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Literature and Cultural Studies
Studije književnosti i kulture

THE CONCEPTUAL WORLDVIEW IN THE WORKS OF UKRAINIAN WRITERS: RENAISSANCE CREATIVITY

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Abstract: This study explores the peculiar features of the conceptual worldview of Ukrainian writers active during the Renaissance (in the late 15th-16th centuries). Its ultimate goal resides in analyzing the most common interpretations of the concepts of *history, state, freedom, ruler, and war* by authors working on the territory of Ukraine during the Renaissance period and defining the conceptual ideas represented by these concepts. The relevance of this research is explained by the fact that the Renaissance authors appeal to concepts that are significant for any epoch. The specifics of the interpretation of history and its representation in the artistic perceptions of the authors of this period are based on an authentic tradition, the trends of the European Renaissance, and the revival of ancient heritage. In general, the study is grounded in the semantic-cognitive analysis of the works of Renaissance representatives working in what was then the territory of Ukraine (Adam Chagrovsky, Mikolaj Hussowski, Martin Pashkovsky, Sebastian Klonowic, Szymon Pekala, Maciej Strykowski, and Stanislaw Orikhovsky). The conceptual fields of each concept selected for analysis were developed in accordance with the individuality of the notions by which Renaissance authors described them. In sum, this paper argues that the worldview of Ukrainian Renaissance writers is characterized by the awareness of the sociopolitical and cultural-literary need to write about history and its role, and to place in the context of world processes. No less critical here is their understanding of the mission of personality in history and the analysis of the activities of historical figures and the reality of that time. Thus, the work of Renaissance authors is predominantly characterized by an expressive anthropocentric, humanistic, and patriotic direction. The practical significance

of this research lies in the possibility of applying the semantic-cognitive approach to the analysis of leading concepts in Renaissance creativity.

Keywords: anthropocentrism; freedom; history; Renaissance creativity; ruler; state; Ukrainian history; war

Introduction

The Renaissance in Ukrainian literature is increasingly characterized by debates regarding the possibility of its classification as a separate period. However, the appeal to the lack of state independence during the late 15th-16th centuries made the topic of history stand out in the literary works of that time. The growing relevance of historical matters led to the increasing appeal of writers to the concepts of freedom and war, as well as traits a ruler should be endowed with. Provided that the literature of that era developed inseparably from history and writers addressed topics and problems relevant in any historical context, this paper holds the view that the Ukrainian Renaissance can be rightfully regarded as a “separate movement of its own.” In view of this, the importance of this research for literary studies is that it presents the interpretations of the leading concepts of Renaissance literature based on interpretive models traced in the works of Renaissance writers.

In general, any literary text of any historical period is characterized by a specific conceptual worldview embodied in the inseparable concepts of *history*, *state*, *ruler*, *freedom*, and *war*. At a fundamental level, all cognitive thought processes are built around these concepts (Pacheco and Herrera 2021). The absence of statehood and independence or a war-caused socio-political situation in the country are factors that only actualize national concepts of cultural significance. As a result, they acquire new connotations decoded by writers through their own understanding of the worldview and ideology of a particular literary era. Renaissance literature was shaped by an artistic understanding of the Ruthenian medieval tradition, the introduction of new European Renaissance values, and the creation of new Ukrainian writing (Brown 2020). Polymorphism (multilayering, multilingualism, variability, tendency to assimilation) is the main feature of the Ukrainian cultural space of the 16th century (Bercoff 2003). These influences were brought from Europe, where the Renaissance tradition manifested both general European tendencies and those specific to a particular nation. Most clearly, they were displayed in the artistic interpretations of historical facts and personalities representing the Renaissance creativity with its specific ideas of identity and history (Schülke 2021). The main

terms designating the concepts of the territory of then-Ukraine and its inhabitants were Rus and Rusyns, Ruthenia and Ruthenians, Roxolania and Roxolans (the latter was due to the influence of the Polish tradition and was mainly used by Ukrainian Catholics). At the same time, the emergence in the synthesis of socio-political and cultural-literary traditions of the Ukrainian people as a new political subject was rather gradual (Yakovenko 2012). The polymorphism of the Ukrainian cultural space of the 16th century was a core element of the cultural code. Of course, artistic descriptions and commentaries on Ukrainian history and profound discussions on local ethnic patriotism in them were not yet a national identity, but they affected many of its aspects, determining ways to form a full-fledged Ukrainian political nation in the future.

Artistic interpretations of the history of Kyivan Rus prepared the ideological ground for the future formation of Ukrainian national tradition. The term “nation” began to be used in its modern sense only during the 19th century (Sysyn 2004). First, it characterized features of the state as a political and cultural unit. However, during the Ukrainian Renaissance, the term “nation” was predominantly referred to the “Rus” community (these manifestations of local patriotism will become national in the future) (Sysyn 2004). On the whole, the concept “nation” consists of interpretative models of antiquity in its cultural or political genealogy, which are the object of invention (Kasyanov and Tolochko 2013). Within the Ukrainian Renaissance creativity, facts from the history of Kyivan Rus became elements of antiquity that received personal artistic interpretations. During this period, the highest level of self-consciousness was inherent to the elite, especially those who were educated in Europe and promoted the synthesis of that time Ukrainian realities with European ones. It is believed that Renaissance consciousness gave educated individuals the opportunity to become citizens of Europe through their confessional affiliation and thus create their own vision of the nation (Yakovenko 2012).

The focus on the analysis of works of such Renaissance writers as Adam Chagrovsky, Mikolaj Hussowski, Martin Pashkovsky, Sebastian Klonowic, Szymon Pekala, Maciej Strykowski, and Stanislaw Orikhovsky is explained by the fact that their works (see Appendix 1) are characterized by a vivid presentation of the topics prevailing in the Renaissance society. Hence, it can be declared that they are interpreted in accordance with the Renaissance worldview and historical events that took place at that time.

1.1 Literature review

The literature of the 15th-16th centuries is one of the most frequently addressed topics in Ukrainian and European literary studies. Precisely this period gives the reason to talk about the integration of Ukrainian writing into the pan-European space (Blum et al. 2020; Shevchuk 2004). That-day literature represents a stage in the development of future Ukrainian writing characterized by cosmopolitan Europe-oriented tendencies in the interpretation and representation of history (Hui 2017). This was the point when a purely secular perception of historical material was formed. The defining feature of the interpretation of history was that these interpretations became secular and largely cultural and socio-political. The history of people was presented through the histories of personalities, with all possible manifestations of human nature and character (Penter 2021; Yaremenko 2006). American researchers define Renaissance humanism as the leading feature of Renaissance literature. They interpret it as a glorification of humans and assertion of their value and natural right to personal freedom (Kristeller 2021; Leverenz 2021). In this context, the concept of person is seen as the embodiment of the anthropocentric worldview and humanistic ideology characteristic of the Renaissance, which correlates with the military events that took place in the country and destroyed humanistic values. Against the background of the war, the ideas of national identity and readiness for self-sacrifice in the struggle for independence and freedom of the country were more and more frequent (Potter 2010). In this respect, the philosophical component as a basis for the formation of Renaissance humanism also began to be defined as a feature of Renaissance literature (Sellars 2020). The essence of such Renaissance historicism is believed to reside in putting the individual at the center of the historical process and endowing them with the right to create history (Halpern 2019; Litvinov 2014). English researchers, in turn, propose a paradigm of symbols characteristic of the literature and history of Renaissance creativity, which distinguishes these symbols from those of the previous period (Pope and Smith 2021).

As concerns the Ukrainian Renaissance, it is tightly connected with the Polish one in terms of the ideas of anthropocentrism, humanism, perception of freedom, patriotism, national identity, honor, and dignity (Astafiev 2012; Segel 2019). The lack of statehood and independence intensified the national struggle, which was reflected in the works of writers who appealed to the past and conveyed the most significant events while comparing them with the present. However, being part of other states contributed to the penetration of European ideas into the

literature, thereby creating conditions for the synthesis of national and European traditions and cultural exchange.

Problem statement

The methodology of semantic-cognitive analysis is being developed on an in-depth study of literature sources on cognitive science (Cave 2016; Lavocat 2016; Zunshine 2015) and history (Brown 2020; Keenan 2008). The aim of this study was to analyze the most common interpretations of the concepts of *history*, *state*, *freedom*, *ruler*, and *war* by authors working on the territory of Ukraine during the Renaissance period and define the conceptual ideas represented by these concepts. With reference to the above, the study objectives were as follows:

- determine the peculiarities of the interpretation of the concepts of *history*, *state*, *freedom*, *ruler*, and *war*, taking into account the Renaissance worldview traced in the authors' texts;
- develop conceptual fields of the selected concepts in accordance with the frequency of usage of the related notions in the texts;
- describe the conceptual ideas of writers represented by the concepts selected for analysis.

Methods and Materials

The peculiarities of interpretation of five key concepts of Renaissance creativity were traced with the help of the cognitive-semantic method (Glynn and Sjölin 2012), which involves analyzing the meaning of concepts in the minds of Renaissance writers as carriers of that-time worldview. The comparative method was applied to unveil how these concepts were interpreted by contemporary Ukrainian and foreign authors. Overall, the methodology of studying historical literature grounded on the literary-historical approach, comparative-historical approach, and philological analysis of texts is proved to be effective. No less beneficial is the interdisciplinary approach implying the synthesis of philological analysis methods with historical, philosophical, and culturological ones.

At the first stage of the study, the works of Renaissance writers (Mikolaj Hussowski, Stanislav Orikhovsky, Pavlo Rusyn, Szymon Pekala, Sebastian Klonowic) were scrutinized, and the five top used concepts (*history*, *state*, *freedom*, *ruler*, and *war*) were selected by frequency. At the second stage, the conceptual fields of each selected concept were developed, analyzed, and represented graphically. Finally, the notions most often used to define each concept were identified, and the frequency of their usage was studied.

The conceptual analysis conducted within the current investigation was indispensable from the discourse analysis method, grounded on studying the language by referring not only to direct meanings of the words but also the peculiarities of its functioning in a given social context. Based on these data, the conceptual fields' cores and peripheries were formed (Popova and Sternin 2007). The main criteria for distinguishing between the core and the periphery were the frequency of the notion's usage in the works of writers: those with the highest usage frequencies were attributed to the core and those with the lowest – to the periphery. Statistical indicators were calculated using the Statistica software package.

Results

The study results show that *history* is one of the most frequent concepts for Renaissance writers to appeal to. Figure 1 presents the conceptual field of this concept in accordance with the works of Renaissance writers. It clearly shows that the very nature of *history* is likely to be interpreted as events that occurred in the past or are realized through military and socio-political issues. According to Figure 2, in 86% of cases, the use of the history concept is associated with the past, and therefore, this notion can be deemed the core of this concept (see Figure 1). The second closest to the core is the notion "person" (75%), whereas the periphery is represented by the notions "consciousness" (54%), "honor" (43%), "wisdom" (31%), "education" (25%), "intelligence" (15%), and "knowledge" (11%).

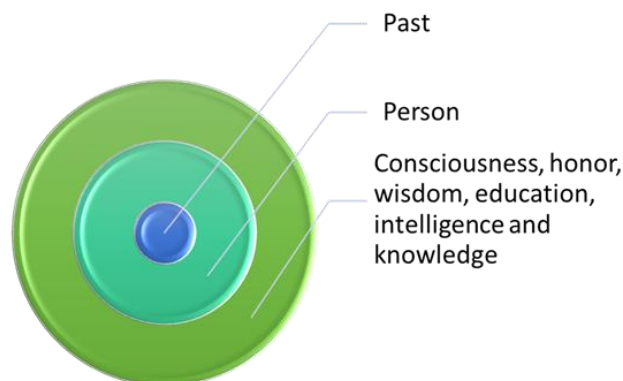


Figure 1. The structure of the concept of *history*

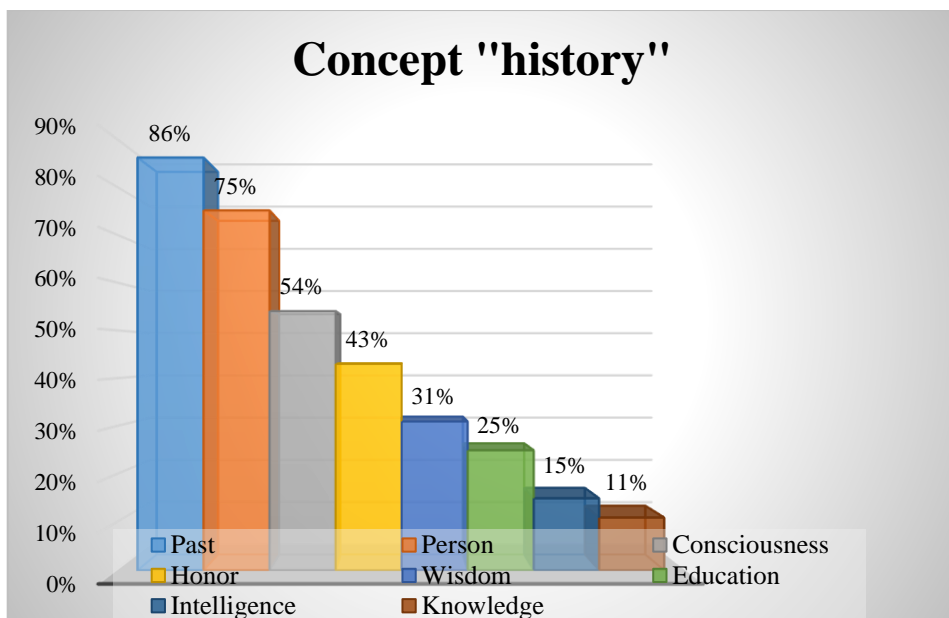


Figure 2. Notions most related to the *history* concept

Figures 3-4 depict the most frequent interpretations of the concept of the *state*. As can be seen, its conceptual field is represented by the notions “patriotism” at the core and “love” and “identity” at the periphery (see Figure 3). Accordingly, since in 91% of the works, the *state* is described through the notion of “patriotism,” it acquires the definition close to that of the “nation.” In 86% of cases, the word *state* is traditionally associated with love and in 76% with identity, which is also often used to define the aspects of a nation (provided the difficult socio-political situation of that time caused by the lack of statehood and independence. In line with this, the concept of identity was noted to be exploited by writers in a religious context, so in 43% of cases, the nation correlates with “confession.” The least used in terms of frequency appeared to be the “folklore” (25%). Based on these statistical data, one can confidently infer that the periphery of the conceptual field of the concept of *state* is represented by the notions “confession” and “folklore.”

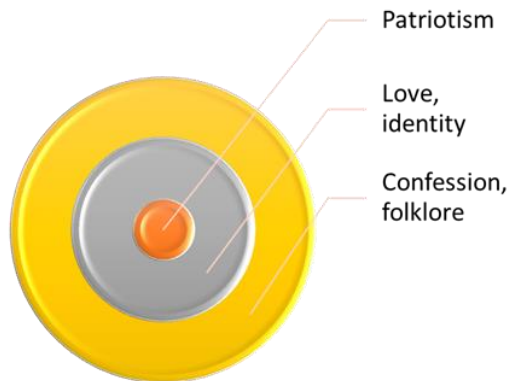
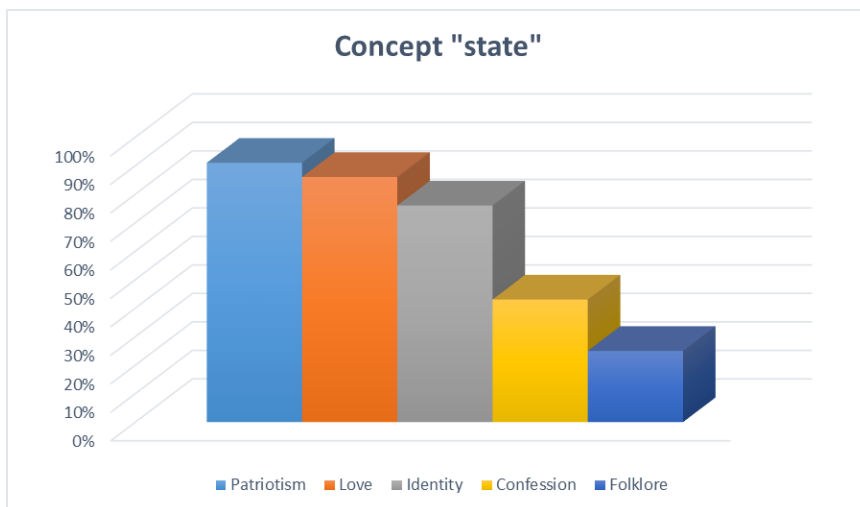
Figure 3. The structure of the concept of *state*Figure 4. Notions most related to the *state* concept

Figure 5 represents the conceptual field of the concept of *freedom*. Based on the analysis of the works of Renaissance authors, it was found that the core of this concept is represented by the notions “will” and “independence” – the frequency of their use is 94% and 88%, respectively (see Figure 6). The second most commonly used notions were defined to be “religious equality” (55%) and “ethnic equality” (62%). Besides, according to the humanistic tradition, in 32% of cases, *freedom* is associated with tolerance, which is on the periphery of the conceptual field.

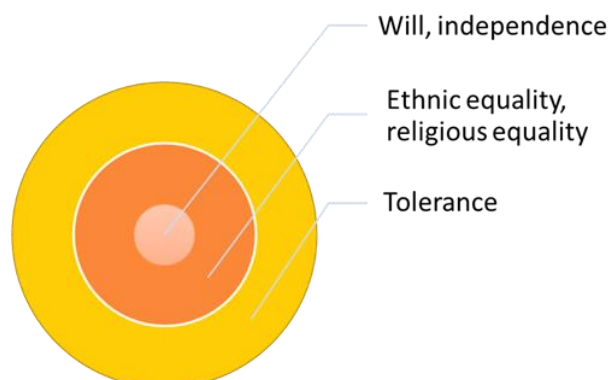


Figure 5. The structure of the concept of *freedom*

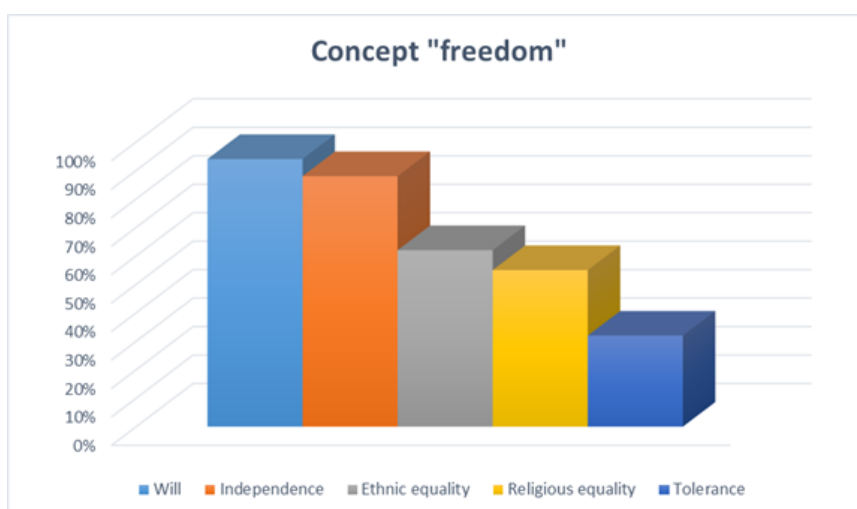


Figure 6. Notions most related to the *freedom* concept

As was noted above, the concept of the *state*, one of the key ones in Renaissance creativity, is closely related to the idea of the *ruler*. The in-depth analysis of the literary works of the Renaissance period allowed the conclusion that the authors of those days formed their own understanding of the figure of the *ruler* (structurally represented in Figure 7). Thus, as evidenced in the diagram below, the core of the *ruler* concept is denoted by the notions “philosopher” and “humanist.” They have the highest usage frequencies of 92% and 87%, respectively (see Figure 8). Closest to the core are the notions “intelligent” (71%) and “educated” (54%). Even though they are characterized by lower usage rates, they have significant axiological characteristics in the

interpretation of Renaissance writers. The least widely used was the perception of the *ruler* as a “kind” person (38%).

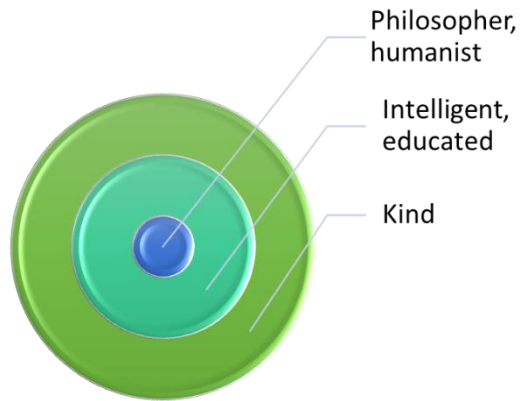


Figure 7. The structure of the concept of *ruler*

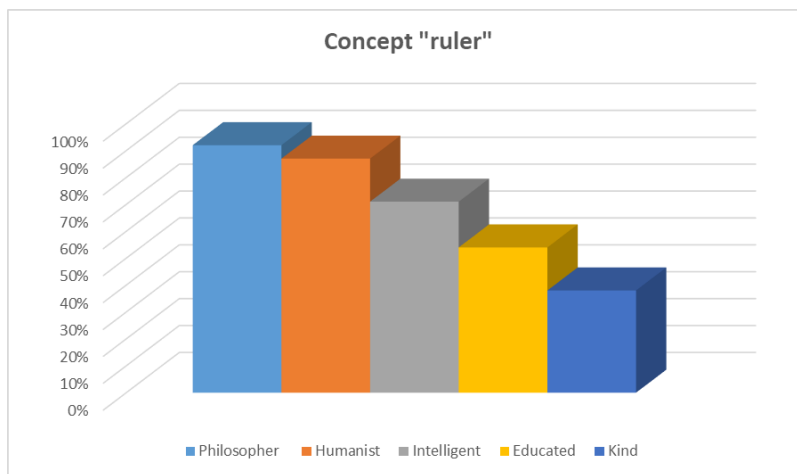


Figure 8. Notions most related to the *ruler* concept

Figure 9 represents the conceptual field of the concept of *war*, the use of which is explained by the difficult socio-political situation and the lack of statehood and independence. According to the analysis of Renaissance creative works, the core of this concept is represented by the notions “courage,” “valor,” and “honor.” Their usage frequencies are the highest – 88%, 85%, and 80%, respectively (see Figure 10). Closest to the core are the notions “ancient traditions” (78%) and “national glory” (65%). Finally, the periphery is illustrated by the notion of “victory” (52%).



Figure 9. The structure of the concept of *war*

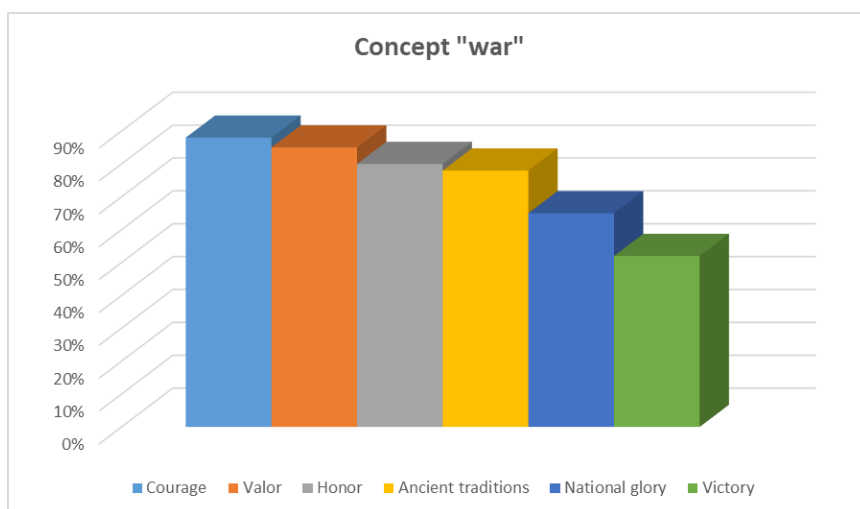


Figure 10. Notions most related to the *war* concept

The results of the semantic-cognitive analysis show that the most popular concepts among Ukrainian Renaissance writers were *history*, *state*, *freedom*, *ruler*, and *war*. At the same time, the authors appealed greatly to the matters of historical truth and reliability.

Discussion

The artistic visions of history facilitated the formation of a new historical consciousness, grounded on which the sense of national identity of Ukrainians in the form we see it today was developed. Renaissance authors formed humanistic views on the role and significance of the individual in the historical process. Here, humanism, as a central feature of Renaissance creativity, offered a new

interpretation of an individual as the center of the worldview and an active participant in historical and socio-political events (Siedina 2020).

Altogether, Ukrainian authors of the Renaissance era are characterized by the awareness of the need to write about the history of Kyivan Rus, its role, and its place in the context of the state-formation process. As confirmed by the works of Mikolaj Hussowski, Stanislav Orikhovsky, Ivan Dombrovsky, and others, the primary focus was predominantly on the awareness of the mission of personality in history insofar as it helps one to understand modern political processes. A good example of Renaissance popularization of history is Ivan Dombrovsky's poem "The Stones of Dnipro." The author considered his main mission to open Ukraine to Europeans because what is that what written on paper will live on for centuries. In "The Stones of Dnipro," Dombrovsky gives a lot of data and facts while simultaneously naming their sources and explaining their essence. Precisely this is the way how the scientific value of the work is formed, and the probability of the events and facts described is clarified.

Ukrainian Renaissance representatives interpreted the historical process as continuous, transient, relying on a chronological framework of facts and events. There was a tendency to reject the purely Christian view of the movement of time in a straight line. Instead, the movement of the time was more and more often compared to a spiral. In the interpretation of the Ukrainian thinkers of the Renaissance, such human qualities as wisdom, education, intellect, knowledge were the determining force of historical development and progress. The artistic interpretation of these ideas was reoriented by the works of Yuri Drohobych, Stanislav Orikhovsky, Peter Krosnensky, Grigory Tychinsky, and Lucas Neapolitanus. As a matter of example, Yuri Drohobych wrote that the vast heavens are incomprehensible for our eyes; the mind, however, can easily comprehend them (Shevchuk and Yaremenko 2006).

Ukrainian thinkers of the Renaissance period were likely to perceive world history as a part of the historical events taking place within Kyivan Rus. Consequently, the history of Kyivan Rus was integrated by them into specific light and context, in particular Slavic. The works of Stanislav Orikhovsky, Sebastian Klonowic, and Mikolaj Hussowski artistically describe the origin of the Rus people and their mission in the world formation process. In "Roksolania," Klonowic mentioned various tribes that inhabited the region, which over time was called Rus. The first he called the tribe of the son of Noah – Yafet – from which the Slavic peoples emerged (Shevchuk and Yaremenko 2006). He urged muses to

sing about these lands to convey the glory of the part of them to the world (Shevchuk and Yaremenko 2006).

The artistic worldview of writers emerged from the awareness of the originality and uniqueness of various historical eras and comparisons with past glorious times, along with which modernity was critically evaluated. For example, Ivan Dombrovsky was convinced that works about the former greatness and glory of ancestors contribute to the return of historical memory and glory. Recalling the glorious times when Kyi, Askold, Oleg, Olha, Volodymyr, and then Danylo Halytskyi ruled in Kyiv, the author showed great interest in the Princely family of Ostroh. Equally often, Ukrainian Renaissance writers were noticed to be fascinated with the activities of Lithuanian princes. Thus, in the poem "Roksolania," for instance, Klonowic pays a great deal of attention to the activities of Prince Vytautas because of his care for the interests of Rus.

One more interesting aspect of artistic interpretations of the history of that time authors is that they tried to adapt the historical events for the present ("Ukrainian Duma" by Adam Chagrovsky, "New and Famous Victory over Turks in Month of July" by Mikolaj Hussowski, "The Turkish History and the Cossack Clashes with the Tatars" by Martin Pashkovsky) (see Appendix 1). To form the standard of a ruler, the authors referred to such prominent figures of the historical past as Petro Sahaidachny, Mykhailo Vyshnevetsky, and Konstanty Ostrogski. Interest in the history of Kyivan Rus also determined the increased attention to folklore, life, work, and traditions of ordinary people of that time. For example, Klonowic's poem "Roksolania" is a narrative of the beauty and richness of the Motherland, its cities, and villages. It provides a detailed description of the life of ordinary Ukrainian people, their customs, ceremonies, religious beliefs. Klonowic turns to poetic means of ancient literature, combining them with the Ukrainian language.

The understanding of the individual as a participant in the process of state formation is very peculiar to the artistic worldview of the Renaissance. For example, Stanislav Orikhovsky believed that the internal factors in the development of the state are mind and language. In "Instructions to the Polish King Sigismund II Augustus," he wrote that language unites and creates the nation and empowers people, while the purpose of the state is to correct the sinful and evil nature of a human. Such interpretations of the emergence of the state have a profound ethical character. According to Renaissance writers, the states of Ukraine-Rus, as we see them, resulted from the efforts of many generations. All began from the traditions and patrimony of Kyivan Rus, which emerged and developed thanks to the activities of separate individuals, in particular their will and desire for public life. According to

Orikhovsky, the state arose as a result of the need for mutual support and the innate instinct to live a public life. He recognized the special role of the king in the historical process, declaring that *“First of all, not every man is able to be in power, but only one who by nature strives for truth and justice. However, even this is not enough. It is necessary to strive for a science that will make a man both true and just”*. We see in Renaissance writers an understanding of the importance of their own state. In their view, a man is called to serve the state, and this is for him the guarantor of inner peace and security. In his *“Dialogue on the Performance of the Polish State,”* Stanislav Orikhovsky lists the duties of citizens to the state and the state to citizens, considering it right to return to the socio-political system in Poland that existed in ancient times (Orikhovsky 2016).

Ivan Dombrovsky took as an epigraph to the poem *“The Stones of Dniπρο”* the words of Plutarch: *“A good citizen will accept any service for the good of the Motherland”* (Nichik 1995). He showed great concern for the Rus people, advocating the idea of defense of their home, civil peace, harmony, and equality of citizens and states, particularly before the court and the law. Dombrovsky glorified the traditions and strength of the Rus, claiming that *“It was indeed once great when the monarchs of Kyivan Rus had all under their will. It is about the princes who made Kyiv the capital and center of the state”* (Nichik 1995). In a similar fashion, Dombrovsky defined the importance of religious and ethnic equality and tolerance. This testifies to the deep humanistic orientation of Renaissance creativity, its anthropocentrism. On its basis, Renaissance humanists formed the ideal of freedom, manifesting itself in a social order that respects the right and the law.

When it comes to society, Ukrainian Renaissance writers were inclined to argue that it would be perfect if a philosopher ruled it. They created an image of a philosopher ruler who is humanistic, intelligent, educated, and kind. In comparison, in English Renaissance literature, particularly in the work of Ovid, the leading notion defining the figure of the ruler is manliness (Garrison and Stanivukovic 2021). At the same time, the Renaissance literature of each country is characterized by the reference to a strong individual who is aware of the right to personal freedom and identity (Field 2016).

The views of Ukrainian Renaissance humanist writers on history and the state are presented in works of a different genre. They are increasingly debated and reflected in the artistic space, demonstrating self-identification and understanding of belonging to a specific nation. After the Union of Lublin in 1569, the ethnonational self-consciousness and the cultural unity of the Ukrainian nation grew significantly. It is

believed that this was the time when the ethnic Ukrainian consciousness became the background for the formation of European countries (Litvinov 2000). The emergence of ethnic states in Western Europe was accompanied by the formation of ethno-confessional nations, which had a national church and their own confessional consciousness. And this fact was also reflected in literature. The awareness of the need for one's own state was decisive to the formation of civic humanism and patriotism. Confessional patriotism in Kyivan Rus was often equated with ethnic one as the history of the Orthodox Church was projected onto the general history of Rus. Confirmation for this is Orikhovsky's 1544 letter to Bishop Petro Harmata, where he wrote about the introduction of Christianity in Kyivan Rus by Prince Volodymyr the Great, while associating Rus and the Orthodox faith and praising those rulers who cared about the country and the Orthodox Church.

Love to Ukraine-Rus was of the highest value for Ukrainian Renaissance writers. Klonowic's poem "Roksolania" is imbued with patriotism and love for Kyivan Rus. It represents a majestic anthem to the Motherland as Rus for the author is at all the places where Ukrainians live. Ivan Dombrovsky's poem "The Stones of Dnipro" is also full of the spirit of patriotism. The author was concerned about the difficult situation in that-day Ukraine, the reason for which was seen in the fact that the national elite betrayed the interests of the people. Although during the Renaissance many nobility representatives in Kyivan Rus converted to the Catholic faith, this did not prevent them from remaining patriots. Stanislav Orikhovsky referred to the Ukrainian aristocracy members in Poland as to the elite. In particular, he mentioned the families of Senyavsky, Herbort, Starykhovsky, Meletsky, Tarlo, Derzhnyakovsky, Fridron, Trebensky, Bronyovsky, Drogoyovsky, Vapon, Viltsikonsky, and others.

The feature distinguishing Ukrainian Renaissance authors from their successors is their appeal to the heritage of Kyivan Rus. By focusing on this topic, they proved the historical, political, ecclesiastical, and cultural heritage of the Rus people on their authentic territories. One more popular topic in historical works of Ukrainian Renaissance representatives was the formation of the image of the Ukrainian Cossacks. Stanislav Orikhovsky paid a great deal of attention to the courage and bravery of the Ukrainian Cossacks in the fight against the Turks and Tatars, praising them for their determination and comparing them with their dear ancestors. Bartłomiej Zimorowic emphasized that the Cossacks stood for their Motherland like a wall. Ivan Dombrovsky glorified the Cossacks as those who "*meet their enemies in the mouth of the Dnipro River.*" The patriotism of the Ukrainian Renaissance writers

was also manifested in their concern in the development of education, literature, culture, and defense of the status of the Ukrainian language as an official language in relations with Poland. Yuri Drohobych encouraged the spread of book printing, personally assisting the pioneer printer Schweipolt Fiol with the publication. Szymon Szymonowic was the founder of the academic print shop in Zamość, taking care to have a Slavonic type there. The humanists considered it crucial to assure the country's defense against external enemies and preserve peace, the stability of the church, the development of crafts, and education. In their view, private interests should have been subordinated for the sake of the common good. In terms of the creation of the state, Orikhovsky appealed to the cult of an active man, who has authority, is able to work for the overall benefit, and whose interests are subordinated to the Motherland.

The work of Maciej Strykowski "On ancient rites, or rather madness of Russian, Polish, Zhmud, Lithuanian, Livland, and Prussian idolaters and the difference of their false gods" explicates the historical past from an artistic perspective. Apart from this, it provides fully unique artistic interpretations of the image of Yaroslav Volodymyrovych, whom the author called the autocrat of all Kyivan Rus: "*Yaroslav Volodymyrovych, the grandson of Sviatoslav, the great-grandson of Ihor and Olha – the second Christian autocrat, after the death of his brother Sviatopolk the Damned, began to rule safely in 1009 in Kyiv, Volodymyr, and Velykyi Novhorod, and throughout Rus*" (Shevchuk and Yaremenko 2006). The historical facts of the canonization of Princes Borys and Hlib, as well as Danylo Halytskyi, the ruler of the Galitsko-Volynsk land, were also presented in an artistic light. The author turned to the personality of Danylo Halytskyi as a descendant of a "*family of Kyivan Rus monarchs*" who received great power through regaining most of Galicia, defeating his enemies, accepting them into the faith, and making them favorable to himself and the state (Shevchuk and Yaremenko 2006). Strykowski was tolerant of Halytskyi's confessional democracy. What is more, he believed that the importance of the figure of Danylo Halytskyi was confirmed by the fact of his correspondence with Pope Innocent. In general, the idea of restoring the Kingdom of Rus, as well as its certain concessions in favor of the Latin faith, seems to have been interpreted positively by the Renaissance authors.

Sebastian Klonowic did not ignore this moment as well, giving information about the basis of the economy of the Kyivan Rus and the responsibilities of its inhabitants. For example, a Ruthenian woman usually did not milk cows – this was done by a milkmaid; shepherds, in addition to direct duties, produced cheese; shepherds' children did not

go to school but learned to graze in the woods. These descriptions suggest that women were engaged in household chores, and men were focused on protecting the family. That is, we can observe a clear pattern of life that reflects the national traditions of Ruthenians.

An important work for understanding the essence of artistic interpretations of historical facts by Renaissance authors is the work “*De bello Ostrogiano*” written by Szymon Pekala. The author appealed to history, ancient battles, and valiant warriors, who were the “*members of a generous people in which royal blood flows, whose glorious titles shine in Europe, and the glory of whose heroic deeds in the future will come to you all*” (Shevchuk and Yaremenko 2006).

Courage and valor, aimed at the defense of the native land, the author calls eternal and indestructible. The city of Ostroh deserves special praise in this work:

Beautiful is the city, which met with triumph the Alans.

The Ruthenians called it Ostroh.

Rumors of his brother's exploits to the stars were spreading,

Glory of ancient times brought him free sciences

(Shevchuk and Yaremenko 2006)

Pekala recalled the city as one where Teutonic law is honored, and herbs testify to respect for the traditions of the Sarmatian world. With peculiar courage, the author wrote about the Ostroh gymnasium and honored princes who glorified Kyivan Rus and its ancient traditions for many centuries. He attached great importance to the Ostroh Bible published here by Ivan Fedorovych in 1581, as well as a number of other printed books. Purely from an artistic perspective, the historical genealogy of the Ostroh family was presented: “*Famous for seven hundred years is the family of Ostroh. Its noble and powerful ancestors are given praise to for many decades*” (Shevchuk and Yaremenko 2006).

For Szymon Pekala, the creators of Kyivan Rus were Rus, the mythological ancestor of the Ruthenians, princes Kyi, Rurik, Ihor, Sviatoslav, and Volodymyr, as well as a regent of Kyivan Rus Olha, each of whom was given a brief description. Pekala saw the main thing in not so much the observance of historical authenticity as in creating an appropriate artistic-historical concept. Yes, the figure of Prince Rus is, in fact, is completely legendary, though the author spoke of him as of a real historical figure (Kyiv was judged in the same way). Szymon Pekala showed a special reverence for the figure of Yaroslav, to whom Kyiv literally “*gave the power,*” and referred to the historical past in the context of comparison with the then socio-political situation when “*The*

empire is dying. The old government is dying" (Shevchuk and Yaremenko 2006).

While comparing the Ukrainian Renaissance experience with the Polish one, especially notable is the similarity in understanding the history and the man. History is thought of as inseparable from the state, and the man, as an active participant in all events and a driving force for change, remains a part of it (Pilarczyk 2021). Also key for Polish and Ukrainians is the concept of freedom, which was disclosed in the works of Renaissance authors in two dimensions: in relation to each individual and in relation to the whole nation.

Conclusions

The historical past in the work of Renaissance thinkers working on the then territory of Ukraine is a means of shaping the worldview and ideology of the upcoming generation. In other words, it is what became the basis for the formation of the modern Ukrainian nation. The results of this study were grounded on the semantic-cognitive analysis of the works of such Renaissance writers as Adam Chagrovsky, Mikolaj Hussowski, Martin Pashkovsky, Sebastian Klonowic, Szymon Pekala, Maciej Strykowski, and Stanislaw Orikhovsky. The analysis outcomes showed that the most popular concepts of that time were *history*, *state*, *freedom*, *ruler*, and *war*. Their conceptual fields were developed in accordance with the originality of the notions by which writers described them. More specifically, the conducted investigation revealed that the conceptual field of the concept of *history* is represented by the notions "past" (86%), "person" (75%), "consciousness" (54%), "honor" (43%), "wisdom" (31%), "education" (25%), "intelligence" (15%), and "knowledge" (11%). The conceptual field of the *state* is represented by the notions "patriotism" (91%), "love" (86%), "identity" (76%), "confession" (43%), and "folklore" (25%). The concept of *freedom* is characterized by the words "will" (94%), "independence" (88%), "ethnic equality" (62%), "religious equality" (55%), and "tolerance" (32%). In relation to the concept of the ruler, the most frequently used terms are "philosopher" (92%), "humanist" (87%), "intellectual" (71%), "intelligent" (54%), and "kind" (38%). In the conceptual field of the *war* concept, the notions are arranged by frequency as follows: "courage" (88%), "valor" (85%), "honor" (80%), "ancient traditions" (78%), "national glory" (65%), and "victory" (52%).

The practical significance of this research lies in the possibility of applying the employed methodology to the analysis of leading concepts in the writings of other authors. Thus, future studies can undertake a comparative analysis of works of literary figures not only from different

countries but also from different periods. Equally promising will be drawing parallels with modern foreign literature and expanding the methodology of the semantic cognitive approach by examining other relevant concepts.

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Appendix 1. A full list of the works studied (the corpus).

- Adam Chagrovsky "Ukrainian Duma"
- Mikolaj Hussowski "New and Famous Victory over Turks in Month of July"
- Martin Pashkovsky "The Turkish History and the Cossack Clashes with the Tatars"
- Sebastian Klonowic "Roksolania"
- Szymon Pekala "De bello Ostrogiano"
- Maciej Strykowski "On ancient rites, or rather madness of Russian, Polish, Zhmud, Lithuanian, Livland, and Prussian idolaters and the difference of their false gods"
- Stanislaw Orikhovsky "Instructions to the Polish King Sigismund II Augustus"

КОНЦЕПТУАЛЬНАЯ КАРТИНА МИРА В ТВОРЧЕСТВЕ УКРАИНСКИХ ПИСАТЕЛЕЙ: ТВОРЧЕСТВО ЭПОХИ РЕНЕССАНСА

В исследовании изучаются особенности концептуального мировоззрения украинских писателей эпохи Ренессанса (конец XV-XVI вв.). Целью исследования является анализ наиболее распространенных интерпретаций понятий истории, государства, свободы, правителя и войны авторами, которые творили на территории Украины эпохи Возрождения, и определении концептуальных идей, репрезентируемых этими понятиями. Актуальность данного исследования объясняется тем, что авторы эпохи Ренессанса апеллируют к значимым для любой эпохи понятиям. Специфика осмысления истории и ее репрезентации в художественных представлениях авторов этого периода основывается на аутентичной традиции, тенденциях европейского Ренессанса, обращении к античному наследию. Исследование основано на семантико-когнитивном анализе творчества представителей Ренессанса, работавших на тогдашней территории Украины (Адам Чагровский, Николай Гусовский,

Мартин Пашковский, Себастьян Кленович, Шимон Пекалид, Мацей Стрыйковский, Станислав Ориховский). Понятийные поля каждого выбранного для анализа концепта разрабатывались в соответствии с индивидуальностью понятий, которыми их описывали авторы эпохи Ренессанса. Таким образом, в статье утверждается, что мировоззрение украинских писателей эпохи Возрождения характеризуется осознанием социально-политической и культурно-литературной потребности писать об истории, ее роли и месте в контексте мировых процессов. Не менее важным здесь является их понимание миссии личности в истории и анализ деятельности исторических личностей и действительности того времени. Таким образом, для творчества авторов эпохи Ренессанса характерна преимущественно ярко выраженная антропоцентрическая, гуманистическая и патриотическая направленность. Практическая значимость данного исследования заключается в возможности применения семантико-когнитивного подхода к анализу ведущих понятий в ренессансном творчестве.

Ключевые слова: антропоцентризм; свобода; история; творчество Ренессанса; правитель; страна; украинская история; война.

“A TRAGIC STORY ABOUT HELPLESSNESS, ANGER AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE”: AN AFFECTIVE READING OF OLGA TOKARCZUK’S *DRIVE YOUR PLOW OVER THE BONES OF THE DEAD*

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Abstract: The article is an interpretation of Olga Tokarczuk’s novel *Drive Your Plow Over the Bones of the Dead* from the perspective of affective ecocriticism. The first section concentrates on the socio-political circumstances surrounding the novel’s release. This part of the article also considers Tokarczuk’s understanding of literature as an opportunity to experience sadness, frustration and anger in a cathartic way, and, in doing so, examine and better understand those emotions. It is argued that *Drive Your Plow* concentrates on two emotions in particular – sorrow and anger – doing so in the context of a wider debate on moral outrage and ecological activism. The article devotes considerable attention to anger, as experienced by the main protagonist of the novel, Janina Duszejko. It is shown that the notion of anger as retribution permeates Duszejko’s conviction that one has the moral obligation to oppose injustice. Nevertheless, Duszejko’s violent actions problematize her stance on anger, emphasizing her inability to control this emotion.

Keywords: Olga Tokarczuk, affective ecocriticism, animal studies

Tokarczuk – a brief literary résumé

Olga Tokarczuk’s importance for Polish and European literature is uncontested. The laureate of the Nobel Prize in Literature in 2018, Tokarczuk has written works which are both critically acclaimed and widely read. Following Tokarczuk’s success on the international literary scene, articles and essays have been written with the aim of introducing new readers to her works. While the present article has no such ambition, this section will provide a brief overview of the main themes and topics of her works, which may be useful especially to those readers who have yet to learn more about Tokarczuk’s books. This opening section will be followed by the discussion of the novel *Drive Your Plow Over the Bones of the Dead*.

Olga Tokarczuk belongs to a generation born in the 1960s, who made their literary debuts in the times of the political transformation in the 1980s. What characterized this loosely-affiliated group was the decision to break with the tradition of politically-committed literature and search for new forms of self-expression that would reflect the social, political and economic changes in Poland. The project of formulating a new language and sensitivity made itself felt both among poets, who increasingly often drew on inspirations from American authors, and among writers, including Tokarczuk. As the Polish critic Filip Matwiejczuk rightly points out, Tokarczuk is one of the authors profoundly influenced by the success of Ibero-American literature, especially the novels of Julio Cortázar and Gabriel García Márquez. Those influences are prominent in such books as *Prawiek i inne czasy* (1996; English translation: *Primeval and Other Times*, 2010), a magical realist novel set in the fictitious village of Prawiek, reminiscent of Macondo from *One Hundred Years of Solitude*. While Márquez's influence is clear in *Prawiek i inne czasy*, such novels as *Dom dzienny, dom nocny*¹ (1998; English translation: *House of Day, House of Night*, 2003), and *Bieguni*² (2007; English translation: *Flights*, 2017), in their fragmentary and experimental structures, resemble Julio Cortázar's *Hopscotch*. Similarly to Cortázar, Tokarczuk also incorporates metafictional elements into her prose; her desire to challenge literary forms and conventions goes hand in hand with the autobiographical tendency to incorporate writers and writer-figures in her prose, so as to comment on literature and the role of the writer in contemporary societies.

Commenting on the influence of Márquez on Tokarczuk, Matwiejczuk points to one more important similarity between the two writers: both *One Hundred Years of Solitude* and *Primeval and Other Times* are set in provincial towns, far from the influence of metropolitan centres. This interest in the distant and the peripheral is also visible in other books by Tokarczuk, including *Drive Your Plow Over the Bones of the Dead* (2009; English translation: 2018), set in the secluded and windswept Kłodzko Valley, in south-western Poland. More often than

¹ The German translation of *Dom dzienny, dom nocny* (*Taghaus, Nachthaus*, 1998) received the Brücke-Berlin prize for literature (the award was given to Tokarczuk and her German translator Esther Kinsky. The novel was also shortlisted for the International IMPAC Dublin Literary Award in 2004.

² In 2018 the English translation of *Bieguni* (by Jennifer Croft) received the Man Booker International Prize, the most prestigious literary prize for international fiction published in Britain.

not, the people who inhabit those remote places are those who, for various reasons, have chosen to remove themselves from the life of larger towns – the social rejects and outsiders, whose values have put them at odds with prevailing norms and beliefs. Tokarczuk's interest in outsiders has a political agenda insofar as she tries to direct the attention of her readers to those that have been left out of mainstream literature and the media. In her most ambitious book *Księgi Jakubowe* (2014; English translation: *The Books of Jacob*, 2021), she undertakes the ambitious task of Henryk Sienkiewicz's *The Trilogy* (1884-8), one of the most influential literary works in Polish literature, describing the country's troubled history in the 17th century. *The Books of Jacob* are situated on the reverse side of *The Trilogy*, describing the characters who have been marginalized Sienkiewicz's version of a heroic and patriarchal society. As Matwiejczuk writes, "Tokarczuk's goal in her symbolic rivalry with Sienkiewicz is to shape the Polish collective imagination and strive to change the cultural paradigm prevalent in the country" – surely one of the most ambitious tasks that the writer could set for herself.

It is beyond doubt that Tokarczuk's writing has a clear political dimension. In *Anna Inn w grobowcach świata* (2006, [*Anna Inn in the Tombs of the World*]), her retelling of the myth of Inanna, the Sumerian goddess of harvest and war,³ she challenges patriarchal gender stereotypes – a goal that also informs such books as *House of Day*, *House of Night* and *Drive Your Plow Over the Bones of the Dead*. While Tokarczuk's novels can be fruitfully analysed from the perspective of feminism, her political agenda is also environmentally-oriented. In her Nobel Lecture she spoke about "greed, failure to respect nature, selfishness, lack of imagination, endless rivalry and lack of responsibility," arguing that those sins of Western civilization "have reduced the world to the status of an object that can be cut into pieces, used up and destroyed." In her works she challenges this instrumental attitude to the natural world by creating a sensitivity that is alert in equal part to people, animals and objects. As Matwiejczuk writes, Tokarczuk's attention to the object is reminiscent of object-oriented ontology, as practiced by Graham Harman; it is worth adding that her attentiveness to the world of objects, evident from her earliest works, has a clear environmental agenda, formulated in opposition to the consumerism of the Western world.

³ Tokarczuk wrote the book as a contribution to the Canongate Myth Series, a Scottish literary project, in which acclaimed international writers rewrote ancient myths.

One of the most recurrent themes in Tokarczuk's novels is that of travelling. As the Polish critic Wojciech Burszta writes, Tokarczuk shares the view of those philosophers who claim that "people in contemporary times, irrespective of their financial status and class belonging, remain homeless which is both their fault and their curse." Burszta argues that Tokarczuk's early writing is an attempt to find a sense of rootedness by creating a special kind of space – an existential one – that would make it unique because of being shaped by and for its inhabitants. This special, existential place, which Burszta calls *chora* (following the French geographer and philosopher, Augustin Berque), is a meeting place between the physical and the metaphysical, the transient and the permanent. While the search for *chora* is an immanent part of Tokarczuk's early books (such as *Podróż ludzi Księgi* (1993; [*Journey of the People of the Book*]) and *Prawiek i inne czasy*), the books written by Tokarczuk in the 21st century – argues Burszta – are no longer about *chora*, but rather about the search for it: "To an increasing extent, hers is a travel writing, fascinated with the movement of the world, of people, and of objects." The idea of nomadism as a philosophy of life and of creativity can be found not only in her most famous book to date, *Flights* – a novel inspired by a sect of Old Believers who claimed that constant motion is a strategy of avoiding evil – but also in her magnum opus, *Księgi Jakubowe*.

Tokarczuk's prose is best described as uneven, combining acute philosophical and psychological insights with banal and naïve aphorisms. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that she remains one of the most-widely read authors, both in Poland and abroad. The strongest proof of her popularity among international readers are the numerous translations of her works. So far, her books have been translated into 37 languages,⁴ with German, Czech, English, Swedish, and French being the most popular. Tokarczuk's works have also been published in Serbian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Albanian, Slovakian, Ukrainian, Russian, Belarusian, Korean, Danish, Dutch, Estonian, Finnish, Hindi, Japanese, Macedonian, Romanian, Catalan, Chinese, and other languages. Among her most prolific translators are Milica Markić from Serbia and Petr Vidlák from the Czech Republic, who have each translated 8 of her books.

Drive Your Plow as an "absorbing novel"

At the beginning of her Nobel Lecture, delivered on 7 December 2019, Olga Tokarczuk spoke about first-person narration, counting it

⁴ The data has been quoted from <https://stl.org.pl/ksiazki-olgi-tokarczuk-na-swiecie/>, last updated 14.10.2019.

“among the greatest discoveries of human civilization.” In a novel with a first-person narration, Tokarczuk comments, the boundary dividing the narrator’s self from the reader’s self is often transgressed: “a so-called ‘absorbing novel’ actually counts on that border being blurred – on the reader, through empathy, becoming the narrator for a while” (“The Tender Narrator.” *Drive Your Plow Over the Bones of the Dead*, published in 2009 (the English translation by Antonia Lloyd-Jones came out in 2018) can be considered as an “absorbing novel” insofar as it depends on the reader empathizing with its narrator. As Tokarczuk pointed out, “The whole thing [the novel] turns on the reader identifying with her and liking her in spite of initial resistance” (qtd. in Habash).

Drive Your Plow tells the story of a woman of liberal humanist convictions who is pushed to desperation and violence by her repeated confrontations with ideologically and systemically-instituted anthropocentrism and androcentrism. The novel is narrated by Janina Duszejko, an eccentric, but endearing woman in her sixties with a genuine love for animals and a near-fanatical belief in astrology. Formerly an engineer, now an English teacher, Duszejko spends her retirement in a cottage situated in the Kłodzko Valley. Until recently, she enjoyed the company of her two dogs, but since their mysterious disappearance, she lives alone, only occasionally meeting her friend, Dizzy (short for the Polish name Dionizy) – a young IT technician and amateur translator of William Blake’s works, and her neighbour – a reclusive, but good-hearted man whom she dubs Oddball. It is with the death of another neighbour, Big Foot, a reclusive alcoholic and full-time poacher, that the novel begins. As Duszejko visits the man’s house on the night of his tragic death, she makes a discovery that becomes a turning point in her life: she comes across a photograph clearly showing that it was the deceased neighbour, together with his fellow-hunters, who killed her dogs in what was in all probability an act of gratuitous cruelty. From that point on, Duszejko, who feels acutely the pain and injustice inflicted on animals by humans, decides not to stop short at verbal protests. Either ignored or humiliated by others, she resorts to ecotage, but also to acts of violence against the local hunters, all of them rich and powerful males in their forties or fifties. Duszejko is silent about her role in the death of the hunters, trying to make others believe that it was the animals who took revenge for their maltreatment. She is by all accounts an unreliable and even manipulative narrator – a quality that makes it possible for Tokarczuk to construct a novel that is at once a murder mystery, a thriller, and a psychological exploration of one woman’s alienation from a patriarchal community, in which violence

against animals has become a culturally and ideologically-sanctioned way of life.

While *Drive Your Plow* was first published in 2009, the political controversy around it began eight years later, after the release of Agnieszka Holland's movie *Pokot (Spoor)* in 2017 and two years after the coming to power of the far-right political party, *Law and Justice*. The reaction of the press was symptomatic of the political divide in Poland between the liberals and the conservatives, the former praising it for broaching important issues, both social and ecological, and the latter criticising it severely for its critical stance towards Catholicism and its depiction of violence.⁵ Aware of the division of Polish society into two opposing political and ideological camps, Tokarczuk gave an interview in which she commented on what she saw as the end of political correctness and the rise of negative, even abusing rhetoric among Poles. In an increasingly divided country, she went on to add, people viewed Holland's film chiefly as political commentary, responding to Janina Duszejko without any distance, as if she were a real person. This, in turn, made people afraid of violence depicted in the film and the novel. Clearly afraid that Holland's film – and her novel – may be viewed as an incitement to commit acts of aggression, Tokarczuk pointed out that she was deeply scared of violence, but that anger and irritation were emotions that should not be ignored:

In the book *Drive Your Plow Over the Bones of the Dead*, which served as the basis of the screenplay for *Spoor*, we are made witness to the processes by which violence is born, but, what is more important, we are made aware that people have no control over it [violence], since the eruption of violence is also cathartic. For centuries art has served as a platform for our imagination to manage our dark emotions in a controlled way. (Interview by Janusz Wróblewski, my translation)

⁵ Krzysztof Kłopotowski saw Holland's movie primarily as an attack on Catholicism and argued that it condoned the murders depicted in it. He also criticized Holland for focusing on the violence against animals committed by Poles of Catholic background and failing to mention the involvement of the Jewish and Muslim community in ritual slaughter. An anonymous reviewer writing for a popular conservative online magazine *wPolityce*, formulated a similar, if less biting ironic, critique of Holland's movie, arguing that the film "relativizes ecoterrorism" and calls it "ecological propaganda."

While most of the quoted commentary is clear, Tokarczuk's claim that people have no way of controlling violence since its eruption is "also cathartic" is not so obvious. She is perhaps suggesting that since catharsis is deeply written into people's emotional makeup, and since violence offers such an experience, then violence, once provoked, is difficult, or even impossible to control. Literature, Tokarczuk adds, gives us an opportunity to experience catharsis in a safe ("controlled") way, and, in this way, examine and better understand and control our reactions. Later in the interview, Tokarczuk adds that perhaps in the future, with the changing of the political situation in Poland, another dimension of the book and the film will become apparent as "a tragic story about helplessness, anger and civil disobedience" (Interview by Janusz Wróblewski, my translation).

With twelve years elapsed from the publication of *Drive Your Plow*, it is time to look more dispassionately at the novel, taking the perspective that Tokarczuk mentioned in her interview. As its title suggests, the main aim of this article is to concentrate on Tokarczuk's exploration of two chief emotions experienced by Duszejko: anger and sorrow. This discussion will also, I hope, show Tokarczuk's novel as one which makes valid claims about the role of those emotions in social and political commitment. Before addressing these points, it is worthwhile to look more closely at the moral dimension of the novel, as elaborated in the numerous references to the works of William Blake.

Living in the land of Ulro

William Blake is indeed a strong presence in *Drive Your Plow*. He certainly has a decisive influence in shaping Duszejko's vision of the world as the land of Ulro, governed by a logic based upon heartless law, lacking compassion and solidarity. Duszejko thinks in terms of binary oppositions, pitting against each other imagination and reason, an active life directed to effecting social change to a passive one, governed by old beliefs, a life of freedom lived in harmony with others (including non-human others) to an egoistic and insular existence. Embracing imagination, intuition and emotions, Duszejko time and again finds herself in conflict with people she calls "citizens of Ulro" (120) – men whose thinking is based solely on the dictates of the law. Duszejko's continued encounters with those men alert the reader to their various misuses of reason: their tautological way of speaking (e.g. having reported her neighbour's mistreatment of a dog, Duszejko receives the following reply from the police: "A dog is a dog. The countryside is the countryside" (39)); their reliance on the reductive binary opposition between reason and emotions (when Duszejko reports violations of

hunting law to the authorities, the officer of the Civic Guard simply responds: "You're approaching this too emotionally" (115)); finally, their hypocrisy (in one scene a young forester justifies an exploitative use of timber by resorting to the argument about the necessity of human stewardship: "The natural processes have gone wrong, and now we must keep it all in control" (195), but in the next sentence, adds that the reason for cutting down trees is purely commercial: "We need timber for stairs and floors, furniture and paper" (195)).

Like Blake,⁶ Duszejko speaks out against those who use law and religion to achieve domination over others. In one powerful scene at the end of the novel she interrupts a Catholic priest in the midst of his sermon, in which he refers to the principle of God-granted environmental stewardship to justify the killing of animals. Enraged by his hypocrisy, Duszejko calls him and other hunters present during the mass "murderers" (240) and, in a deeply emotional appeal, asks them if they have retained any human reactions to guide them in their actions ("Have you lost your minds? Or your hearts? Have you still got hearts?" (240-241)).

Duszejko's outrage at the callousness of the hunters is emphasized by the most important reference in the novel – Blake's "Auguries of Innocence." The poem is, in total, quoted thirteen times,⁷ most passages concentrating on human cruelty towards animals in the context of divine retribution. The passages quoted include:

"A dog starv'd at his Master's Gate/ Predicts the ruin of the State"

"A Horse misused upon the Road/ Calls to Heaven for Human blood."

"Kill not the Moth nor Butterfly/ For the Last Judgment draweth nigh."

"He who torments the Chafers Sprite/ Weaves a Bower in endless Night."

Those and several other lines from "Auguries of Innocence" strengthen the political message of the novel, and, equally importantly, characterize Duszejko, who is, much like the speaker of Blake's poem,

⁶ In Blake's universe "the dialectical creativity of Imagination is weakened by two strong social forces, one priestcraft and the other law" (Sabri-Tabrizi 66).

⁷ To compare, "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell" is quoted five times, "Proverbs of Hell" two times, Blake's letters twice, while "To Tirzah" and "The Mental Travellers" are both quoted once. There are also several references to "The Book of Urizen."

shocked by the moral degradation of the world and eager to see the divine justice meted out against the oppressors.⁸

In an attempt to transcend the confines of human-oriented, solipsistic reason, Duszejko

resorts to imagination, which, similarly to Blake, she sees as a force capable of transcending the confines of regressive and harmful habits and preconceptions. This idea is contained in the long title of the novel, which is an inexact quotation from Blake's *Proverbs of Hell*: "Drive your cart and your plow over the bones of the dead." As is the case in Blake,⁹ the proverb can be read as an exhortation to abandon old ideas and beliefs, and embrace imagination, understood as a faculty unconstrained by limited, sensual perception of the world.

Duszejko's belief in imagination and its perceptual value is evident in her approach to the natural world. In Chapter Four, having described her task of supervising her neighbour's empty houses to protect them against burglaries and damage caused by weather, she makes the following comment:

As I wandered across the fields and wilds on my rounds, I liked to imagine how it would all look millions of years from now. Would the same plants be here? And what about the colour of the sky? [...] Would the tectonic plates have shifted and caused a range of high mountains to pile up here? Or would a sea arise, removing all reasons to use the word 'place' amid the idle motion of the waves? One thing's for sure – these houses won't be here; my efforts are insignificant, they'd fit on a pinhead, just like my life as well. That should never be forgotten. (64)

⁸ I am referring here to David Perkins' article "Animal Right and 'Auguries of Innocence,'" especially his claim that the voice that speaks in "Auguries of Innocence" is "that of innocence; moreover, it is innocence at a moment of crisis, when it beholds the world of experience" (8), and his comment – especially resonant in the context of Tokarczuk's novel - that "in none of Blake's couplets do the animal victims revenge their injuries; [...] revenge is threatened, and its scope and violence measures the shock, horror and anger in the innocent onlooker" (9-10).

⁹ G. R. Sabri-Tabrizi, commenting on this proverb, writes that in it "Blake tells the Angel that if he desires to cleanse himself from 'uncleanliness' and from 'the bones of the dead' he should honour and uphold the active and creative life" (127). He adds: "In order to free the creative personality of Imagination we must not base our values and human relationship upon our limited sense-perception and memories" (128).

A close observer of her surroundings, Duszejko wields a perspective that transcends the local and leaves space for a vision of change that is outside the bounds of historical time. The tentativeness of human existence and of human habitation is not a pretext to abandon her efforts – she is, by all accounts, a dedicated guardian and keeper of the houses entrusted to her – but a fact on which she builds her stance of humility with respect to the natural world. While she does not express her identification with any groups or organization, it is quite clear that her values are akin to the first wave of environmental writers and critics.¹⁰

Duszejko's search for a wider perspective takes cosmic proportions in her fascination with astrology, which enables her to create her vision of the world as governed by a higher intelligence. She takes comfort in the existence of a cosmic order that "goes far beyond the time and place of Janina Duszejko" (67-68), which subsumes all individual lives in an intricate, but knowable web of relations. The most appealing characteristic of this world is that, unlike the Christian notion of afterlife, it is not based on the logic of forgiveness; on the contrary, in Duszejko's universe, all human deeds echo endlessly in the universe. In this world, evil actions call for swift and just retribution not in another, spiritual reality, but in this world. That Duszejko's involvement in this fictional world goes beyond imagination is a realization that comes gradually to the reader, and so does the disconcerting awareness that her utopia comes at the cost of violence – as utopias often do.

The subversiveness of Tokarczuk's novel lies in the fact that it draws the reader into Duszejko's idiosyncratic microcosm, and then confronts us with the dark side of this world. As Justyna Jaworska points out, Tokarczuk puts the reader in "a difficult and morally activating position of an arbiter: it is the reader who has to decide what to make of the events." Jaworska sees Duszejko's attacks on the hunters as "a pyrrhic victory," achieved by "controversial means," as a result of which "her anarchy [is] too radical for us to treat her as our patron, despite our sympathy for her." Indeed, the liberal reader's attitude to Duszejko will, in all likelihood, involve both identification and dissociation:

¹⁰ To take one example, Paul Shepard in his essay "Ecology and Man: A Viewpoint," writing about "interconnection as a general principle of life," argued that human ecology "must take a long view of human life and nature as they form a mesh going beyond historical time and beyond the conceptual bounds of other humane studies" (62). He also made the case that "truly ecological thinking" includes "an element of humility, which moves us to silent wonder and glad affirmation" (69).

identification because it is no difficult task to sympathize with Duszejko and share her nature-oriented values, and dissociation, because of her increasingly preposterous obsession with astrology and her subsequent radicalism. One has a sense that Tokarczuk has created this tension so as not to turn her hero into a moral authority and her novel into an ecological manifesto, but instead to direct her readers' attention to the dynamic governing Duszejko's powerful emotions. The following section will look at those emotions in detail, specifically sorrow and anger.

“The fifth element”: Experiencing sorrow

Generally speaking, sorrow has its source in three distinct, but connected states of mind: it is Duszejko's reaction to life in general, it derives from her ethical stance with regard to the suffering and death of animals, and it remains as an aftermath of anger. It is worthwhile to examine each one of those sources separately.

Duszejko's decidedly pessimistic vision of life is at its clearest in her description of her surroundings. Indeed, it is one of the striking features of Duszejko's narrative that despite her ecocritical orientation, she seldom, if ever, expresses joy or pleasure at the fact of living in a place of natural beauty. Most descriptions of her surroundings concentrate on the inclement weather and emphasize either its practical implications (blocked or impassable roads), or its effect on her state of mind. While this may be understandable at first – the novel begins in winter, when the area is covered heavily with snow – Duszejko's resigned stance continues into early spring, when “the world is at its most detestable [...]. The sky is low and grey – it looks as if you could reach out and touch it from the top of a small hill” (105). Far from being an instance of seasonal affective disorder, Duszejko's pessimistic and resigned attitude is deeply rooted in her dark vision of the world, which she projects onto her surroundings. As the quoted passage implies, the oppressiveness of the world is connected with the claustrophobic feeling of being trapped in between the earth and the sky – a state that Duszejko associates with the existential condition of all living beings. The most powerful expression of this conviction can be found at the beginning of her narrative, when, having rescued a maltreated dog from her cruel neighbour, she discovers that the dog took the first opportunity to return to its owner. Reflecting on “the sinister workings of bondage” (43-44), Duszejko then looks out the window at the misty winter morning (“cold and nasty” (44)), and reflects on what she sees as the enslavement of all living beings: “The prison is not outside, but inside each of us. Perhaps we simply don't know how to live without it” (44).

For Duszejko, the state of imprisonment is not only that of being bound and doomed to unhappiness by one's habits and preconceptions, but also of living in the body, which, for her is, primarily the site of advancing and inexorable disintegration. Of this fact she is constantly reminded due to her ailing health, or her "Ailments" – what seems to be a partly neurological and partly psychosomatic condition manifesting itself in sudden pains, uncontrollable tremors of the body, cramps, and the stiffening of arms and legs. Those and other symptoms (such as insomnia) are assisted by a sudden lowering of general mood, pessimistic thoughts and crying, so much so, in fact, that Duszejko appears to suffer from acute, if undiagnosed depression, or bipolar disorder.

One of the first mentions of Duszejko's illness is in connection with the death of her neighbour, Big Foot, a hunter and part-time poacher, whom she hated, but whose death shakes her to the core. It is not so much the fact of his being gone that affects her, but the memory of his immobile and inert body, specifically his feet. For Duszejko, her neighbour's feet and any person's feet in general are "the most intimate and personal part of our bodies" (21), because it is the feet that reveal most acutely and powerfully the fact of our materiality: "It's in the touch of the earth, at its point of contact with the body that the whole mystery is located – the fact that we're built of matter, while also being alien to it, separated from it" (21-22). Our immersion in the material world and, at the same time, inescapable separation from it are strongly felt by Duszejko, whose thinking is permeated by the body-spirit divide. Being part of the material world and at the same time alienated from it, partly by the fact of one's self-awareness and partly by culturally and ideologically instituted categories is a source of sorrow for Duszejko, which she projects onto the surrounding world and the bleak, monotonous winter landscape of the Kłodzko Valley in: "As I gazed at the black-and-white landscape of the Plateau, I realized that sorrow is an important word for defining the world. It lies at the foundations of everything, it is the fifth element, the quintessence" (57). It should be added that Duszejko's awareness of her inescapable involvement in the material world is intimately connected with thoughts of her own mortality, which constitute the underlying theme of her narrative. She begins with a comment that at her age she takes care to wash her feet before bed in case the ambulance came to collect her at night. The opening comment, read in the light of the passage about her late neighbour's feet, acquires a symbolic significance: it is as if by washing

her feet Duszejko was readying herself for death – the final divorce between the body and the spirit.¹¹

Duszejko's existential sorrow should not be seen as only a by-product of a deeply pessimistic vision of the world – it is an emotion that she carefully cultivates, believing that it enables her to adopt a stance of solidarity with other living and suffering beings. Speaking figuratively, she offers the following, paradoxical statement about crying and seeing: "Here [in the forest] my tears could flow, bathing my eyes and improving my sight. Maybe that's why I could see more than people with dry eyes" (154). It is in the forest, where she discovers carcasses of hunted animals, that she experiences sorrow not as an emotion that alienates her from the healthy, but one that allows her to transcend the common, but false perception of suffering as something that happens to the group (the suffering of animals), and view suffering for what it is – an individual experience: "Sorrow, I felt a great sorrow, an endless sense of mourning for every dead Animal" (108). Duszejko's compassion is rooted in the awareness of her own vulnerability, which, far from being a theoretical proposition, is a deeply felt existential truth. Indeed, one of the reasons why it is so easy to sympathize with Duszejko is that her own vulnerability does not lead her to egoism; on the contrary, it becomes the basis for her tenderness and love towards living beings.¹²

In her affective analysis of compassion Marta Nussbaum defined this emotion as "occasioned by the awareness of other person's undeserved misfortune" (301). According to Nussbaum, "Even when we feel compassion for animals, whom we know to be very different from ourselves, it is on the basis of our common vulnerability to pain, hunger, and other types of suffering that we feel the emotion" (319). The recognition of shared vulnerability is certainly the grounds for Duszejko's compassion, her attitude towards animals clearly diverges from that outlined by Nussbaum in that she does not view animals as being so different from people; on the contrary, she writes about animals as if they were close friends: she refers to as "my Little Girls"

¹¹ That she believes in the existence of the spirit is evident from her view on life, which she formulates on the basis of the karmic cycle of existence: "We're all travelling in the same direction, from dependence to freedom, from ritual to free choice" (114).

¹² Timothy Morton sees those attributes as constitutive of the ecological thought. Referring to Blake's "Auguries of Innocence" and Blake's perspective, which never loses sight of individual suffering, he writes: "Up close, the ecological thought has to do with warmth and tenderness; hospitality, wonder, and love; vulnerability and responsibility" (77).

(44) and names a wild fox, “refined and well-bred,” “Consul” and, on spotting him in a forest, she says: “It was like seeing an old friend” (107). This tendency of Duszejko to anthropomorphize animals may seem endearing or infantile, depending on whether or not one accepts her vision of the world, but it is true that her compassion for suffering animals is based not only on their vulnerability to suffering, but on the sense that their behaviours and motivations are not so different from her own. Duszejko also feels connected to animals by virtue of sharing the same world. A striking example is when an entomologist tells of the existence of a rare species of flat bark beetle inhabiting the local trees, to which Duszejko responds: “I was not aware of this. Frankly, I was pleased – it was as if a new family member had come to join us here” (159).

“The source of all wisdom”: Embracing anger

While sorrow, originating in the awareness of one’s vulnerability and helplessness, becomes the basis for compassion, the sense of injustice leads Duszejko to anger. This emotion takes a variety of forms, ranging from frustration to rage (or “Wrath,” as she names it).¹³ Most encounters with the hunters and the town authorities (who belong to the same group, since the town officials in Tokarczuk’s novel are also hunters) trigger frustration and annoyance in Duszejko, both of which motivate her to criticize the practices of hunting and poaching. In one speech, directed at a young officer of the city guard, Duszejko compares the killing of animals to the Holocaust, pointing out that this heinous practice has become so common that it is considered normal: “There’s nothing shocking about it. Crime has come to be regarded as a normal, everyday activity” (113). Duszejko rages against a world in which the death of one living being is made to serve another, but her words are dismissed by the young official with arguments that show the conflation

¹³ „Most authors agree that anger ranges along a dimension of intensity, from frustration and annoyance to rage” (Potegal and Stemmler 5). The distinction between anger and rage in this article will be only that of intensity – I am not adopting any qualitative distinctions, such as the ones introduced by Michael Lewis (I am referring to Lewis’s argument that rage, “more intense, less focused, and longer lasting” (178) than anger, is a response to shame, which is certainly justified in some cases, but does not apply to Tokarczuk’s protagonist. In other words, Lewis’s claim that “When we think of an enraged person, we think of something having to do with serious intense psychological wounding or injury to the person’s feelings” (178) is true in the context of Tokarczuk’s novel with the qualification that in Duszejko’s case this “wounding” should be attributed to sorrow, rather than to shame.

of sexism, ageism and speciesism. It is when her frustration reaches its peak that it becomes intense anger. This sudden intensification is usually caused by a slight¹⁴ directed at her; for example when one of the hunters reacts to her vocal opposition by calling her “crazy” (72), Duszejko reports feeling “hatred towards him, as sharp as a knife” (40), and physically assaults him.

Duszejko’s Aristotelian anger¹⁵ is, in fact, present from the beginning of her narrative, appearing in connection with an event that – in the light of the whole novel – turns out to be pivotal. Rummaging through the belongings of her detested (and at that point deceased) neighbour, Big Foot, she chances upon a pile of photographs, one of which she inspects closely. Although she does not reveal what it depicts at this point – this information is found only in the penultimate chapter of the novel – she does describe her reaction to seeing it. Looking at the picture of a band of hunters posing with the animals they killed (including her two dogs), Duszejko experiences first shock and then anger, both of which she, from the perspective of the moment of writing, conflates into one emotion:

My body tensed, I was ready to do battle. My head began to spin, and a dismal wailing rose in my ears, a roar, as if from over the horizon an army of thousands was approaching – voices, the clank of iron, the creak of wheels in the distance. Anger makes the mind clear and incisive, able to see more. It sweeps the other emotions and takes control of the body. Without a doubt Anger is the source of all wisdom, for Anger has the power to exceed any limits. (27)

Duszejko sees anger as having an invaluable cognitive function in that it sharpens the mind and helps one to fully realize one’s priorities. Referencing Blake and his famous proverb “The tygers of wrath are wiser than the horses of instruction” (which also appears as an epigraph to the penultimate chapter of the novel), Duszejko asserts the value of anger, which, in her view, lies in this emotion’s potent capacity to clear away her confusion.¹⁶ She also has a strong belief – and confidence – in the

¹⁴ I am referring her to Aristotle’s notion of *oliguria* (slight), meaning “to lessen, to diminish, to make little of” (Fisher 183).

¹⁵ „For Aristotle, anger is a response, an impulse to react and take revenge for such a slight” – *oliguria* (Fisher 183).

¹⁶ Duszejko attributes her confusion chiefly to fear. Writing about her attempts to make sense of the world through astrology, she comments: “I look at them [the planets] through my fear, and despite the semblance of cheerfulness that

“wisdom” (27) of anger, that is its ability to overwhelm the senses and impose its own logic on her actions.

Duszejko’s conviction that anger is capable of overshadowing other emotions and driving people to actions that they would never have otherwise undertaken (“exceeding their limits,” to use her formulation) is consistent with scientific accounts of this emotion, according to which anger-dictated actions are experienced as “at least partly involuntary.”¹⁷ In fact, Duszejko uses precisely this conception of anger to dissociate herself from her actions: in the penultimate chapter of the novel, she points out that despite elaborate preparations, she was not entirely conscious of her deeds – she blocked them out “as if there were some powerful Defence Mechanisms protecting me” (257-258). She attributes her deeds to her mysterious psychosomatic illness, which caused that “from time to time I was not Janina, but Bellona or Medea” (258). This admission may be read as an unconvincing – and rather half-hearted – attempt at self-justification, since the reference to Roman and Greek mythology only strengthens the note of satisfaction in her conviction that she found a way of dominating the men who had slighted her.

