4 – Somatski frazeologizmi sa komponentom *oko*

Primer iz romana	Frazeologizam	Semantika	Obeležje
Bio je dan vedar – proljetni, i sunce se bilo prosulo po glogu, gore u granama pjevale su ptice. *U oči su mu pala* nekolika kamička – žuta, zelena, crna (KKČL, 9).	pasti u oči	primetiti, zapaziti	pozitivno
...ma otkud se vraćao u Bioču Agan, ona su mu prva *padala u oči* (KKČL, 37).	pasti u oči	primetiti, zapaziti	pozitivno

Komponentu *oči* registrujemo samo u frazeološkoj jedinici *pasti u oči*, koja ima pozitivno značenje i koristi se da označi momentalno zapažanje ili uočavanje nečega što se izdvaja u prostoru ili iskustvu likova. U primeru *U oči su mu pala nekolika kamička – žuta, zelena, crna*, ukazuje se na senzibilitet lika i na značaj prirode kao nosioca unutrašnjeg stanja i atmosfere. Zapažanje boja i oblika kamenčića ovde je više od vizuelne slike – ono govori o prisutnosti lika u prostoru i njegovoj povezanosti sa okruženjem. Sličnu funkciju ima i frazeološka jedinica u rečenici ...*ona su mu prva padala u oči*, kojom se ističe da je nešto posebno, uočljivo i značajno za lik – bilo da je reč o predmetima, ljudima ili detaljima koji nose emocionalnu ili simboličku vrednost. U oba slučaja, *pasti u oči* služi kao sredstvo za uvođenje čitaoca u unutrašnji svet junaka i skretanje pažnje na ono što je njemu u datom trenutku najvažnije. Prema tome, dati frazeologizam ima važnu funkciju u romanu jer omogućava psihološko nijansiranje i doprinosi izgrađivanju atmosfere kroz detalje koje lik opaža. On istovremeno predstavlja vezu između spoljašnjeg sveta i unutrašnjeg doživljaja, čime Sijarić pokazuje kako svakodnevna čula postaju alat za razumevanje emocija i stanja svesti.

4. Zaključna razmatranja

Budući da analizirani frazeološki primeri sa somatskim komponentama, koji su odabrani kao reprezentativni za ovaj roman, predstavljaju samo deo ukupne frazeološke slike u Sijarićevom delu, potrebno je imati u vidu da se njihova zastupljenost i raznovrsnost mogu

razlikovati u okviru šireg opusa autora. Ova činjenica otvara perspektive za buduće komparativne i dijahronijske studije, koje bi dodatno osvetlile specifičnosti njegove jezičke i stilske poetike. Ipak, na osnovu analize frazeoloških jedinica sa somatskim komponentama *ruka*, *noga*, *glava* i *oko* u romanu *Kuću kućom čine lastavice* Ćamila Sijarića, mogu se izvesti brojni značajni zaključci, kako na leksičko-semantičkom, tako i na stilsko-funkcionalnom i simboličkom planu. Frazeologizmi sa delovima tela, osim što svedoče o bogatstvu srpskog frazeološkog fonda, jasno pokazuju na koji način autor koristi tradicionalne jezičke obrasce da bi ostvario višeslojnu estetsku i značenjsku strukturu književnog teksta.

Prvo, somatizovane frazeološke jedinice imaju ključnu ulogu u izgradnji likova, prikazu njihovih emocionalnih stanja i odnosa prema stvarnosti, ali i u stvaranju simboličkih napona unutar romana. Sijarićev stil karakteriše visoka gustina frazeoloških izraza koji nisu tek ukrasi govora, već funkcionalni elementi naracije, nosioci kulturnog pamćenja i semantičke kompleksnosti. Korišćenjem frazeologizama koji potiču iz usmenonarodne tradicije, autor ostvaruje organsku povezanost sa kolektivnim jezičkim i kulturnim identitetom, ali ih istovremeno osavremenjuje i umetnički preoblikuje, čineći ih delom psihološke dinamike svojih likova i tematske organizacije romana.

U semantičko-stilskom spektru imenice *ruka*, prepoznajemo izraze koji označavaju aktivnost, kontrolu, moć, ali i njihovu suprotnost – pasivnost i nemoć. Time se ostvaruje opozicija između delatnih i obespravljenih subjekata, što se tumači i u svetlu šireg društvenog i antropološkog konteksta, u kojem ruka simbolizuje fizičko delanje, ali i pitanje vlasti, pripadnosti i odgovornosti.

Frazeološke jedinice sa leksemom *noga* u osnovi imaju značenja koja se tiču telesne i egzistencijalne mobilnosti, sposobnosti da se opstane u svetu, da se preuzme inicijativa ili, nasuprot tome, da se doživi nemoć i marginalizacija. Na ovaj način, noga kao somatski simbol služi da metaforizuje društveni status, psihofizičku kondiciju i ukupnu vitalnost likova.

U upotrebi frazeologizama sa komponentom *glava*, dominantne su opozicije razuma i nerazuma, kontrole i gubitka kontrole, svesnog i instinktivnog. Glava se kod Sijarića javlja kao *locus* misaonih procesa, ali i kao prostor unutrašnjih konflikata i emocionalnih slomova. Time se frazeologizmi sa leksemom *glava* ne koriste samo za označavanje intelektualne sposobnosti, već i za izražavanje unutrašnjih tenzija, što ih čini značajnim elementima u psihologizaciji književnih likova.

Leksema *oko*, kao ključni organ čulne percepcije, u Sijarićevom jeziku postaje sredstvo za otkrivanje emocionalne i duhovne realnosti. Frazeološki izrazi poput *pasti u oči* omogućavaju narativnu artikulaciju

odnosa između subjektivnog doživljaja i objektivne stvarnosti, ukazujući na važnost percepcije kao temeljne egzistencijalne i estetske dimenzije.

S obzirom na višestruku funkcionalnost analiziranih frazeoloških jedinica, može se zaključiti da su one kod Ćamila Sijarića funkcionalno polisemične: istovremeno su i lingvistički elementi, i kulturni znakovi, i stilistički alati. Njihova učestalost i raznovrsnost u romanu potvrđuju autorovu sposobnost da kroz narativni diskurs poveže individualnu psihološku stvarnost likova sa kolektivnim kulturnim kodovima. Sijarić tako pokazuje da je jezik više od sredstva komunikacije. On je prostor u kom se prepliću telo i duh, konkretno i simbolično, tradicionalno i moderno.

Posebna vrednost ovakvog frazeološkog sloja ogleda se u tome što omogućava čitaocu da svet romana ne posmatra samo kroz događaje i likove, već i kroz jezik kao metaforički sistem u kom se izražavaju i oblikuju unutrašnje i spoljašnje stvarnosti. Frazeologizmi sa somatskim komponentama funkcionišu kao simbolički mostovi između telesnog i duhovnog, čulnog i misaonog, pojedinačnog i kolektivnog. Upravo u toj sintezi jeste esencijalna stilistička i značenjska vrednost Sijarićevog izraza, koji potvrđuje da umetnički jezik ne živi izvan tradicije, već se njome hrani, diše i iz nje stvara nove slojeve smisla.

Literatura i izvori:

Glušica, Rajka. "Somatski frazeologizmi sa sastavnicom *glava* u *Gorskom vijencu* – kognitivnolingvistički pristup." *Riječ: časopis za nauku o jeziku i književnosti*, br. 10, 2013, Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta Crne Gore, Institut za jezik i književnost, Nikšić, pp. 11-29.

Kamings, Endru. T. *Sve o simbolima*. Narodna knjiga – Alfa, 2004.

Kovačević, Barbara. *Hrvatski frazemi od glave do pete*. Institut za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje, 2012.

Lešić, Zdenko. *Jezik i književno djelo*. Službeni glasnik, 2011.

Mramelić, Helena. "Kognitivnolingvistički pristup hrvatskim somatskim frazemima sa sastavnicom *glava*." Diplomski rad, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Filozofski fakultet, 2013.

Mršević Radović, Dragana. *Frazeološke glagolsko-imeničke sintagme u savremenom srpskohrvatskom jeziku*. Filološki fakultet, Beograd, 1987.

Muratagić Tuna, Hasnija. *Lingvostilističke interpretacije*. Almanah, Podgorica, 2005.

Mušović, Abdulah. *Frazeološki adverbijali (na materijalu srpskog i ruskog jezika)*. Univerzitet u Prištini, 1997.

—. *Sandžački frazeološki rječnik*. Narodna biblioteka "Dositej Obradović", Novi Pazar, 2018.

Otašević, Đorđe. *Frazeološki rečnik srpskog jezika*. Prometej, Novi Sad, 2012.

Petrović Račić, Ivana. "Ćamil Sijarić – bajkoviti pripovjedač." *Riječ: Časopis za nauku o jeziku i književnosti*, br. 9, 2013, pp. 265-271.

Razdobudko Čović, Larisa. *Semantika i pragmatika somatizama u srpskom i ruskom jeziku*. Vedes, Beograd, 2003.

Sarić, Ana. *Somatski frazemi u hrvatskom, engleskom i njemačkom jeziku*. 2022. Sveučilište u Splitu, Filozofski fakultet, Disertacija.

Sijarić, Ćamil. *Kuću kućom čine lastavice*. Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo, 1981.

Šulović, Ksenija, Dragana Drobnjak, and Snežana Gudurić. "Frazemi sa somatizmom *glava* u francuskom, španskom i srpskom jeziku." *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu*, knj. XLIII, br. 1, 2018, pp. 337-356.

Vujanić, Milica, Dešić Gortan-Premk, Darinka et al. *Rečnik srpskoga jezika*. Matica srpska, Novi Sad, 2011.

Vujović, Marija. "Konceptualno polje ljubavi u frazeologizmima italijanskog, španskog i srpskog jezika koji sadrže komponentu *oko*." *Živi jezici: časopis za strane jezike i književnosti*, Filološki fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, 2023, pp. 59-83.

STYLISTIC VALUE OF SOMATIC PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS IN SIJARIC'S NOVEL *KUĆU KUĆOM ČINE LASTAVICE*

Every language possesses its unique idiomatic expressions, deeply rooted in its culture and tradition. These idioms, or phraseological units, are not merely tools for conveying information, but significant carriers of a national identity and cultural heritage. It is precisely within phraseology that we uncover the specificities of a language, often intricately connected with its historical, social and cultural contexts. Phraseology can be viewed as one of the liveliest and most dynamic areas of a linguistic structure, constantly reflecting changes in the way people express their thoughts, feelings and attitudes. It provides a unique insight into the peculiarities of spoken expression and the mentality of a particular linguistic community, as each phrase is deeply linked with life experiences, customs, values and symbols characteristic of the language and its people.

Phraseological units represent fixed, stable linguistic constructions used as unities. They have meanings often transcending the literal scope of the individual words that comprise them. For this reason, phraseology occupies a special place within linguistic creativity and expressiveness. It not only significantly enriches the lexicon of a language, but also vividly and metaphorically reflects the cultural spirit, everyday habits, emotional reactions and attitudes of its speakers. Understanding and proper use of phraseological units represent a higher level of linguistic competence because they require that the speaker possess a deeper knowledge not only of grammatical and lexical rules, but also of the context in which expressions are used, their metaphorical layers of meaning and the emotional nuances they carry.

Moreover, phraseological competence enables speakers to interpret discourse more subtly, to recognise irony, sarcasm or humour, and to adopt

appropriate stylistic registers in diverse communicative situations. It serves as a bridge between linguistic knowledge and cultural literacy, allowing individuals not just to communicate, but to *belong* – to fully participate in the social and cultural fabric of a language community. Hence, phraseology is not only a linguistic phenomenon, but a reflection of collective memory, worldview and identity.

One particularly interesting and important group of phraseological units are somatic phraseologisms – i.e. expressions containing terms related to parts of the human body, internal organs or bodily fluids. This group belongs to the oldest and most stable layers of phraseology, as their symbolism is rooted in the universal and deeply embodied human experience. The body represents the primary tool through which individuals perceive reality, interact with the environment and understand both themselves and others. Thus, somatic phraseologisms transcend their literal reference to anatomy or physiological function; they reflect psychological states, emotional reactions, interpersonal relationships and sociocultural attitudes.

These expressions often convey complex ideas in a compact and metaphorically rich form – such as “to have a big heart” or “to turn one’s back on someone” – revealing not only personal traits but also moral or cultural values embedded within a community. Furthermore, many of these phrases incorporate elements beyond the physical body, such as references to the soul, spirit or mind, and frequently intertwine with animal metaphors or natural imagery, thereby intensifying their symbolic potential.

Due to their grounding in shared human experiences, many somatic phraseologisms have equivalents in various languages, facilitating cross-cultural understanding. Still, subtle differences in usage, emphasis or symbolism underscore the unique worldview and traditions of each linguistic community. Their study provides valuable insight into the intersection of language, culture, cognition and identity.

The classification of somatic phraseologisms can be carried out based on several relevant criteria, among which one of the most commonly applied is the division according to the specific body part the expressions refer to. In this sense, somatic idioms can be grouped into those referring to external body parts (such as the head, hands, legs, eyes, mouth) and those associated with internal organs (such as the heart, liver, stomach, lungs). Furthermore, they can also be categorised by body orientation, distinguishing between phrases linked to the front (face, chest, eyes) or the back (back, spine, heels) of the body.

Another significant criterion includes the functional association of the body part involved – whether it pertains to movement, perception (such as sight or hearing), speech, digestion or emotional response. In this context, the semantic motivation of a phrase often emerges from the biological or symbolic function of the respective organ, making the idiom intuitively meaningful and grounded in shared human experience.

What makes somatic phraseologisms particularly powerful is their anthropocentric nature – they originate from the physical and psychological

reality of human existence. This embodiment imbues them with an exceptional degree of expressiveness, relatability and symbolic depth. Not only do they serve a communicative function in everyday speech and stylistically enriched language, but they also enable nuanced expression of thoughts, emotions, social relationships and cultural values. Their universality and richness make them indispensable elements in the linguistic and cultural system of any language.

This paper particularly focuses on phraseological units containing somatic components such as *hand, foot, head* and *eyes*. These expressions have been systematically collected and analysed from the novel *Kuću kućom čine lastavice* by Ćamil Sijarić, a literary work rich in regional linguistic flavour and deeply embedded in the cultural and emotional landscape of the Bosniak oral tradition. The first phase of the research involved the methodical extraction of all phraseological expressions containing the selected somatic lexemes. Following this, each unit was subjected to a detailed classification according to semantic field – including action, perception, cognition and emotion – and further evaluated based on evaluative connotations, which were clearly marked as either positive, negative or neutral. This approach enables a more nuanced understanding of how these expressions function on both the denotative and connotative levels within the text.

The second phase of the study engaged in a contextual and stylistic analysis of the identified phraseological units. Special attention was devoted to their role in character development, their impact on narrative dynamics and their symbolic weight within the broader thematic structure of the novel. The findings indicate that phraseological units with somatic elements serve multiple stylistic and functional roles: they enhance the authenticity of the spoken discourse, provide deeper insight into the emotional states and psychological profiles of characters, and reinforce the cultural codes embedded in the narrative. Moreover, they often function as symbolic markers, drawing on the universal and culturally specific metaphors of the human body to enrich the text with layers of meaning that transcend the literal.

In this way, phraseology is not merely a linguistic ornamentation, but a structural and symbolic device that actively shapes the literary world that Sijarić constructs, grounding it in both the physical reality of the body and the metaphysical domain of collective cultural memory.

For example, the hand universally symbolises action, power and control over the surrounding world. It serves as a tangible bridge between thought and deed, embodying the human capacity to create, alter, assist, protect or destroy. Through the hand, intention is materialised, and thus it becomes a fundamental symbol of human agency and intervention. In many symbolic systems, the hand is also closely tied to moral, spiritual and cultural values. The right hand is typically associated with legitimacy, trustworthiness, justice and divine blessing, whereas the left hand – though equally capable – can signify hidden motives, secrecy, subversion or nonconformity, depending on the cultural interpretation.

In both folklore and religious traditions, the act of joining hands often represents unity, agreement, harmony and a balance between rational will and practical execution. This duality and richness of symbolic meaning are strongly reflected in language, especially in phraseology, where the lexeme *hand* in Serbian transcends its literal reference to the physical limb.

Linguistically, *hand* denotes not only the anatomical organ, but also functions as a metonym for authority, control, help, ownership, leadership and even status. Phraseological units containing this term are frequently used to express complex social and interpersonal dynamics, such as dominance and submission, support and betrayal, or independence and dependency. They help distinguish between active and passive roles, illuminate the moral compass of characters and reflect the underlying power structures within both personal and societal relationships. Through such expressions, the hand becomes a powerful linguistic and cultural symbol that maps the intersection of body, language and meaning.

The foot and leg are powerful somatic symbols representing freedom of movement, grounding, support and the human connection with the earth and reality. As the physical base of the body, they metaphorically express stability, direction and resilience. Beyond their anatomical function in locomotion and balance, they carry spiritual, ritualistic and moral meanings. In various religious and cultural traditions, washing or kissing the feet is an act of humility, submission or reverence, while in others, exposing or pointing the foot may be interpreted as a sign of disrespect or impurity. The leg, similarly, embodies both movement and support, symbolising not only the capacity to advance through life, but also the strength to endure and maintain one's position.

In phraseological usage, expressions involving the foot or leg often reflect psychophysical conditions, marking characters' strength, vitality, independence or, inversely, fatigue, marginalisation or defeat. They vividly portray someone's capacity to stand firm or to collapse under pressure, functioning as indicators of both physical and existential states.

The head, in contrast, represents the epicentre of life, consciousness, identity and spiritual authority. It is not merely a physical part but a metaphor for intellect, rationality, leadership and emotional control. Its symbolism spans extremes – ranging from wisdom and dignity to foolishness, irrationality and ridicule. In mythology and folklore, a head with multiple faces often reflects the complexity of the human condition, duality or multidimensional identity. Covering the head in ritual or religious contexts is associated with reverence, sacredness, submission to higher authority or concealment of inner knowledge.

Phraseological units that include *head* in Serbian frequently convey internal psychological states, levels of mental clarity and emotional balance or disturbance. They are used to illustrate self-awareness, decision-making capacity or mental turmoil, and often serve to highlight the character's role as a thinker, leader or outcast within the narrative. In literary contexts, these expressions help construct the inner world of characters and symbolically represent identity, reason and human dignity.

The eye, as a symbol, is exceptionally multilayered, encompassing notions of sight, awareness, spiritual insight and emotional perception. It represents not only the physical ability to see, but also the metaphorical capacity to perceive truth, comprehend hidden meanings and intuitively grasp the world. Traditionally associated with light and enlightenment, the eye often symbolises knowledge, vigilance and inner clarity. In many cultures, it serves as a protective symbol (e.g. the "evil eye" amulet), a source of intuition or a gateway to the soul. Conversely, the eye may also signify envy, judgment or control, particularly in contexts of surveillance, manipulation or possessiveness.

In phraseology, idiomatic expressions with *eye* frequently reflect attention, affection, jealousy, caution or emotional closeness and distance. They are particularly effective in literature for articulating subtle psychological nuances, revealing how characters observe, evaluate and relate to others and their environment. These units often mark internal states – ranging from suspicion and empathy to longing or inner conflict – thereby contributing to narrative depth.

All these somatic components – hand, foot, head and eye – within the framework of phraseology, carry culturally embedded, symbolically charged meanings that enrich both the expressiveness and functionality of language. They offer linguistic tools to articulate complex ideas regarding power, identity, relationships, psychological processes and universal human values. In literary discourse, such phraseological units are not mere stylistic embellishments but essential mechanisms for constructing multidimensional characters, emphasising social hierarchies and defining emotional landscapes.

A detailed analysis of phraseological units with somatic elements in Ćamil Sijarić's novel *Kuću kućom čine lastavice* reveals the extraordinary richness and narrative significance of this linguistic layer. Far from being simple remnants of oral tradition, these expressions function as powerful stylistic and cultural tools. Through them, Sijarić bridges individual and collective experience, embedding universal themes of existence – body and soul, perception and emotion, tradition and transformation – into the very structure of the novel. This imbues the work with a layered symbolic density and contributes to its artistic complexity, offering the reader deeper insight into a character's psychology, interpersonal dynamics and the emotive and cultural atmosphere that permeates the text.

Keywords: somatic phraseologisms, stylistic usage, Ćamil Sijarić

DIE SPRECHHANDLUNG „BESCHWERDEN“ IM FREMDSPRACHENERWERB: EINFLUSSFAKTOREN AUF DIE PRAGMATISCHE KOMPETENZ

*Biljana **Ivanovska,** Goce Delcev University, Stip,*
biljana.ivanovska@ugd.edu.mk

*Gëzim **Xhaferri,** Südosteuropäische Universität Tetovo,*
g.xhaferi@seeu.edu.mk

Original scientific paper
DOI: 10.31902/fll.54.2026.12
UDC: 811.112.2:811.163.3'42

Abstract: Die vorliegende Studie untersucht die Realisierung der Sprechhandlung „Beschwerde“ durch Germanistikstudierende im Rahmen einer Interlanguage-Analyse. Die Performanz der Lernenden wird mit derjenigen deutscher Muttersprachler kontrastiert, wobei insbesondere die Wahl der Beschwerdestrategien, die Äußerungslänge sowie der Einsatz interner und externer Modifikationen analysiert werden. Ein besonderer Fokus liegt auf der muttersprachlichen Rezeption nicht-muttersprachlicher Beschwerden sowie auf den Faktoren, die potenziell zu einer Bewertung als unangemessen führen. Die empirische Untersuchung basiert auf einem Diskursergänzungstest (Discourse Completion Task), in dessen Rahmen die Äußerungen von 40 mazedonischen Germanistikstudierenden und 40 deutschen Muttersprachlern erhoben und analysiert wurden. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass trotz gewisser Übereinstimmungen in der Formulierung von Beschwerden signifikante Abweichungen bei den nicht-muttersprachlichen Teilnehmenden festzustellen sind: bestimmte sprachliche Mittel werden entweder gar nicht oder nur in begrenztem Umfang verwendet, während andere in unangemessener Weise oder mit abweichender Intensität zum Einsatz kommen. Zudem mangelt es den mazedonischen Studierenden an hinreichendem pragmatischem Wissen, um ihre Beschwerden sowohl effektiv als auch kontextuell angemessen zu realisieren. Die gewonnenen Erkenntnisse bilden die Grundlage für die Entwicklung spezifischer E-Learning-Module, die darauf abzielen, die pragmatische Kompetenz von Fremdsprachenlernenden gezielt zu fördern.

Schlusselwörter*:* pragmatische Kompetenz, Strategien, Sprechhandlungen, Beschwerden, Modifikation

1. Einleitung

Die vorliegende Arbeit untersucht die Bedeutung der Entwicklung pragmatischer Kompetenz im Kontext des Fremdsprachenerwerbs. Diese Kompetenz befähigt Studierende zur adäquaten Kommunikation in der Zielsprache. Pragmatische Kompetenz wird definiert als "Kenntnis der sprachlichen Mittel, die in einer gegebenen Sprache zur Realisierung bestimmter Illokutionen verfügbar sind, ein Verständnis der sequentiellen Aspekte von Sprechakten sowie die Kenntnis des angemessenen kontextuellen Gebrauchs der sprachlichen Ressourcen der Sprache" (Barron, 2003: 10). Im Sinne dieser Definition umfasst pragmatische Kompetenz sowohl die Fähigkeit zur Erfüllung sprachlicher Funktionen als auch das Wissen um den soziokulturell angemessenen Gebrauch sprachlicher Mittel im jeweiligen kommunikativen Kontext.

Bei der Definition der pragmatischen Kompetenz erweist sich Leechs Unterscheidung zwischen sozіopragmatischem und pragmalinguistischem Wissen als besonders nützlich. Sozіopragmatisches Wissen bezieht sich auf die „spezifischen ‚lokalen' Bedingungen des Sprachgebrauchs […] denn es ist klar, dass das Kooperationsprinzip und das Höflichkeitsprinzip in verschiedenen Kulturen oder Sprachgemeinschaften, in unterschiedlichen sozialen Situationen, zwischen verschiedenen sozialen Klassen usw. variabel wirken." (Leech, 1983: 10) Dies umfasst insbesondere das Wissen über den Kontext, das Erkennen und die Produktion von illokutionärer Bedeutung, die Verteilung von Höflichkeitsstrategien, die Beziehung zwischen Sprecher und Hörer, die Formalität der Situation, soziale Werte, kulturelle Überzeugungen usw.

Pragmalinguistisches Wissen umfasst sprachliche Mittel zur Realisierung von Illokutionen. Die Mehrheit der Studien konzentriert sich auf die Untersuchung von Sprechakten (Roever, 2005; Liu, 2004; Beebe et al., 1990; Blum-Kulka, 1982; Kasper, 1989; Kasper & Blum-Kulka, 1993; Olshtain & Weinbach, 1993; Trosborg, 1995). Weitere Forschungen analysieren Routinen, Implikaturen, die Fähigkeit zur Realisierung von Höflichkeits- und Diskursfunktionen sowie die Anwendung kulturellen Wissens. Dieser Beitrag untersucht mazedonisch- und albanischsprachige Germanistikstudierende und deren Ausführung des Sprechakts des Beschwerdens. Nach einer Definition des Sprechakts und einem Überblick relevanter Studien werden methodischer Rahmen, Ergebnisse und ausgewählte sprachliche Verhaltensweisen der Studierenden präsentiert.

2. Theoretischer Hintergrund

Der Sprechakt des Beschwerdens hat aufgrund seiner Allgegenwärtigkeit und konfliktgeladenen Natur bemerkenswerte Aufmerksamkeit unter Forschenden erregt. Die Diskussion über Beschwerden beginnt mit ihrer Definition und Beschreibung (3 und 4). Anschließend werden frühere Studien zum Thema Beschwerden beleuchtet (3).