Despite Duszejko’s consistent emphasis on rage as an overwhelming force, it is quite clear that there is another kind of anger at work here. To notice this emotion – and the dynamic that governs it – it is worthwhile to have a closer look at the dramatic scene following Duszejko’s outburst of anger at Father Rustle’s oration. As she demands that the priest and other hunters leave the church, she is herself led outside, where she is told to calm down and threatened that otherwise she will be dealt with by the police. It is at this point – as she is forcefully expelled from the town community – that the anger-generated adrenaline subsides and Duszejko fully realizes her disempowerment: “Anger always leaves a large void behind it, into which a flood of sorrow pours instantly, and keeps on flowing like a great river, without beginning or end. My tears came; once again their sources were replenished” (241). As anger leaves in its wake the feelings of helplessness and isolation, Duszejko is brought back to the all too familiar emotion of distress¹⁸, which, in her mind, constitutes the mirror

people naively and ingeniously ascribe to me, I see everything as if in a dark mirror, as if through smoked glass” (69).

¹⁷ “At extreme intensity, people become swept up in their anger, do things they might not otherwise do, and experience these acts as at least partially involuntary” (Potegal and Stemmler 5).

¹⁸ Izard points to the connection between anger and distress: “individuals may feel some distress (sadness, discouragement) in anger situations because anger

opposite of anger (as was mentioned earlier, she associates sorrow with existential fear and the confusion of mind, both of which discourage action and foster passivity). Interestingly, even at this point, when Duszejko experiences helplessness and sorrow, she does not lose sight of her goals: in the scene following her expulsion from the church, she describes observing two magpies (“Fire-raisers” (241)), which, as she relates, made her aware of the course of action that she should undertake; that day she causes the biggest destruction yet, setting fire to the presbytery and killing the priest that she detests. This demonstrates that Duszejko’s anger is both the impulsive and overpowering kind that she associates with being consumed by fire, and the “cold” kind, leading to rational planning and decision making aimed at exacting revenge on the wrongdoer.¹⁹

The notion of anger as retribution permeates Duszejko’s conviction that one has the moral obligation to oppose injustice (“But the truth is that anyone who feels Anger, and does not take action, merely spreads the infection. So says our Blake” (65)). In this formulation, anger imposes on the subject an ethical imperative to act, which, in Duszejko’s case, is so strong that it gives her a sense of mission (towards the end of the novel, having confessed to murdering three out of four men, she adds: “I wasn’t lying when I kept insisting it was Animals taking revenge on people. That was the truth. I was their Tool” (257)). Indeed, as we learn at the end of the novel, she carried her weapons in her car at all times, which shows that she was forever ready to resort to physical violence – even killing – as the ultimate means to prove the soundness of her arguments.

Drive Your Plow ends with Duszejko more isolated than she was at the beginning of the novel. Helped by her friends to flee the police, she finds herself in a secure shelter in the Białowieża Forest in north-eastern Poland, where she is occasionally visited by Borys Sznajder, an entomologist with whom she lived for a brief while in her house in the Kłodzko Valley. While the novel ends with a life-affirming statement (claiming to know the hour of her death, she says: “I know I still have plenty of time” (268)), there is no denying the fact that, as a result of her life choices, she is now living a life apart from her friends and with slim

is so seldom expressed in openly satisfying and rewarding ways in our [Western] society” (333).

¹⁹ The notion of „cold anger” is mentioned by Zoltan Kovecses in his article on the cross-cultural experience of anger: “The notion of cold anger (retribution) as a rational act on the part of the angry person. It is this rational, as opposed to an emotional decision that is conceptualized as being ‘cold’” (172-3).

prospects of joining them. By the end of the novel, her aloneness, no longer a token of her quirky idealism and positive maladjustment to an unjust society, points to her violent radicalism – a stance shared by no other characters besides her. By and large, her alienation is the result of her decision to transgress the moral code and aggress even in the name of a cause that is, in itself, laudable.

Duszejko's solitude is also a token of her failure to see the relational aspect of anger. Anger is, for her, an exclusively private emotion: neither its agenda, nor its consequences are to be shared with others. This stance results from the intensity of this emotion: it seems that from the beginning of the novel Duszejko is resolved to exact a violent revenge on the hunters and knows well that it is pointless – indeed, dangerous – to share her goal with others, even with her friends. Having said this, it is surprising that despite being a vocal critic of violence towards animals and despite knowing people who would, in all likelihood, be sympathetic to her goals (for example her friend Dizzy, or Borys Sznajder), she is reluctant to share her outrage and thus fails to recognize this emotion's potent ability to connect people seeking to engage in meaningful and constructive action.

By the end of Tokarczuk's novel it becomes quite clear that Duszejko is herself one of the victims of her own anger. Despite her unquestionable insight into her emotions, it remains quite probable that her emphasis on anger as an overpowering force is a thinly-masked disguise for her inability to control this emotion, which ultimately results in the loss of control over her life. This failure of vision and her subsequent alienation from her friends serve to delegitimize the violence committed by Duszejko and to problematize her approach to anger, specifically her tendency to glorify this emotion. Insofar as it invites the readers to distance themselves from Duszejko's motivations and view them critically, *Drive Your Plow* cannot be termed radical despite the violence that it depicts; indeed, the novel is characterized by its strong assertion of the equal value of every life and its rejection of violence as a viable solution to social injustice.

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**"TRAGICZNA PRZYPOWIEŚĆ O BEZRADNOŚCI, GNIEWIE I OBYWATELSKIM
NIEPOŚLUSZEŃSTWIE": AFEKTYWNE ODCZYTANIE POWIEŚCI *PROWADŹ
SWÓJ PŁUG PRZEZ KOŚCI UMARŁYCH* OLGI TOKARCZUK**

Artykuł stanowi odczytanie powieści *Prowadź swój pług przez kości umarłych* Olgi Tokarczuk z perspektywy afektywnej ekokrytyki. Pierwsza część tekstu skupia się na społeczno-politycznym uwarunkowaniu związanych z publikacją powieści Tokarczuk. Omówiona jest tu również koncepcja literatury, według której literatura daje możliwość doświadczenia catharsis w przeżywaniu emocji oraz, dzięki temu, lepszemu ich zrozumieniu. Powieść Tokarczuk koncentruje się na smutku i gniewie w szerszym kontekście debaty na temat protestu obywatelskiego i aktywizmu ekologicznego. Wiele miejsca w artykule poświęcone jest emocji gniewu, przeżywanego przez główną bohaterkę powieści, Janinę Duszejko. Ukazano, że Duszejko postrzega gniew poprzez pryzmat przekonania, że każdy człowiek jest moralnie zobligowany do przeciwstawienia się niesprawiedliwości. Jednakże akty przemocy, których

dopuszcza się Duszejko, poddają w wątpliwość zasadność jej przekonań o gniewie, ukazując jej brak kontroli nad tą emocją.

Słowa kluczowe: Olga Tokarczuk, afektywna ekokrytyka, studia nad stosunkiem do zwierząt

HIDDEN TRUTHS IN JONATHAN SWIFT'S GULLIVER'S TRAVELS

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Abstract: The paper presents an approach to the literature based on an analysis of three factors: the historical reader, the historical author, and the informed reader. By applying synchronic and diachronic methods of reading, an acceptable critical reading of a literary work is proposed. The paper aims to explain the functioning of all three factors through the interpretation of Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*. The result of the interpretation is the discovery of the truth about the true nature of colonialism, which is still relevant today. At the same time, the paper shows the importance of applying the appropriate methodology in the study of literature as a way of achieving and preserving its autonomy in relation to the other humanities.

Keywords: literary method, historical reader, historical author, informed reader, Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*

Introduction

A sustainable literary interpretation comes as a result of the interplay of at least three factors: the historical reader, the historical author, and the present (informed) reader. This taxonomy is not prescriptive, but descriptive. An acceptable interpretation should take into account the significance of the literary work at the time of its creation, but also its present significance. The first two factors are based on the knowledge of the specific literary and historical context. The third implies language and literary competence and relates to the current context and the practices of reading. The third factor is particularly significant because it encompasses and binds together the previous two. The informed reader must not be *late to the party*, he must be familiar with the most important previous interpretations of the given text. Literary competence is an indispensable part of good critical practice. The criterion the contemporary, informed reader, leaves the possibility to

include the latest approaches in the interpretation or even approaches yet to emerge.

We will proceed to examine these three factors in the case of Swift's novel *Gulliver's Travels* (1726). Besides the fictional author, the text is characterized by "the scrambling of fact and fiction, and the parody of various kinds of writing" (Fox 1995a, 14). The text also encompasses different styles and types of literature, "including spiritual autobiography, conversion narrative, travel tale, imaginary voyage" (Fox 1995a, 14-15), and characteristics of the scientific text. Immediately upon release, the novel attracted great critical attention and was perceived as extremely contemporary work. Swift's novel, in perhaps slightly different ways, is still relevant for today's readers.

The Historical Reader

A historical reader is an individual or group of readers who read a text in its historical context. Reader-response criticism or even plain historicism have a practice of reading texts in their historical context to understand the way they had been received by their earliest readers. Historical readers have been studied as "social groups, as in Ian Watt's consideration of the role played by the reading public in the rise of the British novel, or the work of Hans-Robert Jauss" (Nelles 24).

The historical reader is not a "virtual reader" (Prince 180) – the reader imagined by the biographical author while writing his work. We reach the historical reader through his texts that speak of a certain literary work, in a certain period. The historical reader is limited by the historical context, stylistic and genre conventions to which the interpreted work belongs, and therefore has the advantage of recognizing the specific literary context. For example, Clement Hawes recognizes thematic similarities between Swift's work, and travel writing that supported colonialism. The main targets of Swift's satire – "travel literature, adventure novels, illustration, ethnography, cartography, and science" – were implicated by "colonial discourse" (Hawes 188).

By the time the novel was published, Swift was already known as an author whose texts had a political connotation, and his book was received as a "decidedly political document and was both understood and used as a contribution to the political journalism of the opposition" (Goldgar 50). For Swift's contemporaries parallels were drawn "between the Low Heels and the Whigs and the High Heels and the Tories" (Fox 1995b, 270). Especially the Whigs and their prime minister, Sir Robert Walpole, connected with the character Flimnap in Lilliput.

The early reception of *Gulliver's travels* is perhaps most fully described by Swift's cousin, Deane Swift (1707–1783). In his *Essay Upon*

the Life, Writings, and Character of Jonathan Swift (2nd ed., 1755) he asserted, that the work is “a direct, plain and bitter satire against the innumerable follies and corruptions in law, politicks, learning, morals and religion” (Fox 1995b, 274). He saw the first two parts of the novel as “intirely political”, and as a satire of “the wars of Europe and the factions of WHIG and TORY” (Fox 1995b, 274).

Therefore, contemporaries found an analogy between the two warring nations, Lilliput and Blefuscu on the one hand and Britain and France on the other. They noticed the satirical nature of Swift’s discourse and the political implications of *Gulliver’s travels*.

The Historical Author

The historical author is not a biographical author, because obviously everything that is happening in the author’s life is not important for understanding the literary text. Today the notion of any author is mostly excluded from the field of literary research. This was done first by introducing *intentional fallacy* and insisting on the semantic autonomy of the text, and then by introducing the idea of the *death of the author*.

The condemnation of biographism in Anglo-Saxon literary theory and criticism culminated in Wimsatt’s and Beardsley’s text “The Intentional Fallacy”. For them, the “intention of the author is neither available nor desirable as a standard for judging the success of a work of literary art” (Wimsatt and Beardsley 468), and there is no reliable method of discovering the author’s intent. Also, poetry differs from the utterances of communicative language, which are quite understandable only if we take into account the intention of the speaker. In the case of poetry, the intent comes down to replace the state of mind of the author (at the time of creation) with biographical data. Finally, for Wimsatt and Beardsley, the poem is determined by the language and belongs to the public, not the author or its interpreter.

A decade and a half later, within the framework of liberal political ideas that appeared in France in the 1960s, the writer’s reputation as a kind of *cultural icon* was finally undermined. The main proponent of these new ideas in literature was Roland Barthes. His idea of the author’s death challenges the traditional, Lanson critique, which sought the meaning of a literary work in noticing social influences on the writer, recognizing the reader’s expectations, and analyzing the text itself. For Roland Barthes, the author is no longer the center of the work, nor can the work have such a focus. Unlike the American New Critics, Barthes is interested in his role in society. As a leftist, he is particularly concerned

with the author as the institution of civil, bourgeois society and therefore proclaims his death.

The question of the center of the text or interpretation is irrelevant if we ask ourselves what the text means to us *now*, while at the same time trying to find out what it meant to those before us, that is, what the text meant *then*. Thus, the author is not and cannot be the center of the text. The exclusion of the author as a possible object of literary research is directly related to the rejection of the historical perspective in the interpretation of literature and consequently the refusal of some methods of interpretation.

I choose the term historical author because he is not the real flesh-and-blood biographical author. It means that we perceive his existence through his texts, from which he emerges. The historical author is embedded in texts and revealed through texts. Its existence is primarily textual, secondarily historical, for he belongs to a particular time and society. The historical author realizes the less visible sense of the text, which often refers to the author's poetic or ideological beliefs. For example, Dostoevsky's letters, essays, diaries, comments left on the manuscripts of his novels, together with his literary texts, build the historical author. It can give us an idea of Dostoevsky as an author who is an interpreter of his time. It is the same with Jonathan Swift, whose texts, placed in the appropriate context, reveal Swift as a historical author.

More or less obviously, my notion of historical author resembles the theoretical concept of the implied author, introduced by Wayne Booth in 1961 in his book *The Rhetoric of Fiction*:

Whether we call this implied author an "official scribe," or adopt the term recently revived by Kathleen Tillotson – the author's "second self" – it is clear that the picture the reader gets of this presence is one of the author's most important effects. However impersonal he may try to be, his reader will inevitably construct a picture of the official scribe who writes in this manner—and of course that official scribe will never be neutral toward all values. (71)

In Booth's view, the implied author could be both the real man, and the authorial image implied by the text. For me, the second part of Booth's construction leads to the historical author; it is the authorial image implied by the text, the "second self" (71) which no longer leads in any way to the real man as a biographical author.

To detect the presence of the historical author through text, we shall focus our attention on the discrepancy between the voice of the

fictional narrator, Lemuel Gulliver, and its relevant contextual implications. We start from the assumption that there are two Gullivers: the “true” and the “false” one. We use the terms “true” and “false” to denote two narrative voices: the first is the “true” Gulliver, the narrator who speaks the truth of the text. The second one is the “false” Gulliver, the narrator who does not tell the truth unless we interpret his statements as ironic. The statements of the first, less present, “true” Gulliver are not ironic, while the utterances of the second, more present, “false” Gulliver are ironic. The first voice expresses directly the views of the historical author (Swift) and the second (interpreted as irony) in an indirect way. Both these voices express the same views about colonization. An example of the interplay of the minority, “true” Gulliver, and the majority, “false” Gulliver, is on the last pages of the *Gulliver’s travels*. Gulliver recalls his patriotic duties first:

I confess, it was whispered to me, that I was bound in Duty as a Subject of *England*, to have given in a Memorial to a Secretary of State, at my first coming over; because, whatever Lands are discovered by a Subject, belong to the Crown. (Swift 1995, 263)

The “true” Gulliver delivered a truth relevant to political reality. In the following paragraph, we are confronted with Gulliver’s dilemma and his disagreement over the stated fact:

But, I had another Reason which made me less forward to enlarge his Majesty’s Dominions by my Discoveries: To say the Truth, I had conceived a few Scruples with relation to the distributive Justice of Princes upon those Occasions. For Instance, A Crew of Pyrates are driven by a Storm they know not whither; at length a Boy discovers Land from the Top-mast; they go on Shore to rob and plunder; they see an harmless People, are entertained with Kindness, they give the Country a new Name, they take formal Possession of it for the King, they set up a rotten Plank or a Stone for a Memorial, they murder two or three Dozen of the Natives, bring away a Couple more by Force for a Sample, return home, and get their Pardon. (Swift 1995, 264)

These are the words of the same Gulliver who repeatedly demonstrated to be a staunch promoter of the civilizational reach of his homeland. However, in the passage that follows, Gulliver talks about some additional consequences of colonization:

Here commences a new Dominion acquired with a Title by *Divine Right*. Ships are sent with the first Opportunity; the Natives driven out or destroyed, their Princes tortured to discover their Gold; a

free Licence given to all Acts of Inhumanity and Lust; the Earth reeking with the Blood of its Inhabitants: And this execrable Crew of Butchers employed in so pious an Expedition, is a *modern Colony* sent to convert and civilize an idolatrous and barbarous People. (Swift 1995, 264)

This sentence draws out its meaning from the colonial reality of Swift's time. At first glance, there is nothing in that sentence that has been invented by Gulliver. It is the voice of the "true", minority Gulliver, whose voice matches the political beliefs of the historical author, Jonathan Swift.

There is also a syntagm in the passage that distorts its meaning: "a new Dominion" is acquired by "*Divine Right*" (Swift 1995, 264). This syntagm shows all the complexity of Swift's use of irony. In the voice of the "true" Gulliver, the voice of the "false" Gulliver is inserted, and a discrepancy of voices is achieved. *Divine Right* does not refer to a Christian divine right; what the colonizers are referring to could be something other than a political doctrine in defense of monarchical absolutism, which asserted that kings derived their authority from God – it is even the opposite of it. The same can be said for "an idolatrous and barbarous People" who, neither guilty nor obliged, are massacred and enslaved by an "execrable Crew of Butchers" (Swift 1995, 264) who are, apparently, not very familiar with the most basic Christian norms of behavior towards fellow humans.

However, as soon as Gulliver expressed his opinion about the colonizers (but also the ruler and the church behind them), in the next paragraph, he expresses quite different views:

But this Description, I confess, doth by no means affect the *British Nation*, who may be an Example to the whole World for their Wisdom, Care, and Justice in planting Colonies; their liberal Endowments for the Advancement of Religion and Learning; their Choice of devout and able Pastors to propagate *Christianity*; their Caution in stocking their Provinces with People of sober Lives and Conversations from this the Mother Kingdom; their strict Regard to the Distribution of Justice [...] And to crown all, by sending the most vigilant and virtuous Governors, who have no other Views than the Happiness of the People over whom they preside, and the Honour of the King their Master. (Swift 1995, 265)

Instead of the voice of the minority Gulliver (which corresponds to the truth of the text), the voice of the majority Gulliver enters the scene. On this issue, Claude Rawson makes an excellent remark:

This cannot be the same Gulliver, unless he is being stingingly ironic. [...] But it seems more natural to read both passages as ultimately emanating from a Swiftian rather than Gulliverian voice, the first expressing indignation literally, the second doing so ironically, with an added sarcasm at the species of British complacency frequently expressed by travel writers and imperial adventurers before and since. (115)

In other words, both voices express indignation; the first voice directly, the second indirectly, using irony. The two voices are connected by a reference to Christianity. In the first one, there is *Divine Right*; in the second, *a mission to propagate Christianity*. The real meaning of the Christian mission in the second passage elucidates the list of the crimes against the subjugated people present in the first. The colonizers do not spread true Christian values, because they do not act like Christians but as a *Crew of Butchers*. The second passage should, therefore, be read as ironic. It means the opposite of what was stated. Governor-led colonizers are negligent, wicked, and corrupt – they are a terrible *Crew of Butchers*.

The separation of the two voices, Swift's and Gulliver's, the "true" from the "false" Gulliver, is also noticeable in the mention of "harmless People" who are "entertained with kindness" (Swift 1995, 264). Almost none of these *harmless People* are to be found during Lemuel Gulliver's travels. Lilliputians in particular are not harmless, on the contrary, they are very warlike. The "falsehood" of Gulliver's voice is shown by changing his own narrative past. Swift achieves this by using irony and satire. To be a successful colonizer, Gulliver must possess the qualities of his hosts – the Lilliputians – and, above all, the qualities of a Lilliputian king, who "generously" saves Gulliver from a terrible death. It is a parody of the colonization process, where small (Lilliputians) colonize large (Gulliver). In the generous plan of the Lilliputian King, Gulliver will remain alive but blind:

That if his Majesty, in Consideration of your Services, and pursuant to his own merciful Disposition, would please to spare your Life, and only give order to put out both your Eyes; he humbly conceived, that by this Expedient, Justice might in some measure be satisfied, and all the World would applaud the *Lenity* of the Emperor, as well as the fair and generous Proceedings of those who have the Honour to be his Counsellors. That the Loss of your Eyes would be no Impediment to your bodily Strength, by which you might still be useful to his Majesty. (Swift 1995, 81)

It is an irony. The king plans to *spare* the life of his friend Gulliver from the death penalty by blinding him. Blinding Gulliver would only mean the beginning of his punishment, which would continue with his starvation, and finally, his death. That is why, if understood without irony, most of Gulliver's utterances are "false". Gulliver's two voices, directly and indirectly, point to the historical author Jonathan Swift.

Another text that reveals the historical author Jonathan Swift is *The Modest Proposal* (1729) where the author asserts that life in Ireland is so bad that the only way out is to sell the children to the butcher:

a young healthy child well nursed is at a year old a most delicious, nourishing, and wholesome food, whether stewed, roasted, baked, or boiled; and I make no doubt that it will equally serve in a fricassee or a ragout. (2008, 7)

For Christopher Fox, Swift's thoughts in the Proposal are "in line with the respectable economic theory that people are the wealth of the nation. The work takes this literally" (1995a, 6). Cannibalism cures the woes of the economy. Hawes notices that cannibalism is a "term so freighted with racist history that it has no application outside the discourse of European colonialism" (190). Swift's *The Modest Proposal* is a severe condemnation of the practice of colonialism and he also takes a stand about the tragic nature of the world where everything can be expressed in numbers, which leads to the destruction of humanity.

By discovering the historical author, it becomes clear that the cannibals from *The Modest Proposal* are ruthless *Crew of Butchers*. No more wise, righteous, and caring Christians that we find in the analyzed passage of *Gulliver's Travels*. The colonizers are the complete opposite of Christian missionaries full of virtues. The hidden truths of *Gulliver's Travels* reveal both the intentions of the British colonizers and the greedy nature of mankind as a whole.

The Present Reader

The present reader is a well-educated critic, who possesses knowledge of literary history and the change of literary periods, procedures, and genres but most of all, he knows the methodology of interpreting literature. He is also an informed reader in the meaning given to it by Stanley Fish: he fully masters the language in which the text is written; knows variants of that language, that is, knows its collocations, dialects, idioms, etc. Therefore, the arbitrariness of the act of reading is largely limited by language competence. In addition, he/she/it possesses literary competence, i.e. recognizes literary conventions and other characteristics of a literary text, from tropes to

genre definitions. As Fish points out, the informed reader “does everything within his power to make him-self informed” (145). The present (informed) reader recognizes the interpretive importance of the historical reader and assesses the relevance of its interpretations. Thanks to historical knowledge, today’s reader perceives and understands the irony of *Gulliver’s Travels* much better than Swift’s contemporaries; centuries of colonial and neocolonial practice made irony more visible and easier to interpret. Also, the informed reader does not miss Swift’s political satire.

Besides irony and satire, today’s reader also notices parody in the text. Things are reversed by parody; the large is signified as small and the small as large. The little people (Lilliputians) are actually big – they are colonizers; big people (such as Gulliver) are small, captured, subjugated, and colonized. Colonial politics shows its essence: instead of immediately destroying the colonized people extermination happens gradually; the nation should be blinded (deprive it of the opportunity for education and learning) and then starved so that it can work and serve the colonizer (Lilliputians).

Here, we also recognize the symbolic meaning of *Gulliver’s Travels*, especially in the episode with the Lilliputians. In an ethical sense, the colonized are human, worthy and great, and colonizers are inhumane, small, worthless. The planned blindness of Gulliver is, in fact, the destruction of the cultural identity of the people. An example of such a destruction of cultural identity is April 10, 1883, act by the US Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller. On that date, the US government, in the final campaign to systematically suppress the cultural heritage of Native Americans, banned all Native American languages, their religion, culture, and customs. Teller’s law prohibits “Native American ceremonial activity under pain of imprisonment” (Irwin 35) and represents one of many examples of contemporary neocolonialism that corresponds to Swift’s ingenious insight into the essence of subjugation and exploitation.

An example much closer to the present moment is the discovery of hundreds of graves on the site of a former school for Indigenous children in Canada. From the 19th century to the 1970s, more than 150,000 Indigenous children were forced to attend a Christian school funded by the Canadian state.

The children died far from home after having suffered brutal abuse and neglect. For decades, Indigenous children in both Canada and the United States were taken away from their families and sent to boarding schools, where they were forced to assimilate to Euro-American culture.” (McGreevy)

Cultural assimilation is another example of colonial politics, where “blinding” means losing one’s own cultural identity. As in Gulliver’s case, the process of cultural assimilation can end in starvation and death. Swift’s ironically disguised truth about colonialism received another tragic confirmation.

Conclusion

The observed factors in the interpretation of *Gulliver’s travels* are a consequence of the overlap of synchronic and diachronic approaches in literary studies. It is important to recognize the historical reader and the historical author. As we have seen, they help us to understand that the work belongs not only to us, the present readers, but also to the past and that the context is important for the understanding of literature. No less significant is the meaning created by rhetorical techniques; in our interpretation, recognition of irony and parody in the text of *Gulliver’s travels* had great importance. The perspective of the present is the last interpretative step: it is a natural reading perspective that implies an informed reader – a reader who is aware of his/her/their position and who includes the previous interpretative steps in the process of complete interpretation.

I agree with Stephen Greenblatt and other proponents of the New Historicism that context is not a passive background of the text we read. Indeed, context is created by texts, but it is not, as they think, fully unstable. The context changes its form, but its essence remains the same. The interaction of historical author, historical reader, and present reader determines its stability. What was important in the past is still important now, only in a different way. The perspective of the present shows the importance of the perspective of the past, which in our example shows the essential immutability of the context of Swift’s novel. It is still a political context. In Swift’s time, it was the context of colonialism, which in our time took the form of neocolonialism.

The context that I have in mind is not just the context of the time in which the work was created. It is a truly comprehensive horizon, which encompasses the horizon of the past, but far more the horizon of the present, the beliefs and presuppositions of the reader of the interpreted text. The truly comprehensive horizon includes the historical horizon, but also us, present readers, as those who ask and are affected by the word that comes from the past. As Gadamer said:

The concept of “horizon” suggests itself because it expresses the superior breadth of vision that the person who is trying to understand must have. To acquire a horizon means that one learns to look beyond what is close at hand – not in order to look away

from it but to see it better, within a larger whole and in truer proportion. (316)

Our analysis has shown that Swift's truth about the ruthless nature of colonialism is also relevant to today's reader. The past is closer to us, and thus the present is more understandable. In this way, the importance of the literary method is shown, making it possible for "literature [to] remain central to discourse, culture, ideology, and so on because literature encompasses all of them and raises questions about all of them by merely shifting its vantage points, namely, its genre and its conventions" (Riffaterre 73). Linguistic, philological, historical, cultural, religious, and philosophical knowledge has always been a condition for the understanding of literature as a linguistic, cultural, and spiritual phenomenon. It is because of such considerations that we can state that "literary phenomena and their interactions with social and cultural phenomena, with philosophy, sociology, psychology, history, politics are diverse and changeable and enter the framework of the study of literature" (Kvas 51). At the same time, the awareness of the autonomy of the literary phenomenon to other manifestations of the human spirit prevents the study of literature from being unnecessarily assimilated into other humanities.

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СКРИВЕНЕ ИСТИНЕ ГУЛИВЕРОВИХ ПУТОВАЊА ЏОНАТАНА СВИФТА

У раду је представљен приступ књижевности заснован на анализи три фактора: историјског читаоца, историјског аутора и упућеног читаоца. Применом синхронијских и дијахронијских метода читања предлаже се прихватљиво критичко читање књижевног дела. Циљ рада је да објасни функционисање сва три фактора тумачењем *Гуливерових путовања* Џонатана Свифта. Резултат тумачења је откривање истине о правој природи колонијализма, која је и данас актуелна. Истовремено, рад показује значај примене одговарајуће методологије у проучавању књижевности као начина остваривања и очувања њене аутономије у односу на друге хуманистичке науке.

Кључне речи: књижевни метод, историјски читалац, историјски аутор, упућени читалац, Свифт, *Гуливерова путовања*.

THE DYSTOPIAN VISION IN BERNARD MALAMUD'S NOVEL GOD'S GRACE

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Abstract: This article seeks to analyze the dystopian vision in Bernard Malamud's final novel *God's Grace* (1982). An animal fable and fantasy in itself, the book centers on the last human survivor who interacts with primates, in order to create civilization anew by teaching them language, ethics, science and religion, with a major emphasis on the dualities of good and evil; reason and instinct, and their interconnectedness with free will, choice, and responsibility. The study begins with a short introduction into the history of dystopian literature, whose function is to serve, from a future perspective, as a social and political commentary about existing dark aspects, which can easily take over if not held in check. Then, the analysis probes into the dystopian features of the (covert and overt) totalitarian climate that reigns in the book, due to the human's control of the animals through the mechanisms of language, culture, science, religion, and sexuality. The utopian society established is short-lived, as the denial of individualism inevitably brings about the primates' rebellion and the demise of human civilization. Despite being the most pessimistic work of fiction by Malamud, the novel ends with hope, which is the case in many dystopian books.

Keywords: Dystopia, civilization, primates, language, science, religion, God, sexuality, hope

Introduction

The term *dystopia* (meaning "bad place", in Greek) was coined by English philosopher John Stuart Mill in 1868 in his political speech to denounce the government's Irish land policy. Contrasting it to Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), he stated that "It is, perhaps, too complimentary to call them Utopians, they ought rather to be called dys-topians, or caco-topians. What is commonly called Utopian is something too good to be practicable; but what they appear to favor is too bad to be practicable" (Web, par.5). While utopia (meaning "nowhere", in Greek),

pictures a society characterized by peace, harmony, and happiness, both [utopia and dystopia] can be considered as two sides of the same coin because they portray a society that does not exist. Utopian and dystopian elements can be traced back to mythology, which, according to George Clayer, “[...] invites us to consider the parallel religious prehistories of both concepts, which in the Christian tradition are dominated by ideas of Eden and Heaven, on the one hand, and Hell on the other” (146). They represent two extremes – one featuring an absolute paradise, while the other utter misery.

All utopias, sooner or later, devolve into dystopia because the so-called perfection of utopia does not last long when applied to a real human society. This way, dystopian fiction portrays an unjust society, where people suffer from poverty, subjugation, violence, destruction, or death. Set in the future, dystopian stories depict a bleaker setting and atmosphere than the present, with a view to cautioning the reader of what may occur to them, if dark and oppressive forces assume power. Most importantly, these cautionary tales urge the reader to take preventive measures against such existing destructive human elements. In this regard, it should be stressed that dystopian stories are realistic. Though futuristic in space and time, and despite inviting us to accept a mysteriously automated society, dystopian fiction presents a world in which the characters and actions are identifiable with the reader. M.Keith Booker, in his work *The Dystopian Impulse in Modern Literature: Fiction as a Social Criticism* (1994), emphasizes: “The treatment of imaginary societies in the best dystopian fiction is always highly relevant more or less directly to specific ‘real-world’ societies and issues (19). On the other hand, this present-future distancing is essential to convey the message to the reader that his/her current reality could become the one featured in the dystopian novel. Otherwise, the narrative would be merely fantastic rather than prophetic.

The dystopian narrative emerged in the 18th century, with the publication of J. Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels* (1726), which combines utopian and dystopian elements of adventure, degeneration and savagery in remote regions, in order to satirize many of the misconceptions, stupidities, and weaknesses of human nature. Swift’s ethos ran counter to the worldview embraced in previous centuries, when people had “faith in human progress and in man’s capacity to create a world of justice and peace” (Fromm 257). In the 19th century, there abated the euphoria that the progress of science and technology could bring about human emancipation, and help build a better world. The industrialization of the society was becoming far from liberating for the working class, which had to toil behind the machines in the service

of industry. This concerning issue is raised in Samuel Butler's well-known dystopian novel *Erewhon* (1872), an anagram for "nowhere". Erewhon is a utopian place where money has no purchasing value, and machines have been made illegal due to the competition they pose to human existence. In the same light, F. Nietzsche, in his work *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872), objects to science's obsession about ultimate truths and opposes the increasing mechanization of life caused by the imperialism of science, whose influence is similar to religion, in sanctifying

the god of machines and crucibles, that is, the powers of the spirits of nature recognized and employed in the service of a higher egotism; it believes that it can correct the world by knowledge, guide life by science, and actually confine the individual within a limited sphere of solvable problem (109)

Nietzsche's philosophy, in its entirety, marked a turning point in the dystopian thought. Thus, it was during the 20th century that dystopian fiction grew in number and importance as writers became more preoccupied and critical of the society. Tom Moylan, in his book *Scraps of the Untainted Sky* (2000) summarizes the context in which these classic works were written: "Dystopian narrative is largely the product of terrors of the twentieth century. A hundred years of exploitation, repression, state violence, war, genocide, disease, famine, ecocide, depression, debt, and the steady depletion of humanity through the buying and selling of everyday life provided more than enough fertile ground for this fictive underside of the utopian imagination" (xi).

The main literary themes of the dystopian genre are: political oppression; loss of individualism; danger from abuse of science and technology; religious theocracy; environmental disasters and survival. The most famous dystopian novel of political nature is G. Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949). Set in 1984, in totalitarian and eternally-at-war fictitious Oceania, the book portrays governmental propaganda, surveillance, and violence to subjugate and brainwash the entire society, where each and every individual must show complete obedience to the only existing Party and Big Brother. In a similar light, Orwell's political fable *Animal Farm* (1945) is an allegory for Stalinist threat – and, by extension, for other totalitarian regimes – following the betrayal by Stalin of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. Overthrowing the human master, in order to establish an egalitarian society, the animals on the farm come to experience a far more oppressive dictatorship, under the leadership of the intelligent and power-addictive pigs, than under the human counterpart.

The effects of technology, taking over religion, are best predicted at the turn of the 20th century, in R. Benson's *Lord of the World* (1907). The book portrays a futuristic godless world with interstate highways, weapons of mass destruction, and advanced aircraft for passengers. People are described as hopeless, so they frequently practice euthanasia, which is legalized. Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932), a dystopian sci-fi, examines the control of society by the government through advanced technologies. This includes managing reproduction by surgically removing the ovaries; cloning human embryos to secure social stability; and practicing hypnopaedia as a way of teaching moral and social issues to children, while they are asleep.

Subjugation of masses through religious dogma is featured in important works, such as: Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale* (1986). The story is set in the futuristic totalitarian society of Gilead, which has been affected by environmental disasters and excessively low birthrate. Ruled by a fundamentalist sect, the state has categorized women into wives, servants, and handmaids (breeders) reduced to merely baby-making machines for the wealthy male elite. While religion in this book has been used in a more traditional sense, Octavia E. Butler's *Parable of the Sower* (1993), set in 2024, portrays a completely destroyed society due to global warming and pollution. The world is nearing its end, as a consequence of water and food shortages, extreme wealth inequality, racial tensions, and rampant drug addiction. The heroine, a 15-year-old girl, as she moves North from Southern Carolina, has created a religion called "Earthseed", to enable growth and change. God is regarded as Change. This concept is revolutionary because many religions today propagate that God is the only entity that does not change. Everyone following Earthseed is equal, as there are no hierarchies to abide by.

Environmental issues and the protection of earth's natural resources have often been the emphasis of dystopian narrative. James G. Ballard's novel *The Drowned World* (1962) is set in year 2145 in an inundated and deserted London, where a group of researchers are studying occurring environmental issues. Another noteworthy narrative of this genre is Omar El Akkad's novel *American War* (2017). The storyline highlights the United States at the end of the 21st century, where many of the states have submerged due to rising water level. A second civil war has broken out between the North and the South over the fossil fuels.

Dystopian vision in *God's Grace*

The end of 1970s and beginning of 1980s was characterized by a revival of the nuclear threat between the US and Russia, and the Cold War was on the verge of becoming hot. In this context, Malamud published the last novel *God's Grace*, where he expressed his fear of the impending dangers. In an interview with Helen Benedict (1983), Malamud stated:

I have been concerned with this since the first atom bomb was dropped on the Japanese [...] I remember the horrid feeling I had then that the beginning of an evil time had occurred. I have a sense now, as many people have, of peril – it's terribly frightening. I feel it's the writer's business to cry havoc, because silence can't increase understanding or evoke mercy" (130).

Set in the near future, *God's Grace* features an apocalyptic world wiped out by a nuclear war between Americans and Russians. The novel centers on Calvin Cohn, a paleontologist, who is the sole human being to have survived this war. He remained alive because he was on a submersible studying fossil at the bottom of the ocean. Alone on the vessel *Rebekah Q*, Cohn soon discovers his colleague's (Bünder's) chimpanzee named Gottlob, and later Buz by Cohn. The third being that they encounter is George, another animal with some human qualities. The huge gorilla with a gloomy look is attracted to the recorded religious music of Cohn's father. Cohn names the gorilla after his wife's father, and first American president. Meanwhile, halfway through the story, there appear five other chimps, who "looked as if they had been recently released from a prison pit" (94). The most noteworthy of them are two: the virgin female, whom Buz names Mary Madelyn, and a huge brutish male, whom Cohn names Esau, after the hunter-wanderer son of Isaac who relinquished his birthright and the Torah. Buz will later develop an instinctive bonding with the aggressive Esau in their conviction that "the true purpose of life was to have as much fun as one could" (86).

Rather frightened by the appearance of the new primates on the island, Cohn places a rolling wooden barrier at the entrance of the cave, "in case of peril" (102). The island is later visited by three baboons. Though not really dangerous, the behaviour of the big apes is extremely primitive, and they bring out the worst in the other primates, which somehow warns of the end. Esau's judgmental and aggressive approach toward the baboons, on the one hand, and Buz' hatred of "fot, stupid, and stinking George" (81), on the other, parallels the human relationship between *Djanks* and *Druzhkies*, whose tribal hate was no less primitive.

Being in the midst of anarchy, Cohn embarks on his mission to establish a society based on harmony and order, vesting in him the authority of an all-knowing mentor, which grants the novel a high degree of comical tone. As the plot progresses, Cohn, however, becomes more and more controlling of the primates by implementing the mechanisms of language and culture; science and religion; and sexuality.

Control through language and culture

In a dystopian society, language is of vital importance in serving as a tool of propagation of propaganda for those in power. As Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf have emphasized, language, apart from being simply a means of communication, serves as a “guide to ‘social reality’” and “powerfully conditions all our thinking about social problems and processes” (162). However, even in the excessively controlling societies, language is deemed by several thinkers and philosophers to be beyond complete domination or regulation due to its equivocal and creative nature. Furthermore, in Baccolini’s words, “[...] the dystopian protagonist’s resistance often begins with a verbal confrontation [...]” (“Dystopia and Histories” 6).

At the outset, Cohn is desperate for human communication. However, in a couple of days, he finds out that Bänder has taught Buz the sign language, which makes the lonely human survivor very happy. Twisting two copper wires around Buz’s neck, Cohn enables the chimp to speak: “Fontostisch///I con hear myzelve speag” (64). Buz’s speaking skills improve, which brings them closer to each other: “They laid arms around each other, and affectionately kissed” (67). Cohn develops toward the chimp a benevolent Crusoe-to-Friday relationship of mentor and friend, father and son. Except speaking, Buz possesses other skills that are usually connected with people. He can use a hammer as a tool and play different games with Cohn. Likewise, wet weather upsets him.

The ability of the primates to learn to speak gives Cohn hope about the creation of his civilization. “Only if one knows the word, can he spread the word” (99). Such an act is welcomed by the chimps, although sometimes they “shake branches and throw nuts at him” (129). On the other hand, language acquisition proves to be disruptive among the primates. When Cohn asks Mary why she does not want to breed with the primates, she blames him: “You wanted us to wear your language. Now that I have, I am different than I used to be. If I hadn’t learned to speak and understand human speech, I would have already presented myself to every maw on the island (152).

Cohn attaches such an importance to the word that it transcends the imparting of knowledge and experience; language is equated to the creation of God. In this regard, Cohn remarks: "God was Torah. He was made of words" (92). As Sidney Richman, in his essay *Malamud's Quarrel with God* (1987), stresses its dual function:

[...] for Malamud language is a part of God's covenant with Man and the primary ground out of which a truer humanity is possible – not alone because language makes for consciousness, but because it opens man to the sense, or burden, of his own life and that of his fellows (210).

Malamud, thus, uses language as a mechanism of bringing one's ego closer to the Other. In this context, Cohn emphasizes to Buz that it is mainly "through language that a man [...] opens himself to other men (69).

Language is, in turn, employed by Cohn to familiarize the chimp with different areas of knowledge: such as, Aesop's fables, American constitution, Kierkegaard's viewpoint on Akedah, including his professional life, as a former rabbinic student. When the other visiting apes appear on the island, Cohn sets up the Schooltree, in his aspiration to establish a new civilization with these primates by teaching them a full spectrum from ethics and religion to cosmology and Darwinian theory of evolution six days a week. Language, however, cannot save the primates from their savagery. When Cohn demands that the chimps become fructivor, like George and him, which entails the inclusion of the Other, the linguistic and moral request is met with protest and incomprehension from cannibalistic Buz and his kind, as they cannot be accepting of gorillas or baboons. The very failure of primates' inability to convey morality through language leads Cohn, in the end, to cut the wires that made speech possible for Buz. This, in turn, also causes the loss of speech for the other animals, which was intrinsically connected to their faith in Buz.

All in all, what is evident throughout the novel is that Cohn's use of language imparts knowledge, but does not enable effective communication between him and the primates. Tailoring his spoken and written messages in such a manner that they come across as a mere list of *dos and don'ts* to the primates, Cohn severely limits the right to freedom of opinion and expression on part of the animals. This is the case even with intelligent and dear Buz, who utters words of wisdom more often than Cohn does. For example, when reproached [by Cohn] for having named the female chimpanzee Mary, the primate rightfully retorts that "naming was nobody's monopoly" (103). On the other hand,

Cohn attaches this exclusivity to the human nature, emphasizing that “it had been Adam’s task and on this island was his. ‘But I have no objection if you name a few names – if you kindly notify me first” (103). Considering this request unnecessary, Buz adds that “naming names was freedom of speech” (103). In other words, in his tendency to monopolize and dominate language, manipulate and control the primates, Cohn predominantly establishes relationships based on monologic rather than dialogic communication. In Bakhtin’s words:

Monologism, at its extreme, denies the existence outside itself of another consciousness with equal rights and equal responsibilities. [...]. With a monologic approach [...] another person remains wholly and merely an object of consciousness, and not another consciousness. No response is expected from it that could change everything in the world of my consciousness. [...] Monologue manages without the other, and therefore to some degree materializes all reality. Monologue pretends to be the ultimate word. It closes down the represented world and represented person. (1981: 292–293)

From here, it follows that dialogism provides room for each participant to speak and listen, argue and resist. Likewise, dialogic communication entails concern and respect for the other interlocutor, while giving positive criticism instead of negative criticism. In the end, Cohn does take his monologism to the extreme. Feeling betrayed by Buz, he renders the primate’s ability to speak impossible:

Cohn drew the wire clippers from his pants pocket.
 “Please, don’t take my speech away,” Buz begged. Take anything but that. Dr. Bänder wouldn’t commit that nasty crime on his worst enemy. He loved me as a father loves his child.” (215)

The loss of speech in Buz renders language use in other primates impossible, which precipitates the demise of Cohn’s civilization.

Control through science and religion

Equipped with a solid scientific background, Cohn believes that he can successfully experiment on these animals, so as to eternalize the cultural human legacy and continuity of the species.

As a scientist, Cohn exploits his knowledge of evolution and the genetic similarities between humans and chimpanzees, believing that, if he and Mary copulate, a new species of his own invention combining the best genes of human brain and chimp’s compassion would work wonders in evolution. The intercourse is described as more of a scientific

experiment than act of love. While ejaculating, he experiences an “instant electric connection” (169), evoking the electricity that resurrected Frankenstein. On the other hand, prior to mating, he fears that the child from this union might be a monster (167), which would be something irresponsible for a scientist. However, the sexual act itself transforms Cohn into a monster, which is foreshadowed by Buz’s initial words: “Shall I call you master” (66)? The chimp is certainly asking: “Shall I call you master”?

Alongside science, religion is typically employed as an oppressive tool in the dystopian world, with a view to facilitating dominance by totalitarian regimes. In his book *On the Genealogy of Morality* (1887), Nietzsche calls this disquisition a life-denying drive, arguing:

It is still a metaphysical faith that underlies our faith in science – and we men of knowledge of today, we godless men and antimetaphysicians, we, too, still derive our flame from the fire ignited by a faith millennium old, the Christian faith, which was also Plato’s, that God is truth, that truth is divine. (588)

For Nietzsche, religion – like science – imposes its own version of truth by denying the many alternatives and possibilities of life. In a similar way, in his work *Civilization and its Discontents* (1930), Freud regards religion as harmful to the human nature, in restraining happiness and depriving choice, as it

imposes equally on everyone its own path to the acquisition of happiness and protection from suffering [...] At this price, by forcibly fixing them in a state of psychical infantilism and by drawing them into a mass-delusion, religion succeeds in sparing many people an individual neurosis (31-32).

In a similar light, Cohn uses his religious teachings to better control the chimps. As regards his relationship with God, his initial reaction to the Lord is hostile on an internal, intellectual level. Loss of his wife in a car accident – prior to the second Flood – causes him to bear a long lasting grudge against God, and abandon religious studies for science. As a character in the novel, God informs Cohn, on the first page, that Cohn’s remaining alive is an oversight on part of the Almighty and that Cohn’s time on earth will be short. What ensues is a heated debate between them over whose fault was about the Devastation. Cohn believes that God made man imperfect and such an imperfection brought about this destruction. On the other hand, God blames man for surrendering himself to evil, which caused the fall of the human race from His grace. In an interview with Helen Benedict (1983) Malamud declared that he

would also talk back to God: “Of course I would! There’s a whole tradition of back-talk from Adam to Job. God may not enjoy man as much as we would like Him to, but He seems to enjoy the human voice” (133). However, when asked if he really believed in God, Malamud gave a cryptic response: “I think it was Carlyle who said whether he believed in God was his business and God’s” (133).

Taking into account the classic references and the use of traditional rituals, *God’s Grace* is Malamud’s most Jewish novel. Malamud’s Jewish metaphors are more pronounced in his early prose, where Jewish characters – such as Morris Bober in the novel *The Assistant* (1957) – are not only individualized, with their own strengths and weaknesses, but also universalized, as symbols of inevitability of suffering and possibility of redemption. When Bober speaks about what he calls the *Jewish law*, “this means to do what is right, to be honest, to be good [...] Our life is hard enough. Why should we hurt somebody else. For everybody should be the best, not only for you or me. We ain’t animals. This is why we need the Law. This is what a Jew believes” (150). Frank, his catholic assistant, fully concurs with him: “I think other religions have those ideas too” (150).

If Bober is the reference point of Malamud’s mythical Jewishness, Cohn’s Judaism is more traditional. Bober is, after all, indifferent to the established Judaism. And when pointed out to him that he does not properly observe the Jewish laws, he responds stating that: “Nobody will tell me that I am not Jewish because I put in my mouth once in a while, when my tongue is dry, a piece of ham” (150). On the contrary, Cohn is the only Malamudian character that worries about the violation of laws of kashrut and Sabbath, and who quotes not only from Torah but also Talmud and Midrash: all this, with a view to placating God so that he would renew His covenant. On a symbolic level, the protagonist’s zestful religiosity is implied in his first name [Calvin], while the last name refers to the Hebrew word *cohen*, who was a priest in the Old Bible times. His intolerance to the faith with which Buz was raised by doctor Bänder remains constant throughout the novel. When the chimp, for example, gives him the cross to hold, Cohn thinks that “One God is enough” (25) and considers throwing it into the water. Then, when the primate crosses himself, while Cohn is reading from Genesis, the latter thinks that “if one of them was Christian and the other a Jew, Cohn’s Island would never be a Paradise” (54). At a later moment, at the Seder that Cohn has prepared to celebrate the other chimps’ acquisition of speaking, when Buz crosses himself again, Cohn curtly tells him: “Do that later, Buz [...] It’s not part of this ceremony. It’s another modality” (113). Buz, in turn, complains about infringement of the freedom of religion.

A parody of Moses, he affixes his seven Admonitions on the face of a cliff, reminding everyone that their violation entails death for the transgressor. Among other things, these divine laws prohibit killing and copulation with animals. Cohn gradually transforms himself into a God surrogate by assuming God's role on the island. Through his ongoing selfish conduct, he turns himself into a dystopian god. Mary Weinkauf argues, in her article *The God Figure in Dystopian Fiction* (1971), that the dystopian god is "the corruption at the center" (267). And, in contrast to the Judeo-Christian god, he is often openly totalitarian and creates the dystopian society. H. Mark Roelofs, in his article "George Orwell's Obscured Utopia" (1987) explains that "the essence of totalitarianism is that the people should love the lord their god with all their heart, all their soul, and all their mind [...] in a totalitarian state only one love is permitted and it must be total love" (18, 20). In this manner, Cohn completely detaches himself from the emotional attachment to God, adding the negative particle to the second admonition: "God is not love. God is God. Remember him" (171).

The mad act of mating with the chimp finalizes his revenge against God, and ultimately breaches the covenant between the two. While fearing all along that God would meddle with his work, it is Cohn who meddles with God's. Likewise, in connection to the primates, Cohn disregards his madness but shows extreme intolerance to Esau for having killed a baboon because such an act breaches the first Admonition "Thou shalt not kill" (171). When the primate does it for the second time, Cohn banishes him from the island for good, which bears semblance to the expulsion from Eden. Buz, who has maintained his faith, changes the admonition to "God is Love" and preaches to the other primates, declaring "Blessed are the chimpanzees [...] for they have inherited the whole earth" (205).

Control through Sexuality

Concerning sexual behavior in a dystopian society, it is greatly controlled by societal structures. While enjoyment of sex is suppressed as much as possible, intercourse is performed for procreation purposes, as a duty to the state. Sexual relations are threatening to the System because they involve two entities, "whereas civilization depends on relationships between a considerable number of individuals" (Freud: *Civilization and its Discontents*, 55). In a similar light, Cohn seeks to constantly inhibit the primates' expression of sexual drive. Teaching her language and reading her romantic scenes from *Romeo and Juliet*, Cohn has rendered himself appealing to Mary, who refuses to mate with Buz and Esau – primates of her species. To Cohn she says: "I have kept my

virginity for you ever since you expwained the word to me when you first read me *Romeo and Juwiet*" (160). Even in her white dress, a gift from Cohn, she wants to make sure that she is like the Shakespearean heroine:

'Do I look like Juwiet?'

'Sort of, though I'm no Romeo'

'I wov you, do you love me?'

'Sure enough,' said Cohn. 'I sure do' (169).

Nonetheless, the hero has to reason a lot prior to copulating with Mary. When she requests that they have sexual intercourse, Cohn responds: "It is not permitted. I am a man. I am not allowed to copulate with animals" (152). He has to take into account the Talmudic prohibition of coitus with animals, which brings about the death of the man and animal involved. Then he reasons that, since Mary is an intelligent creature, she cannot be considered a beast. But if she is not such, neither is Buz, which does not entitle Cohn to couple with her. Though overwhelmed by lust, he never admits it that his needs are basic as Buz's. In fact, if Cohn does not copulate with Mary, he will remain forever lustful because there exists no female of human race.

In many dystopian societies, sexuality is promoted primarily for procreation purposes. In a similar light, Cohn undertakes to reenact Creation in the Garden of Eden, with himself being Adam and chaste Mary as Eve. Their bliss is undermined by jealous Buz, who like the serpent in the original paradise, pries on them, and being now sexually mature seeks sexual favours from Mary. The primate rightfully reminds Cohn that this female creature is *his* kind, not Cohn's. Likewise, Esau complains that Cohn has degenerated Mary's natural senses through teaching, driving her away from her species: "Your stupid schooltree has made her too proud to dip her butt for friends" (153). Cohn asks both to keep their sexual instincts in check. Having to sublimate his lust, the upset Buz spends his time smoothing stones and doing algebra. On the other hand, Cohn tells Esau to masturbate, but the primate's desperation soon becomes destructive. As Sidney Richman remarked, in his article *Malamud's Quarrel with God* (1987), that Esau's killing of the baboon is partly instigated by the hatred and sexual repression resulting from the exclusivity of Cohn's relationship with Mary (207).

Rebellion and Restoration of the Natural Order

The utopian society that Cohn undertakes to establish seems at first – as it is always the case in a dystopian narrative – to be based on cooperation with the primates. However, he never renounces control

over the primates. Even though he embarks on the island together with Buz, Cohn – in an Orwellian fashion that some are more equal than others – calls it “Cohn’s Island”. A mock Adam, Cohn objects to Buz having named the five apes, which is regarded [by Buz] as violation of freedom of speech. Although he is continually benevolent to the chimps on the island and tries hard to educate and emancipate them, Cohn does not really convey true humanism to them because he never considers the primates as other equal beings, nor does he have faith in them. It is Cohn’s pride, not Mary’s, that causes the greater damage because the hero convinces himself that his superior genetical structure grants him the right to appropriate, the only female creature on the island. Neither Cohn nor the primates can accept one another as a subject, as they cannot tolerate what is different from them, which leads to the demise of Cohn’s frail civilization. In this light, Malamud’s disappointment in human nature is evident. In the same interview with H. Benedict, he emphasized:

I feel that the more the world stays the same, the worse it seems to become. Man seems to be a constant disappointment to himself [...] In a sense, blaming man gets nowhere. But, on the other hand, whom else can you seriously blame (138)?

Even though Cohn strives to establish a harmonious communal life, he cannot understand the limitations of nature. Cohn’s reproaching of Esau for eating the baboon rightfully meets with protest from the latter: “You busybody horseass, you stole my natural food out of my mouth” (231). Likewise, when Buz is told [by Cohn] that Mary is resisting her instincts to copulate randomly, the chimp “thought she was mad” (151). While these two examples imply that there can be no moral ground in the animal kingdom, the same should not be true for human nature, which must be guided by moral responsibility, without abusing their freedom. In this light, God – as a character – makes mention of it: “I made man to be free, but his freedom badly used, destroyed him” (5).

The primates’ rebellion reaches the climax following the birth of Cohn’s [and Mary’s] daughter, Rebekah, who is forcefully snatched from her mother by the other jealous brutes and hacked to death. The act leads to the disintegration of the entire social structure, causing Mary to return to her animalistic instincts and behavior. The animals led by Buz break into Cohn’s cave, slaughtering him and destroying whatever is remnant of human civilization. They retrieve the island as their own and restore it to its divine, natural order. Nonetheless, although Malamud does not seem to believe that animals will become humane, he implies that there is greater humanity in beasts and savagery in humans than

most people understand. On the other hand, compared to the human nuclear destruction, the primates' violence appears to be a lesser evil.

Hope

Relating the tragic end of the novel to the tradition of postwar fables of despair *Animal Farm* and *Lord of the Flies*, Anthony Burgess, in his article *Saying Kaddish for Man*, (1983) emphasizes that "the true lesson of *God's Grace* is that Man is hopeless and any attempt to raise the brute creation to man's level is to serve not creative but destructive evolution" (36-37). Given Cohn's circumstances, his hope about humanizing the brutes is logical. Viewed on a broader perspective, the real problem here seems to be insufficiency of humanization. While it is natural for the primates to return to their natural instincts, there arises the concern about the inability of human beings to refrain from their biological drives. Malamud told H. Benedict that "there's a vast sense of failure that has clouded his [man's] best efforts to produce a greater freedom than he was born with" (29). In this regard, Cohn strives hard to instill in the primates the idea of liberation from the necessities of their natural instincts. The type of freedom that Cohn tries to impart is based on self-transcendence and mutual obligation, which is a recurring theme in Malamud's novels. On a practical level, Cohn's demand is unreasonable.

When Cohn, the only human survivor, is slaughtered at the end, only George, the huge gorilla, seems to have mastered his moral lessons, in refusing to be part of the massacre and grieving the sacrificial death of Cohn and his civilization. Malamud's metaphorical Jewishness is passed on to George, the gorilla that recites Kaddish for Cohn. For Malamud, such an act does not end the novel tragically. In an interview with Joel Salzberg (1983), he stated: "[...] one of the misreading of the novel, by the way, is that it ends in tragedy. Some reviewers have failed to recognize that a gorilla recites *Kaddish* for Calvin Cohn, and that is indeed a cause for optimism; the prayer itself is a vehicle of God's grace" (127). Optimism primarily derives from George's ability to speak, when speech is lost in the other primates. Earlier, when only the chimpanzees and Cohn could speak, George felt withdrawn. For example, when Cohn asks him "to say a good word to his friends-and-fellow-islanders," (123) George becomes desperate. Nonetheless, from the very beginning George behaves differently from the other primates. It is George who nurses Cohn when he was suffering from the radiation sickness; it is George that pays the greatest attention to Cohn's teachings, and is touched when Cohn relates the story of the Prodigal Son; it is George who "looked like himself plus something else he might be" (131) and did

not mind being called a pariah by Buz. In this context, Evelyn Avery, in her book *The Magic Worlds of Bernard Malamud* (2001), has rightly accentuated that:

[...] George's miraculous recitation of the Kaddish after Cohen's death, while he is – "Deo volente" – wearing that lost yarmulke, is optimistic for Malamud because it affirms a divine plan far beyond the reckoning of Calvin Cohn, representative of humanity. This apparently religious affirmation, near the end of the career of a conspicuously secular-humanist author, may be the most surprising element of all (118).

Conclusion

Dystopia is a major literary genre. The dystopian writing typically incorporates themes of technology, science, politics, and religion to comment on current social and historical developments from a future perspective, which serves as a premonition of the impending doom humanity has brought on itself. Dystopian societies are nightmares in which humanity recognizes its own passions and drives.

Through allegory, parody, irony, realism, and fantasy *God's Grace* makes everyone responsible: God for not offering His Grace; Cohn for authoritative behavior; the animals for their bloody rebellion. All of them together caused the third holocaust. Cohn, in particular, repeats humanity's fall from grace through the sins of hubris, self-deception, and toying with the secrets of creation. Teaching the primates language but not communication, Cohn leaves room for rebellion; in copulating with a chimpanzee that looks like a human being, Cohn instigates the jealousy and rivalry of the other animals, which bring his short-lived Eden-like paradise to an end, alongside his life and humanity.

In conclusion, with the massive proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and several other human-induced dangers and threats, the prophetic warning that Malamud conveyed in *God's Grace* is valid to this day. On the other hand, as a moral tale, the novel also imparts the hope that the good will outweigh the evil, in order for human life to keep existing and progressing.

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VIZIONI DISTOPIK NË ROMANIN MIRËSIA E ZOTIT TË BERNARD MALAMUDIT

Ky artikull synon të analizojë vizionin distopik në romanin e fundit të Bernard Malamudit *Mirësia e Zotit* (1982). Një fabul kafshësh dhe fantazi në vetvete, libri përqendrohet në të mbijetuarin e fundit të njerëzimit, i cili ndërvepron me primatët, me qëllim që të krijojë sërish qytetërimin, duke u mësuar atyre gjuhë, etikë, fe dhe shkencë, duke vënë theksin kryesor në dualitetin e së mirës dhe së keqes; arsyes dhe instinktit; si dhe ndërlidhjen e tyre me vullnetin e lirë, zgjedhjen dhe përgjegjësinë. Studimi fillon me një hyrje të shkurtër në historinë e fiksonit distopik, funksioni i të cilit është të shërbejë, nga këndvështrimi i së ardhmes, si kritikë sociale dhe politike për aspektet e errta ekzistuese, të cilat mund të marrin lehtësisht kontrollin, nëse nuk mbahen nën fre. Pastaj, analiza heton veçoritë distopike të një klime totalitare (të maskuar dhe të hapur) që krijohet në komunitetin e tyre, për shkak të kontrollit të kafshëve nga elementi njerëzor përmes mekanizmave të gjuhës, kulturës, shkencës dhe seksualitetit. Shoqëria utopike e krijuar është jetëshkurtër, sepse mohimi i individualitetit çon në mënyrë të pashmangshme drejt rebelimit të primatëve dhe fundin e civilizimit njerëzor. Ndonëse është vepra letrare më pesimiste e Malamudit, romani përfundon me shpresë, gjë që është e zakonshme në shumë libra distopikë.

Fjalë kyçe: Distopi, qytetërim, primatë, gjuhë, shkencë, fe, Zot, seksualitet, shpresë

"SEAMUS HEANEY'S POETRY AND THE MODERN SELF: A CONSCIOUSNESS RISING ON BEHALF OF UNPOPULAR IDEAS"

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Abstract: To write an article on Seamus Heaney (1939-2014) might be a venture, given the many contributions to this field. Seamus Heaney's poetic career (1966-2010) went in search of answers to questions that were raised out of a preoccupation with the notion of selfhood. On the other hand, in the early modern period, certain thinkers associated with para-scientific literature confidently proclaim a vulnerable theory of selfhood which raises questions about the authenticity of the western traditional and classical understandings of the self. This study argues that Heaney's approach to poetry constructs a theory of the self which can be read as a revision of the illegitimate conception of humanity proposed in the twentieth century, one which has a continuing effect on contemporary thought, and makes the common-sense experience of the reality we live in both more widely understood and acknowledged.

Keywords: Seamus Heaney, poetry, self, mind, reality, reductionism, ordinary

INTRODUCTION

Belonging to the history of strange new ideas, in the early modern period, certain thinkers, quite influential, emerge to speak with the authority of science-although with nothing of its credible scientific argument-about the self and the reality as they understood them to be. These self-appointed spokesmen of science, rationality, and would-be enlightenment, including positivists, behaviorists, and sociologists such as E.O.Wilson, August Comte, Herbert Spencer, B.F.Skinner, and Charles Darwin, appropriate viewpoints to the notions of selfhood and human nature that inevitably lead to a very empty, bare, and limited understanding of humanity and its relation to the world and later provide the building block of Freudian, Nietzschean, and Marxist views to share with their reductionism. They exclude any observation, past or present, which subverts their arbitrary rationales and which is outside their closed arena; modern thought. These modern rationalists believe to hold so deep views about humanity and the mind, that they exclude

any account of history and culture embodying and embodied by the self. They dig so deep into human nature that they turn to the surface, quite ahistorical and a-cultural. Looking at the stars no one disputes each is sediments of history. Yet these self-acknowledged scientists do not bother thinking that if the world is unchanged in its nature, human nature as a part of it is also unchanged and so they embody the history of their existence, at least physical, not to perturb them with the questions of soul and mind. Just because we share our origin with animals is true enough for them to disregard human beings as bearers of history and culture and to the equal human mind, the locus of our perceptions, thoughts, and experiences, to the brain and even to doubt the word mind is meaningful

According to E. O. Wilson, the American Naturalist and the father of sociobiology, the brain, and its glands are probed, and no there exists no site to supposedly harbor the nonphysical mind. Steven Pinker, rejecting the non-physical nature of the mind, concludes that the mind is the function and activity of the brain and it can be simply bisected by a knife.

Their reductionism excludes whatever their scientific approach is not competent enough to measure and make explanations about, be it humanity, the mind, the soul, and metaphysics; and their theories fail to take account of the embedded nature of humanity within history, culture and metaphysics. Their method, therefore; is to misrepresent the earlier knowledge and beliefs: they assume that the western understanding of human nature is in error and exclude the classical and humanist understanding of the self. In so doing no longer the human is a microcosm mirroring the world and the kinship between the self and the others, the nature, and the whole cosmos is erased and inevitably our definition of reality sets us apart from reality, not a part of it. Enlightenment heralds the possibility of emancipating humanity through knowledge, but deep into a rather declined form. This model of humanity cut off from history and mystery is an unavoidable result of the rejection of metaphysics. The emancipation project sets humanity free from metaphysics. For, Metaphysics is capable of placing humanity in its right place, that is its cosmic setting, where modern thought cannot reach to. The problem is, at this scale metaphysics sounds like religion and hence the old repugnance and disaccord between modern science and religion. The prestige is that we are too modern to go back to the old vocabulary of metaphysics. In this neo-age of understanding and realization, a few simple formulas suffice to define our humanity: the survival of the fittest, means of production, primal guilt, oedipal

complex, pleasure principle, death wish, altruism, and self-alienation. Such generalizations are to tell us who we are.

What is intended by them is to impose a simple human within a simple reality on the world's thought. Our world of economics reminds one of the simple small boxes of the rats built for them by Skinner. In this economic world, we must ask ourselves about and find the shortest possible way to our benefit. Rational choice overcomes our humanity so much so that we do not ask ourselves are we rats living among rats or 'self's living among other 'self? Darwinism suggests the same scenario by making competition for survival the central key to our lives and relations. No wonder war and poverty are justified enough to be brought into consideration and crimes are hardly inexcusable given Herbert Spencer's laws of behavior. Yet it is the same selfish gene that Dawkins traces it transferring into us after he successfully manages to impose and later popularize his view that the entire world is an accident. After this great transferring of the genes, the human mind becomes one with the materiality of the mind; for it is not any longer the controlling center of our behaviors and ideas. Freud's understanding of human nature, which early twentieth century and even contemporary thought are so deeply fascinated by, is highly suspicious of the human spirit and whatever in this regard, according to him, is the sign of repressed sexuality and the reality and culture is simply a strange account of repressed desires. On hearing about Jung's interest in bog corpses, Freud faints and later was convinced it is Jung's death wish toward him (Sanders 50). In his time theories of race and nation were becoming dominant, so Freud developed a persona who challenges the racial and national conceptions as strata of the human mind and instead represents these issues as anxieties rooted in the human mind, turning them bereft of any external reality, and his theory of oedipal crime regards human nature as guilt-ridden and strange to his self. After Skinner or Comte or Darwin or Freud or Nietzsche or Marx or either Dawkins (no difference, they all share the same naivety) some well-defined understanding of the self and reality are being regarded as too naïve, too ordinary, too unscientific, and too moral to be measured up and any skepticism toward their theories is against open-mindedness.

Discussion

Then what is an art to modern thought? It is not a way of exploring the self, its experiences, its history, and its nature. Rather it is a way to deceive the self, to set it separated from the reality it is within. The Marxist artist pictures the self as an object among other objects in the

world of materiality and the Freudian self finds art a channel for sublimation. Rather than a way for coming to terms with the self, art becomes an underground for safely repressing the self and it will be far from a repose gained through self-exploration, reflection, and grasping of the common experiences, feelings, emotions, and perceptions which illuminate the life. For the self is set aloof and detached from the reality which used to embody him and the felt experiences, feelings, thoughts, and any high act of the mind is obviated from focus. To disjoint the self effectively, Modern thought finds it necessary to do away with any connection between the mind and the reality it is the creator of. To Modern thought, the individual leads no mindful life, no self-scrutiny, and no self-exploration. Then what becomes of the self's chains to his mind, to others, and the world? The chains Heaney sings of in his "human chain":

Seeing the bags of meal passed hand to hand
 In close-up by the aid workers, and soldiers
 Firing over the mob, I was braced again
 With a grip on two-sack corners,
 Two packed wads of grain I'd worked to lugs
 To give me purchase, ready for the heave –
 The eye-to-eye, one-two, one-two upswing
 On to the trailer, then the stoop and drag and drain
 Of the next lift. Nothing surpassed
 That quick unburdening, backbreak's truest payback,
 A letting go which will not come again.
 Or it will, once. And for all. (Heaney, SP, sec.1o3)

When Seamus Heaney was receiving the Noble Prize for literature his verse was praised for being a combination of "lyrical beauty and ethical depth which exalt everyday miracles and the living past." (NP 1) Michael Cavanagh also argues that Heaney's approach to the problem of poetic function is bringing the two imperative side by side (66). The tribute is in fact speaking of a powerful locus which makes it possible to create and keep harmony between the two imperatives in his poetry, the lyrical and personal vs the ethical and communal, which in turn gives his poetry the miraculous power of exalting the ordinary. This locus, I try to argue, is the theory of selfhood presented implicitly in his poetry. Seamus Heaney's "great modernist virtue of doubt" (O'Donogue 11) about his vocation and hence the movement in his poetry between the two poles of poetry generates a notion of selfhood which is a deep reformation of the modernist self. "Heaney's project" (ibid.), as O'Donoghue terms this poetic venture, is the projection of an

understanding of the self which refines our treatment and definition of reality and the quotidian life. "Me waiting until I was nearly fifty / To credit marvels" (SP, sec 18.) says Heaney in *Fosterling*, and the marvels, I argue, are to be found deep within the ordinary on the surface of our lives and are excavated through self-questioning, Heaney believes: "what I think always happens anyway as you get towards your fifties, [...] is a certain rethinking of yourself, a certain distance from your first self." (Foster 133).

Writing amid the rush of the new modern thought (which was popularized and justified only because of creating a historical threshold and holding the posture of science), Seamus Heaney regards his art of poetry as a coming into terms with his self and this idea is the foundation of his oeuvre including the collections of his poetry: *Death of a Naturalist* (1966), *Door into the Dark* (1969), *Wintering Out* (1972), *North* (1975), *Field Work* (1979), *Sweeney Astray* (1984), *Station Island* (1985), *The Haw Lantern* (1987), *Seeing Things* (1991), *The Spirit Level* (1996), and *Human Chain* (2010). The way Heaney regards poetry creates a theory of the self that is not in accord with the prevalent ideas of his time and defies the modern self. Heaney's poetry presents a picture of a dialogical self in dialect with the other; his history, culture, nature, and mind. A self in time, in contact with the common-sense experiences and capable of presenting more of the life and reality to its inhabitants. He believes:

The amount of sensory material stored up or stored down in the brain's and the body's systems is inestimable. It's like a culture at the bottom of a jar, although it doesn't grow, I think, or help anything else to grow unless you find a way to reach it and touch it. But once you do, it's like putting your hand into a nest and finding something beginning to hatch out in your head. (O'Driscoll)

Heaney's practice of this kind of mind searching in his poetry results in "reveal[ing] more aspects of the self to the self" (O'Brien 26). Early in his career, the poet clarifies his goal of finding answers to his preoccupations through art:

I had a half-clarified desire to come to poetic terms with myself by considering the example of others and to try to bring into focus the little I knew. But I hope it is clear that the essays selected here are held together by searches for answers to central preoccupying questions: how should a poet properly live and write? What is his relationship to be to his own voice, his own place, his literary heritage and his contemporary world? (Preoccupations, ch.1, para.1; emphasis added)

In this quotation, Heaney outlines not just the "the *raison d'être* of his entire oeuvre" (O'Brien 11) or his aesthetic theory, but a theory of the self who is embedded in a network of relations with his inner self, his history, and his world. What is central in this forward to his poetic career is the centrality of a notion of selfhood which shares a tradition with theories and philosophies of the self held by the philosophers and thinkers who set on a campaign of revisionism against the empty modern discourse; a rethinking of the modern order, which is so far from not just the common wisdom but the specialist knowledge. Heaney's aesthetic theory proposes a theory of the self which is a response to the atomistic theories of Marxism, scientism, and even positivism guilty of an "attenuation of response" (174) to the art and the self. His poetry resists any reductionist, simplistic, solid, and atomic representation of the self and instead pictures the man as flowing through the stream of consciousness, culture, and history. This resistance is launched by Heaney's belief in the need for the poet to respond to himself; "coming to poetic terms with myself" (Heaney, *Preoccupations*, ch.1, para.1); a need which Heaney raises in the words of Pinsky in his "responsibilities of the poets" too.

For Heaney poetry draws the connections between the mind and the world. His phrase 'searching for answers' attests that consciousness and mind are not only central to any act of the individual, here searching for answers, but that coming to an answer to the question of self or in his words coming to poetic terms with himself presets an understanding and taking account of the workings of the mind. The thing modern reductionist approaches to the self obviate is the need for by trivializing the status of mind and its reflections and perceptions. To him the mind credits poetry and poetry credits the mind. His poetry implies a conception of selfhood which in itself makes great poetry possible. The much-discussed modern doubt of the poet in face of his responsibility as a national poet to his society and his desire to un-anchor his art; "you lose more than you redeem/doing the decent thing... fill the element / with signatures on your own frequency" (SI 1); is settled for him through employing a concept of self in his poetry who is both historical and ahistorical, solitary and dialogical, inward-looking and communal. His employment of holistic dialectical selfhood creates the space for poetry that owes its greatness to its being both an interpreter of and witness to national history and the voice of an inward artist. In his Noble prize lecture, he recalls the time around the 1940s when he was living in rural Co. Derry a kind of "den-life which was more or less emotionally and intellectually proofed against the outside world. ... Ahistorical, pre-

sexual, in suspension between the archaic and the modern" (1) and he remembers how they used to hear the voice of a BBC newsreader in their house without any of the news of army divisions, bombers and bombed cities "entering [him] as a terror" (2, emphasis added). However, as the years went his listening to the news become more deliberate and he get to know more about the world beyond his rural living; "a journey into the wideness of language, a journey where each point of arrival - whether in one's poetry or one's life turned out to be a stepping stone rather than a destination" (ibid.). This journey from, as he has, a "pre-reflective", "pre-historical", "pre-literate" (ibid.) self to one that grows up into its embodying history and culture makes his poetry credible. Yet it is a reciprocal relationship. For poetry creates him the space to restore a relationship between the mind and its circumstance, between the child who on hearing the BBC voice would pick up the strange words, "enemy, allies", and would count the number of planes lost to a man who faces the world and anchors his poetry to it. The kind of the self who lives in his poems makes poetry not just "itself" but a "help" (ibid.). Poetry finds stability and repose in the mind and the mind finds its truth in poetry. In his Noble prize lecture, Heaney credits poetry for making it possible to come to this honored position as the winner of the Noble prize and says:

But I credit it ultimately because poetry can make an order as true to the impact of external reality and as sensitive to the inner laws of the poet's being as the ripples that rippled in and rippled out across the water in that scullery bucket fifty years ago. An order where we can, at last, grow up to that which we stored up as we grew. I credit poetry, in other words, both for being itself and for being a help, for making possible a fluid and the restorative relationship between the mind's center and its circumference" (ibid.)

Heaney escapes from a sort of relativism about the function of his poetry and his role, through raising a notion of selfhood in his poetry which is against the modern relativist views of the self and the mind, a self who creates the order. The mind brings variations on the world it perceives and yet comes from this cosmos and returns to it. It is like rain. While its drops change the earth, they return to it to come back from it again. Written at the time of poet's anxiety and deliberation over the nature of his poetry, "Exposure" presents the picture of the poet invited by nature, by the rain to listen to, feel, and experience the world fully, to voice it fully; both the history that is eroded from it and the "absolute diamonds" of his inner world:

As I sit weighing and weighing
My responsible tristia.
For what? For the ear? For the people?
For what is said behind-backs?

Rain comes down through the alders,
Its low conducive voices
Mutter about let-downs and erosions
And yet each drop recalls

The diamond absolutes. (N 80)

The presence of this kind of dialectical self in his poetry explains the fact that many commentators believe the highest achievement of him is the lyric form. Neil Corcoran maintains that "Seamus Heaney's true distinction as a poet is a lyric distinction, and that the successful larger forms he has so far found forms which accommodate, even while they provoke and extend, his lyricism" (Allen 120). His notion of the self brings the artist probing inward in terms with the imperatives brought to him by his being part of the real world. In other words, as O'Brien, arguing the double poetic role of Heaney, maintains, to:

"reconcile what he terms 'lyric celebration', and its concomitants 'the phrase or cadence which haunts the ear and the eager parts of the mind', with the demands of an ethical imperative which 'the poet may find as he exercises his free gift in the presence of the unfree and the hurt" (14)

This profound achievement in lyric form is brought about by the dialectical approach to the self in his poetry. An approach wherein one can get a better understanding of the self and a higher aesthetic. His poem credits a notion of selfhood which in its turn makes his poetry transitive. This relation between his poetry and his conception of the self is given a poetic image in poem VIII of "The Lightenings"

The annals say: when the monks of Clonmacnoise
Were all at prayers inside the oratory
A ship appeared above them in the air.
The anchor dragged along behind so deep
It hooked itself into the altar rails
And then, as the big hull rocked to a standstill,
A crewman shinned and grappled down the rope
And struggled to release it. But in vain.

"This man can't bear our life here and will drown,"
The abbot said, "unless we help him." So
They did, the freed ship sailed, and the man climbed back
Out of the marvellous as he had known it. (1)

The air is here element which makes the flowing of the ship possible, yet it is dangerous too. The crewman is in danger of drowning unless the anchor is released and he comes back to the ship. Heaney's poetry ship is anchored to a notion of self that is flowing through the world; as such it is at the same time moving and anchored. If the poet let himself into his inner personal world, he does not survive; but to survive he needs to be anchored to his time so that his poetry moves forward while tightened to a center. O'Brien believes "Heaney's epistemology of poetry focuses on the dialectical forces of space and time, presence and absence, movement and stasis..." (62). More specifically, this sense of movement is created in his poem as the result of the opposing structures created through the dialect of the self and the world. Poetry as he famously says is both "the ship and the anchor. It is at once both a buoyancy and a holding, allowing for the simultaneous gratification of whatever is centrifugal and centripetal in mind and body" (qtd. in O'Brien 178); for the core is a self who both transcends beyond itself by flowing into time, history, and its culture and anchors inward to keep the center; "I Swim in Homor" (Heaney, BR 4) It ripples inward and outward. As such the ethic of Heaney's poetry lies in his view of the self, for by employing a dialectical view of the self in his poems the focus is not just on his self, but on the entire humanity. As Emerson puts "in going down into the secrets of his mind he has descended into the secrets of all minds."

Christopher Norris believes the theory is "capable of providing a better, more adequate conceptual grasp of experiences that would otherwise belong to the realm of pre-reflective commonsense knowledge" (11). In other words, how common sense experiences and perceptions, which their efficacy is highly doubted in modern thought, might be affirmed? And how is this affirmation of the ordinary is embodying and embodied by his notion of selfhood?

What we call reality is a very simple account of a life that we think must be accepted. Our definition of reality is very objective and is for the most part in the service of contemporary disciplines; economics, politics, sociology, and psychology. This mindless obedience leaves no space for our imagination to add to or change what is conceived as reality and to ponder upon our experience of it. So much so that it is very easy for many to justify everything to themselves through a release

mechanism: it is reality. It makes us, defines our relations and our love. This is the work of poor imagination. There exists among us a collective agreement that works as the reality for us. Seeing a needy fellow, we simply release ourselves of any humanitarian concern by remarking that he is pretending. When a good man or woman does a wrong, we say we knew it ahead, and if they have a generous kind moment, we regard it as hypocrisy. One who once has done wrong is no longer capable of any gracious act according to us. A stranger is potential harm to us and we are much more capable of harm than good. These collective agreements work as the reality for us, hence our failure to feel and perceive the illumination of the ordinary life, to grasp the soul of our fellows, to astonish ourselves by life, and to feel the presence of any moment.

Art is hoped to replace this diminishing reality that has made our view of ourselves too small with one that reminds us we are a wonder. "it is essential that the vision of reality that poetry offers should be transformative, more than just a print-out of the given circumstances of its time and place" (Heaney, RP. P.13, para 17.). It is like sliding on the ice, as Heaney pictures:

A farewell to surefootedness, a pitch
Beyond our usual hold upon ourselves (ST)

It is to propose more passionate arguments about what we are to ourselves and others. As Heaney says "no lyric has ever stopped a tank" (GT, sec.17, para.22.), yet it is powerful enough to remind us of our humanity, of our selfhood. Heaney sees the paradox and the eminence of art to reality:

Here is the great paradox of poetry and the imaginative arts in general. Faced with the brutality of the historical onslaught, they are practically useless. Yet they verify our singularity, they strike and stake out the ore of self which lies at the base of every individuated life. In one sense the efficacy of poetry is nil - no lyric has ever stopped a tank. In another sense, it is unlimited. (ibid.)

To him, art is like writing in the sand. Heaney in his *Government of the Tongue* cites the parable of Jesus' writing on the sand in the face of the accusation of the adulterous woman. When some men bring the woman who is taken in the very act and tell Jesus she must be stoned, Jesus sits on the ground and writes on the sand with his finger as if he has not heard them. After they continue asking him what to do with the woman, Jesus tells them to let the first man among you who has never been sinful cast the first stone on her, and then he sits down again

writing. When he again stands up all the accusers have left and the accused is set free by him. Jesus' writing in the sand is like art. "It is the imagination pressing back against the pressure of reality" (Heaney, *Redress* 1). It is null for it is in the sand and cannot face the winds of the times, but it creates a space, a moment for the self to think back on his selfhood and rethink his presence in the world; a space wherein we might see our 'selves' and others in a universe of connections, and where "our power to concentrate is concentrated back on ourselves", in our poet's words. In the parable, Jesus' writing like the art is the power of imagination to alter the actual. Living is supplying the content of our lives through imagination. In Heaney's poetry the function of "imaginary space" is "transformation of the actual, and the creation of an alternative paradigm of truth and integration" (25). The function of poetry is to transform the reality as the sunlight does in *Churning Day*:

Their short stroke quickened, suddenly
a yellow curd was weighting the churned up white,
heavy and rich, coagulated sunlight
that they fished, dripping, in a wide tin strainer,
heaped up like gilded Gravel in the bowl.

...

The empty crocks
Were ranged along the wall again, the butter
in soft printed slabs was piled on pantry shelves. (DN 22)

What is meant by transformation of reality is the way common, ordinary experiences are enlightened to be differently grasped and much deeply felt. The givens around us are amplified, to better perceive the greatness of the ordinary. It is peeling away a surface from the ordinary to see better deep within it. The transformation of the ordinary in Heaney's poetry is achieved through the kind of the 'I' he employs. This 'I' as discussed challenges the 'self' offered by the champions of modern science who failed to accept the subject as a self-interpreting, mindful, dialogical being and as a result developed a fundamentalist and simplified version of the reality and disallowed any belief in the complexity and ambiguity of human experience of the world.

It all comes down to the failure of taking account of the mystery of the mind and its relation to the self and cosmos. The modern sciences' cheerful insistence on the censorship of the subject does not lead to less than a mindless creature. Heaney's 'I', unlike the popular trend, is an interpretive being. Not just in the literal sense, which the I stands for the poet who interprets and evaluates his poetic career, his obligation to

himself and community and his values, but more specifically here the poetic I who imagines, remembers, evaluates, experiences, loves, and fears. As philosophers (after Kant's and Heidegger's tradition) like Charles Taylor, Richard Rorty, or Martha Nussbaum hold, this feature of the self takes notice of the capability of the human mind for norm guided actions such as thinking and interpreting. These subject-related features were disallowed by the objective supposedly scientific approach of the proponents of evolutionary theory, sociobiology, and behaviorism. The self in Heaney's poetry, in a sense, legitimizes the workings of the mind, its intuitions, concerning, such as love, ethic, obligation, memory, and imagination. Who we are is largely defined by our interpretation of the world, that is our experiences, relations, and the things that make us. As such our self-interpretation is not fully achieved by ourselves. Although the biggest desire of the self is to fulfill a sort of self-authenticity, a being true to one's self and values-which is both a development and a rejection of the forms of individualism favored by Descartes' disengaged rationality and Locke's atomism- modern independence is not a negation of the "dialogicality" of the self, to use Taylor's term (Ethics, 35). Then for the self who turns inward and to the alterity to shape an interpretation of his selfhood, common-sense experience, the ordinary and quotidian, "that which we stored up as we grew" (Heaney, Noble 2) turn to be more intuitive, reflective, and meaningful. Heaney believes knowledge of and contact with our roots in others, past or present, "could significantly widen the answers which each side could give to the question of who we are?" (9) In the introductory essay to his prose collection, *Preoccupations*, Heaney begins with *Omphalos*, meaning the stone that marked the center of the world, and he goes on repeating the word so that "its blunt and falling music becomes the music of somebody pumping water at the pump outside our back door" (sec. para.1.) To him the pump is "centred and staked the imagination, made its foundation the foundation of the omphalos itself" and its ordinariness signifies the center of his work. By this early reference in his work, Heaney idealizes his work as a veneration of the ordinary. His celebrating of the ordinary life gives word to one of his shortest poems, *An August Night*, where a single image is quite evocative of self-open to the wonder of the ordinary:

His hands were warm and small and knowledgeable
When I saw them again last night, they were two ferrets,
Playing all by themselves in a moonlit field. (SP, sec. 7)

This short poem is from the collection *Seeing Things* which is described as always "returning to the ordinary to in pursuit of its spirituality" (Cavanagh 169). Indeed, by the term spirituality, one does not intend only a religious sense but also spirituality in terms of intellect. Reading the poem, one is reminded of John Donne's "No Man is an Island". In everyone, looking again, there is a spot of the world he has lived. Hands are the bearers of the life one has lived and by looking at them he has found them as knowledgeable, probably carrying the knowledge of the years lived. Moreover; the image of looking at one's hand reminds one of the beauties of feeling one's presence, which might be passed unnoticed in the guise of ordinariness. But being ordinary is not equal to being insignificant. Yet it seems that the speaker implies a sense of transformation of view in the part of the 'I'; for in the first line simply some adjectives are put together while the following line creates a metaphor for describing the hands. Metaphors signify an interpretive look and indent a feature that is probably not easily recognized by others or underlines the different thought structure and the specific mindset of the viewer. His hands are the sight of marvelous if they can be seen feelingly. The image also signifies a sense of place and space to which either the speaker or the one he holds his hands belong. In a natural local place, they seem to be rooted.

The sensing of the place is portrayed in his other poems of place such as "The Wishing Tree", "Bogland", "At Toombridge", "Broagh" and "Anahorish". Then why the word sense rather than a sense of the place? In *Preoccupations*, Heaney enunciates a side of his interaction with his Irish roots and as implied the notion of place as such:

If you like, I began as a poet when my roots were crossed with my reading. I think of the personal and Irish pieties as vowels, and the literary awarenesses nourished on English as consonants. My hope is that the poems will be vocables adequate to my whole experience (37)

Drawing from such accounts many critics, not erroneously, however, tend to read such place poems only as delineation of Heaney's ties to his Irish background and his sense of place. They believe the poems are "loud with the slap of the spade and sour with the stink of turned earth" (Dunn) and give us "the soil-reek of Ireland" (Cox 1). However, besides this popular sight to Heaney's 'I'/'eye' the place is an ordinary which holds a space under disguise. He looks at the ordinary place and through its memory and interpretive mind transcends it to a space. As he also mentions, knowing and belonging to a certain place brings a sort of nourishment, which is not just an obsession with a

specific locale, for instance, a sense of Irishness (Preoccupations, sec.16., para.13.). Through a different reading, one can propose that the ordinary place can be sensed as a space to enrich the common-sense experience and knowledge. In his Noble prize lecture, Heaney tells the story of the chestnut tree that was planted when he was born and grew as he grew up. Years later they moved to a new house and the new owners of the place cut the chestnut tree. Then Seamus in his mind's eyes began to identify with the space as he used to identify with the tree. Yet

... this time it was not so much a matter of attaching oneself to a living symbol of being rooted in the native ground; it was more a matter of preparing to be unrooted, to be spirited away into some transparent, yet indigenous afterlife. The new place was all idea, if you like; it was generated out of my experience of the old place but it was not a topographical location. It was and remains an imagined realm, even if it can be located at an earthly spot, placeless heaven rather than a heavenly place (GT, sec.7, para.1, emphasis added)

Heaney's self is unrooted from the bounds of time and place and flows in space. By being unrooted his roots spread wide into the world space and the ordinary place in his 'eyes' transcend into a space where experiences and feelings grow universal. The poetic self walks "round and round a space, utterly empty" but "utterly a source" (Clearances). This emptiness acts like the subtle silence in "A Call"; the poem that "presents a modern morality play" (O'Brien, *The Soul?*). The speaker calls home to talk with his father:

'Hold on,' she said, 'I'll just run out and get him.
The weather here's so good, he took the chance
To do a bit of weeding.'
So I saw him
Down on his hands and knees beside the leek rig,
Touching, inspecting, separating one
Stalk from the other, gently pulling up
Everything not tapered, frail and leafless,
Pleased to feel each little weed-root break,
But rueful also ...
Then found myself listening to
The amplified grave ticking of hall clocks
Where the phone lay unattended in a calm
Of mirror glass and sunstruck pendulums ...
And found myself then thinking: if it were nowadays,

This is how Death would summon Everyman.
Next thing he spoke and I nearly said I loved him
(Heaney, SP, sec. 48)

Such emptiness is the source of concentration "back to ourselves", where the speaker thinks about all summoning death and there leaves nothing but to tell his father he loves him. Some truths of this life have become too ordinary or at times too strange to win our thought. We forget to tell our loved ones we love them and sometimes to hold their hands looking through them. We need art that knows its mind to wake us back to the illuminating ordinary. Sometimes the space created through the ordinary is where contradictions would be if not settled but at least put in a different context to be alleviated or to be rethought. The Other Side is silenced through this kind of space. This poem is regarded by many critics as including the interaction of self and others as its focal point. The poem is about the interaction of a Catholic and the other side: a Protestant neighbor. Most of the readings of the poem place it on a religious and political plane of thought which is, of course, noteworthy but their procedure can be turned around to suggest that it is the meeting of the neighbor as a quite ordinary experience which is transcended to a space for the understanding between the two 'self', a space where Heaney's search for answers might be done. Popular readings of the poem lead an argument similar to Daneil Tobin's view of the poem as a way "to read the complex colonial history of Heaney's Ulster." (87) However, in the rush of the colonial encounters, what soothes and creates spaces is the moments of grace bestowed on the self to question his self, to acknowledge the greatness of his nature and an understanding of the alterity. It is the moment the Protestant hand gripped the hand of the Catholic in the roadblock in... a moment of hope for, understanding of, and faith to our humanity. Yet the silence in the poem is often interpreted as a distance, a gulf created through history and community between the neighbors, "an emptiness of any shared reality other than division" (86). The title of the poem seems to be the words of a self who although sees himself as separated from the other but who is capable of cherishing his kind and trusting him and regarding his neighbor, as Heaney reminds us of catechism, as "all mankind" (9). The title of the poem signifies a unity within difference; for the phrase "the other side" implies that there is a single body of which different sides can be seen, but all belong to one. The 'I' of the poem does not deny the nets of connection with the other. The speaker of the poem is one of the sides, rather than an above eye reporting the relation, which holds up hope in communication between them. Also the speaker does

not suffice to what he sees but also talks what he hears from the other side ("my ear swallowing his fabulous, biblical dismissal", "we would hear his step round the gable", "and the casual whistle strike up"), which is again expressive of the possibility of communication; for listening and hearing is indicative of intention on his side for further connection with the neighbor. Moreover; Heaney is keen enough to avoid any blurring of the differences between the two sides: different languages, religions, and histories. To ignore the differences and make up for them is to disrupt the possibility of communication and further movement. Then at the end of the poem, the two different sides are put in a common ground: the prayer. The Catholic neighbor, seeing the Protestant neighbor saying a prayer in the dark, falls silent only to bring about communication: "Should I slip away, I wonder, / or go up and touch his shoulder / And talk about the weather / Or the price of grass-seed?" the mode of silence created at the end of the poem is not expressing division, rather the possibility of future communication.

In most of his poems the place is not a geographical place and as such the geographies of place coordinate more with the geography of the mind. Heaney's poetic self, as discussed before, defines himself in dialogicality with the others. An immediate other to him is his family and the life he had with them. Sometimes the speaker remembers some objects from the home and the family life and is taken to that world, such as the ticking of hall clocks in *A Call*, and in some other poems, the simple ordinary objects and furniture form the center of his poem as in *The Settled Bed*. The entitled bed, a family Irish inheritance, sounds of the history of the endurance of Irish people, Catholic, Protestant, and "the sigh-life of Ulster" .it is an inheritance from long ago, but as the speaker says "yet willable forward" and carries the burden of history to the speaker. The past is in the present, every person is the cumulative sight of past people, relations, events. Heaney's poetic self sees his present underlined by the past and to him, it attests to the power of mind that brings the past and present aside in events and objects surrounding us through imagination: "... whatever is given can always be reimagined, however four-square, plank-thick, hull-stupid and out of its time it happens to be." realizing that inheritance from past is like a God-given blessing from heaven: "tumbled from heaven" one can bear its weight. Although its history might be bitterly burdensome, it can teach the speaker to apprehend the interconnectivity of the world. He might be "dry as the unkindled boards of a funeral ship", but as a lie on the bed it enlivens him with tide of voices from history:

If I lie in it, I am cribbed in seasoned deal
Dry as the unkindled boards of a funeral ship.
My measure has been taken; my ear shuttered up.
Yet I hear an old sombre tide awash in the headboard:
Unpathetic och ochs and och hohs, the long bedtime
Sigh-life of Ulster, unwilling, unbeaten,
Protestant, Catholic, the Bible, the beads,
Late talks at gables by moonlight, boots on the hearth,
The small hours chimed sweetly away so next thing it was
The cock on the ridge-tiles. (SP, sec. 10)

The aura surrounding the bed is settled on it through the celebrating look of the speaker which preserves the bed and the burden of history upon it from slowly diminishing into forgetfulness. Talking about the entitled garden seat in Thomas Hardy's poem with the same name, Heaney holds that such object (like the garden seat, or the settle bed) has become:

a point of entry into a common emotional belonging. It transmits the climate of a lost world and keeps alive a domestic intimacy with a reality that might otherwise have vanished. The more we are surrounded by such things, the more feeling we dwell in our own lives. The air that our imaginations inhale in their presence is not musty but bracing. (Heaney, PPP 1)

In its turn, the bed is the overcoming power against historical amnesia and even carries a moral force, for it reminds one of his obligations to the past and the lives which have been silenced through history. By putting the central gravity in the notion of self as an interpretive dialogical mindful being, Heaney's poetry radiates into history and back.

The forward and backward movement into ordinary and extraordinary, between the earth and heaven, is reminiscent of his poem *The Swing*. The quotidian moments and experiences of life are like "fingertips" which "just tipping you would send you every bit as far [...] as a big push in the back" but if you give your whole self to the beauty of the ordinariness and be mindful to perceive the sacred," but once you get going", and then sooner or later "we all learn [...] one by one to go sky high". To the speaker the green field turns a field of vision where the light over it is not like the light in the paintings of Fragonard or Brueghel, rather it is more the heavenly light of Hans Memling's which portrays the peasant and the landscape. The piled straw is reminiscent of the

celebration of Jesus' birth and in the middle of this field the swing invites you to free your soul into heaven:

Not Fragonard. Nor Brueghel. It was more
 Hans Memling's light of heaven off green grass,
 Light over fields and hedges, the shed-mouth
 Sunstruck and expectant, the bedding-straw
 Piled to one side, like a Nativity
 Foreground and background waiting for the figures.
 And then, in the middle ground, the swing itself
 With an old lopsided sack in the loop of it,
 Perfectly still, hanging like pulley-slack,
 A lure let down to tempt the soul to rise. (SP, sec. 47)

The speaker sees the world in its transcendence, so that the ordinary becomes meaningful and the presence signifies an absence to be fetched. His childhood lingers in his mind to add something to his present life and self and the past belonging to him goes from mind to mind to be cherished; the moments are transferred like the words from mouth to mouth: "Go and tell your father, the mower says (He said it to my father who told me), 'I have it mowed as clean as a new sixpence'" says the speaker in *Man and Boy*.

In Heaney's poem the ordinary and earthbound come side by side and are merged and one as in his poem "St Kevin and the Blackbird", where the saint, valuing the world in its every ordinary element and moment, becomes one with the bird and with eternity:

And then there was St Kevin and the blackbird.
 The saint is kneeling, arms stretched out, inside
 His cell, but the cell is narrow, so
 One turned-up palm is out the window, stiff
 As a crossbeam, when a blackbird land
 And lays in it and settles down to nest.
 Kevin feels the warm eggs, the small breast, the tucked
 Neat head and claws and, finding himself linked
 Into the network of eternal life,
 Is moved to pity: now he must hold his hand
 Like a branch out in the sun and rain for weeks
 Until the young are hatched and fledged and flown. (SP, sec. 42)

Heaney's use of a biblical character and story, builds the ordinary within sacred and the sacred within ordinary. Moreover; allocating the

power of mind and imagination to the self, he invites us to "imagine being Kevin"; one who forgets himself in to the sacredness of the quotidian and becomes receptive to and one with his prayer "to labour and not to seek reward" and with the flowing of the river "alone and mirrored clear in love's deep river", the steadfastness and numbness of the tree "like a branch out in the sun and rain for weeks", and the the warmth of bird's eggs. This passiveness, "you are neither here nor there" (postscript), arising out of a self who knows and feels the workings of his mind creates us the space to fully grasp the experience of living in this world and to value it. Heaney encourages this sort of awakening in passiveness in his "Had I not been awake" (SP, sec. 91), where the speaker appreciates being awake and not missing a wind that "got (him) up, the whole of (him)". Once more the idea that one needs to be mindful of his being in time and yet one being able to be awakened by the ordinary world are merged: "and got me up, the whole of me a-patter, alive and ticking like an electric fence: had I not been awake I would have missed it"; he is awake to be gotten up by it. To define the self, the self needs to be receptive to the alterity, to the world he lives within. As Squaring xviii Rhymes:

Strange how things in the offing, once they're sensed,
Convert to things foreknown;
And how what's come upon is manifest
Only in light of what has been gone through
To know our 'self' and to be a pillar to our 'self' and other 'selves',
we should flow through the world; "row the steady earth"
(SP. Sec. 2)

and our guide will be the other souls; says Heaney:
Everything flows. Even a solid man,
a pillar to himself and to his trade
All yellow boots and stick and soft felt hat,
Can sprout wings at the ankle and grow fleet
As the god of fair days, stone posts, roads and crossroads,
Guardian of travellers and psychopomp
.... Flow on, flow on
The journey of the soul with its soul guide... (SP, sec. 19)

All we have to know is that we are among souls and capable of perceiving the soul in everything, even the soulless; a knowledge which has no place in the modern thought of Freud, Darwin, and Nietzsche for their understanding of the self is nothing getting near to selfhood and soul but mere objectivity. Heaney's rewriting of the self is bound to and

at the same time generative of a new conception of reality. According to the speaker in *Markings* "all these things entered you, as they were both the door and what come through it. They marked the spot, marked time and held it open." (SP, sec.2)

Michael McLaverty, the teacher poet, passes on a phrase on Heaney's poetry from Gerald Manley Hopkins which signifies the exactness of Heaney's descriptions: "description is revelation" (N 71). This tribute seems to be significant of not just the beauty of his description but the power of his verse in revelation of the life in the ordinary, which often passes unnoticed. His descriptions linger in mind and heart for they are words coming from soul to soul and awakens us to the sacredness of the ordinary, the soulfulness of life, and a self capable of perceiving it. Those reviewers who think Heaney's poems "consolidate him as the poet of muddy-booted blackberry-picking", have to reconcile themselves with the fact that the simple and quotidian in Heaney's poetry is the sight of his excellency and complexity. Heaney's poetry refines our facing the reality and our look at our surrounding. It makes us feel and fill the distance between us and the life around us. Poetry's workings are subtle. As Heaney says: I am tired of speculations about the relation of the poet's work to the workings of the world he inhabits, and finally I disagree that 'poetry makes nothing happen.' It can eventually make new feelings, or feelings about feelings happen, and anybody can see that in this country for a long time to come a refinement of feelings will be more urgent than a reframing of policies or of constitutions.

Heaney "alerts us to perceive" (*Preoccupations*, sec.13., para.6., as he believes Hopkins does, and he "cherish[es] the ordinary, the actual, the known, the unimportant" (sec.10., para.16.) as Kavanagh does according to him. Through his earthly spirituality, Heaney nourishes our sense of our 'self' by reminding us of 'human nature', as he does in *Government of Tongue*: "We are dwellers, we are namers, we are lovers, we make homes and search for our histories" (*Preoccupations*, sec.16, para.21). His poetry is a "consciousness rising on behalf of unpopular ideas" (redress). In an interview with Seamus Dean, "Unhappy and at Home", Heaney affirms "I can only speak of myself from the notion I have of my own work. Poetry is born out of the watermarks and colourings of the self. But that self in some ways takes its spiritual pulse from the inward spiritual structure of the community to which it belongs; and the community to which I belong is Catholic and nationalist." (3)

His poetry confirms that the self is a mindful being in continuous borrowing and lending with the world he lives within and the reality

created by the mind and injecting its quotidian spirituality to it is not the modern matter that appeared out of the big bang. He believes the self is flowing and poetry acts as "stepping stones in one's own sense of oneself"; it gives you self-understanding and yet because of the flowing nature of the self you need to supply the fields of vision for new ventures into poetry: "Every now and again, you write a poem that gives you self-respect and steadies your going a little bit farther out in the stream. At the same time, you have to conjure the next stepping stone because the stream, we hope, keeps flowing." (Lyden) to much anguish to the Modern thought of the para-scientists of Evolutionary, Positivist, Darwinists, and Sociobiologist views, Heaney's poetry acclaims what it seeks: the self is a "SINGULAR UNIVERSAL" (Dean).

The self is a dialogical, interpretive, yet inward being. In our searches for answers, the end is where Heaney begins:

High-riding Kites appear to range quite freely
Though reined by strings, strict and invisible. (Death 43)

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POÉSIE D'EAMUS HEANEY ET MOI MODERNE : UNE PRISE DE CONSCIENCE AU NOM D'IDÉES IMPOPULAIRES

Écrire un article sur Seamus Heaney (1939-2014) pourrait être une aventure, étant donné les nombreuses contributions à ce domaine. La carrière poétique de Seamus Heaney (1966-2010) est à la recherche de réponses à des questions soulevées par une préoccupation pour la notion d'ipséité. D'autre part, au début de la période moderne, certains penseurs associés à la littérature parascientifique proclament avec confiance une théorie vulnérable de l'ipséité qui suppose de soulever des questions sur l'authenticité des compréhensions occidentales traditionnelles et classiques du soi. Cette étude soutient que l'approche de la poésie de Heaney construit une théorie de soi qui peut être lue comme un révisionnisme à la conception illégitime de l'humanité proposée au XXe siècle, tout en continuant son effet sur la pensée contemporaine, et rend l'expérience de sens commun de la réalité on vit à l'intérieur mieux saisi et plus reconnu.

mots clés: Seamus Heaney, poésie, soi, dérange, réalité, éducationnisme, ordinaire

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN PRIMITIVISM AND CIVILIZATION IN KATHERINE ANNE PORTER'S CHARACTERS MARÍA CONCEPCIÓN AND VIOLETA

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Abstract: Modernist writers such as Katherine Anne Porter were preoccupied with primitivism as opposed to the technological achievements of contemporary society. The deep fascination of the modernists with primitivist tendencies relies mainly on the relationship between art and everyday life, as well as on their desire to escape modern civilization and become one with nature. Aesthetic primitivism based on the artistic expression of the Mexican Indians captured Porter's attention during her literary career. This article explores the idea of primitivism and civilization in the short stories "María Concepción" and "Virgin Violeta" by Porter. It also traces the influence of Mexico on both the author's artistic development and her comprehension of the concepts of the primitive and the modern. Focusing on two protagonists, María Concepción and Violeta, as the characters who approach the old and the new in different ways, the article argues that the effects that modern civilization exerts on the human mind can be dramatic. Both heroines seek refuge from the problems in their innermost selves, but only María Concepción embraces primitivism as a way of life. Porter's emphasis on primitivism can be interpreted as either a means of self-distancing from the prescribed standards of behavior or of following natural instincts.

Keywords: primitivism / civilization / Porter, Katherine Anne / "María Concepción" / "Virgin Violeta" / Mexico / character

INTRODUCTION

Primitivism enormously influenced modern artists, writers, and philosophers. Disappointed about the way contemporary civilization regarded everyday life, the modernists explored primitive cultures as an alternative to the onward march of technological progress. According to David Richards, many modernists wanted "[...] to seek renewal in the 'primitive': the catchall term comprising non-Western peoples and their cultural products (with the exceptions of Japan and China)" (*At Other*, 64). The freedom the modernists found in the artistic forms of the

primitive cultures was one of the main reasons for their fascination with the “primitive art”. Gina M. Rossetti argues that “[...] as twentieth-century, modernist American literature emerges, the primitive figure becomes disentangled from its Darwinian context” (*Imagining*, 174). In other words, Rossetti emphasizes that modernists used the primitive to escape from the contemporary. Their desire for a romantic escape implies freedom from the rigid social conventions of their time.

Katherine Anne Porter’s interest in primitivism began in Mexico, her “familiar country” (*The Collected Essays* 355). She fell in love with Mexico at first sight and was especially delighted with the people and culture. Porter lived there occasionally for a decade, from 1920 to 1930, during the revolutionary upheaval. Álvaro Obregón was elected president after the longtime dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz. Porter worked as a reporter during that period and she met many interesting figures among whom were painters, writers, revolutionaries, politicians, etc. She was in contact with the muralists who revived primitive elements of Indian history and art in their works. Porter often “[...] referred to her initial period in Mexico as a time when she looked at things as if she were ‘newly created in a new world’” (Stout, *Katherine* 68). However, early enthusiasm for Mexico soon replaced the disappointment because it was impossible for her to overlook the absurdity of some political moves. Accordingly, she later described Mexico as a country that had tyrannized its locals. In that context, some critics notice that “Porter’s interest in primitivism became less cultural, less focused on the structures and expressions of primitive society, and more psychological, exploring the depths of internal life, the emotions and needs that shape our lives no matter what restraints we try to impose on them” (Brinkmeyer, *Katherine* 55). Mexico provided Porter not only with significant insight into the foreign culture but also with a setting and subject matter for her first short stories.

The theme of class conflict and oppression of the Indians was Porter’s main preoccupation during the first years she spent in Mexico. Her later works about Mexico reflect a sense of disappointment in the revolution since it did not bring justice to the oppressed Indian people. Thomas F. Walsh points out Mexico as an important landmark in her literary development and emphasizes its influence on Porter’s complete body of work: “Since she first revealed herself as person and artist in Mexico and since her Mexican experiences triggered memories of her Texas past and influenced her non-Mexican works, it is crucial to interrelate all her works” (*Katherine* xiii). In Mexico, she realized that the past is omnipresent, especially in the cultural heritage of a country, therefore in the life of an individual as an integral part of his/her

personal identity. Since she took upon herself a task to help organize an exhibition of Mexican folk art that was supposed to be shown in the galleries of the United States, Porter devoted herself entirely to the task and she wrote a historical overview of Mexican art. The exposure to a new social and cultural heritage greatly influenced the aesthetic credo of the writer: "Ever afterward she incorporated her ideas on Mexican art into her own aesthetic theory, expressing frequently, in her discussions of her own work, the opinion that the artist must draw his strength from his roots and from his familiar world" (Givner, *Katherine* 166). The interest in the culture of Mexican Indians, i.e., the ethnographic aspect of Mexican culture contributed to a realistic representation of autochthonous lives and characters guided by the original, primitive instinct.

Porter believed the Mexican natives had a specific kind of inherent allure that enabled them to create great art. She was interested not only in the artifacts the foreign archeologists had uncovered in Mexico but also in Mexican contemporary art such as pottery, weaving, leatherwork, jewelry, clothes, etc. The main quality of these artistic endeavors was an intimate connection with nature. In the same manner, the artists communicated directly with people conveying everyday natural life to the art: "The artists are one with a people simple as nature is simple: that is to say, direct and savage, beautiful and terrible, full of harshness and love, divinely gentle, appealingly honest" (Alvarez and Walsh, *Uncollected* 165). The image of simple people living close to the earth figures dominantly in Porter's early Mexican stories, but the author also indicates that the benefits of modern civilization can impair this image. She remarks "[...] that if the artist were removed from his fructifying contact with his mother earth, condemned daily to touch instead the mechanics and artifices of modern progress, he might succumb, [...] to the overwhelming forces of a world turned dizzily by a machine" (167). Although Porter makes this remark in the context of Indian art, it can be viewed in a wider context since, in her opinion, the interference of foreign influence threatens to corrupt not only pure native art but also natural life.

Various forms of Mexican art were an important source of inspiration for Porter as she assimilated its components into her own art. Being fascinated with the primitive Indian ways, Porter developed unique character studies based on primeval instincts. This is especially visible in her early characters María Concepción and Violeta, who mirror the conflict between primitivism and civilization, i.e., the old and the new ways.

It has become a critical commonplace to read Porter's stories as a contradictory, ambivalent quest for truth in light of twentieth-century modernism. Though generally thought of as a master stylist whose language is clear and concise, a character is still central to her literary practice. Given that the critics have written a lot about the influence of Mexico on Porter's fiction, this article brings about a new understanding of the main female characters of her short stories, "María Concepción" and "Virgin Violeta", who confront the traditional and modern in various ways.

"María Concepción"

Primitivism frames and sets the stage for Katherine Anne Porter's first published story, "María Concepción". Despite the fact that she previously wrote newspaper articles, essays, and stories for children, "[...] she always thought of 'María Concepción' as her first published story because it was her first published original piece of fiction" (Unrue, *Truth* 17). It is evident in this early work that "[...] Porter has considerable respect for the simple, passionate, elemental life of the Mexican peasant [...]" (Nance, *Katherine* 13).

An anecdote told by Porter's friend, an archeologist, was a starting point for this short story. The plot of "María Concepción" is simple and it describes the fate of a young woman of Indian descent. The setting is the periphery of a primitive Mexican village. The first sentence reveals the name of the protagonist and she is at the center of the first half of the narrative since the narrator describes her thoughts and movements. María Concepción figures prominently in the story as a clever, energetic, pious woman and a good Christian. Unlike her villagers she does not believe in superstition and magic. Although a member of a primitive Indian society, María Concepción got married to her husband, Juan Villegas, in church. Juan works for Givens, the archeologist, on the excavation of an ancient archeological site. María and Juan expect their first child, and the protagonist is presented as genuinely happy person at the very beginning of the story: "She walked with the free, natural, guarded ease of the primitive woman carrying an unborn child. The shape of her body was easy, the swelling life was not a distortion, but the right inevitable proportions of a woman. She was entirely contented" (Porter, *The Collected Stories* 3). However, her happiness is short-lived because María Concepción discovers that Juan becomes involved with a fifteen-year-old beekeeper, María Rosa, and the same day Juan leaves the village to join the army with his lover. Left to herself, the protagonist gives birth to a child who dies shortly afterwards and does not cry when loses her child. Racked with pain, she isolates herself

from others, avoiding communication with anyone and occasionally goes to church to seek comfort for her suffering. After a while, Juan and María Rosa return to the village and María Concepción takes her revenge on her husband's mistress and kills her. When the gendarmes come to question suspicious death of María Rosa, everyone in the village take María Concepción's side and protect her. The story ends with the protagonist taking María Rosa's infant as her own and returning home with her husband with the approval of the community.

Porter projects an image of a primitive society with its own customs and moral principles in this story. The only archeologist is a foreigner who works, together with the locals, on the excavation of the relics of the past. "María Concepción" develops the themes of triumph and vengeance of a wife for the adulterous affair of her unfaithful husband: "The theme was her favorite one – a strong, queenly woman who is wronged and who by her own exertion and resourcefulness avenges herself and sets her world in order" (Givner, *Katherine* 162). However, "María Concepción" far exceeds this simple thematic pattern and expresses Porter's disapproval because of the oppression of Mexican Indians. In her essays, the author describes capitalists who, with the help of the church, obey the Indians and take their land. It is María Concepción who belongs to those Indians, but she is converted to Christianity. Christianity represents the religion alien to both her culture and nature. In the first part of the story, she is portrayed as a person who "[...] has been partially infected by European ways and shows an attitude of pious Christian devotion, which announces an incipient process of divergence from nature and the land that will eventually lead to her estrangement from the Indian community at the marketplace" (Jiménez Placer, *The South* 39). The heroine moves between the past and the present, i.e., the primitive and modern, trying to reconcile these two dimensions. This story of Porter conveys a latent idea of American colonial expansion and the response of the local population to foreign influence which inevitably affects the inner life of the characters and their conduct. The antagonism between the indigenous and foreign cultures and traditions can be attributed to the characters as well since it reflects their behavior and actions. The character of María Concepción reveals this disagreement between the old and the new ways, which leads to the triumph of natural life over the benefits of modern civilization.

The figure of María Concepción was based on a real person whom Porter had the opportunity to meet in Mexico on the visits to her friend, the archaeologist. Apart from the extraordinary beauty of that woman, Porter noticed the ease and gracefulness in carrying live chickens over

her shoulder, which was the element the author used for the story. In fact, this character is no more than an overture to all the brave women Porter will portray in her oeuvre: "This story introduces a character type who is to dominate the fiction of Katherine Anne Porter: a strong-willed woman operating in a society of weak, ineffectual men" (Tanner, *The Texas* 133). The protagonist is depicted as an independent, strong, and clever woman. Resolute and daring, María Concepción is the one who dominates the marriage and who arranges the wedding in the church. Although Juan works, María earns and saves, and the house she lives in with her husband is referred to as her house. As Mary Titus observes: "[...] the María Concepción of the story's first half is a figure of female strength and self-direction, legally married, civilized" (*The Ambivalent* 43). "Instinctive serenity" (Porter, *The Collected Stories* 3) dominates her character and directs her actions. What defines María Concepción is the superiority of the action over the speech. She uses language very little, and all her strength is contained in her posture while carrying the chickens she is going to sell at the market:

She carried about a dozen living fowls slung over her right shoulder, their feet fastened together. Half of them fell upon the flat of her back, the balance dangled uneasily over her breast. They wriggled their benumbed and swollen legs against her neck, they twisted their stupefied eyes and peered into her face inquiringly. She did not see them or think of them. (3)

The ease of María Concepción's body movements is more than enough to provide the necessary information about her personality. Being made all of the gestures, there is no need for her to say anything, she speaks through movements. The heroine's reserve continues even when Juan leaves her and when she loses her baby: "María Concepción did not weep when Juan left her; and when the baby was born, and died within four days, she did not weep" (8). Instead of tears, she chooses loneliness and silence, committing herself to hard work, and great pride does not allow her to talk to anyone about her pain. Isolated and dedicated exclusively to work and prayer, she refuses any help and compassion from the village women. However, suppressing the sadness and the seeming callousness result in the awakening of the instinctive and taking the initiative at a crucial moment when the protagonist decides to establish order and harmony in her life even if it involves a crime. Conflict arises when the heroine begins to act according to her instinctive nature. Passivity gives way to primitive instincts that are "[...] stronger than social customs and learned behavior" (Unrue, *Understanding* 25), and it is María Concepción's natural right to remove

the person who has destroyed her happiness. When Juan and María Rosa return to the village, María Concepción turns to nature instead of turning to God, not seeking answers in the church any more. The author carefully describes the transition from the instinctive idea to the conscious decision, and at one point the heroine realizes she does not go to the market where she initially sets out to sell the chickens, but she turns away from the road and heads toward María Rosa's hut. At that moment, everything becomes clearer, and she understands her intention:

At once she came to her senses completely, recognized the thing that troubled her so terribly, was certain of what she wanted. She sat down quietly under a sheltering thorny bush and gave herself over to her long devouring sorrow. The thing which had for so long squeezed her whole body into a tight dumb knot of suffering suddenly broke with shocking violence. She jerked with the involuntary recoil of one who receives a blow, and the sweat poured from her skin as if the wounds of her whole life were shedding their salt ichor. (Porter, *The Collected Stories* 13)

As soon as her thoughts become clearer, María Concepción goes to punish her rival with the same knife she uses to kill the chickens. Although murder is a sin according to all moral, religious, social, and other laws, this act represents the first phase of the heroine's return to the traditional Indian community. The second phase is when Juan accepts her criminal act and comes to her defense despite the crime she commits. Finally, the community fully accepts her when the villagers protect her from the police, justifying the murder on the grounds of revenge for the adultery. Although at the beginning María Concepción's pride isolates her from the others, the community saves her from an alien force as soon as she is exposed to danger: "María Concepción suddenly felt herself guarded, surrounded, upborne by her faithful friends. They were around her, speaking for her, defending her, the forces of life were ranged invincibly with her against the beaten dead" (20). The protagonist is redeemed by the membership rooted in the common past of the generation that grew up together and shared an instinctive sense of justice. Such a relationship binds to mutual respect and protection because "[...] they love their past with that uncritical, unquestioning devotion which is beyond logic and above reason" (Alvarez and Walsh, *Uncollected* 170). Thus, the instinctive and primitive become stronger than the imposed systems and influences. Therefore, the criminal act of María Concepción is not considered a crime but a defense of her own values. The murder restores the order in the village,

and the protagonist returns where she belongs, i.e., to her husband. It is exactly the character of María Concepción that embodies the idea that people are determining factors in defining moral and legal order. Porter points out that people have the right to stand up against the unjust system even if the justice brought by the community can be labeled as primitive. Accordingly, the villagers do not find the heroine innocent, but they think she should not be punished. They approve of María Concepción's taking María Rosa's child as her own, which establishes peace and harmony not only in the village but also in the consciousness of the protagonist who believes that "María Rosa had eaten too much honey and had had too much love" (Porter, *The Collected Stories* 17). The story ends with a scene of the heroine finally resting and holding the sleeping baby, in perfect harmony with nature and the earth, after returning to her community:

María Concepción could hear Juan's breathing. The sound vaped from the low doorway, calmly; the house seemed to be resting after a burdensome day. She breathed, too, very slowly and quietly, each inspiration saturating her with repose. The child's light, faint breath was a mere shadowy moth of sound in the silver air. The night, the earth under her, seemed to swell and recede together with a limitless, unhurried, benign breathing. She drooped and closed her eyes, feeling the slow rise and fall within her own body. She did not know what it was, but it eased her all through. Even as she was falling asleep, head bowed over the child, she was still aware of a strange, wakeful happiness. (21)

This scene of peaceful and happy family life is in contrast with the violent act that has caused peace and happiness. María Concepción turns again to primitivism, inherent in her nature, and achieves harmony with the country she fully comprehends, which brings her joy and bliss.

The end of the story suggests the resolution of the psychological conflict of the protagonist expressed through Jung's archetypes. According to Jung's theories, apart from the personal unconscious, there is also the collective unconscious which represents inherited knowledge of the experiences common to all mankind. Myths, religions, fairy tales, rituals, and symbols in some cultures are the projection of the collective unconscious. An archetype is a basic element in the structure of the collective unconscious, and it appears in the form of images. According to Jung: "[...] the archetype as an image of instinct is a spiritual goal toward which the whole nature of man strives; it is the sea to which all rivers wend their way, the prize which the hero wrests from the fight with the dragon" (*The Structure* 212). Therefore, the archetype as the

origin of human experience is an innate and universal pattern of behavior and thinking, immanent to human nature. In this Porter's story "[...] María Concepción manifests the character and attributes of the archetypal mother goddess" (DeMouy, *Katherine* 21). At the beginning of the story, she is described as a proud and happy woman waiting for her first child to be born. Even her name suggests that her mother's role is predestined and natural: "She is, first of all, Mary of the Conception, designated a mother from birth by her name" (21). The mother archetype dominates the story and closes the circle when María Concepción, like a goddess, cradles the child in her arms between sleep and wake and finally finds peace. Although the child is not hers, it belongs to her by law as old as the ancient civilizations of Mexico.

Through objective narration combined with symbolic images, Porter depicts María Concepción as a strong and enigmatic woman whose power gives the driving force to the story. Although she committed the crime, the protagonist is, in some way, the representative character who possesses dignity and speaks on behalf of the local population of Mexico. Facing the mysterious forces of nature and submitting to them, María Concepción stands out from other women in the village. Through the character of María Concepción, Katherine Anne Porter criticizes the church, government, politicians, and foreigners who oppressed the Indians: "Leagued against the Indian are four centuries of servitude, the incoming foreigner who will take the last hectare of his land, and his own church that stands with the foreigners" (Porter, *The Collected Essays* 402). The writer creates her heroine in the primitive tradition of one nation and glorifies her female identity. Primitivism prevails over civilization as Porter reveals in the character of María Concepción, thereby pointing out that the laws and Christianity are worthless compared to the purely natural, primitive ways of the Indian community. Porter's protagonist resolves the conflict between primitivism and civilization by following her body's urgings. The author suggests that the instinctive, primordial cultures, where people are close to nature, offer a possible alternative to modern technology.

"Virgin Violeta"

A different kind of primitivism, which implies the psychological side and internal life of the protagonist, is described in "Virgin Violeta" where "[...] the recognition of the primal forces of self and world is more problematic, involving alienation rather than integration" (Brinkmeyer, *Katherine* 49). "Virgin Violeta" deals with primitivism in a more subtle way than "María Concepción" since Katherine Anne Porter focuses on a very sensitive age in this story, that is, a period of adolescence. As some

critics notice: “[...] in this story, the protagonist’s primitivism depends not so much on her being a native Mexican as on her youthfulness, which means that the concept of primitivism was broadening in Porter’s mind to encompass a less restrictive and more universal dimension” (Jiménez Placer, *The South* 41). In this sense, primitivism does not refer only to indigenous peoples and their customs but also to common peoples and their everyday life.

At the center of this story is not so much the theme as the character of a fourteen-year-old Mexican girl, Violeta, who confronts the awakening of her own sexuality. Describing the period of adolescence, this work “[...] is Porter’s only attempt to focus on female puberty” (DeMouy, *Katherine* 30). Adolescence is a stage of development between childhood and adulthood characterized by a range of psychological, emotional, biological, cognitive, and social changes. Adolescence plays a key role in identity formation when one begins to experience oneself as an independent person and begins to build self-confidence. “Virgin Violeta” depicts the heroine who, at the brink of transition from childhood to adulthood, faces an identity crisis and is unable to solve internal conflicts. Unlike “María Concepción”, the action of the story takes place in a Mexican family that belongs to the upper-middle class. Violeta spent a year in a convent school and returned home to spend the summer with her family. The story begins with a scene of Violeta sitting and listening to poetry that her older sister Blanca and her cousin Carlos, the poet, read to her. The protagonist is a shy girl who wears simple clothes in contrast to her elegantly dressed sister Blanca. The verses Violeta listens to reflect her feelings because she is tortured by love for Carlos: “This torment of love which is in my heart: / I know that I suffer it, but I do not know why” (Porter, *The Collected Stories* 22). Above Violeta’s head, there is a religious picture of the Virgin Mary and Saint Ignatius of Loyola, the Catholic priest and theologian whose object of devotion was the Virgin. The priest claimed he had visions of the Virgin Mary and her son, and he felt contempt for the physical desires he had for her and swore he wouldn’t indulge in such desires anymore. Although small, the picture dominates the room and represents not only the embodiment of Violeta’s ideal and innocent love but also the source of her anger because Carlos looks at the picture intently instead of looking at her. The story reaches its culmination when Violeta, trying to attract her cousin’s attention, offers Carlos to find his collection of poems and he kisses her. Frightened Violeta is confused by the kiss because she expected to see love in his eyes due to romantic dreams inspired by Carlos’ poetry. Instead of warmth and love, his look is cold and she, like a child, threatens Carlos to tell her mother about the

kiss, but he insists that it is only “[...] a little brotherly kiss [...]” (29). Carlos deprives the kiss of sensuality and identifies it with “brotherly” love. Moreover, he uses Violeta’s confusion and skillfully manipulates the words, blaming her for the situation: “Shame on you, Violeta!” (29). Feeling intense embarrassment, the protagonist returns with Carlos to the living room and when the time comes for him to leave, he tries to kiss her goodnight but: “She heard herself screaming uncontrollably” (31). Although her mother was trying to console her, she could no longer read her cousin’s poetry. She felt sad and uncertain for the rest of the summer, quarreling with her sister, and even drawing caricatures of Carlos. When she had to return to the convent in the fall, she refused and cried, believing that “there was [...] nothing to be learned there” (32).

Primitivism, which arises from the psychological conflict of the heroine, is crucial in considering Violeta’s character. The psychological conflict of the protagonist’s understanding of love is predetermined by her considerably sheltered life at home and in the convent school. The puritan ethic of Catholicism of the middle class is embodied in the character of Violeta who is unable to reconcile her feelings with strict moral teachings in the convent. The church and the school deter the protagonist who has not yet learned to control her emotions. Her eager and passionate nature contrasts with the dark clothes and shoes she has to wear. Instead, she longs for bright colors and free life without restrictions and rules: “She wanted to wear red poppies in her hair and dance. Life would always be very gay, with no one about telling you that almost everything you said and did was wrong. She would be free to read poetry, too, and stories about love, without having to hide them in her copybooks” (24). As is characteristic of her age, Violeta dreams of romantic love and reads Carlos’ poems where she finds an idealized image of love. Her favorite poem written by her cousin is about the spirits of nuns who, in front of the ruined convent, dance in the moonlight with the shadows of their forbidden lovers. Barefoot nuns are treading on broken glass, which is a punishment for their love. Although Violeta considers this poem romantic, it is far from it, because it “[...] depicts female repression of normal desires for which women must masochistically punish themselves” (Walsh, *Katherine* 98). The church teaches young girls to be virgins to be admired from far away by others and to foster an idealized being in their personalities. However, “this idealized self is inconsistent with the sensuality that is struggling within Violeta for recognition” ((Unrue, *Truth* 119). In the convent, she was taught the following values: “[...] modesty, chastity, silence, obedience [...]” (Porter, *The Collected Stories* 23). The heroine has some of these

characteristics, especially “silence” and “modesty”, but also the adolescent revolt: “She had the silence and watchfulness of a young wild animal, but no native wisdom” (23). Though mostly obedient, she cannot yet understand why the outside world is to such an extent different from her inner world: “She did as she was told, but it was all very confusing, because she could not understand why the things that happen outside of people were so different from what she felt inside of her” (23). Her feelings are so turbulent that she barely breathes and feels inhibited by the imposed rules. She identifies the church with “the cage”: “Church was a terrible, huge cage, but it seemed too small” (26). Home also resembles “the cage” since “[...] something inside her felt as if it were enclosed in a cage too small for it, and she could not breathe” (26). Violeta has a strict patriarchal upbringing at home. She is punished for misbehavior by her mother, but the father is the one who metes out punishments. The heroine’s mother advises her to behave like a “lady”, i.e., following the accepted social norms: “You are quite a young lady now, and you must learn to control your nerves” (31).

Violeta, actually, experiences the conflict between sensuality and an idealized view of romantic love. Porter implies that society imposes such a conflict on adolescent girls. According to Erik H. Erikson, the adolescents feel:

[...] a sense of identity confusion, which is unavoidable at a time of life when the body changes its proportions radically, when genital maturity floods body and imagination with all manner of drives, when intimacy with the other sex approaches and is, on occasion, forced on the youngster, and when life lies before one with a variety of conflicting possibilities and choices. (*Identity* 97-98)

The “identity confusion” adequately describes Violeta’s state of mind. At the same time, she feels guilty about falling in love and she prays to the Virgin Mary, the ideal to believe in, to forgive her sins. Porter implicitly suggests that the ideology of the Catholic religion from the beginning of the twentieth century has been reduced to the question of female purity, which is particularly evident in the character of Violeta who sees her sexuality as a sin. Although she has not committed the sin, she feels the guilt, which is, in fact, her response to the standards and patterns of behavior the repressive society and religious system dictate to her. Instead of being happy about achieving her dream, she is surprised when Carlos kisses her and becomes even more vulnerable than before the kiss. Carlos makes the situation worse with the words that the kiss does not mean anything and he shatters Violeta’s dreams, mocking her and making her feel indecent. The

protagonist suppresses her sexual nature and “[...] very hidden thoughts – those thoughts that were not true at all and could never be talked about with anyone” (Porter, *The Collected Stories* 31). Unable to pronounce her own doubts and worries, she fails to resolve the conflict, and thereby she does not reject the religious teachings that inhibit her and does not surrender to her own sexual awakening as well. The education Violeta receives at the convent is an obstacle to her real being and primitive impulses. In the end, she gets at bitter truth that will be also discovered by other Porter’s heroines, i.e., that it is difficult to reconcile love for a man with having all the virtues imposed by the family, society, and religion. Instead of freedom, Violeta suffers from complete isolation and the inability to answer fundamental questions about life and love: “A painful unhappiness possessed her at times, because she could not settle the questions brooding in her mind” (32). The protagonist fails to integrate into the world where there is a disagreement between external reality and inner feelings. Such a world does not allow an individual, especially a female, to achieve harmony between natural, innate instincts and learned behavior. In one of his famous studies, Sigmund Freud states that it is very difficult for civilized people to live in today’s world since it represses human basic nature (cf. *Civilization* 1994). Given that the humans do not fulfill their fundamental needs and their freedom is restricted, it leads to great frustration which can be recognized in the character of Violeta whose instinctual drives are inhibited by society.

Violeta symbolizes the chastity of a woman who tries to reconcile the mental with the physical, that is, the ideal with the need. Through the understanding of a young girl, Porter shows the naivety of the protagonist, and her maturation is accompanied by contradictory feelings and confused thoughts. Violeta represents the first portrait of a virgin in Porter’s work, educated within the restrictive religion that denies her sexual nature while, at the same time, emphasizes her sexual purity stating that patriarchal and religious institutions lead to a deep split in the personality of a woman. Instead of encouraging the integration of the spiritual and the physical, these institutions insist on their division. Therefore, the heroine represses her feelings and instinctual impulses, denying thus her female, sexual self. Unlike María Concepción who follows her natural instincts, Violeta does not resolve the conflict between primitivism and civilization. Instead, she remains confused at the end of the story, wavering between the longings of her own being and deep-rooted Catholic tradition and patriarchal values.

CONCLUSION

Entering into the minds of the people she met in Mexico, Katherine Anne Porter vividly conveyed this experience in her fiction, particularly to her colorful characters. Her appreciation of the indigenous and Mexican art was firm ground for the aesthetic primitivism she employed in her literary output. The time spent in Mexico provided the basis not only for her early short stories but also for her later work. Porter became familiar with the repressed Indian population in Mexico. In addition, foreign soil sparked her great interest in Mexican folk art. The initial appeal for primitivism extended later to the themes of birth, death, passion, maturation.

The author's approach to primitivism was optimistic in her early works, which is especially evident in the character of *María Concepción* who turns to her innate nature instead of outside influence. Although the protagonist of Porter's first work of fiction may seem stereotypical because of her primitive ways, she is described as a strong woman whose power and dignity dominate the story. She defeats the alien culture and restores again order in her life and her community, but her final triumph is achieved with the firm support of the village people. "*María Concepción*" reflects Porter's affinity with the oppressed Indian people and the conflict between superstition and Christianity imposed upon the locals. Primitivism in this story is closely related to natural forces that rule the lives of characters beyond their comprehension. While "*María Concepción*" abounds in romantic notions of the primitive, "*Virgin Violeta*" reveals the character whose primitivism concerns the awakening of hidden desires and sexual instincts. Passionate *Violeta* questions the principles of the patriarchal society and her mind is in a state of emotional turmoil due to the repression of natural desires and primitive urges. Feelings of guilt because of her cousin's kiss are a direct response to the standards of modesty that society and the family dictate to her. In the end, the protagonist is so vulnerable that she becomes frustrated because of being unable to resolve her inner and outer struggles, rejecting both the ideal and the real. While *María Concepción's* community accepts her despite her crime, *Violeta's* community denies her innate nature. Porter indicates that primitivism in this story is limited in a sense because it cannot offer an acceptable solution to modern people.

Like many of her modernist contemporaries, Porter was interested in the primitive and the ethnographic aspect of Indian culture and tradition. As Marianna Torgovnick remarks: "Primitives are our untamed selves, our id forces – libidinous, irrational, violent, dangerous. Primitives are mystics, in tune with nature, part of its harmonies.

Primitives are free" (*Gone Primitive* 8). This freedom and the irresistible lure of primitive societies provide a stark contrast to Western civilizations. Their tie to the natural world and its cycles make them untainted by modern technology. Porter concentrated mainly on this contrast between modern and primitive worlds in her work. Thereby, the contrast is not always directly presented as is obvious in "Virgin Violeta" where the author portrays the adolescent girl who cannot find a balance between her instincts and moral standards. On the other hand, María Concepción firmly rejects the imposed patterns of behavior in favor of instinctive, natural existence. Being at one with nature is a state that contemporary people often forget. Yet, primitivism as a cultural ideal is not present in Porter's complete body of work. She was aware of its limitations and linked it to more complex themes in much of her later writing, in stories based on her childhood experiences.

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SUKOB PRIMITIVIZMA I CIVILIZACIJE KOD LIKOVA MARIJE KONSEPSION I VIOLETE U DJELU KETRIN EN PORTER

Modernistički pisci poput Ketrin En Porter su bili zaokupljeni primitivizmom nasuprot tehnološkim dostignućima savremenog društva. Velika opčinjenost modernista primitivističkim tendencijama zasniva se uglavnom na odnosu umjetnosti i svakodnevnog života, kao i na njihovoj želji da pobjegnu od moderne civilizacije i budu jedno sa prirodom. Estetski primitivizam utemeljen na umjetničkom izrazu meksičkih Indijanaca privlačio je pažnju Porterove tokom njene književne karijere. Ovaj članak istražuje ideju primitivizma i civilizacije u kratkim pričama Porterove „Marija Konsepsion” i „Čedna Violeta”. Članak takođe utvrđuje uticaj Meksika kako na autorkin umjetnički razvoj tako i na njeno shvatanje pojmova primitivnog i modernog. Usredsređujući se na dvije protagonistkinje, Mariju Konsepsion i Violetu, kao likove koji na različit način pristupaju starom i novom, u radu se polemíše da uticaji moderne civilizacije na ljudski um mogu biti dramatični. Obje junakinje traže utočište od problema u svom unutrašnjem biću, ali samo Marija Konsepsion prihvata primitivizam kao način života. Značaj koji Porterova pridaje primitivizmu može se tumačiti ili kao sredstvo samodistanciranja od propisanih standarda ponašanja ili kao postupanje u skladu sa prirodnim instinktima.

Ključne riječi: primitivizam / civilizacija / Ketrin En Porter / „Marija Konsepsion” / „Čedna Violeta” / Meksiko / književni lik

TORTURED CITY TORTURED MIND: THE CONTINUOUS INTERPLAY OF INDIVIDUAL (SUB)CONSCIOUSNESS AND EXTERNAL EVENTS IN K. A. PORTER'S PALE HORSE, PALE RIDER

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Abstract: This article focuses on Katherine Anne Porter's semi-autobiographical modernist novella *Pale Horse, Pale Rider*, a rare example of literature with a direct reference to the Spanish flu pandemic during the World War I. The article first provides a brief overview of critical approaches to the novella, situating it in the literary plague canon, then focuses on the war and the pandemic as the external factors that are not shown only to change the face of the society, but also to deeply affect people's minds. As the main protagonist Miranda falls ill with the influenza and enters a strenuous combat with the disease, the reader gains access to her subconscious through a series of dreams and deliriums that Miranda experiences during her illness. These will be analysed using Bion's theory of dreams to show that they present Miranda's affective response to the external reality as well as her capacity to digest the previously indigested emotions.

Keywords: Katherine Anne Porter, *Pale Horse, Pale Rider*, theory of dreams, Spanish flu, pandemic, World War I

Introduction

One of the rare authors of great renown but not so large oeuvre, Katherine Anne Porter has been attracting the attention of critics for a long time. Born in 1894, Porter wrote slowly and meticulously, with each of her works undergoing long incubation, so when some of the first scholars published their articles about her fiction (e.g. Hartley, 1940; Warren, 1942), she had had merely two collections of stories behind her. Nevertheless, her stories were already regarded as modern classics and, together with a few more subsequent works, were soon to become the subject of much literary criticism, analysis and interpretation. Notably, interest in Porter's work soared in the 1960s with the publication of her

only novel *The Ship of Fools* (1962), hailed in the *New Republic* as her “crowning work” (Kauffman 23), which was made into a successful film in the same year when her new collected stories were published (1965), earning her a number of prestigious awards: the Pulitzer Prize (1966), the National Book Award (1966) and the Gold Medal Award for Fiction from the American Academy of Arts and Letters (1967). This series of events testifying to Porter’s increased recognition and popularity, in the following decades led to the publication of a large number of articles, reviews and books on the author and her works. While some of these works of criticism are very general in their scope and nature (e.g. Hendrick, 1965; Unrue, 1985, 1988), some on the other hand exhibit a great variety owing to the fact that her fiction generally lends itself well to diverse approaches and perspectives.

When it comes to Porter’s novella *Pale Horse, Pale Rider*, just like her other works, it has been read from a variety of perspectives. Thus, for example, it attracted much attention as (what is deemed to be) her most autobiographical piece (Davis 57), recounting in Porter’s own words “a true story” (Mercer 29), its main protagonist being the author’s alter ego. Filled with a number of dreams and unconscious states described in it, it has frequently been discussed from the psychoanalytical perspective, while with its strong and conspicuous female perspective contrasting the mainstream wartime rhetoric, it has provided fertile ground for feminist readings (e.g. Frankwitz, 2004). Abounding in mythological and religious symbols, it has led to their extensive interpretation (Brooker, 2009). As “a masterpiece of narrative art” (Brooker 232), with superb use of stream of consciousness, dreams and deliriums, its narrative techniques have often been discussed.

However, what distinguishes *Pale Horse* from Porter’s other works, opening new avenues for research and interpretation, is the fact that this work also belongs to what one recent theorist identifies as “a literary plague canon” (Cooke 8), since it is set during the 1918 influenza pandemic, dealing with the main character’s almost fatal encounter with the disease. Thanks to this, the 21st century, a time when interdisciplinarity allows the permeation of various discourses, has seen fresh perspectives on the probably most significant American literary work dealing with a plague (Davis 56). Certainly worth mentioning in this context is the article “The Forgotten Apocalypse: Katherine Anne Porter’s ‘Pale Horse, Pale Rider,’ Traumatic Memory, and the Influenza Pandemic of 1918” by David Davis from 2011, relying among other things on the concepts of historical, cultural, fictional and individual memory and on trauma theory. Stating that *Pale Horse* “illustrates the varieties of traumatic experience — personal trauma, cultural trauma,

historical trauma, and aesthetic trauma” (Davis 56), Davis highlights the aesthetic, cultural and historical value of the work in memorializing the pandemic: “Because aestheticized trauma invites the reader to engage in the experience more imaginatively and more profoundly than historical memory, Porter’s story is the most effective and most appropriate form of memory available to remember the pandemic” (70). Thus, through the textual and wider contextual analysis, Davis discusses the processes of forgetting and remembering and their implications on the individual and collective levels.

Another new and intriguing approach to *Pale Horse* is the one made possible through the permeation of literary and medical discourses. Illness narratives, as a “genre wherein an illness and its effect on the patient’s life are told as an autobiographical or biographical account” (Le et al., 2017) but, according to Stella Bolaki, “with reflections upon the wider implications of a particular disease” (4), both personal and societal, are often used in the medical humanities with a practical goal of further diversifying the education of healthcare professionals, ultimately leading to a better care of patients (Wright 43). Thus, for example, a recent article explores the parallels between the 1918 Spanish flu and the ongoing Covid-19 pandemics using the narrative of *Pale Horse* on one side and the narratives of Covid-19 survivors on the other (Sethi et al., 2020). In an attempt to bring closer illness narratives and disability studies to the benefit of both, Samantha Allen Wright discusses *Pale Horse* as an illness narrative which, in her words “tells the story of the protagonist’s bout with influenza in graphic detail, provides a historical account of the epidemic, and most importantly uses illness as the plot, rather than as a marker of difference” (43). Wright at the same time highlights its role as an icon of high modernism, which, just like other modernist pieces, “privileges interiority” (53). She even advances the concept that the two aspects of the novella—its documentation of a historical pandemic and its modernist interiority—conflict to result in its relegation to the side-lines in the medical humanities, right “because of its modernist trappings” (53). These stylistic “trappings” receive more extensive treatment in another recent study, this one from the literary perspective: Elizabeth Outka’s *Viral Modernism: The Influenza Pandemic and Interwar Literature* (2020). Another relatively recent work of criticism dealing with *Pale Horse*, Brooker’s article “Nightmare and Apocalypse in Katherine Anne Porter’s *Pale Horse, Pale Rider*” (2009), moves us away from medical discourse but remains in the realm of modernist traits. Putting the novella side by side with works like *Ulysses*, *Mrs. Dalloway* and *The Waste Land*, Brooker asserts that modernist classics like these “chart the relation

between the flittering consciousness of the individual and the nightmare of contemporary history”, putting both “into a larger context that at once de-personalizes and de-temporalizes, thus giving the personal and the temporal a shape and significance they otherwise would not have” (213). Referring to the “rich complexity” of these works, Brooker argues that “Porter’s achievement in *Pale Horse, Pale Rider* can best be appreciated in terms of the modernist determination to be simultaneously true to history and (through mythic engagement) to art, and within those realms, to exhibit the continuous interplay of past and present, and within the present, of individual consciousness and external events” (213).

It is this final element—the “continuous interplay... of individual consciousness and external events”—that this article is focused on. Long time ago, in his critical study on Porter, Harry J. Mooney (1957) argued that Porter’s short fiction explored the plight of the individual in the modern world. On the external level, the plight in *Pale Horse* comes from two sources: the Great War and the 1918 pandemic, each being large-scale with disastrous consequences. Typically, the approaches to *Pale Horse* that include external factors tend to put the pandemic in the shadow of war, as wars for some reason have always attracted far greater attention than pandemics (see Davis 60-61; Fisher 1-3), except for the specific afore-mentioned medically-oriented approaches that do the opposite. This article, by contrast, will discuss both war and pandemic as the external factors in the novella changing the face of the city and society at large; moreover, it will focus on how these factors affect people’s minds through the description of the main protagonist’s affective response to the external factors in her dreams.

WWI and the Spanish Flu in *Pale Horse, Pale Rider*

The time in which *Pale Rider* is set seems like a nightmare, to borrow Brooker’s simile, even from the perspective of the modern reader, acquainted with a similar pandemic to that taking place in the novella, for when the 1918 pandemic emerged, a large part of the world was at war. While in *Pale Horse* the war seems to be omnipresent in society and people’s minds, the viral influenza, which according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2022) achieved its peak in the USA during the second wave in the fall 1918, the very time covered in the novella, is rather relegated to the domain of the individual – the protagonist Miranda, who falls ill with the virus and whose delirious feverish states during the illness represent the core of the novella, and her sweetheart Adam, who, as we learn towards the end of the novella, succumbs to the disease. Prior to Miranda’s illness, however, there are

only a few vague references to the viral pandemic in the novella. Miranda's colleagues, for instance, briefly discuss the new disease at the office. Towney tells them that she's read in the newspaper that the disease was "caused by germs brought by a German ship to Boston, a camouflaged ship, naturally [...]" (Porter 284) and that "the germs were sprayed over the city [...] and somebody reported seeing a strange, thick, greasy-looking cloud float up out of Boston Harbor and spread slowly all over that end of the world" (284). The others, including Miranda, simply laugh off this myth about the origin of the disease, perhaps because the disease has not yet spread so extensively in their city, Denver; only a few days later, however, Denver will witness a lockdown that most of the contemporary world experienced for the first time at the beginning of 2020. When taking a walk with Adam, Miranda does remark, however, that she has never seen so many funerals, and Adam tells her that he has heard that soldiers fighting in Europe "are dying like flies" because of "[t]his funny new disease" (281). Miranda compares the new disease to a plague, "something out of the Middle Ages" (281), yet she and Adam refuse to be too concerned about this quickly spreading mysterious disease, particularly because Adam has only a few more days of leave before he goes off to war. That the second wave of the pandemic originated in a military camp just outside Boston in September 1918 and then spread to other parts of the USA in October 1918 is documented also in historical records (see Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2022; Stern 2010). Denver, however, was not among the American cities that were the most devastated by the influenza.¹ According to the US National Archives and Records Administration, there exists ample documentation on the 1918 influenza pandemic, however, it has been almost completely "overlooked in the teaching of American History" (2022). In literature as well there are few references to the 1918 pandemic, which are sometimes vague or even intriguing. *Pale Horse* is one of the rare as well as the most detailed literary account(s) of the disease, being a first-hand testimony, for Porter herself fell ill with the disease and, like the protagonist Miranda, came close to death during delirious fever episodes. American writers that wrote about the First World War, such as Hemingway and Dos Passos, avoided mentioning the pandemic, perhaps because it was ignoble to die of a disease if you were a soldier. However, *Pale Horse* also avoids clearly showing the impact of the pandemic on society, except for a few – rather vague – references to it, such as the afore-mentioned increased number of funerals, the

¹ See Stettler's description of the devastation wrought by the influenza flu in Philadelphia (Stettler, 2017)

measures to prevent the spread of the virus, like the closing down of theatres and restaurants, and the lack of hospital beds. Other than that, the impact of the virus is shown mostly on the level of an individual, as we follow Miranda's combat with the disease and learn of its consequences for her, once she finally recovers, and of course of Adam's succumbing to the disease.

The war, on the other hand, is shown in the novella to be much more present in the collective aspect as well as in the mind of individuals. The novella covers the last few months of the First World War, after the USA joined in,² and it clearly shows how the war impacted the then society. As Meredith Hindley explains, the then USA President, Woodrow Willson, justified the USA's joining the war by saying that "The world must be made safe for democracy" (2017), so more than four million Americans³ went overseas to fight (2017). There was a strong war propaganda present, which, as Robert A. Wells explains, served to "mobilize and sustain support for the war" (2014). According to Mitchell Yockelson, the USA were not well prepared for the war; the regular army being scarce, they were "forced to build an army based on volunteer enlistments and the draft" (1998). The social pressure put on men to join the war is seen also in the novella. When Miranda, together with other women, visits soldiers lying in a hospital, she is thinking: "It must be frightfully hard on them, the dears, to be floored like this when they're all crazy to get overseas and into the trenches as quickly as possible" (Porter 276). Adam is one such soldier, proud of his uniform and eager to go to war. Miranda meets him during his short leave, when he is waiting for his outfit to be ready, and he is to be sent overseas a few days later. Referring to the war, Adam says that "It's going to be the kind of thing that happens once in a lifetime" (282), and "I've heard so much about it I feel as if I had been there and back" (282). To Miranda he looks "so clear and fresh", "[A]lready the returned hero" (282). That to become a soldier was a matter of honour is also reflected in Miranda's work colleague Chuck's bitterness about not being able to join the army owing to his bad lungs. He frets "a good deal about missing the show" (286) and also strongly opposes women's involvement in the war: "What's the idea of petting soldiers and binding up their wounds and soothing their fevered brows? That's not war. Let them perish where they fall" (287). The government, however, had a well-prepared plan for women on the home front, which was also part of the war propaganda.

² On April 6, 2017.

³ The population of USA in 1917 was a little over 103 million. (<http://demographia.com>)

In the novella, we see Miranda “join a group of young women fresh from the country club dances, the morning bridge, the charity bazaar, the Red Cross workrooms, who were wallowing in good works” (275), on their way to visit soldiers in cantonment hospitals to bring them baskets of goodies they bought with the money they had raised by giving tea dances. Miranda finds such errands useless and is repulsed by the roles the war propaganda ascribes to women:

Bread will win the war, sugar will win, peach pits will win the war. Nonsense. *Not* nonsense, I tell you, there’s some kind of valuable high explosive to be got out of peach pits. So all the happy housewives hurry during the canning season to lay their baskets of peach pits on the altar of their country. It keeps them busy and makes them feel useful, and all these women running wild with the men away are dangerous, if they aren’t given something to keep their little minds out of mischief. (290)

This passage clearly shows that Miranda unmasks the war propaganda, as Mary Titus argues, seeing it as “a way to control potentially disruptive female energy”, which cannot be “channelled into heterosexual relations” because of the absence of men (162). Titus (162) further explains that although many historians have claimed that during the wartime, women gained more professional opportunities because of the absence of a large part of the male population, it was particularly important in this time to control them and limit their independence. One of the ways of controlling women was by assigning them a limited set of roles. Miranda had once taken up a male journalist’s job, but failing at it, she was degraded to writing theatre critiques, a “routine female job” (Porter 275) that she jokingly describes to Adam as: “I write pieces advising other young women to knit and roll bandages and do without sugar and help win the war” (281).

Another important part of the war propaganda presented in the novella is the government’s campaign for selling Liberty bonds to people. In her office, Miranda is approached by two men who come to bully her because she has not bought a Liberty Bond yet: “With our American boys fighting and dying in Belleau Wood [...] anybody can raise fifty dollars to help beat the Boche” (273). They add that this would be “just a pledge of good faith on her part. A pledge of good faith that she was a loyal American doing her duty” (273). Miranda earns only eighteen dollars a week, she can thus hardly afford to buy a bond, for which she would have to put aside five dollars per week. However, the two men, who are doing “the war work at home” (272), make it clear to her that by not buying the bond she might lose her job. According to the Museum

of American Finance, Liberty Bonds were securities issued by the government “to help finance the war effort and build patriotism” (2022), and it has been documented by historians that people who refused to buy them were indeed threatened to lose their job.⁴

Although the pandemic is central to the novella, its impact on society, as we have seen, is not shown as clearly as that of the war. One of the reasons for this might be that the novella covers the early months of the second, more deadly wave of the disease, when people were not aware yet of its dimensions. In Miranda’s dreams, however, both external events, the war and the pandemic, are almost equally reflected.

Dreams as a Way of Understanding an Individual’s Emotional Reality

Given that the major part of the main protagonist Miranda’s inner response to the external events is expressed through dreams and deliriums caused by the deadly flu, it is of importance to introduce briefly the dreams-related theoretical background that will be of use in understanding and interpreting her individual response. Two highly influential figures dealing with dreams were Freud and Jung, both of whom saw the value of dreams in communicating with the unconscious mind. For quite some time, elaborations of dream theory among subsequent theorists in psychoanalysis relied predominantly on Freud, who “rescued the study of dreams from mythmakers, seers, neurologists, and purveyors of the daemonic” by introducing a scientific approach to exploring the “previously unknown and unknowable depths of the unconscious” (Schneider 522) and who approached dreams as a road to wish-fulfilment or as signs of repressed wishes revealed and fulfilled in the very process of dreaming, the analysis of which can point to the roots of behavioural and emotional patterns. A paradigm shift was eventually made by Wilfred Bion, who provided psychoanalysis with “a new schema with which to understand how meaningful connections to the external and internal worlds become established in the mind” (Mellor 2). Notably, Bion departed from Freud by introducing the concept of dreaming in which dreaming represents the key aspect of all emotional functioning or the core of psychological functioning, with the emphasis placed on the very *process* of dreaming, thus exhibiting multiple connections with the contemporary developments in neuroscience. Even though Bion developed and later re-examined a number of ideas concerning dreaming, the most relevant for this article

⁴ For a more detailed depiction of what happened to those who publicly refused to purchase the Bonds, see Hazemali and Matjašič Friš (913).

is the specific link his theory makes between dreaming and the dreamer's current emotional reality, offering a model for how emotional experience is unconsciously processed by the mind through dreaming, occurring concurrently with conscious thinking. According to him, dreams represent the interpretation of the facts of the "experience of external or internal psychic reality" (Bion 45), but also a "symptom of mental indigestion" (68), pointing at the emotional experience that has not been entirely processed yet. In other words, when a person fails to confront negative emotions while awake, the brain tries to process them in the unconscious dreaming state, causing these emotions to surface in dreams. The visual representations found in a person's dream might not be real, but the emotions accompanying them indubitably are, which leads to their "digestion" necessary for mental health. In Mellor's words, "(f)or Bion, it's as a result of this process that we form a receptive internal world in which conscious and unconscious elements are both separate and in communication. At the very crux of this organisation lies the ability to 'dream,' the implications of which centrally include the digestion of emotional experience and a propensity for regenerative growth" (9). Put differently, for Bion, dreaming "involves the pursuit of truth by means of thinking and feeling; the mind is developed through dreaming as we strive to discover what is true to our experience" (Schneider 522). Since emotional experience lived at the conscious level is made available to dreams at the unconscious level, a person is in the position to tackle an emotional problem by juggling different ideas or solutions. As stated by Schneider, one of Bion's ideas left to be developed by others is that "all dreams are visual hallucinations in sleep and therefore reflect the unthought, unthinkable residue of unconscious thinking" (534); that they are "works in progress that – if we are open to them – give us a chance to come to grips with truths that we feel least capable of facing" (521). It is these ideas that the following analysis will be based upon.

Miranda's Dreams as an Affective Response to External Circumstances and a Symptom of Mental Indigestion

As we have seen, the external circumstances covered by K. A. Porter's novella *Pale Horse Pale Rider*, which manifest themselves in war and pandemic, were exceedingly difficult and disheartening. However, even though we follow Miranda's thoughts and reactions in her conscious state, it is not until the series of her dreams and delirious states that the true scope and intensity of her emotional response to external events are revealed. This is where Bion's theory of dreams comes in, with the assertion that the indigested negative emotions in a

person result in dreams in which these same emotions surface, enabling their processing necessary to ensure emotional healing and overall mental health. For this reason, it is right through Miranda's dreams and deliriums that we can pinpoint her predominant and strongest feelings against the background of war and pandemic, the feelings that she has difficulty in digesting. In this chapter, we will focus precisely on these feelings, or rather on Miranda's affective response to the trying and excruciatingly painful external circumstances.