3. Frühere Studien zur Sprechhandlung des Beschwerdens

Die Sprechhandlung des Beschwerens wurde umfassend aus interkultureller und Interlanguage-Perspektive untersucht. Olshtain und Weinbach (1987, 1993) analysierten Beschwerden bei hebräischen Muttersprachlern und Nicht-Muttersprachlern, um die verwendeten semantischen Formeln zu vergleichen. Trosborg (1995) führte eine vergleichende Studie zu Beschwerdestrategien von dänischen und englischen Muttersprachlern sowie dänischen Englischlernenden unterschiedlicher Kompetenzniveaus durch. Clyne, Ball und Neil (1991) untersuchten die Realisierung englischer Beschwerden von Einwanderern mit verschiedenen nicht-englischsprachigen Hintergründen in australischen Arbeitssituationen und stellten fest, dass Sprechhandlungen oft komplex und kulturspezifisch eingebettet sind. Murphy und Neu (1996) betrachteten Beschwerden amerikanischer Muttersprachler und koreanischer Englischlernender als Kombination mehrerer Sprechhandlungen. Jüngere Forschungen vergleichen westliches und nicht-westliches Beschwerdeverhalten (z. B. Rinnert, Nogami & Iwai, 2006; Farnia, Buchheit & Salim, 2010; Chen, Chen & Chang, 2011; Abdolrezapour, Dabaghi & Kassaian, 2012; Eslamirasekh, Jafari Seresht & Mehregan, 2012). Boxer (1993a, 1993b) führte den Begriff der indirekten Beschwerde ein, definiert als „den Ausdruck von Unzufriedenheit gegenüber einem Gesprächspartner über den Sprecher selbst oder jemanden/etwas, der/das nicht anwesend ist“ (Boxer 1993b: 24), was zu weiteren Studien in diesem Bereich führte (Traverso, 2009; Heinemann, 2009). Während Beschwerden meist in Alltagsgesprächen untersucht werden, gibt es wenige Studien in geschäftlichen Kontexten, wie die von Geluykens und Kraft (2008) zu interkulturellen Dienstleistungsgesprächen. Eine Ausgabe des *Journal of Pragmatics* (2009) widmete sich Beschwerden in verschiedenen sozialen Kontexten und Sprachen, wobei Beschwerden als Sequenzen betrachtet und die Rolle der Empfänger diskutiert wurden.

Die Studie vergleicht Beschwerden mazedonischer Deutschstudierender und deutscher Muttersprachler hinsichtlich Strategien, Länge und Modifikationen. Zudem evaluieren wir, wie

Muttersprachler nicht-muttersprachliche Beschwerden wahrnehmen und welche Aspekte zu unangemessenen3 Formulierungen führen.

4. Formulierung und Modifikation von Beschwerden

Beschwerden und Entschuldigungen sind dem Bereich der expressiven Sprechakte zuzuordnen, da sie die emotionalen Zustände oder Haltungen des Sprechers zum Ausdruck bringen. Beschwerden bedrohen das Gesicht des Hörers, da der Sprecher seine Unzufriedenheit über ein vom Hörer verursachtes negatives Ereignis äußert und damit dessen soziale Kompetenz infrage stellt, während zugleich das positive Gesicht des Sprechers verletzt wird. Auf eine Beschwerde kann eine Entschuldigung folgen, da diese als kommunikative Strategie des Sprechers angesehen wird, um die durch sein Verhalten beeinträchtigte soziale Harmonie zwischen den Interaktionspartnern wiederherzustellen. (vgl. Bach/Harnish 1979).

Beschwerden können in Form von assertiven Aussagen, direkten oder indirekten Aufforderungen (Direktiven) sowie Fragen formuliert werden. Um ihre Ziele zu erreichen, modifizieren Sprecher ihre Äußerungen sowohl intern als auch extern.

Interne Modifikation erfolgt entweder durch die Milderung der Umstände, unter denen das Vergehen begangen wurde, und die Reduzierung der Schuldzuweisung an den Adressaten oder durch die Verschärfung des Beschwerdegegenstandes. Zur Milderung von Beschwerden können Beschwerdeführer sogenannte „Downgraders“ verwenden, darunter:

- Abtönungspartikel,
- Untertreibungen,
- Verdecker,
- Subjektivierungen,
- Schmeichler,
- Besänftiger,
- sowie bestimmte lexikalische Mittel.

Syntaktische Downgraders wie die Verwendung des Präteritums, Negationen, negativer Konstruktionen, hypothetischer oder eingebetteter Nebensätze sind ebenfalls gebräuchlich. Zur Verschärfung der Beschwerden können Sprecher sogenannte „Upgraders“ (Verstärker) einsetzen, darunter:

3 Manche sprachliche Einheiten werden falsch eingesetzt, z. B. zu direkt, zu höflich, zu aggressiv oder zu schwach.

- Intensivierungen,
- Verstärker der Verpflichtung,
- sowie starke lexikalische Elemente.

Sprecher steuern die Intensität und Wirkung ihrer Beschwerden durch gezielte Strategien, die deren Rechtfertigung und das eigene Anspruchsrecht betonen. Diese unterstützenden Maßnahmen sorgen für eine externe Modifikation „auf der strukturellen Ebene des Diskurses (vorbereitende Äußerungen), auf der interpersonalen Ebene (entwaffnende Äußerungen) sowie auf der Inhaltsebene." (Trosborg, 1995: 329)

Auf inhaltlicher Ebene umfasst die Liste das Vorlegen von Beweismitteln, die darauf hinweisen, dass der Adressat eine für den Sprecher nachteilige Handlung ausgeführt hat. Zudem beinhaltet sie die Substantiierung durch Fakten oder Argumente, welche die negative Bewertung des Verhaltens des Adressaten untermauern. Ferner umfasst dies einen Appell an das moralische Bewusstsein des Beschwerdeadressaten. Für die Zwecke dieser Studie haben wir letzteren Aspekt in einer gemeinsamen Kategorie zusammengefasst.

5.Beschreibung der Studie

Ziel dieses Beitrags ist es, die pragmatische Kompetenz von Germanistikstudierenden (GS) an der Goce Delcev Universität in Stip und an der Südosteuropäischen Universität in Tetovo anhand ihrer Realisierung des Sprechakts „Beschwerden" zu untersuchen. Die Antworten der Studierenden wurden unter den folgenden Fragestellungen erfasst:

1. Verwenden die Germanistikstudierenden dieselben Beschwerdestrategien wie die deutschen Muttersprachler?
2. Modifizieren mazedonisch- und albanischsprachige Deutschstudierende ihre Beschwerden auf eine angemessene Weise?
3. Wie nehmen Muttersprachler die von mazedonisch- und albanischsprachigen Studierenden der deutschen Sprache produzierten Beschwerden wahr?

Die Analyse basiert auf den Antworten von 40 GS auf dem B2-Niveau und 40 deutschen Muttersprachlern. Die GS waren Studierende im zweiten und dritten Studienjahr an der Universität „Goce Delcev" in Stip, und an der Südosteuropäischen Universität in Tetovo im Alter zwischen 19 und 25 Jahren. Alle Studierenden füllten ein Einverständnisformular aus und nahmen am Online-Deutsch-Einstufungstest auf *Sprachtest.de* teil, um ihr Deutschniveau zu bestimmen.

Die Muttersprachler waren Deutsche, die freiwillig an der Discourse Completion Task teilnahmen; zudem wurden zehn von ihnen eingeladen, einige der Antworten der Germanistikstudierenden zu kommentieren. Sie wurden gebeten, akzeptable Antworten zu markieren und einige der inakzeptablen Antworten zu kommentieren. Das Sprachkorpus besteht aus 220 Antworten von Muttersprachlern und 201 Antworten von GS, die durch eine Discourse Completion Task (Diskursergänzungstest) mit fünf Aufgaben gesammelt wurden.

Die Szenarien wurden aus früheren Untersuchungen zu Beschwerden ausgewählt. (Trosborg, 1995) Alle Situationen beinhalteten eine Art von Konflikt oder sozialer Schwierigkeit und erforderten eine ausgeklügelte Gesichtsarbeit, um die gewünschten Ziele zu erreichen. Tabelle 1 zeigt die Aufgaben und ihre kontextuellen Parameter.

Tabelle 1. Aufgaben und ihre kontextuellen Parameter

Beschwerden	Kontextuelle Einstellung	Macht	soziale Distanz	Vergehen
1.	(B1)Unfaire Note	+	-	hoch
2.	(B2) Laute Party	-	+	mittel
3.	(B3) Vordrängeln in der Reihe	-	+	mittel
4.	(B4)Verspätete Abholung	-	-	mittel
5.	(B5)Beschädigtes Auto	-	-	hoch

Für die Zwecke unserer Analyse haben wir die Kodierung von Beschwerden übernommen, die von Trosborg (1995) vorgeschlagen wurde (siehe Abschnitt 3, 4). Für die Analyse der Beschwerdestrategien haben wir die Hauptakte für beide Gruppen klassifiziert und den Chi-Quadrat-Test verwendet, um zu prüfen, ob die Häufigkeit der Verwendung von Beschwerdestrategien von der Gruppenzugehörigkeit abhängt. Bei der Analyse von Beschwerde-Rahmen sowie interner und externer Modifizierungen haben wir auf Taxonomien aus anderen Studien zurückgegriffen (Aijmer, 1996; Brown & Levinson, 1987; Trosborg, 1995; Koshik, 2005). Die Abbildungen der Strategien wurden auf Basis der Hauptakte erstellt, während die Abbildungen zu den Beschwerde-Rahmen sowohl Hauptakte als auch unterstützende Äußerungen (supportive moves) umfassen.

6.Ergebnisse

Im folgenden Abschnitt stellen wir die Ergebnisse unserer Analyse hinsichtlich der Verwendung von Beschwerdestrategien, Beschwerde-Rahmen und der angewandten Modifikation der Sprechhandlung sowohl bei den GS als auch bei den DM dar. Die Verwendung von Beschwerdestrategien wird gemäß Trosborgs Klassifikation analysiert. Die Beschwerde-Rahmen werden durch ihre Formulierung als assertive Aussagen, Fragen und Reparaturanfragen(-aufforderungen) untersucht. Was die Modifikation betrifft, werden sowohl interne als auch externe Modifikationen der Sprechhandlung analysiert.

6.1 Beschwerdestrategien von GS und DM

Die Abbildung 1 zeigt die allgemeine Tendenz, wie DM und GS Beschwerdestrategien verwendeten. Für beide Gruppen war Missbilligung/Verärgerung die am häufigsten verwendete Strategie. 63 % der Antworten der DM und 72% der Antworten der GS waren Missbilligungen. Die zweithäufigste Strategie, wenn auch bei weitem nicht so häufig wie die Missbilligungsstrategie, war die Anschuldigungsstrategie, die 19 % der Antworten der DM und 20% der Antworten der GS ausmachte. DM produzierten mehr Schuldzuweisungen als GS, 10 % gegenüber 5%. Hinweise hatten die geringste Häufigkeit bei beiden Gruppen: 1,5% bei der DM-Gruppe und keine bei der GS-Gruppe.

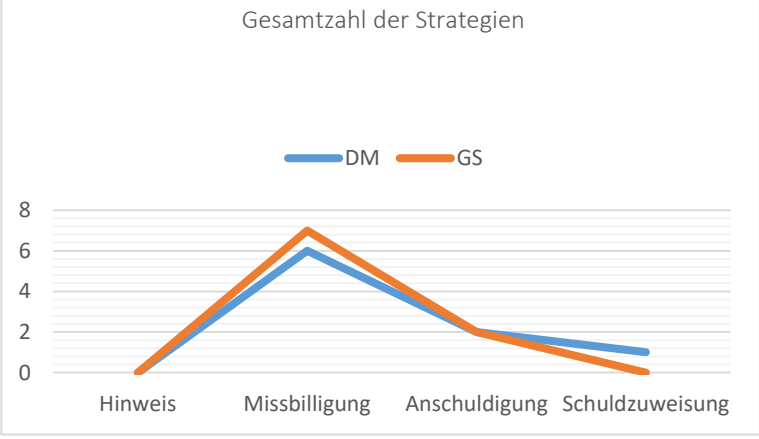


Abb.1: Gesamtzahl der Strategien

Wir haben den Chi-Quadrat-Test verwendet, um zu prüfen, ob die Häufigkeit der Verwendung von Beschwerdestrategien von der

Gruppenzugehörigkeit abhängt. Unsere Nullhypothese war, dass es keinen Zusammenhang zwischen der Wahl einer Beschwerdestrategie und der Gruppenzugehörigkeit (DM und GS) gibt. Der Chi-Quadrat-Test zeigte, dass es keinen statistisch signifikanten Unterschied in der Gesamtverteilung der Strategien zwischen den Produktionen der DM und GS gab. Der berechnete Wert $\chi^2 = 5,99$ ist kleiner als das in der Chi-Quadrat 3 angegebene Signifikanzniveau (= 7,82), was eine Ablehnung der Nullhypothese nicht zulässt. Der berechnete p-Wert von 0,13 bedeutet, dass die Gruppenzugehörigkeit nur 13 % ausmacht. Dies ist eine relativ schwache Beziehung, und andere Variablen könnten für die verbleibenden 87 % verantwortlich sein.

Obwohl die Abbildung 1 und unsere statistische Analyse zeigen, dass kein Zusammenhang zwischen der Wahl der Beschwerdestrategien und der Gruppenzugehörigkeit besteht, konnten wir bestimmte Unterschiede in Bezug auf einige der Aufgaben feststellen. Wie Abbildung 2, 3, 4 und 5 zeigen, sind die Häufigkeiten der verwendeten Strategien in den Antworten für „Unfaire Note“ und „Vordrängeln in der Reihe“ ähnlich, jedoch waren die Antworten auf die Aufgaben „Verspätete Abholung“ und „Beschädigtes Auto“ etwas unterschiedlich. Wir präsentieren keine Graphik für das Szenario „Laute Party“, da alle Antworten beider Gruppen als Ablehnungen formuliert wurden.

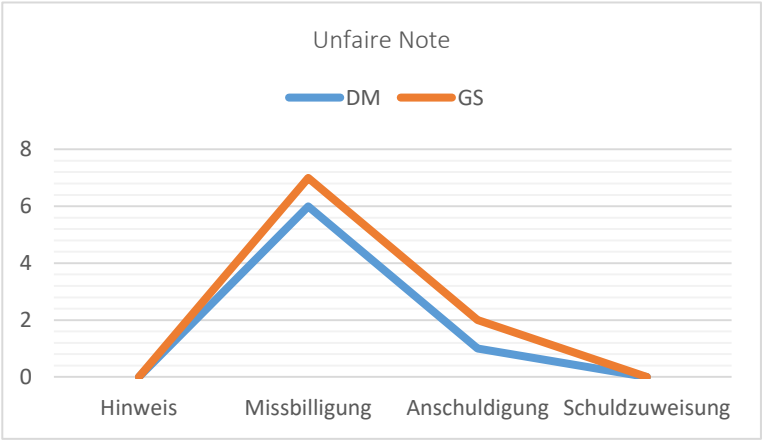


Abb. 2: Unfaire Note

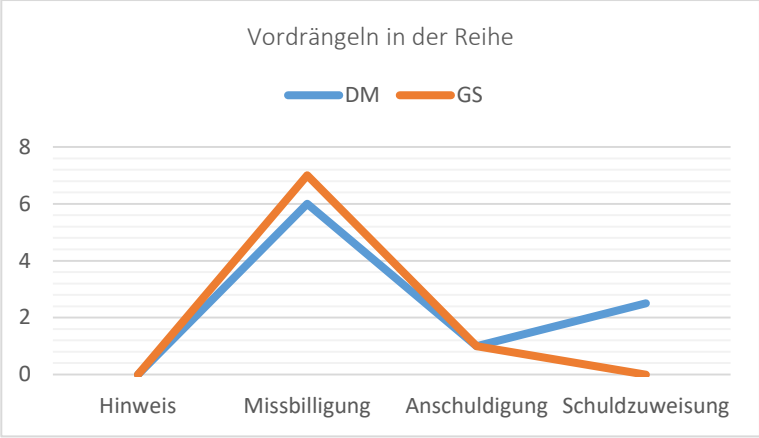


Abb.3: Vordrängeln in der Reihe

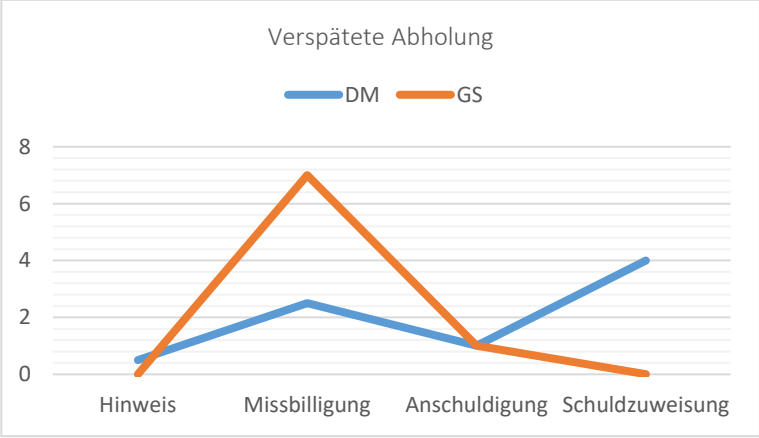


Abb. 4: Verspätete Abholung

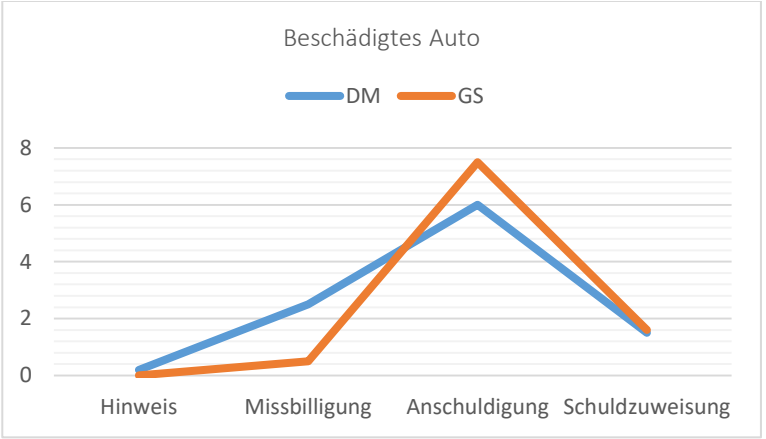


Abb. 5: Beschädigtes Auto

Wie im vorherigen Abschnitt erwähnt, war die Strategie der Missbilligung/Verärgerung die einzige verwendete Hauptstrategie für beide Gruppen (DM und GS) in der Aufgabe „Laute Party“. Die Hauptstrategie war auch in den Aufgaben „Unfair Note“ und „Vordrängeln in der Reihe“ für beide Gruppen gleich. Allerdings zeigen Abb. 4 und 5 größere Unterschiede in den Aufgaben „Verspätete Abholung“ und „Beschädigtes Auto“. Während beide Gruppen in den Hauptstrategien in der Aufgabe „Verspätete Abholung“ Missbilligung/Verärgerung und in der Aufgabe „Beschädigtes Auto“ Anschuldigung verwendeten, war die Häufigkeit ihrer Verwendung unterschiedlich. Um die statistische Signifikanz dieses Unterschieds zu überprüfen, haben wir den Chi-Quadrat-Test auf diese beiden Ergebnisse angewendet.

Der Chi-Quadrat-Test für die Aufgabe „Verspätete Abholung“ ergab einen statistisch signifikanten Unterschied in der Verteilung der verwendeten Strategien zwischen den Äußerungen der Gruppen DM und GS. Unser berechneter χ^2-Wert für χ^2 (3, N=74) beträgt 18.18, was größer ist als der in der Chi-Quadrat 3 Freiheitsgrade angegebene kritische Wert von 7.82. Somit kann die Nullhypothese abgelehnt werden, was darauf hindeutet, dass die Verwendung der Strategien signifikant von der Gruppenzugehörigkeit abhängt. Der berechnete p-Wert beträgt p = .49.

Für die Aufgabe „Beschädigtes Auto“ zeigte der Chi-Quadrat-Test hingegen keinen signifikanten Unterschied. Der berechnete Chi-Quadrat-Wert betrug $\chi^2(3, N = 74) = 7.46$ und lag unterhalb des

kritischen Wertes von $\chi^2 = 7.82$. Daher kann die Nullhypothese für diese Aufgabe nicht abgelehnt werden, was darauf hindeutet, dass die Gruppenzugehörigkeit keinen signifikanten Einfluss auf die Wahl der Strategien hat.

7. Formulierung von Beschwerdeantworten

Die Beschwerdeantworten umfassten erklärende Aussagen, Bitten um Korrektur und Fragen. Wie die nachfolgenden Diagramme verdeutlichen, formulierten sowohl DM als auch GS ihre Beschwerden überwiegend durch erklärende Aussagen, gefolgt von Bitten um Korrektur und anschließend von Fragen.

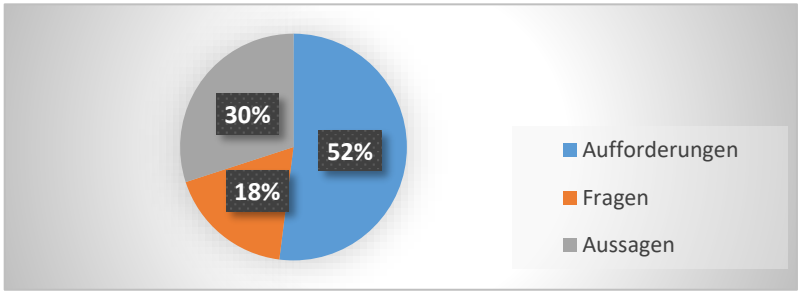


Abb. 6: Aufforderungen; Fragen; Aussagen (DM)

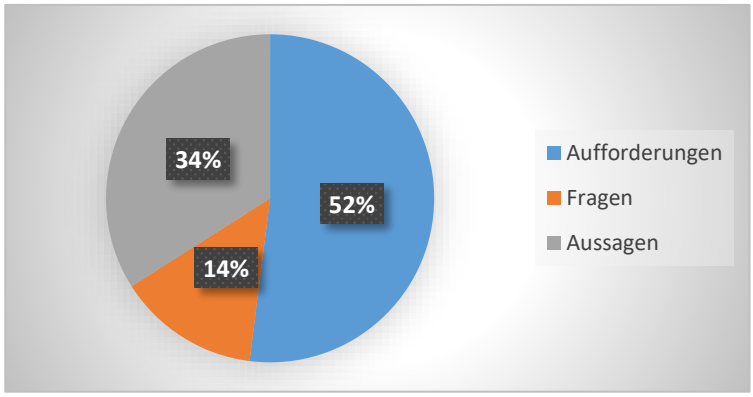


Abb. 7: Aufforderungen; Fragen; Aussagen (GS)

8. Die assertiven Äußerungen (erklärende Aussagen)

Wie die folgenden Beispiele zeigen, bekräftigen die meisten erklärenden Aussagen die Beschwerde, indem sie direkt auf einen Fakt oder einen Grund für die Beschwerde hinweisen. In seltenen Fällen wurden sie als wertende Aussagen oder Drohungen formuliert:

(1)Mist, ich hab' um 9 Uhr Vorlesung! Ich werd' voll zu spät kommen! (DM) (Fakt)

(2)Würden Sie bitte den Lärm etwas reduzieren? Andernfalls sehe ich mich gezwungen, die Polizei zu informieren. (DM) (formell, höflich)

(3)Sie sind nicht fair. (GS) (Wertung)

In vielen Fällen unterstreichen die erklärenden Aussagen die Sicherheit des Sprechers durch den Gebrauch von Verben des Wissens und Glaubens (z. B.: *wissen, verstehen, glauben, denken, vermuten)* sowie durch epistemische Adjektive und Adverbien (z. B.: *sicher, sicherlich, gewiss, mit Sicherheit)*. Unter den Antworten der DM fanden wir Beispiele mit *glauben/vermuten/sich erkundigen/den Eindruck haben-möchten* und *nicht glauben*:

(4)Ich glaube, bei meiner Note könnte ein Fehler passiert sein. (neutral)

(5)Ich glaube nicht, dass meine Note korrekt berechnet wurde. (nicht glauben)

(6)Ich vermute, dass bei der Bewertung meiner Leistung ein Fehler unterlaufen ist. (formelle Situation)

(7)Ich möchte mich erkundigen, ob möglicherweise ein Fehler bei der Berechnung meiner Note vorliegt. (höflich, formell)

(8)Ich habe den Eindruck, dass meine Bewertung nicht ganz gerechtfertigt ist. (formell, höflich)

(9)Ich möchte die Bewertung gerne mit Ihnen besprechen, da ich sie nicht für ganz angemessen halte. (formell, höflich)

(10)Ich glaub', du hast mich nicht fair bewertet. (informell)

Außerdem tauchte die formelhafte Wendung *Ich glaube es nicht* als Ausdruck der Ablehnung gegenüber dem Verhalten des Adressaten auf. Weitere Beispiele umfassen:

• *fühlen (Gefühl haben) und nicht fühlen*:

(11)Ich habe das Gefühl, dass ich bei diesem Test gut abgeschnitten habe.

(12)Ich fühle mich damit nicht ganz wohl.

nicht verstehen:

(13)Ich verstehe nicht, warum ich diese Note von Ihnen erhalten habe.

• glauben, oft verstärkt durch wirklich*:*

(14) Ich glaube, ich habe wirklich eine gute Leistung erbracht. / Ich glaube wirklich, dass das Ende der Schlange zwei Meilen weit ist.

• *vermuten*:

(15)Ich vermute, dass später kein Respekt von Ihrer Seite gezeigt wird.

Das Adjektiv sicher in negativen Konstruktionen*:*

(16)Ich bin mir nicht sicher, warum ich diese Note bekommen habe.

Die GS verwendeten ebenfalls *denken* und *nicht denken* (z. B.: *Ich denke, es gibt einen Fehler in meinen Ergebnissen*; *Ich denke nicht, dass ich diese Note verdient habe*, sowie *sicher* und *sicherlich* (z. B.: *Ich bin sicher, dass ich viel besser machen kann*; *– Ich verdiene sicherlich eine bessere Note*). Tatsächlich nutzten sie *sicher* recht häufig und verstärkten es oft mit *ziemlich* und *wirklich* (z. B.: *Ich bin ziemlich sicher, dass ich nicht so viele Fehler habe*; *– Ich bin wirklich sicher, dass ich eine bessere Note verdiene.)* Jedoch fanden wir keine Beispiele für *fühlen* vs. *nicht fühlen* oder *vermuten.* Bemerkenswert ist auch, dass es nur zwei Beispiele mit *nicht denken* gab. Dies steht im starken Kontrast zu den Antworten der DM, in denen die negative Form von *denken* gegenüber der positiven bevorzugt wurde. Es gab auch keine Beispiele für die formelhafte Wendung *Das glaube ich nicht*. Hinsichtlich *glauben* fanden wir zwei Beispiele, beide mit *kann nicht* eingeleitet: *Ich kann nicht glauben, dass du schon wieder zu spät bist* und *Ich kann nicht glauben, frag mich nicht mehr um Hilfe*.

9. Aufforderungen

Die in diesem Beitrag vorgestellten Ergebnisse zeigen, dass sowohl DM als auch GS Aufforderungen als bevorzugte Strategie in den Szenarien *Unfaire Note*, *Laute Party* und *Vordrängeln in der Schlange* verwendeten. Während die Befragten in den ersten beiden Szenarien eine Präferenz für konventionell indirekte Aufforderungen zeigten, die als Fragesätze vom Typ *Modalverb + Sie + Prädikat* oder als Aussagesätze vom Typ *Sie+ Modalverb +Prädikat* formuliert wurden (Aijmer 1996: 148), bevorzugten sie im dritten Szenario direkte Aufforderungen, die als obligatorische Aussagen oder Imperative realisiert wurden. Die Tabelle 2 zeigt die Verteilung der Rahmen für Aufforderungen unter Muttersprachlern und Nicht-Muttersprachlern.