The novella opens with Miranda's first dream. At this point, Miranda is already ill with the influenza without knowing it, as Brooker (216) suggests, having experienced only mild symptoms. In the dream, she finds herself in her childhood home. She remembers seeing a "lank greenish stranger" (Porter 269) the evening before whom she recognizes as Death, for she remembers that several of her relatives went with him. The Pale Rider is now waiting for her on his Pale Horse. Miranda urges her horse to run to escape the stranger, but then suddenly stops the horse and shouts to the stranger, "I'm not going with you this time—ride on!" (Porter 270). The stranger goes away, and Miranda awakes. As Brooker explains (223), Porter used two engravings by Albrecht Dürer as the source of symbolism in Miranda's dream, which both feature Death on a pale horse: *The King, Death, and the Devil* and *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*. In her dream, Miranda interprets this collective Christian symbolism in a personal way, as she sees herself "desperately racing from Death" (Davis 55). The dream is thus a premonition of Miranda's illness, as well as of her close encounter with and near escape from death, for she refuses to go with the pale stranger. As Miranda remembers in her dream her loved ones who died, she suddenly thinks of her own vulnerability: "What else besides them did I have in the world? Nothing. Nothing is mine, I have only nothing but it is enough, it is beautiful and it is all mine. Do I even walk about in my own skin or is it something I have borrowed to spare my modesty?" (Porter 270). In line with Bion's theory that dreams are the interpretation of the facts of one's experience of the "external or internal psychic reality" (Bion 45), we can argue that Miranda's confusion about her identity and the vulnerability that she experiences in this dream reflect her jeopardized identity and vulnerability in real life as a young woman amidst the nightmare of war and the pandemic. There is no doubt that Miranda has been strongly affected by the war, particularly the war propaganda which tries to control women on the home front. Miranda feels that she has been reduced to a set of roles she is supposed to play by the society's war-oriented demands, which she articulates in the question about whether she even wears her own

skin. Like other women, she has been made to take the place of the absent male soldiers who are off to war by taking up a male reporter's job, only to fail at it by trying to reshape it with an agenda of female solidarity. The pressures of war propaganda urge her to simulate perfect, asexual femininity by doing good deeds, such as bringing goodies to hospitalized soldiers, as well as to become an epitome of patriotism by buying Liberty Bonds to support the war effort. Bound to such varying simulacra, Miranda seeks her skin in the contact with the young soldier Adam, but even they 'play' roles, and their relationship is jeopardized by the war and the pandemic. Miranda's first dream thus clearly shows her affective response to the pressures of war propaganda that she experiences and that she is unable to deal with fully in her conscious state. Her feelings of vulnerability and helplessness deepen even further when her symptoms worsen and the illness takes control of her, as we will see in the analysis of two other dreams.

The clues to how Miranda may be feeling prior to these two dreams are suggested first in her conscious state, before their intensity surfaces in the dreams. Miranda finds it difficult to accept the war and all it entails on the home front and, while conscious, tries to use various techniques to come to terms with it but, as the two dreams will show, at first quite unsuccessfully. Initially, when faced with the two fat, "pussy-faced" and "gross-mouthed" (272) men and their attempt to coerce her into buying Liberty Bonds, she feels "nervousness, the sharp beginnings of fear", (272-273), but at the same time she feels a deep urge to resist, seeing this as a kind of humiliating blackmail. She calculates to see if she can afford this investment and tells them she cannot, even though she is aware of the risk of losing her job. Eventually, suppressing her true feelings best encapsulated in her thought "to hell with this filthy war" (273) and pretending to agree with them that this is the best investment one can make, she promises to do it next week if she can.

Miranda's mixed feelings and resistance are also shown during her visit to the hospital with a bouquet of flowers and a basket of sweets and cigarettes for wounded soldiers. Her feeling of embarrassment at "the idiocy of her errand" (276) is best expressed in her comparison of herself to the bitter and hostile soldier who flatly refused her basket: "It is like turning a corner absorbed in your painful thoughts and meeting your state of mind embodied, face to face, she said. 'My own feelings about this whole thing, made flesh. Never again will I come here, this is no sort of thing to be doing. This is disgusting,'" (277). In a brief exchange with another girl with a basket, she openly says that she hates this errand, both of them immediately becoming cautious and concluding

that it may be all right, after all, which once again shows the conflict between her urge to resist and her fear which prevents her from acting differently.

Quite a telling situation takes place during Miranda and Adam's joint attendance at the theatre for her to be able to write a review for the newspaper. Just before the third act, the curtain discloses a huge American flag hung over the backcloth and another fat man in front of it, a Liberty Bond salesman, who launches a tirade, speaking of the "vile Huns", "martyred Belgium", "innocent babes hoisted on Boche bayonets", "war for humanity", "a safe world forever and ever" (293) and the necessity to "get together and buy Liberty Bonds and do without sugar and wool socks" (293), which Miranda, with a headache, tries hard but in vain not to listen to. However, when, typically, after the tirade a song of the audience rings out, she and Adam rise and join in "at the tops of their voices, grinning shamefacedly at each other once or twice" (294). Thus, there is an obvious split in Miranda's mind, which she has not come to terms with yet, as the two following dreams demonstrate.

In her second dream Miranda sees a ghastly sight before her, where death, hell and evil are suggested by the jungle (Schwartz 209): "a writhing terribly alive and secret place of death, creeping with tangles of spotted serpents... screaming long-armed monkeys tumbling among broad fleshy leaves that glowed with sulphur-colored light and exuded the ichor of death, and rotting trunks of unfamiliar trees sprawled in crawling slime" (299). Lying in her bed before this horrifying "Rousseauistic archetypal jungle" (Nance 146), she feels the air trembling "with the shattering scream and the hoarse bellow of voices all crying together" (299). In the deafening clamour of voices, in which the words danger and war repetitively distinguish themselves, with her soul split apart, she sees herself running onto the deck and waving gaily back to herself in bed, while a tall sailing ship sails into the jungle. Obviously, Miranda's mind is deeply penetrated by war, its horrors translated into a terrifying jungle full of creepy squeaky creatures, which reveals the depth of her fear. The deep split in her soul is reflected in this sight of her, unsurprised, watching her other self drifting promptly and joyfully into the horrors. This picture seems highly symbolic as Miranda, who sees the war as a blood-chilling jungle, is tied to bed, helpless, unable to react while watching the other self, the one changed by war, on the way to conforming and thus becoming someone else, one of the screeching creatures in the jungle of war. Thus, the true, authentic Miranda is petrified of the possibility of being poisoned by war and war campaign and thus losing herself.

While in the previous dream Miranda dreads the potential loss of identity, in the fourth dream, which takes place while she is in hospital fighting for her life, her great fear of becoming someone else reaches its pinnacle, with her delving into the dark depths of her personality. This dream features Dr. Hildesheim, who is kind to her and takes great care of her, eventually saving her life against all odds. However, the doctor's surname – Hildesheim, obviously reveals his German origin, opening space for prejudices. Thus, ironically, despite his more than friendly and professional attitude as a doctor treating her, in her dream he turns into the epitome of evil, an image from the anti-German war posters and speeches flooding American cities, which she abhorred: "Across the field came Dr. Hildesheim, his face a skull beneath his German helmet, carrying a naked infant writhing on the point of his bayonet, and a huge stone pot marked Poison in Gothic letters. He stopped before the well that Miranda remembered in a pasture on her father's farm, a well once dry but now bubbling with living water, and into its pure depths he threw the child and the poison" (309). Terrified, Miranda screams and howls like a wolf, "Hildesheim is a Boche, a spy, a Hun, kill him, kill him before he kills you..." (309). Evidently trying to exorcise the evil he, as a Hun torturer, represents, she awakes howling, only to hear a torrent of accusing and offensive words addressed to Dr. Hildesheim tumbling from her own mouth. Appalled to witness her own attack on the kind doctor simply because he is German, before she drifts into sleep again, Miranda weakly tries to assure him, sitting by her side and comforting her, that she never believed what she said. If in the second dream Miranda struggles with the fear of being on the way to becoming someone else, in this dream she is horrified to see that she has already become someone else by succumbing to the images of the war propaganda, whose language she has obviously unconsciously but deeply absorbed. In other words, she has become one of the screeching creatures. In these two dreams, it becomes obvious what her fears are and that she still has not come to terms with her position nor has she digested these feelings.

In between the two previously described dreams, Miranda has another dream in which her feelings and concerns for Adam come to the front. Again, these feelings are suggested in her conscious state, too. Notably, Adam's life is threatened both by his imminent departure overseas to the front with his Engineers Corps, or sapping party, whose average survival time on the front was extremely short, and by the danger of being close to Miranda when she is laid up in bed with the deadly flu. While awake, Miranda sees Adam as someone whom she likes and could love, but "it was no good even imagining, because he was

not for her nor for any woman, being beyond experience already, committed without any knowledge or act of his own to death" (283-284). She is obviously aware that his chances of survival are very slim, practically non-existent, and she tries to be rational, but every now and then the thought of his death, uninvited, pops into her head showing that she is by no means at peace with it. Thus, for example, coming down to meet him in a restaurant after work one night, "[f]or just one split second she got a glimpse of Adam when he would have been older, the face of the man he would not live to be" (295). Some of her references to his death are more generic. For example, after the theatre performance which, typically, was interrupted by a promoter of war and Liberty Bonds sales, Miranda expresses her annoyance at the fate of young men in the war: "Just another nasty old man who would like to see the young ones killed, ... the tom-cats try to eat the little tom-kittens, you know" (294), adding immediately a direct reference to Adam which explains her reaction: "I hate these potbellied baldheads, too fat, too old, too cowardly, to go to war themselves, they know they're safe; it's you they are sending instead—" (294). Furthermore, at perhaps the most touching and most intimate moment in the novella, but this time when Miranda has seriously fallen ill and possibly facing death herself, in the brief span of consciousness between her more and more frequent delirious states, she and Adam try to make the most of the remaining time alive and together. Eager to learn as much as possible about the other, they ask each other questions about themselves. Eventually, anticipating the state of mourning, they sing together the old Negro spiritual about love and death in which the pale rider has taken away the singer's members of the family and the lover. However, Miranda reminds Adam that the singer is still alive, as "(d)earth always leaves one singer to mourn" (304), and they sing the song aware that only one of them will survive. Finally, in the other episodes of consciousness during her illness, Miranda repetitively makes reference to the fresh air and the necessity for Adam to keep a safe distance from her while looking after her in order for him not to contract the influenza himself: "Give me a cigarette, will you, and light one for yourself and open all the windows and sit near one of them. You're running a risk," she told him, "don't you know that? Why do you do it?" (300) Or on another occasion, "Light me a cigarette, please, and move over and sit near the window. We keep forgetting about fresh air. You must have it." (303) Thus, it is evident that Miranda, while conscious, is concerned about Adam's life and actively thinks about protecting him.

However, the true emotional intensity related to the treat to Adam's life, as well as Miranda's fear that she might infect Adam, is seen

in her subconscious state, in her third dream, the dream of arrows. After a brief moment of weariness and dispiritedness with the sudden thought of giving up, Miranda floats into darkness

holding his hand, in sleep that was not sleep but clear evening light in a small green wood, an angry dangerous wood full of inhuman concealed voices singing sharply like the whine of arrows and she saw Adam transfixed by a flight of these singing arrows that struck him in the heart and passed shrilly cutting their path through the leaves. Adam fell straight back before her eyes, and rose again unwounded and alive; another flight of arrows loosed from the invisible bow struck him again and he fell, and yet he was there before her untouched in a perpetual death and resurrection (304-305).

Once again, in this emblematic play of death and resurrection, Miranda's fears come to the fore. She is petrified to see Adam repeatedly hit by arrows, each time wondrously getting up, only to be struck and to fall again. Feeling an overwhelming urge to protect him, but symbolically also wishing to experience sexual climax with him associated with death,⁵ she throws herself before him to take the arrows into her own body, but all in vain. The arrows pass through her heart leaving her unwounded, while Adam falls, and this time remains dead. At this moment, meaningfully, "every branch and leaf and blade of grass had its own terrible accusing voice" (305), revealing the very nature and depth of Miranda's feelings. The dreadful guilt, fuelled by the foreboding that Adam will die right because of her, is omnipresent and overpowering, as the potential role of a death-dealer is something she fears most. However, there is more to her feelings, not just fear and guilt. At one point her words will show childish jealousy, too. While throwing herself before Adam to protect him, Miranda cries like a child who has been treated unfairly: "It's my turn now, why must you always be the one to die?" (305), thus exhibiting her acute sense of gender inequality and the accompanying emotions that she obviously has not managed to digest yet. More precisely, she shows high indignation over the confining role of women on the home front and her feeling that men, having at least the possibility of dying, are in a more favourable position. This, again, is shown far less dramatically in Miranda's conscious state,

⁵ John Edward Hardy writes that such an association is embodied in the ambiguity of the word *die* in Elizabethan poetry. According to him, Miranda's dream reveals her fear that one or both of them will die before they can consummate their love. (Hardy, 1973: 77-86)

when Adam speaks about the detrimental effects of smoking, as they both smoke heavily, only to end with the question whether it matters so much when one is going to war, to which Miranda simply replies, “No... and it matters even less if you’re staying at home knitting socks.” (280), voicing the same idea of men being privileged. One more time the intensity of her emotions is revealed in her dream, which shows that she has not digested these negative feelings but at the same time her brain struggles to process/overcome them in order to heal and ensure mental health.

Miranda’s fifth and final dream, the one about her own death, exhibits another affective response before she eventually survives influenza and leaves the hospital, facing the world with her greatest fears finally digested and her mental health at least partially restored. Just as is the case with her other feelings, her feelings of weakness and hopelessness are suggested while she is awake, too. An outburst of emotions, with an urge to escape, occurs after the visit of a little drab man from the show business, who comes to threaten the dramatic critic who has “panned” him in that morning’s issue of the newspaper and who turns out to be Miranda. When the incident ends thanks to Miranda’s colleague Chuck, Miranda is disheartened and caves in: “There’s too much of everything in this world just now. I’d like to sit down here on the curb, Chuck, and die, and never again see – I wish I could lose my memory and forget my own name... I wish –” (289). Later on, after the touching moment with Adam when they sing together the old spiritual anticipating the state of mourning, Miranda is weary again and has demoralizing thoughts: “I must give up, I can’t hold out any longer. There was only that pain, only that room, and only Adam. There were no longer any multiple planes of living, no tough filaments of memory and hope pulling taut backwards and forwards holding her upright between them” (304). It is obvious that, pressed by social distortions and constraints caused primarily by war and pandemic, Miranda sees her own death as more and more appealing, as an escape from the drab and oppressive reality. Therefore, the picture of death in her mind emerges as a blissful sight.

This will be clearly seen in her last dream in hospital when her medical condition rapidly deteriorates, leading her to the verge of death. In this dream, Miranda returns to her childhood with the image of herself poised on a narrow ledge over a bottomless pit of eternity. After straining back against a comforting rock, she finally convinces herself there is nothing to fear and lets herself go down the pit, sinking silently “through deeps under deeps of darkness until she lay like a stone at the farthest bottom of life, knowing herself to be blind, deaf,

speechless, no longer aware of the members of her own body" (310), with all thoughts, doubts, family ties and desires dissolving and falling away from her. It is obvious that Miranda identifies death as oblivion, and oblivion, stripping one of all knowledge and memory, brings relief, which is why she embraces death as the final solution to all her problems in the surrounding world beset by war, pandemic, and madness. The relief is embodied in the heavenly serenity that ensues in her dream. Diminished into a "burning particle of being" (310), Miranda, enraptured, "looked upon a deep clear landscape of sea and sand, of soft meadow and sky, freshly washed and glistening with transparencies of blue. Why, of course, of course, said Miranda, without surprise but with serene rapture as if some promise made to her had been kept long after she had ceased to hope for it..." (311). In this blissful scenery lit by "a fine radiance" (311), there are no ghastly images with an angry wood, gruesome jungle and a clamour of screeching voices. Free from the conflicting memory, from the oppressions of her mind and her surroundings, from pain, Miranda is enchanted and ecstatic, enjoying this mystical experience, seeing in it all the living people she has met and known, standing mesmerized in all their beauty, reduced to the very essence of their identity unburdened by any conflicting relations and hostile thoughts. This appears as her vision of paradise that she relishes; however, she does not seem to be entirely at peace with it since in the second part of the same dream a different emotion will prevail. Miranda is unexpectedly disturbed by a vague sense of unease as she feels a kind of emptiness, as if something/someone was missing. At that moment, she feels agonizing pain and emotional distress, mirroring her pain and distress in real life. However, ironically, it turns out that the pain and distress in her dream herald her return to life, both physically and mentally. Right at the moment of great pain, an *injection of strychnine is given to her by Dr. Hildesheim as the last attempt at saving Miranda's life and she, miraculously, is brought back to life*. Thus, despite the great relief she feels with oblivion that comes with death, Miranda's life force triumphs over death, with the process of mental healing well underway but by no means complete.

Once awake, one of the first signs of her will to live is the earnest request she makes to the nurse after regaining her consciousness: "Please open the window, please, I smell death in here" (313). So for the first time Miranda is eager to see death away from herself. However, that the process of healing is not complete is seen in her feelings before leaving the hospital. She feels alienated and depressed in the drab world where "a promise of day... is never kept" (313). She looks around like "an alien who does not like the country in which he finds himself, does

not understand the language nor wish to learn it" (313). The contrast between her bright vision in the mystical dream and the grim world around her is unbearable to her, which manifests in her bouts of sadness: "At night, after the long effort of lying in her chair, in her extremity of grief for what she had so briefly won, she folded her painful body together and wept silently, shamelessly, in pity for herself and her lost rapture" (314). Miranda also feels deceived to have returned to life and not to have found Adam back: "Adam, she said, now you need not die again, but still I wish you were here; I wish you had come back, what do you think I came back for, Adam, to be deceived like this?" (317)

Thus, having survived, Miranda has a hard time accepting the reality so different from her own vision of paradise, finding her own place in the reality, and at the same time accepting that she will have to do without Adam. However, just before leaving the hospital, Miranda shows that, despite her physical exhaustion, she has made a step forward digesting some of the new and old developments and the accompanying pain. For one thing, somewhat theatrically though, she carefully selects the beauty products and accessories for her departure to make herself ready to face the world: lipstick, perfume, apricot powder, "gray suede gauntlets", "gray sheer stockings", a silvery wooden stick "with a silver knob" (316) and so on. Her theatrical imaginary exchange with Lazarus, who, quite symbolically, was brought back to life by Jesus, is richly connotative, with her coming forth with a "top hat and stick" (316). However, perhaps the most indicative of the healing process is her attitude to Adam and his death. Notably, Miranda, naturally, being in love with Adam, mourns his death and expresses a burning desire to see him at least one more time. However, there are no signs of guilt, formerly suggested in Miranda's repetitive appeals to Adam to open the window and reaching its peak in the dream of arrows, especially in the accusing sounds echoing across the jungle, even though she now knows for sure that he died of flu that he had contracted from her. This indicates that Miranda has had the capacity to process the feeling in her dream, thus helping herself to start healing. Also, right after letting herself, trembling, in the process of grieving, to try "by the mere act of her will to bring him to sight before her" (317), hearing her own voice speaking out loud she becomes conscious of this act of irrationality: "The room was silent, empty, the shade was gone from it, struck away by the sudden violence of her rising and speaking aloud. She came to herself as if out of sleep. Oh, no, that is not the way, I must never do that, she warned herself" (317).

With her taxicab waiting, Miranda finally leaves the hospital "with her walking stick,...crippled by her first journey and preparing for her

next" (Youngblood 351), the next journey towards death, that is. She has obviously undergone a deeply traumatic experience, but she has shown the capacity to recover, both physically and mentally, even though at the end we do not see her fully recovered yet. According to Davis (70), her state of mind is accurately reflected in the final passage, depicting the city in the moment of her departure: "No more war, no more plague, only the dazed silence that follows the ceasing of the heavy guns; noiseless houses with the shades drawn, empty streets, the dead cold light of tomorrow" (317). Just like Miranda, the city has been shaken by the war and the pandemic and all that they bring along; however, just like Miranda, it is not ruined but has the capacity to recover, even though the recovery will take time. Life has paused for a moment in both of them, with silence and emptiness being predominant and yet, both Miranda and the city have survived. While silence for the city at this moment signals tranquillity after the chaos, for Miranda it may signal her calmness, now that she has digested the negative feelings and agony. The light of tomorrow is cold, but it is still light and, after all, "there would be time for everything" (317) now.

Conclusion

The novella *Pale Horse Pale Rider* is set at the peak of the nightmare of contemporary history as it captures the moment when two devastating global scourges coincided: WWI and the Spanish flu pandemic. With its action taking place in Denver, Colorado, an ocean away from combat, the novella does not treat the destruction of bomb shells; however, the cultural and societal fall and degradation caused by the war and the pandemic are huge, having a massive impact on people's lives and their mental state. Being a modernist work, the novella takes an internal perspective, mostly through the main protagonist Miranda's dreams, deeply embedded in the external depiction of the city and society radically affected by war and pandemic. Employing Bion's theory of dreams in analyzing Miranda's dreams and deliriums has enabled us an insight into Miranda's subconscious emotional states as her response to what was happening in her life and her surroundings. The war and particularly war propaganda have proven to be the most important external circumstances affecting Miranda, revealing her vulnerability as a woman on the home front and her indigested emotions as a response to those circumstances. Another important external circumstance with a major effect on Miranda is the pandemic, which is shown to affect her even more personally, almost intimately, as she falls ill with the disease and almost dies of it. Her affective response to this circumstance surfaces in her first dream,

which serves as a kind of premonition, and in the dream which reveals her deep concern for Adam and the worry that she might have infected him. However, despite the fierce intensity of emotional response revealed right in the dreams, the very process of dreaming has actually exhibited Miranda's capacity to finally digest these negative emotions and move on with her life. The analysis of dreams using Bion's theory has thus provided us with an illuminating insight into continuous interplay of individual (sub)consciousness and excruciatingly painful external events, but at the same enabled us to better understand the mechanisms leading one to regenerative growth even after the most traumatic events.

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AGONIJA GRADA, AGONIJA UMA: NEPREKIDNA MEĐUIGRA INDIVIDUALNE (POD)SVIJESTI I SPOLJNIH DOGAĐAJA U NOVELI *BLIJEDI KONJ, BLIJEDI JAHAČ* K. E. PORTER

Ovaj rad bavi se poluautobiografskom modernističkom novelom Ketrin En Porter *Blijedi konj, blijedi jahač*, jednim od rijetkih književnih djela sa direktnim osvrtom na pandemiju španskog gripa tokom Prvog svjetskog rata. Rad najprije pruža kratak pregled kritičkih pristupa noveli, smještajući je u književni kanon pošasti, da bi se potom usredsredio na rat i pandemiju kao spoljašnje faktore koji, kako se pokazuje, ne samo da mijenjaju lice društva već i duboko utiču na čovjekov unutarnji svijet. Kako glavna protagonistkinja Miranda započinje tešku borbu sa gripom koji je ophrvao, čitalac dobija pristup njenoj podsvijesti kroz niz snova i deliričnih stanja koje Miranda doživljava tokom bolesti. Njeni snovi u radu će se analizirati uz primjenu Bionove teorije snova kako bi se pokazalo da oni predstavljaju Mirandin afektivni odgovor na spoljašnju realnost ali i njen kapacitet da se izbori sa prethodno još neprocesuiranim emocijama.

Ključne riječi: Ketrin En Porter, *Blijedi konj, blijedi jahač*, teorija snova, španski grip, pandemija, Prvi svjetski rat

DOMINATION, SERVITUDE AND COMMODITY FETISHISM IN HAROLD PINTER'S *THE HOMECOMING*

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Abstract: The struggle for domination clearly persists in *The Homecoming* as it does in almost all of Pinter's works. Because of the vague atmosphere, enigmatic characters, and dark, tragicomic dialogue and action, a single decisive meaning for the play cannot be identified. Many character analyses have been carried out on the play, frequently focusing on Ruth and her decision at the end. Moreover, critics have sought to read the play in the light of psychoanalysis, centering on the characters' past and complexes. By adding a sociopolitical dimension to purely realistic or symbolic readings, this article attempts to analyze the relationships of domination and servitude between characters at the micro-level of the family structure through Marx's notions of fetishism in relations between individuals, and commodity fetishism as expounded by Slavoj Žižek. With the help of Žižek's ideas on ideology, a new layer of sociopolitical signification to the relationships held between characters is added, particularly that between Ruth and the men, which is seen as a parallel to the macro-level fetishized relationships in pre-capitalist societies and commodity fetishism in a capitalist one.

Keywords: *The Homecoming*, Harold Pinter, relations of domination and servitude, commodity fetishism, ideology, Žižek

Introduction

The Homecoming centers on the eldest son of the family, Teddy, paying a visit to his family and home in London with his wife whom they have never met. This introduction has been postponed for more than six years and is even delayed at the night that they arrive at home. After several struggles, chaotic and shocking conversations and happenings throughout the next day between all characters, Ruth agrees to a somewhat inexplicit contract to stay with the family and Teddy goes to return to their children and academic life in America.

In *Pinter A Study of His Plays* (1976), Martin Esslin presents two layers of readings for the play:

It is my conviction that *The Homecoming*, while being a poetic image of a basic human situation, can also stand up to the most meticulous examination as a piece of realistic theatre, and that, indeed, its achievement is the perfect fusion of extreme realism with the quality of an archetypal dream image of wish fulfilment. (149)

He elaborates on both levels starting with the realistic one. He argues that in their youth, Max and Mac were working as pimps, Sam may have also been the driver for them. Jessie may have been a prostitute (since Lenny asks about his conception and Max is enraged). Moreover, Ruth might have been “a prostitute or near-prostitute” (Esslin 151) before her new life. In this regard, they become accountable to behave as they do in the play. However, a realistic reading of the play is very problematic since all of the suggestions come with a condition: if that is the situation. This is because the past remains ambiguous even when characters talk of it as they just reproduce narratives of the experiences which do not provide solid information. As Anita R. Osherow points out similarly, there is no hard proof for definite images of what they may have been in the past as we merely come to know of it through the tales of the characters themselves. In an article centering on Ruth’s character, Penelope Prentice questions the realistic readings of Esslin and Quigley arguing they presuppose that the model for the body stands for being a “nude photographic model” or a “euphemism for prostitute” (Osherow 462). Hugo Bowles argues that the narrative of the characters are not in the traditional format of adding information to the overall plot. He addresses the sense of oddness in the stories told by characters suggesting the oddness to be “interactional”: “a mismatch between audience expectations of *the way stories are conventionally told* and the way the story is told on the stage” (Bowles p. 47). Moreover, analyzing several narratives by the characters, he points that for example through the way Max tells the story of his father’s deathbed and silences Sam, he asserts his “ownership of the family discourse” (Bowles 52). Comparing Lenny’s way of storytelling with Max’s, Bowles contends that “his stories are as self-aggrandizing as Max’s are but, unlike Max, he needs the stories to be taken seriously because they seem to be targeted at the new arrivals in the house” (Bowles 54).

On another level, Esslin suggests that the play can be a “metaphor of human desires and aspirations, a myth, a dream image, a projection of archetypal fears and wishes” (Esslin 153). In light of psychoanalysis,

he explores the play like a dream of the characters' oedipal desires. The sons take back their mother young and beautiful as a sexual partner and the father is defeated on his knees on the ground. Although this analysis of the latent content of the dream may be congruent in terms of psychological ground, it ignores the form of the dream or dream-work itself. Borrowing Habermas's formula, Slavoj Žižek maintains that the structure of interpreting dreams is always triple. These elements include "the manifest dream-text, the latent dream-content or thought and the unconscious desire articulated in a dream" (Žižek 6). Therefore, the real subject matter of the dream or the unconscious desire is elaborated in the form of the dream or dream-work.

One of the most crucial and puzzling aspects of the play remains the motive for Ruth's decision. Osherow explores the role of woman in the play arguing that Ruth, regardless of the role she takes, "is placed in a position of dominance at the center of power, establishing her command and reigning in full control of the situation at the end of the play" (423). At the end, she is "both victim and victimizer" (Osherow 431). By explaining the significance of the knocked down wall on the set, she proposes that the family is in search of filling the role of Jessie, the mother, and the lack of her presence determines the action of the play. Furthermore, this points out how Max's dual role as mother-father figure "has made Max devoid of any definable sexual identity" (Osherow 425). When Max learns that Ruth is a mother, he is assured that her presence will help him regain his power and retain "an emasculated household" (Osherow 427).

Highlighting the parallel myths and biblical stories in the play, Katherine H. Burkman suggests, "civilization is seen at its most cynical when Ruth closes the deal on her new relationship with the "contract ritual" of modern life," which is in opposition with the "primitive ritual movement" in the content of the contract (Burkman 111). She asserts that thus parallel to the opposition, Ruth is "both victim and victor" in a combined role of "mother, wife, and whore". By suggesting the mixed role, Burkman contends that it is not clear "who will be most exploited in the new family arrangements" (21). The "contract ritual" that she points to could imply a political side to the new situation she is put. This "contract" will be further discussed in light of commodity fetishism in this article.

In an essay, Austin Quigley pinpoints the political side of Pinter's plays by discussing that the issues are not raised from defined "institutional base" with a clear political program, rather it requires the audience "to explore the complexities of local social exchange in terms of local social contracts, both those invoked by the characters and those

emerging from their interaction” (Quigley p. 15). In this respect, he notes the “contractual” relationship between the characters which often combines personal, family, and professional concerns, for example in *The Lover*, *Tea Party*, *The Homecoming*, *The Dwarfs*, and *A Dumb Waiter*. In addition, he argues that these “abstract” relations between “the governing and governed” leads to “local community organisation” instead of “larger social governance” (Quigley 17). However, by drawing a parallel connection between the social contracts in micro-level and macro-level, one could argue that there may be resemblances between the two orders which may have affected Pinter’s writing in his political unconscious. The small-scale representation of social contracts in Pinter could be aligned with larger context ideological contracts. Additionally, it should be highlighted that drawing a connection between Pinter’s local social space and a larger social system is not to reduce it to that mere link as interpretation proliferates in Pinter’s work.

Richard M. Coe suggests that in *The Homecoming*, “Ruth makes a choice which moves her from one situation to another and the dominance relations of the characters are modified accordingly” (489). Consequently, Coe proposes that there are three layers of communication between the characters: first, information transmission to produce a change; second, the layer for “successful conscious transmission of trivial information” (489); and third and the most important one, communication on the level of “relationship”. He argues that by refusing to let Lenny take her glass, Ruth “is concerned not with the *use-value* of the glass, but with its *exchange value* as a signifier of power” (Coe 489). Taking Gregory Bateson’s distinction between the report and command aspects of any communication, he notes that “in the bulk of human (as, for that matter, in all mammalian) communications we are more concerned with how people relate to us than with the truth-value of their information” (Coe 490). Thus the content or the message becomes subordinate to the context and form. Coe’s argument could be developed more in order to add a link with the relations of power in the shift from a feudal society to a capitalist one.

As suggested by Penelope Prentice “the struggle to win dominance over another... is also the primary means by which characters gain identity” (469). This points out a significant issue that in Lacanian sense of a master and slave relationship, the parties gain and define their identity in relation to another. The one who dominates can be the master only in case of determining one in the position of slave to him. Žižek suggests that Marx’s notion of fetishism of relations parallels both

this Lacanian Master and Slave relation and Hegelian Lordship and Bondage.

Commodity Fetishism

In *The Sublime Object of Ideology* first published in 1989, Žižek maintains that Marx adapted the notions in viewing the passage of a feudal society to a capitalist one. Parallel to Lacan's idea of mirror stage, Žižek quotes from Marx's *Capital*, "Man first sees and recognizes himself in other men." (19). As Lacan holds that after a child recognizes their self in the projected image in the mother or a mirror and then with the introduction of the symbolic order, the mother becomes the Other ((m)Other) whom the child now understands is not totally in their service and has desires of her own. This could indicate both a feeling of insufficiency and anxiety of losing domination with the "symbolic castration", something repeatedly evident in Max in *The Homecoming*. Žižek takes up the constructed or fictional quality of the big Other, the symbolic order, when he notes that being the object of the Other's gaze satisfies the subject as it reaffirms its existence and identity while it is itself based on the void of the ego and the lack in symbolic order. Furthermore, pointing out the Lacanian formula of fantasy with the barred subject "trapped by the Other", Žižek approaches the reality-structuring of ideological fantasy. He argues that "ideology is not a dreamlike illusion that we build to escape insupportable reality; in its basic dimension it is a fantasy-construction which serves as a support for our 'reality' itself: an 'illusion' which structures our effective, real social relations and thereby masks some insupportable, real, impossible kernel" (45). The Other is always there and the feeling of lack of a *jouissance* or the *objet petite a* being taken from the subject is attributed to the other. On a similar note, Žižek asserts that Marx continues the homology to commodities: "the other commodity (B) is an equivalent only in so far as A relates to it as to the form-of-appearance of its own value, only within this relationship" (Žižek 20). The example of Marx for "reflexive determination" is given again from *Capital* in the relation between a king and his subjects: "For instance, one man is king only because other men stand in the relation of subjects to him. They, on the contrary, imagine that they are subjects because he is king" (Žižek 20). This shows the fetishistic misrecognition which includes an inverse appearance for the participants in the social bond. As a result, the subjects do not realize that without them being in the role of subjects the king would not be a king; the misrecognition makes them think that "being-a-king were a natural property of the person of the king" (Žižek 20).

Žižek continues with the notion of commodity fetishism in capitalist societies, arguing that in capitalism “relations between men are definitely not ‘fetishized’; what we have here are relations between ‘free’ people, each following his or her egoistic interest” (21). In contrast with pre-capitalistic societies, in which natural production, “not production for the market”, predominates, in capitalism the form of interrelations between people “is not domination and servitude, but a *contract* between free people who are equal in the eyes of the law” (Žižek 21). He concludes that “it is as if the retreat of the Master in capitalism was only a *displacement*” (Žižek 22). Therefore, the place of fetishism shifts from inter-subjective relations to relations between things in the passage from feudalism to capitalism. In other words, as Žižek points out, it becomes disguised under the relations between commodities. Accordingly, prostitution allures both parties, namely Ruth and the men, and becomes a commodity that is fetishized. The very significant point lies here in that this shift could parallel Ruth’s decision when she accepts to stay, as they agree on a “contract” with a “capital investment” turning the fetishism of prostitution to between things rather than between the characters’ interrelations.

A Closer Look at *The Homecoming*

In the following, first, the struggle of dominance in the relations of the characters will be analyzed and then put to parallel application with Marx’s notions of fetishized relations between men or relations of domination and servitude (corresponding with feudal societies) and commodity fetishism (corresponding with capitalist societies), as elaborated by Žižek.

Before their arrival, the hostile environment of the house is established in the relation between Max, the fading patriarch father, and his two sons and brother. It should be noted that all the information Pinter gives us in the characters list is just their ages like his other plays. Lenny’s reaction “why don’t you shut up, you daft prat?” (Pinter 7) to the simple inquiry of Max is shocking to audience who are starting to guess their relation. Max is aware of his getting old and losing his traditional influence, yet he denies facing the reality and seeks to force his dominance by resorting to anecdotes of the past and projecting himself through his friend, Mac. He jumps from talking about Mac to remembering his wife with a pause. As considered by many critics, his oscillating stance and words for Jessie between angel/whore binary comes up throughout the play. Thus he is unsure of his desire for a woman figure which complicates his character. Yet his obsession with the woman figure, and the way he defines it, indicates the point that the

role he assigns to a woman and how he relates to that is fetishized which comes with a misrecognition.

Max's relation with all of the members of family is that of casting dominion which ironically rises from his lack of or losing domination. In every conversation he has with others, he turns it toward himself and twists it to belittle the other person finding "lacks" even unrelated to the topic. In this respect, Hugo Bowles scrutinizes the narratives Max incorporates in his conversations and argues that his purpose is self-aggrandizing and emphasizing his ownership of the family discourse. For example, when Sam talks of his being the best in his business as a chauffeur, Max tries to work on what he considers to be privileges, or in other words fetishizes, such as being youthful and having a wife or rather a woman figure in life and directs that to Sam in order to secure his role in power:

Max. It's funny you never got married, isn't it? A man with all your gifts.

Pause.

Isn't it? A man like you?

Sam. There's still time.

Max. Is there? (Pinter 14)

Nonetheless, Žižek comments on this supposed "distortion of reality" observable in Max's ideological behavior that gives it existence: Ideology is not simply a 'false consciousness', an illusory representation of reality, it is rather this reality itself which is already to be conceived as ideological – 'ideological' is a social reality whose very existence implies the non-knowledge of its participants as to its essence – that is, the social effectivity, the very production of which implies that the individuals 'do not know what they are doing'. 'Ideological' is not the false consciousness of a (social) being but this being itself so far as it is supported by 'false consciousness' (12, 13).

The family keeps up this struggle for domination until they meet Ruth who subtly comes to destabilize their ways. As they arrive at home, Ruth resists all of the suggestions Teddy offers despite that none seems forceful or abusive. Her cold, powerful, non-reactionary stance is in opposition with Max's who reacts immediately to any kind of threat to his role. Likewise, she keeps up this behavior when she meets Lenny, who has told anecdotes of his being harsh toward women to establish his dominion, in the famous struggle to take away her glass: "If you take the glass... I'll take you." (Pinter 34). Lenny's ideological position is

similar to that of Max's. Nonetheless, it should be noted that Lenny rationalizes his acts of domination such as saying that "it seems to be in the way of your glass" (Pinter 33) when he wants to take away the ashtray before the glass struggle. Even when his excuse is rejected by Ruth he seeks another and projects it to that as in "The glass was about to fall. Or the ashtray. I'm rather worried about the carpet" (Pinter 33). In this regard, Lenny's struggle of domination is undercover and unlike the stories he tells of the past not brutal. Additionally, as the tension intensifies between Ruth and Lenny, she becomes more intrusive as she suggests him to "Have a sip from my glass" and "Sit on my lap. Take long cool sip" (Pinter 34) or more extremely "Lie on the floor. Go on. I'll pour it down your throat" (Pinter 34). As a result, Lenny is baffled since his image of women, on whom he has always forced dominion, his ideological perception which makes up his reality is shattered and he withdraws quickly. Lenny's view is not obstructed by an ideological lens, rather it is Ruth that lends him her lenses. He feels a touch of the real situation not his misrecognized and fetishized one. He can only think of the sexual innuendos in Ruth's words and actions which do not seem congruent with her solid character. He then projects his bafflement by asking his father about the night of his conception. In this way he tries to recover the image of women he has always had by insinuating that Jessie was a prostitute. Accordingly, he resists defetishization of the role he defines in relation with women.

The same non-reactionary stance continues when Max meets Ruth and instantly labels her as a "dirty tart" or "pox-ridden slut". Similar to Lenny, his image of women, his ideological perception that enables him to define his reality, includes merely "whores" and he demands Joey to throw them out. He cracks when Joey blurts out "he's an old man" (Pinter 42); again his insecurity about losing his domination and getting old is stirred. She does not utter a single word about the offending phrases and his overreaction. Conversely, her mere presence destabilizes the relations between the men and a chaotic scene is drawn as Max hits Joey in the stomach and Sam with his stick and he himself collapses. In their relation, Ruth does not do anything yet; Max's endangered fetishized perception of a woman figure in the household and the way relations are rendered through it cause all the chaos. It could be argued that this non-verbal reaction is to avoid the symbolic order or reality governed or rather constructed through ideology. Shattering the order or dissolution of it would result in non-existence of reality when the reality of the ideological subject is constructed through ideology. Subsequently, he is calmed when he gets to know that Ruth is a mother and has three children which probably leads him to relate her

to Jessie and evokes her figure in his mind. As Anita R. Osherow suggests that they are in search of filling the role of Jessie, probably a new way opens up in front of Max's eyes in order to fill in the role of Jessie and relieve the situation and relation this time more dominantly. Therefore, his reality is again saved from disintegration.

In the beginning of Act Two after the family has had lunch, Max is rebuilding his past with Jessie through recounting his memories and his fetishistic view. He is reproducing the past leaving out unwanted parts such as when he talks of his "negotiations with a top-class group of butchers with continental connections" (Pinter 46). However, Ruth disrupts his fine narrative with a simple question "What happened to the group of butchers?" (Pinter 46). To recover his stance, Max again turns or rather projects his dominion by trying to belittle Sam and compare his job with his supposedly successful life: "All his life he's sat in the front seat giving lovely hand signals. You call that work? This man doesn't know his gearbox from his arse" (Pinter 47). But how Max reconstructs the past through the stories he tells is probably in fact how he wants it to be for which he sees an opportunity with Ruth, hence the fetishism in the relations intensifies with an exacerbated self-blindness. Considering Marx's notion of ideology, Max does not know this, but he is doing it. However, as Žižek notes, according to Frankfurt School, the main point is "how the reality itself cannot reproduce itself without this so-called ideological mystification" (25). Thus the ideological distortion is "written into its essence". To see his behavior under Žižek's view, Max is not misrecognizing the reality but the illusion which is constructing that reality. Žižek raises the concept of "ideological fantasy" discussing the double effect of this illusion. He further develops the Marxian notion of ideological illusion in "knowing", suggesting, with the example of money, that people are "fetishists in practice".

As Max tries to establish his domination over the family with his stories of the past, Lenny, having tried a similar strategy the other night, turns to challenge Teddy's knowledge in philosophy. He presents his ideas and questions on Christianity, existence or "all this business of being and not-being" (Pinter 52) to undermine his supposedly authentic knowledge and gain dominance over him. Perhaps, he also takes into consideration that Ruth is present and hearing. Teddy evades the questions, but Ruth takes over his position and negates Lenny's discussion and clearly points to the medium and form of existence rather than its meaning or content with examples including her leg and lips.

RUTH. Don't be too sure though. You've forgotten something. Look at me. I ... move my leg. That's all it is. But I wear ... underwear ...

which moves with me ... it ... captures your attention. Perhaps you misinterpret. The action is simple. It's a leg ... moving. My lips move. Why don't you restrict ... your observations to that? Perhaps the fact that they move is more significant ... than the words which come through them. You must bear that ... possibility ... in mind. (Pinter 52, 53)

Next, Teddy becomes overwhelmed and suggests they cut their trip short. Similar to how he evades the struggles in conversations, he wants to depart quickly to prevent the situation from worsening, specifically since Ruth has just told that America is a barren place filled with insects. Kenneth Bernard notes the implied opposition between America, the Promised Land, and England in the play arguing that "one is ideality; the other reality" (Bernard, p. 116). Bernard suggests that the family expect Teddy, who is returning from the Promised Land that is America, to "redeem them from the meanness of their lives", but he brings another "Eve" with him (Bernard 117). Ruth tries to make Teddy face the real feeling he has towards his family and home, hence defetishize the misrecognized image of family relations he had held, yet he again evades and resists. After he goes up to pack, Lenny and Ruth, having talked about her being a model before her life with Teddy, dance and kiss. Teddy is passive, subordinated, and helpless as Ruth starts to take control and orders food and drink. Her last move in the scene is to bring up Teddy's critical works causing him to give them a piece of his mind. His comments before the blackout in a way both recall the past and foreshadow what is going to happen to the family with Ruth, which is passing their fetishism in relations, which he shares, to commodity fetishism: "It's nothing to do with the question of intelligence. It's a way of being able to look at the world. It's a question of how far you can operate on things and not in things. I mean it's a question of your capacity to ally the two, to relate the two, to balance the two" (Pinter 61, 62). To operate in things resonates what takes place in commodity fetishism where relations between things take over the place of individuals.

In the evening, Sam has a little chat with Teddy. He seems to share his feelings as it prefigures Sam's declaration about Jessie and Mac in the following. He suggests to him to stay so they "could have a few laughs" (Pinter 63), something Sam is not able to have with other members. Both of them cannot stand where the family is going; Teddy is forced to go away and Sam will collapse with his last sentence of revelation. Nonetheless, as brief as it is, the relation between Sam and

Teddy appears different from prevailing conversations between characters that are of domination and subordination.

The next occasion where Lenny comes in and notices his cheese roll gone includes monologues of him trying to clear Teddy's spite against the family. However, Teddy has taken it "deliberately" to recover from his subordination when the members are present. His wife is upstairs with his younger brother and this is the least he can do to satisfy himself that he has taken action against them in the struggle of domination, even though it was in absence of them. Joey comes down and tells Lenny he "didn't get all the way" (Pinter 66). Lenny accuses Ruth of being a "tease" and proves Joey's competence by citing the story of their experience with two girls "in the rubble" where he did not even care about any "contraceptive protection". As Teddy is overcome by the power of his father and brothers, Sam tries to restore sense to the family: "He's her lawful husband. She is his lawful wife" (Pinter 69).

Max's following suggestion "You know something? Perhaps it's not a bad idea to have a woman in the house. Perhaps it's a good thing. Who knows? Maybe we should keep her" (Pinter 69) intensifies the situation. Ruth is not present among them yet and Sam and Teddy cannot resist their domination; every issue they raise is absurdly undermined by Max by means of talking terms in "democratic" sense. This is the initiation of commodity fetishism as they are valuing her in terms of money, that is another commodity, and in the process hold them as equal. According to Žižek, the value of a commodity assumes the form of another thing-commodity: money. Nevertheless, it is not replacement of "men with things", rather "it consists of a certain misrecognition which concerns a relation between a structured network and one of its elements: what is really an structural effect, an effect of the network of relations between elements, appears as an immediate property of one of the elements, as if this property also belongs to it outside its relation with other elements" (Žižek 19). Therefore, the misrecognition could happen both in relation between things and between individuals.

MAX. Well, how much is she worth? What we talking about, three figures?

LENNY. I asked you where the money's going to come from. It'll be an extra mouth to feed. It'll be an extra body to clothe. You realize that?

JOEY. I'll buy her clothes.

LENNY. What with?

JOEY. I'll put in a certain amount out of my wages.

MAX. That's it. We'll pass the hat round. We'll make a donation. We're all grown-up people, we've got a sense of responsibility. We'll all put a little in the hat. It's democratic. (Pinter 70, 71)

Subsequently, Lenny claims he has a better idea. He can put her into prostitution business. Max replies "We'll put her on the game. That's a stroke of genius, that's a marvellous idea. You mean she can earn the money herself – on her back?" (Pinter 72); now they keep talking terms for the new situation. She will be put on the market for prostitution which is all benefit for the one controlling the "means of production". However, the idea is not complete yet. There will be added a "surplus value" in her labor as Max says that "She's going to have her obligations this end as well" (Pinter 72). Accordingly, Žižek points out that the use of this commodity, the labor force, produces surplus-value and the capitalist appropriates this surplus "over the value of the labour force itself" (17). Max brings up the issue again when he sees their party losing in the deal in the following. Lenny takes their capital investment in the market as he proposes to develop their business and advertisement in "international terms":

Listen, Teddy, you could help us, actually. If I were to send you some cards, over to America . . . you know, very nice ones, with a name on, and a telephone number, very discreet, well, you could distribute them . . . to various parties, who might be making a trip over here. Of course, you'd get a little percentage out of it (Pinter 74).

They even talk about the health system, in other sense, insurance, to get the maximum benefit from her. Finally, Ruth joins them and Teddy surprisingly presents her the family's proposal. When she hears that she has to support herself financially, Lenny puts up the suggestion of getting her a flat. The idea of the capital, of having a flat of her own, interests Ruth who simply ignores Teddy's other option which is to return with him to America. She explains the details she requires from the flat and having a personal maid. When Lenny states that "We'd finance you, to begin with, and then, when you were established, you could pay us back, in instalments", Ruth rejects the idea saying it should be considered "simply as a capital investment" (Pinter 77). Then, the commodity fetishism is official as she suggests finalizing a contract completing the shift from the individual relations to the relation between things. However, this seems in opposition with the initial idea of exploiting her because now she is asking for a lot and they are accepting any terms. The reversal of domination is visible in the new arrangements again as it was in the relations they held between themselves before.

RUTH. I'd need an awful lot. Otherwise I wouldn't be content.

LENNY. You'd have everything.

RUTH. I would naturally want to draw up an inventory of everything I would need, which would require your signatures in the presence of witnesses.

LENNY. Naturally.

RUTH. All aspects of the agreement and conditions of employment would have to be clarified to our mutual satisfaction before we finalized the contract.

LENNY. Of course. (Pinter 77, 78)

Max who senses that their exploitive plan is endangered with Ruth requiring a larger investment brings up again the “surplus value” accommodating her labor; others follow him as well. This is to regain the feeling of domination which is sought implicitly in the form of commodity fetishism. It is interesting to note how he states that she will be free at the daytime, yet gives her duties to fulfill in that very “free” time.

MAX. And you'd have the whole of your daytime free, of course. You could do a bit of cooking here if you wanted to.

LENNY. Make the beds.

MAX. Scrub the place out a bit.

TEDDY. Keep everyone company. (Pinter 78)

Ruth's decision seems normal to the family as commodity appears ordinary in a capitalist society in Žižek's sense. Sam cannot take this shift anymore and collapses as he reveals “MacGregor had Jessie in the back of my cab as I drove them along” (Pinter 78). Similarly, Teddy, powerless, emotionless, and lifeless, leaves the family to return to his life in America without Ruth. Although they have not shaken on the contract yet, Max senses the reversal of domination overwhelmingly and feels himself overthrown. With the panic of realizing there is no escape from his old age and losing his authority, he senses the failure of his replacing Jessie, the collapse of their capitalist and fetishistic adventure. Thus he casts his doubt: “Listen, I've got a funny idea she'll do the dirty on us, you want to bet? She'll use us, she'll make use of us, I can tell you! I can smell it! You want to bet?” (Pinter 81). Kneeling, he begs Ruth for a kiss knowing it is too late. Ruth has taken over this time not through the direct relations between them, but through their failed endeavor by the fetishism in relations disguised in the form of commodity fetishism.

Conclusion

Harold Pinter's *The Homecoming* continues to motivate new readings after more than half a century. Several studies have analyzed the play in terms of psychological concepts, character studies, and familial issues. However, given the ambiguous nature of the play including the way audience comes to know about characters' past, a definite meaning may not be possible. One of the aspects less noted by critics have been the dimension considering the political overtones of *The Homecoming*. Although not explicitly political as Pinter's later plays may be, there could be added a parallel sociopolitical layer to the abundant readings. This study examined the relations of domination and servitude using previous works on the play and made a comparative analysis with the concepts of fetishistic misrecognition and commodity fetishism discussed by Marx in viewing the shift from a feudal society to a capitalist one as elaborated by Slavoj Žižek through his Lacanian and Hegelian lens. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that viewing the contractual relationship between the play's characters with a link to larger sociopolitical relations is not to reduce the meaning audience may extract from the play to one side, rather it is to add a layer to the various interpretations of the play. The struggle for domination persists throughout the play in the conversations and action, in how the characters deal with the return of Teddy and the desire to restate the female figure of the family through their misrecognized and fetishized view of women. However, Ruth's non-reactionary and confident stance in confronting the efforts of the family in the relations between the individuals resists their fetishized view. Moreover, seeing the play in parallel with Marx's notions, the family attempts to turn the fetishism in relations to commodity fetishism in their shift of strategy towards Ruth through the "contract" which is apparently between "free" individuals as Žižek puts it. According to him, this "retreat" is just a "displacement" of the fetishism in capitalism; similarly, in *The Homecoming* the fetishized view of women is to be disguised under the commodity fetishism established by the capital investment suggested by the characters and the terms of which are negotiated. Therefore, although masked under a less plain format, the fetishism remains and merely shifts from the interrelations between the characters to commodity fetishism.

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**ДОМИНАЦИЈА, ПОДАНИШТВО И РОБНИ ФЕТИШИЗАМ У ПОВРАТКУ КУЋИ
ХАРОЛДА ПИНТЕРА**

Борба за доминацију је недвосмислено присутна у *Повратку*, као и у скоро свим Пинтеровим делима. Због нејасне атмосфере, загонетних ликова и мрачних, трагикомичних дијалога и радње, не може се идентификовати једно значење пресудно за комад. Урађене су многе анализе карактера у представи, често усредсређене на Рут и њену одлуку на крају. Штавише, критичари су настојали да представу читају у светлу психоанализе, усредсређујући се на прошлост и комплексе ликова. Додавањем социополитичке димензије чисто реалистичким или симболичким читањима, овај чланак покушава да анализира односе доминације и подаништва између ликова на микронивоу породичне структуре кроз Марксове представе о фетишизму у односима између појединаца и робном фетишизму, како их тумачи Славој Жижек. Уз помоћ Жижекових идеја о идеологији, додаје се нови слој социополитичког значења односима између ликова, посебно оном између Рут и мушкараца, што се да разумети као паралела са фетишизираним односима на макро нивоу у преткапиталистичким и као робни фетишизам у капиталистичким друштвима.

Кључне речи: *Повратак кући*, Харолд Пинтер, односи доминације и подаништва, робни фетишизам, идеологија, Жижек

**„POETIKA NA RASKRŠĆU“: SRPSKA POSTMODERNA
KNJIŽEVNOST PRE I POSLE 1989. GODINE U SLOVAČKOJ:
POSEBAN SLUČAJ DANILA KIŠA (1935–1989)**

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Apstrakt: Cilj našeg rada je da predstavi opštu recepciju stvaralačkog života i književnih dela Danila Kiša u Slovačkoj kroz prizmu srpske postmoderne. Ovakvu analizu želimo da dovedemo u vezu sa prekretnom 1989. godinom (pad Berlinskog zida, Plišana revolucija u Slovačkoj, ali i godina autorove smrti), kada je san o demokratiji bio daleko dostižan u zemljama srednje ili jugoistočne Evrope. Simbolično je da su dela Danila Kiša bila relativno poznata i dobro prihvaćena na teritoriji bivše Čehoslovačke, a prevođena su pre i posle 1989. godine. S druge strane, potpuna refleksija stručne javnosti primetna je od devedesetih godina prošlog veka do danas, kada se teoretičari književnosti i književni kritičari sa simpatijama vraćaju Kišovom životu i stvaralačkim porukama. U radu ćemo na direktan način predstaviti sve primećene reakcije u vezi sa pomenutom temom. Odabrani pristup neće biti hronološki, već će redosled razmatranja biti spontan. Prevedeni korpus svih dela iz srpske postmoderne književnosti (ne samo od Danila Kiša o kome posebno ovde pišemo) na slovački jezik posle 1989. godine je u slovačkom društvu bio dobrodošao i potpuno prihvaćen. Ostaje nam samo da se nadamo da će novi razvoj slovačko-srpskih književnih i kulturnih odnosa u godinama pred nama doneti i nove vrednosti koje će proširiti naše intelektualne vidike i tako obogatiti duhovne dimenzije šireg čitalačkog društva.¹

Ključne reči: Danilo Kiš, srpska postmoderna književnost, slovačka kultura, prevod

U slovačkoj kulturnoj zajednici relativno dugo prevladava uverenje da je Danilo Kiš (1935–1989) nesumnjivo bio jedan od najpoznatijih jugoslovenskih pisaca dvadesetog veka. Naš rad bi trebalo da upozna čitaoce sa opštom recepcijom njegovog stvaralaštva u Slovačkoj u okviru srpske postmoderne. To ćemo pokušati da uradimo i u odnosu na

¹ Članak je rezultat projekta VEGA V-19-017-00 *POETIKA DISLOKÁCIE. Obraz imigranta v južnoslovenských literatúrach po roku 1989.*

značajnu 1989. godinu u kojoj je došlo do pada Berlinskog zida, Plišane ili Nežne revolucije u Slovačkoj kao i smrti samog autora koji tako, nažalost, nije doživeo dugo očekivanu demokratiju na prostorima srednje i jugoistočne Evrope. Simbolično je i to, da su dela D. Kiša bilo sasvim poznata i dobro primljena na teritoriji bivše Čehoslovačke i da su bila prevedena pre i posle 1989. godine², dok je naučna analiza njegovog

² Prvi prevodi dela Danila Kiša na slovački za časopise su delo vojvodinskih Slovaka. Vidi: Kiš, Danilo: *Snúbenci*. In: Nenin, Milivoj: Na rázcestí. Výber zo súčasnej poviedkovej tvorby národov a národnosti SFRJ. Domáce čítanie. Prel. Anna Makišová. Nový Sad: Ústav pre vydávanie učebníc, 1989, 181 s. Književni prevodi na slovački datiraju iz godina 1988. i 1995: Kiš, Danilo: *Záhrad, popol* (Bašta, pepeo). Slovački prevod: Miloš Herko. Bratislava – Nový Sad: Slovenský spisovateľ – Obzor, 1988, 255; Kiš, Danilo: *Encyklopédia mŕtvych (Enciklopedija mrtvih)*. Slovački prevod: Karol Hmel (*Karol Chmel*). Bratislava: F. R. & G., 1995, 177. U tom izdanju je na kraju na str. 175 objavljen kratak pogovor slovačkog pisca Dušana Šimka s naslovom „Panonski inventar. Danilo Kiš u Parizu“. Tokom 2021. godine je u okviru izdavačke kuće *Zelený kocúr* u prevodu Karola Hmela izašao iz štampe i roman *Grobница za Borisa Davidoviča*. Vidi još: Deáková, Renáta: *Na Slovensku oživa Hrobka pre Borisa Davidoviča*. In: [https://dunszt.sk/2021/01/08/na-slovensku-oziva-hrobka-pre-borisa-davidovica/?fbclid=IwAR0PWsermyS-](https://dunszt.sk/2021/01/08/na-slovensku-oziva-hrobka-pre-borisa-davidovica/?fbclid=IwAR0PWsermyS-DJ_BirpEuNMFearnl_d64EBe21usw_RNTpV6_bOdoJmiEeY)

DJ_BirpEuNMFearnl_d64EBe21usw_RNTpV6_bOdoJmiEeY. R. Deakova (*R. Deáková*) navodi i to da su „Rukopis *Grobnice za Borisa Davidoviča* jugoslovenski izdavači na početku iz obazrivosti i u najvećoj diskretnosti odbijali da štampaju. Zbirka priča sa podnaslovom *Sedam poglavlja jedne zajedničke istorije* je inventivni fiktivno-dokumentarnim stilom razotkrila zakulisne metode sovjetskih tajnih službi u Jugoslaviji. Knjiga je ipak u zajedničkom beogradsko-zagrebačkom izdanju izašla 1976 godine. Izazvala je mnoštvo kritika, ali i ogromno interesovanje čitalaca. Ondašnja štampa ju je označila za najveći književni skandal u posleratnoj Jugoslaviji. Brzo je stigla i reakcija iz inostranstva, ali su kod kuće knjigu nastavili da napadaju. Sve je kulminiralo sudskim procesom za koji Kiš uopšte nije bio spreman. Tokom tih godina je radio kao autor i lektor srpskohrvatskog jezika na univerzitetima u Strazburu i Bordou, što je značilo da je morao da se brani iz inostranstva. Deo njegove odbrane je bila i njegova naredna knjiga *Čas anatómie*. U osamdesetim godinama je napisao i zbirku *Enciklopedija mrtvih* i zbirku eseja *Homo poeticus*“ (Deáková, 2021). Već je objavljena i prva recenzija na ovo novo književno izdanje D. Kiša na slovačkom jeziku u slovačkom dnevniku SME, a autorka recenzije je Ivana Krekáňová. Pogledaj više: <https://kultura.sme.sk/c/22700009/ostra-obzaloba-totalitnej-moci.html> (Krekáňová, 12. 7. 2021). Na kraju, u samoj knjizi su objavljeni i kratki prikazi i čitalačke impresije pojedinih znamenitih slovačkih književnih i kulturnih intelektualaca, kako u direktnoj vezi sa prevedenim delom, tako sa čitavim

stvaralaštva u konstantnom usponu od 1990-tih godina do danas. Veliki broj književnih teoretičara i kritičara se vraća njegovoj životnoj i stvaralačkoj zaostavštini sa simpatijama. Ovaj istraživački rad je započet u okviru našeg većeg naučnog projekta pod nazivom *Poetika dislokácie: komparatističke sondy k „migráciám“ v južnoslovanských literatúrach po roku 1989* (*Poetika dislokacije: komparatističke sonde „migracija“ u južnoslovenskim književnostima posle 1989. godine*) u kojoj između ostalog nudimo i detaljnu listu svih časopisnih prevoda D. Kiša i drugih srpskih postmodernista u slovačkom časopisu *Fragment* (1987-2017)³. Zato se njima u okviru ovog rada više nećemo pojedinačno baviti. Glavni izvor za taj projekat jeste naučna monografija autora ove studije pod nazivom *POETIKA DISLOKÁCIE: Komparatističke sondy k migráciám v južnoslovanských literatúrach po roku 1989*⁴ u okviru koje uzgred mogu da se proveriti i svi izdati prevodi srpske književnosti na slovački jezik koji se tiču analizirane problematike u određenom periodu.

Mi ćemo ipak krenuti *in medias res* i u punom obimu predstaviti zabeležene reakcije na spomenutu temu u vezi sa spisateljskim profilom Danila Kiša. Izabrani pristup neće uvek biti hronološki, što znači da će redosled analiziranih delova biti proizvoljan. Nećemo početi sa Slovacima, već sa književnim kritičarima koji su o srpskoj postmoderni objavljivali radove i u slovačkim publikacijama. Tako je, na primer, balkanista iz Brna Ivan Dorovski (*Ivan Dorovský*) u svojoj monografiji *Slovanské meziliterární shody a rozdíly (Slovenska međuknjiževna slaganja i razlike)* iz 2004. godine (koja je dostupna i u Slovačkoj) istakao činjenicu da „srbský prozaik, básník a esejist Danilo Kiš (1935–1989) bývá ve světě srovnáván s Milanem Kunderou a Philipem Rothem. Kišova kniha *Hrobka pro Borise Davidoviče* je polemikou s J. L. Borgesem [...] Srbská literatura by byla neúplná např. bez próz dvou současných

stvaralaštvom D. Kiša i njegovim značajem u slovačkom društvenom kontekstu.

Poslednji zasada poznati prevod dela D. Kiša na slovački jezik se nalazi u časopisu *Romboid*, radi se o kratkoj priči prevedenoj 2016. godine: Kiš, Danilo: *Hrušky*. In. *Romboid*, Roč. LI, No. 7-8, 2016, 65-66.

³ Taj rad je ipak objavljen pre toga u Srbiji. Pogledaj više: *Taneski, Zvonko: Južnoslovanskí spisovatelia na stránkach slovenského časopisu „Fragment“ (1987-2017) / South-Slavic Authors on the Pages of Slovak Journal „Fragment“ (1987-2017). In. Зборник Матице Српске за славистику 98 (Matica Serbica: Department of Literature and Language – Review of Slavic Studies). Нова Каџ: Матица Српска, 2020, 201-213.*

⁴ Pogledaj više: *Taneski, Zvonko: POETIKA DISLOKÁCIE: Komparatističke sondy k migráciám v južnoslovanských literatúrach po roku 1989*. Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského, 2021.

nejpřekládanějších a doma i ve světě nejznámějších autorů, jakými jsou Danilo Kiš a Aleksandar Tišma. Uvádím je zde nikoli jen proto, že mají židovský původ, nýbrž a především proto, že ve svém díle zachytili tragické osudy židovské komunity“ (Dorovský 2004, 105, 110).⁵ Dorovski je uz to detaljno opisao i stanje u srpskoj postmodernističkoj književnosti.⁶

Takođe, bugarska književna kritičarka i prevodilac Ljudmila Mindova u svojoj studiji (*Ne)pomenovaný subjekt v próze Danila Kiša* (Mindova 2004, 77-81) (*Neimenovani subjekt u prozi Danila Kiša*) ističe činjenicu da „prítomnosť Danila Kiša v srbskom kultúrnom priestore je poznamenaná dvojakosťou, ktorá sa nevyhla ani iným srbským autorom, dvojakosťou, ktorá sa prejavuje zároveň v obdivnom prijímaní, ale aj popieraní“.⁷ Njegovo prihvatanje je uslovljeno erudicijom i originalnom poetikom njegovih tekstova koji čine takozvanu *porodičnu trilogiju* – *Bašta, pepeo* (1965), *Rani jadi* (1969) i *Peščanik* (1972). Prva knjiga trilogije je u srpsku istoriju književnosti ušla i kao jedan od osnovnih tekstova u odnosu prema srpskom postmodernizmu (A. Jerkov). Poricanje koje se odvija u znaku skandala koji prekoračuje granice literarnosti, u vezi je sa izdavanjem njegove knjige *Grobnica za Borisa Davidoviča* iz 1976. godine. Ono što je prvenstveno zamerano autoru je nedostatak inventivnosti, plagijatorstvo i otklon od srpske pripovedačke tradicije. U stvari, ove polemike su označile i početak polemika o postmodernizmu u srpskom kontekstu koje su svoju oštrinu izgubile tek krajem osamdesetih godina dvadesetog veka. Do potiskivanja Kišove proze (pre svega *Grobnice*) na periferiju srpskog književnog prostora, što je bio cilj tih zamerki, na kraju ipak nije došlo. Kiš je 1978. godine odgovorio esejističkom knjigom *Čas anatomije* koristeći instrument autokomentara kao odbrane u kojoj je predstavljena ne samo njegova

⁵ „srpski pisac, pesnik i esejista Danilo Kiš (1935–1989) u svetu poređen sa Milanom Kunderom i Filipom Rotom. Kišova knjiga *Grobnica za Borisa Davidoviča* je polemika s J. L. Borhesom [...] Srpska književnost ne bi bila potpuna bez, na primer, stvaralaštva dva trenutno najprevođenija autora kod kuće i u svetu, Danila Kiša i Aleksandra Tišme. Navodim ih ovde ne samo zato što imaju jevrejsko poreklo, nego pre svega zato što su u svom delu opisalo tragične sudbine jevrejske zajednice“. (preveo Z. T)

⁶ Dorovský, Ivan: *Ibid.*, s. 134-140. Pogledaj i njegov tekst: Dorovský, Ivan: *O srbské literatuře a její recepci u nás v posledním desetiletí*. In. *Studia Balkanica et Slavica II*. Brno: Tribun EU, 2016, 142-160.

⁷ “prisutnost Danila Kiša u srpskom kulturnom prostoru je označena dvostrukošću koju nisu mogli da izbegnu ni drugi srpski autori, dvostrukošću, koja se istovremeno manifestuje u zadivljujućem prihvatjanju, ali i poricanju.“ (preveo Z.T)

osnovna vizija poetike, već i konkretni tekstovi koji su u burnom skandalu još jače potvrdili svoja osnovna metaforična jezgra. Pošto centralno mesto u Kišovoj prozi zauzima odnos između parova etika/poetika, komesar/jogin i istorija/priče, slučaj *Grobница* liči na *odoslovljavanje metafore* – realni autor je prinuđen da brani svoju poetiku na način koji se poklapa sa tim kako većina njegovih književnih junaka brani svoje priče, misli i biografije. Dvostruka egzistencija Kišovih junaka – da budu sve i niko u prostorima svojih biografija, i ideološki okružena istorija – uslovljena je sistemom istorijske realnosti u njegovoj prozi. Na ono što kritika ne primećuje upozorava sâm autor. A to što se ne primećuje je igra citata, upotreba realnih i fiktivnih dokumenata i replika na pripovedački model koji prevazilazi granice srpskog i srednjeevropskog kulturnog konteksta. *Plagijatorstvo* Danila Kiša u srpskom prostoru beleži pojavu polemičkog odnosa prema proverenim pripovedačkim strategijama, ali istovremeno svedoči i o promeni u odnosu autor – čitalac. Budući da implicitne anticipacije u njegovim tekstovima očigledno nisu shvaćene, kao ni neprimećeni dijalog sa Dostojevskim i Borhesom, Kiš je odlučio da eksplicitno predstavi svoju viziju nove *fantastične realnosti*, komentarišući na jednoj strani čuvenu rečenicu Dostojevskog o tome, *da ništa nije fantastičnije od same stvarnosti*, ali i demonstrirajući tačku u kojoj dolazi do opkoračenja borhesovske poetike u *Grobnici za Borisa Davidoviča*. Kiš označava svoju knjigu kao *suprotstavljenu Borhesu* i precizira: *Nije parodija, već suprotstavljena knjiga*. Dok Borhes, prema Kišu, dokument najčešće koristi na metafizičkom planu u kojem čovek predstavlja filozofemu van istoričnosti, u njegovoj prozi, a pre svega u *Grobnici*, dokumenti se koriste za otkrivanje istoričnosti. Kasnije se postavlja pitanje kako ova knjiga, koju je autor okarakterisao kao *Sedam poglavlja jedne zajedničke povesti*, sadrži istorijsko. Pošto autokomentari šire mogućnosti interpretacije mesta dokumenta (koji kod Kiša uvek otvara pitanje o intertekstualnim odnosima u njegovim delima koji se susreću na *jednom stolu za operacije* sa različitim znakovnim sistemima), ali ne odustaju od pitanja o odnosu između linearnog i cikličnog vremena problematizovanog u napomeni posle pripovetke *Psi i knjige*. Pošto je funkcija dokumenta to da garantuje istoričnost, ali njegovom svrstavanju u pripovedanje uvek prethodi proces metaforizacije. U protivnom bi sedam knjiga teško moglo da učestvuje u jednoj zajedničkoj priči i knjiga se ne bi realizovala kao moderni *roman na dlanu*. U konfliktu između istorije i priča odigrava se sudbina svih Kišovih junaka [...] Kišovi junaci se na jednoj strani trude da stvore i čuvaju svoje sopstvene legendarne biografije, na drugoj strani institucija (najčešće policijska) uništava deo po deo svaku postupnost i kompleksnost

njihovih ličnih mitologija, pošto iz pozicije institucije individualna sudbina nema značaj na velikom platnu ideologizovane revolucionarne istorije [...] Egzistenciju Kišovih junaka određuje njihovo učešće u revoluciji, posle čega svako od njih ostaje bez prava na ličnu biografiju. Mnoštvo imena, nadimaka i pseudonima je prvi znak brisanja granica identičnosti, što na kraju olakšava glatko korigovanje i dopunu sudbina. Ako su pokušaji ličnosti orijentisani na očuvanje njenog sopstvenog imena, onda se strategija graditelja Istorije trudi da ga učini proizvoljno promenljivim. Lična sudbina u Istoriji – grobu je bez značaja, zato što je za nju važna samo ideološki jaka konstrukcija (Mindova 2004, 77-81).⁸

Zatim Ilma Rakusa (*Ilma Rakusa*) (spisateljica, prevodilac i kritičar, ćerka Mađarice i Slovenca rođena 1946. godine u mestu Rimavska Sobota u današnjoj Slovačkoj koja danas ipak živi u Cirihu) u svojoj studiji *Svetadiel Danilo Kiš* (Rakusa 2002, 62-67) (*Kontinent Danilo Kiš*) tvrdi, da bi „svet by prišiel o veľa, keby nebolo Danila Kiša. Spisovateľ a kozmopolita, temperamentný ctiteľ žien a antinacionalista, poetický ironik a melancholický skeptik Danilo Kiš sa narodil roku 1935 v Subotici, zomrel roku 1989 v Paríži. Je autorom autobiografického triptychu *Skoré žiale, Záhrada, popol* (v slovenčine vyšli obe prózy pod spoločným názvom *Záhrada, popol*, preklad Miloš Ferko, Slovenský spisovateľ 1988, citáty v texte pochádzajú z tohto vydania, *Presýpacie hodiny*, próz *Hrobka pre Borisa Davidoviča* a *Encyklopédia mŕtvych* (v slov. *Encyklopédia mŕtvych*, preklad Karol Chmel, Knížná edícia Fragmentu 1994), fulminantného polemického diela *Chvíľa anatómie*, ako aj množstva význačných esejí o literatúre a politike. Syn maďarského žida a (srbsko-ortodoxnej) Čiernohorky bol Stredoeurópanom par excellence. Sám seba dôsledne označoval za juhoslovanského spisovateľa píšuceho po srbochorvátsky. Zrejme by to robil ešte aj dnes, keby krátko pred začiatkom prevratov na Balkáne, ktoré pretromfli jeho najstrašnejšie prorocťvá, nebol zomrel na rakovinu pľúc. Jeho stredoeurópanstvo v sebe, samozrejme, nemalo nič ideologického. Skúmal ho ako spoly zaniknutý svetadiel, pátral po vrstvách a príbehoch, čo boli vždy i jeho vlastnými. Vďaka tomuto výskumu vytvoril poetický kozmos s nezameniteľnými súradnicami, nežný i hrozivý súčasne.

⁸ Ljudmila Mindova i u svojim drugim studijama koje su izašle pretežno na bugarskom ili engleskom se bavi analizom poetike Danila Kiša i jugoslovenske postmoderne književnosti. Vidi na primer: Mindova, Ljudmila. „The Dangerous Book. Observations on the Prose by Danilo Kiš, Aleksandar Hemon and Igor Štikš“. *Colloquia Comparativa Litterarum (Godišnik za Sravnitelno literaturoznanie i Balkanistika)*. Sofia: Sofijski univerzitet „Sv. Kliment Ohridski“, 2017, No. 1, 39-49.

Napokon k znalcom a milovníkom Kišovej poetiky patrí nemálo spisovateľov [...] Keď čítame Kiša, sme vystavení (emocionálnym / mentálnym) striedavým kúpeľom, zakúšame tvrdé strihy jeho montážnej techniky, paradoxnosť jeho *ironického lyrizmu*, ale i sugestívnu silu jeho vyratúvaní, ktoré sú spomienkovými litániami, inventármí, encyklopedickými archívami, slúžiacimi na vytrhávanie vecí a ľudí z pazúrov zabúdania [...] Kiš nemilosrdne atakuje arogantných parížskych intelektuálov a ešte nemilosrdnejšie tých belehradských kultúrnych byrokratov, ktorí mu po vyjdení *Borisa Davidoviča* znemožnili ďalší pobyt v juhoslovanskej metropole. Zisťujem: Kiš je citlivý rebel a nepoddajný disident, elegický komediant a posadnutý hľadač pravdy, excentrický výskumník a talentovaný tvorca, nemilosrdný polemik a bdely rojko. A napriek svojmu politickému awareness je to skrz-naskrz homo poeticus [...] Keď po roku a pol prišla správa o jeho smrti, vedela som, že mi už ostáva len dialóg s jeho dielom. Zoznámila som sa s postavami poviedok z pozostalosti – s *bezdomovcom* Jurijom Golezom a *básnikom*, za ktorým sa skrývali Ódón von Horváth, Piotr Rawicz a Ivo Andrić -, zozbierala som roztrúsené eseje a interview, aby bolo Kišov hlas počuť. Keď sa Juhoslávia rozpadla a skĺzla do neblahých vojen, citovala som pri každej príležitosti Kišovo diktum:⁹

⁹ „svet izgubio mnogo da nije bilo Danila Kiša. Pisac i kosmopolita, temperamentni poštovalac žena i antinacionalista, poetični ironičar i melanholični skeptik Danilo Kiš je rođen 1935 godine u Subotici, umro je 1989. godine u Parizu. Autor je autobiografskog triptiha *Rani jadi, Bašta, pepeo* (na slovačkom jeziku su oba teksta izdata pod zajedničkim nazivom *Záhrada, popol* u prevodu Miloša Ferka za izdavačku kuću *Slovenský spisovateľ* 1988. godine; citati u tekstu su iz ovog izdanja), *Peščanik, Grobnica za Borisa Davidoviča* i *Enciklopedija mrtvih* (na slovačkom kao *Encyklopédia mŕtvych*, prevod Karol Chmel, Knižná edícia Fragmentu 1994), fulminantnog polemičkog dela *Čas anatomije*, kao i velikog broja značajnih eseja o književnosti i politici. Sin mađarskog Jevrejina i (srpsko-pravoslavne) Crnogorke, bio je srednjeevropljanin *par excellence*. Sâm sebe je dosledno označavao kao jugoslovenskog pisca koji piše na srpskohrvatskom. Verovatno bi to činio i danas, da malo pre prevrata na Balkanu koji su nadmašili njegova najstrašnija proročanstva nije umro od raka pluća. Njegovo srednjeevropejstvo u njemu, naravno, nije imalo ništa ideološko. Video ga je kao napola nestali kontinent, tražio je finu slojevitost i priče koje su uvek bile i njegove lične. Zahvaljujući tom istraživanju je stvorio poetički svemir sa nepromenljivim koordinatama, nežan i strašan istovremeno. Najzad, među poznavaoce i ljubitelje Kišove poetika spada veliki broj pisaca [...] Kad čitamo Kiša, izloženi smo (emocionalnim / mentalnim) naizmeničnim talasima, isprobavamo oštre rezove njegove montažne tehnike, paradoksalnost njegovog *ironičnog lirizma*, ali i sugestivnu snagu njegovog prebrojavanja koja su litanije sećanja, inventari, enciklopedijske arhive koje

“Nacionalizam je pre svega paranoja. Kolektivna i pojedinačna paranoja. Kao kolektivna paranoja, ona je posledica zavisti i straha, a iznad svega posledica gubljenja individualne svesti (...) Nacionalizam je totalitarna ideologija. Nacionalizam je, uz to, ne samo po etimološkom značenju, još poslednja ideologija i demagogija koja se obraća narodu.” (Rakusa 2002, 62, 64, 66).