Tabelle 2: Aufforderungen in Beschwerden

	Konventionell-indirekte Strategien DM-69% GS-54%	Direkte Aufforderungen DM-31% GS-46%

	können/könnten wollen/wollten	eingebettete Aufforderungen	möchten/brauchen Äußerungen	obligatorische Äußerungen	Imperative
M	32%	9%	18%	9%	32%
S	36%	10%	15%	27%	12%

Sowohl Muttersprachler als auch Nicht-Muttersprachler bevorzugen konventionell-indirekte Strategien der Sprechhandlung Aufforderung im Vergleich zu direkten Aufforderungen. Der Unterschied zwischen den beiden Gruppen wird deutlicher, je direkter die Aufforderungen werden. Wir können einen höheren Prozentsatz an *wollen/brauchen (benötigen)*-Aussagen und Imperativen bei DM sowie an Verpflichtungsaussagen bei GS feststellen.

a. Aufforderungsfragen

Eine große Anzahl indirekter Aufforderungen liegt in der Form von Ja/Nein-Fragen vor, die ein der Modalverben *können/könnten* oder *wollen/möchten* enthalten (siehe Tabelle 3). Sowohl Muttersprachler als auch Nicht-Muttersprachler formulierten die meisten Fragen hörerorientiert. Dies ist nachvollziehbar, da es sich um Beschwerden handelt, also Situationen, in denen der Sprecher glaubt, dass der Hörer ein Fehlverhalten begangen hat und ihn auffordert, dieses zu beheben.

Die Tabelle 3 zeigt außerdem, dass die Anzahl der Fragen mit *wollen/wollten* deutlich geringer ist als die Anzahl der Fragen mit *können/könnten*. *Wollen* tritt etwas häufiger auf als *wollten,* da es in Sätzen vorkommen kann, die mit *(ich will, dass Sie… / ich möchte Sie…)* beginnen (*Ich möchte Sie bitten, meine Bewertung zu überarbeiten*, *Herr/Frau Professor).* Alle Aufforderungen dieser Art fanden sich in den Antworten zur Aufgabe *Unfaire Note*. Sie lassen den Beschwerdegegner entschlossen, aber zugleich formell und höflich erscheinen. Einige der DM machten ihre Aufforderungen durch Zusätze wie *wenn es in Ordnung ist* vorsichtiger. In den Antworten der GS fanden wir Formulierungen wie: *wenn es möglich ist*.

Tabelle 3: Modalverben in konventionell-indirekte Aufforderungen in Beschwerden

	DM 35%				GS 37%			
	können	*könnten*	*wollen*	*wollten*	*können*	*könnten*	*wollen*	*wollten*
sprecher-orientiert	10%	0%	0	0	3%	0.5	0%	0%
hörer-orientiert	6%	13%	3%	0	13.5 %	13.5	1%	3.5%
beide	2%	0	0	0	0.5%	0	0%	0%
Total	18%	13%	3%	0	17%	14%	1%	3.5%

b. Äußerungen mit wollen/brauchen

Die Äußerungen mit *wollen, brauchen* und *Ich möchte* wurden von beiden Gruppen der Probanden verwendet. Allerdings war die Verteilung dieser Verben zwischen den beiden Gruppen sehr unterschiedlich (siehe Tabelle 4). Während DM die meisten ihrer Antworten mit *brauchen* formulierten (*Sie brauchen für die Schäden bezahlen.*), nutzten GS überwiegend *wollen* (*Ich will mit Ihnen über die Prüfungsergebnisse sprechen.*).

Tabelle 4: *Wollen, brauchen* und *ich möchte…* in beiden Gruppen der Probanden

DM			GS		
wollen	brauchen	Ich möchte…	wollen	brauchen	Ich möchte…
13%	76%	11%	51%	8%	41%

c. Direkte Aufforderungen

Die Beispiele (17), (18) und (19) zeigen, dass direkte Aufforderungen in unseren beiden Korpora in Form von Verpflichtungsaussagen und Imperativen auftreten.

Tabelle 2 zeigt, dass die deutschen Muttersprachler die Verwendung von Imperativen bevorzugen (32 %), während die Germanistikstudierenden eher Verpflichtungsaussagen verwenden (27 %).

In ihren Antworten mit Verpflichtungsaussagen verwendeten DM die Modalverben *sollen*, *müssen* und *nicht können*. Darüber hinaus nutzten GS auch *müssen*.

(17)Ich denke, wir sollten die Prüfung gemeinsam durchgehen. (DM)

(18)Sie sollen einfach warten. (DM)

(19) Sie müssen auf Ihre Reihenfolge warten. (GS)

DM machten einige ihrer Imperative höflicher, indem sie diese mit entschuldigenden Ausdrücken wie *Sorry/Pardon* und *Entschuldigung* einleiteten (9 %), den pragmatischen Marker *bitte* verwendeten (9 %) oder sie einbetteten (*Aber ich bin eigentlich gekommen, um Ihnen zu sagen, dass Sie den Lärm bitte reduzieren sollen*. 13 %). Die restlichen Imperative (69 %) wurden in keiner Weise abgemildert.

Im Gegensatz dazu verwendeten GS *bitte* sehr häufig (51 %). Allerdings wurde nur in einem Fall der Imperativ mit einem entschuldigenden Ausdruck (*Ich entschuldige mich*) eingeleitet, und es gab keine Fälle, in denen der Imperativ eingebettet wurde. Andere mildernde Mittel wurden nicht verwendet.

9.1. Fragen

Die meisten Antworten in beiden Gruppen wurden in den Aufgaben *Späte Abholung* und *Beschädigtes Auto* als Fragen formuliert. Einige Fragen ähneln echten informationssuchenden Fragen. Sie können nach einer vorherigen Anschuldigung in Form einer bejahenden Aussage folgen:

(20) (DM) *Ich habe eine Delle im Kotflügel gefunden, die vorher nicht da war, bevor ich dir das Auto geliehen habe. Was ist passiert?*

Häufiger werden sie jedoch eigenständig oder als erster Schritt in der Sequenz verwendet und als Anschuldigungen oder Vorwürfe formuliert:

(21) *Warum hast du mir nichts von der Delle gesagt?* - Vorwurf (DM)
(22) *Hast du mein Auto beschädigt, als ich es dir geliehen habe?* Anschuldigung (DM)
(23) *Was hast du mit meinem Auto gemacht? Ich habe entdeckt, dass im Kotflügel eine Delle ist. Du hättest mir sagen können, dass du das gemacht hast. Nächstes Mal werde ich es mir zweimal überlegen, bevor ich dir mein Auto gebe.* (GS)

In Beispielen wie (23) werden sie oft als Beschwerden über ungerechte Behandlung wahrgenommen, indem ein Kontrast aufgebaut wird, der diese Ungerechtigkeit verdeutlicht. Dies ist besonders typisch für GS. Ihre Antworten auf die Aufgaben *Späte Abholung* und *Beschädigtes Auto* sind deutlich länger als die Antworten der Muttersprachler. Wie im vorherigen Beispiel illustriert, enthält jede Antwort mindestens eine weitere bejahende Aussage. Diese Aussagen liefern keine relevanten Informationen darüber, was die Unzufriedenheit verursacht hat. Meistens handelt es sich um Folgen des Verhaltens des Hörers, was das Wissen des Sprechers bekräftigt, dass

der Hörer keine vernünftige Erklärung hat. Vom Hörer wird nicht erwartet, seine Unschuld zu beweisen, da dies nicht möglich ist – stattdessen wird von ihm erwartet, sich zu entschuldigen und den Schaden wiedergutzumachen.

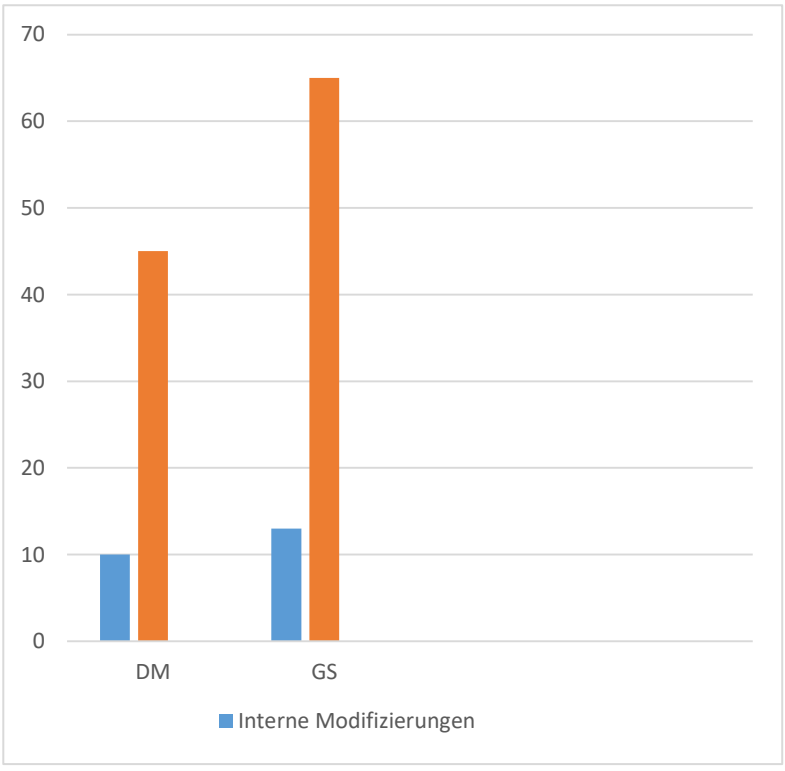
Unter den Antworten in diesen beiden Aufgaben gab es nur sehr wenige eingebettete Fragen wie in (24). Eingebettete Fragen sind noch indirekter und höflicher als nicht eingebettete:

(24) *Ich habe mich gefragt, ob dir eine Delle in meinem Kotflügel aufgefallen ist.* (DM)

9.2 Modifikation der Beschwerden

Der Umfang der internen Modifikation war in beiden Gruppen sehr gering. Ihre bevorzugte Methode, ihre Beschwerden überzeugender zu gestalten, bestand darin, externe Modifikationen anzuwenden, d.h. unterstützende Äußerungen zu ergreifen. Figur 8. stellt diese Tendenz dar.

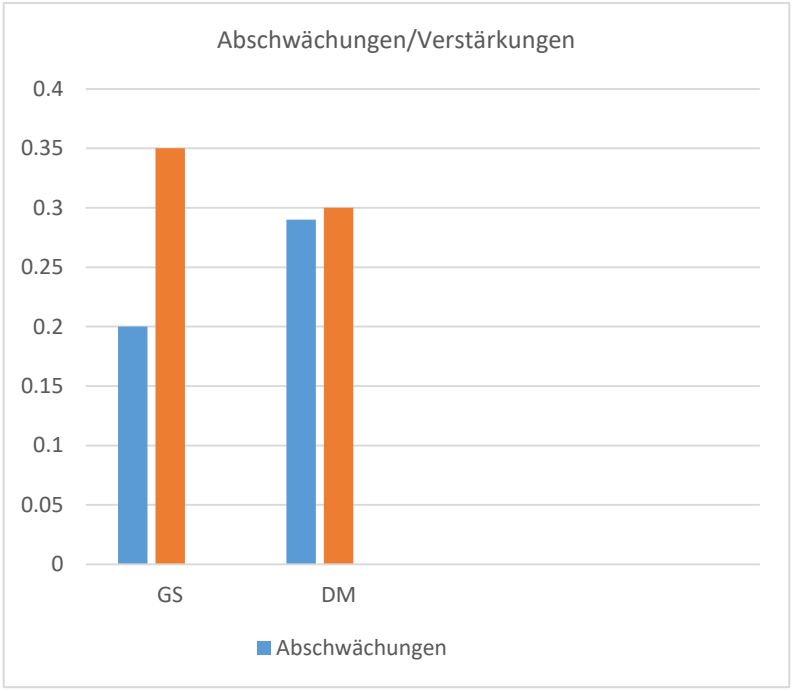
Figur 8. Interne und externe Modifizierungen in beiden Gruppen



9.3. Interne Modifikation

Unter interner Modifikation verstehen wir den Einsatz von Abschwächungen (Downgraders) und Verstärkungen (Upgraders) durch GS und DM, um ihre Beschwerden abzumildern oder zu verschärfen. Die Anzahl der in den Beschwerden von DM beobachteten Abschwächungen ist etwas höher als bei GS. Die Anzahl der Verstärkungen ist hingegen bei den Beschwerden von GS etwas höher.

Figur 9. Verstärkungen und Abschwächungen in beiden Gruppen der Probanden



A. Abschwächungen

Die Anzahl der Abschwächungen in den Äußerungen sowohl von Muttersprachlern als auch von Nicht-Muttersprachlern war begrenzt. In den Sprechakten von DM gab es keine Beispiele für Begrenzungsmittel, Schmeichler oder Appellmittel, und in den Sprechakten von GS fanden wir keine Verdecker (Hedges) oder Appellmittel. Die Tabelle 5 zeigt die in den Äußerungen beider Gruppen gefundenen Abschwächungen. Einige der Beispiele in der GS-Spalte waren nur durch ein einzelnes

Vorkommen vertreten. Mehr Beispiele fanden sich jedoch für *Ich meine*, *gerade/einfach/soeben* und *ein wenig*.

Tabelle 5. Abschwächungen in beiden Gruppen der Probanden

Abschwächungen	DM	GS
Abschwächungen	gerade, einfach, soeben, nur	gerade, einfach, soeben, nur, vielleicht, wahrscheinlich
Begrenzungen	/	nur
Untertreiber	ein wenig / ein bisschen	ein bisschen
Verdecker	*ein wenig, ziemlich, etwas /trotzdem, jedenfalls, wie auch immer*	/
Subjektivierung	*Ich denke (nicht), Ich fühle (nicht)*	Ich denke/meine/ glaube/finde
Überredungen	/	Wissen Sie…
Grammatikalische Konstruktionen	Negative Konstruktionen, Hypothetische Konstruktionen Vergangenheit (oder Vergangenheitstempus, wenn grammatikalisch genauer bezeichnet)	negative Konstruktionen, hypothetische Konstruktion
lexikalische Konstruktionen	*hoffen, versuchen*	hoffen
Solidaritätsmarkierung	*Kerl, Jungs, Typ, Mann*	/

B. Verstärkungen

Die Anzahl der Verstärkungen ist bei GS etwas höher als bei DM, nämlich 1,5 % gegenüber 1,36 %. GS verwendeten etwas mehr Intensivierungen (1,1 %) als DM (0,9 %), während DM mehr Verstärker des Engagements (0,47 %) als DS (0,32 %) einsetzten. Die am häufigsten verwendeten Intensivierungen bei GS waren *gerade, einfach, soeben, nur*. Auch bei den Beschwerden von DM war *so* häufiger als die anderen, jedoch waren die Verwendungen von *sehr* und *einfach* jeweils auf zwei Beispiele beschränkt. Beide Gruppen verwendeten auch *einfach*.

(25) (GS) *Sie können nicht einfach vor mir vordrängeln.* (26) (DM) *Bitte drängeln Sie sich nicht vor. Wir warten schon eine Weile, also müssen Sie sich auch gedulden.*

Bezüglich der Verpflichtungsverstärkungen nutzten beide Gruppen der Probanden *Ich weiß*. GS verwendeten außerdem häufig *Ich bin sicher* sowie einzelne Beispiele für andere Adjektive und Adverbien. Dennoch verstärkten beide Gruppen ihre Beschwerden hauptsächlich durch den Einsatz starker lexikalischer Elemente. Zu den Wörtern, die GS verwendeten, gehören unter anderem *hart, wütend, mindestens, störend, verantwortungslos, blind, unhöflich* usw., von denen viele zur Bewertung der Handlungen des Hörers dienen. DM verwendete ebenfalls bewertende Adjektive wie *unfair, unzuverlässig* usw. Außerdem nutzten sie zahlreiche umgangssprachliche Ausdrücke wie *Was zum Teufel!, Verdammt!* sowie Sarkasmus (*Vielen Dank, dass Sie pünktlich sind; es ist nett von Ihnen, endlich zu erscheinen*), etwas, das in den Antworten von GS nicht zu finden war.

9.4. Externe Modifikation

Wie wir im vorherigen Abschnitt beschrieben haben, ist der Umfang der internen Modifikation in beiden Gruppen sehr gering. Ihre bevorzugte Methode, ihre Beschwerden überzeugender zu gestalten, besteht in der Anwendung externer Modifikation, also dem Einsatz unterstützender Schritte.

Am häufigsten bestanden die Antworten der Muttersprachler aus ein oder zwei Äußerungen, während GS drei oder mehr Äußerungen verwendeten (siehe Tabelle 6). Insbesondere bevorzugten Muttersprachler Ein-Schritt-Antworten (ein-Zug-Antwort) bei *Unfair Note* und *Beschädigtes Auto* sowie Zwei-Schritt-Antworten (Zwei-Zug-Antwort) bei *Laute Party*, *Vordrängeln in der Reihe* und *Verspätete Abholung*. GS zeigten eine Präferenz für Zwei-Schritt-Antworten bei *Verspätete Abholung*, für Drei-Schritt-Antworten bei *Unfair Note*, Laute Party und *Vordrängeln in der Reihe* und für Mehr-als-drei-Schritt-Antworten bei *Beschädigtes Auto*.

Tabelle 6**.** Anzahl der Ein- und Zwei-Zug-Antworten in der Gruppe

	Ein-Zug-Antwort	Zwei-Zug-Antworten	Drei-Zug-Antworten	Mehr-als-drei-Zug-Antworten
DM	39%	41%	11%	9%
GS	5%	31%	42%	22%

Die unterstützenden Schritte wurden als Initiatoren (I), Vorbereiter (V), Entwaffnungen (E), Begründungen (B) und Bitten um Wiedergutmachung (W) formuliert. Die Analyse hat gezeigt, dass in

beiden Gruppen die meisten unterstützenden Antworten Begründungen waren, gefolgt von Initiatoren und Aufforderungen. Der Prozentsatz der vorbereitenden Äußerungen, Entwaffnungen und Drohungen war sehr gering.

Die Ein-Zug-Antworten beschränkten sich ausschließlich auf die Hauptstrategie. Bei den mehrgliedrigen Antworten konnten zwei Typen unterschieden werden: (1) Antworten mit einem Initiator und (2) Antworten ohne einen Initiator. Der Übersichtlichkeit halber wurden zur ersten Gruppe auch Antworten gezählt, die mit vorbereitenden Äußerungen oder Entwaffnungen eingeleitet wurden. Im Anschluss an den Hauptakt folgten häufig eine Begründung, eine Aufforderung, eine Drohung oder eine Kombination dieser Elemente. In den Antworten von GS fanden wir häufig mehr als eine Begründung. Es gab auch Beispiele, bei denen Begründungen den Beschwerden vorausgingen, allerdings waren diese nur in geringer Zahl vertreten.

10. Diskussion

Die Ergebnisse der vorliegenden Studie zeigen, dass GS zwar ähnliche Strategien wie DM verwendeten, ihre Umsetzung jedoch in vielerlei Hinsicht unterschiedlich war. In diesem Abschnitt diskutieren wir die Ergebnisse im Hinblick auf die in Abschnitt 5 formulierten Fragen: Verwenden GS dieselben Beschwerdestrategien wie deutsche Muttersprachler? Modifizieren GS ihre Beschwerden in angemessener Weise? Und wie nehmen deutsche Muttersprachler die Beschwerden von mazedonischen Deutschstudierenden wahr?

10.1. Häufigkeitsverteilung der Beschwerdestrategien

Unsere Untersuchung zeigte, dass DM und GS ihre Beschwerden unter Verwendung derselben Strategien formulierten und dass diese Strategien ähnlich verteilt waren. Dies stimmt mit anderen Forschungen zu diesem Sprechakt überein (Chen, Chen & Chang, 2011; Olshtain & Weinbach, 1993; Trosborg, 1995). Olshtain & Weinbach (1993: 113) kommen zu dem Schluss, dass dies auf die Universalität der in den Datenerhebungsinstrumenten enthaltenen Situationen zurückzuführen ist.

Es scheint jedoch, dass Mitglieder verschiedener Gemeinschaften nicht alle Situationen auf die gleiche Weise wahrnehmen, und zusammengefasste Beobachtungen können zur Auslassung einiger wichtiger Merkmale führen. Dies war der Fall bei den Szenarien *Späte Abholung* und *Beschädigtes Auto*, in denen die Mitglieder der beiden Gemeinschaften bestimmte Unterschiede aufzeigten.

Der Unterschied war besonders deutlich im Szenario *Späte Abholung*. DM formulierten ihre Antworten in diesem Szenario auf eine unhöfliche Weise und verwendeten sprachliche Mittel, die in den anderen Situationen nicht vorkamen: Sarkasmus, beleidigende Wörter wie *inkompetent, unzuverlässig,* **DUMMKOPF** oder **TROTTEL**, *Arschloch, verdammt*, sowie umgangssprachliche Ausdrücke wie *Was zum Teufel, Was zum Kuckuck, Alter* u.a.

Im Gegensatz dazu folgte in vielen Antworten der GS auf den Ausdruck des Missfallens ein Versuch der Annäherung. Dies entspricht der Aussage von Olshtain und Weinbach, dass Muttersprachler härtere Beschwerden äußern als Studierende (Olshtain & Weinbach, 1993). Eine weitere mögliche Erklärung könnte darin liegen, dass es sich um eine Kommunikationssituation handelt, in der Muttersprachler informelle oder umgangssprachliche Ausdrücke verwenden, die Nicht-Muttersprachlern entweder unbekannt sind oder deren Gebrauch ihnen unangenehm erscheint. Alternativ könnte dieser Unterschied jedoch auch auf kulturelle Divergenzen zurückzuführen sein. Beispielsweise wird Unpünktlichkeit in der mazedonischen Kultur häufig toleranter wahrgenommen als in westlich geprägten Gesellschaften.

10.2. Äußerungslänge

Die im Rahmen dieser Forschung gewonnenen Erkenntnisse dienen der Weiterentwicklung von E-Learning-Modulen zur Förderung der pragmatischen Kompetenz von Sprachlernern. Diese Module setzen sich gezielt mit den in der Studie identifizierten Defiziten auseinander. Sie umfassen zwei zentrale Aktivitätstypen: erstens Übungen zur Sensibilisierung der Studierenden für die pragmatischen Bedeutungen spezifischer sprachlicher Mittel, die von Muttersprachlern verwendet werden, und zweitens produktive Aufgaben, die es den Lernenden ermöglichen, Sprechakte unter Berücksichtigung situativer Faktoren wie Gesprächspartner, Kontext und emotionale Stimmung angemessen zu formulieren.

Die Forschungsergebnisse unterstützen die Entwicklung von E-Learning-Modulen zur Förderung pragmatischer Kompetenz. Diese Module beheben identifizierte Defizite durch Übungen zur Sensibilisierung für pragmatische Bedeutungen und produktive Aufgaben, die Lernenden helfen, Sprechakte situationsangemessen unter Berücksichtigung von Kontext, Gesprächspartner und emotionaler Stimmung zu formulieren.

11.Fazit

Die in diesem Beitrag präsentierte Analyse von Beschwerden liefert aufschlussreiche Erkenntnisse über die pragmatische Kompetenz von Germanistikstudierenden (GS). Während in zahlreichen Aspekten der Kommunikation zwischen GS und deutschen Muttersprachlern (DM) Übereinstimmungen bestehen, lassen sich dennoch signifikante Abweichungen im Sprachverhalten der Lernenden feststellen.

Erstens gibt es bestimmte sprachliche Mittel, die von Muttersprachlern routinemäßig verwendet werden, in der Sprachproduktion von GS jedoch entweder gar nicht oder nur selten auftreten. Dazu zählen beispielsweise die Einbettung von Fragen und Anfragen, die Verwendung negativer Konstruktionen (*Meinen Sie es nicht...*, *Ich meine es nicht...*), lexikalische Abschwächungsmittel zur Höflichkeitsmarkierung, spezifische Anredeformen sowie In-Group-Marker, die soziale Nähe und Solidarität signalisieren. Zweitens zeigen sich Unterschiede in der Intensität der Verwendung bestimmter sprachlicher Mittel innerhalb der Interlanguage von GS. Dazu gehören unter anderem Fragen, *Ich glaube*-Äußerungen, Direktiven, (De-)Fokalisierungsstrategien sowie der Gebrauch unterstützender Mittel. Drittens sind in der Sprachverwendung von GS Fälle unangemessener Mittelwahl zu beobachten, etwa bei der Differenzierung zwischen *können* und *könnten*, dem Gebrauch starker Modalverben oder der externen Modifikation. Darüber hinaus mangelt es GS an einem hinreichenden Bewusstsein für die strategische Gestaltung ihrer Äußerungen, um diese sowohl effizient als auch kontextuell angemessen zu formulieren.

Die im Rahmen dieser Forschung gewonnenen Erkenntnisse dienen der Weiterentwicklung von E-Learning-Modulen zur Förderung der pragmatischen Kompetenz von Sprachlernern. Diese Module setzen sich gezielt mit den in der Studie identifizierten Defiziten auseinander. Sie umfassen zwei zentrale Aktivitätstypen: erstens Übungen zur Sensibilisierung der Studierenden für die pragmatischen Bedeutungen spezifischer sprachlicher Mittel, die von Muttersprachlern verwendet werden, und zweitens produktive Aufgaben, die es den Lernenden ermöglichen, Sprechakte unter Berücksichtigung situativer Faktoren wie Gesprächspartner, Kontext und emotionale Stimmung angemessen zu formulieren.

Ein weiterer Punkt ist, dass sich die Lernziele für Deutsch geändert haben. Es reicht nicht mehr, nur für Reisen ausreichend Deutsch zu sprechen. Studierende müssen die Sprache leben, auf Deutsch studieren, sie am Arbeitsplatz anwenden und im internationalen Wettbewerb bestehen können. Um dieses Ziel zu erreichen, müssen sie

die Tatsache anerkennen, dass „Sprachsozialisation davon abhängt, dass man lernt, was in bestimmten Situationen gesagt werden soll und welches Sprachverhalten in der jeweiligen Sprechgemeinschaft als angemessen gilt“ (Kecskes 2014).

Literaturverzeichnis:

Abdolrezapour, Parisa, et al. "Iranian EFL Learners' Realization of Complaints in American English." *GEMA Online Journal of Language Studies*, vol. 12, no. 2, 2012, pp. 711-724.

Aijmer, Karin. *Conversational Routines in English: Convention and Creativity*. Addison Wesley Longman, 1996.