Slovačka književna kritičarka mađarske narodnosti Zuzana Vargova (*Zuzana Vargová*) u svojoj književnoj monografiji posvećenoj prostoru srednje Evrope iz 2015. godine u kojoj piše o Danilu Kišu koristi pre svega češke, ali takođe i mađarske i engleske izvore. Tu navodi da „srbský historik, esejista a prekladateľ Danilo Kiš pristupuje k strednej Európe z pozície osobnej skúsenosti a dejín. Pojem strednej Európy považuje skôr za ideu (ako jednotný geografický a kultúrny fenomén), ktorej zmysel vidí v proklamovaní odmietavého postoja voči ruskej expanzii a v zdôrazňovaní práva na vlastnú legitímnosť a identitu. Virtuálna stredná Európa, ako sa vyjadril v roku 1988 na Lisabonskej konferencii o literatúre, to *jsou malé země a malé jazyky, které nechtějí být homogenizovány ani srovnány do latě*. Stredná Európa tak predstavuje mozaiku rôznych národností, ktoré – i napriek prevahe rozdielov (národné dejiny, etnická príslušnosť, vnútropolitické spory), ktoré spochybňujú názory o strednej Európe ako nadnárodnej entite – spája spoločná historická skúsenosť (D. Kiš sa pri určovaní podobnosti a rozdielov opiera o porovnávacie štúdium literatúry, keďže literatúra vyrastá na pozadí spoločenského a historického kontextu), ktorá je nemysliteľná bez Židov: *Oni k naším stredoevropským dejinám prispěli a podíleli se na nich, představují svět, který zmizel, představují nepřítomnost, která je v našem psaní patrná* (Budapešťský kulatý stůl:

služe da istrgnu stvari i ljude iz kandži zaborava [...] Kiš nemilosrdno napada arogantne pariske intelektualce i još nemilosrdnije one beogradske kulturne birokrate koji su mu posle izlaska *Borisa Davidoviča* onemogućili boravak u jugoslovenskoj metropoli. Otkrivam: Kiš je osetljivi buntovnik i nesalomivi disident, elegični komedijant i opsednuti tragač za istinom, ekscentrični istraživač i talentovani stvaralac, nemilosrdni polemičar i oprezni sanjar. I uprkos svom političkom awareness je on skroz-naskroz homo poeticus [...] Kada je posle godinu i po dana došla vest o njegovoj smrti, znala sam da mi ostaje samo dijalog sa njegovim delom. Upoznala sam se sa likovima priča iz onoga što je iza njega ostalo – sa *beskućnikom* Jurijem Golezom i *pesnikom*, iza kojeg su se krili Eden fon Horvat (*Ódön von Horváth*), Pjotr Ravič (*Piotr Rawicz*) i Ivo Andrić -, sakupila sam rasejane eseje i intervjuje da bi se čuo Kišov glas. Kad se Jugoslavija raspala i skliznula u teške ratove, citirala sam Kiša u svakoj prilici.“ (preveo Z.T)

přepis diskuse, 2009, s. 82-83).¹⁰ D. Kiš jevrejstvo vidi kao *dinamičnu snagu* tog prostora, kao jedan od stubova srednjeevropske kulture i element, koji tom prostoru garantuje višu kulturnu dimenziju. Sa jevrejstvom se ipak otkriva i još jedna osobenost srednjeevropske istorije, antisemitizam kao *duhovna ili ideološka spona* srednjeevropskog kompleksa. Ali, uništenjem jevrejskog elementa se srednja Evropa pretvara u nekakvu *duhovnu provinciju*. Autorova strategija se tako približava stavu slovenačkog pisca M. Rožanca, koji odbija bilo kakvu unifikaciju i homogenizaciju za koje primere nalazi u istoriji (fašizam, komunizam): *Ne umiremo sami [...] već zajedno sa Jevrejima sa ove teritorije koji su u najvećoj meri bili Srednjeevropljani, i zato najviše na meti i već davno pretvoreni u dim krematorijuma*. Srednjeevropski nacionalizam u negativnom smislu i znak ideologije rase, kao i *poluotvorenost prema svetu* doprinose osiromašenju srednjeevropske kulture. Slični antagonizam nagoveštava D. Kiš u slučaju evaluacije jevrejstva kao *sreće i nesreće istovremeno*. Umetanje jevrejskih intelektualaca u *srednjeevropsku kulturnu baštinu* je u oštrom konfliktu sa jevrejstvom kao žigom srednjeevropske istorije. D. Kiš posredstvom svog koncepta nalazi iste paralele među Srednjeevropljanina i Jevrejina: život obojice se menja u *veliki beg od drugih i sebe samih*. Izgnanstvo, koje je *samo objedinjujući pojam za sva ljudska otuđenja*, nudi samo jedini ishod za samoidentifikaciju, *opasnu i oslobađajuću pripadnost, čudnu i misterioznu utehu* – posredstvom jezika i književnosti. Srednjeevropsku strategiju tako shvata kao proizvod disidenata, izgnanika odnosno autora čije stvaralaštvo ostaje uglavnom neprimećeno. Dok srednju Evropu kao kulturno-istorijski

¹⁰ "srpski istoričar, esejista i prevodilac Danilo Kiš srednjoj Evropi pristupa iz pozicije ličnog iskustva i istorije. Pojam srednje Evrope prvenstveno smatra za ideju (kao jedinstveni geografski i kulturni fenomen) i njegov smisao vidi u proklamovanju negativnog odnosa prema ruskoj ekspanziji i isticanju prava na sopstvenu legitimnost i identitet. Virtuelna srednja Evropa, kako ju je nazvao 1988. godine na Lisabonskoj konferenciji o književnosti, to su *male zemlje i mali jezici koji neće da budu homogenizovani niti srađeni sa zemljom*. Srednja Evropa tako predstavlja mozaik različitih narodnosti, koje – i uprkos prednosti razlika (narodna istorija, etnička pripadnost, unutrašnjopolitički sporovi) koje dovode u pitanje stavove o srednjoj Evropi kao nadnarodnom entitetu – spaja zajedničko istorijsko iskustvo (D. Kiš se prilikom određivanja sličnosti i razlika oslanja na komparativne studije književnosti, pošto književnost nastaje na podlozi društvenog i istorijskog konteksta) koje je nezamislivo bez Jevreja: *Oni su našoj srednjeevropskoj istoriji doprineli i učestvovali u njoj, predstavljaju svet, koji je nestao, predstavljaju odsustvo, koje je u našoj književnosti primetno*". (preveo Z. T)

pojam pre vidi kao *stvar prošlosti*, srednjeevropska kultura predstavlja *svakodnevnu borbu za svoje ja* i buduću perspektivu i pronalazak mesta između dve kulturne sile. Za zajedničku osobinu pisaca srednjeevropske provenijencije smatra *svest o formi, formi kao tendenciji ka smislenosti života i metafizičkim nejasnoćama, formi kao mogućnosti odabira, formi, koja je pokušaj da se pronađe niz arhimedovskih koordinata u haosu koji nas okružuje, formi, koja je suprotnost rušilaštvu varvarstva i iracionalne kapricioznosti poriva*. Ukoliko analiziramo prebege, izbeglice i ljude u egzilu, ne bi trebalo da zaboravimo ni na značajni doprinos internih egzilanata alternativnom književnom kanonu, kao ni na kontinuitet između eksternog i internog egzila [...] Raznolikost kultura i jezika ipak može da izazove i dezorijentaciju. Danilo Kiš, sin Crnogorke i jevrejsko-mađarskog oca je odrastao na granici Austrougarske i kasnije radio u Francuskoj kao nastavnik jezika. U svom delu *Izvod iz knjige rođenih (Birth Certificate, 1988)* priznao je: [...] *kad se probudim, ponekad ne znam gde sam*. Ova otvorenost/dezorijentisanost odrednica se u Kišovim delima pretvorila u trajnu nepoverljivost prema mapi kultura i njihovim granicama koje se pomeraju uprkos tome što autor shvata da su sva istorijska i geopolitička sećanja, političko nadmetanje, koalicije i lokalni antagonizmi, konflikti i ratovi koji za kontinent bez granica predstavljaju prepreke (*Variations on the Theme of Central Europe – Varijacija na temu srednje Evrope*). Odnos između eksternog i internog egzila ili između autora koji su morali da svoje mesto pronađu drugde i autora koji su ostali unutar nacionalnih granica, može da poprimi naznaku paradoksalnosti. Ideali međukulturne komunikacije su danas, u srednjeevropskom prostoru koji se menja posle 1989. godine i koji mame naizmenično globalni i lokalni interesi, još važniji. Kako tvrdi Idit Klauz (*Edith Clowes*), književnosti istočne i srednje Evrope moraju da nauče da se odupru *ideološkom maksimalizmu svih vrsta* i da se ponašaju kao na *igralištu* na kojem je umesto utopijskog upada ortodoksnog marksizma-lenjinizma ili patrijarhalnog povratka neonacionalizmu (*Russian Experimental Fiction – Ruska eksperimentalna proza*) moguće predstaviti i nove alternative. U ovom kontekstu je saradnja između presađenih i izvornih pisaca ključna. Zajedno mogu da izgrade estetski i sociokulturni program koji će stvoriti uslove za transkulturni dijalog i istovremeno razotkriti ostatke totalitarne misli bez obzira na to u kakvom obliku se pojavljuju (Vargová 2015a, 84-85).

Zuzana Vargova je takođe sastavila i obimnu antologiju tekstova *Koncepcie strednej Európy (Konceptije srednje Evrope)* koja je isto izašla 2015. godine u Njitrí i u koju je uvrstila i tekst *Varijacije na srednjoevropske teme* Danila Kiša na češkom jeziku (Vargová 2015b,

115-121). U njemu se sâm Danilo Kiš izjašnjava vrlo eksplicitno: „Spisovatelji, vyhnanému z vlasti, nezůstane nic jiného než jeho řeč, která je znamením jeho vyhnanství. Nyní jako jediný píše ve svém jazyce, když zaplatil za to, že nepodlehli vyhnanství syntaxe. Neboť pokud se mu podařilo vytrhnout se z nebezpečně jednomyslnosti nového jazyka, je to v první řadě zásluhou jasného nebezpečně jednomyslností nového jazyka, je to v první řadě zásluhou jasného povědomí toho, že se nepíše jen slovy, ale především bytím, étosem a mýtem, vzpomínáním, tradicí, kulturou, rozmachem řečových asociací, tedy vším tím, co se skrze automatismus jazyka přeměňuje v pohyb ruky (a obráceně)... Vyhnanství, které je pouze shrnujícím pojmem pro všechna hlediska odcizení, je posledním jednáním určitého dramatu, dramatu neautentičnosti. Středoevropský spisovatel se již dávno ocitl mezi dvěma redukcionismy, ideologickým a nacionalistickým. Po dlouhém zkoušení odhalí, že ideály otevřené společnosti nenajde ani v jedné ani v druhé sféře, které se mu nabízejí jako jediná možná východiska. A nakonec nalezne v jazyce svou jedinou legitimitu, v literatuře pak tu podivnou a mysteriózní útěchu, o které hovoří Kafka. Nebezpečnou a osvobozující příslušnost: skok skrz řady vrahů. Toto vymezení ovšem není beze stínu pochybnosti: nikdo se nemůže vydělit ze společenství, aniž by se kál. Vsadit na věčnost je právě taková domyšlivost jako vsadit na okamžik. Osud ustavičný pocit neautentickosti“ (Vargová 2015b, 120-121).¹¹

Gotovo jedini autor analitičkih recenzija reakcija na književna izdanja Kišovih dela na slovačkom jeziku tokom devedesetih godina je

¹¹ Piscu izgnanom iz domovine ne ostaje ništa drugo do njegovog jezika koji je znak njegovog izgnanstva. Sada kao jedini píše na svom jeziku pošto je platio za to što nije podlegao izgnanstvu sintakse. Pošto je uspeo da se istrigne iz opasne jednoznačnosti novog jezika, to je u prvom redu zasluga toga da se ne píše jezikom, nego celim bićem, mitosom, tradicijom, svešću i podsvešću, utrobom, sećanjem, svim onim što se kroz zamah ruke pretvara u automatizam (i obratno)... Izgnanstvo, koje je samo objedinjujući pojam za sva gledišta otuđenosti, poslednji je čin određene drame neautentičnosti. Srednjeevropski pisac se već dugo nalazi između dva redukcionizma, ideološkog i nacionalističkog. Posle dugog isprobavanja je shvatio da ideale otvorenog društva neće pronaći ni u jednoj ni u drugoj sferi koja mu se nude kao jedina rešenja. I na kraju u jeziku pronalazi svoj jedini legitimitet, a u književnosti tu čudnu i misterioznu utehu o kojoj govori Kafka. Opasnu i oslobađajuću pripadnost: skok preko redova ubica. Ovo određenje, međutim, nije bez senke sumnje: niko ne može da se izdvoji iz društva a da se ne pokaje. Kladiti se na večnost je ista domišljatost kao kladiti se na trenutak. Sudbina stalnog osećaja neautentičnosti. (preveo Z. T)

bio novinár i prevodilac Tomáš Čelovský (*Tomáš Čelovský*): objavio ih je u listu SME i naglasio u njima značaj i mesto Danila Kiša u celoj južnoslovenskoj i evropskoj kulturi (Čelovský 1995, Čelovský 1997). U svojoj prvoj recenziji je, na primer, napisao i to da je „Kiš bol literárnym šľachticom, mužom cti ("Quo vadis, to je jediná otázka, na ktorú neviem odpovedať. Koľkí si však myslia, že vedia, kam idú", povedal), spisovateľ s mimoriadnou autoritou, na Slovensku čiastočne obdobnou snad' len tej Tatarckovej. Slovenská čitateľská obec sa s jeho menom nestretá prvýkrát - v preklade Miloša Herku vyšla 1988 dvojnákná pod názvom *Záhrada, popol* obsahujúca rovnomennú románovú prózu (z roku 1965) a zbierku poviedok *Skoré žiale* (1977). Posledná Kišova kniha, ktorá vyšla za jeho života - v slovenskej mutácii je to útlý paperback v knižnej edícii časopisu Fragment obsahuje deväť poviedok a jedno Postscriptum, v ktorom je okrem momentu posledného prekvapenia, dodatočne vrhajúceho svetlo na súbor próz, obsiahnuté aj krédo Kišovej poetiky. Spoločným menovateľom "hesiel" *Encyklopédie* je smrť, respektíve skutočnosť, že v nich sa umiera - ide však skôr o vonkajší znak, o tematickú príbuznosť. Oveľa podstatnejšia je ich súrodosť vnútorná, na základe ktorej poviedky vnímame takmer ako jeden text. *Encyklopédia* je totiž výnimočná postmoderná próza, dobre maskovaná plášťom magického a lyrického realizmu, ktorý vždy vychádza z historickej udalosti, zlomku, dokumentu, "vykopávky" ("Neopovážim sa vymýšľať", hovoril Kiš). Nad týmto materiálom, plným zjavných či skrytých citátov, autocitátov, odkazov a narážok (ktoré ako dopravné značky a informačné tabule nielen stoja vedľa cesty, ale ju spoluvytvárajú), však suverénne panuje duchovná hra, ktorá má osobitnú záľubu v menovaní a spochybňovaní toho istého predmetu a neprestajnom vyzývaní čitateľa, aby autorovu intelektuálnu hru prijal. Pri listovaní v *Encyklopédii* budú mať preto plnohodnotný zážitok len skutočne dospelí čitatelia s vypestovaným vkusom. Aj podľa samého autora modernosť jeho diela spočíva v neustálom pochybovaní o všetkých hodnotách - o všetkých okrem formy, ktorú autor v knihe rozhovorov Po-etika písal s veľkým F. Ako človek, ktorý spisovateľov rozdeľoval na ľudí písucich a na tých, ktorí rozmýšľajú o Forme, Danilo Kiš to veľké F aj v tejto zbierke ospravedlnil. Jeho opus sa preto vmestí medzi rozšírený palec a ukazovák. "Čoraz menej, čoraz zriedkavejšie, čoraz obozretnejšie," hovoril Kiš o svojom písaní v ďalekom roku 1973. Autorská disciplína a prednosť jeho "noža" je zarážajúca, jeho autorita vyvoláva u obyčajného smrteľníka závisť, o jeho prísnonosti voči sebe samému svedčí aj vlani vydaná kniha paberkov Skladište, ktorá priniesla aj poviedky nezaradené do *Encyklopédie*. Rozsahom tvoria raz takú knihu, pričom väčšina vyradených próz mohla v spoločnosti tých vyvolených pokojne zostať. Kišovo dielo predstavuje pokračovanie tej

údajne prerušenej nite medzi klasickými tragédiami a modernou literatúrou, ktorá vraj nedokázala s takou silou tlmočiť bezmocnosť človeka voči Osudu a márnosť jeho boja. Keď pred dvadsiatimi rokmi vyšla zbierka poviedok *Hrobka pre Borisa Davidoviča*, v ktorej autor využíval aj faktografický materiál spomienok Karla Štajnera 7000 dní v Sibíri, mnohí si so závisťou uvedomili, že tá grécka červená niť tematicky pokračuje aj v gulagoch alebo aj v menej známom trestaneckom pekle, ostrove Goli otok v Jadranskom mori, kam Tito odpratal všetkých, ktorí sa nedokázali zmieriť s rozvodom Moskvy a Belehradu. Len málo autorov, ktorí sa potom vrhli na ryžovanie tohto krvavého zlata, však dosiahlo Kišovu úroveň. Po rokoch je všetkým jasné, že Kiš bol postmoderným v čase, keď na Balkáne si tento pojem plietli so zubnou pastou. Nečudo teda, že sa po vyjdení *Hrobky* stal obeťou literárnej štvance, v rámci ktorej sa mu "štátni" kritici snažili uprieť právo používať materiál ako svoj vlastný materiál. V boji s kráľom dotieravcov dosiahol Kiš triumfálne víťazstvo a v dejinách juhoslovanských literatúr zostala jeho polemická kniha *Hodina anatómie*, ktorou opovážlivcov švihom pera zmietol, medzníkovou udalosťou. Pre samého Kiša to však sotva niečo znamenalo, keďže vtedy už dva roky bol obyvateľom Paríža. O čom ešte táto kniha je? V *Postscripte* sa napríklad dozvedáme i to, že poviedka *Knihá bláznov a kráľov* mala pôvodne byť esejou o *Protokoloch sionských mudrcov* (ktoré sa v Bratislave predávali v čase, keď aj *Záhrada, popol*), neskôr sa však podľa autora úvaha rozpadla sama od seba, zrejme pod ťarchou materiálu. Nevedno, ako by napríklad táto poviedka vyzerala, prípadne ktorým smerom by sa bolo rozvíjalo Kišovo dielo, keby sa bol autor dočkal dní, keď na národ, v ktorého reči písal, padla nezmazateľná kolektívna vina, aká už dve tisícročia leží na národe jeho otca. A o čom ešte *Encyklopédia* je? Je to predovšetkým "úchvatná" hra demiurga a ničiteľa v jednej osobe, hra s jediným čitateľným "odkazom" - že najvyšším poslaním slova je svedectvo o jeho vlastnej sile a bezmocnosti, že zmyslom literatúry nie je voda, ale váza, v ktorej ten súbor kvapiek stojí. *Encyklopédia* nenúka žiadnu odpoveď, iba opakuje otázku: aké ponaučenie vyplýva z hry zvanej literatúra okrem poznania, ktoré nás môže osvietiť, nemôžeme sa ho však naučiť, ak na to nemáme a už vonkoncom ho nemôžeme sprostredkovať?"¹²

¹² "Kiš je bio književni plemić i čovek časti (Quo vadis, to je jedino pitanje, na koje ne znam da odgovorim. Ali koliko ljudi misli da zna kuda ide," rekao je), pisac sa izvanrednim autoritetom, sličan onom koji ima još jedino Tatarka (*Dominik Tatarka*). Slovačka čitalačka publika se sa njegovim imenom ne sreće prvi put – u prevodu Miloša Herke (*Miloš Herka*) su 1988. godine izašla dva toma pod nazivom *Záhrada, popol* (*Bašta, pepeo*) koja su sadržala istoimeni roman

(iz 1965. godine) i zbirku pripovedaka *Skoré žiale* (1977) (*Rani jadi*). Poslednja Kišova knjiga koja je izašla za njegovog života – u slovačkoj mutaciji samo obični paperback u ediciji časopisa *Fragment* koji sadrži devet pripovedaka i jedan Postscriptum u kojem je osim momenta poslednjeg iznenađenja koje dodatno baca svetlo na sadržaj tekstova obuhvaćen i credo Kišove poetike. Zajednički imenilac „lozinki“ *Enciklopedije* je smrt, odnosno činjenica da se u njima umire – ali se radi ipak o spoljašnjem znaku, o tematskoj povezanosti. Mnogo važnija je njihova unutrašnja veza na osnovu koje pripovetke posmatramo kao jedan tekst. Enciklopedija je zapravo izuzetna postmoderna proza, dobro maskirana pod plaštom magičnog i lirskog realizma, koja je uvek zasnovana na istorijskim događajima, deliću, dokumentu, „iskopini“ („Ne smem da izmišljam“, govorio je Kiš). Ovim materijalom koji je pun očiglednih i sakrivenih citata, autocitata, poruka i aluzija (koje kao saobraćajni znaci i table sa informacija stoje pored puta, već učestvuju i u njegovom stvaranju) ipak suvereno dominira duhovna igra, koja obožava imenovanje i izražavanje sumnje u jedan isti predmet i neprestano čikanje čitoaca da prihvati autorovu igru. Pri prelistavanju Enciklopedije će potpuni užitek imati samo uistinu zreli čitaoci sa rafiniranim ukusom. I prema samom autoru modernost njegovog dela leži u neprestanom preispitivanju svih vrednosti – svih osim forme, koju je autor u knjizi razgovora Po-etika pisao sa velikim F. Kao čovek, koji je ljude delio na one koji pišu i na one koji razmišljaju o Formi, Danilo Kiš je to veliko F i u ovoj zbirci opravdao. Njegov opus zato može da se smesti među rašireni palac i kažiprst. „Što manje, što ređe, što obazrivije,“ govorio je Kiš o svom pisanju daleke 1973. godine. Autorska disciplina i prednost njegovog „noža“ je impresivna, njegov autoritet kod običnog smrtnika izaziva zavist, o njegovoj strogosti prema sebi samom svedoči i prošle godine izdata knjiga *Skladište*, koja je obuhvatila i pripovetke koje nisu uvršćene u Enciklopediju. Obimom je to duplo veća knjiga, pri čemu je većina izbačenih tekstova bez problema mogla da ostane u društvu onih izabranih. Kišovo delo predstavlja nastavak one navodno prekinute niti između klasičnih tragedija i moderne književnosti koja navodno nije uspela istom snagom da tumači bespomoćnost čoveka u odnosu na Sudbinu i uzaludnost njegove borbe. Kada je pre dvadeset godina izašla zbirka pripovedaka *Grobnica za Borisa Davidoviča* u kojoj je autor koristio i faktografski materijal sećanja Karla Štajnera *7000 dana u Sibiru*, mnogi su zavišću shvatili da se ta grčka crvena nit tematski nastavlja i u gulazima ili i manje poznatom kažnjeničkom paklu, ostrvu Goli otok u Jadranskom moru na koje je Tito poslao sve koji nisu mogli da se pomire sa razvodom Moskve i Beograda. Samo je nekolicina autora koji su se kasnije bacili na ispiranje tog krvavog zlata dosegla Kišov nivo. Posle mnogo godina je svima postalo jasno da je Kiš bio postmoderan u vremenu kada su na Balkanu taj pojam mešali sa pastom za zube. Otuda ne čudi činjenica da je posle objavljivanja *Grobnice* postao žrtva književnog progona u okviru kojeg su se „državni“ kritičari trudili da mu oduzmu pravo na korišćenje materijala kao svog. U borbi sa stadom bezočnika je Kiš ostvario trijumf. Tako je u istoriji južnoslovenskih književnosti njegova polemička knjiga *Čas anatomije*, kojom je bezobraznike jednim potezom pera pomeo, ostala vododelnica. Samom Kišu to

(Čelovský 1995). U svojoj drugoj recenziji posvećenoj pre svega S. Basari, T. Čelovski je međutim istakao činjenicu da „jeho slovenská knižná premiéra rozširuje tunajšie poznanie srbskej prózy, ale ako aj jeho krajana Danila Kiša, aj Basaru na slovenský trh uvádzajú malými dverami, akoby vydavateľ iba pripravoval terén pre rozsiahlejšie diela. V prípade Kiša však táto príprava trvá už takmer dve desaťročia, a ešte sme sa nedočkali prelomových poviedok *Hrobka pre Borisa Davidoviča* ani románu *Presýpacie hodiny*. Ak tieto diela niekedy po slovensky vyjdú, môžu dopadnúť ako oneskorená láska a nie je vylúčené, že rovnaký osud stihne aj Basarovu *Fámu o Bicyklistoch* (1988), zaradenú medzi najlepšie srbské romány posledného štvrtstoročia. Akoby sme aj z toho mála dobrého, čo k nám z Balkánu preniká, nechceli to najlepšie“¹³ (Čelovský 1997).

Konačno, istaknuti češki slavista i komparatista Miloš Zelenka (*Miloš Zelenka*) u svojoj monografiji izdatoj zajedno sa još nekolicinom slovačkih autora 2015. godine ističe takođe da „právé židovský element se často stává zástupným symbolem střední Evropy, která je údajně

nije značilo mnogo, pošto je tada već dve godine bio stanovnik Pariza. Šta još sadrži ova knjiga? U *Postscriptu*, na primer, saznajemo i to da je pripovetka *Knjiga kraljeva i budala* prvo trebalo da bude esej o *Protokolu sionskih mudraca* (koji su se u Bratislavi prodavali kada i *Bašta, pepeo*), ali se prema autoru ta namera raspala sama od sebe pod težinom materijala. Nepoznato je kako bi ta pripovetka izgledala, odnosno kojim bi se smerom razvijalo Kišovo delo ukoliko bi dočekaio dane u kojima bi na narod na čijem je jeziku pisao pala neizbrisiva kolektivna krivica kakva već dve hiljade godina leži na narodu njegovog oca. I šta još *Enciklopedija* poručuje? To je pre svega „zadivljujuća“ igra demijurga i uništitelja u jednoj ličnosti, predstava sa jednom vidljivom „porukom“ – da je najuzvišenija misija reči svedočanstvo o njenoj sopstvenoj snazi i nemoći, da smisao književnosti nije voda, već vaza u kojoj ta količina kapljica stoji. *Enciklopedija* ne nudi nijedan odgovor, samo ponavlja pitanje: kakvo naravoučenije proizlazi iz igre zvane književnost osim otkrića koje može da nas prosvetli, ali ne možemo da ga shvatimo ukoliko tome nismo dorasli i na kraju ne možemo ni da ga posredno prenesemo?“ (preveo Z.T)

¹³ „njegova slovačka književna premijera proširuje lokalno poznavanje srpske proze, ali kao i njegovog zemljaka Danila Kiša i Basaru na slovačko tržište uvode na mala vrata, kao da izdavač priprema teren za obimnija dela. U slučaju Kiša, međutim, ova priprema traje već skoro dve decenije, a još nismo dočekali prelomne pripovetke *Grobnica za Borisa Davidoviča* ni roman *Pečanik*. Ukoliko ova dela nikada ne izađu slovačkom, mogu da dožive sudbinu zakasnele ljubavi i nije isključeno da će ista subdina zadesiti i Basarinu *Famu o biciklistima* (1988) uvršćenu među najbolje srpske romane u poslednjih dvadeset pet godina. Kao da ni od to malo dobrog što do nas sa Balkana dopire, nećemo ono najbolje“ (preveo Z.T)

všude tam, kde v Evropě žijí Židé (M. Kundera). Srbský spisovatel Danilo Kiš, který v tomto souhlasí s Kunderou, jde ještě dál: Židé vždy ztělesňovali v střední Evropě pohyb a změnu, byli spojovacím mezníkem mezi malými evropskými národy a největší měrou přispěli k multikulturnímu charakteru této části Evropy (Kiš, 1978). Dějiny střední Evropy údajně skončily nuceným zánikem a vysídlením Židů, protože jejich tragický osud zrcadlí psychické trauma středoevropského intelektuála, který byl vykořeněn ze své *rodné půdy* [...] Podobně známý slovinský filozof A. Debeljak si střední Evropu představuje jako společenství duchovního prostoru, které musí předcházet ekonomickému kritérii sjednocování a které musí vycházet z tradice mateřských jazyků jako existenciální základny zde žijících malých národů, protože *iba v špecifickej perspektíve materinského jazyka sú totiž prirodzene prítomné všetky kultúrne, politické, zemepisné, symbolické a spoločenské konštanty historicky národnej skúsenosti*“ (Zelenka et al 2015, 48, 52).¹⁴

Najverovatnije se dosada u Slovačkoj najsystematičnije srpskoj književnoj postmoderni posvetio Igor Mikušjak (*Igor Mikušjak*), čija je disertacija bila posvećena upravo srpskoj postmoderni i koji se trenutno naukom bavi u Češkoj. Njegove objavljene analize sprske postmoderne dopiru do značajnih opštih konstatacija, ali je pokušao i to da makar u grubim crtama nagovesti i svekoliku pojavu posmoderne u srpskom kontekstu, pri čemu se fokusirao na njene tekstualne realizacije i njihovu recepciju u Slovačkoj. Mikušjak tako konstatuje da se „srbské postmoderné texty a azda aj postmoderné texty obecne sa vyznačujú vysokou mierou eklektizmu v obsahovej aj formálnej rovine. V srbskom kontexte sa kombinovanie vyjadrujúce nedôveru k možnosti vytvoriť

¹⁴ „upravo jevrejski element često postaje reprezentativni simbol srednje Evrope koja je navodno tamo, gde u Evropi žive Jevreji (M. Kundera). Srpski pisac Danilo Kiš, koji je u ovom segmentu saglasan sa Kunderom, odlazi i korak dalje: Jevreji su u srednjoj Evropi oduvek simbolizovali pokret i promenu i bili spoj između malih evropskih naroda i u najvećoj meri doprineli multikulturalnom karakteru ovog dela Evrope (Kiš, 1978). Istorija Evrope se navodno završila sa nasilnim izumiranjem i iseljenjem Jevreja, zato što njihova sudbina oslikava psihičku traumu srednjeevropskog intelektualca koji je bio iskorenjen sa svoje *rodne* zemlje [...] Isto tako poznati slovenački filozof A. Debeljak zamišlja srednju Evropu kao zajednicu duhovnog prostora koja mora da prethodi ekonomskim kriterijumima ujedinjavanja i koja mora da se temelji na tradiciji maternjih jezika kao egzistencijalne osnove malih naroda koji tu žive, zato što samo u specifičnoj perspektivi maternjeg jezika su zapravo prirodno prisutne sve kulturne, političke, geografske, simboličke i društvene konstante istorijskog narodnog iskustva“. (preveo Z.T)

niečo *nové* prejavuje predovšetkým vo formálnom experimentátorstve, siahajúcim až k avantgardným tendenciám a skokovo sa cez tvorbu a teoretické reflexie D. Kiša ocitá veľmi blízko, ak nie priamo v srbskej postmoderne samotnej. Toto ľubovoľne kombinovanie s obsahmi a formami, s rôznymi žánrami rôznych umeleckých oblastí sa v bývalej Juhoslávii a ani v dnešnom Srbsku neartikulovalo do programovej poetiky. Neexistuje uzavretý systém návodov, ako písať. Napriek dištancovaniu sa od minulosti a viery v jeden myšlienkový prúd, v literatúre sú postmoderné texty vystavané práve na textoch predchádzajúcich období, na ktoré intertextuálne a palimpsestovo reagujú. Texty reflektujú na celé kultúrne spektrum. V zornom poli autorov nie sú len emblematicky známe a obecné rešpektované texty svetových autorov, ale v posledných rokoch sa takéto aluzívny, parodický alebo ironický dialóg vedie aj s tzv. popkultúrou“ (Mikušiak 2010, 122-123).¹⁵

Na kraju svoje prve objavljené študije o srpskej postmoderni I. Mikušjak zaključuje: „pokúsili sme sa skratkovito naznačiť všeobecne tendencie, vyplývajúce zo situácie v srbskej postmoderne, a teraz by sme čo-to konkrétnejšie naznačili o najzásadnejších autoroch, ktorí svojou kvalitou prevyšujú priemer a ktorých knihy majú potenciál obohatiť aj inojazyčné literatúry. Krátky prehľad a poznámky k jednotlivým autorom by bolo možné začať u viacerých z nich. Niektoré tendencie príbuzné s postmodernistami využívali: D. Kiš, B. Pekić, R. Konstantinović, F. David a mnohí iní. Postupmi, životnou skúsenosťou, ktorú traktujú, a vysokou mierou, ba priam pretlakom etickosti však ich texty predsa len patria k predchodcom postmoderny [...] Ostáva zodpovedať poslednú otázku: Akým spôsobom reflektuje slovenské

¹⁵ „srpski posmodernistički tekstovi i postmodernistički tekstovi uopšte odlikuju velikom merom eklektizma u sadržaju i formi. U srpskom kontekstu se kombinacija iskazivanja nepoverenja prema mogućnosti stvaranja nečeg *novog* manifestuje pre svega u formalnom eksperimentatorstvu koje dopire čak do avangardnih tendencija i skokovito se kroz stvaralaštvo D. Kiša nalazi veoma blizu, ako ne i direktno u samoj srpskoj postmoderni. Ovo proizvoljno kombinovanje sa sadržajem i formom, sa raznim žanrovima raznih umetničkih sfera se u bivšoj Jugoslaviji i današnjoj Srbiji nije artikulisalo u programsku poetiku. Ne postoji zatovreni sistem uputstava kako treba pisati. Uprkos distanciranju od prošlosti i vere u jednu struju mišljenja, u književnosti su postmodernistički tekstovi izgrađeni upravo na tekstovima prethodnih epoha na koje reaguju intertekstualnošću i palimpsestom. Tekstovi pretenduju na ceo kulturni spektrum. U fokusu autora nisu samo emblematski poznati i poštovani tekstovi svetskih autora, već u poslednjim godinama takav aluzivni, parodični ili ironični dijalog vode i sa takozvanom pop kulturom“. (preveo Z. T)

prostredie na srbskú postmodernu? S ohľadom na tradíciu, ktorá v oblasti umeleckého prekladu zo srbskej literatúry existuje, sa dá povedať, že ako deficit pociťujeme absenciu reprezentatívnej antológie súčasnej poviedky, kde by sa azda najlepšie ukázala pestrosť postmoderných postupov v autorských stratégiách, jednak už na Slovensku známych mien, ale napr. aj vyššie naznačenej mladšej generácie. Azda sa podarí zrealizovať knižné preklady autorov, ktorých texty sa už objavili predovšetkým na stránkach *Revue svetovej literatúry*. Na záver konštatujem: ostáva veriť, že sa intenzita vnímania srbskej literatúry na Slovensku bude aj naďalej prehĺbovať, a to nielen prostredníctvom umeleckého prekladu, ale aj prostredníctvom literárnovedných a komparatistických sond do srbskej literatúry“ (Mikušiak 2010, 124-127).¹⁶

Igor Mikušjak se posle skoro devet godina vratio ovoj problematici tako što je u češkom naučnom časopisu *Slavia* objavio recenziju nove monografije poljske književne teoretičarke Silvije Novak-Bajcar (*Sylwia Nowak-Bajcar*) posvećene srpskoj postmodernističkoj prozi (Mikušiak 2019, 84-86).¹⁷ U njoj je ponovo afirmativnog stava, i to pre svega kada

¹⁶ „pokušali smo ukratko da označimo sve opšte tendencije, rezultat situacije u srpskoj postmoderni, i sada bismo hteli da ponešto kažemo i o najvažnijim autorima koji svojim kvalitetom nadmašuju prosek i čije knjige imaju potencijal da obogate i druge kulture. Kratki pregled i napomene koje se tiču pojedinačnih autora bi mogli da počnemo sa nekoliko njih. Neke bliske tendencije posmodernistima su koristili: D. Kiš, B. Pekić, R. Konstantinović, F. David i mnogi drugi. Pristupom, životnim iskustvom koje dele i visokim stepenom, čak i viškom etičnosti njihova dela ipak pripadaju pretečama postmoderne [...] Preostaje da se odgovori na poslednje pitanje: kako slovačka sredina gleda na srpsku postmodernu? S obzirom na tradiciju koja u oblasti prevoda umetničkih tekstova iz srpske književnosti postoji, moguće je reći da kao deficit osećamo odsustvo reprezentativne antologije moderne pripovetke gde bi se verovatno najbolje pokazala raznovrsnost posmodernističkih postupaka u autorskim strategijama, kako već poznatih imena u Slovačkoj, tako i spomenute mlađe generacije. Valjda će uspeti da se realizuju prevodi autora, čiji tekstovi su se već pojavili prvenstveno na stranicama časopisa *Revue svetovej literatúry*. Na kraju konstatujem: ostaje vera da će se intenzitet svesti o srpskoj književnosti u Slovačkoj produbljivati, i to nesamo posredstvom umetničkog prevoda, već i posredstvom književnonaučnih i komparatističkih sondi u srpsku književnost“.
(preveo Z.T)

¹⁷ Igor Mikušjak je u međuvremenu objavio i inspirativni esej o savremenoj srpskoj prozi na slovačkom jeziku u praškom časopisu *A2*. Pogledaj više: Mikušiak, Igor. „Vytrvalé a sústredené úsilie – Poznámky k charakteru súčasnej srbskej prózy“. *Postjugoslávská literatura* (A2, Kulturní čtrnáctideník – advojka.cz, Roč. XIII, No. 12, Praha, 7. 6. 2017, 6.

konstatuje da „samotná srbská literárna veda nemá v literárnovednej recepcii postmoderny veľa bielych miest. Už v období formovania srbského postmodernizmu ako evidentnej poetologickej tendencie sledovala literárnokritická obec jeho metamorfózy veľmi pozorne. Postupne sa vygenerovala trojica najusilovnejších a najpresvedčivejších generačných kritikov (Sava Damjanov, Mihajlo Pantić, Aleksandar Jerkov), ktorá najmä na prelome 80. a 90. rokov kanonizovala v literárnej prevádzke konca 20. storočia srbskú postmodernu ako jedinečný, kvalitatívne pozoruhodný, i keď nie je homogénny, prúd [...]. Tretí oddiel *Borhesovska fantastika. Danilo Kiš, Milorad Pavić i postmodernizam* je sériou pokojne formulovaných postojov ku kruciálnym problémom srbskej literárnej vedy. Do akej miery je alebo nie je próza Danila Kiša postmoderná a ako intenzívne je stimulovaná dielom argentínskeho prozaika a esejistu Jorge Louisa Borgesa? Aký charakter majú debutové prozaické texty Milorada Pavića? Je sympatické, že sa autorka týmto okruhom nevyhla. Svoje závery o spornom vzťahu D. Kiša voči J. L. Borgesovi neopiera o sústredené interpretácie konkrétnych textov, ale o esejistiku samotného D. Kiša. Ten sa vo svojich esejach vyjadril k postmodernizmu pomerne rezervovane a svoj vzťah k filozofii tvorby J. L. Borgesa označil za polemický. Podobný postup volí aj pri formulovaní názoru na produkciu M. Pavića. Ťažkosti s prijímaním jeho ranej tvorby vidí v neschopnosti kritickej obce prijať v čase dominancie neorealistickej poetiky (*stvarnosna proza*) jeho model prózy, ktorý je antitézou neorealizmu a je založený na parodovaní a cudzopasení nielen na iných literárnych textoch, ale celých kultúrach. V závere jej úvah ju to vedie k sumárnemu konštatovaniu: ¹⁸ ...prvi (D. Kiš), ostajući u okvirima mimesis-a,

¹⁸ „sama srpska književna nauka nema u naučnoj recepciji postmoderne mnogo praznih mesta. Već u periodu formiranja srpskog posmodernizma kao evidentne poetološke tendencije je književna nauka pomno pratila njene metamorfoze. Postupno su se izdvojila trojica najupornijih i najubedljivijih generacijskih kritičara (Sava Damjanov, Mihajlo Pantić, Aleksandar Jerkov) koji su na prelomu 80. i 90. godina koji su i književnom kontekstu kraja 20. veka kanonizovali srpsku postmodernu kao jedinstveni, kvalitativno izuzetni, iako ne homogeni talas [...] Treći deo *Borhesovska fantastika. Danilo Kiš, Milorad Pavić i postmodernizam* je serija mirno formulisanih stavova prema krucijalnim problemima srpske nauke o književnosti. Do koje mere jeste ili nije proza Danila Kiša postmoderná i koliko intenzívno je stimulísana delom argentinskog pisca i esejiste Horhea Luisa Borhesa? Kakvog su karaktera debitantska dela Milorada Pavića? Simpatično je to što autorka nije izbegla ova pitanja. Svoje zaključke o odnosu D. Kiša prema J. L. Borhesu ne temelji na interpretacije konkretnih tekstova, već na esejistiku samog D. Kiša. On se u svojim esejima

fikcionalizuje, ukazujući na dve dimenzije postojanja čoveka: racionalnost i iracionalnost, i u tome ključu tumači stvarnost, drugi (M. Pavić) stvara nov, fantastičan svet, koji prevazilazi granice mimesis-a. Dok prvi napušta borgesovsku metafiziku, drugi upravo nju čini polazištem. Dok jedan upućuje na kontekst van književne stvarnosti, drugi u okviru biblioteke i književnosti vidi svoj tekstualni svet“ (Mikušiak 2019, 85-86).

U Slovačkoj su o životu i delu D. Kiša na slovačkom jeziku dostupni i neki stavovi savremenih srpskih naučnika i pisaca, koji su se o njegovoj poetici izjašnjavali, pa su njihovi tekstovi postupno prilikom različitih povoda bili prevedeni na slovački. Na primer, Zoran Đerić u pogovoru za antologiju *I, tako, bez doma (Bezdomnost srpskih pesnika XX veka)* (Đerić 2017, 136-169)¹⁹ između ostalog otkriva da Danilo Kiš u pripovesti *Apatrid* (koja je nedovršena objavljena pet godina posle njegove smrti) navodi i sledeći fragment: *Vi biste hteli, gospodo, da vam pokažem svoju rodnu kuću? Ali moja majka se porodila u bolnici u Fijumi, i ta je bolnica već srušena. Nećete uspeti da stavite ploču na moj dom jer je i on valjda srušen. Ili biste morali staviti tri - četiri ploče sa mojim imenom: u raznim gradovima i raznim državama, ali tu vam ne bih mogao pomoći, jer ne znam koja je bila moja rodna kuća, ne sećam se više gde sam živeo u detinjstvu, jedva znam na kojem sam jeziku govorio* (Đerić 2017, 145-146).²⁰ Pripovetka je posvećena Edenu fon Horvatu, takođe apatridu, piscu bez kuće i domovine, ali u njoj mogu da se pronađu i autobiografske crte [...] Kišova zaostavština se sada nalazi u Srpskoj akademiji nauka i umetnosti (Đerić 2017, 146-147).²¹ Zoran Đerić se još jednom (na slovačkom) vraća Danilu Kišu kada kaže da „ambiciozniji

o postmodernizmu izjasnio relativno rezervisano i svoj odnos prema filozofiji i stvaralaštvu J. L. Borhesa je označio kao polemički. Sličan pristup je izabrao i prilikom formulacije stava o delu M. Pavića. Teškoće u prihvatanju njegovog ranog stvaralaštva vidi u nesposobnosti kritičara da u vremenu dominacije neorealističke poete (stvarnosna proza) prihvate njegov model proze, koje je antiteza neorealizma zasnovana na paradiranju i parazitiranju ne samo na drugim literarnim tekstovima, već i na celim kulturama. Na kraju njene analize je to navodi na sveobuhvatni zaključak:“ (preveo Z.T)

¹⁹ Ovaj srpski pisac piše o D. Kišu i u svojoj knjizi *Vozovi i logori (Vlaky a tábory)*, koja je cela dostupna na slovačkom jeziku (Báčsky Petrovec – Bratislava: Slovenské vydavateľské centrum / Spolok slovenských spisovateľov, 2020, prel.: Zdenka Valentová-Beličová).

²⁰ Citirano iz knjige: Danilo Kiš. *Lauta i ožljci*. Beograd, 1994.

²¹ Dragocena je i Kišova korespondencija sa slovačkim piscem Dušanom Šimkom u Parizu o kojoj više pišemo u navedenoj studiji o južnoslovenskim piscima na stranicama slovačkog književnog časopisa *Fragment* (1987 – 2017).

spisovatelia čelia slabému záujmu iného jazykového a literárneho prostredia o ich dielo. Niekedy sa pokúšajú priblížiť sa tematicky alebo začnú písať v jazyku prostredia, hoci je malo tých, ktorí to úspešne zdolali (jeden z takých bol Vladimir Nabokov). Avšak práve materinsky jazyk je, ako na tom trvali Danilo Kiš, Joseph Brodsky, Czeslaw Milosz a iní, príznakom exilu. Spisovatelia vedia, akú cenu zaplatili, aby mohli slobodne písať vo svojom jazyku. Ta cena je vysoká. Na jednej strane stratili domov a na druhej strane im hrozí, že sa nezačlenia do nového prostredia, do iného jazyka. Bez ohľadu na to, že dobre pozná nový jazyk, vždy zostane jednovyznamovy (priamočiary), lebo spisovateľ nepíše len slovami, ale celou svojou bytosťou (Kiš). Všetko je v jazyku obsiahnuté: mýty, etika, tradícia, kultúra, dejiny a pamäť. Vyradenie z vlasti nie je *vyradením zo syntaxe* (Kiš). Básnik je, ako povedal Brodsky, odsúdený na svoj jazyk: *Bez ohľadu na to, kde sa nachádza, on je v ňom zatvorený ako vo vesmírnej kapsule*. Práve preto ani Nabokov (ktorý písal prózu v angličtine), ani Brodsky (ktorý písal eseje, zriedkavejšie aj básne v angličtine), ani Kiš a Danojlić (ktorí písali po francúzsky a anglicky, ani Milosz (ktorý písal aj po francúzsky a anglicky), resp. ani Zagajewski ani Barańczak sa nevzdali písania (predovšetkým poézie) vo svojom materinskom jazyku, pretože, ako hovorí Milovan Danojlić: *...začleniť sa inde, to znamená zrieknuť sa vlastnej nezredukovateľnosti*“ (Valentová-Belićová 2018, 16).²²²³

²² U ovoj knjizi razgovora Z. Valentove-Belić čemo na slovačkom naći i razgovore sa drugim srpskim autorima-postmodernistima čija su dela bila prevedena na slovački posle 1989. godine (npr. Dragan Velikić, Vladimir Pištalo, David Albahari, ali i Gojko Božović, čija je izdavačka kuća Arhipelag nedavno izdalo u Beogradu kompletna sabrana dela Danila Kiša na srpskom i koji je istovremeno i autor pogovora slovačkog izdanja izbora iz poezije Duška Novakovića iz 2019 godine. O nekima od njih su izašle i cele recenzije u slovačkom kulturnom prostoru neposredno posle objavljivanja spomenutih prevoda njihovih dela na slovački jezik.

²³ „ambiciozniji pisci često moraju da se suoče sa slabim interesovanjem za svoje delo u drugom jeziku i književnom okurženju. Ponekad pokušaju da se tematski približe ili pišu na jeziku okoline, ali je malo onih koji su u tome bili uspešni (jedan od takvih je bio Vladimir Nabokov). Ali je upravo maternji jezik, kako su to tvrdili Danilo Kiš, Jozef Brodski, Česlav Miloš i drugi, znak egzila. Pisci znaju koju su cenu platili da bi mogli slobodno da pišu na svom jeziku. Ta cena je visoka. Na jednoj strani su izgubili domovinu a na drugoj strani im preči to da neće uspeti da se uklupe u novu sredinu i jezik. Bez obzira na to što dobro poznaje novi jezik, uvek ostaje jednoznačni (direktni), pošto pisac ne piše samo rečima, već i celim svojim bićem (Kiš). Jezik obuhvata sve: mitove, etiku, tradiciju, kulturu, istoriju i sećanje. Izgnanstvo iz domovine nije i *izgnanstvo* iz

Zatim se srpski autor Miroslav Aleksić u razgovoru sa Zdenkom Valent-Belić²⁴ obraća slovačkim čitaocima zapažanjem da „predsa by sme nemali ukončiť tento rozhovor a nespomenúť spisovateľov, ktorých postavenie vo vzťahu k otázke národnej a kultúrnej identity a príslušnosti výlučne jednému kultúrnemu prostrediu a ktorý ohraničujú štátne hranice jednej krajiny je problematizované a nemožno ho vykladať jedným zjednodušeným kľúčom. Výrazným príkladom u nás je Danilo Kiš, o ktorom súčasne možno povedať, že je srbsky, juhoslovansky, stredoeurópsky a európsky spisovateľ. Ide o identity, ktoré sa navzájom nepopierajú. Súčasne silná je a osudová jeho príslušnosť židovskému korpusu. V jednom rozhovore o románe *Piesočne hodiny* Kiš hovorí: 'Zemepisne, ta moja Panónia z *Piesočných hodín* sa kryje s veľkou časťou s tým územím, ktoré niekedy zaberalo Panónske more. Tato skutočnosť – nie bez metafyzického prízvuku – že všetko to, čo sa tu deje, sa odohráva na dne mora, nie je bez významu.' A o jeho tragickom cítení židovstva hovorí veta z tohto istého rozhovoru: 'Cez početne sťahovania vo vozňoch prvej triedy vo vojenskom chaose, ako aj na vidieckych vozoch a fiakroch vo Vojvodine a v Maďarsku ja som mal nejaký infantilný pocit ahasferického osudu. A to ahasferické zostalo žiť vo mne od tých najskorších dní, ten pocit strachu a neistoty, ako zvuk udierania klopadla na zatvorenú bránu, ako aj vŕzganie nenatretých pántov, štekание psov a záhadných rozhovorov pred cudzími bránami v noci, v polobdelom stave, keď sa zvuk a význam slov takmer nerozoznáva.' Kišov otec umrel v Osvienčime a on sám sa zachránil od podobného osudu vďaka tomu, že bol pokrstený v pravoslávnom kostole. Ako syn maďarského Žida ešte ako študent výborne prekladal Adyho Endrea a Jozsefa Attilu a niesol v sebe silne prepojenie s maďarskou literatúrou. Školiac sa v Belehrade a patriac do jedného vynikajúceho literárno-umeleckého kruhu v tých päťdesiatych a šesťdesiatych rokoch, on sa zakorenil do srbskej literatúry a kultúry.

sintakse (Kiš). Pesnik je, kako je to rekao Brodski, osuđen na svoj jezik: *Bez obzira na to, gde se nalazi, on je u njemu zatvoren kao u kosmičkoj kapsuli*. Upravo zato ni Nabokov (koji je prozu pisao na engleskom), ni Brodski (koji je pisao eseje i poeziju (ređe) na engleskom), ni Kiš ni Danojlić (koji su pisali na francuskom i engleskom), ni Miloš (koji je pisao na francuskom i engleskom), odnosno ni Zagajevski ni Baranjčak nisu odustali od pisanja (pre svega poezije) na svom maternjem jeziku, zato što, kako je govorio Milovan Danojlić: *...uvrstiti se negde, to znači odreći se sopstvene neredukovanosti*". (preveo Z.T)

²⁴ Najnovija je njena disertacija na slovačkom: Valentová-Belićová, Zdenka. *Imagologické podnety pre súčasnú literárnu estetiku. Obraz Srbov v slovenskej literatúre*. Dizertačná práca. Bratislava: Filozofická fakulta UK, 2020., koja je 2021. godine objavljena i u posebnom izdanju u Vojvodini.

Získal najväčšie srbské a juhoslovanské literárne ceny. Vďaka tomuto jazyku bol rovnako akceptovaný aj v Chorvátsku, Bosne a Hercegovine a Čiernej Hore, ale aj v Slovinsku a Macedónsku. Predsa Péter Esterházy a György Konrad ho vnímali ako literárneho príbuzného a príslušníka toho istého literárneho kruhu, s ktorým mali spoločne literárno-estetické a etické hodnoty. Prekladal aj ruských a francúzskych spisovateľov, ktorých dielo ma dominantnú úlohu v jeho literárnom rozvoji. Vo Francúzsku dlho žil a bol váženým spisovateľom. Dokonca aj zomrel v Paríži. Pochovaný bol v Belehrade podľa pravoslávneho obradu. Hovoril, že je každý nacionalizmus vlastne paranoja. Bol v podstate svojej osoby kozmopolita. A keď ide o jeho literárne usmernenie, bol dominantne a predovšetkým európskym spisovateľom. Na konci tohto záveru veľmi dobre zapadá jedna jeho myšlienka z *Rady mladému spisovateľovi*: „Nenasleduj východniarskych filozofov, zen-budistov atď.; máš ty aj múdrejšiu robotu.“ (Valentová-Beličová 2018, 204-206)²⁵

²⁵ „ipak ne bi trebalo da završimo ovaj razgovor a da ne spomenemo pisce, čiji je odnos prema pitanju nacionalnog i kulturnog identiteta i pripadnosti isključivo jednoj kulturnoj sredini i koji ograničavaju državne granice jedan države problematizovan i ne može da se objasni jednim uprošćenim šablonom. Izraziti primer kod nas je Danilo Kiš o kojem je momentalno moguće reći da je srpski, jugoslovenski, srednjeevropski i evropski pisac. Radi se o identitetima koji se međusobno ne isključuju. Trenutno je jaka i sudbinska njegova pripadnost jevrejskom korpusu. U jednom razgovoru o romanu *Peščanik* Kiš kaže: „Geografski, ta moja Panonija iz *Peščanika* se velikim delom podudara sa teritorijom koju je nekada zauzimalo Panonsko more. Ova činjenica – ne bez metafizičkog prizvuka – da se sve što se ovde dešava odigrava na dnu mora, nije bez značenja.“ A o njegovom tragičnom osećanju jevrejstva svedoči rečenica iz tog istog razgovora: „Tokom brojnih selidbi u vagonima prve klase u ratnom haosu, kao i na seljačkim kolima i fijakerima u Vojvodini i Mađarskoj ja sam imao neki infantilni osećaj ahasverske sudbine. I to ahasverstvo je ostalo da živi u meni od najranijih dana, taj osećaj straha i nesigurnosti, kao zvuk kucanja na zatvorenu kapiju, kao škripa nepodmazanih šarki, lavež pasa i tajnovitih razgovora pred tuđim kapijama noću, u polusnu, kada se zvuk i značenje reči gotovo ne razaznaje.“ Kišov otac je umro u Aušvicu a on sâm je izbegao sličnu sudbinu zahvaljujući tome što je bio kršten u pravoslavnoj crkvi. Kao sin mađarskog Jevrejina je još kao sudent odlično prevodio Endrea Adija i Jožefa Atilu i nosio u sebi vezu sa mađarskom književnosti. Školovanje i pripadnost jednom izvanrednom književno-umetničkom društvu u Beogradu pedesetih i šezdesetih godina mu je pružila mogućnost da pusti korenje u srpskoj književnosti i kulturi. Dobitnik je najvećih srpskih i jugoslovenskih književnih nagrada. Zahvaljujući tom jeziku je podjednako dobro prihvaćen u Hrvatskoj, Bosni i Hercegovini i Crnoj Gori, ali i u Sloveniji i Makedoniji. Peter Esterhazi i Đerđ Konrad su ga videli kao kao književnog rođaka i pripadnika istog

U skoro svim dosada prevedenim delima srpske postmoderne na slovački jezik (uključujući i ona Danila Kiša) je moguće primetiti nekoliko zajedničkih tendencija: u svojim tekstovima se srpski postmodernisti prema književnoj tradiciji odnose subverzivno, konstruišući odnosno pre dekonstruišući prozu, dramu ili poeziju prema teorijskim principima postmoderne. Njihovi osnovni autorski gestovi, koji su u okviru jugoslovenskih književnosti na početku delovali smešno, pa čak i provokativno, su tokom 90. godina nisu značajnije menjali, već pre ustaljivali. Izvor efekta „višeglasja“ je upravo upotreba intertekstualnosti, prisutne u tekstovima prilično direktno (na primer moto, citat) i diskretnije. Sa njim se spaja ne samo upotreba stilski različitih jezičkih sredstava, već i doslovno različitih jezika. Veza između tekstova se realizuje kako na nivou jezika, tako i kompozicije: autori koriste sugestivnu snagu onih elemenata i (sižetnih) postupaka, koje je moguće smatrati za znake i konstituente poetike različitih žanrova. Radi se o, na primer, korišćenju karakterističnog arsenala motiva, poznatog zapleta, simptomatičnog i za čitaoca poznatog klišea u okviru radnje, kao i izboru realija i tipičnog načina imenovanja protagonista. Osećaj fragmentarnosti teksta dodatno naglašava autoreferencijalnost njihovih dela. Ona se manifestuje u okviru sopstvenog pripovedanja kao komentar, interpretacija, čak i preispitivanje napisanog. Njihovi tekstovi su parodični i pošto ulaze u odnos sa više prototekstova istovremeno, u stvari su koncipirani kao skup intertekstualnih poruka. Intertekstualna povezanost se u njihovom okviru kod nekih pisaca kreće u rasponu od citiranja do persiflažne imitacije žanra kao takvog. Stepen imitacije originalnog teksta je u njima različit, u određenim slučajevima ga je teško tačno definisati. Pojedinačne tekstualne celine delimično prate, odnosno imitiraju pravila kompozicije i formu izvornih tekstova čime očigledno preuzimaju ili pre evociraju sopstvenu žanrovsku pripadnost. Njihovi tekstovi tako u sebi sadrže lažno, nejednoznačno i višestruko uputstvo za sopstveno čitanje i dekodiranje, koje onda predstavljaju čitaocu. Naravno, ono se postupno pokazuje kao zavaravajuće, iako ne

književnog kruga sa kojim su ga spajale zajedničke književno-estetske i etičke vrednosti. Prevodio je i ruske i francuske pisce čija su dela imala dominantnu ulogu u njegovom književnom razvoju. U Francuskoj je živeo dugo i bio cenjeni pisac. Čak je i umro u Parizu. Sahranjen je u Beogradu uz pravoslavni obred. Govorio je da je svaki nacionalizam zapravo paranoja. U osnovi svoje ličnosti je bio kosmopolita. A kada se radi o njegovom književnom usmerenju, bio je dominantno i pre svega evropski pisac. U kraj ovog zaključka se savršeno uklapa njegova misao iz *Saveta mladom piscu*: „Ne sledi istočnjačke filozofije, zenbudizam itd; ti imaš pametnija posla“ (preveo Z.T)

i suvišno: samo i upravo na pozadini najavljene sličnosti sa originalnim tekstom (odnosno imitiranim žanrom) je zapravo moguće primećivati „nekorektnosti“ koje autori prema njemu i navodnom čitalačkom očekivanju čine. Žanrovska „hibridnost“ tako kod njih nije samo sredstvo, već upravo i cilj autorske ispovesti. Čini se, da se autori različitim postupcima trude da uvišestruče nepreglednost situacije u tekstu i nimalo ne idu ka rešenju, već upravo ka produblivanju prvobitne „misterije“. Kada se radi o priči, „sveta“ i ključna kategorija pripovedača / protagoniste / lirskog subjekta je kod njih takođe objekat autorskih intervencija. Tako se zapravo pokazuje da odabrana forma stilizacije jeste osnova autorske manipulacije pričom.

U promenjenoj političkoj i društvenoj situaciji posle 1989. godine, kada je književnost izgubila potrebu da se profiliše prema pritisku totalitarne ideologije su se i pojedinačni elementi postmodernističke poetike, koji su u kontekstu jasne bipolarne situacije prethodnog razdoblja izgledali kao alternativa ili svojevrsna polemika, postali izraz vrednosne nepreglednosti i haosa. Ova situacija je kod mnogih mladih autora 90. godina rezultirala određenom rezigniranosti: „mlada proza“ se većinom izuzima ne samo iz ideološkog konteksta, već se odriče potrage za ljudskim i etičkim vrednostima. Funkcija stvaralaštva kao poruke o njima gubi aktuelnost. Ova činjenica je dovela do radikalne promene shvatanja društvenog statusa knjige. Ona je prestala da bude percipirana kao tezaurus vrednosti i postala označena kao roba. U postnovembarskom periodu 90. godina novi kvalitet počinje da stiže i „autsajderstvo“. Ali već tokom 90. godina prestaje da se radi o „autsajderstvu“ kao o pozicioniranju marginalizovanog subjekta prema oficijelnom centru, dakle poziciji koja bi bila opozicionom alternativom za totalitarizam. „Autsajderstvo“ posle 1989. godine više nije forma iznuđene „nedruštvene“ egzistencije autora, već pre rezultat svesne stilizacije teksta, i moguće ga je posmatrati kao beg od postnovembarske realnosti, formu azila stvorenog posredstvom teksta. Dakle, moguće je reći da pasivnost ili deklarirano „autsajderstvo“ protagonista koji traže doslednu, bar verbalnu izolaciju u odnosu na profanost koja ih okružuje, u pisanju nekih autora iz 90. godina postaje izraz problematičnog odnosa subjekta i sveta, čak i specifičnim izrazom društvene frustracije.

Korpus svih prevedenih dela srpske postmoderne književnosti na slovački posle 1989. godine je na kraju krajeva ne samo poželjan, već verovatno i u punoj meri prihvatljiv. Ostaje nam još samo da se nadamo da će novi razvoj slovačko-srpskih književnih i kulturnih odnosa u godinama pred nama doneti i nove vrednosti, koje će proširiti naše

intelektualne horizonte i na taj način obogatiti duhovne dimenzije šire čitalačke publike.

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**“POETICS AT THE CROSSROADS”: SERBIAN POSTMODERN LITERATURE
BEFORE AND AFTER 1989 IN SLOVAKIA: THE SPECIAL CASE OF DANILO KIŠ
(1935 - 1989)**

The aim of our paper is to present the general reception of the creative life and literary works of Danilo Kiš in Slovakia against the background of Serbian postmodernity. We want to do this in connection with the milestone year 1989 (the date of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Velvet Revolution in Slovakia, but also the year of the author's death), which unfortunately did not live in a dream of democracy in Central or Southeastern Europe. Finally, it is symbolic that D. Kiš's works were relatively well-known and well received in the territory of the former Czechoslovakia, and were translated both before and after 1989, while professional general reflection on his works is increasing, especially since the 1990s, when several literary theoreticians and critics have returned to his life and creative messages with sympathy. However, we will go *in medias res* and present all the registered responses to the topic. The approach chosen will not be chronological, the order of these considerations will be involuntary, but in the end we will also offer a bibliographical list of all translated works from Serbian postmodern literature in the Slovak language from 1989 to 2019 in alphabetical order. It is a list of translated novels, collections of short stories, poetry selections and dramas by contemporary Serbian writers, which have been adapted by several Slovak translators. The corpus of these translated works from Serbian literature into Slovak after 1989 is therefore not only welcome, but perhaps also fully accepted. In Slovakia, some opinions of contemporary Serbian scholars and writers are available in Slovak on the life and overall literary work of D. Kiš, who commented on his poetics and gradually their texts have been translated into Slovak over time. In almost all the postmodern works translated from Serbian into Slovak, several common tendencies can be observed. In their texts, Serbian postmodernists behave mostly subversively towards the literary tradition, constructing or rather deconstructing prose, drama or poems according to the theoretical principles of postmodernism. Their basic authorial gestures, which at first sounded ridiculous and too provocative in the (former) Yugoslav literature, did not change significantly during the 1990s, but rather settled. The source of the effect of "ambiguity" is the application of intertextuality, which is present in the texts both very directly and more discreetly. It is associated not only with the use of stylistically different speeches, but also literally different languages. Intertextual continuity within the texts takes place both at the level of their linguistic and compositional construction: the authors use the evocative power of those elements and (subject) procedures that can be considered symptomatic and constitutive for the poetics of various genres. These include the application and use of a characteristic set of motives, a familiar plot, a characteristic and readable story stereotypes, as well as the choice of realities or a typical way of naming characters. The feeling of fragmentation of the text is further strengthened by the self-referentiality of their works. This manifests itself in the narrative itself as commenting on, interpreting, and even

questioning what has already been written. Their texts behave parodically and, as they relate to several prototypes at the same time, they are actually conceived as sets of intertext links. In their context, intertextual continuity ranges for some writers from citations to persiflage imitations of the genre as such. The degree of mirroring of the original text varies in them, or it cannot be accurately estimated. The individual text units partially comply with, they imitate the compositional rules and the form of the original texts, thus seemingly taking over or rather evoking their own genre affiliation. Their texts thus contain a false, because ambiguous and multiple, set of instructions for self-reading and decoding, which they then present to the reader. Of course, this will gradually prove to be misleading, although not unnecessary: only and against the background of the announced similarity with the original text (or imitated genre) can we perceive the "inaccuracies" that the authors commit towards it and against the instructive reading expectations. Thus, the genre "hybridity" is not only a means for them, but precisely the goal of the author's statement. It seems that the authors are trying to multiply the opacity of the textual situation in various ways, and they are far from aiming at a solution, but rather at deepening the original "mystery". In terms of the story, the "sacred" and key category of the narrator / protagonist / lyrical subject is also the subject of authorial interventions. It turns out that the chosen form of stylization is the starting point of the author's manipulation of the story. Thus, this way of reading really becomes an individual update of the text (on the author's part, perhaps its own implementation of the concept of "open work"), but at the same time admits its own incompleteness, because it is limited by personal reading experience. This statement therefore confirms the full competence of the author in dealing with both their own and the foreign text, because the scope of this manipulation is not "controllable". A paradoxical situation arises in the type of writing represented in Serbian postmodern literature by several translated authors. On the one hand, the strong position of the author is obvious, who appropriates the text and reserves the complete right to deal with it, but on the other hand, this very gesture confirms his dependence on the already existing originals. Creativity here then basically does not go beyond paraphrase, so there is a certain creative helplessness hidden behind the absolute authorial competence. This is demonstrated by the fact that a seemingly unpredictable violation of the rules of the story and genre settles down text after text. This is due to the fact that the author's poetics actually has only a limited inventory of (de)compositional procedures that relate to pre-existing epic structures. Only against their background can his texts be "generated". Arbitrariness in dealing with the original text is finally confronted with the stereotypes of the author's gesture. So, it is a canonization of a certain kind of postmodern "mess" and the authors' complete submission to its rules. In this context, it can be said that the 1990s also bring a different understanding of creative autonomy within a social context. While within the "line of ironies" that can be traced back to the 1960s, the message of the text as a means of creative self-realization and reporting on the authenticity of the individual in opposition to totalitarianism is essential. Writing in the 1990s often only seeks

to express isolation as a subject and its distance from social reality. In such circumstances, when writing refers only to the world of texts, then the autonomy of literature really takes place precisely as its "exclusion from social reality". And remaining within the boundaries of the literary game, the authors finally give up not only any aspirations to transcend them towards the social context, but also the ethical transcendence of their own text within it. In the changed political and social situation after 1989, when literature lost the need to profile itself against the pressure of totalitarian ideology, the individual elements of postmodern poetics, which in the context of the clearly bipolar situation of the previous period sounded like an alternative or a kind of controversy, are confused. The result of this situation is a certain resignation on the part of several young authors in the 1990s: "young prose" mostly separates not only from ideological contexts, but also gives up the search for human, ethical values. The function of creating acting as messages about them loses its relevance. As a consequence, this fact led to a radical change in the perception of the social status of the book. It ceased to be initially understood as a thesaurus of values, and was declared a commodity. In the post-revolution period of the 1990s, "outsourcing" also acquired a new quality. From as early as the 1990s, it was no longer a matter of "outsiders" as a position of the marginalized subject in relation to the official centre. This was a position that would be an opposition alternative to totalitarianism. "Outsourcing" after 1989 is no longer a form of the author's forced "non-social" existence, but rather the result of a chosen text stylization. It can be seen as a tightening from the new reality, as a form of asylum created through text. Thus, it can be said that the passivity or declared "outsiders" of the protagonists, who strive for consistent, at least verbal isolation from the surrounding profanity. In the writing of some authors of the 1990s it becomes a manifestation of the subject's problematic relationship with the world, or even a specific expression of social frustration. We observe the specific use of the past tense in cases where the past character of the event or experience is particularly emphasized, when it is said to be the product of the reflexive mood of the narrator / protagonist / lyrical subject who remembers and renews his past. Here, the preterial forms of verbs, the witnessing position of the speaker, the many adverbs of place and time reinforce the idea of the authenticity of what happened. The created illusion of the reality of the narrated experiences blurs the clear line between reality and fiction, questions the past, what has already ended, and gives the perspective of its new meaning. The question of when the past ends and to what extent it is an integral part of what seeps into the present has an important role to play in clarifying the status of the stories being told. To what extent is returning in fact a natural state of reinterpretation, born of an intellectual approach to oneself and the world. Thus, the imaginary past is present with the real at a level that is its living and real necessity. A look at a specific or dreamy past experience is also an admission of the individualizing character of memory, it is an attempt at self-identification. The positions of narrator / protagonist / lyrical subject and hero agree in the search for the intersection between the narrator and the surviving self. These works seemed to be born in an attempt to combine

two different ways of seeing. The emphasis was not so much on what "happened then," but on the need to make sense of it now. Thus, the signal of attributing certain events to the past is not a reason to ask whether the fictional past is behind the real past, but to turn to the present, which deals with the idea of what happened. The demand of the past puts us in front of the way it is presented and becomes necessary. This compositional and narrative model separates the foreign past in individual narration by one's own narrator, whose language and actions remain relatively free within the narration that presents them. The absence of commentary, and a partial ambiguity in what happened, makes the works ambiguous. Not engaging in a foreign past is a unique answer to the question of the extent to which the other's experiences belong to the main narrator / protagonist / lyrical subject. Placing one narrative in another presents the idea of the outer (introductory) text and the inner (secondary). This compositional approach helps to apply complex functionality - not in opposition to the notion of reality, but as born of the world of fiction that preceded it. The encounter with the past functions as the main centre of gravity, the survivors are told as if already completed, the heroes see it in its completion and complexity. They turn to him, not to change him, but to argue their present, but it is a present without perspective. These different approaches to dealing with the past bring its relative completion to the scene in different ways. They model the human personality in relation to what happened and what persists in memory. A dynamic relationship to the past not only conditions its integration into the present, but also reflects man's relationship to the world around him and within it. We only have to hope that the new development of Slovak-Serbian literary and cultural relations in the years before us will also bring new values that will broaden our intellectual horizons and thus enrich the spiritual dimensions of the wider reading public.

Keywords: Danilo Kiš, Serbian postmodern literature, Slovak culture, translation

SIR WYNDHAM HENRY DEEDES: A PORTRAIT OF THE TRANSLATOR AS A CULTURAL AMBASSADOR

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Abstract: Sir Wyndham Henry Deedes (1883-1956) was an eminent British Army officer, civil administrator and a Turcophile, known for his literary translations from Turkish into English. This article examines his cross-cultural transfer practices, specifically his writings and interlingual literary translations by discussing his contributions to the promotion of Turkish culture in a British context. Furthermore, the study problematizes the notion of the cultural mediator and the contexts influencing and influenced by Deedes' leading role, which caused him to act as a cultural communicative agent and an idea maker. The overall aim of this study is to contribute to the formulation of translation history through the microhistorical study of Deedes as a translation agent and the personal and social motives behind his translation decisions. It concludes that Deedes' decisions were driven by not only his interest in Turkish culture and people, but also his position as an idea maker who found it vital to introduce the new Turkish Republic to the British audience and to promote Turco-British relations.

Keywords: Wyndham H. Deedes, agency in translation, translator as cultural ambassador, translator as idea maker, cultural repertoire, *The Autobiography of a Turkish Girl*, *Afternoon Sun*

Introduction

Sir Wyndham H. Deedes, (1883-1956), a British army general who spent time in different military positions in the Ottoman Empire in the 1910s, is an important but neglected historical figure in Translation Studies. He translated into English Reşat Nuri Güntekin's novels *Çalılıkuşu* (1922) and *Akşam Güneşi* (1926) under the titles *The Autobiography of a Turkish Girl* (1949) and *Afternoon Sun* (1951), respectively. He also translated Mahmut Makal's auto-ethnographical works (*Bizim Köy* [1950] and *Köyümden* [1952]) under the title *A Village in Anatolia* (1954). Among

these translations, *The Autobiography of a Turkish Girl* deserves due credit as the “first novel to be translated and published in the UK” (Tekgül and Akbatur 23). Despite his leading role in introducing the Turkish novel to the UK, Deedes has been almost completely disregarded by translation scholars, to the best of the authors’ knowledge, receiving only brief mentions in Tekgül and Akbatur’s (23) report on literary translation from Turkish into English in the UK and Ireland between 1990 and 2012, and in Paker and Yılmaz’s (15) bibliography of Turkish literature in English translation between 1949 and 2004. In addition, a recent study by Kansu-Yetkiner and Aktener (161-162), dealing with the micro level strategies in the translation of *The Autobiography of a Turkish Girl*, briefly refers to Deedes as the translator of the novel. However, there is no study directly discussing Deedes as a translation agent.

With the contention that “the study of the activities of cultural agents can be a valuable tool for the study of the historiography of culture and translation” (Tahir-Gürçağlar 162), the focus on texts has shifted to translators as agents in translation studies, and recently volumes have been devoted to the exploration of translators’ agency. Nevertheless, translators themselves remain the least investigated element in translation studies, despite the potential for a focus on translation agents to contribute to the formulation of history of translation. In the same vein, Pym (160-161) and Adamo (85) propose the study of translators’ active agency as a route to greater consistency in producing translation history. To further this point, Adamo (81-82) emphasizes the role of microhistorical studies of individuals as a tool for providing insight into the past. In tune with this, translation history has indeed concentrated on individual cases, but specifically on those that went “against traditional [...] reconstructions” (Adamo 87). Provided that Deedes did assume an active role as a translation agent by introducing the Turkish novel into Britain, and thus, going against the grain in cultural studies, with its tendency to ignore and even disclaim the Turkish novel, it can be suggested that investigation of Deedes’ agency is a worthy contribution to the understanding of translation history.

In the light of these considerations, we seek to study Deedes’ translation agency to explore his contributions to the British culture repertoire with special emphasis upon his love for Turkey and its people, as well as his role as an idea and policy maker in Turco-British relations. To do so, we draw on biographical and various secondary sources when necessary, as well as Deedes’ semiotic products, including but not limited to the translations mentioned above. The study is positioned as

a microhistorical study focusing on the individual case of Deedes, and the implications of his selection of texts for translation in terms of translation history.

Theoretical Framework

Milton and Bandia define agents of translations as “individuals who devote great amounts of energy and even their own lives to the cause of a foreign literature, author or literary school, translating, writing articles, teaching and dissemination of knowledge and culture” (1). By doing so, agents of translation may bring about various changes, including but not limited to “broaden[ing] the range of translations available” or “help[ing] or attempt[ing] to innovate by selecting new works to be translated” (Milton and Bandia 2). By prompting such changes, and the resulting presentation of new items to a target culture, agents of translation contribute to, and in some cases, even shape, the culture repertoire of the target culture in question.

At this point, it is necessary to address the question of the motive behind changes affected by translators, whether personal, social or both. Translators may choose to translate specific works into a target language due to personal interest. They may particularly be interested in working on a certain author, literary movement, source culture and the like, purely for their own enjoyment. However, there may also be a secret agenda, a specific cause, such as the introduction of a certain source culture to the target culture, undertaking activism to achieve a particular end, promoting a certain issue onto the target culture’s agenda, and so on, through their choices of works to translate. In line with this, Paloposki suggests that “translation [...] is not separate from any other human action” in that “the role of the social and the role of the individual vary and they are negotiated each time anew in new circumstances” (190). Similarly, Pym (170) argues that in shaping translation history, the factors at work are not only personal, but also social. In this sense, in identifying a translation agent’s motives, it is important to pay attention not only to biographical data, but also to the contemporary social context.

Exploration of the former may indeed be fruitful in yielding information about a translator’s personal interests, i.e., the personal causes that motivate the translator’s translation activities, decisions and strategies. Furthermore, “translators with bodies [...] can get up and go from town to town, culture to culture,” which are “pertinent to the ways translators can help shape translation history” (Pym 161). Therefore, in the exploration of the biographical data, it is important to be alert for

the translator's experiences in a certain source culture or a society in establishing the potential reasons why they, as agents, make their translation-related decisions. Moreover, it is also beneficial to factor in who the translation agent in question is professionally—or otherwise, one might add—besides a translator since “the multiple nature of their employment might be a major key” in understanding their agency fully (Pym 163).