Bach, Kent, and Robert M. Harnish. *Linguistic Communication and Speech Acts*. MIT Press, 1979.

Barron, Anne. *Acquisition in Interlanguage Pragmatics*. John Benjamins, 2003.

Beebe, Leslie M., et al. "Pragmatic Transfer in ESL Refusals." *On the Development of Communicative Competence in a Second Language*, edited by Robin C. Scarcella et al., Heinle and Heinle, 1990, pp. 55-73.

Blum-Kulka, Shoshana. "Learning to Say What You Mean in a Second Language: A Study of the Speech Act Performance of Learners of Hebrew as a Second Language." *Applied Linguistics*, vol. III, no. 1, 1982, pp. 29-59.

Boxer, Diana. "Social Distance and Speech Behavior: The Case of Indirect Complaints." *Journal of Pragmatics*, vol. 19, 1993a, pp. 103-125.

—. *Complaining and Commiserating*. Peter Lang, 1993b.

Brown, Penelope, and Stephen Levinson. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge UP, 1987.

Chen, Yuan-shan, et al. "American and Chinese Complaints: Strategy Use from a Cross-Cultural Perspective." *Intercultural Pragmatics*, vol. 8, no. 2, 2011, pp. 253-275.

Clyne, Michael, et al. "Intercultural Communication at Work in Australia: Complaints and Apologies in Turns." *Multilingua*, 1991, pp. 251-273.

Eslamirasekh, Abbass, et al. "How Do You React to the Breakdown after It Happens? Do You Complain about It?: A Contrastive Study on the Complaint Behavior in American English and Persian." *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences*, vol. 47, 2012, pp. 34-40.

Farnia, Maryam, et al. "'I Need to Talk to You' – A Contrastive Pragmatic Study of Speech Act of Complaint in American English and Malaysian." *Journal of Language, Society and Culture*, vol. 30, 2010, pp. 11-24.

Geluykens, Ronald, and Bettina Kraft. "The Use(fulness) of Corpus Research in Crosscultural Pragmatics: Complaining in Intercultural Service Encounters." *Pragmatics and Corpus Linguistics*, edited by Jesús Romero-Trillo, Walter de Gruyter, 2008, pp. 93-117.

Heinemann, Trine. "Participation and Exclusion in Third Party Complaints." *Journal of Pragmatics*, vol. 41, 2009, pp. 2435-2451.

Kasper, Gabriele. "Variation in Interlanguage Speech Act Realization." *Variation in Second Language Acquisition: Discourse and Pragmatics*, edited by Susan Gass et al., Multilingual Matters, 1989, pp. 37-58.

Kasper, Gabriele, and Shoshana Blum-Kulka. *Interlanguage Pragmatics*. Oxford UP, 1993.

Kecskes, Istvan. *Intercultural Pragmatics*. Oxford UP, 2014.

Koshik, Irene. *Beyond Rhetorical Questions: Assertive Questions in Everyday Interaction*. John Benjamins, 2005.

Leech, Geoffrey. *Principles of Pragmatics*. Longman, 1983.

Liu, Jianda. *Measuring Interlanguage Pragmatic Knowledge of Chinese EFL Learners*. 2004. City University of Hong Kong, PhD dissertation.

Murphy, Beth, and Joyce Neu. "My Grade's Too Low: The Speech Act Set of Complaining." *Speech Acts Across Cultures: Challenges to Communication in a Second Language*, edited by Susan M. Gass and Joyce Neu, Mouton de Gruyter, 1996, pp. 191-216.

Olshtain, Elite, and Liora Weinbach. "Complaints: A Study of Speech Act Behavior among Native and Non-Native Speakers of Hebrew." *The Pragmatic Perspective: Selected Papers from the 1985 International Pragmatic Conference*, edited by Jef Verschueren and Marcella Bertuccelli-Papi, John Benjamins, 1987, pp. 195-210.

—. "Interlanguage Features of the Speech Act of Complaining." *Interlanguage Pragmatics*, edited by Gabriele Kasper and Shoshana Blum-Kulka, Oxford UP, 1993, pp. 108-122.

Rinnert, Carol, et al. "Preferred Complaint Strategies in Japanese and English." *Authentic Communication: Proceedings of the 5th Annual JALT Pan-SIG Conference*, 2006.

Roever, Carsten. *Testing ESL Pragmatics: Development and Validation of a Web-Based Assessment Battery*. Peter Lang, 2005.

Traverso, Veronique. "The Dilemmas of Third-Party Complaints in Conversation." *Journal of Pragmatics*, vol. 41, 2009, pp. 2385-2399.

Trosborg, Anna. *Interlanguage Pragmatics: Requests, Complaints, and Apologies*. Walter de Gruyter, 1995.

THE SPEECH ACT OF COMPLAINTS IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE ACQUISITION: FACTORS INFLUENCING PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE

This study examines the importance of developing pragmatic competence in the context of foreign language acquisition. Pragmatic competence enables learners to communicate appropriately in the target language. It is defined as “knowledge of the linguistic means available in a given language for realising specific illocutions, an understanding of the sequential aspects of speech acts, and knowledge of the appropriate contextual use of linguistic resources” (Barron 2003, 10). In this sense, pragmatic competence includes both the ability

to fulfil linguistic functions and the knowledge of socio-culturally appropriate use of linguistic means in a given communicative context.

Leech's distinction between socio-pragmatic and pragma-linguistic knowledge proves particularly useful in defining pragmatic competence. Socio-pragmatic knowledge refers to the "specific 'local' conditions of language use [...], since it is clear that the cooperative principle and the politeness principle operate variably across different cultures, speech communities, social situations and social classes" (Leech 1983, 10). This includes knowledge of context, recognition and production of illocutionary meaning, distribution of politeness strategies, speaker–hearer relationships, formality of the situation, social values and cultural beliefs.

In contrast, pragma-linguistic knowledge refers to the specific linguistic means that a language provides for realising particular illocutions. Since both socio-pragmatic and pragma-linguistic rules are not always immediately apparent, learners often fail to fully comprehend native speakers' utterances or misinterpret them. Even more challenging is learners' ability to produce expressions that meet native speakers' pragmatic expectations.

The discussion above leads to the question of which specific skills students need to develop to achieve pragmatic competence. Most studies in this field focus on the investigation of speech acts (Roever 2005; Liu 2004; Beebe et al. 1990; Blum-Kulka 1982; Kasper 1989; Kasper & Blum-Kulka 1993; Olshtain & Weinbach 1993; Trosborg 1995). Other research explores routines, implicatures, the ability to realise politeness and discourse functions, and the application of cultural knowledge.

This paper focuses on Macedonian- and Albanian-speaking German students and their performance of the speech act of complaining. Firstly, a precise definition of the speech act of complaining is provided, followed by an analysis of relevant research that forms the foundation of this study. Subsequently, the methodological research framework and the study's findings are presented. Finally, selected linguistic behaviours of the students are discussed.

This study aims to examine the pragmatic competence of German students (GS) at Goce Delcev University in Stip and the South East European University in Tetovo by analysing their realisation of the speech act of complaints. The study addresses the following research questions:

1. Do German students use the same complaint strategies as native speakers?

2. Do Macedonian- and Albanian-speaking students of German modify their complaints appropriately?

3. How do native speakers perceive the complaints made by Macedonian- and Albanian-speaking students of German?

The analysis is based on responses from 40 students of German (GS) at level B2 and 40 native German speakers (NS). The GS that participated were second- and third-year students at Goce Delcev University in Stip and the South East European University in Tetovo, aged between 19 and 25. The native

speakers were Germans who voluntarily participated in a Discourse Completion Task. Additionally, ten native speakers were invited to evaluate some of the GS responses, marking acceptable answers and commenting on unacceptable ones. The language corpus consists of 220 responses from native speakers and 201 responses from GS, collected through a Discourse Completion Task with five scenarios. These scenarios were selected from previous studies on complaints (Trosborg 1995) and involved conflicts requiring careful face management.

For the analysis, we adopted Trosborg's (1995) coding of complaints. The main acts for both groups were classified and a chi-square test was used to examine whether the frequency of complaint strategies depended on group affiliation. Additional taxonomies (Aijmer 1996; Brown & Levinson 1987; Koshik 2005; Trosborg 1995) were applied to analyse complaint frames and modifications.

Results indicate that both GS and NS most frequently employed the disapproval/annoyance strategy – 63% of NS responses and 72% of GS responses. The second most common strategy was accusation (19% for NS, 20% for GS). Native speakers produced more blame attributions (10%) than GS (5%). Hints were the least frequent strategy: 1.5% among NS and completely absent in GS responses. Furthermore, this study explores how students of German (GS) formulate complaints in German and whether their strategies align with those of native speakers (NS). The findings reveal that both GS and NS used similar complaint strategies, with a comparable distribution. This aligns with previous studies on complaints (Chen, Chen & Chang 2011; Olshtain & Weinbach 1993; Trosborg 1995). However, differences emerged in how these strategies were applied, particularly in scenarios such as *Late Pickup* and *Damaged Car*, where the two groups displayed distinct communicative approaches. In the *Late Pickup* scenario, NS used more direct, even harsh language, including sarcasm, insults (e.g. „Verdammt", „Du, Idiot") and colloquial expressions (e.g. „Was zum Teufel!"). GS, in contrast, softened their complaints, often following an expression of dissatisfaction with a reconciliation attempt. This supports Olshtain and Weinbach's (1993) claim that NS tend to express complaints harsher than learners. Additionally, cultural differences may play a role – punctuality is perceived more strictly in German-speaking cultures than in Macedonian culture, where lateness is more tolerated.

A significant difference between NS and GS was the length of responses. GS employed more complaint strategies per response, averaging 3.5 moves compared to 1.3 by NS. While NS preferred one- or two-move responses, GS frequently used three- or four-move structures, often including preparatory statements and mitigations, particularly apologies.

Despite this, longer responses did not necessarily enhance the effectiveness of complaints produced by students of German (GS). On the contrary, their extended complaints were often perceived as overly verbose, repetitive and less efficient. The native speakers who assessed the responses frequently remarked that the complaints tended to be excessively long, imprecise, indirect or, in some cases, even aggressive due to an overabundance

of justification. This tendency toward over-explanation was considered counterproductive, as it occasionally intensified the confrontational tone of the complaint rather than mitigating it.

Internal modification of complaints was minimal for both NS and GS, but some notable differences emerged:

- Use of *können* vs. *könnten*: GS frequently used *können* (e.g. *Können Sie mir bitte meine Note erklären?*), while NS preferred the more polite form *könnten*. Native evaluators noted that *können* could imply that the professor was at fault, putting him in a defensive position. NS suggested depersonalised formulations such as: *Es gab einen Fehler* instead of direct accusations.
- Embedded requests: NS often softened their requests with indirect constructions such as *Ich habe mich gefragt, ob…;* or *Glauben Sie, dass…*; while GS used direct translations from Macedonian (e.g. *Ich möchte Sie höflich fragen…*), which sounded unnatural or overly formal.
- Negation strategies: GS tended to replace the indirect negations of NS with intensified positive constructions, making their complaints sound more forceful (e.g. *Ich denke wirklich, dass ich eine höhere Note verdiene* instead of *Ich denke nicht, dass Sie mich fair benotet haben*). GS lacked awareness of how negation can make complaints sound more diplomatic.
- Modal verbs: GS favoured *möchten* (*Ich möchte über diese Delle sprechen*), while NS used *brauchen* (*Sie brauchen für die Schäden zahlen*), reflecting differences in how necessity is expressed. Additionally, GS overused *müssen*, making their complaints more assertive than those of NS.
- Use of *Ich meine* and *Ich denke*: GS frequently used *Ich meine* in a strong, assertive way rather than as a mitigating device. While *Ich meine* can function as a softener in some contexts, GS consistently paired it with strong modal verbs and reasoning statements, making their complaints sound more direct and confrontational. NS evaluators confirmed that GS often expressed strong personal opinions rather than softening their speech.
- GS apologised significantly more often than NS (33% vs. 10%). NS primarily used *Entschuldigung*, while GS used a wider variety, including *Ich entschuldige mich sehr* and *Es tut mir wirklich leid, Sie zu stören*, which sometimes sounded overly formal or out of place. A key issue was the misuse of *Entschuldigung* vs. *Ich entschuldige mich* – GS treated *Entschuldigung* as a universal apology, overlooking context-specific distinctions.
- While GS and NS used similar complaint strategies, GS exhibited several deviations in length, linguistic modification and politeness. GS tended to over-elaborate, relied on direct translations and used modal verbs in ways that sometimes made their complaints sound overly assertive. These findings highlight the importance of pragmatic awareness in foreign language learning, particularly regarding politeness norms, cultural expectations and linguistic economy in complaint formulations.

The analysis of complaints presented in this study provides insights into the pragmatic competence of GS. While many aspects of communication

between GS and NS show correlation, several significant deviations in the linguistic behaviour of GS have been identified. The analysis of complaints presented in this study offers valuable insights into the pragmatic competence of GS and their ability to use language appropriately in socially sensitive situations. While many aspects of communication between GS and NS demonstrate noticeable similarities, particularly in the recognition of communicative intent and the general structure of complaint acts; several significant deviations in the linguistic behaviour of GS have been identified. These differences are reflected in their choice of strategies, the degree of directness and the use of internal and external modifications.

First, there are linguistic strategies commonly used by native speakers that GS either do not use at all or use them only rarely. These include embedding questions and requests within conversations, employing negative constructions (e.g. *Denken Sie nicht…; Ich denke nicht*), using lexemes that soften statements, addressing forms that indicate politeness and in-group markers that express solidarity. The absence of these linguistic features suggests gaps in the ability of GS to navigate social interactions effectively in German.

Second, certain linguistic elements appear in the interlanguage of GS with varying intensity compared to native speakers. For instance, GS display a different frequency of question use, *Ich glaube*-statements, directives, (de)focalisation and supportive linguistic devices. These variations indicate that, while GS have access to some key structures, their deployment differs from native speaker norms.

Third, some linguistic elements are used inappropriately by GS. Examples include differences in the use of *können* vs. *könnten*, overuse of strong modal verbs and external modification strategies that do not align with native speaker usage. This suggests that GS may lack full awareness of how to phrase their utterances efficiently and appropriately within specific communicative contexts.

The findings of this study contribute to the development of e-learning modules designed to enhance the pragmatic competence of language learners. These modules specifically address the deficiencies identified in the research and incorporate two key types of activities:

1. Awareness-raising exercises – These exercises aim to make students more conscious of the pragmatic meanings behind specific linguistic structures commonly used by native speakers. By analysing authentic language use, learners can gain a deeper understanding of how meaning is conveyed beyond mere grammatical accuracy.
2. Productive tasks – Learners are given opportunities to practice speech acts while considering situational factors such as the interlocutors, context and emotional tone. These tasks help students refine their ability to formulate appropriate utterances in real-life scenarios, ensuring their communication aligns with native speaker norms.

This study highlights the evolving goals of German language acquisition. Previously, basic proficiency sufficed for travel or general communication.

Today, learners must achieve fluency for academic, professional and international contexts, requiring not only grammatical accuracy but also a nuanced understanding of language as a social tool. To achieve this, learners must recognise that *language socialisation depends on understanding what should be said in specific situations and what linguistic behaviour is considered appropriate in a given speech community* (Kecskes 2014). Simply being able to form grammatically correct sentences is insufficient if the pragmatic intent behind those sentences does not align with native speakers' expectations. The study underscores the importance of pragmatic competence in language learning and highlights key areas where GS diverge from native speaker norms. By addressing these gaps through targeted e-learning interventions, learners can improve their ability to use German more naturally and effectively in real-world interactions. Furthermore, as the demands on German language learners continue to evolve, a focus on social and contextual appropriateness in communication will become increasingly essential.

Keywords: pragmatic competence, strategies, speech acts, complaints, modification

STRATEGIC CLICS: DIGIGAL LEARNING STRATEGIES AS PREDICTORS OF CHATGPT USE IN ESP INSTRUCTION AMONG CROATIAN STUDENTS

*Ana **Penjak**, University of Split, Faculty of Kinesiology, ana.penjak@kifst.eu*

Original scientific paper
DOI: 10.31902/fll.54.2026.13
UDC: 81:004.8-057.875(497.5)

Abstract: The integration of Artificial Intelligence (AI) tools such as ChatGPT has enhanced self-directed and personalized learning, particularly in the context of language education. While AI's role has been examined in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) setting, its application in English for Specific Purposes (ESP) courses—especially in sports science context—remains underexplored. This study investigates whether digital language learning strategies predict university students' use of ChatGPT for academic English tasks, both in structured ESP assignments and in broader academic contexts. A total of 102 Croatian undergraduate sports science students enrolled in an ESP course participated in the study. They completed a modified version of the *Digital Natives Assessment Scale* (DNAS) and responded to two items measuring their use of ChatGPT: (1) for ESP course tasks and (2) for general academic tasks in English. Multiple regression analysis revealed that the DNAS factors "Using technology" and "Gratification and reward" significantly predicted ChatGPT use within the ESP course. In contrast, only 'Using Technology' predicted its use for general academic English tasks beyond the course. These findings suggest that students with higher digital engagement and a stronger motivation for instant digital feedback are more likely to use ChatGPT to support both structured and autonomous academic learning. By emphasizing the strength and nature of these relationships, the study underscores the value of integrating AI-based tools into ESP curricula to align with learners' digital habits, academic needs, and future professional demands in international sports environments.

Keywords: Artificial Intelligence (AI), ChatGPT, English for Specific Purposes (ESP), digital literacy, education innovation

1. Introduction

Since the mid-1990s, digital connectivity and technological advancements have significantly reshaped educational practices by

integrating digital tools and platforms into classrooms (Fletcher 2003). More recently, the growing presence of digital technologies has transformed how students engage with educational content, complete academic assignments, and develop new literacies (Vogel and Klassen 2001). This shift has contributed, as Platonova et al. (2022) explained, to the growing development of digital learning environments that are highly interactive through mobile access, social media engagement, and real-time connectivity. Within this environment, artificial intelligence (AI) tools such as ChatGPT have emerged as transformative resources for language learning due to their ability to offer instant feedback, adaptive support, and personalized instruction (Skjuve et al. 2023). In addition, studies on AI-driven language technologies have demonstrated that users significantly rely on such tools for producing and translating texts, highlighting their growing role in academic language practices (Borucinsky et al. 2025). Recent linguistic research has also examined AI-generated language beyond instructional settings, showing that chatbot interaction can also reflect complex pragmatic behaviour, including the use of politeness strategies and argumentative patterns that resemble human communication (Ivković 2024). Taken together, these findings indicate that chatbots occupy a dual position within contemporary academic contexts, functioning both as linguistic and practical tools. As such, this duality contributes to their widespread uptake, particularly given that such tools are user-friendly and easy to navigate (Mun 2024), aligning closely with the learning preferences of "digital natives"—users with high digital literacy who favour quick, interactive learning formats over traditional, linear teaching models (Zheng et al. 2025).

Despite increasing interest in the pedagogical applications of ChatGPT in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) contexts (Nguyen 2023), its use in English for Specific Purposes (ESP) remains underexplored. Huang et al. (2022) highlight this research gap, noting that while AI tools are becoming more common in general language instruction, their effectiveness, usage patterns, and learner perceptions within ESP—particularly in domain-specific contexts—are not well understood. Romanova (2020) emphasizes that digital-native learners bring distinct expectations and behaviours to language learning that warrant targeted pedagogical strategies in ESP environments. This gap is especially relevant for sports science students, who operate at the intersection of domain-specific knowledge and global communication. ESP, which refers to English instruction tailored to specific academic or professional fields (Paltridge and Starfield 2013), aims to equip learners with

specialized terminology and general communication skills required in professional contexts (Hyland 2022). In disciplines such as sports science and sports management, English is not only a tool for accessing academic literature but also a necessity for international collaboration and professional growth.

Moreover, the linguistic demands faced by students extend beyond ESP. Many European sports science programs increasingly incorporate English-Medium Instruction (EMI)—teaching academic subjects in English within non-English-speaking countries—as part of their internationalization strategy (Bowles and Murphy 2020). This shift seeks to attract international students and prepare domestic students for careers in the global marketplace (Arnó-Macià and Aguilar 2018). Thus, ESP courses provide foundational support for future EMI participation and for professional success in multilingual, multicultural settings.

This study addresses the research gap by examining how digital learning behaviours, measured using the *Digital Natives Assessment Scale* (DNAS) (Teo 2013), relate to ChatGPT use in a sports-specific ESP course. It investigates both the frequency and the context of ChatGPT use—whether for structured ESP tasks or broader academic assignments in English. By focusing on sports science students—an often-overlooked group in AI-supported language learning—this study contributes to the integration of emerging technologies in ESP pedagogy and aims to inform teaching practices that are responsive to digital-native learners.

Based on these aims, two research questions were formulated:

RQ1: To what extent do DNAS factors predict the frequency of ChatGPT use for structured, course-based learning tasks within a sports science ESP course?

RQ2: To what extent do DNAS factors predict students' use of ChatGPT for academic tasks delivered in English beyond the ESP course?

2. Literature review

2.1. ChatGPT in ESP and the sports science context

Recent developments in Artificial Intelligence (AI), with ChatGPT as one of the most innovative examples, have significantly reshaped approaches to language teaching and learning. Since its release in November 2022, ChatGPT—a Large Language Model (LLM)—has rapidly gained popularity, surpassing 100 million users and becoming a leading educational tool (Peachey 2023). Although not the first or only AI-powered chatbot, the integration of ChatGPT into pedagogical settings has had a notable impact on language education (Adeshola and Adepoju 2023).

In general English as a Foreign Language (EFL) context, research confirms ChatGPT's potential to support learner autonomy (Yang 2024) and learner-centred instruction (Rudolph et al. 2023). Baidoo-Anu and Owusu Ansah (2023) describe ChatGPT as a personalized tutor and translation aid, offering interactive and adaptive learning experiences that align with digital natives' preferences for self-regulated learning. Additionally, ChatGPT has been shown to enhance overall language proficiency (Tran 2024), assist students in developing writing skills and mastering writing mechanics such as spelling, punctuation, capitalization and grammar (Zirar 2023), and improve tone and formality (Hellstrom 2024).

ChatGPT also supports English language teachers. Abraham et al. (2022) report its usefulness in evaluating written assignments, while Koraishi (2023) notes its ability to help educators design comprehensive lesson plans, adapt materials appropriately, and generate placement tests with diagnostic feedback. Despite these advances, its integration into English for Specific Purposes (ESP) instruction remains under-researched. Huang et al. (2022) emphasize the lack of studies on AI tool usage in discipline-specific language contexts. Existing ESP research primarily focuses on fields like medicine (Skelton and Richards 2021), engineering (Arnó-Macià et al. 2020), and business (Vázquez-Amador and Lario-de-Oñate 2022), while performance-oriented disciplines such as sports science are largely overlooked. Nevertheless, promising developments exist. Özçelik and Ekşi (2024) found that ChatGPT facilitates vocabulary acquisition and supports task-based discourse simulations. Ayman et al. (2023) observed that it aids instructors in designing customized materials. Chaikovska et al. (2024) demonstrated its usefulness in writing technical reports and providing individual tutoring, while Assassi (2024) noted its role in conducting needs analyses. López (2024) illustrated how students critically evaluated AI-generated and human-authored abstracts. However, ethical concerns persist. Scholars caution that ChatGPT may encourage plagiarism, reduce originality, and hinder critical thinking (Darwin et al. 2024), while also presenting challenges in maintaining academic integrity (Cotton et al. 2024). These issues underscore the need for strategic, guided implementation of ChatGPT in educational settings.

In response to these gaps, the present study investigates how students in performance-focused fields—such as sports science—use ChatGPT in ESP contexts. Since ESP instruction often serves as a foundation for English-Medium Instruction (EMI) in sports programs,

understanding student engagement with digital tools at this stage is essential.

2.2. Digital learning behaviours and the DNAS framework

The use of AI tools like ChatGPT must be understood within the broader framework of digital learning behaviours, particularly among students frequently described as ″digital natives″ (Prensky 2001). These learners, raised in technology-rich environments, often prefer multitasking, visual engagement, and immediate feedback (Helsper and Eynon 2010). Such preferences influence how they approach academic tasks and use digital tools for language learning. Language learning strategies (LLS)—specific techniques used to enhance language acquisition—are crucial for effective learning (Alrashidi 2022). Embi (2000) defines LLS as individualized approaches that support language development. Oxford's (1990) taxonomy divides them into direct strategies (e.g., memory and cognitive strategies) and indirect strategies (e.g., metacognitive and social strategies), with a focus on assisting learners who lack confidence or skill in language acquisition.

As educational contexts increasingly adopt digital platforms, technological fluency has become essential (Mollick and Mollick 2023). Research shows that digital natives exhibit distinct learning styles characterized by autonomy, visual processing, and interactivity (Bennett et al. 2008). Prensky (2001) even argues that prolonged digital exposure has influenced the neurological development of this generation.

To better understand these learners, Teo (2013) developed the *Digital Natives Assessment Scale* (DNAS), a self-report instrument assessing digital learning tendencies. Maqbool et al. (2020) adapted the DNAS for use in English language education. The scale evaluates four dimensions: (1) use of technology in learning, (2) digital multitasking, (3) visual/graphic communication, and (4) preference for instant gratification and digital rewards. These dimensions offer a valuable framework for examining how learners interact with AI tools like ChatGPT. However, empirical studies linking digital learning behaviours to AI usage in ESP remain scarce. This study addresses that gap by using the DNAS to explore whether digital learning tendencies predict students' use of ChatGPT for structured ESP coursework and broader academic English tasks.

3. Methodology

3.1. Study design and participants

This study employed a cross-sectional, correlational design to examine the relationship between students' digital learning behaviours

and their use of ChatGPT for academic English tasks, both within an ESP course and in broader academic contexts. The sample comprised 102 undergraduate sports science students (n=49 male, n=53 female; *M* age = 21.1 ± 1.9) from a public university in Croatia. Two participants who selected the 'prefer not to say' option for gender were excluded from the analysis.

Inclusion criteria required participants to have completed 12 years of formal English instruction throughout primary and secondary education. All students were enrolled in a compulsory English for Specific Purposes (ESP) course as part of their sports science curriculum. The course is a part of their second-year undergraduate study program and comprises 45 teaching hours.

The required sample size was determined via a priori power analysis using G*Power software (version 3.1.9.7, Düsseldorf, Germany). The analysis indicated that a minimum of 84 participants was needed to detect a medium effect size ($f^2 = 0.15$) with four predictors, at a significance level of $\alpha = 0.05$ and a power of 0.80 ($\beta = 0.20$).

Participants' demographic and linguistic backgrounds are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Educational and linguistics background of participants

Item	Percentage (%)
Type of secondary school	
Grammar secondary school	67.1 %
Vocational secondary school	32.9 %
Level of English taken at final state exam (FSE)	
Higher level	73.7 %
Lower level	26.3 %
Knowledge of additional foreign languages	
Yes	65.8 %
No	34.2 %

These background characteristics serve to contextualize participants' language learning experiences and provided a foundation for interpreting patterns of ChatGPT use.

3.2. Instrument and data collection

Data for this study were collected via an online questionnaire comprising three sections: (1) demographic and educational

background; (2) the adapted *Digital Natives Assessment Scale* (DNAS); and (3) two custom-designed items assessing ChatGPT use for ESP and general academic purposes.

The DNAS was originally developed by Teo (2013) and later adapted for language learning contexts by Maqbool et al. (2020). The adapted version used in this study measured four dimensions: ″Use of technology in learning″ (five items), ″Multitasking ability in digital contexts″ (six items), ″Use of visual/graphic communication strategies″ (five items), and ″Preference for instant gratification and digital rewards″ (five items). The internal consistency of the scale was confirmed through Cronbach's alpha, which yielded a total reliability score of 0.85, indicating strong reliability.

Two original items were created to evaluate ChatGPT use: (1) ″I regularly use ChatGPT (at least once a week) to support my language learning tasks in the ESP course focused on sports science,″ and (2) ″I use ChatGPT to help me complete academic tasks in English that are not part of the ESP course.″ The first item measured the habitual nature and frequency of ChatGPT use within structured instruction. Structured instruction refers to a formal, curriculum-based ESP course designed to build students' academic English proficiency within the sports science domain. This includes targeted vocabulary acquisition, engagement with discipline-specific genres (e.g., reports, presentations), and development of communication skills relevant to the sports context. The second item assessed ChatGPT use for broader academic purposes beyond the ESP course. This includes tasks such as reading, interpreting, paraphrasing, or summarizing scientific or technical texts that are not directly part of the ESP curriculum but are assigned as supplementary readings in other subject-specific courses.

To ensure clarity and contextual relevance, the instrument was reviewed by two experienced ESP teachers and piloted with a group of 12 sports science students. Items with quantitative response options were measured on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly agree).

The final questionnaire was administered in English via Google Forms during the first academic semester of 2024–2025 (November–December 2024). Participants accessed the form through a QR code and were informed about the anonymity of their responses and the voluntary nature of participation. No time limits were imposed. All procedures adhered to ethical standards consistent with the Declaration of Helsinki. The research has been approved by the Institutional Ethics Committee (official number: 2181-205-02-05-25-0038).

3.3. Data analysis

Descriptive statistics—including means, standard deviations, minimum and maximum values, and frequencies—were calculated for all DNAS factors and ChatGPT use measures (see Table 2).

To examine the predictive power of DNAS factors on ChatGPT use, multiple regression analyses were conducted. Regression diagnostics confirmed that all key assumptions for multiple regression were met.

The overall model predicting ChatGPT use within the ESP course was statistically significant: $F(4, 97) = 5.63$, $p < 0.001$, with $R^2 = 0.21$ and adjusted $R^2 = 0.18$. This indicates that 21% of the variance in ChatGPT use was explained by the predictor variables. The effect size was calculated as $f^2 = 0.27$, indicating a medium effect according to Cohen's (1988) conventions. Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) values were all below 2.13, indicating the absence of multicollinearity.

The dependent variable was students' self-reported frequency of ChatGPT use, while the independent variables were the four DNAS factors. All statistical analyses were conducted using the Statistics 14.1.0.8 software package (Cloud Software Group, Inc., 2023).

3.4. Limitations

This study relied exclusively on self-reported data to assess both digital learning behaviours and ChatGPT usage, which introduces certain limitations, including potential discrepancies between reported and actual behaviours due to factors such as social desirability bias and imperfect memory recall. Moreover, the lack of qualitative data limits the depth of interpretation regarding students' underlying attitudes, motivations, and context-specific experiences. While subjective measures are commonly used in exploratory educational research, future studies could benefit from adopting mixed-methods designs and incorporating objective data sources—such as app usage logs, wearable activity trackers, or in-depth interviews—to provide a more reliable understanding of student behaviour and enhance the validity of the findings. In addition, the use of more comparable methodologies and standardized data collection techniques would enable more comprehensive national and cross-country analyses.

4. Research results

This section summarises the descriptive statistics and regression analyses examining how students' digital learning behaviours—captured by the four DNAS factors—relate to their self-reported use of

ChatGPT in the ESP course in sports science and in wider academic English tasks.

Table 2 displays the descriptive statistics for the four DNAS factors and the two ChatGPT-related items. These results provide an initial overview of students' digital learning behaviours as well as their reported use of ChatGPT for both structured ESP coursework and wider academic tasks in English.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics of DNAS factors and ChatGPT use

Item	Mean ± SD	Median	Minimum	Maximum
″Using technology″	5.06 ± 1.26	5.25	2.00	7.00
″Multitasking″	5.34 ± 1.43	5.50	1.33	7.00
″Graphic communication″	4.12 ± 1.38	4.25	1.00	7.00
″Gratification and reward″	4.79 ± 1.02	4.80	1.00	7.00
″ChatGPT use in English tasks beyond ESP″	3.91 ± 2.05	4.00	1.00	7.00
″ChatGPT use in ESP course″	5.33 ± 1.73	6.00	1.00	7.00

Legend. ″Using technology″ – Refers to the use of technology in learning. ″Multitasking″ – Indicates multitasking ability in a digital context. ″Graphic communication″ – Denotes the use of visual/graphic communication strategies. ″Gratification and reward″ – Refers to the preference for instant gratification and digital rewards. SD – Standard deviation. ″ChatGPT use in ESP course″ – Refers to the item measuring students' dimension ″I regularly use ChatGPT (at least once a week) to support my language learning tasks in the ESP course focused on sports science.″ ″ChatGPT Use in English tasks beyond ESP″ – Refers to the item measuring students' dimension ″I use ChatGPT to help me complete academic tasks in English that are not part of the ESP course.″

As shown in Table 2, students reported consistently high engagement across all digital learning strategies. ″Multitasking″ recorded the highest mean score (M = 5.34), followed by ″Using technology″ (M = 5.06) and ″Gratification and reward″ (M = 4.79), reflecting frequent engagement with digital tools and a preference for immediate feedback. 'Graphic communication' had the lowest score (M = 4.12), indicating a relatively lower use of visual or emoji-based communication strategies.

Regarding ChatGPT use, students reported more frequent use for ESP course tasks (M = 5.33) than for general academic tasks in English

outside the ESP course (M = 3.91). These results suggest that ChatGPT is primarily used as a support tool for structured, course-specific academic purposes.

Table 3 presents the results of the multiple regression analysis examining the extent to which the four DNAS factors predict students' frequency of ChatGPT use within the ESP course. The dependent variable in this analysis was: ″I regularly use ChatGPT (at least once a week) to support my language learning tasks in the ESP course focused on sports science.″

Table 3. Multiple regression results: predictors of ChatGPT use within the ESP Course

Item	b*	Std. Err.	b	Std. Err.	t (71)	*p*
Intercept			0.65	0.97	0.67	0.50
″Using technology″	0.37	0.12	0.51	0.17	3.02	0.00
″Multitasking″	0.06	0.12	0.07	0.15	0.47	0.64
″Graphic communication″	-0.16	0.11	-0.20	0.14	-1.50	0.14
″Gratification and reward″	0.31	0.11	0.53	0.19	2.81	0.01

Legend. $R = 0.56$; $R^2 = 0.32$; Adjusted $R^2 = 0.28$; $F(4, 97) = 8.32$; $p < 0.001$; Standard Error = 1.46. ″Using technology″ – Denotes the use of technology in learning. ″Multitasking″ – Refers to multitasking ability in a digital context. ″Graphic communication″ – Addresses the use of visual/graphic communication strategies. ″Gratification and reward″ – Indicates the preference for instant gratification and digital rewards.

The regression results presented in Table 3 indicate that among the four predictors, ″Using technology″ and ″Gratification and reward″ are significant predictors of students' ChatGPT use for completing tasks within the ESP course. Students who frequently engage with digital technology in their learning are more likely to use ChatGPT regularly and for ESP-specific academic purposes. Moreover, students motivated by immediate feedback or digital rewards tend to engage with ChatGPT habitually, although not necessarily for tasks requiring higher-order cognitive skills. In contrast, ″Multitasking″ and ″Graphic communication″ did not significantly predict ChatGPT use in this context.

Table 4 presents the results of a separate multiple regression analysis examining the extent to which the same four digital learning strategy factors predict students' use of ChatGPT for completing academic tasks in English beyond the ESP course. The dependent

variable was: ″I use ChatGPT to help me complete academic tasks in English that are not part of the ESP course.″

Table 4. Multiple regression predicting ChatGPT use for general academic English tasks based on DNAS factors

Item	b*	Std. Err.	b	Std. Err.	t (71)	p-value
Intercept			-1.88	1.16	-1.62	0.11
″Using technology″	0.42	0.13	0.69	0.20	3.34	0.00
″Multitasking″	-0.01	013	-0.01	0.18	-0.05	0.96
″Graphic communication″	0.07	0.11	0.11	0.16	0.68	0.50
″Gratification and reward″	0.19	0.11	0.40	0.23	1.77	0.08

Legend. $R = 0.54$; $R^2 = 0.30$; Adjusted $R^2 = 0.26$; $F(4, 97) = 7.45$; $p < 0.001$; Standard Error = 1.76.

Based on the multiple regression analysis (Table 4), only the ″Using technology″ factor was a statistically significant predictor of students' ChatGPT use beyond the ESP course ($p = 0.00$). This suggests that students who frequently engage with digital technology are more likely to utilize ChatGPT for broader academic English tasks. The ″Gratification and reward″ factor demonstrated a weak, non-significant trend ($p = 0.08$), indicating a slight tendency among reward-motivated students to use ChatGPT in general academic contexts. In contrast, neither ″Multitasking″ ($p = 0.96$) nor ″Graphic communication″ ($p = 0.50$) significantly predicted ChatGPT use, implying that tendencies toward multitasking or visual communication do not substantially influence students' engagement with this AI tool.

Overall, the findings suggest that regular technology use and sensitivity to digital rewards are associated with increased ChatGPT engagement across both formal (ESP-specific) and informal academic contexts. Conversely, typical digital-native behaviours such as multitasking and visual communication preferences do not appear to support meaningful or consistent adoption of AI tools for academic language learning purposes.

5. Discussion

The findings of this study offer several important insights into how students' digital learning behaviours relate to their habitual use of ChatGPT, both within English for Specific Purposes (ESP) courses in sports science and for broader academic tasks conducted in English.

The first focal point was students' digital learning behaviours, measured by the four factors of the *Digital Natives Assessment Scale* (DNAS). Among these, 'Multitasking' was the most frequently employed strategy. Participants reported that they often engaged in simultaneous digital tasks—such as browsing the internet, reading emails, and communicating with peers—reflecting a habitual behavioural pattern characteristic of contemporary learners. These findings align with prior research linking digital multitasking to technology dependence and, in some cases, to signs of technology addiction (Al Seghayer 2025). In the ESP context, such multitasking behaviour suggests that students may facilitate fluid transitions across platforms and tasks, such as watching or recording lectures, collaborating on learning materials, and completing language assignments. However, this digital fluency has raises certain pedagogical concerns. Mark (2022) notes that constant refocusing between multiple digital stimuli may lead to cognitive overload and fragmented learning—particularly problematic in linguistically and cognitively demanding contexts. Indeed, although multitasking correlates with digital engagement, it does not consistently enhance academic performance, cognitive processing, or social-emotional competencies such as empathy and emotional awareness (Romanova 2020). Thus, while multitasking behaviour reflects sports science students' digital readiness, it also underscores the importance of instructional design that fosters focus, metacognitive awareness, and international engagement with AI-supported tools like ChatGPT. Therefore, educators might, for example, set limits on task-switching, manage cognitive load, and integrate digital tools in ways that align with students' learning goals and language proficiency levels.

In addition, students also reported high engagement with ″Using technology″ and ″Gratification and reward″ factors. Despite their frequent use, neither of these two factors emerged as statistically significant predictors of ChatGPT use in this particular study. This discrepancy suggests that while students may be generally confident in navigating digital tools and motivated by instant feedback or digital rewards, these behaviours alone may not directly translate into the purposeful or strategic use of AI tools like ChatGPT within academic contexts. This aligns with earlier research indicating that although digital fluency is widespread among digital natives, it does not inherently guarantee meaningful academic engagement with educational technologies (Helsper and Eynon 2010). The factor ″Gratification and reward,″ in particular, may reflect students' preference for tools that provide immediate answers or reinforcement. However, when not

embedded within structured pedagogical frameworks, such as for instance ESP course, such preferences might encourage surface-level learning rather than deeper engagement with language content (Huang et al. 2022). In contrast, the factor ″Graphic communication″ emerged as the least-used strategy, likely due to the text-heavy and domain-specific nature of both ESP tasks and ChatGPT interactions. This suggests that students in this ESP context may be less inclined to rely on visual-symbolic communication modes—such as emojis, diagrams, or infographics—when engaging with English academic content. Such a finding is particularly relevant given the text-based nature of both ChatGPT and ESP sports course materials, which typically emphasize verbal, written, and domain-specific discourse over multimodal expression. This may indicate a potential gap in students' digital communication repertoires or a preference for more traditional linguistic input and output modes in academic contexts. For ESP course teachers, this presents an opportunity to either reinforce students' strengths in textual communication or introduce scaffolding that expands their multimodal literacy in ways that enhance learning outcomes.

Students' prior educational and linguistic backgrounds also proved relevant. We assumed that understanding students' linguistic and educational prior experience might provide us with background knowledge of their language experience that is essential for interpreting their interaction with digital tools, as these foundational factors shape not only their language proficiency but also their confidence, autonomy, and readiness to adopt new technologies for academic purposes (Al-Khresheh 2024). To that extent, most participants (67.1%) had attended grammar schools, while 32.9% came from vocational schools. Grammar school students in Croatia generally received more intensive English instruction—four to five weekly lessons—often supplemented by Latin and an additional foreign language. This exposure typically results in B1–B2 CEFR proficiency (Council of Europe 2020), which fosters both metalinguistic awareness and confidence in academic English. These competencies likely enhance their readiness to use AI-based tools like ChatGPT, aligning with the Technology Acceptance Model (TAM), which emphasizes perceived usefulness and ease of use as key factors in technology adoption (Davis 1989). In contrast, vocational school students in Croatia, who had less extensive English instruction and fewer opportunities to study other languages, typically attained lower proficiency levels (A2–B1), making academic tasks more demanding. These patterns align with Croatian national education trends (Drljača Margić and Vodopija-Krstanović 2018) and broader global

developments positioning English as a key academic lingua franca in higher education (Hyland 2022). In the Croatian context, however, English cannot be viewed solely as a traditional foreign language but rather as what Prćić (2014) conceptualises as a nativized foreign language, shaped by local educational practices, functional needs, and sustained institutional use. Notably, many students reported proficiency in at least one additional foreign language, which further supports the view that multilingual learning environments enhances metalinguistic awareness, cognitive flexibility, and problem-solving skills (Kuralbayeva et al. 2025). Such competencies are especially beneficial in digital and academic settings. As Ratheeswari (2018) notes, engaging students with emerging digital technologies equips them not only with 21st-century skills but also with tools essential for future professional contexts. This is echoed by González-Pérez and Ramírez-Montoya (2022), who emphasize the importance of digital and linguistic literacy for professionals in multicultural environments, such as those in sports science.

Regression analysis revealed that among the four DNAS factors, only ″Using technology″ significantly predicted the frequent ChatGPT use in both ESP and general academic contexts.

This finding can be attributed to several interrelated factors. Participants, as digital natives have grown up in digitally rich environments that support rapid adaptation to new technologies. Huang et al. (2022) emphasize that sustained digital exposure fosters literacy conducive to adopting advanced learning technologies. Likewise, Bennett et al. (2008) argue that younger learners possess higher technological competence, making them well-positioned to maximize AI's educational benefits. With a mean age of 21, students in this study belong to a demographic especially open to incorporating ChatGPT into their routines. These findings reflect pedagogical shifts toward learner-centred, tech-integrated instruction (Klimova et al. 2023). Prior studies confirm that digital natives are responsive to technology-enhanced learning environments (Maqbool et al. 2020), with strategic technology use fostering autonomy, motivation (Nazim et al. 2024), and improved language performance (Zhang et al. 2025). Therefore, aligning ESP curricula with learners' digital habits can enhance language engagement and learning outcomes.

The study also found that the factor ″Gratification and reward″ significantly predicted ChatGPT use in the ESP course but not in broader contexts. This suggests that students motivated by immediate feedback and digital gratification are more likely to integrate ChatGPT into their

learning routines when those tasks are structured and curriculum-aligned. This supports findings by Yaşar and Karagücük (2024), who observed that AI familiarity can boost learning motivation. However, its lack of predictive value outside the ESP context highlights the need to design tasks that promote transferability. ESP instructors should equip students with metacognitive strategies that support autonomous, critical use of AI tools across learning environments.

Meanwhile, ″Multitasking″ and ″Graphic communication″ were not detected as significant predictors of ChatGPT use in either learning settings. This may indicate that even as students show comfort with simultaneous digital stimuli and visual media, these characteristics are not necessarily directly involved in the effective use of AI applications to achieve academic English competency. These findings are consistent with the results obtained in earlier research, that passive use within online settings does not necessarily provide students with the required strategies to utilize AI in learning contexts (Helsper and Eynon 2010).

Students also reported more frequent ChatGPT use in structured ESP tasks than in broader academic contexts, likely due to increased confidence when teacher support is available. These findings are consistent with research in EFL and ESP settings, which suggests that institutional support strengthens students' trust in and readiness to use AI tools (Özçelik and Ekşi 2024). For teachers, this underlines the importance of embedding AI tools into course design to promote effective engagement and learning.

In conclusion, these findings contribute to ongoing discussions about AI's role in language education. Using tools like the DNAS to assess students' digital profiles can help teachers develop more responsive, personalized instruction. Moreover, the study offers indirect evidence of students' preparedness for English-Medium Instruction (EMI) in future academic settings. Although not yet enrolled in EMI courses, sports science students' strategic use of ChatGPT reflects growing autonomy and competence. ESP, therefore, serves not only as a platform for language development but also as a foundation for successful future EMI engagement. By integrating AI tools purposefully, ESP courses can better support students in achieving academic and professional success in multilingual, globalized environments.

7. Conclusion and Pedagogical Implications

This study examined the relationship between digital learning behaviours and ChatGPT use among sports science students enrolled in an English for Specific Purposes (ESP) course. Using the *Digital Natives Assessment Scale* (DNAS), it identified two key predictors of ChatGPT

use: frequent engagement with digital technology and a preference for instant gratification. These factors significantly influenced students' use of ChatGPT both within structured ESP coursework and for general academic tasks conducted in English. Students who regularly utilized digital tools were more likely to engage with ChatGPT to support both course-specific and broader academic activities. In contrast, multitasking and visual communication behaviours showed limited predictive value, suggesting that not all aspects of digital nativeness contribute equally to AI-assisted learning.

These findings have several important pedagogical implications for educators and curriculum designers. Integrating tools like ChatGPT into ESP instruction—particularly for activities such as vocabulary development, genre-based writing, or drafting academic texts—can enhance engagement and improve learning outcomes. However, structured implementation and pedagogical scaffolding are essential to uphold academic integrity. Institutions should also provide training that promotes the ethical and critical use of AI tools to mitigate risks of overreliance or misuse. The observed correlation between digital engagement and AI use underscores the potential of personalized, technology-driven instruction. Instruments like the DNAS can help educators identify learner profiles and tailor support accordingly.

Therefore, embedding AI practices within ESP courses can prepare students for future English-Medium Instruction (EMI) and international professional environments—particularly relevant in applied fields such as sports science. Overall, this study highlights the value of learner-centred, digitally responsive ESP pedagogy that aligns with students' technological habits and evolving academic and professional demands.

Works Cited:

Abraham, Mihireteab, et al. "Effects of Information Communication Technology-Assisted Teaching Training on English Language Teachers' Pedagogical Knowledge and English Language Proficiency." *Cogent Education*, vol. 9, no. 1, 2022, p. 2028336.

Adeshola, Ibrahim, and Adeola Praise Adepoju. "The Opportunities and Challenges of ChatGPT in Education." *Interactive Learning Environments*, vol. 32, no. 2, 2023, pp. 1-14.

Al-Khresheh, Mohammad H. "Bridging Technology and Pedagogy from a Global Lens: Teachers' Perspectives on Integrating ChatGPT in English Language Teaching." *Computers and Education: Artificial Intelligence*, vol. 6, 2024, p. 100218.

Alrashidi, Oquab. "Assessing Language Learning Strategies Employed by University English Major Students in Saudi Arabia." *Cogent Education*, vol. 9, no. 1, 2022, p. 2074935.

Al Seghayer, Khalid. "Exploring the Effects of Digital Multitasking on EFL Learners' Reading: Tendencies, Motivation, and Self-Perceived Abilities." *Journal of Educational Sciences*, vol. 37, no. 1, 2025, pp. 62-76.

Arnó-Macià, Elisabet, and Marta Aguilar. "ESP, EMI and Interculturality: How Internationalised Are University Curricula in Catalonia?" *ESP Today*, vol. 6, no. 2, 2018, pp. 184-207.

Arnó-Macià, Elisabet, Marta Aguilar-Pérez, and Dietmar Tatzl. "Engineering Students' Perceptions of the Role of ESP Courses in Internationalized Universities." *English for Specific Purposes*, vol. 58, 2020, pp. 58-74.

Assassi, Tarek. "ESP Practitioners' Perspectives on the Efficiency of Using Artificial Intelligence 'ChatGPT' in Needs Analysis." *Computer Assisted Language Learning*, 2024, pp. 1-32.

Ayman, Sarah M. A. A. A., et al. "Enhancing the Teaching and Learning of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) with ChatGPT." *International Journal of Technology and Education Research*, vol. 1, no. 3, 2023, pp. 40-49.

Baidoo-Anu, David, and Leticia Owusu Ansah. "Education in the Era of Generative Artificial Intelligence (AI): Understanding the Potential Benefits of ChatGPT in Promoting Teaching and Learning." *Journal of AI*, vol. 7, no. 1, 2023, pp. 52-62.

Bennett, Sue, et al. "The 'Digital Natives' Debate: A Critical Review of the Evidence." *British Journal of Educational Technology*, vol. 39, no. 5, 2008, pp. 775-786.

Borucinsky, Martina, et al. "Translation Quality Evaluation of Croatian-to-English Machine-Translated Administrative Texts." *Folia Linguistica et Litteraria*, vol. 51, 2025, pp. 193-212.

Bowles, Hugo, and Amanda C. Murphy, editors. *English-Medium Instruction and the Internationalization of Universities*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.

Chaikovska, Olha, et al. "Perception of Masters in Electrical Engineering of Using ChatGPT in ESP Learning." *Proceedings of the 23rd International Scientific Conference 'Engineering for Rural Development'*, vol. 23, 2024, pp. 1114-1119, Jelgava, Latvia.

Cotton, Debby R. E., et al. "Chatting and Cheating: Ensuring Academic Integrity in the Era of ChatGPT." *Innovations in Education and Teaching International*, vol. 61, no. 2, 2024, pp. 228-239.

Council of Europe. *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment – Companion Volume*. Council of Europe Publishing, 2020, www.coe.int/lang-cefr. Accessed 26 Jan. 2025.

Darwin, D. Rusdin, et al. "Critical Thinking in the AI Era: An Exploration of EFL Students' Perceptions, Benefits, and Limitations." *Cogent Education*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2024, p. 2290342.

Davis, Fred D. "Perceived Usefulness, Perceived Ease of Use, and User Acceptance of Information Technology." *MIS Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 3, 1989, pp. 319-340.

Drljača Margić, Branka, and Ivana Vodopija-Krstanović. "Language Development for English-Medium Instruction: Teachers' Perceptions, Reflections and Learning." *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, vol. 35, 2018, pp. 31-41.

Embi, Mohamed Amin. *Language Learning Strategies: A Malaysian Context*. Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia Press, 2000.

Fletcher, John D. "Evidence for Learning from Technology-Assisted Instruction." *Technology Applications in Education: A Learning View*, edited by Harold F. O'Neil and Ray S. Perez, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2003, pp. 79-99.

González-Pérez, Luis I., and María Soledad Ramírez-Montoya. "Components of Education 4.0 in 21st Century Skills Frameworks: Systematic Review." *Sustainability*, vol. 14, no. 3, 2022, p. 1493.

Hellstrom, Thomas. "AI and Its Consequences for the Written Word." *Frontiers in Artificial Intelligence*, vol. 6, 2024, p. 1326166.

Helsper, Ellen J., and Rebecca Eynon. "Digital Natives: Where Is the Evidence?" *British Educational Research Journal*, vol. 36, no. 3, 2010, pp. 503-520.

Huang, Weijiao, et al. "Chatbots for Language Learning: Are They Really Useful? A Systematic Review of Chatbot-Supported Language Learning." *Journal of Computer Assisted Learning*, vol. 38, no. 1, 2022, pp. 237-257.

Hyland, Ken. "English for Specific Purposes: What Is It and Where Is It Taking Us?" *ESP Today*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2022, pp. 202-220.

Ivković, Gordana. "Many Faces of a Chatbot: The Use of Positive and Negative Politeness Strategies in Argumentative Communication with a Chatbot." *Folia Linguistica et Litteraria*, vol. 49, 2024, pp. 158-177.

Klimova, Blanka, et al. "A Systematic Review on the Use of Emerging Technologies in Teaching English as an Applied Language at the University Level." *Systems*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2023, p. 42.

Koraishi, Osama. "Teaching English in the Age of AI: Embracing ChatGPT to Optimize EFL Materials and Assessment." *Language Education and Technology*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2023, pp. 55-72.

Kuralbayeva, Aliya, et al. "Enhancing Communicative Competence of Future Athletes through the Integration of International Languages in Team Sports among Multicultural Students." *Retos: Nuevas Tendencias en Educación Física, Deporte y Recreación*, vol. 66, 2025, pp. 585-598.

López, Natalia Mora. "ChatGPT in ESP: Improving Scientific Writing through Authorship Identification." *English Linguistics Meets the 21st Century*, edited by David M. González and Pedro R. Porras, vol. 207, Dykinson, 2024, pp. 69-83.

Maqbool, Saima, et al. "Language Learning Strategies for Gen Z ESL Learners as Digital Natives." *Universal Journal of Educational Research*, vol. 8, no. 8, 2020, pp. 3439-3448.

Mark, Gloria. *Multitasking in the Digital Age*. Springer, 2022.

Mollick, Ethan R., and Lilach Mollick. *Using AI to Implement Effective Teaching Strategies in Classrooms: Five Strategies, Including Prompts*. The Wharton School, 2023.