In addition to personal reasons, such as a liking for a specific author and/or culture or experiences in a specific society, as mentioned, social causes may be at play in driving translation agents. Their translation activities, decisions and strategies may be influenced by intentions to facilitate premeditated culture planning, defined as “a deliberate act of intervention, either by power holders or by ‘free agents,’ into an extant or a crystallizing repertoire” (Even-Zohar “Culture Planning” 98), for a specific purpose. A case in point may be the introduction of additions to culture repertoire for “the handling of changing circumstances” (Even-Zohar “Idea-makers” 187) affecting a certain society, which is a precondition for successful human societies. For Even-Zohar, “alternative or new options for the repertoire of culture by which the life of societies is shaped and organized”, and which are created out of “ideas” or “images” that certain “dedicated individuals” (“Idea-makers” 185), whom Even-Zohar calls “idea-makers,” formulate are the only means for human societies to achieve success. It is important to keep in mind that these alternative or new options are not always tangible, but they can nevertheless be semiotic. In detailing the possible constituents of these semiotic products, Even-Zohar (“Idea-makers” 199) lists “images, metaphors, and the depiction of alternative, different, or new models of life,” in other words, literature. Labelling these products “life images,” Even-Zohar (“Idea-makers” 198) also proposes image-making as a way of producing new options.

Whether conceived of as idea-making or image-making, new options in the form of semiotic products can also be introduced through the means of translation. Should translators introduce a piece of literature that encompasses a genuine novelty—e.g. an idea, image, reflections of the models of life of an unknown culture and the like—through translation, they assume, wittingly or not, the role of idea-makers, image-makers, or even cultural entrepreneurs in the case that they transform the idea “to socio-cultural reality by implanting them into the active repertoire of the relevant group” (Even-Zohar “Idea-makers” 195). Considering these, as suggested by Demircioğlu (134), one can rework agency through the concepts of idea-making, image-making and cultural entrepreneurship. In line with this, Deedes' role as

an agent in the introduction of a previously unencountered form, i.e., the Turkish novel, images of the Turkish culture as well as the reflections of the new Turkish Republic established in 1923 following the fall of the Ottoman Empire will be discussed in the light of the aforementioned concepts. In so doing, from a microhistorical perspective focusing on the individual case of Deedes, we consider him not only as a Turcophile, but also as an idea-maker and a cultural ambassador introducing the British to Turkish culture at a time when Turkey was a newly-established, and hence, fairly unknown entity. We believe that Deedes' translation and other activities aiming for the promotion of Turkish culture might result from his personal interest in the country, as well as his wish for the UK to handle "changing circumstances" following the transition from Empire to the young Republic. We, thus, seek to explore the negotiation between "the role of the social and the role of the individual" in Deedes' certain actions, including his translation activities, which undeniably served as a means of introducing the Turkish culture to the British audience. This requires attention to not only biographical data shedding light on the individual, but also contextual information valuable in interpreting the social causes that Deedes potentially pursued. To do so, we will begin with an exploration of the biographical data relevant to Deedes' identity (professionally or otherwise), his experiences in the Ottoman Empire, and his admiration for the Turks and their culture. This will then be followed by a focus on Deedes' role as an idea-maker, in other words, the activities that resulted in semiotic products—including his translations—responsible for introducing Turkish culture to Britain, the study of which is conducted in the light of relevant contextual information.

Who is Deedes?

Educated at Eton College, Deedes immediately joined the Army. He traveled extensively due to his posts (from Libya to Anatolia, Gallipoli to Cairo, then to Jerusalem) until his resignation in 1923, and his return to Britain. Despite his military background, Deedes was characterized as saintly, ascetic and philanthropic by those acquainted with him (for example, see Elath, Bentwich and May 7, 48, 57, 59). He also seems to be characterized by a studious nature, and a fondness of languages, books and learning. His biographer, Gladys Bendit under the pseudonym John Presland (34) explains that even as a young soldier living under demanding campaign conditions, Deedes looked for opportunities to educate himself. Throughout his life, he was continuously learning subjects as diverse as "Dutch or German, history or shorthand, Turkish or philosophy" (Presland 34-35). His "appetite for

knowledge” (Presland 40) continued in his later years, and even at the time Presland wrote the biography of him, “a new idea, a new approach to some problem, [could] arouse an excitement in [Deedes] which for most of us dies down with our youth” (Presland 40).

Deedes’ initial interest in learning (Ottoman) Turkish¹ came about in 1908, evidenced by a letter to his mother revealing that he was contemplating this (Presland 43). At the time, he was based in Malta, but fortunately managed to find a teacher who could teach him the language. After fully applying himself, Deedes came to be accepted as “one of the best Turkish scholars in Europe” (Presland 44) by 1914. Deedes’ command of the language is hardly surprising considering his time in the Ottoman Empire in the 1910s in various posts, i.e., an officer in the Turkish Gendarmerie, a member of a Commission for Refugees, a Gendarmerie officer under the Ministry of Interior, and an Intelligence officer in Gallipoli (Presland 50-51, 109; Bendit 13-14). In 1909, Deedes started to consider the possibility of going to the Ottoman Empire to re-organize the gendarmerie. After passing the examination for a second-class interpretership in Turkish in 1909, Deedes applied and was accepted for the position in gendarmerie, and arrived in Istanbul in February, 1910. During his time in Turkey, he continued working on his Turkish with two teachers, one of whom helped him socialize with locals in various locations in Istanbul (Presland 51). According to Presland, Deedes became proficient enough to undertake translation tasks. For instance, at one point, he translated an article on the diseases of cotton into Turkish (91). Presland further explains that “[Deedes] passed with flying colours a test as to his command of the Turkish language, reading off a Turkish document at sight and following it up by translating from French into Turkish at top speed” (124). Deedes’ total immersion in the language resulted in his recognition as an authority possessing in-depth knowledge of the country and its people and being appointed as an intelligence officer in the Dardanelles (Gallipoli) campaign (Bendit 13-14).

After serving in Palestine between 1920 and 1923, Deedes returned to the UK, undertaking social work at National Council of Social Services, as well as devoting himself to the cause of Jerusalem, and to promoting good Anglo-Turkish relations (Barker 49; Gowers 59; Bentwich 76-77; Percy 10). Regarding the latter, he served as chairman of the Turkish

¹ As the Alphabet Reform (dated 1928 and introducing the transition to the use of Latin-script alphabet from the use of Ottoman Turkish alphabet) was yet to happen at that time, it is fair to assume that Deedes learnt Ottoman Turkish.

Halkevi in London, and broadcast radio shows in Turkish at the BBC (Mackinon 67; Gordon-Smith 60-64); these activities are discussed in more detail in the following sections. Perceptions of Deedes as a saintly figure become more understandable in the light of his social work extracted from biographical sources. For example, according to Professor Norman Bentwich, a friend of forty years, Deedes dedicated himself to rescuing as many as ten thousand Jewish or non-Aryan children from Germany and Austria, and helped bring them to Britain before the outbreak of World War II (74). Furthermore, when a severe earthquake hit the Turkish city Erzincan in 1939, he “went on a relief mission [...] to distribute funds which had been raised in England” (Bentwich 75). Despite this intense activity, his later years were marked by seclusion in his hometown in Kent, after an illness forced him into retirement in 1946. He spent much of his time in seclusion reading, translating Turkish novels into English and continuing with his Turkish broadcasts for BBC, but also continued his philanthropic pursuits, visiting the old and sick, and reading to the blind until his death in 1956 (Levy 54; Gowers 59; Gordon-Smith 64).

Deedes the Turcophile

As can be seen in the previous section, Deedes seems to have been recognized as an authority in Turkish and Turkey. Due to his studious nature and long service in the military in Turkey, developing a command in Turkish and knowledge about Turkey seems not to have been over challenging. However, intellect and professional choices alone might not be the only factors to consider in explaining Deedes’ expertise in Turkish and Turkey, and his willingness to engage with semiotic products, such as translations of Turkish novels, which serve to introduce Turkish culture to the British audience, and his radio programs in Turkish which smooth out Turco-British relations. An analysis of data drawn from Deedes’ biography, along with his acquaintances’ memoirs reveals that his eagerness to introduce Turkishness might have been born of a genuine feeling of love. A case in point is a letter by Deedes (qtd. in Presland 81; qtd in Bendit 13²), in which he explicitly states that the happiest year of his life was in Turkey. Deedes’ self-admitted happiness deriving from this time also supports his genuine fondness for it. In line

² As mentioned, Deedes’ biographer is Gladys Bendit, but in the biography on Deedes entitled *Deedes Bey: A Study of Sir Wyndham Deedes 1883-1923* that she wrote, she used the pen name John Presland. Here, not only the aforementioned biography but also an entry Bendit wrote for the book of memoirs entitled *Memories of Sir Wyndham Deedes* is cited.

with this, in various sources, Deedes is positioned as a figure highly attached to Turkey, described not only as someone who “has never been able to detach his heart from Turkey” (Presland 262), but also directly as a “Turcophile” (Long 142). Furthermore, “the nascent Turkish people” are mentioned as one of the two causes “near and dear to him” (Bentwich 76-77).

Paratextual agency is defined as “the translators’ role in inserting and adding notes and prefaces,” and extratextual agency “as the selection of books to be translated, the use of different editions and intermediary translations, and to the role of translators in “speaking out”, publicizing their translations, explaining their methods and strategies, and the like” (Paloposki 191). In his foreword to *Afternoon Sun*, both types of agencies serve as uncontested evidence for his fondness of the Turkish people, culture and Turkey. In this foreword, he explains that since he started working in the Ottoman Empire, he had “taken an abiding interest in that—oh! so lovely—country and its attractive people” (Deedes “Foreword” v). Furthermore, he admits that during this time, he was truly happy. It appears that through these lines, Deedes openly talks about his affection for the Turks and their country. The foreword also shows how Deedes’ fondness of Turkey and Turkish people resulted in his admiration for Güntekin’s works. He states: “I think the chief attraction for me was the language (he writes beautiful Turkish) and his lively portrayal of places I seemed to know and people I seemed to have met!” (Deedes “Foreword” v). Following these lines, Deedes (ibid) also articulates that his growing curiosity as to whether Güntekin’s books would hold the interest of the British public resulted in his translations. Considering these, it would be reasonable to suggest that Deedes’ personal interest in Turkish culture played a decisive role in motivating him to create these semiotic products.

All in all, Deedes’ happiness living in Turkey, his Erzincan relief mission, his involvement in Turkish Halkevi to promote Anglo-Turkish friendship, as well as the visits by various Turkish people he willingly accepted later in life (Levy 52; Gordon-Smith 61) point towards a genuine interest in and concern for Turkey, Turkish people and Turkish culture.

Deedes as an idea-maker and his translation activities

This section takes the form of a discussion of the agency of Deedes, as a strategically-motivated idea-maker serving for the social cause of introducing the British public to “the nascent” Turkey, Turkish culture and Turkish people, in order to shape the culture repertoire with the purpose of “handling of changing circumstances” in the world order

after the transition from Empire to the young Republic of Turkey. To do so, it is crucial to first present some relevant contextual information.

Although officially came to an end in 1922, the Ottoman Empire had been in decline from the 17th century for a variety of reasons, including problems regarding the government, army, economy and society (Lewis 21-39). The demise of the Ottoman Empire came about with its defeat in World War I along with Germany at the hands of the Allied forces. Upon this, the Allied forces began partitioning the Turkish lands, but their disunity over the spoils of the war was exploited by nationalists led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The following war of independence brought about restoration of Turkish sovereignty on July 24, 1923 with the Peace Treaty of Lausanne (Ahmad 31-51; Zürcher 160-163). Following this, the Turkish Republic was proclaimed on October 29, 1923, with Mustafa Kemal acting as its first president (Ahmad 51-54; Zürcher 167). In the ensuing period, the Kemalists—i.e., his followers—endeavoured to encourage progress and advance in the Turkish nation through westernization through a series of reforms including, but by no means limited to, the hat revolution, replacement of Sharia law with Swiss Civil Code and the Alphabet Reform (Berkes 461-478; Ahmad 80-81; Zürcher 173). During the war of independence period, Turkish-English relations remained tense, until the Mosul Question was resolved. With the normalization in relations, Britain started showing an interest in Turkish politics during the republican era, and the two countries' mutual influences began to be seen. For example, British Council officially started its cultural activities in Turkey in 1937, and the British ambassador, Sir Percy Loraine, was involved in promoting Turkish-English rapprochement, and the Turkish Halkevi, in which Deedes took part, was established in London in 1942 (Dosdoğru 69, 83-84). These all indicate Britain's desire to establish good relations with the young Turkish Republic.

Within this context, Deedes' work at Turkish Halkevi suggests that he indeed actively took part in the promotion of Anglo-Turkish friendship in accordance with the above-mentioned British policies regarding Turkey. This can be read as the first indication that Deedes may have intended his semiotic products for strategic idea-making to contribute to the promotion of the aforementioned friendship. Another such indication can be seen in his actions during his time in the military. An analysis of his biographical data shows that Deedes was highly opinionated regarding Britain's strategy towards the Ottoman Empire. A case in point is his paper entitled "Plan for the Retention of the Ottoman Empire," sent to Lord Kitchener, in which he explained the many problems that dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire would

cause. Following this, he wrote a similar letter to Lord Hankey, the Secretary to the Cabinet (Bendit 14). Furthermore, in 1914, when a British naval attack on the Dardanelles was looming, Deedes explained to Lord Kitchener that he opposed the venture (Wasserstein 59). The fact that Deedes actively attempted to influence the British strategy towards the Ottoman Empire may suggest that he continued the same efforts to influence policy-making in the relations between Britain and the new Turkey and that his translations were a means of so doing.

Another striking indication of Deedes' strategic idea-making can be seen in his foreword for *Turkish Self-taught: By Natural Method with English Phonetic Pronunciation* dated 1942 by Fuad A. Attaoullah, which corresponds with the period in which the UK started its attempts to improve relations with Turkey. In this foreword, Deedes writes that the book in question came at a very favourable time, when Turkey was "standing side by side with the Allies" (Deedes "An Appreciation" v). For this reason, he openly states, learning Turkish would be an asset, as it was crucial "for England and Turkey to know more of each other's life and culture" (Deedes "An Appreciation" v). This clearly shows that Deedes strongly held the opinion that the new Turkey should be promoted in Britain. By suggesting that learning Turkish would lead to a better understanding of Turkey, Deedes might have aimed to instil the idea of the importance of coming to terms with the new Turkish state to better handle the changing political circumstances.

Before beginning with his translations, to highlight Deedes' active role in the promotion of Turkey, it would be useful to deliberate another of his semiotic products, the book entitled *A Few Facts about Turkey* dated 1945. The book, which includes information ranging from everyday life to form of the government, from the taxation system to the culture, was commended as "a useful introduction" (Mance 146) to Turkey and "spreading a knowledge of modern Turkey amongst the general public in England" (H.M.B. 233). These comments reveal that the book was a valuable source of information for the British public. In the same vein, Deedes' BBC broadcasts in Turkish might be construed as semiotic products which served as a means of introducing Britain to the Turkish public. In the early 1940s, Deedes' command in Turkish earned him a place at the BBC. In addition to "a weekly military commentary", he broadcasted a weekly "Letter from London" (Gordon-Smith 61). In this program, he talked about a variety of topics including Turkish and issues of translation, comparison of English and Turkish proverbs and sayings and comparison of Turkey's prison reform with House of Lords' debate on the same topic (Gordon-Smith 62-63). As can be seen, he made a point of discussing the chosen topics in a comparative manner,

as if seeking to highlight the similarities and differences, in an attempt to improve the Turkish-speaking audience's understanding of Britain. Considering these, it can be argued that, through these semiotic products, Deedes tried to facilitate a two-way influx of information between the two countries, which can be considered an attempt to contribute to the policy promoting Turkish-Anglo-Saxon friendship.

Similarly, Deedes' translations, i.e., *The Autobiography of a Turkish Girl*, *Afternoon Sun* and *A Village in Anatolia*, can be interpreted as attempts to introduce the British to Turkish culture. We have already established that Deedes was motivated by his wish to see whether Güntekin's books would interest the British public, which he considered was impossible to know, for the reason that, with the exception of Halide Edip Adıvar's books—which he believed were written in English in the first place—"no Turkish novel had yet been published in [Britain]" (Deedes "Foreword" v). Therefore, for Deedes, "the experiment [of translating Güntekin's works] was worth trying" (ibid). These statements clearly show that, being aware of the absence of novels serving as windows to the Turkish culture, Deedes made the conscious decision to introduce them into the British culture repertoire, which can be considered as import from the perspective of Even-Zohar's. For Even-Zohar, import is the process by which "the goods that [...] are not available on the home market" are brought in to address the "willingness to consume them [...] among the members of the targeted group" ("The Making of Culture" 359). Even-Zohar emphasizes that this is equally the case for semiotic goods. In the light of this definition, it can be argued that Deedes indeed imported semiotic goods in the form of translations of Turkish novels for British consumption. However, it is not clear whether Deedes' translations were also transfers, which Even-Zohar defines as "the process whereby imported goods are integrated into a home repertoire" ("The Making of Culture" 359). It is indeed true that *The Autobiography of a Turkish Girl* is accepted as the first translated Turkish novel to be published in the UK. However, one can only speculate whether or not this translation resulted in Turkish literature becoming indispensable in the British repertoire and therefore, was a true case of transfer. In Paker and Yılmaz's (15-18) bibliography, it appears that after this novel was published in 1949, and *Afternoon Sun* in 1951, examples of other genres of Turkish literature (poetry, short stories, plays, non-fictional works, folk tales and so on) were introduced, as well as further translated novels published in the UK—albeit somewhat sporadically. The list also shows that between 1949 and 1966, few Turkish works were introduced into the UK and it was not until 1966 at least one Turkish literary work was published in the UK

each year (with the exception of 1984 and 1999). By analyzing this list alone, there is no saying whether this irregular influx of translations of Turkish works was prompted by Deedes' translations. However, it seems in a review on *The Autobiography of a Turkish Girl* (B.E. 50) that it was indeed perceived as a transfer:

It is a pity that no one, as far as I know, has, thus far, made any attempt towards making Turkish prose literature known to the English-speaking world. So the service of Sir Wyndham Deeds [sic], in this instance, has a double value, firstly, *one of opening the way for others*, and secondly, of translating, this particular work by Resat Nuri Güntekin. (Emphasis ours)

As can be seen in this quote, the reviewer seems to believe that Deedes opened a door to the further import of Turkish literature into British culture repertoire. Nevertheless, one cannot conclusively argue that further translations from Turkish were actually inspired by the translation of two of Güntekin's novels, and therefore, as mentioned, it would be mere speculation to label these translations as transfers.

Then again, we have established that, with his foreword, Deedes clearly voices his intention, through his translations of Güntekin, to introduce Turkish culture and people to the British audience, be it because of his personal interest to see if they would appeal to the British public or because of his conviction that they should be more knowledgeable about the new country. Additionally, we also know that even though Deedes did not particularly enjoy fiction (Deedes "Foreword" v; Presland 28), he deliberately chose to read modern Turkish novels "in order to find those suitable for translation" (Gordon-Smith 64). This, combined with Deedes' assertion that Güntekin portrayed places and people familiar to himself, indicates that he strategically sought to find books to introduce familiar images of Turkey, Turkishness and Turkish culture that he himself experienced. That is to say, with his Westerner perspective on "a version of the Orient deemed acceptable by the West" (Chittiphalangsri 55), Deedes chose to translate texts which Westerners, including himself, could understand.

Strategic aspect of Deedes' extratextual agency, i.e., his decision-making as an agent regarding books to translate into English, and his paratextual agency, i.e., his foreword to *Afternoon Sun*, can also be discussed in the light of how Güntekin's novels are perceived: they are often considered to combine realism and sentimentality, and use autobiographic narration to evoke a sense of factuality in the reader, via realistic images of Anatolia, as well as containing criticism of the Ottoman Empire (Seyhan 65; Aytemiz 6; Emil VIII; Naci 15; Çelik 9). In the same vein, Deedes discusses the realism in Güntekin's works in his

foreword, stressing his “lively portrayal” of people and places, as well as his use of “realistic observation” (“Foreword” vii). These seem to suggest that realism in Güntekin’s works might have influenced Deedes’ choice. By “speaking out” about the realism in Güntekin’s works through his paratextual agency, Deedes brings to the reader’s attention that what they are about to read portrays life-like images. Furthermore, Deedes changed the title *Çalikuşu* (‘The Wren’) emblematic of the protagonist of the novel, i.e., an extraordinary Turkish girl, Feride, into *The Autobiography of a Turkish Girl*. His purpose seems to have been an attempt to emphasize the realism of the novel, which is written through first-person narration, and which, as mentioned, might well have been the main reason for choosing this work.

At this point, exploring Deedes’ overall translation strategy would be relevant in showing that he aimed to paint realistic pictures of Turkish culture through his translations. In the aforementioned foreword, Deedes states that his translations were products of collaboration with an unnamed individual who smoothed Deedes’ translation into “readable English” (Deedes “Foreword” vi). More importantly, he claims that he adopted a “literal translation” approach, and “ensured a faithful adherence to the author’s manner and material” (Deedes “Foreword” vi). Echoing this is the previously mentioned review on *The Autobiography of a Turkish Girl* which reads:

[...] all through Sir Wyndham Deedes’s translation I felt as if I were reading the Turkish text—he has not only translated the words, the sentences, the meaning, but also the language itself, with the style and the way of expression of the original. Any English-speaking reader who does not know Turkish and yet is anxious to experience what it feels like to read in that language can do so by having recourse to Sir Wyndham Deedes’s translation. (B.E. 51)

The reviewer’s suggestion that the novel reads like real Turkish seems to confirm Deedes’ self-proclaimed translation strategy of literal translation and faithfulness. An analysis of proper names, code-switching and loanwords, addressing terms, idiomatic expression, and culture-specific references in *The Autobiography of a Turkish Girl* shows that Deedes indeed seems to have employed a source text-oriented translation method (Kansu-Yetkiner and Aktener 196). Several examples for this are his use of such strategies as retaining forms of address (e.g. hanim, bey, hanimefendi, beyefendi, etc.) and rendering faithfully some of the idiomatic expressions (e.g. the idiom “ayağının tozuyla mektebe gider” translated literally as “she goes to the school with the dust on her shoes”) in the target text (ibid 165-166). At the same time, such strategies as conversion of French proper names that were naturalized

in the Turkish text into their French versions (e.g. “Mişel” in source text converted back into “Michelle” in the target text) point towards foreignization, which, in turn, shows that Deedes produced a hybrid text that contained both familiar and exotic elements (ibid 163-164 and 167-168). Considering this, one can argue that, although his overall translation strategy might not have been completely source-text oriented, through it, Deedes seems to have sought to introduce, amongst other things, the realistic use of Turkish language and realistic cultural items, such as “the way of expression” in Turkish. In addition, the title changes in the translation mentioned above can also be read as a strategy to downplay the fictionality of the novel to add a sense of realism from the onset of the reading experience.

Despite the realism, both novels center on sentimental love stories that are clearly fictional. In this sense, it can be suggested that no matter how realistic the two novels’ portrayal of Turkish culture, people and language, the very fact that they are fictional can make their factuality susceptible to doubt over authenticity. In contrast, *A Village in Anatolia* leaves no room for questions in terms of the factuality of images that were introduced to the British public. As mentioned, the book encompasses Makal’s two books, one of which—*Bizim Köy*—is labelled as “an autobiographical ethnography” (Seyhan 84). The book is based on Makal’s notebooks written when working as a teacher at an Anatolian village. Combining genres of “memoir, ethnography, political tract, and metafiction” (Seyhan 85), the book concentrates on the life of the Turkish village. Considering the genre, it is safe to assume that, through its translation, Deedes sought to introduce realistic images of life in Turkey to the British public. Furthermore, the time of publication of the books and their translation, i.e., 1950/1952 and 1954 respectively, suggests that the images that this later translation offered the British public were that of the new Turkey, whereas the two translated novels had Ottoman Empire in the background. In this sense, images presented through *A Village in Anatolia* were rather more up-to-date, and thus, were relatively more informative in terms of their portrayal of national life. Moreover, this translation can also be interpreted as a means of transfer in the light of Tekgül and Akbatur’s suggestion that it “marked the beginning of an interest in the translations of Village Literature together with an enthusiastic reception in the English-speaking world” (24). This shows that Deedes opened a door for the further additions of Village Literature to the culture repertoire of the English-speaking world, evincing that he was indeed an idea-maker and a translation agent shaping translation history. All in all, whether the translations were of fiction or non-fiction, Deedes’ work has an aspect which conveys

(a sense of) reality—i.e., realistic portrayals of Turkish people and Turkey in the case of novels, as well as the title change in the translation of *Çalılıkusu*, and the genre, in the case of *A Village in Anatolia*—and therefore, can be read as factual introductions to Turkey. Through these additions to culture repertoire, Deedes acquaints British public with ways of life that are new and foreign to them, thus playing a key role in the promotion of Turkey.

Conclusion

This study reveals that translators are not mere transferrers of words or texts, but cultural mediators responsible for building bridges between cultures, peoples, and languages. Deedes, as cultural ambassador, the key figure in cross-cultural dialogues, not only played a part in establishing improved diplomatic relations with Turkey through the Turkish Halkevi, but also highlighted the importance of putting the new Turkish state on the map for British people. Thus, it can be argued that his translated products related to Turkey that came about in the 1940s were the direct artefacts of these preoccupations. In other words, the driving force behind his semiotic products, his personal role as an individual with a love for and interest in Turkey might have played a part in the addition of the several semiotic products to Britain's culture repertoire with the simple aim of promoting Turkey in good faith, which suited the young Republic of Turkey, which was the direct successor of Ottoman Empire.

The microhistorical perspective brought into forth in this study has proven to be a fruitful source of information for translation researchers. Nevertheless, this study was based on a single translator and therefore, the interpretation of his cross-cultural transfer practices can be generalizable only through further studies on different translation agents working between Turkish and English during the same period. Then again, we believe that agent-based contextualization having potential to challenge the notion of translator and text production woven around dominant historical discourses would open up new vistas in translation studies. In this respect, an accumulation of similar studies on translation agents working between two specific languages within specific historical contexts would serve as fruitful tools in contributing to the writing of translation history. In this sense, rather than focusing arbitrarily on odd translators, future studies on translation agency should lean towards shedding light to a certain historical period through the study of various translators (or publishers) of the same period.

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SÖR WYNDHAM HENRY DEEDES: KÜLTÜR ELÇİSİ BİR ÇEVİRMENİN PORTRESİ

Bu çalışma, Türkçeden İngilizceye yaptığı çevirilerle tanınan bir İngiliz subayı ve Türk hayranı olan Wyndham Henry Deedes'in (1883-1956) İngiliz kültürüne Türk kültürünü tanıtmaya çalışmasını incelemektedir. Çalışma başta Deedes'in yazdıkları ve yaptığı diller arası çevirileri olmak üzere tüm kültürlerarası transferlerine odaklanmaktadır. Ayrıca, çalışma Deedes'in kültürlerarası iletişim kılıcısı ve fikir üreticisi rollerini benimsemesine neden olan tarihsel bağlamı araştırmaktadır. Çalışmanın ana amacı, bir çeviri kılıcısı olarak Deedes'i ve Deedes'in çeviri tercihlerinin arkasındaki kişisel ve sosyal -dinamikleri mikro-tarihsel bir açıdan incelemek ve böylelikle, çeviri tarihinin yazılmasına bir katkıda bulunmaktır. Sonuç olarak, çalışma Deedes'in tercihlerinin sadece Türk kültürüne ve insanına olan ilgisinden değil, aynı zamanda da yeni Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ni İngiliz toplumuna tanıtmayı ve Türk-İngiliz ilişkilerini güçlendirmeyi hedefleyen bir fikir üreticisi olmasından kaynaklandığını tartışmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Wyndham H. Deedes, çeviride kılıcı, kültür elçisi olarak çevirmen, fikir üreticisi olarak çevirmen, kültür repertuarı, *Çalıkuşu*, *Akşam Güneşi*

Lanaguage Studies

Nauka o jeziku

VARIATION IN THE FUNCTIONS OF NARRATIVE IN MILITARY DISCOURSE

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Abstract: This article identifies the kinds of variation in the functions of narrative in military discourse and the conditions that determine their realization. It proves that the function of narrative proper is observed only in certain types of military didactic discourse, when the speaker's goal is confined to providing accurate information (teaching someone how to use weapons, teaching self-defense techniques, and so on). In other types of didactic discourse, the narrative function is supplemented by the functions of educating and affirming society's value priorities. The types of variation are determined by discourse conditions: the social context of the communication and the speaker's illocutionary goal. In instructive speeches, the function of conveying information can be supplemented by that of affirming society's value priorities. In informative speeches, the narrative function is often accompanied by the functions of the evaluation and refutation of rumors, myths, or individual statements. Speeches on special occasions are characterized by the rearrangement of functions: the narrative function becomes supplementary, and the functions of evaluation, worldview formation, and the affirmation of value priorities become central. Inspirational speeches are most often built on the syncretism of narrative and persuasion. In all speech genres of military discourse, the function of a grand narrative is the formation of the positive image of military personnel.

Keywords: variation in narrative, function, military discourse, text

Introduction

Narrative as an interdisciplinary research subject has been closely and comprehensively studied; however, it is still the focus of attention due to a number of reasons. Firstly, the phenomenon itself is common in all areas of human activity; in each of them it displays new properties,

prompting researchers to consider them. Secondly, it is a well-constructed narrative that often determines the success of communication, which makes us look for conditions that ensure the achievement of communication goals and those that prevent communication. Thirdly, new scientific paradigms require analysis of traditional ideas about many phenomena, including narrative, from different perspectives.

The issue of functions of narrative is of particular significance to communication, since it is the functions of language units that contribute most to the realization of a speaker's intentions. Scholarly literature describes functions of narrative in different areas of study: in literary studies (Bystrov; *Literary Encyclopedic Dictionary*), psychology (Chepeleva, Smulson, Shilovska and Gutsol; Schiff; Nelson), medicine (Lysanets; Thurnherr, Rudolf von Rohr and Locher), politics (Kirillov, Sheigal), and many others (Brownlie; Simmons; Afanasiev; Kazakov; Mozheiko). Less attention is paid to the military sphere, although it is as significant for the life of society as the other spheres. Military discourse covers many communication situations: communication between members of military units, contacts between military personnel and civilians; interaction within one country and on an international level. In military discourse practices, there can be found a variety of situations in which narrative plays an important role, if not a primary one. Thus, Wasinski substantiates the existence of a recurring military grand narrative in the modern state-centric world and describes its consequences (57-76). Achugar investigates in detail the Uruguayan military's argumentative narrative about the last dictatorship (1973–85). A number of scientists study the strategic narrative in the military sphere (Barovska; *Stratehichnyi naratyv*). Yet, a military narrative in general has not been extensively studied. Having chosen narrative in military discourse as an object of study, we are well aware of the numerous problems that are to be resolved, and of the impossibility of doing it within one article. Consequently, we limited the subject of analysis to the study of variation in functions of narrative in military discourse.

The aim of the paper is to distinguish kinds of variation in the functions of narrative in different subtypes of military discourse, to identify their linguistic expression, and also to determine the factors the variation depends on. To achieve the aim, we have to fulfill a number of tasks, using research methods appropriate to each of them:

1. At the first stage, it is necessary to clarify the terminology of the study, since among scholars there are some differences in the interpretation of the basic terms of our paper, *narrative* and *discourse*. To resolve this problem, we use general scientific methods: analysis, synthesis, comparison, and generalization.

2. The following stage involves defining subtypes of military discourse that represent narrative proper with its main function. Here we apply the method of observation, during which we identify all possible situations in which the military uses narrative, and the method of classification whereby we classify the situations according to the key purpose of a text.

3. The task of the next stage is to resolve a set of questions regarding the kinds of variation in the functions of narrative: in what subtypes of military discourse this phenomenon occurs; what variation manifests itself in, and what its reasons are; and which factors influence the type of variation. This stage employs the aforementioned research methods as well as several others: the method of identification (we identify subtypes of military discourse, kinds of variation and their markers); the method of comparison (in order to identify features of variations in different subtypes of military discourse).

Analysis was conducted on the following written and oral texts: textbooks and teaching aids for cadets (McNab; Ranger Handbook; Webfoot Warrior Battalion); instructing cadets in the learning process: handling weapons, swimming, etc. (US Navy SEALs); instructing combat personnel before starting to perform service and combat missions (Vidsiohodni do okhorony); public speeches by military leaders (NATO Secretary General; University of Texas); statements by military commanders in the media (US Military Briefing); narratives of Ukrainian and NATO servicemen (University of Texas; NATO Secretary General; Vidsiohodni do okhorony). All texts selected for analysis reflect the discursive practices of the 21st century military.

1. Definitions of Narrative and Approaches to Studying It

Approaching the first of the tasks, we ascertained two facts: the existence of significant differences in the definitions of narrative in different scientific studies and the absence of contradictions between different definitions. Here we can talk not about the debates on the definition of the concept under analysis, but about the consideration of the phenomenon from different angles, which seem to expand the notion of the object under study. There are common features in the

scholars' approaches too. Thus, everyone agrees on the categorization of the concept: a narrative is a telling of a story (which is also denoted by the related word "narration"), a message. In the terminology of many scholars, narrative is also defined as a story, which realizes the derivative meaning of "narration" (Brownlie; Bystrov; Kazakov). Some scholars refer to narrative as a form of discourse "through which we reconstruct and represent past experiences for ourselves and others" (Schiffrin 321). According to B. Schiff, the narrative allows the researcher to penetrate into the essence of the process of meaning formation (3), with which one cannot but agree. Others call narrative a discourse formation represented in a text form (Bystrov 17). Siobhan Brownlie believes that discourse is "a surface manifestation of a narrative, connected to the narrator and the context of storytelling" (147).

If we ignore the opposition "discourse form – text form" and consider narrative as a component of discourse, expressed in text, then we can assume that the given interpretations do not contradict the generally accepted one. Nevertheless, it is very important for the study to specify what approach was chosen as the main one in the analysis of narrative, since the chosen approach will require accentuation of specific features of narrative represented in the definition. For instance, when following a literary approach, it is logical to accept the definition of narrative given in *A Dictionary of Literary and Thematic Terms*: "An account of actual or imagined events told by a NARRATOR. A narrative is made up of events, the STORY, and the arrangement of those events, the PLOT" (Quinn 278), and focus on the analysis of the plot and the story. In psychology, narrative is interpreted very broadly: as a form that organizes experience and controls actions and emotions; as a cognitive scheme that enables us to explain and overcome difficulties; as a result of discourse work established in social interactions; as an account of the past, providing self-comprehension; as a tool for identity formation, giving life unity and purpose, etc. (Schiff; Turusheva; Chepeleva, Smulson, Shilovska and Gutsol).

A new approach to narrative analysis, called Root Narrative Theory, focuses on identifying features of the narrative that provide mutual understanding between the parties in conflict, and harmonization of relations even in the face of radical disagreements (Simmons 3). In this case, we can talk about the peacemaking function of the narrative.

For all the variety of interpretations, one has to agree with the fact that in real situations narrative acts either as a cognitive scheme, or an account of the past, or in any other of its hypostases mentioned above.

The definitions of narrative in journalistic discourse (Kaverina) and political discourse (Kirillov; Sheigal) differ from the aforementioned. Andrei Kirillov defines the genre structure of political narrative presented in the media as an announcement, a political commentary, an interview, public speaking in the media, an open letter, and a political caricature (5). As Valerii Tiupa notes, "Modern narratology goes beyond narrative poetics, representing rhetoric of narrative discourse as one of the most important types of human speech" (69). A broad interpretation of narrative has been noted by other scholars. Thus, Brian Schiff notes, "the term, 'narrative', is so widespread that the sense of the word has become stretched and overextended. Its meaning is diffuse" (33). David Herman also paid attention to the lack of clear boundaries between different forms of speech, in particular, explanation and description.

We use a discourse approach to define narrative. We do not disagree with the conclusions reached by other scientists, rather, we take them into account, though the specificity of our definition lies in the fact that we focus on the sphere of realization and existence of the narrative - discourse. In our approach, a narrative is a discourse component implemented in the form of a text, in which a narrative is presented about a message, events, phenomena, processes with or without explanations, or a consistent presentation of facts or thoughts. As you can see, in comparison with the existing definitions, we have somewhat expanded the range of types of narration by elucidating its varieties. Let us add some clarifications to our definition.

Even in the works of the founders of the theory of narrative, V. Labov and J. Waletzky, it was noted that the narrative is realized in two forms - as a process and as a result of this process, that is, as a text. B. Schiff also pointed out the difference between the concepts of story and storytelling. These two perspectives require different methods of analysis. In our work, the narrative is studied as a text, that is, not as a process, but as its result.

Theoretical sources distinguish between two types of narrative that are in hyponymic relations: a grand narrative (big narration) and small narratives (Kazakov). A grand narrative as a hyperonym pursues the main goal of a story, and small narratives are subordinate to it and represent stages of achieving the main goal.

One of the interesting phenomena of grand narrative in military discourse is described in the work of Christophe Wasinski. The author substantiates the idea of the existence of a recurring military grand

narrative in the modern state-centric world - a grand narrative that rationalizes and justifies war by various means. The issues considered by the author require a special analysis of military business documents, which goes beyond the scope of the tasks set in our work, however, the consequences of such a grand narrative, as noted by the author, should be considered as functions of the narrative in military business documents. In general, the framework of the relationship between grand narratives and small narratives in military discourse has not yet been revealed. In the course of our research, we will find out how the narrative functions in different subtypes of military discourse.

Mariana Achugar explores the argumentative narrative of the Uruguayan military about the last dictatorship (1973-85). This perspective of analysis helps to see that variants of the argumentative narrative can explain and even justify human rights violations. The author investigates the role of historical conditions and other social factors in transforming the military's argumentative narrative about dictatorship. Achugar's research confirms the meaning-forming role of the narrative, postulated in the works of B. Schiff. In the context of our article, we will clarify the variability of narrative functions within different types of military discourse.

Turning to the second key term of our work, we note that in the definition of the concept of "discourse" we concur with the position of T. A. van Dijk, who considers it as "a complex communicative phenomenon that includes, in addition to the text, also extralinguistic factors (knowledge of the world, attitudes, goals of the sender) necessary for understanding the text" (7). In the author's opinion, the factors defining discourse can be differentiated between three types of contexts: social context (what refers to "knowledge about the world as applied to a specific situation"), pragmatic context (what refers to the attitudes and intentions of the speaker) and linguistic context (the language of the text in the relevant situation).

Types and subtypes of discourse can be distinguished according to different criteria. We classify discourse types according to three criteria. First, by field of activity: we analyze the military discourse, that is, the communicative phenomena that take place in the military sphere. Secondly, we distinguish the subtypes of military discourse according to the type of communication and the purpose of said communication. In the military sphere, different types of communication are practiced, and distinguished on the basis of their participants: interpersonal, public, and mass. Elucidation of the narrative in interpersonal and mass

communication requires a special analysis that goes beyond the scope of the tasks set in our work. In this regard, the object of our study is public communication. Thirdly, we distinguish the subtypes of military discourse according to the purpose of creating a narrative text. Having chosen the type of communication, we can thus investigate the purpose of creating a narrative text. In our observations, the main narrative goals of public communication within military discourse are as follows: to teach (didactic subtype of military discourse = didactic discourse); to instruct regarding any actions (instructing discourse = instructing subtype of military discourse); to convey information (informing discourse = informing subtype of military discourse); to convince (persuasive subtype of military discourse = persuasive); to refute someone's statements (subtype of military discourse - refutation = refutative); to inspire (inspiring subtype of military discourse = inspiring discourse). Note that the terms "discourse type" and "discourse subtype" are used as synonyms.

2. The use of narrative in different subtypes of military discourse

All scholars are aware of the importance of studying the scope of narrative use, as indicated in various works of psychology (Schiff; Chepeleva, Smulson, Shilovska, and Gutsol), linguistics (Bystrov), and other scientific areas (Afanasiev and Vasylenko; *Stratehichnyi naratyv*). Much attention is paid to the analysis of functions of narrative (Afanasiev and Vasylenko; Thurnherr, Rudolf von Rohr, and Locher; Schiff); moreover, their diversity is noted in the works by different researchers (Chepeleva, Smulson, Shilovska, and Gutsol; Sheigal).

It is clear that both the structure and the content of the text depend on the type of discourse in which the narrative is produced. Let us present our observations on the use of narrative in military discourse.

1. In military discourse, narrative is widely used both in oral and written forms of speech.

2. The function of the narrative is categorized in the following subtypes of military journalistic discourse: a) didactic (implemented in the process of training cadets, as well as internships or other forms of advanced training for officers); b) briefing (implemented before the start of various types of service and combat activities - daily guard, patrol, special operation, etc., and can also be used as a means of didactic discourse); c) informing (implemented at briefings, press conferences, meetings, official celebrations, and in the delivery of motivational speeches prior to complex tasks, etc.).

3. The main function of the narrative (message, consistent presentation of facts, etc.) very rarely exists as the sole function. When analyzing two of those types of discourse - didactic and instructive, for example, which would appear to require only the main function in the form of presentation of facts, they also utilize the other functions.

3. Types of variation in the functions of the narrative and the factors that determine them

Our analysis of the material showed that the variations in the functions of the narrative are capable of "creating a real life experience and interpretation of life" (Schiff 3), forming new meanings, and influencing the addressees, thus confirming the relevant conclusions postulated in the works of B. Schiff. As a result of our research, we have identified specific types of variation in narrative functions, the social context factors that determine them, as well as the specifics of the use of linguistic means in the transformation of these narrative functions. Let us explore the types of variation, starting with the subtypes of military discourse.

3.1. Didactic discourse. In didactic discourse, as a rule, the primary functions are of education and the formation of a positive image of the military. At the same time, the formation of a positive image is a function of the grand narrative (of the entire textbook or manual), and other functions are implemented by small narratives (in each section, corresponding to the content of the text). This is how the chapter "History of the Rangers" begins (hereafter, in italics type, we highlighted the markers of the updated narrative function):

The history of the American Rangers is a *long and colorful saga of bravery, courage and outstanding leadership*. This is a story about people *whose skills in the art of combat have been surpassed by few*. Only the *major of their many exploits are described here* (Ranger Handbook).

The impact is achieved by juxtaposing the concepts of HISTORY and SAGA. If a history is a chain of consecutive events or a narrative of them, then a saga in the ordinary (not scientific) understanding is not a dry account of consecutive events, but a poetic narrative, a story about extraordinary events, people, or facts. The emotional impact is enhanced by context, all components of which have positive rational and emotional evaluations. As can be seen from the above example, the functions of evaluation, the formation of a positive image of American

Rangers, and the development of patriotism in them are realized, and the story itself about the history of Rangers serves as an argument supporting the evaluations. Evaluation markers (they are printed in italics) are metaphors and epithets the text abounds with, as well as hyperbole. It should be noted that in the described case, there is syncretism of the functions of narration and of emotional impact. Throughout the statement of facts, the emphasis is either on the narrative, or on the impact, or on the two simultaneously, that is, these two functions are constantly realized. The described type of variation is observed in the handbooks we analyzed (Ranger Handbook; McNab; Webfoot Warrior Battalion).

Let us summarize the results of our observations about the didactic discourse presented in textbooks for cadets. In their texts, the narrative serves two purposes: the narration itself and the emotional impact, which is subjugated to the goal of education. The educational impact is provided not only by the content of the facts, but also by the way they are presented— through the emotional halo of linguistic means.

3.2 Instructive discourse. Instruction is presented in two subtypes of military discourse: didactic and instructive. Instruction in didactic discourse, according to our observations, is the only subtype of military discourse in which the narrative implements its main function - the function of a consistent presentation of facts, actions, or events. For example, training with weapons or swimming (US Navy SEALs). There are no emotionally colored words in the narratives of the analyzed type. The syntax of the text ensures conciseness and simplicity of presentation. Complex sentences used by instructors have no more than two components.

In instructions on performing professional duties, narrative often fulfills the function of affirming society's value priorities, in particular respect for the rule of law. For instance, instructing the military personnel of the National Guard of Ukraine, who were to begin patrolling with the police, the deputy head of the Main Directorate of the National Police in one of Ukraine's regions, said:

Dear officers,

I want, firstly, to thank you for your work. Well done! We count on you very much. You have never let us down, and I really want it to be the same in the future. [...] We all work in a single system, we all work *towards the same goal – maintaining the rule of law, preventing crimes on patrol routes* (Vidsiohodni do okhorony).

In the given example, the function of affirming society's value priorities is performed by a grand narrative. Small narratives (mentioning the previous clear joint work; reporting on the rules for interaction with the police, etc.) perform the function of closing the distance between the speaker and the addressee, focusing on the cooperation strategy, etc. The function of affirming value priorities is expressed explicitly, and the text presents an unusual combination of functions. The strategic move (the stratagem) of "praise" was used not only and not so much to give positive facts, but also to motivate the officers to flawlessly perform their professional duties. The language is lacking in excessive emotionality, but contains lexemes with a positive rational evaluation. Although the syntax of the speech contains multi-clause complex sentences, it is not "burdened" with them. The narrative presents not the syncretism of different functions, but their complementarity, with narrative proper being the main one.

Narrative proper is also realized in some types of didactic discourse, such as swimming training (US Navy SEALs), training in the use of weapons (Air Force BMT), and similar ones, which require accuracy in the presentation of the sequence of actions. Below is an example of didactic discourse – training in handling and firing the M16A2 rifle, which fulfills the function of narrative proper:

You always bring the weapon up to you. You don't go down to the rifle.

So what's our first step? Everyone charge! Remember you are charging not locking the bolt to the rear. Pull back let go like a slingshot. Put your weapons on semi. If you say the steps and you tell yourself what to do, you can't fail (Air Force BMT).

3.3. Informative discourse in a briefing situation. At first glance, it may seem that the main function of narrative is presented in an informative speech. However, the data analysis allowed us to come to the conclusion that narrative in this type of discourse performs not only the function of conveying information, but also a number of others, in particular, the explanation of the motives for actions, the formation of a worldview, the evaluation of events, the creation and maintenance of the image of an organization. Let us look at an example of a speech by an American officer that took place on July 30, 2002 (US military Briefing). At a US military briefing, Colonel Roger King, a US military spokesman at Bagram, the main US base in Afghanistan, spoke about an event when coalition forces came under enemy small arms fire while

conducting a reconnaissance mission. A number of Afghan civilians were killed by a US air strike. The London Times published allegations which suggested that the American military had tried to cover up the number of Afghan civilians who were killed. In the text of Roger King's speech, all the features of narrative are explicitly presented: the colonel narrates the events, consistently expounding on the actions of the participants, supporting his arguments with facts and references to the days of the week when certain events occurred. However, his story is not an end in itself – it is aimed at refuting, firstly, the rumors about an unprovoked attack by the American military on Afghan civilians, and secondly, the facts published in The London Times:

The one thing that was most disturbing to me was the allegation that US personnel or coalition personnel were removing evidence from the site. That's exactly right – they were removing evidence from the site because it was a fact-finding mission, they were sent to gather evidence. *But the way that it was written in the London Times article made it seem as if this was a bad thing and that we shouldn't have been doing it when it was the sole purpose of sending the team down there in the first place* (US military Briefing).

The narration of the events in the above example serves two functions: the refutation of the allegations, which is impossible without a narrative, and the evaluation of the actions of the US personnel. Thus, we observe the combination of the functions of narrative, refutation, and evaluation. The syntax of the text is constructed in such a way that each of these functions is fulfilled in a certain position. First, there is a narrative proper in the position of an objective fact that is recognized by the subject of the speech; there follow two evaluations of the fact: his own and that of the report of the fact in the newspaper; in the final part of the speech, the function of refutation is performed.

3.3.2. Functions of Narrative in Informative Discourse at Business Meetings of the Military Sphere. Addressing the joint meeting of US Congress on April 03, 2019, NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg spoke about the main goals of NATO's activities, presented an analysis of possible threats to the modern world and substantiated NATO's role in preserving peace.

Stoltenberg's speech is not a dry story about the history of the Alliance and its activities over 70 years. His speech is an emotional narrative that combines several small narratives (NATO Secretary General Addresses Congress). Let us call them: narrative 1 (of the

creation of the Alliance), narrative 2 (of the role of the United States in the activities of the Alliance), narrative 3 (of terrorism), narrative 4 (of modern threats to peace), and narrative 5 (of the need to strengthen NATO's power). Each of them performs a specific function, and all together they are aimed at fulfilling the function of the grand narrative – maintaining the image of NATO as a guarantor of peace, a defender of the moral values and the way of life in civilized society. The first “small” narrative is a story about the formation of NATO. Its text actualizes concepts representing the values of modern society: the Protection of the World, the Protection of Freedom, and the Power of Unity:

Our Alliance was created by people who had lived through two devastating world wars. They knew only too well the horror, the suffering, and the human and material cost of war. They were determined that this should never happen again. And they were also determined to stand up to the expansion of the Soviet Union. Which was taking control of its neighbors. Crushing democracies. And oppressing their people. So, they founded NATO. With a clear purpose. To preserve peace and to safeguard freedom. With an iron-clad commitment by all members of the Alliance to protect each other. *They made a solemn promise. One for all and all for one* (NATO Secretary General).

It should be noted that these concepts are represented in all the small narratives of the text under analysis:

The strength of a nation is not only measured by the size of its economy. *Or the number of its soldiers. But also by the number of its friends* (narrative 2);

When we stand together, we are stronger than any potential challenger – economically, politically and militarily. *We need this collective strength. Because we will face new threats.* And we have seen so many times before how difficult it is to predict the future (narrative 4) (NATO Secretary General).

The second narrative is a story about the role of the United States in NATO's activities. In it, as already shown, the same concepts are represented:

America has been the backbone of our Alliance. It has been fundamental *to European security and for our freedom.* We would not have the peaceful and prosperous Europe we see today without

the sacrifice and commitment of the United States. For your enduring support, I thank you all today. So NATO has been good for Europe. And NATO has been good for the United States (NATO Secretary General).

The emotional background, which enhances the narrative's function of impact, is created by references to Leif Erikson, Stoltenberg's parents and Stoltenberg himself. Below is an example that illustrates references to Stoltenberg himself:

I remember well, during the Cold War, when I was a young conscript in the Norwegian army. [...] But we knew that we could not take on the might of the Soviet Union alone. [...] *But we also knew that we were not alone. We knew that, if needed, our NATO Allies, led by the United States, would soon be there with us. We enjoyed a level of security that only our transatlantic Alliance could provide.* So, thanks to NATO, as a young man during the Cold War I felt safe. And that says something about the strength of our Alliance (NATO Secretary General).

The narrative under analysis performs an evaluative function: the role of the United States in NATO is positively evaluated. The following narratives (of terrorism; of contemporary threats to peace; of the need to strengthen the power of NATO) perform the functions of evaluation and formation of a worldview:

Terrorism comes in many forms. Some perpetrators *misuse religion*. Others *misuse political ideology*. They claim to be different from each other, fighting for different causes. But they are all the same. They *believe in hatred, violence, and killing innocent men, women and children*. They are nothing more than cowards. Terrorists attack *our freedom, our values and our way of life*. Our answer must be *more openness and more democracy*. Our values will prevail. *Freedom will prevail over oppression. Tolerance over intolerance. And love will always prevail over hate* (NATO Secretary General).

As can be seen from the above example, in special occasion discourse there is a rearrangement of functions: the usual function of a narrative – narration – becomes supplementary, and the functions of evaluation, formation of a worldview, and affirmation of value priorities

become the main ones. Nevertheless, the function of maintaining the positive image of the Alliance prevails over the others.

3.3.3. The specificity of the variation of narrative functions in the context of inspiring discourse. An original interaction of “small narratives” is often observed in officers’ inspirational speeches. Let us consider the commencement address by American Admiral William H. McRaven. In the mass media it was called “an incredible speech”, “one of the best motivational speeches”, “a memorable speech”, and, in our opinion, not without good reason.

Speaking to the graduates of the University of Texas at Austin on May 17, 2014 (University of Texas), the Admiral gives advice to young people, built on the affirmation of the value priorities of any civilized society, which is a grand narrative: “Change the world for the better”, moreover, the University’s slogan is, “What starts here changes the world”. 10 small narratives (called “10 lessons” by the Admiral) are stories about different situations that are typical of the training of Navy SEALs. They all end with a summarized piece of advice on what needs to be done to change the world for the better. Each small narrative, contrary to its definition of “small”, has the greatest impact on addressees. An interesting fact is that the stories themselves are structured in such a way that they lead the audience to conclusions – summarized pieces of advice which the speaker formulates. The conclusions are the logical ending of the narrative itself. Small narratives are sustained (extended, prolonged) metaphors built on unusual comparisons, and the strength of the emotional impact is determined by the image created by listeners themselves by correlating the referents of the text with their own experience. The officer talks about particular facts or events with a slight touch of humor, but these facts and events are metaphors symbolizing some phenomena of life. Let us consider the text of one of the small narratives:

Before the swim the instructors joyfully brief the trainees on all the species of sharks that inhabit the waters off San Clemente. They assure you, however, that no student has ever been eaten by a shark – at least not recently. But, you are also taught that if a shark begins to circle your position – stand your ground. Do not swim away. Do not act afraid. And if the shark, hungry for a midnight snack, darts towards you – then summon up all your strength and punch him in the snout and he will turn and swim away. *There are a lot of sharks in the world. If you hope to complete the swim you*

will have to deal with them. So, if you want to change the world, don't back down from the sharks (University of Texas).

It is interesting to note that the meaning of a summarized piece of advice cannot always be understood without the text of a narrative – it is hidden in a metaphor. Let us present the content of the summarized pieces of advice, supplying them with our comments in brackets.

1) If you want to change the world, start off by making your bed (Start with small things that will teach you how to perform large tasks correctly).

2) If you want to change the world, find someone to help you paddle (Build a good team).

3) If you want to change the world, measure a person by the size of their heart, not the size of their flippers (Judge people by their moral qualities, not by their appearances).

4) If you want to change the world, get over being a sugar cookie and keep moving forward (Keep moving forward despite difficulties).

5) But if you want to change the world, don't be afraid of the circuses (Do not be afraid of failure – it is inevitable in life).

6) If you want to change the world, sometimes you have to slide down the obstacle head first (Do not be afraid to take risks).

7) So, if you want to change the world, don't back down from the sharks (Do not retreat before your enemy).

8) If you want to change the world, you must be your very best in the darkest moment (Keep calm even in the most difficult situations).

9) So, if you want to change the world, start singing when you're up to your neck in mud (Do not lose hope, even in the most difficult situations).

10) If you want to change the world, don't ever, ever ring the bell (Never give up).

The speaker seems to convince the audience of the correctness of the moral values that he himself upholds. In this case, we observe the syncretism of narrative and persuasive functions.

Conclusion

The analysis made it possible to identify the types of variation of narrative functions within different subtypes of military discourse, the linguistic expression of the variations, and the factors on which those variations depend.

1. The exclusive function of the narrative itself - a message, a narrative, a consistent presentation of facts - is noted only in instruction as a component of didactic discourse (learning to swim, handling weapons, etc.), as well as in instruction as a component of instructive discourse (when preparing a group for a daily guard, etc.). The main function is characterized by concise means of expression, simple syntax (simple sentences or complex ones, consisting of no more than two components), and lack of emotional language.

2. In other subtypes of military discourse, the functions of narrative vary. The types of variation depend on two main factors: a) the subtype of discourse; b) the key goal of the speaker (in the oral form of communication) or the author of the narrative (in the written text).

3. The following types of variation of narrative functions in military discourse have been identified: syncretism of the functions of narration and emotional impact for the purpose of education (in didactic discourse - textbooks for rangers); supplementing the main functions of the narrative (affirming societal values, maintaining a positive image of a military organization - as observed in one of the subtypes of instructive discourse, before starting to perform an official assignment); combination of functions (message, assessment, explanation of the motives for actions, refutation, formation of a positive image of the military organization - as observed in informing discourse in its various subtypes); permutation of the functions (other functions become the main ones, and the function of the narrative becomes auxiliary - as observed in the discourse of inspiring public speaking).

4. In all types of military public discourse, the following linguistic features of the use of narrative are noted: the grand narrative is not directly explicated in the text of the narrative, but can be inferred from the texts of small narratives; small narratives are detailed metaphors with a greater (inspiring discourse; speech at a congress) or lesser (discourse of a meeting, briefing) degree of imagery; the influencing effect of the narrative is achieved through the use of emotional language, as well as the metaphorical potential of small narratives.

In the process of research, our attention was drawn to another issue within the framework of the chosen topic: it is interesting to compare and contrast the functions of narrative in military and political types of discourse. We consider it as a prospect for further scientific research.

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ВАРІЮВАННЯ ФУНКЦІЙ НАРАТИВУ У ВІЙСЬКОВОМУ ДИСКУРСІ

У статті виявлені види варіювання функцій наративу у військовому дискурсі та умови, які визначають їхню актуалізацію. Доведено, що реалізація основної функції наративу – розповідання – відзначається тільки в окремих видах військового дидактичного дискурсу, коли мета мовця обмежується подачею точної інформації (навчити користуватися зброєю, застосовувати прийоми самооборони тощо). В інших видах дидактичного дискурсу функція розповідання доповнюється функцією виховання і ствердження ціннісних пріоритетів суспільства. В інформувальному мовленні часто відзначається доповнення основної функції наративу функціями оцінки, спростування чуток, міфів чи чийось висловлювань. Для урочистих виступів характерна перестановка функцій: функція розповіді стає допоміжною, а місце основної займають функції формування картини світу, ствердження ціннісних пріоритетів. Промови з метою надихання найчастіше побудовані на синкретизмі наративу і персуазиву. У військовому дискурсі в усіх мовленнєвих жанрах функцією гранд-наративу є формування позитивного іміджу військової структури.

Ключові слова: наратив, варіювання, функція, військовий дискурс, текст.

LANGUAGE-PICTURE INTERACTION IN ADVERTISEMENTS: A MULTIMODAL APPROACH

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Abstract: This article studies interesting print advertisements, i.e., those with intriguing pictures, which are viewed here as types of multimodal discourse with an implicit transfer of meaning. It proposes that the advertisements have a unique surface structure, involving concise verbal and unexpected visual elements in interaction, which at the cognitive level prompt multimodal metaphors and metonymies used for inferring meaning. The aims are 1) to show that the intended meaning mainly stems from the interaction of two modes, i.e., language and picture, 2) to specify the dominating types of verbo-visual interaction, and 3) to point to the use of multimodal metaphor and metonymy as the main cognitive structures underlying the carefully designed structure of creative advertisements. Five common types of verbo-visual interaction are identified, whereby surface, i.e., verbo-visual and cognitive dimensions in creating meaning are unified. The specified types of verbal and visual elements in interaction are based on the notion of the level of verbal figurativeness and the visual creative continuum, rather than the notion of rhetorical figures. The article detects the typical functions of multimodal metaphor and metonymy and particularly stresses the role of multimodal metonymy in interaction with multimodal metaphor and the RESULT FOR ACTION multimodal metonymy. It is proposed that the picture acts as an attention-grabber, but that meaning inference results from the interaction of the language and the picture, i.e., multimodality.

Keywords: advertisements, English, language, picture, cognitive, multimodality, metaphor, metonymy

1. Introduction

The present article studies print advertisements with intriguing visual elements, which are here viewed as types of multimodal discourse with an implicit transfer of meaning. They employ the soft-selling advertising strategy (Cook 2001), which rather than directly informing, affects people's positive feelings (Silaški 2009, 931-932), or in other words, establishes a metaphorical link with concepts representing a desired quality – jet-set yachts suggest prestige, a beaming baby health, etc. (Ungerer 2000, 325).

We hypothesize that the specific purpose of advertisements – *to sell a product* – dictates their unique structure, which is multimodal and commonly encompasses a dominating picture often with a *conceptual clash* (Filipović Kovačević 2013, 20), a logically unusual combination of concepts. Furthermore, we hypothesize that the picture in advertisements primarily functions as an attention grabber and that message inference relies on combining verbal and visual cues. In particular, this article strives to further studies of communication in advertising by pinpointing dominating types of language and picture interaction in creating implied meaning and by specifying conceptual metaphors and metonymies underlying the verbo-visual elements in advertisements. As such, it covers two dimensions – surface, i.e., verbo-visual and deep, i.e., cognitive.

So far there have been three major trends in advertising research from the perspective of language and communication. First, studies into advertising focused on language, dominantly on various rhetorical figures of speech (e.g., Leigh 1994; McQuarrie and Mick 1996; McGuire 2000; Fuertes-Olivera, et al. 2001; Mulken van, van Enscjot-van Dijk and Hans Hoeken 2005). A significant step in advertising research occurred with the recognition of the importance of the visual element itself and its interaction with language. Phillips and McQuarrie (2004, 113) claim that “the reliance on pictures to persuade has become a distinctive feature of advertising”, while McQuarrie and Phillips (2005) empirically show that visual figures are more effective than verbal ones since they evoke inferences spontaneously at the time of ad exposure. This approach encompasses studying visual rhetorical figures (e.g., Scott 1994; McQuarrie and Mick 1999), with a special focus on visual metaphor (e.g., Forceville 1996; Kennedy, Green and Vervaeke 1993; Phillips 1997), and the pun in the visual form (e.g., McQuarrie and Mick 1992), their comprehension (e.g., McQuarrie and Mick 1996; Phillips 1997) as well as language and picture in interaction (Barthes 1986; Phillips 2000; Phillips and McQuarrie 2003). Finally, the cognitive linguistic approach (e.g., Lakoff and Johnson 1980/2003, 1999), which placed metaphor as a matter of thought at the centre of attention, led to a new approach to advertising, but also to other genres like film, gestures, etc., with the focus on non-verbal and multimodal manifestations of metaphor (e.g., Forceville 1996, 2000, 2009; Forceville and Urios-Aparisi 2009; Mulken van, le Pair and Forceville 2010; Pérez Sobrino 2017. For a discussion of these works see Section 2.2).

The aims of the article are the following: 1) to show that the intended meaning mainly stems from multiple modes, i.e., language and picture in interaction, 2) to specify the dominating types of verbo-visual

interaction, and 3) to point to multimodal metaphor and metonymy as the main cognitive structures underlying the carefully designed structure of creative advertisements.

1.1. Methodology and corpus

The corpus was selected from numerous results of the Google search for *interesting/creative print advertisements*, which showed advertisements with intriguing pictures. The analysis was conducted on 30 advertisements mostly from the website entitled: *33 powerful and creative print ads that'll make you look twice*¹ since it includes advertisements reflecting different common types of verbo-visual interaction, i.e., multimodality.² They typically consist of a prominent, more or less unexpected visual element and a short text, fluctuating in length (one word – one or two sentences), in the form of a slogan, a headline, or just the product name. Importantly, the verbal part is in English, but the advertisements are international since they were created by advertising agencies all over the world (e.g., Brazil, Germany, Spain, Turkey, the USA, Saudi Arabia, etc.). This is important in today's globalizing world, with companies trying to reach as many consumers as possible with one advertising campaign inter-culturally and internationally. In addition, the cognitive strategies underlying the advertisements may be suspected to work universally. The analysis encompasses two levels: (1) verbo-visual, and (2) cognitive. At the surface level, dominating types of language-picture interaction have been identified based on (non)figurativeness of language and the level of visual creativity.³ At the cognitive level of analysis verbal and visual elements are shown to activate multimodal metaphors and metonymies as paths to inferring meaning by relying on Forceville's (2009), Forceville and Urios-Aparisi's (2009) and Pérez Sobrino's (2017) approach to multimodality, and Lakoff and Johnson's (1980/2003) and Kövecses and Radden's (1998: 37–78) approach to conceptual metaphor and metonymy.

¹https://www.boredpanda.com/creative-print-ads/?utm_source=google&utm_medium=organic&utm_campaign=organic

² If the analyzed representative advertisement is not from the mentioned website, its source is cited in a footnote.

³ Visual creativity is discussed in Section 2.1.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Verbal and visual elements in advertising

Studying the interaction between verbal and visual elements in advertisements was initiated by Barthes (1986), who insists on the verbal part as conveying the linguistic message, which may have the function of relaying or anchoring in relation to the pictorial part. In its relaying function language contains important information not present in the image. In its anchoring function, which Barthes sees as more common, language guides the identification and interpretation of the image. Phillips (2000) concludes that an explanatory headline, signalling just a clue to the image's meaning as opposed to a fully explanatory headline, increases comprehension and ad liking.

Furthermore, Forceville (1996: 70) stresses that his approach to communication in advertisements is of multimedial character since it comprises both a linguistic and a pictorial component. Forceville (1996: 72–74) believes that Barthes' (1986) strictly relaying and anchoring functions are too limited and simplistic in modern advertising and specifies how language- picture interaction is more intricate. Here we support Forceville's view, insisting on an intricate interaction between language and the picture.

Forceville identified four types of pictorial metaphors in advertisements determined on the basis of the nature of the secondary term, i.e., the object with which the target, or primary term is associated (Forceville 1996: 108–164): (1) metaphors with one pictorially present term (MP1s), in which the secondary term, i.e., the source⁴ is visually absent, but is unambiguously suggested by the pictorial context; Mulken van, le Pair and Forceville (2010) use the term contextual metaphors, (2) metaphors with two pictorially present terms (MP2s), in which the target and the source are fused into a single *gestalt*; this is "violent fusion" (Forceville 1996: 143); Mulken van, le Pair and Forceville (2010) call them hybrids, (3) pictorial similes, in which the target and the source are visually presented separately but resemble each other, and (4) verbo-pictorial metaphors, in which one of the terms is supplied by language, while the other is supplied visually. The first three categories represent monomodal metaphors, i.e., metaphors in just the visual mode, where only visual means signal both source and target terms. However, even Forceville (2009) contends that purely pictorial metaphors are relatively rare since they often interact with verbal

⁴ Forceville (1996) alternatively uses the terms the primary term for the target and the second(ary) term for the source.

information. This opens the issue of multimodality (Forceville and Urios-Aparisi 2009), the topic of the present article.

According to our view, all these advertisements with four types of pictorial metaphors identified by Forceville manifest interaction of both language and the picture, i.e., information necessary for inferring the message is rendered verbally and visually and arises from the interaction of the two codes. Even Forceville (1996) indicates the role of the verbal part in setting and interpreting pictorial metaphors, such as reinforcing which element is the source and which is the target, guiding the transfer of particular features, supplying the source or the target, etc. Also, when summarizing the typology, Forceville (1996: 163) states directly that if we remove the verbal context in MP1s, MP2s and pictorial similes, the primary and secondary subjects are still recognizable, although deciding which is the primary and which is the secondary subject may be problematic. As for verbo-pictorial metaphors, if we remove the pictorial context, we can still identify the two metaphorical terms, but if we remove the text, one term is lost and so is the metaphor.

In this article, we recognize the following types of linguistic and visual elements. Linguistic elements are recognized as being used literally or figuratively. Boers and Lindstromberg (2008: 161–162) claim that figurative senses range from the metonymic to the metaphorical, whereas Dirven (2002) introduces the notion of the figurative continuum, which shows that figurative word senses are located along a continuum stretching from purely literal, through metonymic to metaphorical. In advertising, along the literal – figurative continuum, we differentiate between the following possibilities:

- (1) Language is used literally;
- (2) Language is used ambiguously in two possible variations:
 - (a) Only the figurative sense of a lexeme/phrase is active; it may be metonymic, or metaphorical;
 - (b) Both the literal and figurative senses (metonymic or metaphorical) of a lexeme/phrase are active, resulting in intended ambiguity.

Visual elements in advertising are categorized on the basis of the presence, absence and type of visually manifested conceptual clash. The more conceptually incongruous or unexpected the arrangement of the visual elements is, the higher is the degree of creativity. The classification proposed here differs from Forceville's (1996) on certain points: (a) Forceville considers just pictorial metaphors, whereas here both metaphors and metonymies are encompassed, (b) Forceville's classification is based on whether the source and/or the target are visually presented, whereas here the criterion is the degree of creativity depending on whether the visual representation is impossible, unlikely,

or seemingly unrelated to the object of advertising. This yields three levels of creativity:

(1) *High visual creativity*. Visual elements depict impossible situations, associating logically unrelated elements or scenarios and thus evoking a *strong visual conceptual clash*. This type often coincides with Forceville's visual metaphors of the MP2 or hybrid type involving a "violent fusion" of elements (Forceville 1996; Mulken van, le Pair and Forceville 2010). Commonly visual metaphors or metonymies are present.

(2) *Medium visual creativity*. Visual elements depict unlikely or unexpected but not impossible scenarios. It manifests itself in two variants, which is not covered by Forceville's classification: (a) elements from one domain of experience are visually presented in unlikely or unexpected relationships and thus commonly involve visual metonymies, thus evoking *weak visual conceptual clash*; (b) there is a similarity in form of the crucial visual element and another element having the promoted characteristics. This involves *iconic visual representations*. Commonly such advertisements feature a metonymy or metaphor focusing on a particular favourable characteristic to be associated with the product.

(3) *Low visual creativity*. Visual elements depict possible situations at first glance unrelated to the object of advertising, which are usually based on the before-after consumption relationships and as such visually present metonymies of the RESULT FOR ACTION type. These also do not fit into Forceville's classification. In this visual type, there is *no visual conceptual clash*, yet the consumer realizes that the depicted difference must be meaningful.

2.2. Cognitive linguistic concepts in advertising

Cognitive linguistics claims that semantic structure is cognitive structure, while meaning is encyclopedic, whereby lexical items are points of access to encyclopedic knowledge (Evans and Green 2006: 215; on the guiding principles of cognitive semantics see Evans and Green 2006: 157–163). Stressing the fact that meaning is at the level of concepts is important for this study because the visual element in advertisements is also seen as prompting meaning. Furthermore, metaphor and metonymy are cognitive rather than linguistic mechanisms, which structure world knowledge in the mind, primarily based on man's everyday sensory-motor experience of the world (On the embodied cognition thesis see Lakoff and Johnson 1999). Conceptual metaphor and metonymy involve conceptual domains and mappings, i.e., matching equivalent conceptual elements, but in

different ways and for different purposes. Conceptual metaphor is used for understanding abstract concepts through concrete concepts from our everyday physical and sensory-motor experience ('A IS B') (On conceptual metaphor see e.g., Lakoff and Johnson 1980/2003, Kövecses 2010; A comprehensive list of conceptual metaphors in English is provided by Lakoff, Espenson and Schwartz 1991). On the other hand, conceptual metonymy allows one concept, the vehicle, to stand for another, the target, in the same conceptual domain providing mental access to an aspect of the same domain that is to be highlighted, which depends on communicative or referential requirements ('B for A') (On metonymy see e.g., Lakoff and Johnson 1980/2003, Kövecses and Radden 1998).

In cognitive linguistics conceptual metaphor was given priority over metonymy for a long time, but nowadays many authors consider metonymy to be essential, indicating that many metaphors are motivated by metonymies (Lakoff 1987; Radden 2000; Barcelona 2000).⁵ Ungerer (2000: 321–340) explains that advertising is essentially based on metaphor since the advertised product is always conceptually associated with some other domain of experience, but also on metonymy since the product is never present in the advertisement, but represented by a picture or a brand name metonymically standing for it. Ungerer (2000: 325–326) also identifies an important joint conceptual setup in advertising – the interaction between the GRABBING metonymy, connecting the act of grabbing something and a desire for something, and the VALUE metaphor (THE DESIRED OBJECT IS A VALUABLE OBJECT). Later Ungerer (2000: 326–327) reformulates the VALUE metaphor into the INTEREST metaphor along with the new trend in which advertisements increasingly attract attention on the ground of being unusual, mysterious, exotic, even grotesque.

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), although claiming that metaphor is a matter of thought and action, almost exclusively studied metaphoric verbal expressions, i.e., it was focused on the verbal mode. Only later did some researchers point to the limiting aspect of such an approach and thus focused on studying metaphor in the visual mode, referring to it as a visual or pictorial metaphor (e.g., Forceville 1996). After these monomodal approaches a number of authors (e.g., Forceville 2009; Forceville and Urios-Aparisi 2009; Perez Sobrino 2017) started investigating conceptual metaphor and subsequently, metonymy as multimodal phenomena, based on mappings of domains

⁵ On the interaction between conceptual metaphor and metonymy, i.e. metaphonymy see Goosens (1990).

from different modes, e.g., visual and verbal, or visual and acoustic (On potential problems in determining modes see Forceville [2009: 22–23]). In this article, we focus on pictorial and written signs, i.e., the interaction between verbal and visual modes. The most comprehensive study of multimodality in advertising is Pérez Sobrino's (2017) monograph, which detects novel versions of interaction between metaphor and metonymy in multimodal settings. Perhaps the most important findings are that metonymy is a core device in the construction of advertising messages and that metaphonymy is by far the most frequent conceptual operation in her corpus.

3. Analysis: Types of verbo-visual interaction in print advertisements with an intriguing picture

The following subsections identify, explain, and illustrate five types of verbo-visual interaction in print advertisements with an intriguing picture, involving both the surface, verbo-visual level, and the deeper, cognitive level of analysis.⁶

3.1. Type 1: literal language and high/medium visual creativity

In this type of verbo-visual structure, the picture manifests high or medium creativity, whereas language is literal and directly informs the consumer about the characteristics, contents, use, effects, etc. of the advertised product or service. The established tendencies are the following:

(a) *Literal language describes the purpose or results of using the product/service.*

High visual creativity – the favourable results of using the product/service are depicted.

In an advertisement for a parking sensor the headline states *Precision parking. Park Assist by Volkswagen*.⁷ The picture is metaphorical since it represents a hedgehog preceded and followed by transparent plastic bags filled with water and a goldfish in each of them. Such bags could easily be pierced by spines, which does not happen here. The implied

⁶ The representative advertisements are not shown in this article due to copyright issues. Thus, they are described taking into consideration both linguistic and visual elements, while footnotes contain links leading to the sources of the advertisements. The descriptions and analyses of the advertisements are used exclusively for academic purposes as part of the practice of fair use in academic research.

⁷ <https://static.boredpanda.com/blog/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/creative-print-ads-74.jpg>

meaning is: 'Park Assist by Volkswagen is extremely precise.' There are two underlying multimodal metaphors: A VOLKSWAGEN CAR WITH THE PARKING SENSOR IS A HEDGEHOG, and THE PARKING SENSOR EQUALS HEDGEHOG'S SPINES, the target (*Volkswagen* and *parking*) being signalled by the language, and the source (the hedgehog) by the picture. The RESULT FOR ACTION multimodal metonymy, specifically relating to not damaged bags, metaphorically representing cars, indirectly relates to the advertised parking sensor. It is multimodal because the source is entirely in the picture, but the target is entirely rendered by language.

(b) *Literal language describes the purpose or the results of using the product/service.*

Medium visual creativity – the picture iconically shows the purpose of using the product.

In an advertisement for Nivea facial cream, the headline states: *Nivea Night*,⁸ and the picture shows the lid of a cream jar positioned so that it creates an image of the Moon. The implied meaning is: 'Nivea cream nourishes skin during the night.' The cognitive structure involves multimodal metonymy MOON FOR THE NIGHT, with the target signalled by the language (*night*) and the vehicle by the picture (the shape of the Moon). Also, two other metonymies are chained⁹ in inferring meaning: TIME OF ACTIVITY FOR THE ACTIVITY, i.e., NIGHT FOR APPLYING NIVEA CREAM and INSTRUMENT FOR ACTIVITY, i.e., NIVEA CREAM FOR APPLYING IT.

(c) *Literal language describes the characteristics of the product/service.*

High visual creativity – the characteristics of the product/service are depicted.

In an advertisement for the McDonald's fish burger, the headline is just the product's name: *Fillet-o-fish*.¹⁰ The picture depicts metaphorically a fish tank shaped like a burger, with a fish swimming in it. The implied meaning is: 'Fish meat in McDonald's burgers is very fresh'. This is inferred from the interaction of the multimodal metaphor A MCDONALD'S FISH BURGER IS A BURGER SHAPED TANK WITH FISH (the source is signalled by the picture of the fish tank, the fish, while the target is

⁸ <https://static.boredpanda.com/blog/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/creative-print-ads-102.jpg>

⁹ Metonymic chains are the chained combination of two or more metonymies in which the expanded or reduced domain that results from an initial metonymic operation constitutes the point of departure for another metonymic shift (Pérez Sobrino 2017: 60–62).

¹⁰ <https://i.pinimg.com/736x/d6/16/5b/d6165bbb9b41bb7fa7500170696c3e35--advertising-agency-creative-advertising.jpg>

signalled by the language: *fillet* and the picture: the burger shape of the fish tank) and the multimodal metonymy OBJECT FOR MATERIAL CONSTITUTING THAT OBJECT, i.e. FISH FOR FISH MEAT (the vehicle is signalled by the picture: the fish, but the target is signalled by the language: *fillet*).

In Type 1, with its subtypes, the main function of the language employed is twofold: first, to directly state the intended meaning relating to the product advertised and thus, direct the attention of potential consumers to the crucial pictorial elements which need to be in focus, and second, to instruct consumers how to associate the logically incongruous signals provided by the picture. Conversely, the main function of the picture is to attract attention by being unbelievable, shocking, or illogical and only secondly to convey meaning. Considering the cognitive dimension, verbal and visual cues signal various multimodal metaphors and/or metonymies. The picture is itself metaphoric or metonymic, in the latter instance depicting RESULT FOR ACTION, and it shows elements from the source or vehicle domain, whereby language provides elements from the related target domain. Commonly the picture does not show the very advertised product, but some part of the scenario relating to it, which highlights its effects, purpose, characteristics, the activity in which it is used, etc. indicating a metonymic connection.

3.2. Type 2: literal language and low visual creativity

- *Literal language is extremely brief, consisting of just one or two words, and hints at the situation before and after using the product/service.*
- *Low visual creativity – the situation before and after using the product/service is depicted.*

In an advertisement for a weight-loss programme¹¹ the image depicts a wide door on the left side with the caption *Entrance*, and on the right side a much narrower door with the caption *Exit*; between the doors, there is the inscription *Weightwatchers*. Neither the picture itself nor the language conveys the intended meaning: ‘With this weight-loss programme you will become much thinner’. However, the interaction of the two modes does so by effecting two metonymic relationships: THING PERCEIVED FOR THE PERCEPTION, i.e., A WIDE DOOR FOR A FAT PERSON, and A NARROW DOOR FOR A THIN PERSON, i.e., entering a wide door and exiting a much narrower door means that the person exiting got thinner (the vehicles are the doors, the targets are the imagined fat and thin person),

¹¹ <https://static.boredpanda.com/blog/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/creative-print-ads-10.jpg>

and implicitly RESULT FOR ACTION, i.e., BEING THIN FOR UNDERGOING A WEIGHT-LOSS PROGRAMME.

Overall, in Type 2 the focus is on the effect of the product, both in language and the picture, often with an element of exaggeration or hyperbole in the picture. Fyock (2011: 5) claims that the role of hyperbole in visual images is the visual exaggeration or understatement of a product's benefits or losses. The low degree of visual creativity is strengthened by linguistic cues, i.e., language shows that the picture should be interpreted creatively for the sake of conveying the intended meaning. The understanding of such advertisements is based on the multimodal RESULT FOR ACTION metonymy, with the result in the picture and action suggested by language.

3.3. Type 3: literal language and visual non-creativity

- *Literal language describes the purpose or the effect of using the product.*
- *Visual non-creativity – the picture is simple, non-creative.*

This strategy involves two non-creatively used modes whose interaction produces creative effects. In an advertisement for *Veet*, a hair removal product, the headline states: *No hair is better*,¹² and thus addresses the effect of the cream, which is depicted by means of a used spotlessly white soap. Neither language nor the picture in isolation is creative; considered separately they do not convey the intended meaning: 'The *Veet* cream removes hairs perfectly'. However, their interaction produces a creative result since language directs the consumer into interpreting the picture creatively. What arises are two chained multimodal metonymies INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION, i.e., SOAP FOR WASHING ONESELF and RESULT FOR ACTION, i.e., a perfectly white soap with no hairs after washing oneself following the treatment of removing hairs with the advertised product. The metonymic target, a spotlessly clean soap is rendered by the picture, whereas the vehicles are rendered by language (*Veet, no hair*).

In this advertising strategy, language provides crucial information that leads to interpreting the simple picture creatively and thus contributing to the intended meaning. The picture usually presents the result of using the product, and accordingly, such advertisements are based on the multimodal RESULT FOR ACTION metonymy.

¹² <https://static.boredpanda.com/blog/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/creative-print-ads-76.jpg>

3.4. Type 4: figurative language and high/medium visual creativity

Another common strategy involves double creativity by employing figurative language and high or medium visual creativity.

(a) *Figurative language – both literal and figurative senses of the key lexeme/phrase are active.*

High visual creativity – both literal and figurative senses of the key lexeme/phrase are depicted.

An advertisement promoting a place for developing creative ideas is shocking and revolting since it presents the image of a young man's head, with the top of it open and the brain shown.¹³ Moreover, the head is served on a plate, with a knife and fork beside it. The headline states: *Hungry for fresh ideas*. The intended meaning of this advertisement 'Here you get great, creative ideas' is based on the conventional metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD manifested multimodally. The source domain is signalled by the lexemes *hungry* and *fresh*, and the picture in which the table is laid, whereas the target domain is signalled by the lexeme *ideas* and the open head with the brain inside. Thus, both the literal sense of *hungry* and its figurative sense 'eager' are made active by both language and the picture, whereas the extreme creativity of the advertisement fitting into Ungerer's metaphor THE DESIRED OBJECT IS A REVOLTING OBJECT (Ungerer 2000: 325–326) results from the visual combination of the metonymic representations of the source and the target domains, i.e., PLATE AND CUTLERY FOR EATING/FOOD, and BRAIN FOR IDEAS.

(b) *Figurative language – both figurative and literal senses of the key lexeme/phrase are active.*

Medium visual creativity – the literal sense of the key lexeme/phrase is depicted.

In an advertisement for coffee, there is the image of a cup of coffee which looks like a switch, and the inscription: *on, off*, on different sides of the cup. At the bottom of the advertisement, it is written: *The Black and Blaze. Coffee roasting company*.¹⁴ The picture is moderately creative, and without interaction with the language prompts (*on, off*), we could not interpret the intended message: 'The coffee gives you extra energy so that you can be quick and efficient'. Through the interaction of language and the picture arises the new multimodal metaphor A CUP OF COFFEE IS A SWITCH,¹⁵ which entails the new multimodal

¹³ https://d3nuqriibqh3vw.cloudfront.net/images/garage_oescritorio.jpg

¹⁴ <https://i.pinimg.com/originals/6b/be/31/6bbe31b77c246cd425773732d52e10a9.jpg>

¹⁵ The target and the source in multimodal metaphor may both be concrete entities (Forceville and Urios-Aparisi 2009).

mapping COFFEE IS ELECTRICITY, whereby the source is signalled by both the picture (the shape of the cup) and the language (*on, off*), whereas the target is also signalled by both the picture (a cup of coffee) and the language (*Coffee roasting company*). Furthermore, relying on our encyclopedic knowledge we know that people drink coffee to become alert when feeling tired, and combine this knowledge with the implicit conventional metaphor PEOPLE ARE MACHINES, which in this context entails that people need stimulation to function, i.e., perform their daily routines yielding the new metaphor: COFFEE IS FUEL. The picture of the coffee and the inscription *Coffee roasting company* activate the figurative meaning of *on* meaning 'able to work, perform daily activities' and *off* 'not able to work, i.e. perform daily activities'. If the stated figurative meanings of *on* and *off* were depicted, a person with a battery inserted in the body, drinking coffee and moving would be depicted, for example.

In Type 4, language and the picture, both ambiguous and creative, contribute equally to conveying the message. The meaning of such advertisements is inferred via multimodal metaphor, whereby both the source and the target domains are signalled in both modes. This can be compared with Yus (2003), who applied a relevance-theoretic approach to studying humour in advertising. He singles out two types of puns important in advertising: puns with both meanings relevant, and applicable, and puns in which one interpretation has to be discarded if it does not make a favourable claim about the product. Puns with two relevant meanings correspond to words with two active meanings, literal and figurative, which is typical of the strategy described here. Yus's (2003) finding is that puns with two relevant meanings, which the consumer entertains simultaneously unable to choose one, are humorous and appreciated more.

3.5. Type 5: figurative language and low visual creativity

(a) *Figurative language use with only the figurative sense of the key lexeme/phrase active.*

Low visual creativity – only the figurative sense of the key lexeme/phrase is depicted.

This subtype is the least common among the listed. An advertisement for an optician's shows two images of the same attractively dressed blonde woman, wearing a bright red sleeveless shirt exposing a big bosom; in one image she's not wearing glasses, and the caption below states *easy*, whereas in the second she is wearing glasses, and the caption states *hard*; there is also the headline: "Get the respect you

deserve".¹⁶ Just the picture, a woman with and without glasses, does not lead to the inference 'By wearing eyeglasses that we sell, you look more sophisticated, intellectual'. Likewise, considering just the words *easy* and *hard* and even the *optician*'s is also not informative. Only through the interaction of verbal and visual elements can the consumer get the message. *Easy* meaning 'promiscuous' and *hard* meaning the opposite are used metaphorically; however, these senses are activated by the two images the only difference being glasses, which changes the perception of the woman from being promiscuous to being moral, intellectual and sophisticated. The picture, along with our cultural stereotype that people wearing glasses are intellectual, activates the figurative sense of the lexeme *easy*. From this interaction arises the new multimodal metaphor: WEARING GLASSES MEANS BEING RESPECTFUL with the target in the picture (glasses, and the images of the woman) and the source in the language (*easy*, *hard*). Looking more deeply, it is based on the multimodal metonymies PERCEPTION FOR THE THING PERCEIVED, in this case specifically manifested as the perception of a woman as more sophisticated on the basis of her looks, and RESULT FOR ACTION, i.e., having glasses for the perceived transformation of a person's status.

(b) *Figurative language use with both the literal and the figurative senses of the key lexeme/phrase active.*

Low visual creativity – both the literal and the figurative senses of the key lexeme/phrase are depicted.

In an advertisement against physical abuse, the headline states *Some things can't be covered*.¹⁷ In the picture there is a woman wearing a hijab, but the area around one eye is bruised. The word *cover* is used ambiguously, literally meaning 'forming a layer over a surface', which is enhanced by the image of the hijab, and metaphorically in the sense 'put something over in order to hide, close, or protect it', which is signalled by the bruise in the picture. The intended message of the advertisement 'Violence cannot be concealed' is based on the multimodal metaphor DECEPTION IS PURPOSEFUL PREVENTION OF SIGHT (THROUGH THE USE OF COVERS), i.e., CONCEALING VIOLENCE IS COVERING BRUISES, with the source in the picture (the hijab) and the language (*cover*) and the target in the picture (the bruise). The depicted bruise reflects the RESULT FOR ACTION metonymy (BRUISE FOR VIOLENCE).

¹⁶ https://d3nuqriibqh3vw.cloudfront.net/styles/aotw_detail_ir/s3/images/Oogmerk_hard_rgb_1.jpg?qQmB9EUTHXCf2zzv29IOTw09FjGDQxMz&itok=PRoaZgMI

¹⁷ <https://static.boredpanda.com/blog/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/creative-print-ads-64.jpg>

In this advertising strategy, the focus is on transferring the figurative meaning, either alone (as in case (a)) or along with the non-creative, literal meaning (as in case (b)), relying on both verbal and visual means.

4. Concluding remarks

Overall, the intended meaning in interesting print advertisements, i.e., advertisements with an intriguing picture arises from the specific types of interaction of both verbal and visual elements, and not just solely from one mode. At the verbo-visual level of analysis, this article brings some insights and conclusions. It proposes a classification of verbal elements based on the level of figurativeness, and of visual elements based on the concept of the creative continuum. Furthermore, it can be concluded that language and the picture may perform two general mutually interacting functions in the process of inferring meaning: (1) *disambiguation*, i.e., directing the consumers' attention to literal verbal and/or non-creative visual elements providing interpretation for the creatively used mode; the main purpose is conveying the intended meaning, and (2) *enhancing creativity*, i.e., particular verbal and/or visual elements instruct how literal language or visual elements featuring little or no creativity are to be interpreted creatively to produce a shocking effect and primarily attract attention, and secondarily convey meaning. Verbal figurativeness much more frequently manifests itself as metaphorical than metonymic, whereas metonymic interpretations commonly result from the interaction of language and the picture.

This article establishes five types of verbo-visual interaction and thus complements Barthes's (1986) anchoring and relaying and confirms Forceville's (1996) claim that in modern advertisements the interaction between language and picture involves more complex interrelation. As for the cognitive dimension, this article indicates that brief, usually block language, and more or less complex pictures interact and activate various underlying multimodal conceptual metaphors and/or metonymies, from which the intended meaning is inferred. As for multimodal metaphor, its primary role is to present the advertised product/service as something else, thereby accentuating only particular *eligible* positive characteristics of the source, which is governed by the genre of advertising with the ultimate aim to sell the product. We refer to this phenomenon as the *positively focused invariance principle*, meaning that metaphorical mappings do not only preserve the cognitive topology of the source domain but also focus exclusively on its positively evaluated features. This especially refers to advertisements with high or medium visual creativity, in which case language directs the positive

transfer of eligible features. Similarly, Ungerer (2000: 327–334) discusses modes of muting, i.e., imposing constraints, on the conceptual wealth of the source domain to yield a positive transfer. The article establishes that the picture acts as an attention grabber due to visual creativity. It also indicates that visual creativity can be based on depicting just the source/vehicle, but also both the source/vehicle and the target. Furthermore, as Forceville and Urios-Aparisi (2009: 11) note, the target and the source in multimodal metaphor may both be concrete entities, as opposed to the classical CMT according to which an abstract entity is conceptualized in terms of a concrete entity. This article indicates that the target is concrete in the following contexts: (a) if the target is the advertised product itself (e.g., COFFEE IS FUEL), (b) if the advertisement focuses on a service or an idea, which is abstract, the abstract target is made concrete in the visual mode via a metonymic relationship with something concrete (e.g., the bruise in the ad against violence). This leads us to stress the role of multimodal metonymy in advertising, which is in line with Pérez Sobrino's (2017) view that metonymy is a core device in the construction of advertising messages. Our finding is that multimodal metonymy may have three functions in creative advertising: (1) It interacts with multimodal metaphor, especially in the form of metonymy within metaphor, depicting the metaphorical target and/or source (e.g., the Nivea ad and anti-violence ads); thus, its important function is to visually prompt the wanted target or source domain, (2) The RESULT FOR ACTION multimodal metonymy is the most common; the picture shows the wanted effect or result of the product (e.g., a spotlessly white soap after hair removing). It is the main cognitive mechanism underlying the before-after advertisements described in types 2 and 3, which address the situation before and after using the product or just the effect of its use, and (3) The RESULT FOR ACTION multimodal metonymy often interacts with multimodal metaphor, whereby it depicts the result of the activity presented metaphorically (e.g., looking sophisticated as a result of wearing glasses). Overall, the visual element may be crucial for attracting attention, but message inference relies on verbo-visual interaction.

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INTERAKCIJA JEZIKA I SLIKE U U REKLAMAMA: MULTIMODALNI PRISTUP

U ovom radu izučavaju se interesantne reklame, tj. one koje sadrže intrigantna sliku, koje se ovde posmatraju kao tip multimodalnog diskursa sa implicitnim prenošenjem značenja. Polazi se od pretpostavke da takve reklame imaju specifičnu površinsku strukturu, sa konciznim jezičkim i neobičnim vizuelnim

elementima, koji na kognitivnom nivou aktiviraju multimodalne metafore i metonimije pri izvođenju značenja. Ciljevi rada su: 1) pokazati da nameravano značenje uglavnom proizlazi iz interakcije dva modaliteta, jezika i slike, 2) konstatovati dominantne tipove jezičko-vizuelne interakcije, i 3) pokazati da su pojmovna metafora i metonimija u osnovi brižljivo koncipirane strukture ovih reklama. Utvrđeno je pet tipičnih tipova jezičko-vizuelne interakcije, pri čemu su objedinjene površinska, jezičko-vizuelna, i kognitivna dimenzija u procesu stvaranja značenja. Pomenuti tipovi jezičkih i vizuelnih elemenata u interakciji zasnivaju se na stepenu figurativnosti jezičkog izraza i na vizuelnom kreativnom kontinuumu. U radu se ukazuje na tipične funkcije multimodalne metafore i metonimije, a posebno se ističe uloga multimodalne metonimije u interakciji sa multimodalnom metaforom i značaj multimodalne metonimije **REZULTAT ZA RADNJU**. Zaključuje se da slika ima funkciju privlačenja pažnje, a da izvedeno značenje proističe iz interakcije jezika i slike, tj. multimodalnosti.

Ključne riječi: reklame, značenje, engleski, jezik, slika, kognitivno, multimodalnost, metafora, metonimija.

UNO SGUARDO DIACRONICO SU ALCUNI ROMANISMI DEL VERNACOLO POMIANESE

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Sintesi: Pomiano è un paesino dell'Istria slovena i cui abitanti mantengono tuttora viva la parlata locale, un dialetto di tipo savrino (o saurino) che insieme alle parlate risanesi è parte integrante del dialetto istrosloveno. La parlata dialettale di Pomiano, che di base ha una genesi slovena, è intrisa di prestiti romanzi che gli istriani di origini slave fecero propri sin dai primi insediamenti nel VII secolo, attingendoli dalla lingua della popolazione autoctona romanzofona distribuita nei centri urbani della costa istriana. La lingua degli istriani residenti nell'entroterra di Capodistria, Isola e Pirano risentì dunque inizialmente del cosiddetto romanzo istriano, evoluzione della varietà di latino parlata nella regione, mentre con la dominazione veneziana il contatto linguistico tra mondo slavo e romanzo divenne all'insegna del dialetto istroveneto, che fino alla fine della Seconda guerra mondiale funse da *koinè* degli abitanti dell'Istria. Nel presente contributo si intende presentare una selezione di romanismi in chiave diacronica. A tal fine, i prestiti che il noto dialettologo sloveno Tine Logar attestò nel 1957 nella località di Pomiano sono stati posti a confronto con quelli rinvenuti tra i parlanti dialettali coinvolti nelle indagini dialettologiche che l'autrice ha svolto in tempi ben più recenti nella medesima area. Ne sono derivate 28 schede etimologiche in cui si è proceduto ad appurare se i romanismi in uso a Pomiano oltre sessant'anni fa siano tuttora noti agli abitanti di oggi e da questi regolarmente utilizzati. Al contempo, le schede danno conto della diffusione in altre località dell'Istria slovena delle espressioni qui raccolte, anche ricollegandole alle rispettive forme originarie, che sulla scorta dei raffronti operati con l'italiano triestino, il veneziano e l'italiano standard risultano essere di matrice prevalentemente istroveneta. Ciascuna scheda etimologica si conclude infine con l'indicazione dell'ultima fonte in cui una data voce è stata rilevata. Dall'analisi lessicale diacronica così effettuata è emerso che i parlanti dialettali sono a conoscenza della maggior parte dei romanismi presi in esame e vi fanno tuttora ricorso.

Parole chiave: Pomiano, ricerca diacronica, romanismi, prestiti istroveneti, dialetto istrosloveno, dialetto istroveneto, interferenza linguistica.

Il dialetto istrosloveno e la tradizione linguistica romanza nell'Istria slovena

Nell'Istria slovena gli istriani di origine slava (slovena) parlano il dialetto istrosloveno. Logar (1996, 403-404) suddivide le parlate che vi ricadono in due sottogruppi dialettali, segnatamente il risanese e il savrino, individuando il confine tra i due lungo la linea Capodistria (Koper)-Maresego (Marezige)-Sasseto (Zazid). Nelle ricerche condotte sul campo (cfr. Todorović 2015; Todorović, 2015a) si è osservato tuttavia che il punto di origine di tale confine non può essere Capodistria (come sostiene Logar, *ibid.*), dal momento che in questa città gli istriani parlano unicamente il dialetto istroveneto. Un punto di origine più appropriato è pertanto la frazione di Bertocchi (Bertoki), dove gli abitanti del posto si esprimono in una variante risanese di dialetto sloveno come anche nel dialetto istroveneto. La varietà subdialettale risanese è diffusa nell'entroterra e negli immediati dintorni di Capodistria, quella savrina è invece parlata dagli istriani residenti nel profondo entroterra o comunque nelle campagne alle spalle di Capodistria, Isola e Pirano (Todorović 2018, 17).

È da ribadire quindi che a Capodistria, Isola e Pirano, così come negli abitati che sorgono ai margini di queste città gli istriani di discendenza romanza (italiana) parlano esclusivamente in dialetto istroveneto (Todorović 2015, 52-53).

La continuità linguistica slava vede i propri inizi in terra d'Istria tra il VI e il VII secolo, epoca alla quale risalgono le prime commistioni linguistiche slavo-romanze, quella romanza ha invece origini più antiche – la tradizione linguistica romanza vede il suo inizio nel 178/177 a.C., quando i Romani sconfissero a Nesazio (oggi Vizače) gli Istri, i primi abitanti della penisola istriana, che ben presto abbracciarono la fede cristiana e vennero latinizzati.

Prima dell'arrivo degli Slavi, in Istria si parlava solamente l'istrioto, una lingua neo-latina diffusa per l'appunto in Istria, Friuli e Dalmazia. Gli Slavi che nei diversi periodi storici si insediarono man mano in terra istriana non sempre raggiunsero l'area litoranea, ma con la loro presenza si incunearono tra la popolazione romanza, dividendola. Furono dunque questi cunei slavi la ragione per cui nelle tre regioni succitate l'uniformità dell'istrioto venne meno, dando vita a tre autonomi e distinti gruppi di parlate romanze: il friulano a nord, il dalmata (o dalmatico) a sud e l'istrioto in Istria (Filipi 1993, 299).

Ai tempi della Serenissima la tradizione linguistica romanza si consolidò ulteriormente. A quel tempo nella maggior parte delle località della penisola gli istriani di origine romanza abbandonarono il dialetto originario, sviluppatosi dal locale latino istriano, per sostituirlo con il

veneziano, che a contatto con l'autoctono istrioto diede vita ad un dialetto del tutto nuovo, l'istoveneto, tuttora usato in primis nelle località costiere dell'Istria. La popolazione romanza l'aveva da sempre usato come lingua madre, gli sloveni dell'entroterra che normalmente si esprimevano nel proprio dialetto locale lo impiegavano invece come strumento di comunicazione con la popolazione urbana, dalla quale erano economicamente dipendenti (Todorović 2019a, 19-20).

Da ciò deriva la coesistenza di due dialetti nell'Istria slovena, nello specifico, l'istrosloveno e l'istoveneto. Il dialetto istoveneto è sempre stato in contatto con il vicino istrosloveno, seppur nel corso del tempo non abbiano esercitato l'uno sull'altro un'influenza di pari peso a causa del loro diverso status sociolinguistico. A fronte infatti dell'uso relativamente sporadico dell'italiano letterario, l'idioma cittadino di matrice romanza rappresentò fino alla fine della Seconda guerra mondiale la principale—lingua dell'Istria anche per molti abitanti dell'entroterra, che pur coltivando nei loro paesini la parlata slovena, negli scambi con la popolazione urbana si esprimevano solo in istoveneto (Todorović 2019, 12).

In questa regione la plurisecolare convivenza tra istriani di origini slave e di origini latine si riflette nella moltitudine di romanismi che sono parte integrante del dialetto istrosloveno, presentandosi sotto forma di prestiti, anche ibridi, sintagmi di derivazione romanza, calchi e sim.

Pomiano e la sua parlata dialettale

Pomiano è un paesino nel cuore dei colli Savrini formato da agglomerati di case che si sviluppano a gradoni lungo il crinale dell'omonima cima locale, anche detta Romana, da cui si apre una vista che abbraccia la distesa del mare e alcuni degli abitati circostanti. Si estende da est verso ovest, tra le valli solcate a nord dal torrente Cornalunga e a sud dal Dragogna, e sia per la conformazione che per il patrimonio architettonico presenta i tratti del classico abitato rurale istriano. Nella parte più a est ci sono abitazioni di recente costruzione, mentre nella zona centrale del paese si trovano la chiesa parrocchiale di San Giorgio, consacrata nel 1222 dal vescovo di Capodistria mons. Beato Assalone, e il campanile costruito nel 1866 che le svetta a fianco. All'ingresso in paese si può ammirare anche la chiesa della Natività della Beata Vergine Maria, che conserva al suo interno resti di affreschi del XV secolo e alcune iscrizioni in glagolitico, mentre non è rimasto più nulla di un'antica chiesetta intitolata a Santo Stefano (KLSa 1968, 141; KLSb 1995, 301; Pucer 2005, 186-187).

Il toponimo sloveno Pomjan ('*Pomjan* nella parlata locale, da cui *Pom'janc*, *Pom'janšca* e *Pom'janka* quali appellativi degli abitanti)

deriva dall'italiano Pomiano, a sua volta derivato dal nome di persona latino Pomius (Snoj 2009, 321). I parlanti dialettali coinvolti nelle ricerche hanno elencato le seguenti contrade a Pomiano: *na Ro'man*², *na St'raže*, 'Večen bošk', 'Bukujà, 'Ga'buvàc, 'Škər'kuvàc ecc.

In generale, gli abitanti di questo paese dicono di parlare la lingua del posto – *š'rajajo po do'mače* – soprattutto con le persone di casa e gli altri compaesani, e a giudicare dalle loro stime gli autoctoni come loro costituiscono appena un terzo dei residenti totali. Nel 1931 abitavano a Pomiano 363 persone, che nel 1948 si ridussero a 252 e cinque anni più tardi ad appena 140, fino a giungere al censimento del 1966 che attestò 112 abitanti; proprio allora, a partire dagli ultimi anni Sessanta del secolo scorso, iniziarono ad arrivare nuovi residenti, ma per quanto riguarda il periodo prima i più anziani ricordano che nel secondo dopoguerra quasi solo le vedove con i loro figlioli erano rimaste al paese.

Secondo i dati diffusi dall'Ufficio di Statistica della Repubblica di Slovenia, nel 2020 vivevano a Pomiano 183 persone, di cui 92 uomini e 91 donne, mentre il censimento condotto un paio d'anni prima, nel 2018, aveva individuato 71 nuclei familiari composti in media da 2,7 persone (dati divulgati dall'Ufficio di Statistica della Repubblica di Slovenia).

Il primo a mappare la parlata pomianese, variante savrina del dialetto istrosloveno, è stato Tine Logar nell'ambito dell'indagine dialettologica condotta per l'appunto a Pomiano dal 18 al 22 giugno 1957 con il supporto di Anton Jerman, contadino e operaio all'epoca cinquantatreenne. Nel quaderno riservato alle annotazioni sul campo, catalogato come «Pomjan (Istra) – V./123» e oggi conservato a cura della Sezione dialettologica dell'Istituto per la lingua slovena Fran Ramovš, parte dell'Accademia Slovena delle Scienze e delle Arti – ZRC SAZU, Tone Logar fece seguire al questionario funzionale all'atlante linguistico sloveno (SLA) gli equivalenti dialettali emersi dalle 862 domande, per poi concludere le ricerche a Pomiano con una sintesi (Logar 1957) in cui presentò i risultati delle attestazioni sul campo. Nella sua relazione diede particolare risalto all'abbondanza di romanismi di origine veneta presenti nel vocabolario di Pomiano, indicandone ben 72, segnatamente: *bârîka* 'bara', *bârba* 'zio', *bəryêše* 'pantaloni', *bətôn* 'bottoni', *borêla* 'carriola', *rêdine* 'redini', *cəmatêr* 'cimitero', *čilè* 'ciglia', *čikera* 'tazza', *tupîn* 'ginepro', *đerlânda* 'ghirlanda', *fâču* 'fazzoletto', *fərkâda* 'bastone afforcato', *γâyka* 'noce di galla', *yončîn* 'ericacee', *γulîda* 'mastello', *jêrta* 'stipite', *krêpa* 'cranio', *kôtula* 'gonna', *kəmberîn* 'ripostiglio', *kâmbəra* 'camera', *kânwa* 'cantina', *kandyt* 'gabinetto di decenza', *kavâdana* 'capitagna', *kərbôn* 'carbone', *kodîne* 'madia', *kântat* 'cantare', *kompâre* 'testimone (uomo) di nozze', *kalcjôn*

'colazione', *kampâna* 'campagna', *kuâ* 'cognato', *kæpêya* 'sedia', *kadêna* 'catena', *kûrta* 'cortile', *mužôn* 'labbro', *manîce* 'manici', *mylce* 'budella, sanguinaccio', *mâkiâna za prês* 'arcolaiò', *novîčer* 'sposo', *novîca* 'sposa', *nîvâča* 'prato', *nõnit'* 'nonno', *nõmbolte* 'reni', *pîjat* 'piatto', *pæron* 'forchetta', *pâramant* 'piviale', *plahjer* 'paniere', *kordêla* 'polmoni', *pêver* 'pepe', *pêna* 'penna', *pâjareč* 'pagliericcio', *palêta* 'paletta', *šûr* 'tappo di sughero', *škrâne* 'tempia', *škâle* 'scale', *šcepôn* 'garofano', *švadôr* 'raffreddore', *šalêr* 'soglia', *škarabândo* 'temporale', *štômex* 'stomaco', *terânte* 'bretelle', *tærvêrsa* 'grembiule', *tavêla* 'tavella', *temân* 'incenso', *tamôn* 'timone', *tærfujen* 'trifoglio', *tamparâna* 'vino e acqua', *tæyiča* 'zucca', *vælazôn* 'aiola', *wôka* 'oca', *škûrja* 'frusta', *zjogò* 'malleolo'.

I prestiti romanzi sono stati qui disposti in ordine alfabetico e suddivisi in due macrogruppi, il primo comprendente le espressioni dalla A alla K e il secondo quelle dalla L alla Ž. Nel prosieguo della trattazione si andrà ad illustrare la prima tranche di espressioni, rimandando a una prossima pubblicazione la disamina della seconda.

Nell'esplorare le leggi che governano l'odierno vernacolo pomianese e il relativo vocabolario si è fatto riferimento agli esiti delle indagini sul campo condotte a Pomiano nel corso del 2020 (cfr. Todorović 2021)¹ e ad ulteriori ricerche di quest'anno.

Metodo di ricerca

Il percorso di ricerca muove dai prestiti romanzi attestati a Pomiano oltre sessant'anni fa (restringendo al momento il campo alle voci dalla A alla K), andando in tal senso a verificare se i parlanti dialettali li usino tuttora nei loro scambi quotidiani. A tal scopo il campione di dialettofoni è stato interrogato in modo mirato sulle espressioni di cui sopra e i colloqui avuti con loro, disponibili nella parte conclusiva del contributo, restituiscono a seconda dei casi l'uso continuativo di tali espressioni oppure il loro graduale abbandono. Il materiale utile al raffronto è stato reperito nel corso di due indagini dialettologiche svolte dall'autrice a Pomiano, la prima risalente al 2020 (cfr. Todorović 2021) e l'altra (cfr. Pom 2021) alla primavera del 2021, in tempo utile ai fini del presente articolo. Mentre l'indagine di Logar aveva visto la partecipazione di un unico parlante dialettale, nell'ambito delle due più recenti citate poc'anzi si è riusciti a coinvolgere quattro abitanti del posto.

Uso e origine dei vari romanismi vengono illustrati nelle 28 schede

¹ *Il dialetto, la vita e nomi di famiglia in tre località istriane. Bertocchi, Pomiano, Saredo* (tit. or. *Narečje, življenje in hišna imena v treh istrskih krajih. Bertoki, Pomjan, Šared*).

etimologiche a seguire: nella sezione introduttiva la voce attestata da Tine Logar viene posta a confronto con quella usata allo stato attuale dai dialettografi di Pomiano, dopodiché viene confermata o meno la diffusione del medesimo romanismo in altre parlate istroslovene facendo riferimento al corpus dialettale di alcune pubblicazioni pregresse, nello specifico *Espressioni istroslovene nell'entroterra capodistriano* (Todorović 2015, tit. or. *Slovensko istrsko izrazje v zaledju Kopra*), *La varietà dialettale del Capodistriano* (Todorović 2017, tit. or. *Narečna raznolikost v okolici Kopra: Dekani, Hrvatini, Škofije*), *Il vasto repertorio di parlate dialettali del Capodistriano* (Todorović 2018, tit. or. *Raznovrstnost narečnih govorov na Koprskem: Bertoki, Puče, Sveti Anton*), *Dizionario dialettale di Sant'Antonio presso Capodistria* (Jakopin 1995, tit. or. *Narečni slovar Svetega Antona pri Koprju*), *Analisi lessico-etimologica di romanismi scelti delle parlate savrine* (Dis G 2011, tit. or. *Leksikološko-etimološka analiza izbranih romanizmov v šavrinskih govorih*) e, non da ultimo, anche sulla scorta del più recente materiale dialettale raccolto appositamente per questa indagine nelle località di Boste (cfr. Bost 2021), Pomiano (cfr. Pom 2021) e Saredo (cfr. Sar 2021).

Nel prosieguo si risale al sostrato di norma (istro)veneto delle singole espressioni, seguito dai loro equivalenti in italiano triestino, in veneziano e in italiano standard, dopodiché, affidandosi ad autorevoli dizionari dialettali ed etimologici, si stabilisce l'etimo prossimo della parola in questione, ossia la fonte originaria a partire dalla quale è stata accolta nelle parlate istroslovene. Al termine di ogni scheda etimologica si fornisce infine la più recente base del prestito, che nella grande maggioranza dei casi è latina.

Romanismi nel vernacolo pomianese (A - K): sguardo diacronico

bâńka 'bara'

Il lessema adoperato dai pomianesi negli anni Cinquanta del secolo scorso è tuttora usato da alcuni paesani, v. *'bańka*² – sloveno lett. *krsta* 'bara' (Todorović 2021, 142). L'espressione è largamente diffusa nelle parlate istroslovene, ad es. a Carcase *'bâńka* (Todorović 2015, 99), a Puzzele *'bâńka*, a Sant'Antonio *'banka* (Todorović 2018, 164), a Scoffie *'banka* (Todorović 2017, 149). Si tratta di un prestito dall'istrov. *banca* 'panca' (Manzini-Rocchi 11; VG 62); v. triest. **banka* 'panca' (GDDT 52) e venez. *banca* 'panca' (Boerio 60), di significato diverso – v. it. lett. *panca* "sedile per più persone". Per il lemma 'bara' i parlanti istroveneti adoperano l'espressione *'kaša de 'morto* (ALIVIS 2 416). L'etimo della

² Il segno indicante la posizione dell'accento (') si colloca davanti alla sillaba tonica.

parola *panca* va cercato nella voce longobarda **panka* ‘tavola di legno per sedersi’ (l’ETIM DELI – CD-ROM).

bârba ‘zio’

L’espressione dialettale registrata da Logar è ancora adoperata a Pomiano, v. *‘barba* – sloveno lett. *stric* ‘zio’ (Todorović 2021, 145). La voce è conosciuta altresì in altre località istroslovene, ad es. a Carcase *‘bârbâ* (Todorović 2015, 101), a Puzzole *‘bârba*, a Sant’Antonio *‘barba* (Todorović 2018, 167), a Scoffie *‘barba* (Todorović 2017, 151). La sua prima fonte è l’istrov. *barba* ‘zio’ (Manzini-Rocchi 13;³ VG 1999, 66); v. triest. e venez. *barba* (GDDT 55; Boerio 62). L’etimo della parola si trova nel lat. *bârba(m)* ‘barba’, di orig. indoeur. (DELI – CD-ROM) – che ha dato i sign. metaforici di ‘radice’, per la somiglianza, e ‘noia’, in quanto ‘cosa lunga da far crescere la barba’ (l’ETIM – CD-ROM).

baryęše ‘pantaloni’

La voce sentita dal dialettologo sloveno è tuttora adoperata dai paesani, v. *bâr’ęše* – sloveno lett. *hlače* ‘pantaloni’ (Todorović 2021, 160). Questo lessema è largamente diffuso nell’Istria nordoccidentale, ad es. a Carcase *bar’ęše* (Todorović 2015, 113), a Puzzole *bar’ęšâ*, a Sant’Antonio *bar’ješâ* (Todorović 2018, 184), a Scoffie *bar’jęše* (Todorović 2017, 166). La parola corrisponde all’istrov. *braghese* ‘pantaloni’ (Manzini-Rocchi 27; VG 112); v. venez. e triest. *braghese* ‘pantaloni’ (Boerio 97; Doria 89). La parola deriva dal lat. *braca brāca(m)* ‘calzone aderente alla gamba’ (l’ETIM – CD-ROM; REW 1252); la parola lat. *brācae* è un prestito gallico (l’ETIM – CD-ROM).

batôn ‘bottono’

Il termine dialettale sentito da Logar *ba’ton* è conosciuto altresì dai parlanti attuali, v. *ba’ton* – sloveno lett. *gumb* ‘bottono’ (Todorović 2021, 165). Da notare la presenza del fonema *-a-* nella prima sillaba al posto della semivocale *ə*. Il romanismo è largamente documentato nell’area dialettale istroslovena, ad es. a Carcase *ba’ton* (Todorović 2015, 117), a Puzzole *ba’ton*, a Sant’Antonio *bâ’tuân* (Todorović 2018, 190), a Scoffie *be’tuon* (Todorović 2017, 171). La prima fonte della parola si trova

³ “Dato che la barba ha un carattere simbolico di autorità e virilità, si capisce facilmente come il lat. tardo *barba* abbia assunto il significato di ‘persona di rispetto’ e quindi di ‘zio’ (Editto di Rothari, a. 643). Oggi la vc., in questo senso, è limitata all’Italia sett., poiché in quella centromeridionale si è imposto il tipo *zio* (<gr. *theîos*).”

nell'istrov. *botón* 'bottone' (Manzini–Rocchi 26; VG 109); v. venez. *botòn* (Boerio 95) e triest. *boton* (Doria 88); v. it. lett. *bottone* che deriva dal francese *bouton* 'bototne, ombellico', dal verbo *bouter* 'spinger fuori' (DELI – CD-ROM), dal lemma franco *bōtan* 'spingere, colpire' (REW 1228c).⁴

borêla 'carriola'

Il lemma dialettale registrato da Logar è ancora adoperato da alcuni dialettofoni più anziani, v. *bu'rela* – sloveno lett. *samokolnica* 'carriola' (Todorović 2021, 107); da notare la presenza del fonema -o- nella prima sillaba al posto di -u-. Il lessema è conosciuto in alcuni paesi dell'entroterra istriano, ad es. a Boste – *bō'rela* (Todorović 2015, 71), a Puzzele *bō'rela* (Todorović 2018, 122); negli altri paesi istrosloveni notiamo la presenza del lessema *kar'jola* (Todorović 2018; 2021). Il lemma *bu'rela* corrisponde all'istrov. *barela* di significato diverso – 'barroccio – carro a due ruote con una cassa girante sull'asse in modo che levando un gancio il carico si può versare per di dietro' (VG 70); v. venez. *barèla* 'carretta' (Boerio 64). Per il lemma 'carriola' i parlanti istroveneti adoperano l'espressione *kar'jola* (ALLVIS 1 426). Le parole pomianesi prese in esame derivano dall'it. lett. *barella*, diminutivo di *bara*⁵ 'cassa destinata a contenere la salma' che deriva dal longobardo **bāra* 'portantina' (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

camatêr 'cimitero'

La parola presa in esame è usata tutt'oggi, v. *cimi'ter* – sloveno lett. *pokopališče* 'cimitero' (Todorović 2021, 143); da notare (nella parola più recente) la presenza delle vocali -i- al posto delle semivocali ə. Il lessema figura pure in alcune altre località istriane, ad es. a Carcase *cimi'ter* (Todorović 2015, 99), a Puzzele *cimi'ter* (Todorović 2018, 164). Il lemma è stato adottato dall'istrov. *simitèrio*, con l'apocope della vocale finale, v. *simitèro* (Manzini-Rocchi 218); v. triest. *zimitero* e *zimiterio* (GDDT 811), venez. *cimiterio* (Boerio 172), it. lett. *cimitero*. La parola deriva dal latino tardo. *cimitēriu(m)* (DELI – CD-ROM), dal lat. crist. *cimitērĭum*, var. di *coemetērĭum*, dal gr. crist. *koimētērion* 'sepolcro, cimitero', propr. 'dormitorio', der. di *koimáō* 'dormire', in quanto luogo dove il corpo giace in attesa del risveglio della resurrezione (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

⁴ Cfr. Todorović 2020a, 99.

⁵ Cfr. Cossutta 2010.

čikera 'tazza'

La voce sentita dal dialettologo sloveno è tuttora adoperata dai paesani, v. *'čikara* – sloveno lett. *skodelica* 'tazza' (Todorović 2021, 157). Da notare la presenza del fonema *-a-* nella prima sillaba al posto della vocale *e*. Il termine è usato in vari vernacoli istrosloveni, ad es. a Carcase *'čikarâ* (Todorović 2015, 110), a Puzzole e Sant'Antonio *'čikara* (Todorović 2018, 180), a Scoffie *'čikara* (Todorović 2017, 163). La parola è stata accolta dall'istrov. *cícara* o *cíchera* 'tazza' (Manzini-Rocchi 47; VG 214); v. venez. *chìcara* (Boerio 166), triest. *cichera* (GDDT 150) e it. lett. *chicchera* 'tazza di media grandezza'. Si tratta di un prestito dallo sp. *jícara* 'tazzina', dal nahuatl (azteco) *xicalli*, che indica un recipiente ricavato da una zucca (l'ETIM – CD-ROM; DELI – CD-ROM).⁶

číle 'ciglia'

Il lessema registrato negli anni Cinquanta del secolo scorso a Pomiano, è ancora in uso fra i paesani, v. *'číle* – sloveno lett. *trepalnice* 'ciglia' (Todorović 2021, 119). Il lemma è un prestito dall'istrov. *číle* (ALLVIS 1 595), it. lett. *ciglia* – da notare alcune varianti istrovenete come ad es. *šíle*, *'šeje*, *'šije*, *'žeje*, *'zije* (ALLVIS 1 595) e *séa* (sg.) (Manzini-Rocchi 210) alle quali le varianti pominesi non corrispondono foneticamente ma solamente morfologicamente – pl. in *-e*). La parola presa in esame figura anche nelle parlate dialettali dell'Istria slovena, ad es. a Carcase *'číá* (Todorović 2015, 80), a Sant'Antonio *číá* (Todorović 2018, 136), a Scoffie *'číle* (Todorović 2017, 125). Le varianti succitate corrispondono all'it. lett. *ciglio* 'pelo delle palpebre', lat. *cíliu(m)* 'palpebra' e 'ciglio' (l'ETIM – CD-ROM), di origine indeuropea (DELI – CD-ROM).

đerlânda 'ghirlanda'

L'espressione dialettale usata a Pomiano negli anni Cinquanta del secolo scorso è stata registrata altresì durante la nostra ricerca, v. *đer'lânda* – sloveno lett. *venec* 'ghirlanda' (Todorović 2021, 142). Da notare la presenza del fonema *-i-* nella prima sillaba al posto della vocale *-e-*. Il romanismo messo in rilievo è largamente diffuso nell'Istria slovena, ad es. a Carcase *žir'lândâ* (Todorović 2015, 99), a Puzzole *d'or'lânda*, a Sant'Antonio *d'er'lânda* (Todorović 2018, 164), a Scoffie *đer'lânda* (Todorović 2017, 149). Si tratta di un prestito dall'istrov. *gerlânda* 'ghirlanda' (Manzini-Rocchi 90); v. triest. **girlanda* (Doria 270), venez. *girlanda* e (arc.) *zirlanda* (Boerio 307, 813). La parola è probabilmente un prestito germanico per tramite di altre lingue, dall'occit. *guirlanda*, dall'ant. francese **wiera* 'ornamento di fili d'oro',

⁶ Todorović e Filipi 2017a, 57.

che ha dato da una diversa var. l'ant. francese *garlande* (fr. *guirlande*) (l'ETIM – CD-ROM). Secondo Prati (EV 76) nella forma veneta *zirlanda* vi è stato forse l'influsso di *giro*, *ziro* 'giro'.

făču 'fazzoletto'

Il lessema registrato nel 1957 risulta modificato dai parlanti attuali, v. *fə'čo* – sloveno lett. *ruta* 'fazzoletto' (Todorović 2021, 165). Da notare l'accentazione differente della parola rispetto il lemma più antico, ad es. a Carcase *'făčo* (Todorović 2015, 116), a Puzzele *'făču*, a Sant'Antonio *fi'čoḡ* (Todorović 2018, 189), a Scoffie *fə'čoḡ* (Todorović 2017, 170). Il lessema preso in esame è un prestito dall'istrov. *faciol*, *fazzuol* e *fazzol* (VG 350, 351) di significato diverso – v. accappatoio (di tela di lino finissima); v. venez. *faciòl*, *fazzòl* e (arcaico) *fazzuol* "accappatoio, manto di pannolino che cuopre quasi tutta o buona parte d'una donna; ed è qui usato dalle artigiane; *faciòl* da sugarse le man" (Boerio 258, 264), triest. *fazoletto* 'fazzoletto' (Doria 227). In Rosamani (VG ibid.) è documentato altresì il lemma friulano *fazzûl* 'pezzuola grande di tela bianca, che le donne usavan portare in capo e scendeva lungo la persona'. Il lessema it. lett. *fazzoletto* è probabilmente il diminutivo della variante arcaica *fazzuolo* 'pezza di tela con cui tergersi la faccia'; nel latino medievale venez. si documenta il lemma *fazolus*, dal vogare latino *faciölu(m)* derivante dal sostantivo *făcies* 'faccia' (DELI – CD-ROM).⁷

fărkâda 'bastone afforcato'

La voce sentita dal dialettologo sloveno è tuttora adoperata dai paesani, v. *făr'kada* – sloveno lett. *kol* 'bastone afforcato' (Todorović 2021, 157). Il termine è usato in vari vernacoli istrosloveni, ad es. a Sant'Antonio *'frkada* (Jakomin 37). La parola è stata accolta dall'istrov. ma non corrisponde completamente alla parola istroslovena, ad es. istrov. *forcada* 'palo con un'estremità biforcuta (ma anche senza) per tenere in alto un filo di ferro o un altro palo orizzontale o una corda (per appendere il bucato)' (Manzini-Rocchi 81), istrov. *forcada* 'forcella' – "per tirarvi su le corde su cui si stende la biancheria" (VG 393); v. venez. *forcada* "specie di asta di legno o lungo bastone, che usano le lavandaie quando distendono sulle core o funi le biancheria lavate onde si asciughino" (Boerio 281). La parola deriva dal lat. *fūrca(m)* 'forca; forcilla; patibolo' (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

⁷ Cfr. Todorović 2020a, 103-104.

yulīda ‘mastello’

La parola presa in esame è usata tutt’oggi, v. *yu’lida* – sloveno lett. *škaf, golida*⁸ ‘mastello’ (Todorović 2021, 143). Il lessema figura pure in alcune altre località istriane, ad es. a Carcase *γo’lidā* (Todorović 2015, 59), a Puzzele e Sant’Antonio *γo’lida* (Todorović 2018, 104). Il lemma è stato adottato dall’istroromanzo *galida* ‘mastello’ (VG 418)⁹ che deriva dal lat. *gallēta* ‘secchio’ (REW 3656).

jërta ‘stipite’

L’espressione dialettale usata a Pomiano negli anni Cinquanta del secolo scorso è stata registrata altresì durante la nostra ricerca, v. *jërta* – sloveno lett. *podboj* ‘stipite’ (Todorović 2021, 150). La parola messa in rilievo è largamente diffusa nell’Istria slovena, ad es. a Carcase *jertā* (Todorović 2015, 105), a Puzzele, Sant’Antonio (Todorović 2018, 172) e Scoffie *jërta* (Todorović 2017, 156). La parola è un prestito dall’istrov. *èrta* ‘stipite’ (Manzini-Rocchi 73), *erta* – ‘una delle due parti laterali e verticali della porta o della finestra’ (VG 342); v. triest. *erta* ‘stipite della porta’ (Doria 2108), venez. *erta* ‘stipite’ – “i due membri laterali su quali poggia l’architrave” (Boerio 254). L’ultima fonte della parola è lat. volg. **erctu(m)*, part. pass. di *erġĕre* ‘rizzare, innalzare’ (l’ETIM – CD-ROM; DELI – CD-ROM).

kadēna ‘catena’

La voce sentita dal dialettologo sloveno è tuttora adoperata dai paesani, v. *ka’dēna* – sloveno lett. *veriga* ‘catena’ (Todorović 2021, 151). Questo lessema è largamente diffuso nell’Istria nordoccidentale, ad es. a Carcase *ka’dēnā* (Todorović 2015, 106), a Puzzele *ka’dēna*, a Sant’Antonio *kā’diāna* (Todorović 2018, 173), a Scoffie *ka’diena* (Todorović 2017, 157). La parola corrisponde all’istrov. *cadēna* ‘catena’ (Manzini-Rocchi 33; VG 139); v. triest **cadena* (Doria 107), it. lett. *caténa* ‘serie di anelli congiunti’. La parola deriva dal lat. *catēna(m)* ‘catena’ (REW 1764; DELI – CD-ROM) per il qual si ricostruisce una forma di partenza **catesna* dalla stessa base di *caterva* col sign. di ‘disposizione a schiera, fila’ (l’ETIM – CD-ROM).

kalcjôn ‘colazione’

La parola registrata durante la prima ricerca dialettale svolta a Pomiano non risulta più in uso nel dialetto odierno. Durante le nostre

⁸ Cfr. ESSJ I, 158-159.

⁹ Cfr. Cossutta 2010.

inchieste sul campo abbiamo scritto *kafe*¹⁰ (termine che indica il caffè, accompagnato da latte e pane) e *ma'renda*¹¹ 'merenda' (Todorović 2021, 174). La voce *kalc'jon* è presente in alcuni altri idiomi istriani, ad es. a Carcase *kalc'jon* (Todorović 2015, 122), a Puzzele *kalc'jon* (Todorović 2018, 200). Per il lemma 'colazione' i parlanti istroveneti adoperano le espressioni *ka'fe* e *ma'renda* (Todorović 2017, 161). Il lemma *kalc'jon* va collegato coll'it. lett. *colazione*, dal lat. *Collationes patrum*, titolo di un'opera di Cassiano (ca. 360-ca. 435); lo sviluppo semantico da titolo dell'opera a 'pasto leggero' si è avuto nell'ambiente monastico, dall'usanza di prendere del cibo nelle riunioni di compieta, durante le quali veniva letto un brano delle *Collationes patrum* (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

kamberin 'ripostiglio'

Il lemma registrato da Logar è stato sostituito nel corso degli anni dalla parola *žyabu'cin* – sloveno lett. *shramba* 'ripostiglio' (Todorović 2021, 153). Nelle parlate istroslovene notiamo la presenza di entrambi i vocaboli, ad es. a Carcase *žyabu'cin* (Todorović 2015, 107), a Puzzele *kamba'rin*, a Sant'Antonio *žyab'cin* (Todorović 2018, 189), a Scoffie *repoš'tiío*¹² e *kamba'rin* (Todorović 2017, 158). Il vocabolo *kambe'rin* corrisponde all'istrov. di Pirano *kama'rin*, *kame'rin* 'ripostiglio' (ALIVIS 2 558), negli altri punti d'inchiesta istroveneti si nota la presenza della parola *žyabu'sin* (ibid.); v. istrov. a Zara *camarin* 'gattabuia' (VG 151) e triest. *camarin* e *camerin* 'stanzino' (Doria 117). La parola è il diminutivo del lessema *càmera*, *cànbara* 'stanza' (Manzini in Rocchi 36), che deriva dal lat. *càmera(m)*, dal gr. *kamára* 'volta di una stanza, camera a volta' (REW 1545; (DELI – CD-ROM).

kâmbara 'camera'

Il lessema registrato da Logar è tuttora in uso nel paese preso in esame, v. *kambra* – sloveno lett. *soba* 'camera' (Todorović 2021, 152). La parola è attestata anche in altre località dell'Istria slovena, ad es. a Carcase *kâmarâ* e *kâmberâ* (Todorović 2015, 107), a Puzzele *kâmbara*, a Sant'Antonio *kambâra* (Todorović 2018, 175), a Scoffie *kambra* (Todorović 2017, 158). Si tratta di un prestito dall'istrov. *càmera*,

¹⁰ Prestito dall'istrov. *cafe* (VG 149), it. lett. *caffè*; dal turco *kahve*, dall'ar. *qahwa*, in origine 'vino; bevanda' (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

¹¹ Prestito dall'istrov. *marénda* 'merenda' (Manzini-Rocchi 125), dal lat. *merenda(m)* 'pasto leggero pomeridiano' (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

¹² Dall'it. lett. *ripostiglio*, dal lat. *repōnēre* 'metter via, mettere in serbo; seppellire', da *pōnēre* 'metter giù, posare' (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

cànbàra (Manzini in Rocchi 36), *càmara*, *camra* e *camera* 'camera' (VG 150, 151); v. venez. *càmara* (Boerio 120), triest. *càmara* e *càmera* (Doria 116), it. lett. *camera*. L'origine del lemma si trova nel lat. *cămera(m)*, dal gr. *kamára* 'volta di una stanza, camera a volta' (REW 1545; (DELI – CD-ROM).

kampâña 'campagna'

La voce sentita dal dialettologo sloveno è tuttora adoperata dai paesani, v. *kam'paña* – sloveno lett. *polje* 'campagna' (Todorović 2021, 160). Questo lessema è largamente diffuso nell'Istria nordoccidentale, ad es. a Sant'Antonio *kam'panja* (Jakomin 49). La parola corrisponde all'istrov. *campagna* 'campagna' (VG 154); v. triest. **campagna* (Doria 118), venez. *campagna* (Boerio 123), it. lett. *campagna*. L'etimo della parola si trova nel lat. tardo *campānīa*, dall'agg. *campanēus* 'dei campi', der. di *cămpus* 'campo, pianura' (DELI – CD-ROM; l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

kandyt 'gabinetto di decenza'

La voce sentita dal dialettologo sloveno è tuttora adoperata dai paesani, v. *kān'dut* (Todorović 2021, 160) – sloveno lett. *stranišče* 'gabinetto di decenza'. La parola figura altresì in altre località dell'Istria nordoccidentale, ad es. a Carcase *kan'dot* (Todorović 2015, 112), a Puzzele *kan'dut*, a Sant'Antonio *kān'dot* (Todorović 2018, 183), a Scoffie *kan'dot* (Todorović 2017, 165). Si tratta di un prestito dall'istrov. *condoto* 'cesso, latrina' (VG 240), con l'apocope della vocale finale; v. triest. *condoto* (Doria 169). Per il venez. Boerio (187) spiega: "Fogna; pozzo smaltitoio; pozzo nero o pozzo murato e bottino; luogo sotterraneo dove si vuotano per una canna le immondizie de' destri ed agiamenti". L'ultima fonte della parola è lat. *conductūm* 'cev' (REW 2128) da *condūcere* 'voditi' (REW 2127; l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

kāntat 'cantare'

Il termine dialettale sentito da Logar è conosciuto altresì dai parlanti attuali, v. *'kāntāt* – sloveno lett. *peti* 'cantare' (Todorović 2021, 138). Da notare (nella parola attualmente in uso) la presenza del fonema -ā- (vocale anteriore bassa fra *ä* e *a*) nella prima sillaba (vocale accentata) e nella desinenza del verbo all'infinito. Il romanismo è largamente documentato nell'area dialettale istroslovena, ad es. a Carcase *'kāntat* (Todorović 2015, 95), a Puzzele *'kāntat*, a Sant'Antonio *'kāntāt* (Todorović 2018, 158), a Scoffie *'kontat* (Todorović 2017, 144). La prima fonte della parola si trova nell'istrov. *cantar* 'cantare' (VG 162); v. triest. e venez. *cantār* 'cantare' (Doria 123; Boerio, 129). Il verbo preso in esame deriva dal lat. *cantāre*, ints. di *cānere* 'cantare', di origine indeuropea

(DELI – CD-ROM, REW 1611). Il verbo dialettale preso in esame è composto dalla radice romanza *kant-* e dalla desinenza istroslovena *-at*.

kânwa ‘cantina’

L’espressione dialettale usata a Pomiano negli anni Cinquanta del secolo scorso è stata registrata (con alcuni cambiamenti fonetici) altresì durante la nostra ricerca, v. *‘kanava* – sloveno lett. *klet* ‘cantina’ (Todorović 2021, 151). La parola è conosciuta anche da altri dialettofoni istrosloveni, ad es. a Carcase *‘kânavâ* (Todorović 2015, 105), a Sant’Antonio *‘kanâva* (Todorović 2018, 173), a Scoffie *‘kanava* (Todorović 2017, 156). La parola corrisponde all’istrov. *câneva, cànova* ‘cantina, ambiente per deposito di alimenti e attrezzi’ (Manzini-Rocchi 37), *cànava, câneva* (VG 158, 160); v. triest. *câneva* e *cànova* ‘canova, cantina’ (Doria 122, 123), venez. *câneva* ‘stanza dove si tengono i vini’ (Boerio 128), it. lett. *canova* ‘bottega di generi alimentari’. La parola ha origine nel latino tardo *canâba(m)* ‘baracca’ (da cui anche *capanna*), dal gr. *kánabos* ‘carcassa di legno’ (l’ETIM – CD-ROM).

kavədâna ‘capitagna’

La parola registrata durante la prima ricerca dialettale svolta a Pomiano risulta tuttora in uso nel dialetto odierno, v. *kavə’danja* – sloveno lett. *zvrati* ‘capitagna’ (Pom 2021). Il lessema figura pure in alcune altre località istriane, ad es. a Carcase *kavə’dâná*, a Villanova di Pirano *kavə’dâna*, a Boste *kavi’dâna* (DisG 277). Si tratta di un prestito dall’istrov. *cavedàgna* capitagna, striscia di terra lungo il ciglio d’un campo’ (VG 194; Manzini-Rocchi 44); v. triest. *cavedagna* ‘capitagna, testata (estremità incolta di un campo)’ (Doria 140), venez. *caveàgna* (Boerio 153). Il lessema ha origine lat. volg. **capitianěa(m)*, der. di *capitium* ‘cosa relativa al capo’ (l’ETIM – CD-ROM).

kərbôn ‘carbone’

L’espressione dialettale registrata do Logar è ancora adoperata a Pomiano, v. *kar’bon* – sloveno lett. *premog* ‘carbone’ (Todorović 2021, 145). Da notare la presenza della vocale *-a-* nella prima sillaba al posto della semivocale *-ə*. La voce è conosciuta altresì in altre località istroslovene, ad es. ad Antignana *kər’bun* (Todorović 2015, 73), a Sant’Antonio *kar’buən* (Todorović 2018, 125). La sua prima fonte è l’istrov. *carbon* (VG 171; Manzini-Rocchi 40); v. triest. **carbon* (Doria 130), venez. *carbòn* (Boerio 137). L’etimo de lessema si trova nel lat. *carbōne(m)* (nomin. *carbo*) ‘carbone vegetale’ (l’ETIM – CD-ROM).

kodīne 'madia'

Il lessema scritto da Logar è tuttora in uso nel paese preso in esame, v. *ku'diñā* – sloveno lett. *krušna skrinja, nečke* 'camera' (Todorović 2021, 170). La parola è attestata anche in altre località dell'Istria slovena, ad es. a Sant'Antonio *kḡ'diñcā* (Todorović 2018, 195), a Scoffie *ku'diñā* (Todorović 2017, 175). Per il concetto 'madia' i parlanti istroveneti adoperano l'espressione *albol* (Todorović 2017a, 158, VG 13). L'espressione conosciuta dai parlanti istrosloveni può essere collegata solamente con il lemma istrov. *cuđignol* 'cantuccio del pane' (VG 275), che deriva dal lat. *cōda*, var. *di cauda*, privo di confronti sicuri (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

kōtula 'gonna'

L'espressione dialettale scritta da Logar è ancora adoperata, v. *'kotula* – sloveno lett. *krilo* 'gonna' (Todorović 2021, 162). Il lessema è conosciuto in tutte le località istroslovene, ad es. a Carcase *'kḡtlā* (Todorović 2015, 114), a Puzzele *'kḡtola*, a Sant'Antonio *'kuətlā* (Todorović 2018, 186), a Scoffie *'kuḡtla* (Todorović 2017, 167). Il lemma corrisponde all'istrov. *cotola* 'gonna, gonnella' (Manzini–Rocchi 56; VG 259); v. triest. *cotola* (Doria 178). Per la parola veneziana *cotola* Boerio (205) spiega che si tratta di un diminutivo di *cotta* "così chiamata una sorta di veste antica ed agiata da donna, che ricuopriva tutta la persona ed affibbiavasi al davanti ed alle braccia con ucchielli". V. it. lett. *cotta* "ampia tunica medievale" che deriva dall'ant. francese *cotte* 'tunica', dal franc. **kotta* 'mantello di lana grezza', passato a indicare l'armatura leggera del guerriero e la sopravveste dell'abito talare (REW 4747; DELI – CD-ROM; l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

krēpa 'cranio'

L'espressione scritta da Logar non è più in uso, v. l'espressione dialettale *lu'banja* che è un adattamento dello sloveno lett. *lobanja* 'cranio' – con il termine *crepa* i parlanti odierni definiscono solo la 'fessura che si produce in un muro' (Pom 2021). Il romanismo evidenziato nel 1957 è ancora conosciuto da alcuni dialettografi anziani, ad es. a Boste *k'repa* (Bost 2021) 'cranio', a Saredo *k'repa* (Sar 2021).

Il lemma coincide con l'istrov. *crepa de morto* 'teschio di morto' (VG 264); v. triest. *crepa* 'cranio', venez. *cerpa de morto* 'cranio' (Boerio 207). La parola deriva dal verbo lat. *crepāre* – è voce di origine imitativa e il nesso iniziale *kr-* ricorre in numerosi verbi che esprimono rumore: confronti precisi sono il sanscr. *krpate* 'gemere' e l'antico slavo *klopotŭ* 'rumore forte'. Il sign. primario si riferisce a rumori emessi da oggetti che si rompono, che scoppiano, come nel der. *crepitare*, e per

estensione si riferisce alle conseguenze, cioè alla rottura, come nei derr. *crepa* e *crepatura*, e allo scoppio, che per gli esseri umani equivale alla morte, come nell'it. *crepare* e nel fr. *créver* (l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

kuńâ 'cognato'

Il lemma dialettale registrato da Logar non corrisponde esattamente al lessema che abbiamo sentito recentemente dai dialettofoni, v. *kò'ńado* – sloveno lett. *svak* 'cognato' (Todorović 2021, 107). Le varianti dialettali menzionate sono attestate in diverse località istroslovene, ad es. a Carcase – *kò'ńâdo* (Todorović 2015, 102), Puzzole *kò'ńâdo*, a Sant'Antonio *ko'ńa* e *ko'ńado* (Todorović 2018, 168), a Scoffie *kò'ńa* (Todorović 2017, 152). I lemmi corrispondono all'istrov. *cognà* 'cognato' (Manzini-Rocchi 50), *cuniado* (VG 280); v. triest. *cognà* e *cugnà* (Doria 163), venez. *cugnà* 'cognato' (Boerio 211), it. lett. *cognato* 'fratello o sorella del coniuge, o coniuge del fratello o della sorella'. Le parole prese in esame hanno origine nel lat. *cognātu(m)* 'parente', der. di *(g)nātus* 'nato, discendente' col pref. *co(n)-* (l'ETIM – CD-ROM; DELI – CD-ROM).

kūrta 'cortile'

L'espressione dialettale registrata da Logar è ancora adoperata a Pomiano, v. *'kurta* – sloveno lett. *dvorišče* 'cortile' (Todorović 2021, 145). La voce è conosciuta altresì in altre località istroslovene, ad es. a Puzzole *'kurta*, a Sant'Antonio *'kuarta* (Todorović 2018, 170), a Scoffie *'kuorta* (Todorović 2017, 154). La sua prima fonte è l'istrov. *corte* 'cortile' (VG 254); v. triest., venez. e it. lett. *corte* 'cortile' (Doria 176; Boerio 200; DELI – CD-ROM). L'etimo della parola si torva nel lat. *cōhōrte(m)* (*nomin. cōhōrs*), passato dal significato di 'schiera' a quello di 'guardia di corpo', poi 'signoria' e 'fattoria' e 'cortile, recinto' (REW 2032; DELI – CD-ROM; l'ETIM – CD-ROM).

Conclusioni

Dalla ricerca qui esposta è emerso che il materiale dialettale raccolto a metà Novecento da Tine Logar e (in parte) pubblicato nelle edizioni dell'atlante linguistico sloveno del 2011 (SLA 1.1) e del 2016 (SLA 2.1) non restituisce lo stato attuale del vernacolo pomianese, per quanto in questa sede non se ne metta certo in discussione il valore quale attendibile punto di partenza per indagini che mirino ad osservarne l'evoluzione nel tempo. L'indagine in chiave diacronica sull'uso dei romanismi nel vernacolo di Pomiano ha mostrato che i parlanti dialettali, pur riconoscendo tuttora la maggior parte dei prestiti attestati da Logar nel 1957, li pronunciano in modo diverso, come nel caso di *bətôn* – *ba'ton* 'bottone', *borêla* – *bu'rela* 'carriola', *cəmatêr* –

cimi'ter 'cimitero', *ćikera* – '*ćikara* 'tazza', *đerlânda* – *ğir'landa* 'ghirlanda', *făču* – *fă'čo* – 'fazzoletto', *kântat* – '*kântât* 'cantare', *kânwa* – '*kanava* 'cantina', *kərbôn* – *kar'bon* 'carbone'. Alcuni dei romanismi più antichi sono stati sostituiti da altrettanti di più recente formazione: si pensi ad esempio che *kalcjôn* 'colazione' ha scalzato *ka'fe* e *ma'renda*, al posto di *kamberîn* 'ripostiglio' oggi si usa *žyabu'cin* e anziché *kuňâ* 'cognato' si dice *kô'nado*, e ancora: al posto di *krêpa* 'cranio' i dialettografi di Pomiano oggi ricorrono a *lubanja*, adattamento dallo sloveno standard *lobanja*. Le espressioni *yâuka* 'noce di galla' e *gončîn* *yončîn* 'ericacee' non hanno invece trovato alcun riscontro tra i parlanti coinvolti nelle ricerche degli ultimi due anni, motivo per cui in questa sede non sono sostanziate da note etimologiche. L'analisi etimologica dei romanismi di Pomiano così come rinvenuti nelle annotazioni di Logar (sempre con riferimento alle voci dalla A alla K) indica che sono stati tutti desunti dall'istoveneto ad eccezione di due, ovvero *čîle* 'ciglia' e *kalcjôn* 'colazione', attinti direttamente dall'italiano standard. Nel caso della voce indicante il 'fazzoletto' si è invece rinvenuta un'accentazione diversa, ovvero *fă'čo* a metà Novecento e *făču* al giorno d'oggi.

Va inoltre rilevato che alcune espressioni desunte dagli ambienti urbani di tradizione istoveneta avevano in origine un altro significato, come nel caso di '*bańka* 'bara' vs istrov. *banca* 'panca', *borêla* 'carriola' vs istrov. *barela* 'barroccio, carretta', *fă'čo* 'fazzoletto' vs istrov. *faciol*, *fazzuol* e *fazzol* 'accappatoio (di finissima tela di lino)' e, non da ultimo, *făr'kada* 'bastone forcato' vs istrov. *forcada* 'palo con un'estremità biforcuta'.

Il segmento di materiale dialettale esposto nel presente articolo, raccolto e attestato in un'epoca di grande progresso, estrema varietà di canali di comunicazione e tendenze globalizzatrici in atto nei campi più disparati, mostra che il dialetto non sta morendo, bensì – al pari di qualsiasi altra lingua viva – cambiando. Gli abitanti dell'entroterra istriano non sono più così strettamente legati come un tempo alla classica vita di paese, perciò a differenza del passato non si esprimono più solo in dialetto nei loro scambi di tutti i giorni. All'evolvere del dialetto contribuiscono nel modo più assoluto i mezzi di comunicazione, gli spostamenti giornalieri e le generazioni più giovani, che nel complesso fanno confluire nel vernacolo neologismi e altre espressioni desunte dalla lingua standard. Nel corso delle ricerche sul campo gli informatori coinvolti hanno anche spiegato che alcuni decenni fa le parlate delle località istriane differivano molto di più l'una dall'altra, e a tal riguardo sono loro stessi a notare una certa tendenza all'omogeneizzazione, a una progressiva fusione delle parlate. L'idea che il dialetto rimandi esclusivamente a un vocabolario antico legato a

oggetti ormai desueti dei tempi che furono e ad abitudini e usanze oggi sostituite da stili di vita più moderni implica senza dubbio che ogni vernacolo sia ormai prossimo all'estinzione. Volendo invece intendere il dialetto come una lingua viva che in quanto tale, al pari di altre, è in continua evoluzione, allora per esso si profila all'orizzonte un destino diametralmente opposto. Ascrivere al mondo contemporaneo, agli spostamenti della popolazione e ai moderni canali di comunicazione lo stato moribondo dei dialetti sarebbe dunque una conclusione improbabile ed erronea. La conservazione dei dialetti è nelle mani soprattutto di nonni e genitori, che hanno il dovere di trasmetterli alle nuove generazioni in quanto loro "madrelingua" e valore prezioso, e i giovani a loro volta li arricchiranno di sempre nuove espressioni per nominare oggetti e abitudini che si affermeranno via via nella società: non è infatti possibile richiamare alla mente il vissuto perso tra le pieghe del tempo apponendo vecchie denominazioni a realtà e oggetti nuovi, che appartengono di fatto a un mondo concettuale diverso – quello contemporaneo.

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DIACHRONIC REPRESENTATION OF SELECTED ROMANCE LOANWORDS IN THE LOCAL SPEECH OF POMJAN

This paper presents a diachronic account of the use of selected Romance loanwords (from A to K) in the Pomjan local speech of the Šavrini dialect. The Romance loanwords, which are an integral part of the Istrian dialects of Slavic origin, are the result of the centuries-long life of Istrians with Slavic and Romance roots. They are reflected as simple borrowings, hybrid borrowings, Romance phrases, calques, and so on. The loanwords collected by the Slovenian dialectologist Tine Logar in 1957 in Pomjan (Slovenian Istria) were compared with those we hear from today's dialect speakers. In 29 etymological articles we find out whether the Romance loanwords used by the villagers more than

sixty years ago are still known and used by the locals today. At the same time, we show the spread of the lexemes in other parts of Slovenian Istria and connect them to their first origin, which is mainly Istrian-Venetian – the existence of the lexeme is also proved 1) in the Triestine dialect, 2) in Venetian and 3) in Standard Italian. The etymological articles conclude with a reference to the final source of the word.

Diachronic analysis of words has shown that most dialectal Romance words are still known and used by speakers today. A diachronic study of the use of Romance loanwords in the Pomjan dialect showed that speakers still know most of the loanwords recorded by Logar in 1957, but some words have been phonetically modified, for example, *bətôn* – *ba'ton* 'button', *borêla* – *bu'rela* 'wheelbarrow', *camâtêr* – *cimi'ter* 'cemetery', *ĉĭkera* – *ĉikara* 'cup', *ĉerlânda* – *ĉir'landa* 'wreath', *kântat* – *kântât* 'to sing', *kânwa* – *kanava* 'cellar', *kərbôn* – *kar'bon* 'coal'. Some of the older Romance words have been replaced by newer ones: the words *kalcjôn* 'breakfast' has been replaced by the words *ka'fe* and *ma'renda* 'coffee and snacks', instead of the former lexeme *kqamberîn* 'pantry' the word *žyabu'cin* is now used, and the word *kuñâ* 'brother-in-law' has been replaced by *kq'ňado*. The word *krêpa* 'skull' has been replaced by the word *lubanja*, which is an adaptation of Standard Slovene *lobanja*. The words *yâyka* 'cone' and *yonĉîn* 'heather' are no longer familiar to modern speakers, so we have not justified them etymologically.

An etymological analysis of the Pomjan Romance loanwords from Logar's manuscript (A to K) showed that all the words were taken from Istrian-Venetian, except for two words: *ĉĭle* 'lashes' and *kalcjôn* 'breakfast', which were taken directly from Standard Italian. For one word we noted a different stress, namely *fə'čo* – *făču* 'kerchief'. Some of the terms adopted by speakers from the urban Istrian-Venetian environment had a different meaning in the original language, e.g. *baňka* 'coffin' vs. Istrian-Venetian *banca* 'bench', *borêla* 'wheelbarrow' vs. Istrian-Venetian *barela* 'waggon, two-wheeler', *fə'čo* 'kerchief' vs. Istrian-Venetian *faciol*, *fazzuol* and *fazzol* 'gown' and *făr'kada* 'pointed stick' vs. Istrian-Venetian *forcada* 'stake'.

The presented segment of dialect material, collected and written at a time of rapid progress, multiple media and various globalization tendencies, shows that dialect is not dying out, but changing – like any living language.

Keywords: Pomjan, diachronic account, Romance loanwords, Istrian-Venetian loanwords, Istrian-Slovene dialect, Istrian-Venetian dialect, linguistic interference

DIE VERSPRACHLICHUNG PANDEMIEBEDINGTER VERHALTENSKONZEPTE ODER DIE NEUBILDUNGSPOTENZ DER DEUTSCHEN SPRACHE AM BEISPIEL DER COVID-19- PANDEMIE

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Abstract: Die Covid-19-Pandemie des 21. Jhs., der wohl markanteste und schwerwiegendste Einschnitt in die jüngste Lebens- und Verhaltensweise der Menschheit seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, hat einen beispiellos regen Neubildungsprozess initiiert, der nicht nur dem Einfallsreichtum des in Krisensituationen findigen und nach Alternativen suchenden Menschen, sondern auch der kontroversen Berichterstattung geschuldet ist. Alte Verhaltenskonzepte wurden pandemiebedingt durch neue ersetzt und entsprechend versprachlicht. Dabei greift die deutsche Sprache zwar auf altbewährte Wortbildungs-, Entlehnungs- sowie Wortspielmuster zurück, bietet dennoch Raum für den Ausbau der sprachdynamischen Neubildungspotenz, die in diesem Beitrag anhand auffälliger Verhaltenskonzepte bei Personen(gruppen) in der Coronakrise aufgezeigt wird. Der Untersuchung liegen Belege aus dem Neologismenwörterbuch (*Neuer Wortschatz rund um die Coronapandemie*) des Leibniz-Instituts für Deutsche Sprache in Mannheim sowie aus Onlinebeiträgen zugrunde, die im Zeitraum von 2020 bis 2022 ermittelt wurden.

Schlüsselwörter: Deutsche Wortbildung, Neubildungspotenz, Neologismus (Neubildung, Neubedeutung), Lexikonwort, Textwort, Verhaltenskonzept, COVID-19-Pandemie

1. Einleitung:

Krisenzeiten regen die Neubildungspotenz der Sprachen an. Die Ende des Jahres 2019 und sich in vollem Ausmaße in den Jahren 2020/2021 ausbreitende Covid-19-Pandemie hat, wie die vorliegende Untersuchung gezeigt hat, den Neubildungsreichtum des Deutschen in hohem Maße beflügelt. Krisenbedingte Neologismen (Neubildungen und Neubedeutungen), wie die inzwischen lexikalisierten Bildungen *Trümmerfrau*, *Kristallnacht*, *Anschluss*, *hamstern* u.a., die in Zusammenhang mit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg stehen, offenbaren, so wie in der Coronakrise, typische Verhaltenskonzepte des Menschen als

Individuum und Sozium in Krisenzeiten. Trotz digitalen und materiellen Fortschritts ist das Verhalten des Menschen in Krisensituationen offensichtlich durch die Jahrhunderte hinweg gleichbleibend und universell.

In diesem Beitrag wird die Versprachlichung von Verhaltenskonzepten von Personen(gruppen) nach dem Ausbruch der Covid-19-Pandemie untersucht. Der Begriff des Verhaltenskonzeptes beruht auf der soziologischen Auffassung des Begriffes Verhalten, das als Reaktion des Individuums auf äußere und innere Veränderungen zu verstehen ist. Das Verhalten des Menschen ist im konkreten Falle als Reaktion auf die Pandemie zu interpretieren. Dabei geht es um Personenbezeichnungen, die durch ein krisenauffälliges Verhalten in der Covid-19-Pandemie (auch: Coronapandemie) charakterisiert sind. Einige Belege lassen auch Doppelinterpretationen zu (z.B. *Wellenbrecher* s.u.). Die in diesem Zusammenhang geschaffenen Neologismen stellen ein soziolinguistisches Faszinosum dar.

Die Exzerpte entstammen dem digitalen Neologismenkörper des Leibniz-Instituts für Deutsche Sprache in Mannheim (im Weiteren IDS) bzw. dem *Neuen Wortschatz rund um die Coronapandemie* (Covid-IDS) sowie zusätzlichen Onlinebeiträgen aus der Berichterstattung (s. Bibliografie), die im Coronazeitraum 2020/2021/2022 ermittelt werden konnten. Die Interpretation und Lexikonfähigkeit der untersuchten Wortbildungen wurde in einigen Fällen durch das Onlinewörterbuch des Duden (DUDEN-online) verifiziert.