Mun, Chee-young. "EFL Learners' English Writing Feedback and Their Perception of Using ChatGPT." *Journal of English Teaching through Movies and Media*, vol. 25, no. 2, 2024, pp. 26-39.

Nazim, Mohd, et al. "Teachers' Employment for Student Centered Pedagogy and Assessment Practices in the EFL Classroom from Students' Perspective." *International Journal of Education in Mathematics, Science and Technology*, vol. 12, no. 3, 2024, pp. 605-620.

Nguyen, Thi T. H. "EFL Teachers' Perspectives toward the Use of ChatGPT in Writing Classes: A Case Study at Van Lang University." *International Journal of Language Instruction*, vol. 2, no. 3, 2023, pp. 1-47.

Oxford, Rebecca L. *Language Learning Strategies: What Every Teacher Should Know*. Newbury House, 1990.

Özçelik, Nermin P., and Gonca Y. Ekşi. "Cultivating Writing Skills: The Role of ChatGPT as a Learning Assistant—A Case Study." *Smart Learning Environments*, vol. 11, no. 10, 2024.

Paltridge, Brian, and Sue Starfield. "Introduction." *The Handbook of English for Specific Purposes*, edited by Brian Paltridge and Sue Starfield, Wiley-Blackwell, 2013, pp. 1-4.

Peachey, Nik. *ChatGPT in the Language Classroom*. Peachey Publications, 2023.

Platonova, Raisa I., et al. "Knowledge in Digital Environments: A Systematic Review of Literature." *Frontiers in Education*, vol. 7, 2022, p. 1060455.

Prćić, T. "English as the Nativized Foreign Language and Its Impact on Serbian: An Analysis of the Anglicization and Hybridization of Serbian under the Influence of English." *English Today*, vol. 30, no. 1, 2014, pp. 13-20.

Prensky, Marc. "Digital Natives, Digital Immigrants Part 2: Do They Really Think Differently?" *On the Horizon*, vol. 9, no. 6, 2001, pp. 1-6.

Ratheeswari, K. "Information Communication Technology in Education." *Journal of Applied and Advanced Research*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2018, pp. S45-S47.

Romanova, Maria. "Digital Natives as the New Generation of Learners in ESP." *Integrating Engineering Education and Humanities for Global Intercultural Perspectives*, edited by Zhanna Anikina, Springer, 2020, pp. 483-493.

Rudolph, Jürgen, et al. "ChatGPT: Bullshit Spewer or the End of Traditional Assessments in Higher Education?" *Journal of Applied Learning & Teaching*, vol. 6, no. 1, 2023, pp. 342-363.

Skelton, John, and Catherine Richards. "Communication for Medicine: State-of-the Art." *ESP Today*, vol. 9, no. 1, 2021, pp. 9-29.

Skjuve, Marita, et al. "The User Experience of ChatGPT: Findings from a Questionnaire Study of Early Users." *Proceedings of the 5th International Conference on Conversational User Interfaces*, 2023, pp. 1-10.

Teo, Timothy. "An Initial Development and Validation of a Digital Natives Assessment Scale (DNAS)." *Computers & Education*, vol. 67, 2013, pp. 51-57.

Tran, Thi T. H. "AI Tools in Teaching and Learning English Academic Writing Skills." *Proceedings of the Asia CALL International Conference*, vol. 4, 2024, pp. 170-187.

Vázquez-Amador, María, and María C. Lario-de-Oñate. "The Role of Women in Business English Textbooks (1970s–2010s)." *ESP Today*, vol. 10, no. 1, 2022, pp. 145-168.

Vogel, Doug, and Johanna Klassen. "Technology-Supported Learning: Status, Issues and Trends." *Journal of Computer Assisted Learning*, vol. 17, no. 1, 2001, pp. 104-114.

Yang, Yang. "An Empirical Study on the Impact of ChatGPT on Writing Proficiency in Chinese EFL Learners." *Curriculum and Teaching Methodology*, vol. 7, no. 4, 2024, pp. 172-178.

Yaşar, Huriye, and Vasif Karagücük. "Exploring the Relationship between Artificial Intelligence Literacy and English Language Learning Motivation." *International Journal of Languages Education and Teaching*, vol. 12, no. 4, 2024, pp. 107-124.

Zhang, Qinqing, et al. "Exploring the Dynamics of Artificial Intelligence Literacy on English as a Foreign Language Learners' Willingness to Communicate: The Critical Mediating Roles of Artificial Intelligence Learning Self-Efficacy and Classroom Anxiety." *Behavioral Sciences*, vol. 15, no. 4, 2025, p. 523.

Zheng, Qun, et al. "Examining the Influencing Effect of EFL Students' Digital Literacy on Their Online Learning Power: The Mediating Role of Perceived Teacher Support." *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, vol. 45, no. 1, 2025, pp. 20-34.

Zirar, Araz. "Exploring the Impact of Language Models, such as ChatGPT, on Student Learning and Assessment." *Review of Education*, vol. 11, no. 3, 2023, p. e3433.

SAŽETAK: STRATEŠKI KLIKOVI: DIGITALNE STRATEGIJE UČENJA KAO PREDIKTORI KORIŠTENJA CHATGPT-A U NASTAVI ENGLESKOG JEZIKA STRUKE MEĐU HRVATSKIM STUDENTIMA

Integracija alata umjetne inteligencije (UI), poput ChatGPT-a, potaknula je samostalno i personalizirano učenje, osobito u nastavi jezika. Iako je uloga UI-e već istraživana u kontekstu učenja engleskog kao stranog jezika (EJS), njezina primjena u engleskom jeziku struke (EJS), posebno u području kineziologije, još je nedovoljno proučena. Ovim se istraživanjem ispituje mogu li digitalne strategije učenja predvidjeti korištenje ChatGPT-a među studentima kineziologije u akademskim zadacima na engleskom jeziku – kako u okviru EJS kolegija, tako i u širem akademskom kontekstu. U istraživanju su sudjelovala 102 studenta kineziološkog fakulteta koji su ispunili prilagođenu verziju ljestvice

Digital Natives Assessment Scale (DNAS) i odgovorili na dva pitanja o korištenju ChatGPT-a: (1) za zadatke u okviru EJS kolegija i (2) za opće akademske zadatke na engleskom jeziku. Rezultati višestruke regresijske analize pokazali su da faktori „Korištenje tehnologije" i „Zadovoljstvo i nagrada" značajno predviđaju upotrebu ChatGPT-a u okviru EJS kolegija, dok samo „Korištenje tehnologije" predviđa njegovu uporabu u širim akademskim zadacima. Zaključno, studenti s većim digitalnim angažmanom i izraženijom motivacijom za brzu digitalnu povratnu informaciju češće koriste ChatGPT za podršku strukturiranom i samostalnom učenju. Rezultati upućuju na važnost uključivanja UI alata u nastavu EJS kako bi se bolje uskladila s digitalnim navikama i budućim profesionalnim potrebama studenata u međunarodnom sportskom okruženju.

Ključne riječi: Umjetna inteligencija (UI), ChatGPT, engleski jezik struke (EJS), digitalna pismenost, inovacije u obrazovanju

SPRACHLICHE HERAUSFODERUNGEN UND LERNKULTUR: ERFAHRUNGEN ALBANISHER STUDIERENDER IN DEUTSCHLAND

*Jonida **Bushi**, University of Tirana, jonida.bushi@unitir.edu.al*
*Ema **Kristo**, University of Tirana, ema.kristo@unitir.edu.al*

Original scientific paper
DOI: 10.31902/fll.54.2026.14
UDC: 811.112.2(=18)-057.875

Abstrakt: Dieser Beitrag präsentiert die Ergebnisse einer Pilotstudie mit albanischen Studierenden in Deutschland und konzentriert sich auf deren Erfahrungen sowie den Umgang mit der deutschen Sprache während des Studiums an deutschen Hochschulen. Ziel ist es, die sprachlichen Hürden zu untersuchen, mit denen diese Studierenden im Alltag konfrontiert sind, sowie den Einfluss sprachlicher Kompetenzen auf ihre akademischen Leistungen zu analysieren. Zudem wurde erforscht, welche Strategien die Studierenden entwickeln, um diese Herausforderungen erfolgreich zu bewältigen. Hierzu wurden 68 albanische Studierende (n = 68) aus verschiedenen Fachrichtungen interviewt. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass insbesondere die Fachterminologie eine große sprachliche Herausforderung darstellt und viele Studierende zu Beginn ihres Studiums über unzureichende Kenntnisse der wissenschaftlichen Sprache verfügen.

Schlüsselwörter: sprachliche Herausforderungen, kulturelle Herausforderungen, Auslandsstudium, albanische Studierende, sprachbedingte Barrieren, Studienerfolg, Strategieentwicklung, Datenerhebung

1. Einleitung

In einer Zeit, in der internationale Bildungsprogramme zunehmend an Bedeutung gewinnen, bleibt die Auseinandersetzung mit den sprachlichen und kulturellen Herausforderungen, die ein Studium im Ausland mit sich bringt, häufig ein vernachlässigter Aspekt. Ziel dieses Artikels ist es, diese relevanten sprachlichen Fragestellungen zu beleuchten, indem die Erfahrungen albanischer Studierender in Deutschland analysiert werden. Die Wahl des Themas begründet sich in

der zunehmenden Globalisierung des Bildungswesens sowie in der stetig wachsenden Zahl von Studierenden, die sich für ein Auslandsstudium entscheiden. Im Mittelpunkt dieser Untersuchung steht folgende Leitfrage: Wie bewältigen albanische Studierende die sprachlichen Herausforderungen an deutschen Hochschulen?

Zur Beantwortung dieser Frage wurden qualitative Daten auf der Grundlage von Befragungen der betroffenen Studierenden erhoben. Um diese Ergebnisse fundiert einordnen und interpretieren zu können, wird zunächst ein kurzer Überblick über die theoretischen Grundlagen zum Verständnis sprachlicher Herausforderungen im Kontext internationaler Bildung gegeben. Daran anschließend wird der methodische Ansatz der Studie kurz erläutert und begründet. Im weiteren Verlauf werden die empirischen Ergebnisse zunächst deskriptiv dargestellt, bevor sie im Hinblick auf die zentrale Forschungsfrage ausführlich diskutiert werden. Abschließend werden zentrale Schlussfolgerungen präsentiert, die sich aus der Diskussion ergeben und den Beitrag abrunden.

2. Theoretische Hintergründe: Studieren in der Fremdsprache Deutsch und Herausforderungen der Wissenschaftssprache für albanische Studierende

Die Kommunikation in einer Fremdsprache – in diesem Fall Deutsch als Zweitsprache für albanische Studierende an deutschen Hochschulen – stellt eine besondere Herausforderung dar. Dies liegt daran, dass die Zweitsprache nicht nur im akademischen Kontext verwendet wird, sondern auch im Alltag unabdingbar ist und eine kontinuierliche Anpassung der sprachlichen Kompetenzen erfordert. Ehlich (1980: 27) beschreibt diese Form der Interaktion als „eine sich stets neu reproduzierende Gefährdung ihrer selbst“, die fortwährende sprachliche Anpassungsleistungen seitens der Sprechenden verlangt. Besonders deutlich werden diese Herausforderungen im akademischen Kontext, in dem nicht nur grammatikalische Korrektheit erwartet wird, sondern auch ein spezifischer Ausdrucksstil und komplexe Argumentationsstrukturen gefordert sind.

Ehlichs empirische Untersuchungen zur deutschen Wissenschaftssprache (1993, 1995, 1996) zeigen, dass Verständnisschwierigkeiten internationaler Studierender weniger durch Fachterminologie oder grammatikalische Komplexität verursacht werden, sondern vielmehr durch die sogenannte „Alltägliche Wissenschaftssprache“ (AWS). Obwohl der Begriff auf den ersten Blick widersprüchlich erscheint – da Wissenschaftssprache typischerweise präzise, formal und fachlich geprägt ist, während Alltagssprache

informell und allgemein verständlich ist –, bezeichnet AWS lexikalische Elemente, die sowohl in alltäglichen als auch in wissenschaftlichen Kontexten vorkommen. Gerade diese lexikalische Schnittstelle zwischen Alltags- und Fachsprache erschwert internationalen Studierenden das Textverständnis erheblich, da Begriffe aus dem Alltag in akademischen Kontexten häufig neue Bedeutungsnuancen erhalten (Ehlich 1995). Albanische Studierende stehen somit vor der doppelten Herausforderung, sowohl die deutsche Sprache als Wissenschaftssprache als auch die damit verbundenen akademischen Diskurskonventionen zu erlernen.[1]

Feilke und Steinhoff (2003: 118) betonen, dass sich Studierende in einer paradoxen Situation befinden: Sie sind inhaltlich noch Novizen, müssen jedoch sprachlich den Eindruck erwecken, bereits Experten zu sein. Dies erfordert eine wissenschaftssprachliche Kompetenz, die deutlich über den allgemeinen Fremdsprachenerwerb hinausgeht. Gaefen (2002: 11) stellt fest, dass das Hauptproblem häufig nicht die Fachsprache selbst ist, sondern die Unsicherheit im Umgang mit wissenschaftlichen Textsorten, Argumentationsstrukturen und sprachlichen Registern.

Die Verwendung der Wissenschaftssprache stellt albanische Studierende oftmals vor erhebliche Herausforderungen – insbesondere deshalb, weil das wissenschaftliche Schreiben eine kohärente und logisch strukturierte Argumentation verlangt. Moll (2003: 29) hebt hervor, dass Studierende, die nicht in dieser akademischen Tradition sozialisiert wurden, dabei auf erhebliche Schwierigkeiten stoßen. Sprachliche Unsicherheiten beim Verfassen wissenschaftlicher Texte

[1] Um ein Studium in Deutschland aufnehmen zu können, müssen albanische SchülerInnen in der Regel Sprachprüfungen ablegen, die ihre Deutschkenntnisse auf dem für das Studium erforderlichen Niveau nachweisen. Zu den gängigsten Prüfungen zählen das Deutsche Sprachdiplom (DSD), der TestDaF (Test Deutsch als Fremdsprache), das Goethe-Zertifikat sowie das telc-Zertifikat Hochschule (Bushi/Neçaj 2024: 27). Die erfolgreiche Absolvierung einer dieser Prüfungen ist eine grundlegende Voraussetzung für die Studienaufnahme in Deutschland. Sie dient nicht nur dem Nachweis ausreichender Sprachkenntnisse, sondern erleichtert auch die Integration in das akademische und soziale Leben vor Ort. Folglich verfügten die Befragten bereits vor ihrer Einreise nach Deutschland über Deutschkenntnisse. Die am häufigsten abgelegten Prüfungen waren laut den Angaben der Teilnehmenden vor allem solche des Goethe-Instituts und von telc (Kristo/Bushi 2024: 225).

führen nicht selten zu Selbstzweifeln, die im schlimmsten Fall sogar zum Studienabbruch führen können (Feilke 2002: 1). Zur Bewältigung dieser Schwierigkeiten ist eine gezielte Unterstützung unerlässlich. Gaefen (2002: 11) betont, dass neben allgemeinen Sprachkursen insbesondere Angebote hilfreich sind, die explizit auf die Anforderungen wissenschaftssprachlicher Kommunikation eingehen – etwa Workshops zum wissenschaftlichen Schreiben, regelmäßige Schreibpraxis oder das intensive Lesen akademischer Texte. Auch Mentoring-Programme können albanischen Studierenden dabei helfen, akademische Konventionen besser zu verstehen und ihre wissenschaftliche Ausdrucksfähigkeit gezielt weiterzuentwickeln.

3. Empirischer Teil

Die Pilotstudie wurde im Wintersemester 2023 an vier verschiedenen deutschen Universitäten durchgeführt. Befragt wurden insgesamt 68 albanische Studierende (n = 68), die zu diesem Zeitpunkt an folgenden Hochschulen immatrikuliert waren: 38 an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 16 an der Technischen Universität München, 6 an der Universität Würzburg und 8 an der Universität Berlin. Zu den beliebtesten Studienrichtungen der Befragten zählten die Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften, gefolgt von den Mathematik-, Natur-, Sprach-, Kultur- und Geisteswissenschaften sowie den Fächern Medizin und Ingenieurwesen.

3.1 Methodisches Vorgehen

Die Entscheidung für das Mixed-Method- Verfahren, d. h. die Kombination von quantitativen und qualitativen Forschungsmethoden begründet sich in der vorliegenden Pilotstudie mit dem Vorteil, die Aussagekraft gewonnener Daten breiter zu stützen. Die qualitativen Daten wurden in diesem Artikel genutzt, um die Aussagekraft der aus quantitativen Analysen gewonnenen Erkenntnisse und Befunde zu veranschaulichen.

3.2 Stichprobe und deren Charakteristika

Die Stichprobe der Studie umfasste 68 albanische Studierende, die in verschiedenen akademischen Disziplinen an deutschen Universitäten eingeschrieben waren. Die Auswahl der Teilnehmenden erfolgte zufällig, um eine möglichst breite Repräsentativität hinsichtlich Studienfachs und Studienphase (Bachelor oder Master) zu gewährleisten. Der Fragebogen wurde über eine Online-Umfrageplattform verbreitet, wobei deren Benutzerfreundlichkeit und

die Möglichkeit zur anonymen Teilnahme ausschlaggebend waren. Neben der digitalen Verbreitung über soziale Medien und E-Mail-Verteiler wurde auch gezielt der persönliche Kontakt zu Studierenden gesucht, um deren Teilnahmebereitschaft zu erhöhen. Dieser kombinierte Ansatz gewährleistete, dass möglichst viele potenzielle Teilnehmende erreicht und für die Relevanz der Umfrage sensibilisiert wurden. Die freiwillige und anonyme Teilnahme förderte die Bereitschaft der Befragten, offen und ehrlich zu antworten.

3.3 Pretest

Um die Verlässlichkeit und Relevanz der Forschungsinstrumente sicherzustellen, wurde vor der Haupterhebung ein Pretest durchgeführt. Dieser diente dazu, die Verständlichkeit, Klarheit und Angemessenheit der Fragebögen zu evaluieren. An diesem Pretest nahmen zehn albanische Studierende teil, die zu diesem Zeitpunkt in Deutschland studierten. Die Rückmeldungen aus dem Pretest wurden genutzt, um die Formulierungen zu optimieren und potenzielle Missverständnisse auszuräumen. Dadurch konnte die Qualität der anschließenden Haupterhebung maßgeblich verbessert werden.

Die Datenerhebung erfolgte in zwei Phasen. In der ersten Phase wurde der Fragebogen über eine Online-Plattform (Google Forms) elektronisch verteilt. Dies ermöglichte es den Teilnehmenden, die Fragen zeitlich flexibel und ortsunabhängig zu beantworten. In der zweiten Phase wurden ergänzend persönliche sowie virtuelle Interviews durchgeführt, um vertiefende Einblicke zu gewinnen und die im Fragebogen erfassten Aussagen weiter auszudifferenzieren. Die Interviews wurden mit Einwilligung der Teilnehmenden aufgezeichnet und anschließend transkribiert.

Die quantitativ erhobenen Daten wurden mit der Software *Microsoft Excel* ausgewertet. Für die qualitative Analyse der Interviews kam das Verfahren der *Halbinterpretativen Arbeitstranskription (HIAT)* zum Einsatz. Die Entscheidung für diese beiden Instrumente basierte auf ihren jeweiligen Stärken im Umgang mit den spezifischen Datenarten: Excel eignet sich für die strukturierte Verarbeitung und Visualisierung quantitativer Daten, während HIAT eine differenzierte und nachvollziehbare Transkription gesprochener Sprache ermöglicht.

Alle Erhebungsinstrumente – sowohl der Fragebogen als auch der Interviewleitfaden – wurden in deutscher Sprache konzipiert. Die transkribierten Interviews wurden in fortlaufend nummerierte Abschnitte gegliedert. Da sich alle nachfolgenden Zitate auf diese Transkriptionen beziehen, erfolgt ihre Kennzeichnung in einer komprimierten Form: Die erste Ziffer verweist auf die Seite des

Transkripts, die zweite auf den jeweiligen Abschnitt. Dieses Vorgehen orientiert sich methodisch an den Empfehlungen von Rüdiger (1997: 305) aus seinem Beitrag *„Wissenschaftssprachliche Erfahrungen von brasilianischen Studierenden beim Studium in Deutschland“*, veröffentlicht in *Wissenschaftliches Schreiben – Lehren und Lernen*, herausgegeben von Ehlich & Steets (: 305–325).

4. Darstellung der Ergebnisse

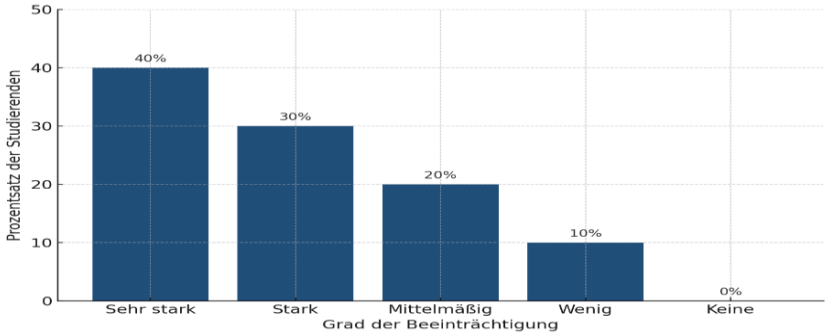
Im Folgenden werden die Ergebnisse der empirischen Untersuchung dargestellt. Die Analyse ist thematisch in drei Hauptbereiche gegliedert: erstens die sprachlichen Kompetenzen und Barrieren, zweitens die Anpassung an die akademische Kultur und drittens die soziale Integration sowie die vorhandenen Unterstützungsstrukturen albanischer Studierender in Deutschland. Zunächst werden die quantitativen Ergebnisse des standardisierten Fragebogens anhand von Grafiken veranschaulicht und deskriptiv erläutert, um einen Überblick über die Häufigkeitsverteilungen zu ermöglichen. Daran anschließend folgt eine interpretative Auswertung qualitativer Daten, die auf Basis halbstrukturierter Interviews erhoben wurden. Diese Interviewdaten ergänzen die quantitativen Befunde, indem sie individuelle Sichtweisen und konkrete Erfahrungen der Befragten sichtbar machen.

4.1 Sprachliche Kompetenz und Barrieren

Auf die Frage, inwiefern sprachliche Barrieren ihr Studium in Deutschland beeinträchtigen, gaben 40 % der Studierenden an, dass insbesondere Fachterminologie und die Komplexität wissenschaftlicher Texte große Herausforderungen darstellen. Viele berichten, dass sie sich in Seminaren und Vorlesungen oft verloren fühlen, da sie den Diskussionen aufgrund der sprachlichen Anforderungen nicht immer folgen können. Diese Befunde decken sich mit den Ergebnissen von Feilke (2002), der betont, dass die Bewältigung wissenschaftssprachlicher Register für Nicht-Muttersprachler eine zentrale Hürde im Hochschulalltag darstellt.

Weitere 30 % der Teilnehmenden gaben an, Schwierigkeiten beim Verfassen wissenschaftlicher Arbeiten sowie bei der mündlichen Kommunikation in Lehrveranstaltungen zu haben. 20 % fühlen sich zwar durch vorherige Sprachkurse gut vorbereitet, stoßen jedoch bei spezifischer Fachterminologie und komplexen Themenbereichen an ihre Grenzen. Eine kleinere Gruppe von 10 %, die bereits vor Studienbeginn in Deutschland gelebt hat oder über sehr gute Deutschkenntnisse

verfügt, erlebt lediglich geringe sprachliche Schwierigkeiten. Bemerkenswert ist, dass keine der befragten Personen angab, vollständig frei von sprachlichen Barrieren zu sein.

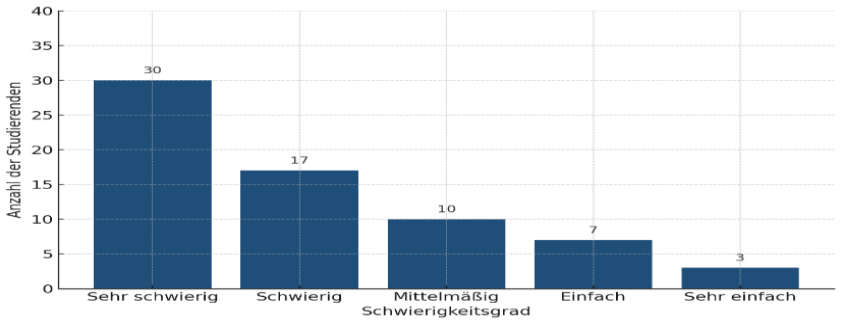


Grafik 1: Beeinträchtigung des Studiums durch sprachliche Barrieren

4.2 Umgang mit Literatur auf Deutsch

Auf die Frage, wie herausfordernd sie den Umgang mit wissenschaftlicher Literatur in deutscher Sprache empfinden, gaben 45 % der befragten Studierenden an, diesen als *sehr schwierig* wahrzunehmen; weitere 25 % stuften ihn als *schwierig* ein. Damit berichten insgesamt 70 % der albanischen Studierenden in Deutschland von erheblichen sprachlichen Barrieren beim Lesen und Verstehen wissenschaftlicher Fachtexte. Diese Ergebnisse bestätigen die Beobachtungen von Ehlich (1995), Feilke (2002) und Moll (2003), wonach das Verständnis wissenschaftlicher Texte für Zweitsprachlernende besonders hohe Anforderungen an lexikalische Präzision, argumentative Struktur und textuelle Kohärenz stellt. Der hohe Anteil in der vorliegenden Studie deutet somit auf ein strukturelles Problem hin, das nicht nur die alltägliche Studienleistung, sondern auch den Zugang zu wissenschaftlicher Erkenntnis und die aktive Teilhabe am akademischen Diskurs erheblich erschwert.

Die Ergebnisse unterstreichen die Notwendigkeit gezielter Fördermaßnahmen zur Entwicklung fach- und wissenschaftssprachlicher Kompetenzen. Die beigefügte Grafik illustriert die Verteilung der Antworten und dient als visuelle Unterstützung der Analyse.

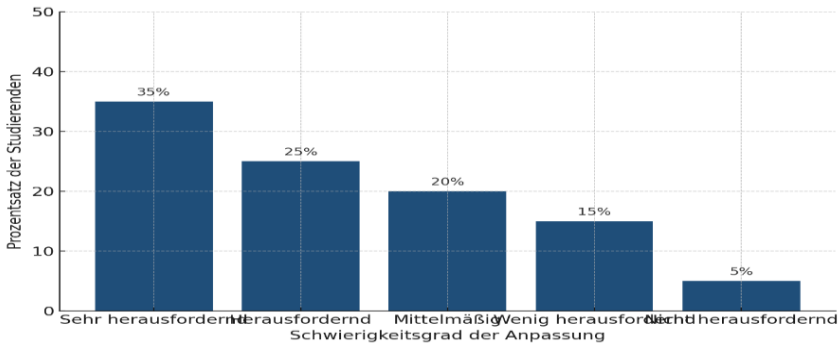


Grafik 2: Schwierigkeiten im Umgang mit wissenschaftlicher Literatur auf Deutsch

4.3 Anpassung an die deutsche Lern- und Lehrkultur

Auf die Frage, wie schwierig die Anpassung an die deutsche Lern- und Lehrkultur sei, antworteten die Studierenden wie folgt:

Die Ergebnisse der Befragung verdeutlichen signifikante Herausforderungen, mit denen albanische Studierende bei der Eingewöhnung in die deutsche akademische Kultur konfrontiert sind. Eine Mehrheit von 60 % stuft diesen Anpassungsprozess als *herausfordernd* oder *sehr herausfordernd* ein. Die zentralen Schwierigkeiten lassen sich vor allem auf strukturelle Unterschiede zwischen den beiden Bildungssystemen zurückführen – insbesondere im Hinblick auf Selbstständigkeit, akademischen Austausch und Diskussionskultur. Das deutsche Hochschulsystem erfordert ein hohes Maß an Eigenverantwortung und selbstgesteuertem Lernen. Während das albanische System stärker durch enge Betreuung und klare Anweisungen geprägt ist, wird in Deutschland erwartet, dass Studierende eigenständig Wissen erschließen, kritische Fragen stellen und sich aktiv in Lehrveranstaltungen einbringen. Besonders auffällig ist, dass 45 von 68 Befragten die geforderte Selbstständigkeit als besonders herausfordernd bewerten – ein Befund, der den hohen Anpassungsbedarf in diesem Bereich deutlich macht.



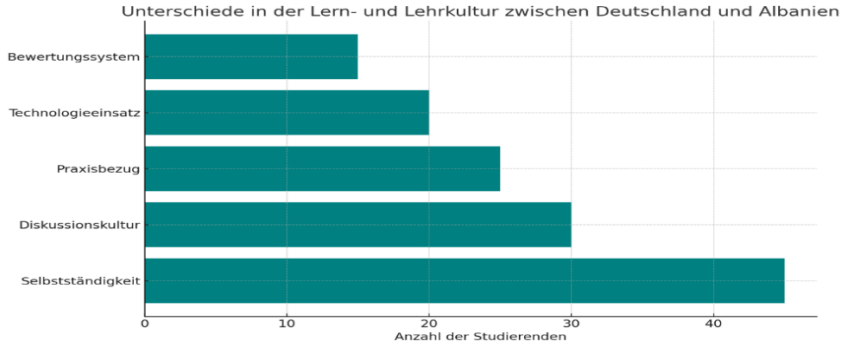
Graphik 3: Anpassung an die deutsch Lern- und Lehrkultur

4.4 Unterschiede in der Lern- und Lehrkultur zwischen Deutschland und Albanien

Auf die Frage, worin sich die Lern- und Lehrkultur in Deutschland im Vergleich zu Albanien unterscheidet, nannten die Studierenden folgende Aspekte: Von den 68 Befragten gaben 45 an, dass insbesondere Selbstständigkeit und Eigenverantwortung im deutschen Hochschulsystem eine große Herausforderung darstellen. Weitere genannte Unterschiede betreffen die ausgeprägte akademische Diskussionskultur (30 Nennungen), den stärkeren Praxisbezug (25), den intensiven Einsatz digitaler Technologien (20) sowie das Bewertungssystem (15).

Insbesondere die akademische Diskussionskultur in Deutschland wird als herausfordernd erlebt, da hier kritische Reflexion und eigenständige Argumentation erwartet werden. Im Gegensatz zum stärker lehrerzentrierten Unterricht in Albanien sind Diskussionen an deutschen Hochschulen häufig offen, gleichberechtigt und weniger hierarchisch strukturiert. Diese Veränderungen erfordern von albanischen Studierenden nicht nur sprachliche, sondern auch kommunikativ-kulturelle Anpassungen. (Bushi et al. 2024: 148)

Die Ergebnisse verdeutlichen, dass der akademische Erfolg albanischer Studierender stark davon abhängt, inwieweit ihnen diese kulturellen und methodischen Umstellungen gelingen. Zielgerichtete Fördermaßnahmen – etwa zur Förderung von Selbstständigkeit, Argumentationsfähigkeit sowie zur Einführung in die deutsche akademische Kultur – könnten diesen Anpassungsprozess wirksam unterstützen und die Integration der Studierenden nachhaltig verbessern.



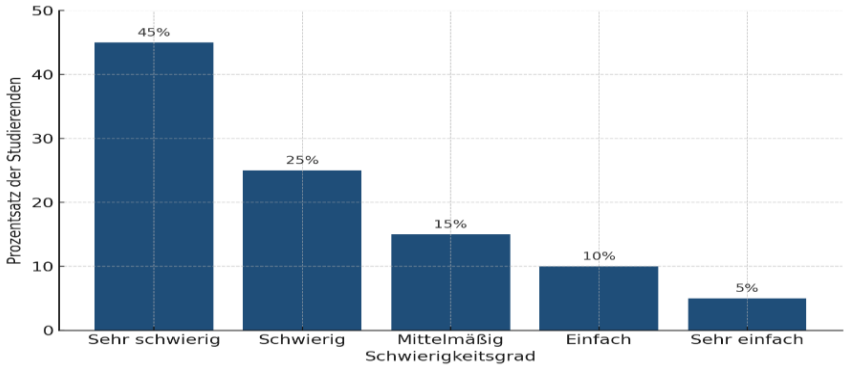
Grafik 4: Unterschiede in der Lern- und Lehrkultur zwischen Deutschland und Albanien

4.5 Umgang mit wissenschaftlicher Literatur

Die Umfrageergebnisse zum Umgang mit wissenschaftlicher Literatur in deutscher Sprache unter albanischen Studierenden zeigen, dass ein erheblicher Teil der Befragten mit signifikanten Herausforderungen konfrontiert ist. Insgesamt bewerten 70 % der Teilnehmenden das Lesen und Verstehen wissenschaftlicher Texte als „schwierig“ bis „sehr schwierig“. Dies weist auf grundlegende Hürden im akademischen Alltag hin, die sowohl die Studienleistung als auch das individuelle Forschungserlebnis beeinträchtigen können.

Insbesondere die hohe Zahl von 45 % der Studierenden, die den Umgang mit wissenschaftlicher Literatur als *sehr schwierig* einstufen, unterstreicht die sprachliche Komplexität dieser Texte. Neben anspruchsvoller Grammatik und komplexen syntaktischen Strukturen erfordern wissenschaftliche Texte ein hohes Maß an lexikalischer Präzision, fachlicher Dichte und konzeptueller Tiefe – Aspekte, die eine fortgeschrittene Lesekompetenz voraussetzen.

Weitere 25 % der Befragten berichten über Schwierigkeiten im Umgang mit fachsprachlichem Vokabular sowie bei der tiefgehenden Analyse von Textinhalten. Fachsprachen sind häufig hochgradig spezialisiert und weichen erheblich von der Alltagssprache ab, was das Verständnis ohne gezielte Vorbereitung deutlich erschwert.



Graphik 5: Umgang mit wissenschaftlicher Literatur auf Deutsch

4.6 Teilnahme an Diskussionen und Seminaren

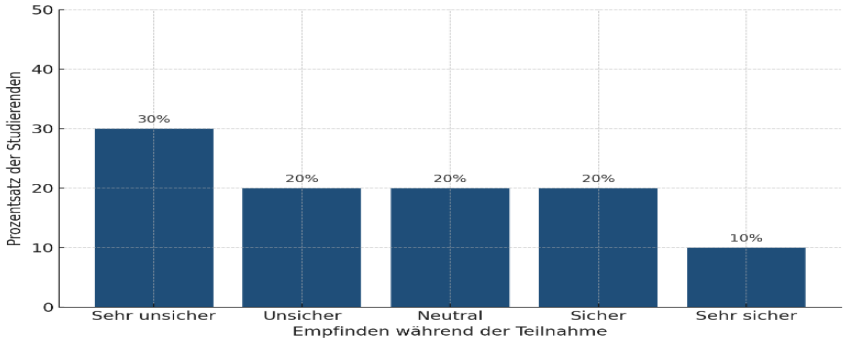
Die Ergebnisse bezüglich der Teilnahme an akademischen Diskussionen und Seminaren auf Deutsch unter albanischen Studierenden weisen auf ein gemischtes Empfinden hin. Eine Mehrheit von 50% der Befragten fühlt sich unwohl bis sehr unwohl bei der Teilnahme, was auf signifikante sprachliche und kulturelle Hürden hinweist.

Ein Drittel der Studierenden gibt an, dass die Sorge, sprachliche Fehler zu machen, ein dominierendes Gefühl ist. Dies kann auf eine Unsicherheit mit der Sprachkompetenz zurückgeführt werden und beeinträchtigt die Bereitschaft, sich aktiv an Diskussionen zu beteiligen.

Die Unsicherheit, eigene Gedanken und Meinungen auf Deutsch zu artikulieren, verstärkt das Gefühl des Unwohlseins. Dies wird zusätzlich durch die Befürchtung negativer Reaktionen seitens der Mitstudierenden und Lehrenden beeinflusst.

Neben sprachlichen Schwierigkeiten gibt es auch Bedenken, inhaltlich nicht mit Diskussionen und Seminarinhalten mithalten zu können. Dies könnte aus einer Kombination von Sprachbarrieren und Unterschieden in den akademischen Vorkenntnissen resultieren.

Die gemischten Gefühle bezüglich der Teilnahme an akademischen Diskussionen und Seminaren verdeutlichen die Notwendigkeit, albanischen Studierenden gezielte Unterstützung anzubieten, um sprachliche Kompetenzen zu stärken und kulturelle Anpassungsprozesse zu unterstützen. Durch die Implementierung spezifischer Fördermaßnahmen könnten Universitäten dazu beitragen, das akademische Erlebnis für internationale Studierende zu verbessern und ihre aktive Teilnahme am universitären Leben zu fördern.



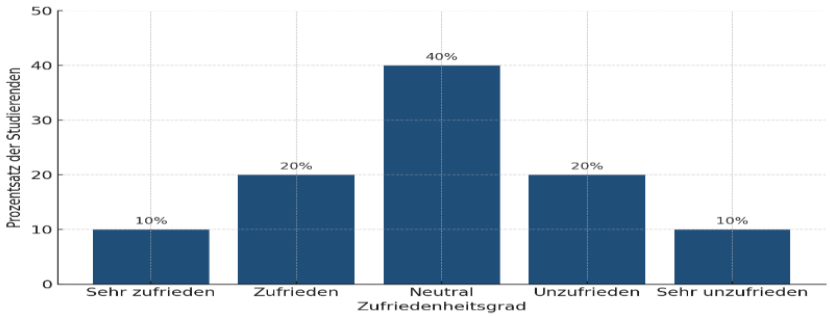
Graphik 6: Teilnahme an akademischen Diskussionen und Seminaren auf Deutsch

4.7 Unterstützung durch die Universität

Die gemischten Bewertungen bezüglich der Zufriedenheit mit der universitären Unterstützung zeigen, dass, während einige Studierende die Bemühungen der Hochschulen zur Bereitstellung von Hilfsangeboten anerkennen, ein signifikanter Anteil Verbesserungsbedarf sieht. Die größte Gruppe, die neutrale Bewertungen abgibt, unterstreicht die Diskrepanz zwischen den Erwartungen der Studierenden und den tatsächlich erlebten Unterstützungsleistungen.

Viele Studierende benötigen gezielte Hilfe bei sprachlichen Herausforderungen und bei der Anpassung an die akademische Kultur – Unterstützungsformen, die über allgemeine Beratungsangebote hinausgehen. Auch wenn entsprechende Maßnahmen existieren, sind sie für internationale Studierende nicht immer leicht zugänglich oder bekannt. Eine verbesserte Kommunikation und Sichtbarkeit dieser Angebote könnten die Zufriedenheit erhöhen.

Die Wahrnehmung der universitären Unterstützung variiert unter albanischen Studierenden in Deutschland erheblich. Es besteht ein klarer Bedarf, die Unterstützungsstrukturen weiterzuentwickeln und gezielter auf die spezifischen Herausforderungen internationaler Studierender einzugehen, um deren akademische und soziale Integration zu fördern.



Grafik 7: Zufriedenheit mit der universitären Unterstützung

4.8 Vertiefende qualitative Analyse anhand der Interviewdaten

Nachdem im vorangegangenen Kapitel die quantitativen Ergebnisse des standardisierten Fragebogens vorgestellt und deskriptiv erläutert wurden, folgt nun eine vertiefende, interpretative Analyse der qualitativen Daten. Diese stammen aus halbstrukturierten Interviews mit albanischen Studierenden und bieten ergänzende, individuelle Einblicke in deren persönliche Erfahrungen. Im Mittelpunkt stehen dabei erneut die drei zentralen Themenbereiche: sprachliche Kompetenzen und Barrieren, die Anpassung an die akademische Kultur sowie soziale Integration und bestehende Unterstützungsstrukturen. Ziel ist es, die zuvor präsentierten quantitativen Befunde durch konkrete Aussagen der Befragten zu illustrieren und damit ein tieferes Verständnis für die Herausforderungen und Bewältigungsstrategien albanischer Studierender im deutschen Hochschulkontext zu ermöglichen. Dabei wird deutlich, dass insbesondere sprachliche Barrieren die akademische Erfahrung albanischer Studierender in Deutschland maßgeblich beeinflussen. Etwa 70% der Befragten berichten von erheblichen Schwierigkeiten im Umgang mit Fachterminologie und komplexen wissenschaftlichen Texten, was sowohl ihre aktive Teilnahme an Vorlesungen und Diskussionen als auch ihre Kompetenzen im wissenschaftlichen Schreiben deutlich beeinträchtigt. Weitere 20 % fühlen sich durch ihre bisherige sprachliche Vorbereitung nicht ausreichend auf die spezifischen Anforderungen deutscher Hochschulen vorbereitet. Dies unterstreicht die dringende Notwendigkeit, universitäre Sprachkurse gezielt um akademische und fachspezifische Inhalte zu erweitern. Ein anschauliches Beispiel liefert ein albanischer Chemiestudent: *„Am Anfang war es schwer, die schwierigen deutschen Fachbegriffe zu verstehen und richtig zu benutzen. Dies führte zu Problemen in Vorlesungen und im Labor. Mit zusätzlichen Sprachkursen und dem*

Studium von Fachliteratur konnte ich meine Fähigkeiten verbessern." (3/3) Dieses Zitat verdeutlicht den Bedarf an spezialisierten Sprachförderprogrammen, die gezielt auf die Anforderungen der Wissenschaftssprache ausgerichtet sind. Die Notwendigkeit gezielter Unterstützungsmaßnahmen wird auch von anderen Studierenden betont – so berichtet eine albanische Geschichtsstudentin: *„Es war echt schwierig für mich, auf Deutsch wissenschaftlich zu schreiben, besonders als Geschichtsstudentin aus Albanien. Ich hatte Probleme damit, meine Gedanken so zu formulieren, wie es für die deutschen Standards nötig ist. Nicht nur die Grammatik und Rechtschreibung, sondern auch, wie ich meine Argumente aufbaue und Quellen zitiere, war schwierig. Aber dank Schreibkursen und viel Lesen von deutschen Büchern konnte ich mich echt verbessern."* (4/3) Diese Aussage verdeutlicht, wie dringend Maßnahmen zur fremdsprachlichen Weiterbildung von internationalen Studierenden sind, da sie wesentlich dazu beitragen können, das Studium erfolgreicher und effizienter zu bewältigen (vgl. hierzu auch Steets 2003 : 61).

Die Umfrageergebnisse unter albanischen Studierenden zum Umgang mit wissenschaftlicher Literatur auf Deutsch offenbaren, dass viele erhebliche Schwierigkeiten erleben. 45% der Befragten empfinden den Umgang als sehr schwierig, während weitere 25% ihn als schwierig einstufen. Diese Zahlen verdeutlichen, dass die Komplexität der Sprache, die fortgeschrittene Grammatik, Syntax sowie die Präzision und Dichte der Informationen in wissenschaftlichen Texten hohe Anforderungen an die Lesekompetenz stellen und wesentliche Hürden im akademischen Alltag darstellen. Ein Beispiel hierfür ist die Erfahrung eines albanischen Jurastudenten: "*Als Jurastudent aus Albanien musste ich mich damit auseinandersetzen, komplexe juristische Texte und Gesetze auf Deutsch zu verstehen und anzuwenden. Am Anfang war es echt schwer, die spezielle juristische Sprache und die Struktur des deutschen Rechtssystems zu verstehen*." (8/6) Diese Aussage unterstreicht, wie spezifische juristische Terminologie und das Verständnis des deutschen Rechtssystems zu Beginn eine signifikante Herausforderung darstellen können.

Die Beteiligung albanischer Studierender an akademischen Diskussionen und Seminaren auf Deutsch zeigt deutlich die sprachlichen und kulturellen Herausforderungen, mit denen sie konfrontiert sind. 50% der Befragten fühlen sich unsicher bis sehr unsicher, was oft auf die Angst vor sprachlichen Fehlern und negative Reaktionen von Kommilitonen und Dozenten zurückzuführen ist. Dies beeinträchtigt ihre Bereitschaft zur aktiven Teilnahme. Ein weiteres Drittel der

Studierenden berichtet von Unsicherheiten, ihre Gedanken auf Deutsch klar auszudrücken, was zusätzlich das Unbehagen verstärkt. Hier wird deutlich was Ehlich (1986: 50) die „Infragestellung der Gemeinsamkeit durch die Verletzung der kommunikativen Erwartungen“ nennt. Die Verunsicherung kommt daher, dass die Gemeinsamkeiten bzw. die Zugehörigkeit zur Gruppe in Frage gestellt wird.

Die Auswertung zur Informiertheit albanischer Studierender über akademische Anforderungen in Deutschland zeigt, dass sich die Mehrheit (40 von 68) gut bis sehr gut auf ihr Studium vorbereitet fühlt. Daraus lässt sich ableiten, dass diese Gruppe den Herausforderungen des Studiums vermutlich gewachsen ist und sich seltener überfordert fühlt. Demgegenüber stehen 28 Studierende, die sich nur mittelmäßig bis sehr schlecht informiert sehen – was auf ein erhöhtes Risiko für unerwartete Schwierigkeiten oder sogar einen Studienabbruch hindeuten kann (vgl. Graefen, 2002: 10). Daraus ergibt sich ein klarer Handlungsbedarf zur Verbesserung von Informationsangeboten, um eine fundierte Vorbereitung aller Studierenden zu gewährleisten.

Hinsichtlich der Unterschiede in der Lern- und Lehrkultur zwischen Deutschland und Albanien wird deutlich, dass vor allem Aspekte wie Selbstständigkeit, Eigenverantwortung, eine ausgeprägte Diskussionskultur sowie Praxisorientierung zentrale Herausforderungen darstellen. 45 Befragte empfinden insbesondere die geforderte Eigeninitiative und das selbstgesteuerte Lernen als anspruchsvoll, während 30 Studierende die offene Diskussionskultur als besonders prägend hervorheben – ein Hinweis auf den hohen Stellenwert von kritischem Denken und ideenbasiertem Austausch im deutschen Hochschulkontext.

Darüber hinaus betonen 25 Befragte die Relevanz des Praxisbezugs, der den Transfer theoretischen Wissens in realitätsnahe Anwendungssituationen fördert. Auch der intensive Einsatz digitaler Technologien und das differenzierte Bewertungssystem – genannt von 20 bzw. 15 Studierenden – gelten als prägende Elemente des deutschen Hochschulsystems. Sie verweisen auf eine Studienkultur, die digitale Kompetenzen verlangt und zugleich transparente Leistungsbewertung ermöglicht.

Insgesamt wird deutlich, dass die akademische Eingewöhnung in Deutschland nicht nur sprachliche, sondern auch tiefgreifende kulturelle und strukturelle Anpassungen erfordert. Zugleich eröffnet sie den Studierenden die Möglichkeit, Kompetenzen zu entwickeln, die im albanischen Bildungssystem weniger stark ausgeprägt sind.

Die Herausforderungen der Anpassung an die deutsche akademische Kultur gehen über allgemeine Unterschiede hinaus und

wirken sich auch auf individuelle Studienerfahrungen aus. Dies illustriert das Beispiel eines albanischen Masterstudenten im Fachbereich Politikwissenschaft, der signifikante Schwierigkeiten erlebte, als er sich den spezifischen Diskursstilen und Argumentationsweisen in Deutschland anpassen musste: „*Als Masterstudent in Politikwissenschaft hatte ich Probleme, mich an den Diskussionsstil und die Art zu argumentieren in der deutschen Uni anzupassen. Das war ganz anders als das, was ich bisher kannte. Um besser zu werden, habe ich an extra Seminaren teilgenommen und mich in Diskussionsgruppen engagiert, um zu lernen, wie man komplexe Themen diskutiert und verteidigt*“, berichtet der Student.

Die Zufriedenheit der Studierenden mit der sozialen Unterstützung an Universitäten zeigt ein gemischtes Bild: Während ein Großteil der Befragten (32 von 68) sich zufrieden oder sehr zufrieden äußert, gibt es auch eine signifikante Anzahl (28 von 68), die sich neutral oder unzufrieden zeigt. Diese Ergebnisse unterstreichen die Notwendigkeit für Universitäten, ihre Unterstützungsstrukturen zu überprüfen und anzupassen, um die Integration und das Wohlbefinden aller Studierenden, besonders der internationalen, zu verbessern.

Es deutet sich an, dass mangelnde Zugänglichkeit, unzureichende Informationen über verfügbare Ressourcen oder eine nicht ausreichende Anpassung der Programme an diverse Studentengruppen zu Unzufriedenheit führen können. Universitäten könnten von differenzierten Unterstützungsangeboten profitieren, die speziell auf die kulturellen, sprachlichen und akademischen Herausforderungen internationaler Studierender zugeschnitten sind.

4. Schlussfolgerungen

In der Untersuchung über die Herausforderungen albanischer Studierender in Deutschland wurden Daten von 68 Teilnehmenden durch quantitative und qualitative Forschungsmethoden erhoben. Die Ergebnisse beleuchten ein breites Spektrum an Schwierigkeiten, die sprachliche, kulturelle und systemische akademische Barrieren umfassen. Die sprachlichen Herausforderungen, insbesondere das Verstehen von Fachterminologie und die Teilnahme an Diskussionen, wirken sich nachteilig auf die akademische Leistung und soziale Integration der Studierenden aus. Zusätzlich erschweren Unterschiede in den Lern- und Lehrkulturen die Anpassung an den akademischen und kulturellen Kontext in Deutschland.

Die Analyse unterstreicht die Notwendigkeit, gezielte Unterstützungsmaßnahmen zu entwickeln, um den spezifischen

Bedürfnissen ausländischer Studierender gerecht zu werden und ihre akademische sowie soziale Integration zu fördern. Allerdings dürfen die Ergebnisse nicht als allgemeingültig betrachtet werden. Die Studie stützt sich auf eine begrenzte Stichprobe, was die Übertragbarkeit der Ergebnisse auf alle albanischen Studierenden in Deutschland einschränkt. Zudem könnten methodische Einschränkungen wie die Selbstauskunft der Teilnehmenden und der Einfluss kultureller Bias die Genauigkeit der Daten beeinträchtigen.

Diese Einschränkungen erfordern eine vorsichtige Interpretation der Ergebnisse. Es ist notwendig, weitere Forschungen mit einer größeren und diverseren Stichprobe durchzuführen, um umfassendere Erkenntnisse zu gewinnen und effektivere Unterstützungsstrukturen zu etablieren. Abschließend zeigt die Studie, dass eine umfassende Betrachtung und Unterstützung der Studierenden notwendig ist, die neben sprachlichen auch akademischen, sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Herausforderungen umfasst.

Diese Studie zeigt sowohl die Herausforderungen als auch die Chancen auf, die mit einem Studium in Deutschland verbunden sind. Sie hebt die Notwendigkeit gezielter Unterstützungsangebote hervor, um die Integration und den Studienerfolg der internationalen Studierenden zu fördern. Jedoch muss betont werden, dass die Ergebnisse aufgrund der Stichprobengröße und der spezifischen Charakteristika der befragten Gruppe nicht ohne weiteres verallgemeinert werden können. Die Limitationen der Studie deuten darauf hin, dass weitere Forschung erforderlich ist, um umfassendere Einblicke in die Erfahrungen albanischer Studierender in Deutschland zu gewinnen.

Literatur:

Bushi, J., and L. Neçaj. "Language Proficiency and Its Impact on Albanian Nursing Professionals in Germany: A Qualitative Inquiry." *International Journal of Education, Culture and Society*, vol. 9, no. 1, 2024, pp. 27-35, https://doi.org/10.11648/ijecs.20240901.14.

Bushi, J., et al. "Overcoming Barriers in Intercultural Communication: An Analysis of Linguistic, Content and Relational Challenges." *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference "Multilingualism, Innovation and Digitalization in the Light of European Education Policies"*, 2024, pp. 146-157, Korçë, Albania, unkorce.edu.al/wp-content/uploads/2024/12/Proceedings-of-the-2-nd-Conference-online-final.pdf.

Ehlich, Konrad. "Fremdsprachlich Handeln. Zur Pragmatik des Zweitspracherwerbs ausländischer Arbeiter." *Deutsch lernen*, vol. 1, 1980, pp. 21-37.

—. "Quantitativ' oder 'Qualitativ'? Bemerkungen zur Methodologiediskussion in der Diskursanalyse." *Das Gespräch während der ärztlichen Visite*, edited by Karl Köhle, Urban & Schwarzenberg, 1982, pp. 298-312.

—. "Xenismen und die bleibende Fremdheit des Fremdsprachensprechers." *Integration und Identität. Soziokulturelle und psychopädagogische Probleme im Sprachunterricht mit Ausländern*, edited by Ernest W.B. Hess-Lüttich, Narr, 1986, pp. 43-54.

—. "Deutsch als fremde Wissenschaftssprache." *Jahrbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache*, vol. 19, 1993, pp. 13-42.

—. "Die Lehre der deutschen Wissenschaftssprache: sprachliche Strukturen, didaktische Desiderate." *Linguistik der Wissenschaftssprache*, edited by Heinz L. Kretzenbacher and Harald Weinrich, de Gruyter, 1995, pp. 325-351.

—. "Wissenschaftskommunikation und Weiterbildung." *Jahrbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache*, vol. 22, 1996, pp. 171-190.

Ehlich, Konrad, and Angelica Steets. *Wissenschaftlich schreiben – lernen und lehren*. de Gruyter, 2003.

Feilke, Helmuth, and Torsten Steinhoff. "Zur Modellierung der Entwicklung wissenschaftlicher Schreibfähigkeiten." *Wissenschaftlich schreiben – lehren und lernen*, edited by Konrad Ehlich and Angelika Steets, de Gruyter, 2003, pp. 112-128.

Graefen, Gabriele. "Probleme mit der Alltäglichen Wissenschaftssprache in Hausarbeiten ausländischer StudentInnen." *Lernen in der zweiten Sprache*, edited by Jochen Rehbein and Sabine Riedel, Waxmann, 2002.

Moll, Melanie. "'Für mich ist es sehr schwer!' oder: Wie ein Protokoll entsteht." *Wissenschaftlich schreiben – lehren und lernen*, edited by Konrad Ehlich and Angelika Steets, de Gruyter, 2003a, pp. 29-50.

Rüdiger, Joana Angélica Portilho de Melo. *Als Ausländer in Deutschland studieren: Sprachliche und lernkulturelle Erfahrungen, insbesondere von brasilianischen Studierenden*. 1997. Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Magisterarbeit.

Steets, Angelika. "Die Mitschrift als universitäre Textart – Schwieriger als gedacht, wichtiger als vermutet." *Wissenschaftlich schreiben – lehren und lernen*, edited by Konrad Ehlich and Angelika Steets, de Gruyter, 2003, pp. 51-64.

LINGUISTIC CHALLENGES AND LEARNING CULTURE: EXPERIENCES OF ALBANIAN STUDENTS IN GERMANY

At a time when international education programmes are gaining increasing importance, discussion of the linguistic and cultural challenges associated with studying abroad often remains a neglected topic. This article aims to examine these crucial linguistic aspects by exploring the experiences of Albanian students in Germany. The choice of this topic is based on the growing

globalisation of education and the increasing number of students who opt for studying abroad.

Based on this objective, the following research question was of particular interest: How do Albanian students cope with linguistic challenges at German universities? To answer this question, directly affected individuals were surveyed.

Regarding the structure of this article: first, a brief overview of the theoretical foundations is provided to facilitate an understanding of linguistic challenges in the context of international education. This is followed by an explanation and justification of the methodological approach used in this study. Subsequently, the results are presented descriptively and then discussed in a subsequent chapter in the context of the study's research question. Finally, some conclusions complete the article.

The increasing mobility of students across international borders offers a unique combination of challenges and opportunities that vary widely depending on the students' countries of origin and the educational cultures of their destination countries. For many Albanian students, the choice to pursue higher education in Germany not only is motivated by the opportunity to benefit from Germany's renowned educational quality but also involves navigating significant cultural and linguistic shifts that can impact every aspect of their academic and social life.

While the German language is part of the curriculum in many Albanian schools and is growing in popularity, the proficiency level taught often focuses on basic to intermediate communication skills, which are not sufficient for the complex demands of academic study and full social integration in Germany. The academic language used in German universities involves a specific set of vocabulary, idiomatic expressions and a level of syntactical complexity that goes beyond everyday conversation. This linguistic gap means that even students who perform well in German language courses in Albania may find themselves struggling to understand lectures, participate in seminars, read academic texts and write papers at an appropriate academic standard.

Moreover, the challenge extends beyond mere language proficiency. Academic success in Germany is also tied to students' ability to adapt to different pedagogical styles. German universities often emphasise critical thinking, independent study and direct communication styles that may differ significantly from the more structured, exam-focused educational approach common in Albanian educational institutions. This pedagogical shift requires Albanian students to develop new study skills and adapt to a learning environment where they are expected to take more initiative in their education.

Social integration is another critical area impacted by linguistic and cultural barriers. Everyday interactions, socialising with peers, understanding cultural nuances and even comprehending the bureaucratic aspects of living in Germany can pose additional challenges. These social aspects are crucial as they can affect students' sense of belonging and wellbeing, which in turn can impact their academic performance and overall experience.

The dual challenge of academic and social adaptation underscores the need for comprehensive support systems for Albanian students in Germany. Such support could include enhanced language training that focuses specifically on academic German, bridging programmes to introduce students to the German academic culture and study methods, and social integration programmes that help students build networks and familiarise themselves with their new environment.

Understanding these multifaceted challenges is crucial for educational institutions and policymakers aiming to improve the experiences and outcomes of international students. By providing targeted support, universities can ensure that students not only succeed academically but also feel welcomed and integrated into their new communities, enriching the educational experience for all students.

The pilot study was conducted during the winter semester of 2023 at four different German universities. A total of 68 Albanian students (n=68), who were enrolled at these institutions at the time, participated in the study: 38 at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 16 at Technische Universität München, six at Universität Würzburg and eight at Universität Berlin. The most popular fields of study among respondents included economics and social sciences, followed by mathematics, natural sciences, linguistics, cultural and humanities studies, as well as medicine and engineering.

The decision to combine quantitative and qualitative research methods in this pilot study is based on the advantage of strengthening the reliability and validity of the collected data. Qualitative data was used in this article to illustrate the findings obtained from quantitative analyses. The study sample consisted of 68 Albanian students enrolled in various academic disciplines at German universities. Participants were selected randomly to ensure broad representativeness in terms of study programme and academic level (bachelor's or master's degree). The sample exhibited a diverse composition in terms of study field, gender, age and prior educational experience. According to demographic data, approximately 60% of the participants were in undergraduate programmes, while 40% were in graduate studies. The students surveyed came from the disciplines of technical sciences, humanities, natural sciences and social sciences.

To collect data, both a questionnaire and an interview guide were used, specifically designed for this study to capture both quantitative and qualitative data. The instruments included closed and open-ended questions to gain an in-depth understanding of the linguistic challenges faced by Albanian students in Germany. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to obtain detailed insights into the students' personal experiences and adaptation strategies.

To ensure the reliability and relevance of the research instruments, a pretest was conducted before the main data collection phase. This test aimed to evaluate the clarity and appropriateness of the questionnaires. Ten Albanian students studying in Germany at the time participated in the pretest. Feedback from this phase was used to refine the wording of questions and eliminate

potential misunderstandings, thereby improving the quality of the main data collection.

The data collection process was conducted in two phases. In the first phase, the questionnaire was distributed electronically via an online platform (Google Forms), allowing students to complete it at their convenience. The second phase involved personal and virtual interviews, enabling more in-depth discussions and further elaboration on responses from the questionnaire. The interviews were recorded with the participants' consent and subsequently transcribed.

The quantitative data was analysed using Excel software, while qualitative data from the interviews was processed using HIAT (Semi-Interpretative Working Transcription). The choice of Excel and HIAT for data analysis was based on their specific advantages: Excel is widely used for effectively handling quantitative data, whereas HIAT allows for highly detailed transcription of conversation data. All research instruments, including questionnaires and interviews, were developed in German. The transcribed interviews were structured into sequentially numbered sections. Since the following citations were exclusively taken from these transcriptions, they are presented here in a condensed form. The first digit indicates the page number of the transcript where the citation can be found, while the second digit refers to the corresponding section. The chosen presentation method is based on insights from Angelica Rüdiger's article *Wissenschaftssprachliche Erfahrungen von brasilianischen Studierenden beim Studium in Deutschland*, published in *Wissenschaftliches Schreiben – Lehren und Lernen*, edited by Ehlich & Steets, pp. 305–325.

The study revealed that most Albanian students encountered significant difficulties with academic German, particularly specialised vocabulary and complex sentence structures that are prevalent in higher education settings. These linguistic challenges were not confined to the comprehension of lecture materials but also extended into other crucial academic areas, which affected the students' overall academic experience and performance.

Firstly, the specialised vocabulary inherent in academic disciplines posed a formidable barrier. Students reported struggling to grasp key terms which are essential for understanding and engaging with course content effectively. This linguistic hurdle was particularly evident in fields such as law, medicine and the natural sciences, where precise terminology is critical.

Moreover, the complexity of sentence structures in academic German further compounded these challenges. Students noted difficulties in parsing the syntax and grammar used in scholarly articles, textbooks and other academic publications, which often employ a more formal and convoluted language style than everyday German.

These language issues impacted on the students' ability to participate actively in academic discussions. In seminars and group projects, where a high level of linguistic proficiency is required to argue points effectively and contribute meaningfully, students felt hindered by their limited command of

academic German. This not only affected their confidence but also their ability to fully integrate into the academic community.

Completing written assignments was another significant challenge. Students needed to not only understand the content but also express their knowledge and argumentation clearly in written form, adhering to the academic standards expected at German universities. Many students reported spending excessive amounts of time on writing tasks, often requiring additional help from language centres or peers.

Performing in examinations also presented hurdles. Exams often test not only the knowledge of the subject matter but also the ability to understand and respond to complex question formats in German. The students' limited proficiency in academic German could therefore directly impact their exam performance, influencing their grades and academic progression. These findings underscore the necessity for targeted linguistic support tailored specifically to the needs of international students. Effective support would help mitigate these challenges and enhance the academic success and integration of non-native speakers in German universities.

Cultural discrepancies between the educational systems of Albania and Germany presented significant challenges for Albanian students, particularly in terms of academic expectations and classroom culture. German universities are known for their strong emphasis on independent study and critical thinking – educational pillars that can differ markedly from the more structured, instructor-led approach prevalent in Albanian educational institutions. This paradigm shift required Albanian students to quickly adapt to new ways of learning and interacting within the academic environment.

In Germany, students are expected to take considerable responsibility for their own learning. This includes conducting independent research, managing their study schedules, preparing for classes without direct supervision and being proactive in seeking help when needed. For students accustomed to a more guided learning environment, this transition can be daunting. Many Albanian students found themselves overwhelmed by the expectation to self-manage their learning process, which was a stark departure from the educational norms they had previously experienced.

German academic culture often favours a seminar-style approach that relies heavily on student participation and discussion. This method stands in contrast to the more lecture-based, note-taking learning style that is typical in Albania. In German universities, students are not only expected to absorb information but also to engage actively by contributing to discussions, debating ideas and presenting their own viewpoints.

Another significant aspect of academic integration is the emphasis on critical thinking and analysis. German education encourages students to question theories, challenge existing knowledge and develop their own reasoned arguments. This approach can be challenging for students who may not have been previously encouraged to critically assess information or might have been evaluated more on rote memory and less on their analytical abilities.

Adapting to studying in a foreign language and culture presents significant hurdles, emphasising the crucial role of universities in facilitating this transition. Comprehensive support systems are indispensable for international students, particularly those grappling with both linguistic barriers and cultural integration. German universities, in particular, have a pivotal role in addressing these challenges through several focused strategies. The necessity for targeted German language courses tailored specifically for academic purposes cannot be overstated. Such courses should go beyond basic language skills and delve into academic vocabulary, discipline-specific terminology and the complexities of academic writing and communication. This is particularly vital for fields that heavily rely on precise terminology, such as law, medicine and the sciences. By equipping students with the necessary language tools directly relevant to their field of study, universities can significantly enhance students' comprehension and engagement in their courses.

The initial phases of study are often the most challenging for international students, as they adjust to new academic and social environments. Structured guidance and orientation programmes can ease this transition. These programmes should include comprehensive introductions to the university's academic conventions, teaching methods and assessment criteria. Additionally, they should offer insights into effective study techniques, time management strategies and resources available for academic assistance. By providing a clear roadmap at the outset of their educational journey, universities can help alleviate the stress and confusion that many international students face.

Beyond initial orientations and language courses, promoting ongoing cultural exchange and integration is crucial. This can be facilitated by integrating international content and perspectives into the curriculum, encouraging the university faculty to use inclusive teaching practices that recognise the diversity of student backgrounds and organising seminars and workshops that address intercultural competence for both students and staff. Universities also play a key role in supporting international students through mentorship programmes, where senior students or faculty staff provide one-on-one guidance. These mentors can offer academic advice, cultural insights and emotional support, significantly enhancing the student's ability to navigate university life.

In conclusion, the transition for Albanian students and other international cohorts studying in Germany involves overcoming significant academic and cultural challenges. Universities have a fundamental responsibility to provide robust support systems that address these needs comprehensively. By offering targeted language courses, structured guidance and a welcoming environment, and by promoting cultural exchange, universities can not only help international students succeed academically but also enrich the educational experience for all students, thereby fostering a truly inclusive academic community.

Based on the findings, the study proposes several actionable recommendations for educational institutions and policymakers:

Enhanced Language Support: Development of specialised preparatory language programmes focused specifically on academic German to better prepare students for the demands of higher education.

Orientation Programmes: Implementation of comprehensive orientation sessions that acclimatise students to the academic norms and cultural expectations in Germany.

Mentorship Programmes: Establishment of mentorship schemes that pair international students with domestic students or academic advisors to navigate their early academic and cultural experiences.

Academic Writing Support: Expansion of services such as writing workshops tailored to meet the unique needs of non-native speakers within the academic community.

Future research could investigate the longitudinal outcomes of the support systems discussed and consider expanding the study to include students from other non-German-speaking countries to evaluate the generalisability of these findings. By providing a detailed examination of the specific challenges faced by Albanian students and offering practical solutions, this extended analysis serves as a valuable resource for higher education institutions striving to facilitate smoother transitions and successful educational experiences for international students.

Keywords: linguistic challenges, cultural challenges, studying abroad, Albanian students, language-related barriers, academic success, strategy development, data collection

RECENZIJA

REVIEW

CRNA GORA I ITALIJA: KNJIŽEVNA I JEZIČKA PROŽIMANJA. STUDIJE U ČAST VESNE KILIBARDE (UREDILE: OLIVERA POPOVIĆ I DEJA PILETIĆ, NIKŠIĆ: FILOLOŠKI FAKULTET UNIVERZITETA CRNE GORE, 2026)

Jelena ***Knežević****, Univerzitet Crne Gore, Filološki fakultet, jelenak@ucg.ac.me*

DOI: 10.31902/fll.54.2026.15
UDC: 82(497.8:450)

Zbornik radova *Crna Gora i Italija: književna i jezička prožimanja* nastao je u čast akademkinje prof. dr Vesne Kilibarde, s namjerom da joj se oda priznanje za njen dugogodišnji rad na osnivanju i utvrđivanju studija italijanistike i komparatistike u Crnoj Gori. Ujedno, riječ je o prvoj ovakvoj publikaciji u izdanju Filološkog fakulteta Univerziteta Crne Gore.

Objavljivanje ovog zbornika i njegova promocija predstavljaju otud značajan naučni događaj za italijanistiku u Crnoj Gori i regionu, ali i prvi, presudni korak ka etabliranju jedne važne akademske tradicije – odavanja priznanja naučnicima koji su cijeli svoj život posvetili posebnim oblastima istraživanja i svojim pregalaštvom trajno obezbijedili mjesto našoj maloj univerzitetskoj zajednici na mapi svjetskih istraživanja u tom domenu.

Dodatnu težinu publikacija dobija time što se u njenom tematskom i metodološkom usmjerenju jasno prepoznaje istraživački horizont profesorke Kilibarde kojoj je posvećen.

Kako naslov zbornika sugeriše, u njegovom su fokusu odnosi dva kulturna prostora, crnogorskog i italijanskog, koji se uspostavljaju na tom svojevrsnom „trećem mjestu“, dobro poznatom u studijama kulture, na mjestu susreta, transfera, komunikacije i stvaranja novih značenja, na mjestu na kojem se identiteti odražavaju jedni u drugima i iznova oblikuju. U tom smislu, zbornik prevazilazi okvire klasične komparatistike i otvara prostor za razumijevanje interkulturnih procesa kao dinamičnih i višeslojnih, kao procesa kulturnog prevođenja, posredovanja i reinterpretacije.

Riječ je o interdisciplinarnoj publikaciji koja okuplja radove iz nekoliko filoloških oblasti: italijanistike, komparativne književnosti, slavistike, lingvistike i prevodilačkih studija, a ta raznovrsnost predstavlja jednu od njenih ključnih vrijednosti. Uprkos raznolikosti,

zbornik odlikuje jasna konceptualna koherentnost: svi radovi okupljeni su oko pitanja identiteta, kulturne komunikacije i kulturnog pamćenja, sagledanih kroz književne tekstove, putopise, arhivsku građu i jezičke fenomene.

Posebno se izdvaja visok nivo naučne utemeljenosti. Radovi su metodološki precizni, oslanjaju se na relevantnu i savremenu literaturu i koriste bogat kritički aparat. Urednički rad je vidljiv u jasnoći strukture i dosljednosti formata, što dodatno doprinosi čitljivosti i akademskoj vrijednosti publikacije.

U književnim studijama, u kojima autorke i autori dotiču različite vidove književnih i kulturnih kontakata između Italije i Crne Gore, često kroz prizmu putopisne literature, do izražaja dolazi način reprezentacije Crne Gore u zapadnoevropskom imaginarijumu. Analize putopisnih tekstova pokazuju kako individualna perspektiva autora oblikuje sliku prostora. Crna Gora se pojavljuje kao mjesto slobode, egzotike, ali i kao prostor projekcija i stereotipa. Ovakvi radovi predstavljaju važan doprinos polju imagologije i kulturnih studija.

U vom radu Marija Rita Leto analizirajući putovanja Edit Vorton i Meri Edit Daram, nedvosmisleno pokazuje da „ista“ Crna Gora ne postoji kao jedinstvena slika, već kao niz perspektiva, od aristokratski distanciranog pogleda do angažovanog, gotovo etnografskog interesovanja. Tekst demonstrira čitanje putopisa kao diskurzivne forme koja proizvodi značenje i time aktivno učestvuje u formiranju evropskog imaginarijuma o Balkanu.

Kao čitateljka, izdvojila bih rad Ljiljane Banjanin o Umberti Grifini, koji otvara pitanje kulturne medijacije iz mikroistorijske perspektive. Ovaj tekst je važan jer pokazuje kako su upravo pojedinci – prevodioci, posrednici, urednici – ključni akteri kulturnih transfera, iako ostaju na marginama velikih književnoistorijskih narativa. Time se implicitno postavlja i pitanje: kako danas pišemo istoriju književnih veza i koga u njoj vidimo.

Pojedini radovi vraćaju u fokus zaboravljene autore i tekstove – pomorske pisce, prevodioce i kulturne posrednike, preispitujući i proširujući kanon, doprinoseći očuvanju i reinterpretaciji kulturnog pamćenja. Rad Boška Knežića o neobjavljenom rukopisu Domenika de Katanija podsjeća da je arhivska građa uvijek otvoren prostor za nova čitanja i reinterpretacije, i da naš uvid u kulturnu istoriju bez tih, naizgled malih otkrića, ostaje fragmentaran.

Druga cjelina zbornika, posvećena jezičkim i prevodilačkim pitanjima, otvara jednako važan prostor za promišljanje. Posebno su značajni radovi koji se bave prevođenjem kulturno specifičnih termina i izazovima koje pred prevodioce postavlja složeni kulturni proces u

kojem značenje nastaje između dva sistema. Rad Mile Samardžić koji se bavi prevođenjem kulturno specifičnih termina na primjeru posthumno objavljenog djela Umberta Eka prevazilazi analizu konkretnih prevodilačkih rješenja i osvjetljava činjenicu da prevod ni u kom slučaju nije neutralni prenos značenja, nego uvijek podrazumijeva izbor između približavanja i očuvanja razlike.

Potrebno je istaći i radove koji se bave nastavom italijanskog jezika i njenim unapređenjem. Oni demonstriraju konkretne didaktičke implikacije teorijskog razmatranja nastave, od uvođenja savremenih metoda u nastavnu praksu do jačanja interkulturne kompetencije kod studenata. Koautorski rad Deje Piletić, Gordane Luburić i Gordane Mušure, usmjeren na potrebe reformisanja nastave italijanskog kao drugog stranog jezika na Univerzitetu Crne Gore, na osnovu empirijskog istraživanja nudi precizno utemeljene i praktično primjenjive smjernice za unapređenje nastavnih programa u savremenom obrazovnom kontekstu.

Izdvaja se, svakako, i rad Julijane Vučo, koji donosi jedinstven istorijski uvid u razvoj i učenje italijanskog jezika u Crnoj Gori, pokazujući kako se didaktički modeli oblikuju u konkretnim društveno-istorijskim okolnostima i kako se ta iskustva mogu čitati i kao polazište za savremena promišljanja za nastavu stranih jezika.

Zbornik *Crna Gora i Italija: književna i jezička prožimanja* u cjelini predstavlja značajan doprinos savremenim humanističkim istraživanjima. Njegova vrijednost jeste u naučnoj preciznosti, ali još više u širini perspektive, budući da povezuje književnost, jezik i kulturu u jednu koherentnu istraživačku cjelinu, otvarajući prostor za dalja istraživanja jadransko-mediteranskog kulturnog prostora.

Konačno, ovaj zbornik nije samo naučna publikacija, on je omaž profesorki Vesni Kilibardi, njenom naučnom radu, njenom dugogodišnjem pedagoškom i kulturnom djelovanju. Čitajući radove unutar okvira zbornika, jasno se prepoznaje bliskost sa njenim naučnim radom i inspiracija u njemu: interesovanje za interkulturne veze, za književne i kulturne kontakte između Italije i Crne Gore, za pitanja recepcije i kulturnog posredovanja.

Zbornik tako reflektuje njen naučni opus potvrđujući njegovu trajnu relevantnost, njegov uticaj i podsticaj za dalji razvoj italijanistike u Crnoj Gori i istraživanje književnih i jezičkih kontakata između Crne Gore i Italije u duhu savremenih studija kulture.

UPUTSTVO AUTORIMA

Poštovani autori,

Prilikom pisanja i predaje rada molimo da se rukovodite sljedećim uputstvima.

- Radovi se *predaju* u elektronskoj formi u Word formatu i to: **za oblast nauka o književnost i kulturi** na adresu foliaredakcija@gmail.com; **za oblast nauka o jeziku** na adresu: folialiguistics@gmail.com
- Obim članka **bez izuzetka** treba da bude ograničen do maksimalno **7000 riječi uključujući** naslov, ime i prezime i naziv institucije autora, spisak bibliografskih referenci, apstrakt na jeziku rada, kao i naslov rada, rezime i ključne riječi na svjetskom jeziku različitom od jezika na kojem je rad, odnosno obavezno na engleskom ukoliko rad nije na engleskom.
- **VAŽNO!** Zbog bolje međunarodne vidljivosti ohrabrujemo autore da pišu na engleskom jezku. **Ukoliko članak nije na engleskom jeziku**, mora postojati **prošireni rezime rada na engleskom** i to obima između 2000-2500 riječi. U tom slučaju rad sa svim elementima može biti dužine do 8000 riječi.
- Na početku rada daje se apstrakt (do 300 riječi) i do 10 ključnih riječi na jeziku na kojem je pisan rad.
- Kada je u pitanju formatiranje teksta, molimo pošaljite rad u formatu B5, odnosno 6.9'' x 8.9'' ili 176 x 250 mm. Ukoliko se koristite slikama ili tabelama, vodite računa da se uklope u isti format.
- Grafičke sadržaje uključite u tekst kao integrisanu sliku.
- Cijeli tekst treba da bude uređen bez proreda. Vrsta slova je Calibri 11.
- Za formatiranje teksta korisitite jednostavnu opciju „Normal“ koju nudi Word program, uključujući naslove i podnaslove.
- Podnaslovi treba da budu odvojeni jednim redom od prethodnog teksta, napisani crnim fontom (bold).
- Isticanje u tekstu vrši se isključivo upotrebom kurziva (italics), a **nikako** crnim fontom (bold), navodnicima, <u>podvlačenjem</u>, s p a c i o n i r a n j e m, verzalom (ALL CAPS) i slično.
- Koristite navodnike određene normom jezika na kome je napisan rad. Molimo da u radu ne miješate različite tipove navodnika. Najčešće se upotrebljavaju dupli navodnici, dok se polunavodnici ('m') koriste jedino unutar navodnika.

- Citat koji je duži od tri reda vašeg kucanog teksta upišite kao posebni pasus, uvučen i odvojen jednim praznim redom od teksta koji slijedi. U tom slučaju ne koriste se navodnici.
- Citati unutar rada **ne smiju** preći obim od 20% rada.
- Izostavljanje originalnog teksta unutar citata, odnosno elipsa, označava se sa tri tačke unutar uglastih zagrada: […].
- Iako to vaš kompjuterski program ponekad ne radi, molimo vas da pravite razliku između crte (–), koja razdvaja dva dijela rečenice, i crtice (-), koja spaja dvije riječi u polusloženicu.
- Bibliografske reference navoditi po MLA obrascu (MLA Citation Style).

Detaljnije uputstvo nalazi se na adresi www.folia.ac.me.

Uređivački odbor

INSTRUCTIONS FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Dear authors,

While writing and preparing your papers for submission, please respect the following instructions:

- Submit your papers electronically in Word format; for **Literary and Cultural Studies** to the following address: foliaredakcija@gmail.com
- and **for Language Studies** to following address: folialiguistics@gmail.com
- The length of the article **must not** exceed 7000 words, including **the title, author's name and affiliation, the list of references, the abstract and the keywords** in the language of the article, as well as **the title, summary and keywords** in one of the world languages (English, German, French, Russian, Italian).
- **IMPORTANT!** Because of the better international visibility, we encourage the authors to send their articles in English. However, **if the article is not in Engslish**, it has to have title, keywords and the **significantly longer summary in English** – between 2000-2500 words. In that case the length of the article with all mentioned elements and the longer summary can be up to 8000 words.
- An Abstract (up to 300 words) and up to 10 keywords should precede the paper and be in the language in which the paper is written.
- Formatting of text, please make sure it fits into the B5, that is 6.9'' x 8.9'' or 176 x 250 mm format of the journal.
- The whole text should be single-spaced. The preferable font is Calibri 11.
- For further formatting (including titles and subtitles), please use the option "Normal" your Word provides under the title "Style".
- Subtitles should be separated by one empty line from the text preceding it. They should be written in bold letters.
- Graphics, tables, illustrations, pictures should be sent as part of the papers and as integral images, making sure they fit into the B5, 176x250mm, format of the journal.
- Emphasis is provided exclusively by the use of italics, and **NOT** by bold letters, "double quotation marks," 'single quotation marks,' or underlining, s p a c i n g, ALL CAPS, etc.
- Use quotations marks consistently and as required by the norms of the language in which the paper is written. In most of cases those are

double quotations marks (“ ”). Use single quotations marks (‘m’) only within quotations.

- Quotations longer than three lines of your typed paper should be inserted as a separate paragraph and separated by one empty line from the text following it. When these quotations (paragraphs) are inserted like this do not use quotation marks.
- The quotations within the text **must not** exceed 20% of the article.
- Avoiding parts of original text within quotation, or ellipses, should be marked by the following sign: […].
- Do not confuse dash (–), which separates two parts of sentence, with hyphen (-), which connects two words.
- Use MLA citation style for bibliographical references.

For more details, please visit www.folia.ac.me.

Board of Editors