2. Die Neubildungspotenz und Kompositionsfreudigkeit des Deutschen

Die beispiellose Neubildungspotenz der deutschen Sprache, die von Borissenkova treffend als „idioethnisch“ (86), in diesem konkreten Falle also als typologische Spezifik des Deutschen bezeichnet werden kann, ist in erster Linie der „deutschen Kompositionsfreudigkeit“ (Schlücker 1) geschuldet. Die Verschmelzung zweier oder auch mehrerer sog. mental spaces (Fauconnier, zit. nach Borissenkova 86) zu einem neuen Wortbildungsblend, ist auf das recht flexible lexikalische Konkatenierungspotenzial im Deutschen zurückzuführen, denn das „Modell der Zusammensetzung hat einen erhöhten Freiheits- und Mobilitätsgrad“ (85), das zur fortlaufenden Bereicherung des konventionellen (Lexikonwörter) und okkasionellen (Textwörter) lexikalischen Bestandes beiträgt. Alle in diesem Beitrag analysierten Personenbezeichnungen sind Komposita im weitesten Sinne.

Die Neubildungspotenz lässt sich laut Motsch nicht mit den üblichen linguistischen Kompetenzbeschreibungen erfassen, denn sie kann sie nur beschreiben, jedoch nicht erklären (21, 25). Zur Klärung müssen seiner Meinung nach vielmehr pragmatische und psycholinguistische Betrachtungen herangezogen werden (21). „Zu den pragmatischen Aspekten gehört die Unterscheidung von Anlässen zur Bildung eines neuen Wortes, d.h. von Anlässen zur Verwendung von Wortbildungsmustern“ (Motsch 21). Motsch führt drei Grundsituationen an (21):

1. Erweiterung des Lexikons: Neubildungen benennen neue Gegenstände, Geschehen, Eigenschaften für die akuter Kommunikationsbedarf besteht. Sie werden in der Regel ins Lexikon eingegliedert. Die Coronapandemie hat zwar einen solchen Kommunikationsbedarf geschaffen, der entsprechend versprachlicht worden ist, jedoch nicht alle diese Bildungen werden tatsächlich den Einzug ins Lexikon bzw. in den deutschen Allgemeinwortschatz schaffen.
2. Syntaktische Umkategorisierung: Die syntaktische Wortkategorie lässt sich durch bestimmte Wortbildungsmuster variieren. Eine semantische Repräsentation kann in verschiedenen syntaktischen Strukturen verwendet werden, z.B. (schön (A) – Schönheit (N); singen (V) – das Singen (N), laufen (V) – laufend (A)).
3. Stilistische Variation: Wortbildungsmuster dienen zur stilistischen Textgestaltung. Sie können das Lexikon bereichern und den Status eines Lexikonwortes erwerben, schaffen jedoch meist nicht den Einzug ins Lexikon und verharren auf dem Niveau eines Textwortes, d.h. eines „ad hoc für die Zwecke eines Textes“ (Motsch 20) gebildeten Wortes.

Welcher Art sind nun die coronabedingten Verhaltenskonzepte, die das Verhalten der Menschen gezielt in der Coronakrise charakterisieren und der stilistischen Variation von Texten dienen, oder anders formuliert, wodurch werden derartige Neubildungen begünstigt? Motsch geht davon aus, dass folgende Faktoren die Produktion und Rezeption (analogischer) Neubildungen begünstigen (23f.):

1. Quantität: Menge bereits lexikalisierte Wortbildungen zu einem Wortbildungsmuster bzw. je mehr desto wahrscheinlicher
2. Frequenz: Häufigkeit der Anlässe bzw. je öfter desto bewusstseinspräsender
3. Transparenz: semantische Durchsichtigkeit, Durchschaubarkeit der Muster bzw. je transparenter desto aktiver
4. Singuläre Analogien: z.B. *Zweisamkeit* – *Einsamkeit*, *unkaputtbare Cola-Flaschen*, *übersommern* – *überwintern*, *Schädling* – *Nützling*

3. Die coronabedingte Neubildungspotenz am Beispiel von Personenbezeichnungen

Während der Covid-19-Pandemie sind laut IDS schätzungsweise 2000 Corona-Neologismen dokumentiert worden. Im Folgenden werden die coronabedingten Personenbezeichnungen nach Wortbildungsmustern typisiert.

- **Coronabedingte Neologismen, Typ *Coronasünder***

Neubildungen bzw. Neubedeutungen, die auf das Wortbildungsmuster für Nomina agentis (‚Personen werden durch ein Geschehen charakterisiert, in dem sie die Agens-Rolle einnehmen‘, Motsch 337) zurückgehen, werden durch den quantitativen Faktor bzw. durch bereits bestehende lexikalisierte Wortbildungen begünstigt. Nomina agentis werden im Deutschen in erster Linie mit dem Suffix *-er* (seltener *-ler*, *-el*) gebildet und sind nicht nur als Lexikonwörter zahlreich belegt und semantisch transparent, sondern eignen sich insbesondere zur Bildung von Textwörtern, d.h. zur stilistischen Textgestaltung. Mit dem stilistisch markierten Wortbildungsmuster für Nomina agentis werden partikuläre Geschehen charakterisiert, die sich nicht als spezialisierte Lexikoneinheiten (Lexikonwörter) eignen und daher ihre Chance, den Einzug ins Lexikon zu schaffen, als recht gering einzuschätzen ist. Aber der muss auch a_priori nicht angestrebt sein. Viel wichtiger ist in diesem Zusammenhang die Berücksichtigung pragmatischer Prinzipien, wie das Prinzip des sinnvollen Wortes (kommunikativ sinnlose Wörter: **köpfig*, **armig*, **beinig*, aber sinnvoll: *bucklig*, *bärtig*), der Interpretierbarkeit und Knappheit von Wortbildungen (vgl. 25ff.), die die Kommunikation zum Rezipienten (Leser, Hörer von Neubildungen) gewährleisten sollen. Unter der Voraussetzung, dass diese drei Prinzipien bei der Bildung neuer Wörter berücksichtigt werden, und ein kommunikativer Anlass, wie in diesem Falle die Pandemie, vorliegt, ist es wünschenswert, und dass bestätigt der Großteil der hier analysierten Belege, dass ein analogisches Textvorbild, wenn schon Lexikonvorbilder fehlen, vorhanden ist, auf das sich der Rezipient bei der Erkennung des Wortbildungsmusters stützen kann. Bildungen mit Nomina agentis als Zweitglied bestätigen diese These.

Die Fahrlässigkeit eines *Coronasünder*¹, auch *Covidsünder* (Kleine Zeitung, 17.2.2021), lässt sich in Analogie zu *Verkehrssünder* ,ugs.

¹ Die in diesem Beitrag verwendeten Belege werden aus leserfreundlichen Gründen nur in der maskulinen Form angegeben. Zu allen hier verwendeten maskulinen Personenbezeichnungen lassen sich in der Regel movierte Feminina

Bezeichnung für Verkehrsteilnehmer, die gegen die Regeln verstoßen‘ leichter nachvollziehen. Im Covid-IDS² wird folgendes Interpretament aufgeführt:

- *Coronasünder*: [umgangssprachlich] Person, die sich während der durch das Coronavirus verursachten Pandemie nicht an die speziell für diese Situation gültigen Gesetze und Verordnungen (besonders zum Schutz vor Ansteckungen) hält (Covid-IDS)

Das Fehlverhalten von Personen, die sich ihre Coronaimpfung vor Personen mit höherer Impfpriorität erschlichen haben, d.h. schuljargonmäßig sich vorgedrängelt haben, wurde durch die Neubildung *Impf(vor)drängler* (Covid-IDS) versprachlicht. Das Zweitglied dieser Bildung, *Drängler*, ist bereits als selbstständige Eintragung im deutschen Lexikon mit der umgangssprachlichen Bedeutung ‚männliche Person, die drängelt‘ (Duden-online) belegt und kann aktiv für Neubildungen genutzt werden. Auch (Neu)bildungen des Typs *Impfgegner*, *Mundschutzgegner*, die in die Analogiekette der bereits belegten politisch motivierten *Gegner*-Bildungen, wie z.B. *Demokratiegegner*, *EU-Gegner*, *Putin-Gegner*, eingereiht werden können, schöpfen vom Wiedererkennungswert bereits existenter lexikalischer Vorlagen. Pejorativ konnotierte Neubildungen, die Personen bezeichnen, die der Coronapandemie skeptisch gegenüberstehen und sich geltenden Maßnahmenregeln entziehen, sind im Covid-IDS reichlich belegt: *Coronakritiker*, *Coronaleugner*, *Coronalügner*, *Coronaskeptiker*, *Impfchwänzer*, *Impfskeptiker*, *Impfverweigerer*, *Impfzauderer*, *Impfzögerer*, *Maskenverweigerer*, *Maskenvermeidungssesser*, *Quarantänebrecher*, *Virusleugner*, *Virusverharmloser* u.a.³ Mit Neubildungen des Typs *Maskenmahner* werden hingegen Personen bezeichnet, die zum pandemiegerechten Verhalten aufrufen/mahnen. Corona-Neubildungen mit der Suffixerweiterung *-ler* indizieren, wie es bei diesem Wortbildungsmuster generell der Fall ist, abwertende Personenbezeichnungen (*Bettler*,

bilden (*Coronasünder/Coronasünderin*), die sowohl im Covid-IDS als auch im DUDEN-online aufgeführt sind.

² Alle Belege bzw. Interpretamente der Belege, die mit „Covid-IDS“ gekennzeichnet sind, entstammen dem *Neuen Wortschatz rund um die Coronapandemie* des Leibniz-Instituts der Deutschen Sprache in Mannheim, während die, die mit „DUDEN-online“ gekennzeichnet sind, dem Onlinewörterbuch des DUDEN entnommen wurden.

³ Da man beim Zweitglied der hier aufgeführten Bildungen nicht immer eine selbstständige Lexikoneintragung annehmen kann, dürften einige von ihnen als Zusammenbildungen (synthetische Komposita) zu analysieren sein (vgl. Motsch 342).

Heuchler, Nörgler), die in den Augen des Betrachters eine abwertende Handlung durchführen. Hier lässt sich *Coronaprotestler* anführen. Bildungen des Typs *Maskenmuffel* (in Analogie zu *Modemuffel*, *Morgenmuffel*, *Sportmuffel*, *Tanzmuffel* u.a.) und *Maskentrotteln*, deren Zweitglied von abwertenden Verben (olfaktorisches Verb: *muffeln*; *trotteln*) abgeleitet ist, stellen Spottwörter dar und alludieren laut Covid-IDS auf Personen, „die (während der COVID-19-Pandemie) trotz behördlicher Anordnung im öffentlichen Raum keine Mundnasenbedeckung“ tragen.

Coronabildungen können potentielle Neubildungen, analog neu gebildete Textwörter, oder auch lediglich Neubedeutungen bereits bestehender Lexikonwörter mit neuer coronabezogener Bedeutung darstellen. Beim *Querdenker* liegt keine Neubildung, sondern lediglich eine coronabedingte Neubedeutung vor. Im Covid-IDS wird lediglich die coronabedingte Neubedeutung aufgeführt, während DUDEN-online neben der ursprünglichen Bedeutung auch eine spezielle Corona-Neubedeutung angibt.

Covid-IDS

- *Querdenker*: Person, die die allgemein gültigen Verhaltensregeln zur Eindämmung der COVID-19-Pandemie sowie weitere staatliche Regelungen im Zusammenhang mit der Pandemie (politisch und weltanschaulich unterschiedlich motiviert) ablehnt

DUDEN-online:

- *Querdenker1*: männliche Person, die eigenständig und originell denkt und deren Ideen und Ansichten oft nicht verstanden oder akzeptiert werden
- *Querdenker2*: Anhänger, Sympathisant der politischen Bewegung „Querdenken“, die sich insbesondere gegen staatliche Maßnahmen zur Eindämmung der Coronapandemie, gegen Impfungen u. Ä. richtet (und dabei auch Verschwörungserzählungen verbreitet) [synonym zu *Verschwörungstheoretiker*, s.u.]

Auch die Belege *Spaziergänger* bzw. *Coronaspaziergänger/Montagsspaziergänger* haben in der Covid-19-Pandemie laut Covid-IDS eine zusätzliche Neubedeutung erhalten. So lässt sich bei allen drei Einträgen im Covid-IDS das grundsätzlich gleiche Interpretament finden.

- *Spaziergänger/Coronaspaziergänger/Montagsspaziergänger*: Person, die an einer [zu Beginn der Woche] (politisch und weltanschaulich unterschiedlich motivierten) nicht als

Demonstration genehmigten und daher als Bummel deklarierten Kundgebung gegen die allgemein gültigen Verhaltensregeln zur Eindämmung der COVID-19-Pandemie teilnimmt (Covid-IDS)

Es muss allerdings kritisch angemerkt werden, dass nicht bei allen im Covid-IDS aufgenommenen Einträge tatsächlich eine Neubedeutung oder gar Neubildung vorliegt, sondern lediglich ein kontextueller Coronabezug hergestellt werden kann. Bei der Personenbezeichnung *Unterwegsreiniger*, die laut Covid-IDS noch vor der Covid-19-Pandemie in den Niederösterreichischen Nachrichten vom 29.05.2014 mit der Bedeutung ‚Person, die öffentliche Verkehrsmittel während der Fahrt reinigt‘ belegt ist, liegt daher weder eine Neubildung noch eine Neubedeutung vor. Tatsächlich wird die offensichtlich okkasionell markierte Bildung *Unterwegsreiniger*, die nicht im DUDEN-online belegt ist, im Zusammenhang mit der Covid-19-Pandemie im Jahre 2020 von der FAZ lediglich wieder ins Gedächtnis gerufen.

- *Unterwegsreiniger*: Um den neuen Anforderungen gerecht zu werden, verstärkt die Bahn zudem ihre Bemühungen um mehr Hygiene. "Unterwegsreiniger" putzen Haltestangen, Griffe, Knöpfe oder Oberflächen während der Fahrt. Abends im Werk werden die Züge komplett gereinigt und desinfiziert. (www.faz.net; datiert vom 15.05.2020) (Covid-IDS)

Weitere derartige – lediglich coronabezogene – Bildungen wären: *Verschwörungsgläubiger* (Saarbrücker Zeitung 2.2.2022, Covid-IDS), *Verschwörungsideologe*, *Verschwörungsmythiker* (Covid-IDS), *Verschwörungstheoretiker* u. Ä.

Beflügelt wird die Corona-Neubildungspotenz des Deutschen auch durch die Möglichkeit der Wortbildungshomonymie bzw. der ausdrucksseitigen Identität von Wortbildungen mit inhaltlicher Divergenz. Von der daraus resultierenden formalen Doppeldeutigkeit profitiert der Gebrauchswert. Die Bildung kann flexibler morphosyntaktisch verwendet werden. Suffigierungen auf *-er* können potentielle Nomina agentis und/oder Nomen instrumenti sein, vgl. *Wellenbrecher* in Analogie zu *Wellenreiter* beschreibt im Gegensatz zu den bisher genannten Belegen ein positives Verhaltenskonzept des Menschen in der Coronakrise. Als *Wellenbrecher* wird neben der herkömmlichen Lesart (‚Schutzeinrichtung im Wasser- und Schiffbau sowie in der Architektur, die Wellen brechen soll‘) coronabedingt eine ‚Person bzw. ein Maßnahmenpaket bezeichnet, die/das dazu beiträgt, dass die nächste Welle gebrochen wird bzw. es nicht zur nächsten Coronawelle kommt‘. Das Covid-IDS führt folgende zwei Interpretamente auf:

- *Wellenbrecher1*: Person, die durch Einhaltung der Hygieneregeln und Kontaktbeschränkungen während der COVID-19-Pandemie dazu beiträgt, dass es nicht zu einem weiteren Anstieg an Infektionen kommt (Covid-IDS)
- *Wellenbrecher2*: Maßnahmenpaket (z.B. weitere Einschränkungen des gesellschaftlichen Lebens), mit dem die zweite Welle der COVID-19-Pandemie (in Deutschland) aufgehalten werden soll (Covid-IDS)

Weitere Belege mit potentieller Doppelinterpretation wären *Pandemietreiber*, *Pandemieverstärker* (sowohl Person als auch Institution, z.B. Hotels, Restaurants, Bars, Cafés).

- **Coronabedingte Neologismen, Typ *Superspreader***

Wie Zifonun treffend anmerkt spielen „Corona-Anglizismen (...) in allen Bereichen der Wort- und Begriffsbildung mit“ (1). Unter den kompositionellen „Corona-Anglizismen“, die Personenbezeichnungen darstellen, finden sich sowohl (Schein)Lehnwörter (gänzlich entlehnte fremde Einheiten) als auch Lehnübersetzungen (übersetzte entlehnte Einheiten; *Superprognostiker* < *superforecaster* (Covid-IDS)) und Hybridbildungen (Kreuzung nativer und fremder Einheiten). Ein weitverbreitetes Corona-Lehnwort aus dem Englischen ist *Superspreader* (Covid-IDS, DUDEN-online) bzw. *Corona-Superspreader* (MDR-Wissen 23.5.2021), das auch als Lehnübersetzung, *Superüberträger*, *Superverbreiter*, *Superverteiler* (Covid-IDS), verwendet wird. Dieser ursprünglich aus der Medizin stammende Terminus wurde im Zusammenhang mit der Coronakrise entterminologisiert und zum Gattungsbegriff für all diejenigen, die sich unangemessen und rücksichtslos während der Pandemie verhalten haben und dazu beigetragen haben, eine ungewöhnlich hohe Anzahl an Personen zu infizieren. Allen *Spreader*-Bildungen liegt folgende Bedeutung zugrunde:

- *Superspreader*: [Medizin, Jargon] Person, die mit einem infektiösen Krankheitserreger infiziert ist und durch ihre überdurchschnittlich hohe Anzahl von Sozialkontakten erheblich zu dessen Verbreitung beiträgt (Covid-IDS)

Unter Umständen könnte man dem englischen Lehnwort *Superspreader* auch die deutsche saloppe Entsprechung *Virusschleuder* in Analogie zur *Dreckschleuder*, 1. freches Mundwerk, 2. Person mit frechem Mundwerk 3. Industrieunternehmen o. Ä., das Verschmutzung verursacht‘ (vgl. DUDEN-Online) entgegensetzen, wobei die deutsche Bildung sowohl auf Ereignisse/Geschehen/Events wie z.B. Partys als auch auf Personen referieren kann und eine semantische Modifikation darstellt, bei der ein

„pejorativ extremes Ausmaß einer Eigenschaft“ (Motsch 225) ausgedrückt wird. Im Covid-IDS lässt sich lediglich die personenbezogene Interpretation finden.

- *Virusschleuder*: ‚jemand, der eine ungewöhnlich hohe Anzahl anderer Menschen infiziert‘ (Covid-IDS)

Coronaspezifisches Verhalten manifestieren die folgenden entlehnten Personenbezeichnungen aus dem Englischen, die im Covid-IDS belegt sind:

- *Sexbuddy*: fester Sexualpartner für Singles, um das Risiko einer Vereinsamung während der COVID-19-Pandemie sowie die Verbreitung des SARS-CoV-2-Virus einzudämmen (Covid-IDS)
- *Shoppingtourist*: Person, die Einkaufsmöglichkeiten in Gebieten jenseits einer Landesgrenze nutzt, wenn am eigenen Wohnort die Geschäfte geschlossen sind (Covid-IDS)

Pandemiespezifisches Verhalten belegen auch die folgenden Hybridneubildungen:

- *Impfsupporter*: Betrieb oder Betreiber, der öffentlich als Werbeträger für eine Immunisierung durch Vakzination auftritt und neu geimpften Personen eine Belohnung oder Prämie für getätigte Vakzinationen anbietet (Covid-IDS)
- *Schnellshopper*: Person, die ihren Einkauf z.B. durch Nutzung von kontaktlosen Zahlungsmöglichkeiten zügig erledigt‘ (Covid-IDS)
- *Shutdowner*: Politiker, der besonders vehement die Stilllegung fast aller wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Aktivitäten zu einem bestimmten Zeitraum während der COVID-19-Pandemie gefordert hat (Covid-IDS)

- **Coronabedingte Neologismen, Typ *Nullpatient***

Dieser Typus Coronabildungen enthält als auffälliges Merkmal ein Numerales als Erstglied. Gerade bei pandemieartigen Infektionen ist es von großer Bedeutung die Person zu ermitteln, die sich nachweislich als erste mit dem Virus infiziert hat, sowie die Impffektivität von Personen zu ermitteln. Die im Covid-IDS erfassten Bildungen *Erstpatient* (mit Ordinalzahl als Erstglied) und *Nullpatient* (mit Kardinalzahl als Erstglied) sind synonyme Wortbildungen und bezeichnen allgemein die

- *Erstpatient/Nullpatient*: Person, die nachweislich als erste mit einem bestimmten Virus infiziert wurde und weitere Personen angesteckt hat (Covid-IDS)

Die coronabezogenen Bildungen *Erstimpfling* (DWDS, nicht im Covid-IDS belegt) und *Zweitimpfling/Zweitimpfler* (Covid-IDS) referieren auf Personen, die die erste bzw. zweite Coronaimpfung erhalten haben.

Eine analogische Bildung **Drittimpfling* nach der Boosterimpfung (Auffrischungsimpfung) ist nicht belegt. Die Personenbezeichnung *Zweitimpfling/Zweitimpfler* wird im Covid-IDS wie folgt definiert:

- *Zweitimpfling/Zweitimpfler*: Person, die sich durch wiederholte Vakzination gegen einen bestimmten Erreger vollständig immunisieren lässt (Covid-IDS)

- **Coronabedingte Neologismen, Typ *Tandemfamilie***

Bei diesem Typus kompositioneller Neubildungen werden pandemiebedingte innovative Sozialkonzepte versprachlicht, die das (Zusammen)leben insbesondere während der Lockdowns in der Pandemie inspiriert haben. Aus dem Covid-IDS konnten die Belege *Tandemfamilie* und *Tandemkind* mit den folgenden Bedeutungen ermittelt werden:

- *Tandemfamilie*: erweitertes Kinderbetreuungsmodell, bei dem sich nicht verwandte Mitglieder aus zwei oder mehreren Haushalten erzieherische, pflegende oder alltägliche Aufgaben zur (gegenseitigen) Entlastung teilen' (Covid-IDS)
- *Tandemkind*: zum Zwecke der sozialen Integration und schulischen Förderung (ehrenamtlich) betreuter Minderjähriger (Covid-IDS)

Ebenso einfallsreich ist das Konzept des *Spazierpartners*, das als soziale Ersatzkomponente während der Isolationsphasen in der Pandemie zu betrachten ist.

- *Spazierpartner*: Person, mit der man sich regelmäßig trifft, um einen (kleinen) Ausflug zu Fuß zu unternehmen (Covid-IDS)

- **Coronabedingte Neologismen, Typ *Alltagsheld***

Es handelt sich hierbei um heroisch-aufwertende bzw. ironisch-abwertende Personenbezeichnungen, die in der Covid-19-Pandemie zur Auf- bzw. Abwertung von bestimmten Berufsständen beigetragen haben. So wurden Ärzte und Pflegepersonal, die einer besonderen Gesundheitsgefahr ausgesetzt waren und dem Gemeinwohl gedient haben, in der Coronapandemie zu *Alltagshelden* (s.u.). Aber auch Verhaltenskonzepte von Einzelpersonen, die Großartiges während der Pandemie geleistet haben, wurden versprachlicht. In Anlehnung an den *Alltagshelden* wurden die Soziale-Stabilität-stiftenden-Neubildungen *Einkaufsheld* und *Einkaufshelfer* als Bezeichnungen für altruistische Personen geprägt, die für hilfsbedürftige Menschen Besorgungen in der Pandemie übernommen haben. Heldentum, Kühnheit und Verantwortung sind Konzepte, die gerade in Krisenzeiten besondere

Beachtung evozieren. Daher konnten sich trotz der in erster Linie negativ behafteten etablierten Vorbilder bzw. Lexikonwörter wie *Bierheld*, *Frauenheld*, *Maulheld*, auf deren Basis diese Neubildungen analogisch nachgebildet wurden, insbesondere *Alltagsheld* und *Einkaufsheld* mit herausragend positiver Konnotation in der Covid-19-Pandemie etablieren, vgl.

- *Alltagsheld*: *Person*, die in einem für das Allgemeinwohl wichtigen Beruf mit großem Einsatz und unter z.T. schwierigen Bedingungen arbeitet (Covid-IDS)
- *Einkaufsheld*: *Person*, die für eine hilfsbedürftige Person Besorgungen in Supermärkten u. Ä. übernimmt' (Covid-IDS)

Bei der okkasionellen Neubildung *Seuchensheriff* liegt hingegen, wie das Interpretament unten belegt, eine ironisch-abwertende Bedeutung von *Sheriff* ‚Ordnungshüter‘ vor, vgl.

- *Seuchensheriff*: (meist abwertend für) Politiker, dem eine als übertrieben empfundene Anordnung von Maßnahmen zur Eindämmung der COVID-19-Pandemie und die Kontrolle dieser vorgeworfen werden (Covid-IDS)

- **Coronabedingte Neologismen, Typ *Klopapierhamster***

Wort(neu)bildungen des Typs *Klopapierhamster*, die Tierbezeichnungen als Zweitglieder aufweisen, werden metaphorisch auf den Menschen übertragen (vgl. Simoska 2013b). Dabei handelt es sich um eine „Bedeutungsübertragung [...] aufgrund von unterstellten Ähnlichkeitsbeziehungen zwischen dem Ausgangs- und Zielkonzept“ (Schuster 6), d.h. im konkreten Falle zwischen dem prototypischen Verhalten des Hamsters und dem Menschen. Speziell in der Coronapandemie wurde aus Angst vor Knappheit durch die Hamstermetapher das auffällige Horten von Toilettenpapier durch die Neubildung *Klopapierhamster* gekennzeichnet. Die bewusste Verwendung des umgangssprachlich-saloppen Begriffes *Klo* (statt *Toilette*) als Erstglied verleiht dieser markanten Corona-Neubildung eine zusätzliche Expressivität. Das Hamstern ist ein typisches kriegs- und krisensituationenspezifisches Verhalten des Menschen, das aus Angst vor materiellen Entbehrungen ausgelöst wird und im Gedächtnis der Menschen verwurzelt ist, die bereits Erfahrung damit haben. Im Covid-IDS finden wir folgendes Interpretament:

- *Klopapierhamster* „Person, die einen unnötig großen Vorrat an Toilettenpapier (während der COVID-19-Pandemie) anlegt (Covid-IDS)

Die Diskrepanz zwischen Personen(gruppen), die die Coronapandemie ernst nehmen, und solchen, die Verfechter von Verschwörungstheorien sind, schlägt sich in den antagonistischen Neubildungen *Schlafschaf* und *Aluhut* (s.u.) nieder. Beide Bildungen sind jeweils Schimpfbezeichnungen für die Menschen des gegenüberliegenden Lagers. Bei der Corona-Neubildung *Schlafschaf* wird die Schafsmetapher im Kontext der angestrebten Herdenimmunität bemüht, die dem Schaf einen prototypischen Opferstatus sowie Gutmütigkeit und Blindheit unterstellt. Aus der Perspektive der Verschwörungstheoretiker sind die „anderen“ bedauernswerte *Schlafschafe*, d.h. ‚Opfer der Coronapandemie, leichtgläubige Schafe, die man einer Gehirnwäsche unterzogen hat‘. Im Covid-IDS ist folgende Lesart zu finden:

- *Schlafschaf*: (abwertend für:) Person, die nicht an Verschwörungstheorien glaubt, sondern den Informationen aus Medien, der Politik usw. (vermeintlich blind) vertraut (Covid-IDS)

- **Coronabedingte Neologismen, Typ *Nacktnase***

Das possessiv-exozentrische Wortbildungsmuster ist ein bewährtes sprachliches Mittel zur Generierung von expressiven Personenbezeichnungen, bei denen eine körperliche oder charakterliche Auffälligkeit vorliegt (vgl. Simoska 2013b: 190). Die sprachlich markierte Auffälligkeit stellt in der Regel ein Makel dar, auf das eine Person metonymisch reduziert wird (*Dickkopf*, *Langbein*, *Rothaut*). Typisch für exozentrische A+N-Personenbezeichnungen sind Zweitglieder, die nicht die Referenzklasse des Kompositums bezeichnen, sondern nach dem pars-pro-toto-Prinzip in erster Linie markante Körperteile (*Nase*, *Nacktnase*) oder Kleidungsstücke der Person (*Hut*, *Aluhut*) denotieren (222f.). Es handelt sich hierbei um eine „Kontiguitätsrelation zwischen der wörtlichen Bedeutung der A+N-Verbindung (Ausgangskonzept) und dem von ihr bezeichneten Konzept (Zielkonzept)“ (Schuster 6). Die exozentrische Neubildung *Nacktnase* (Covid-IDS, nicht im DUDEN-online erfasst) wird in Anlehnung an *Langnase* ‚eine abschätzig Bezeichnung für Personen mit einer auffälligen Nasen(länge)‘ (vgl. auch *Glatt Nase* – ‚Fledermaus‘; *Breitnase*, *Schmalnase* – ‚Affe‘, Simoska 2013a: 225) coronabedingt wie folgt definiert:

- *Nacktnase*: Person, die eine Nasen-Mund-Bedeckung (entgegen den Hygienevorschriften während der COVID-19-Pandemie) nur über dem Mund trägt, sodass die Nase frei bleibt (Covid-IDS)

Die exozentrische Bildung *Aluhut*, eigentlich ‚Person, die einen Aluhut hat/trägt‘ (vgl. *Rotkäppchen*) sowie *Aluhutbürger* (in Analogie zu: *Wutbürger*, *Weltbürger*) wurden in der Coronapandemie spöttisch als ‚Schimpfwort für die Anhänger einer Verschwörungstheorie‘ verwendet. Covid-IDS führt eine wörtliche (1) und eine exozentrisch-metonymische (2) Lesart auf:

- *Aluhut1*: [meist spöttisch, häufig bildlich] aus mehreren Lagen Aluminiumfolie geformte Kopfbedeckung, die angeblich die Gesundheit oder Gedanken seines Trägers vor schädlichen Einflüssen schützen soll (Covid-IDS)
- *Aluhut2*: [metonymisch, häufig abwertend] Person, die eine absurde Weltsicht hat oder einer Verschwörungstheorie anhängt (Covid-IDS)

- **Coronabedingte Neologismen, Typ *Wirrologe***

Die Berufsbezeichnung *Virologe* wurde während der Covid-19-Pandemie unter Einsatz diverser Wortspielmuster bzw. „Sprachspielereien“ (Zifonun 1) zur Pejorisierung von Personenbezeichnungen abwertend als *Virolüge* („...Virolügen wie Drogen...“, Covid-IDS), *Virolügner* und *Wirrologe* (<wirr ‚durcheinander, verrückt‘; alle Covid-IDS) karikiert – wohl auch aufgrund teils kontroverser Standpunkte der Experten in der Berichterstattung. Auch die Bezeichnungen *Virenversther* und *Pandemie-Erklärer* für Experten der Virologie und Epidemiologie sind als ironisch-sarkastisch zu werten. Von der Möglichkeit der Wortkontamination macht die expressiv-pejorative Personenbezeichnung *Covidiot* gebraucht. Hier werden die selbstständigen lexikalischen Einheiten *Covid+Idiot* wortspielerisch zu *Covidiot* ‚sich wie ein Idiot verhaltende Person in der Coronakrise‘ veramalgamiert. Parallel zur kontaminierten Form wird im Covid-IDS auch die Vollform mit identischem Interpretament aufgeführt:

- *Covidiot/Covidiot*: (abwertend für) sich während der COVID-19-Pandemie unangemessen verhaltende Person (Covid-IDS)

4. Schlussfolgerung

Die hier untersuchten Versprachlichungen coronabedingter Verhaltenskonzepte des Menschen bzw. Personenbezeichnungen reflektieren eindrucksvoll und dokumentarisch die Neubildungspotenz der deutschen Sprache als Reaktion auf die Coronakrise. Die deutsche Sprache, und das mag universell für alle Sprachen gelten, bevorzugt bei der Bildung neologischer Personenbezeichnungen (Neubildungen und Neubedeutungen) bestimmte Typen von Wortbildungsmustern

(Bildungen/Komposita mit Nomina agentis, exozentrische Komposita/Possessivkomposita/Lehnwortbildung/Lehnübersetzung/Hybridbildung, Wortspiel) und Stilfiguren (Metapher, Metonymie). Die stilistische Varianz der Bildungen stellt das kreative und kritische Spiegelbild der pandemiegeschüttelten Gesellschaft dar. Viele, der hier analysierten Personenbezeichnungen, werden von pandemischer Kurzlebigkeit sein, andere wiederum werden voraussichtlich in das allgemeinsprachliche Lexikon übergehen, denn sie werden sich, wie z.B. *Trümmerfrau* im Zweiten Weltkrieg, ins Covid-19-Pandemiegedächtnis der deutschen Sprachgemeinschaft einprägen (z.B. *Klopapierhamster*, *Alltagsheld*).

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VERBALIZATION OF COVID-19 PANDEMIC-RELATED CONCEPTS: NEOLOGISM POTENTIAL OF THE GERMAN LANGUAGE

Introduction

Times of crisis seem to stimulate the word formation potential of languages as shown in past research e.g. *Trümmerfrau*, *Kristallnacht*, *Anschluss*, *hamstern* in World War II. The present study, based on language change during the Covid-19 pandemic, contributes to previous studies in this domain, whereby the behavior of mankind in times of crisis is proven to be universal over the centuries. The neologisms (completely new words, new meanings of already existing words) analysed in this paper, are terms for person/group reference reflecting a specific behaviour brought on during the COVID-19 crisis. Most of these neologisms, primarily consisting of a wider range of compounds, may pass the test of usage and be included permanently into the German lexicon. Other types of neologisms may only be used occasionally. Also, it might be worth mentioning that the inclusion of certain excerpts in the German lexicon has been verified by Duden online.

The concept of ‘behaviour’ is based on the sociological understanding of ‘behaviour’, which is understood as a reaction of individuals towards internal and external changes. Thus, ‘behaviour’ should be interpreted in this concrete case as a reaction to the COVID-19 pandemic. All excerpts analysed in the present study decipher and interpret outwardly manifested, specific behaviour of individuals or groups exhibited as a consequence of the COVID-19 pandemic. It is interesting to note that, some of the examples enable the production of double meanings – more precisely, two interpretations of one and the same naming unit, e.g. *Wellenbrecher* (see below) are possible. We can freely say that the pandemic-related neologisms portray a truly German sociolinguistic ‘potpourri’.

The general potential of the German language to form neologisms and the specific “delight in joining words to create compounds”

The German language is famous for its high potential of building new compounds, also designated as the “delight in joining words to create compounds” (“Kompositionsfreudigkeit”, Schlücker 1), which enriches both the conventional word stock, as well as the occasional, i.e. lexical units found in novels, text words. The enrichment of the lexicon, according to Motsch, cannot be explained by the usual means, rather it would be necessary to take into consideration pragmatic and psycholinguistic aspects (21, 25). According to this author, the pragmatic aspects to be considered should be: the enlargement of the lexicon because of the necessity of new designations, syntactic change of the category and stylistic devices. Regarding the production and reception of analogy-based neologisms, however, the author states that these are significantly influenced by three factors: quantity, frequency and transparency of patterns of word formation (23). In the present study, all of the above aspects were taken into consideration during the analysis of the COVID-19 corpus.

The corona-related potential of forming neologisms based on terms for person/group reference

According to the IDS, approximately 2000 corona-neologisms have been documented in the German lexicon during, and as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic. In the following section, the corona-related terms for person/group reference will be classified in word formation types or patterns.

- **Corona-related neologisms, type *Coronasünder*⁴**

Denoting nomina agentis, neologisms of this type can optionally represent a completely new formation (Neubildung) or constitute just a new meaning of an already existing word (Neubedeutung).

Completely new corona-related word formations are mainly activated on the basis of already existing nomina agentis mainly with the suffix *-er* (less common: *-ler, -el*) in the German lexicon, notably encouraged by their quantity, frequency and semantic transparency. Taking into account pragmatic principles (the principle of a reasonable word, the principle of interpretability of word formations and the principle of economy of word formations, Motsch 25ff.), they primarily rely on a lexicalized or occasional model that helps the user recognize the new formation, e.g. *Coronasünder/Covidsünder* (“corona-sinner”) in analogy to the already existing *Verkehrssünder* (traffic offender), *Impf(vor)drängler* according to the lexicalized *Drängler* (tailgater) denoting ‘persons activating queue jumping skills to grab the vaccination before their turn’. Further examples are: *Impfgegner, Mundschutzgegner* etc. in analogy to famous existing *Gegner*-formations (opponent), e.g. *Demokratiegegner, EU-Gegner, Putin-Gegner*. In the following neologisms, a completely new, corona-related meaning is constituted: *Querdenker, Spaziergänger/Coronasparziergänger/Montagsspaziergänger*. These

⁴ For reasons of readability, the masculine form is used with personal designations, however the feminine form is also intended.

formations can have double-meanings: a primarily neutral one and a secondary corona-related one, e.g. *Querdenker*: 1. 'maverick, contrarian, lateral thinker', 2. 'person that considers the corona measures too excessive/harsh, conspiracist, follower of the political movement "lateral thinkers"'. Special cases outline formations like *Wellenbrecher* that represent homonym units with two corona-related readings in addition to its original meaning *breakwater*: 1. 'person who helps to mitigate the corona pandemic', 2. 'package of measures that should avoid a second corona wave'. A double reference can also be found in *Pandemietreiber*, *Pandemieverstärker*: 1. 'a person that spreads the pandemic', 2. 'institutions (hotels, restaurants, bars, cafes) that represent breeding ground for the spread of the pandemic'.

- **Corona-related neologisms, type *Superspreader***

This type of neologisms examines corona-related real and pseudo English borrowings/loanwords into German, e.g. *Superspreader*, *Sexbuddy*, *Shoppingtourist*. German calques of English formations *Superüberträger*, *Superverbreiter*, *Superverteiler* and German-English hybrid formations, e.g. *Impfsupporter*, *Schnellshopper*, *Shutdowner*.

- **Corona-related neologisms, type *Nullpatient***

Excerpts belonging to this type of formations have characteristically a numeral as a first constituent. In the context of the Covid-19 pandemic, it is of great importance to detect the first person that is infected with the virus. The Covid-IDS schedules *Erstpatient* and *Nullpatient* ("first patient") are synonyms denoting generally 'the first patient infected with a virus'. The same pattern is used in order to designate the person receiving the first or second vaccination using the corona-related formation *Erstimpfling* (only evidenced in DWDS, not in Covid-IDS, meaning 'a person who received the first vaccination'), followed by: *Zweitimpfling/Zweitimpfler* ('person who received the second vaccination' Covid-IDS). However, receiving the third vaccination, the so called booster, did not generate a neologism, i.e. **Drittimpfling* ('person who has just been vaccinated for the third time').

- **Corona-related neologisms, type *Tandemfamilie***

The lockdowns during the COVID-19 pandemic contributed to innovative social concepts that are transferred in neologisms like *Tandemfamilie* ("tandem family", 'an enlarged model of childcare in which participants of two or more households share obligations') and *Tandemkind* ("tandem child", 'a minor person getting support from a volunteer to aid in social integration and education'). Also, a corona specific neologism is *Spazierpartner* ('partner for walking') denoting 'a person that you meet periodically in order to take a short walk with'.

- **Corona-related neologisms, type *Alltagsheld***

This particular type denotes terms for persons who were either heroically valorized, or ironically-derogated during the pandemic. Namely, certain individuals and professional groups, e.g. doctors and nursing staff, exhibited remarkable professionalism and dedication during the corona pandemic. They were verbalized, depicted as heroes of the pandemic: *Alltagsheld* ("everyday hero") referring to doctors and nursing staff during the pandemic, *Einkausheld*,

Einkaufshelfer (“shopping hero/helper”) denoting an ‘altruistic person that goes shopping for those that are in real need’. On the other hand, an ironic-derogatory connotation is intended by the corona-neologism *Seuchensheriff* (“sheriff of a plagues/pestilence”), referring to ‘politicians that propagate overly strict restrictions during the pandemic and behave like controllers or sheriffs.

- **Corona-related neologisms, type *Klopapierhamster***

The metaphoric way of referring to persons by using animal names is a well-known mechanism in word-formation (Simoska 2013b). The metaphoric imputation of a similarity relation between source and target concept (Schuster 6) is realized in new formations like *Klopapierhamster* (“hamster of toilet paper”, denoting a ‘person that hoards toilet paper during the pandemic’) and *Schlafschaf* (“sleeping sheep”, denoting a ‘person that trusts blindly all the information in the media during the COVID-19 crisis’). According to the hamster-metaphor, the natural behaviour of hamsters, hoarding food in their cheeks, is transferred to the specific behaviour of people in times of crisis, i.e. war, disease, to panic-buy products (e.g. toilet paper, referring in this case to the German people) because of the fear of material deprivation. The sheep-metaphor alludes from the position of the so called “lateral thinkers” (*Querdenker*) to the victim status – benevolence and blindness of those who trusted the official news coverage. *Klopapierhamster* and *Schlafschaf* actually represent swear terms in order to devalue and stultify the behaviour of people acting prototypically like animals during the corona pandemic.

- **Corona-related neologisms, *Nacktnase***

This type of corona-related neologisms represents the exocentric word formation pattern of German, denoting expressive person designations. It is a common pattern in word formation for pejorative terms referring to individuals having conspicuous features regarding their appearance, such as: scars/blemishes (Simoska 2013b: 190) as a result of which, according to the pars-pro-toto principle, they are metonymically reduced (*Dickkopf*, *Langbein*, *Rothaut*). Exocentric compounds consisting of an adjective (A) and a noun (N), as Simoska points out, notoriously do not refer to the reference class of the second constituent, but to a third entity (222f.). In most of the cases it is a body part (*Nase/nose*, *Nacktnase*) or a clothing (*Hut/hat*, *Aluhut*) of a person. The relation between the literal meaning of the A+N-compound (source concept) and the target concept is based on contiguity (Schuster 6). Formations like *Nacktnase* (“naked nose”, ‘a person that wears the mask only over their mouth’), denoting a body part as a second constituent, are built in analogy to already existing exocentric compounds that refer to persons, e.g. *Langnase*. Moreover, exocentric word formations like *Aluhut* (*tin foil hat*, synonym to *Aluhutbürger*, built in analogy to *Wutbürger*, *Weltbürger*), whose second constituent refers to items of clothing (*Rotkäppchen/Little Red Riding Hood*) are, however created differently. They can potentially belong to two reference classes allowing therefore two meanings: literal, e.g. ‘a hat made out of tin foil’, and an exocentric-metonymic one, e.g. ‘a person that wears a tin foil hat in the

belief that it shields the brain from threats, actually a person with an absurd worldview, a corona conspirator’.

- **Corona-related neologisms, type *Wirrologe***

Partly due to the extremely controversial positions taken during the coverage of the profession, the designation *virologist* has been caricatured during the COVID-19 pandemic. Namely, by exploring the play on words (“Sprachspielereien” (Zifonun 1)) for the pejoration of personal designations, the Covid-IDS, lists the following three devaluing forms: *Violüge* („...Violügen wie Drogen...“ (Covid-IDS)), *Virolügner* and *Wirrologe* (< *wirr*, *durcheinader*, *verrückt* / ‘confused, woozy’) that would be in English: “viro-lie”, “viro-liar”, “woozyologist”. By the same token, *Virenverstehler* (“virus understander”) and *Pandemie-Erklärer* (“pandemic explainer”), coined as terms for virology and epidemiology experts can only be interpreted as ironic and sarcastic. A particularly ingenious word blending is represented by the expressive-pejorative neologism *Covidiot*, that is amalgamated from *COVID+idiot*, meaning ‘a person that behaves like an idiot during the pandemic’. The IDS Dictionary of neologisms also lists the full form: *Covididiot* with the same interpretation: ‘(pejorative for) a person conducting themselves inappropriately during the COVID-19 pandemic’ (Covid-IDS).

Conclusion

The verbalized behavioural concepts of persons and groups as a reaction to the COVID-19 crisis reflect impressively and document the highly developed potential of blending new words and compounds in the German language. Although this kind of linguistic potential may be universal in all languages, specifically in German, the newly created neologisms denoted for individuals or groups, derive from selected types of patterns of word formation, such as: compounds with *nomina agentis*, exocentric compounds, borrowings/calques/hybrid formations, word plays and stylistic devices – metaphor, metonymy. The stylistic variants of the word formations reflect both the creativity, but also the critical stance taken by the people belonging to the German society. It may be safe to say that many of the examples analysed in this paper will probably become obsolete, perhaps only a few, such as *Klopapierhamster*, *Alltagsheld* will succeed in entering the German lexicon – just as the famous *Trümmerfrau* in World War II that has been inscribed into the Eternal Mind of the Germans.

Keywords: German word formation, neologisms (new formations, new meanings), behavioural concepts, COVID-19 pandemic

DIE FORMALEN UND SEMANTISCHEN EIGENSCHAFTEN DER FRAGESÄTZE IM ALBANISCHEN UND DEUTSCHEN SPRACHGEBRAUCH

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Abstrakt: In dieser Arbeit soll es um den Vergleich zweier in Grammatik und Aussprache sehr unterschiedlicher Sprachen gehen, nämlich des Deutschen und des Albanischen. Da das Feld der Untersuchungsmöglichkeiten der komparativen Linguistik ein endloses ist, konzentriert sich die vorliegende Arbeit auf den Bereich der Fragesätze bzw. Satzmodi in den erwähnten Sprachen. In detaillierten Analysen von Satzbeispielen, die gängigen deutschsprachigen wie albanischen Grammatiken bzw. den Werken zweier kanonisierter Autoren entnommen sind, werden die Unterschiede und Gemeinsamkeiten hinsichtlich der verschiedenen Fragesatzformen aufgezeigt. Als Ordnungsrahmen dient die in beiden Sprachen durchgeführte Trennung von Entscheidungs- und Ergänzungsfragen. Am Ende der Arbeit werden die gewonnen Erkenntnisse überblicksartig zusammengestellt.

Schlüsselwörter: Deutsch, Albanisch, Vergleich, Frage, Fragesatz, Ergänzungsfragen, Entscheidungsfragen

Einleitung

Als Auszug aus einem größeren Forschungsvorhaben gewährt diese Arbeit einen Einblick in ausgewählte Teilbereiche der deutschen und albanischen Grammatik. Auf diesem Weg soll die Diskussion um die Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede der albanischen und deutschen Sprache erweitert und vertieft werden. Durch die Verbindung verschiedener systematischer sprachwissenschaftlicher Methoden mit einer semantischen und syntaktischen Analyse (siehe Kap. 2) wird versucht, neue Erkenntnisse über das Untersuchungsgebiet zu erlangen und hier zu veranschaulichen. Aufgrund der Bedeutung und des im sprachwissenschaftlichen Kontext fühlbaren Bedürfnisses nach guter Sprachkompetenz, also dem Wissen, normgerecht eine kontrastive

Analyse bzgl. der Syntax durchführen zu können, kommt diesem Thema ein hoher Stellenwert im Studium der Germanistik zu. Um die Verhältnisse der beiden Sprache in besagtem Gebiet wissenschaftlich zu illustrieren, werden syntaktische und semantische Analysen durchgeführt.

In dieser Arbeit soll es also um den Vergleich zweier in Grammatik und Aussprache sehr unterschiedlicher Sprachen gehen, nämlich des Deutschen und des Albanischen. Da das Feld der Untersuchungsmöglichkeiten der komparativen Linguistik ein endloses ist, konzentriert sich die vorliegende Arbeit auf den Bereich der Fragesätze bzw. Satzmodi in den erwähnten Sprachen. Zwar handelt es sich dabei nur um einen Teilbereich der Grammatik einer Sprache, doch bildet gerade dieser mitunter eine wesentliche Grundlage derselben. Da es sich hierbei um zwei indoeuropäische Sprachen handelt, die aber sprachlich nicht nahe verwandt sind, gehen wir mit Gerd-Dieter Nehring (2002) hypothetisch davon aus, dass es auf grammatischer Ebene in der albanischen Standardsprache (ASS) ein grundlegendes System der Kennzeichen im Gegensatz zum Deutschen gibt: „Die ASS (albanische Standardsprache) stimmt mit dem Deutschen allgemein hinsichtlich der Einteilung von Redeteilen nach Wortklassen überein. Es bestehen jedoch auch deutliche Unterschiede. So hat der vorangestellte Artikel des Albanischen im Gegensatz zum nachgestellten trotz eines gemeinsamen genetischen Ursprungs keine determinierende Funktion (z.B. *topi i djalit – der Ball des Jungen*).“ (Nehring 2002, 51)

Aus der Analyse der Syntax der beiden Sprachen erklärt sich, warum die Reihenfolge des Satzes im Deutschen flexibel und im Albanischen relativ frei ist, was die Grundlage für die Erforschung der albanisch-deutschen kontrastiven Syntax bildet.

Untersuchungsgegenstand, Methode, Zielsetzung

Die Arbeit berücksichtigt nicht nur die Grammatiken des Deutschen und Albanischen, sondern verfolgt in den Darlegungen zur Theorie der Satzarten auch eine kontrastive Korpusanalyse. Auf Basis germanistischer Fachliteratur zu Fragesätzen (u.a. Steinbach et al. 2013, Sommerfeldt/Starke 1989), der Akademiegrammatik (Çeliku 1975) und weiterer albanischer Grammatiken (Buchholz/Fiedler 1987+2000) werden die Unterschiede ebenso wie die Gemeinsamkeiten von Fragesätzen hinsichtlich Funktion und Satzbau herausgestellt. Zum Zweck des konfrontativen Sprachvergleichs wurden aber zudem kanonisierte literarische Werke ausgewählt, die vom Deutschen ins Albanische oder umgekehrt vom Albanischen ins Deutsche übersetzt worden sind. Beim albanischen Werk handelt es sich um den bekannten

Roman von Ismail Kadare, *Prilli i thyer* (*Der zerrissene April*). Dieser Roman liegt in zwei Übersetzungen von Joachim Röhms (2001, 2011) vor, die zuweilen miteinander verglichen werden. Für den Vergleich Deutsch-Albanisch werden einige Kapitel aus Stefan Zweigs *Schachnovelle* (*Novela e shahut*) (2012) mit ihrer albanischen Übersetzung von Klio Evangjeli (1997) herangezogen, um anhand von Beispielsätzen besser aufzeigen zu können, welche unterschiedlichen sprachlichen Mittel beim Fragen jeweils zum Einsatz kommen. Indem beide Werke als kanonische Repräsentanten der jeweiligen Sprache gelten, vermag eine kontrastive Analyse der jeweils zum Einsatz gelangenden Fragemodi einen Einblick in das prinzipielle Funktionieren von Fragesätzen beider Sprachen zu vermitteln.

Zur Erläuterung der Fragesatzformen, die zunächst auf Basis der genannten grammatischen Werke gegenübergestellt werden, werden also in einem nächsten Schritt die Satzbildungsarten anhand eines albanischen und eines deutschen literarischen Werks in Auszügen untersucht. Einige Satzbeispiele wurden der besseren Zweckdienlichkeit wegen modifiziert und mit einer eigenen Übersetzung versehen (in diesen Fällen wird auf die Quelle durch ‚vgl.‘ verwiesen). Satzbeispiele ohne jegliche Kennzeichnung in Umfeld stellen dagegen eigene Erfindungen (resp. Übersetzungen) dar.

Das Ziel der Studie ist es, einen Überblick *über* sowie einen Einblick *in* einen noch wenig erforschten und diskutierten Teilbereich die Theorie der Fragesätze überwiegend in der Morphosyntax zu geben, verschiedene Beispiele in beiden Sprachen zu erläutern und Varianten der Fragesätze darzustellen. Die dazu aufgebotene Analyse der Fragesätze hat jedoch auch das Ziel, die Übersetzungen literarischer Werke hinsichtlich möglicher Alternativen zu untersuchen, respektive zu klären, inwiefern z. B. Stellung und Modi der Verben, Intonation und melodische Gestaltung gewisse Freiheiten erlauben oder umgekehrt durch grammatische Zwänge gebunden sind.

Hinsichtlich der angewandten Analysemethode wird versucht, mögliche syntaktische Merkmale des Albanischen und des Deutschen zu isolieren, um sie als relevante Faktoren für die Unterscheidung der Fragesätze in den beiden Sprachen in den Vordergrund zu rücken. Dies mit dem Ziel, die beiden Sprachsysteme vergleichbar zu machen und damit einen Beitrag zum Sprachvergleich Albanisch–Deutsch hinsichtlich der Satzarten zu leisten. Indem immer wieder auf alternative Darstellungs- und Repräsentationsweisen verwiesen wird, soll auch das Wissen über die sprachliche Variation der Satzarten vergrößert werden.

Da sich die Struktur der Sätze (und dazu gehört nicht zuletzt die Verbstellung im Satz) maßgeblich auf die Satzarten auswirkt, musste bei

der Auswahl der Untersuchungssätze möglichst eine Vielzahl dieser Faktoren berücksichtigt bzw. in kontrollierbarem Maße aufgebildet werden. Die Auswahl der Untersuchungssätze folgt dabei einerseits, wie oben beschrieben, den in Standardgrammatiken erörterten strukturellen Eigenschaften, es galt aber andererseits auch Beispiele zu finden, die in beiden Sprachen inhaltliche und linguistische Relevanz besitzen. Bei der Auswahl von Mustersätzen wurden daher auch deren semantischen Gehalte berücksichtigt.

Ausgehend von der Forschungsfrage, wie sich die Fragesätze der deutschen und albanischen Sprache voneinander unterscheiden, ließen sich folgende (dann die Untersuchung leitende) Teilaspekte und Charakteristika festmachen: (1) Die Satzbildungsmuster im Deutschen und im Albanischen unterscheiden sich weitgehend und verlangen in jedem Fall einen Fokus auf den jeweiligen semantischen Gehalt. (2) Die im Deutschen übliche Klammerbildung kommt im Albanischen nicht vor. (Was entspricht ihr dagegen in dieser Sprache?) (3) In beiden Sprachen ist das Verb mit seinen Valenzen das zentrale Element im Satz. Im Deutschen steht die Personalform des verbalen Teils beim Hauptsatz (Aussagesatz) in der Regel an zweiter Position, im untergeordneten Nebensatz dagegen meist an letzter Stelle. Es gibt aber auch Nebensätze mit steter Verberststellung, nämlich im Fall von Konditionalsätzen und der indirekten Reden. Diese unterschiedliche Regelung für Haupt- bzw. untergeordneten Nebensatz findet im Albanischen keine Anwendung. Während sich also im Deutschen beim untergeordneten Nebensatz die Stellung der verbalen Teile ändert, verhält sich diese im Albanischen wie im Hauptsatz. Das Albanische weist demnach im Wesentlichen Verbzweitstellung auf.

1 Fragesätze (Interrogativsätze)

Ein Satz besteht aus der Einheit eines Prädikats mit finitem Verb und allen zugehörigen Satzgliedern. Sätze sind dabei vor allem vom finiten Verb bzw. von dem gebildeten Prädikat bestimmt. Wird mit einem Satz eine Frage gestellt, handelt es sich um einen Frage- oder Interrogativsatz (vgl. Duden 2009, 763 u. 889).

Der Fragesatz dient zum Ausdruck unterschiedlicher Spielarten von Interrogativität. Im Deutschen unterscheidet man grundsätzlich zwischen zwei großen Gruppen von Fragesätzen: (1) Ergänzungsfragesätze bzw. Wortfragesätze und (2) Entscheidungsfragesätze bzw. Satzfragesätze. „Die Entscheidungsfrage geht davon aus, dass es unsicher ist, ob die Sachverhaltsbeschreibung überhaupt einen Wirklichkeitsbezug hat oder haben wird.“ (Sommerfeldt/Starke 1989, 261) Im Albanischen hingegen

unterscheidet man neben Ergänzungsfragesätzen und Entscheidungsfragesätzen syntaktisch auch direkte und indirekte Fragesätze (Haupt- und Nebensätze). Nach spezifischen modalen Gesichtspunkten werden die Fragesätze in neutrale, dubitative, deliberative und polemische Interrogativität eingeteilt. Polemische Interrogativität wird in Frage- und Ausrufesätzen ausgedrückt. Sätze mit neutraler Interrogativität kommen als Entscheidungs- und Ergänzungsfragesätze vor (vgl. Buchholz/Fiedler 1987, 498-9).

Tonhöhenverläufe, die gleiche sprachliche Funktionen erfüllen, bilden die Realisationsebene der gleichen Intonationskonturen. Hier besteht nur ein indirekter Zusammenhang. Einigkeit herrscht jedoch beim Thema Fragesätze. Hier stimmen fast alle Grammatiken bei der Einteilung folgender Fragesatztypen in der albanischen und deutschen Sprache überein: Entscheidungsfragen, Ergänzungsfragen, Alternativfragen und Echofragen. In Bezug auf die Syntax wird weiters zwischen direkten und indirekten Fragen unterschieden (vgl. Laposa 2003).

Für die Gliederung der Fragesätze wurden morphologische, syntaktische und semantische Kriterien erstellt, wie sie auch in vielen anderen Studien (vgl. Buchholz/Fiedler 1987, Sommerfeldt/Starke 1989, Duden 2009, Helbig/Buscha 2007) als Abgrenzungsmerkmale herangezogen werden. Man unterscheidet Wortfragen und Satzfragen, je nachdem ob ein Fragewort (Englisch: ‚Wh...?‘) verwendet wird oder nicht.

2 Fragesätze (Interrogativsätze) im Deutschen

Ein Satz, mit dem man eine Frage stellt, ist ein Fragesatz oder ein Interrogativsatz. Grundsätzlich unterscheidet man zwei große Gruppen der Fragesätze: Ergänzungsfragesätze oder Wortfragesätze und Entscheidungsfragesätze oder Satzfragesätze. Im Deutschen trennt man spezifisch zwischen zwei Satzformen: W-Verb-Zweit-Sätze und Verb-Erst-Sätze (vgl. Duden 2009, 889-890).

Nachfolgend werden die Abgrenzungsmerkmale dargestellt.

2.1 Ergänzungsfragesätze (Wortfragen) im Deutschen

Einem W-Fragesatz mit Verbzweitstellung geht eine W-Phrase voraus, d. h. ein Satzglied mit einem W-Wort, welches aus einem interrogativen Pronomen, einem Artikelwort oder Pro-Adverb bestehen kann. Mit Sätzen dieser Art wird eine Ergänzungsfrage ausgedrückt, also eine Frage, auf die sich mit einer Phrase antworten lässt.

Eine W-Phrase beginnt immer mit „W-“; Beispiele für solche Ergänzungsfragesätze:

Was hebst du auf? (Mögliche Antwort: Den Ball)

Çfarë po ngrit ti? (Përgjigjja e mundshme: topin)

Das finite Verb steht zwischen der W-Phrase und dem restlichen Satz (sofern vorhanden). Der Modus des finiten Verbs ist im Indikativ oder im Konjunktiv II und nie im Imperativ.

Abtönungspartikeln (vgl. Duden 1998, 592-3) sind: *bloß (vetëm), wohl (mirë), eigentlich (në të vërtetë), denn (sepse)*. Man könnte diese auch miteinander kombinieren (*denn auch, denn wohl, denn eigentlich, denn bloß, denn nur, denn schon...*), etwa beim Verb-Zweit-Satz, wenn das Verb am Ende steht (*bloß, nur, wohl...*). Einige Abtönungspartikeln beziehen sich dabei auf das Vorwissen des Hörers:

Ich muss nicht zur Arbeit gehen, ich habe ja Urlaub. (Der Chef weiß schon über den Urlaub Bescheid.)

Unë nuk duhet të shkoj në punë, unë kam pushim. (Shefi madje din për pushimin.)

Beispiele für W-Ergänzungsfragesätze (vgl. ebd.):

Wie weit sind Sie mit Ihrer Arbeit?

Deri ku keni mbërri me punën e juaj?

Ergänzungsfragesätze dienen dazu, einen zusätzlichen Teil der vorhin gestellten Frage zu erklären. Ein relevantes Beispiel ist der o.g. Satz „Wie weit“ (*deri ku*) sind Sie mit Ihrer Arbeit? (*Keni mbërri me punën e juaj?*)

Wann wird der Hundertmeterlauf beginnen?

Kur do të filloj vrapimin në njëqind metra?

Ähnliche Ergänzungsfragesätze kommen auch als Prüfungsfragen vor:

Der Vietnamkrieg war wann?

Lufta në Vjetnam ishte kur?

Ergänzungsfragesätze kommen auch in verschiedenen Zeitungsartikeln als „Eye-catcher“ vor (als Zeitungsüberschriften oft auch ohne Fragezeichen), wie z.B.:

Warum man in diesem Jahr in manchen Städten nicht feiern kann?

Pse në disa qytete, këtë vit nuk mund të festohet?

Im folgenden Beispiel kommt ein indirekter Ergänzungsfragesatz vor, der eine bestimmte Struktur des Handelns zum Hintergrund hat:

(Hier wird darüber berichtet,) warum man in diesem Jahr in manchen Städten nicht feiern kann.

(Këtu raportohet rreth asaj,) se pse në disa qytete, këtë vit nuk mund të festohet?

Bei einer anderen Variante des W-Verbzweitsatzes stehen weitere W-Wörter im Mittelfeld und fungieren als Mehrfragen:

(Wer) hat (wen) (wo) gesehen? Mögliche Antwort: (Jörg) hat (ihn) (in der Stadt) gesehen und Hans (ihn) (im Cafe).

2.1.1 W-Fragesätze im Deutschen

Ein W-Fragesatz (oder W-Interrogativsatz) beginnt gewöhnlich mit einer „W-Phrase“, (W-Wort): *wer (kush), was (çka), wen (kë, kend), wem (kujt), wo (ku), wann (kur), warum (pse), wie (si, sa), etj.* Solche Fragesätze dienen als Ergänzungsfrage, also einer Frage, auf die verkürzt mit einer Phrase geantwortet werden kann (vgl. Laposa 2003, 223).

[Was] legst du auf den Stuhl? (Mögliche Antwort: Den Bleistift)

Çka po vendos ti mbi karrigë? (përgjigja e mundshme: lapsin)

Konstituentenfragen (W-Fragen) sind Verb-Zweit-Sätze, bei denen das Fragepronomen am Satzanfang steht.

Wann besuchst du mich? (Antwort: Ich besuche dich morgen.)

Kur më viziton ti mua? (Unë të vizitoj ty nesër.)

Mit unbetontem *denn* können verschieden Haltungen des Sprechers ausgedrückt werden:

*Woher kommst du **denn**? (freundliche Anteilnahme)*

*Prej nga je ti **pra**? (pjesëmarrje e përzemërt)*

*Kannst du **denn** Fußball spielen? (Zweifel)*

***Pra**, a din ti të luash futboll? (dyshim)*

Besonders typisch in der gesprochenen Sprache ist *halt* (oft auch *eben*):

*Das Leben ist **halt** nicht immer leicht (da kann man nichts machen).*

*Ja **që** jeta nuk është gjithmonë e lehtë (këtu nuk mund të bëhet asgjë).*

2.2 Entscheidungsfragesätze (Satzfragen) im Deutschen

Mit einem Fragesatz wird meist eine Entscheidungsfrage ausgedrückt, d.h. eine Frage, auf die der Fragende als Antwort ein *Ja* oder ein *Nein* erwartet. In einem Entscheidungsfragesatz nimmt das finite Verb die erste Stellung, die Satzspitze ein (Verberstfragesatz oder Verberstinterrogativsatz).

Zwar gibt es keine eigene Fragesatzintonation, trotzdem werden aber einige Syntaxkonstruktionen mit bestimmten Konturen kombiniert, z.B. W-Fragesätze (*Wann war das? Warum denn?*), die besonders gut zur thematischen Anknüpfung an Vorhergehendes eignen. Dieser syntaktische Fragetyp wird besonders häufig mit einer Kontur kombiniert (Frage mit fallendem Akzent).

Beispiele für solche Entscheidungsfragesätze (Ja/Nein-Fragen, vgl. Duden 2009, 889):

Sind die Lottozahlen schon bekannt gegeben worden?
(Erstverbsatz/Stirnsatz)

A janë publikuar numrat e lotarisë? (folja merr pozitën e parë në fjali)

Aber hättest du sonst das Buch auf den Tisch gelegt?
(Mögliche Antwort: *Ja, sicher!*)

Por a do të vendosje përndryshe librin mbi tavolinë?
(Përgjigja e mundshme: *Po, sigurisht!*)

Eine explizierte Antwort erwartet man bei Alternativfragen (vgl. Hetzer/Finger 2006, 20):

Möchten Sie das Auto, oder sollen wir Ihnen den Preis in Euro auszahlen?

A dëshironi ju automobilin, apo duhet ne juve të ju paguajmë çmimin në euro?

Können Sie mir den Weg zeigen?

A mundeni ju të më tregoni rrugën?

Aber nicht alle Verbzweitsätze mit *W-Wort* im Vorfeld haben eine Fragefunktion:

Wer konnte das schon ahnen! (Ausrufesatz)

Kush mund ta ketë menduar këtë! (fjali nxitëse) oder

Kannst du das kurz halten? (Aufforderungssatz)

A mundesh njëherë këtë ta mban? (fjali urdhërore)

Solche Ausrufesätze werden traditionell als *rhetorische Fragen* bezeichnet. In diesem Fall erwartet der Sprecher keine wirkliche Antwort (vgl. Meibauer 1986, 102):

Ich frage mich, ob das der Chef wohl weiß.
(Zweitverbsatz/Kernsatz)

Unë pyes veten, a ndoshta shefi madje e di këtë. (folja merr pozitën e dytë në fjali)

Ob das der Chef weiß? (Endverbsatz/Spannsatz)

Vallë këtë shefi e di? (folja që shtjellohet merr pozitën e fundit në fjali)

Echofragesätze werden dann verwendet, wenn man glaubt etwas nicht richtig verstanden zu haben, und haben folgende Struktur:

Du bleibst wirklich zwei Monate in Wien?

Ti me të vërtetë qëndron dy muaj në Vjenë?

In Echofragen kann eine *W-Phrase* vorkommen, allerdings nur im Mittelfeld. In diesem Fall wird die *W-Phrase* stärker betont, damit sie nicht als indefinite Phrase interpretiert wird (vgl. Duden 2009, 889). Was

die Intonation betrifft, so ist der Akzent auch bei Echofragen in der Regel fallend.

Du bleibst (wie lange) in Wien? (Prüfungsfrage)

Ti qëndron (sa gjatë) në Vjenë? (pyetje verifikimi)

Charakteristische Abtönungspartikeln bei einem Erstverbtsatz sind: *etwa (diçka), mal (njëherë), wohl (mirë), eigentlich (në të vërtetë), auch (gjithashtu), denn (sepse, atëherë)*. Man kann die Abtönungspartikeln auch miteinander kombinieren: *denn auch, denn wohl, denn eigentlich, denn etwa*; bei einem Endverbtsatz: *mal* und *wohl*.

Beispielsätze für Entscheidungsfragesätze, auf die man als Antwort ein *Ja* oder ein *Nein* erwartet, wären:

Hast du schon Radio gehört?

A ke dëgjuar ti radion?

Muss ich hier mit einem Strafzettel rechnen? – Nein, hier darf man parken.

A duhet unë këtu të llogaris një dënim? – Jo, këtu guxohet të parkohet.

Mögliche Antworten auf die Entscheidungsfragesätze sind für gewöhnlich: *ja (po)* und *nein (jo)* oder Adverbien wie *wahrscheinlich (me gjasë), sicher (me siguri), möglicherweise (ndoshta), kaum (pothuaj aspak)*.

Mit Verbletztsätzen / Endverbfragesätzen kann man Nachdenklichkeit ausdrücken, Interesse äußern oder sich nach etwas erkundigen:

Ob der Tausendmeterlauf wirklich um 18.00 Uhr beginnen soll?

(V-Endstellung, Spannsatz)

Vallë a duhet vrapimi në njëmijë metra me të vërtetë në ora 18.00 të filloj?

Soll der Tausendmeterlauf wirklich um 18.00 Uhr beginnen?

(V1 Stellung von Finitum, Stirnsatz)

A duhet të fillojë vrapimi në njëmijë metra me të vërtetë në ora 18.00?

Entscheidungsfragesätze mit Endverbstellung kommen in verschiedenen kommunikativen Funktionen vor:

Sie können mich (doch) verstehen?

Ju mund të më kuptoni mua (apo)?

Solche Fragesätze dienen dazu, die vorhandenen Informationen zu bestätigen und heißen Vergewisserungssätze.

Ich darf Sie doch duzen, nicht wahr? (Satzfunktion: Vergewisserungsfrage)

Unë guxoj juve të drejtohem me ti, apo jo? (funktioni i fjalisë: vërtetimi i pyetjes)

In den oben gegebenen Beispielen für Verbzweitsätze stehen beliebige Satzglieder im Vorfeld (also wie bei Aussagesätzen).

Möchte der Fragende sich etwas, das er schon weiß, vom Befragten bestätigen lassen, werden Bestätigungsfragesätze verwendet. Diese Fragesätze werden z.B. im öffentlichen Dienst, bei Behörden gebraucht und dienen zur Bestätigung der bestehenden Daten (vgl. Duden 2009, 890):

Sie sind zum ersten Mal hier in der Praxis?

Ju jeni për herë të parë këtu në ordinancë?

Entscheidungsfragesätze können ein Interesse, eine Bekundung, einen Eindruck, eine Überraschung oder eine Entscheidung zwischen den beiden angebotenen Optionen darstellen:

Möchten Sie das Buch oder sollen wir Ihnen das Heft bringen?

A dëshironi ju librin, apo të ju sjellim juve fletoren?

Entscheidungsfragesätze und Ergänzungsfragesätze haben grundsätzlich die Intention "Ich will wissen" (*Unë dua të di*) als Hintergrund.

Hat er nicht oft genug über die Risiken gesprochen?

A nuk ka treguar ai mjaft shpesh për rreziqet?

Eine Echo-Variante von Verbletztsätzen kommt vor, wenn der Gesprächspartner eine Frage zunächst nicht richtig verstanden hat. Die Intonation ist hier dieselbe wie bei den meisten anderen Fragen (Frage mit fallendem Akzent). Als Hauptsatz gilt:

Ich habe dich gefragt, ...

Unë të kam pyetur ty?

3 Fragesätze im Albanischen

Grundsätzlich unterscheidet man zwei große Gruppen der Fragesätze: (1) Ergänzungsfragesätze oder Wortfragesätze (*Fjalitë pyetëse plotësuese/jo të mirëfillta*) und (2) Entscheidungsfragesätze oder Satzfragesätze (*Fjalitë pyetëse tërësore, vendimtare/të mirëfillta*).

Wenn man eine Frage stellt, will der Sprecher vom Gesprächspartner in der Regel etwas wissen. In diesem Fall spricht man von einem Fragesatz (vgl. Kole/Kole 1992, 94):

Warum möchte der kleine Prinz mit dem Fuchs zusammen spielen?

Pse dëshiron princi i vogël të luaj së bashku me dhelprën?

Auf Fragesätze in einem Dialog folgt im Allgemeinen eine Antwort.

Hast du ihn gekannt?

Ti e ke njohur?

Es gibt auch Fragen, die man sich selbst stellt, die im eigenen Kopf formuliert und beantwortet werden. Solche Fragen werden „monologisch“ genannt (vgl. Çeliku 2002, 134). Diese Fragen können auf zwei Arten gestellt werden:

- a) direkt, durch unabhängige Sätze, d.h. direkte Fragen;
- b) indirekt, d.h. durch nicht in Frageform, sondern als (im grammatischen Sinne) Aussagen formulierte Fragen. – Ein Satz in direkter Frage endet mit einem Fragezeichen; ein Satz in indirekter Frage endet mit einem Punkt.

a) *Was legst du auf den Schrank?* (direkte Frage)

Çfarë vendos ti mbi dollap? (pyetja e drejtë)

b) *Es wurde nicht verstanden, ob diese Antwort ein Wortspiel oder etwas anderes war.* (indirekte Frage)

Nuk u kuptua nëse kjo përgjigje qe ndonjë lojë fjalësh apo diçka tjetër. (pyetja e zhdrejtë)

Ein Fragesatz kann auch als verflochtener/verwobener Satz vorkommen (vgl. ebd., 136):

Und, warum soll ich es verheimlichen (?)... den Abend genoss ich.

Dhe, pse ta fsheh (?)... atë darkë u kënaqa.

Fragesätze sind im Allgemeinen durch klare Unterscheidungsmerkmale phonetischer, lexikalischer, morphologischer oder syntaktischer Natur, aber auch durch Intonation, Fragewörter (Adverb, Partikeln), manchmal auch durch die Reihenfolge der Wörter gekennzeichnet.

Die Intonation ist ein wichtiges Schlüsselement des Fragesatzes. Im Unterschied zum Aussagesatz ist diese hier nicht fallend, sondern steigend. Die Melodielinie der Intonation kann also unterschiedlich sein und mit der Stellung der Wortfrage im Satz, dem Akzent und dem Inhalt des Fragesatzes zusammenhängen.

Das *soll der Herr des Hauses sein?* (Betonung fällt auf **das**)

Ky *të jetë i zoti i shtëpisë?* (pra theksi bie në këtë shembull në fjalën: **ky**)

Adverb- und Interrogativpronomen nehmen in der Regel nicht immer den ersten Platz im Satz ein, sondern können auch in der Mitte oder am Ende eines Fragesatzes vorkommen.

Wer sind Sie und warum sind Sie so früh gekommen?

Kush jeni ju dhe përse keni ardhur kaq herët?

Fragesätze können nur als einfache Fragesätze oder als vokative Fragesätze vorkommen. Gleichzeitig mit einer Frage werden auch die

Gefühle des Sprechers zu diesem Zeitpunkt ausgedrückt, wie beispielsweise Überraschung, Freude, Trauer, Zorn usw.

Diese beiden Gruppen von (direkten und indirekten) Fragesätzen unterscheiden sich im Allgemeinen in der gesprochenen Sprache durch ihre Intonation und in der geschriebenen Sprache zum Teil durch die Satzzeichen.

Vokative Fragesätze kennzeichnen sich durch einen fragenden vokativen Akzent/Tonfall. Am Ende des Satzes steht ein Fragezeichen, in manchen Fällen auch ein Ausrufezeichen (vgl. Kole/Kole 1992, 160).

3.1 Entscheidungsfragesätze im Albanischen

Entscheidungsfragesätze werden zwischen Gesprächspartnern verwendet, um etwas Unbekanntes, oder eine nicht vollständig bekannte Sache zu erfragen.

Man unterscheidet diese Art der Fragesätze nach ihrer Form aber auch nach dem Inhalt, d.h. Ausrufesätze oder Ausruf-Fragesätze (vgl. Çeliku 2002, 139):

Siebst du den Berg dort?

E shikon atë kodrën atje?

Entscheidungsfragesätze können dialogisch oder auch monologisch sein. In den folgenden Beispielsätzen drücken sie Erlebnisse, Zweifel oder Verzweiflung der Personen aus.

Du aber, Kujtim, wohin gehst du?

Po ti, Kujtim, ku do të vesh?

Es handelt sich um Entscheidungsfragesätze, wenn der Sprecher ermitteln will, ob seine eigene Meinung oder die seines Gesprächspartners stimmt.

Sind Sie auch aus unseren Provinzen?

Mos jeni edhe ju nga krahinat tona?

Entscheidungsfragesätze können auch folgende Frage-Partikeln enthalten: *ob es, ob es nicht; (a, vallë, mos (a), thua)* sowie deren Kombinationen: *ob es auch, ob es nicht, ist es nicht, sagst du es nicht; mos vallë (edhe: mos...vallë), vallë a, a...vallë, a mos, (a) thua (se)*.

Der Partikel „a“ ist allgemein generisch, hat eine fragende Bedeutung und wird im gewöhnlichen Sprachgebrauch sehr häufig verwendet:

Hast du etwas anzumerken?

A ke gjë për të shënuar?

Mit den Partikeln *nicht (mos)* und *ob das (a) thua (se)* wird nach einer glaubhaften Tatsache gefragt.

Habe ich dich geweckt? fragte Alma.

Mos të zgjova ty?- pyeti Alma.

In Fragesätzen werden auch Interjektionspartikeln verwendet, die eine fragend-vokative Funktion haben, wie: *ë, e, a, hë* usw.

He, was sagst du?

Hë, ç`thua ti?

3.2 Ergänzungsfragesätze im Albanischen

Ein Fragesatz ist ein Ergänzungsfragesatz, wenn der Sprecher vom Gesprächspartner etwas wissen möchte, was er nicht weiß oder worüber er sich nicht sicher ist.

Der/das Unbekannte kommt dabei als Pronomen oder Frage-Adverb vor: *wer, wie, wenn, wem, was, wie viel, wo, wann, warum, wieso* usw. (*kush, cili, çfarë, sa, i sati, me se, ku, nga, kur, si, qysh, përse, pse, etj.*).

Wer sucht ihn? (Finitum steht an zweiter Stelle – Kernsatz)

Kush e kërkon atë? (folja e shtjelluar merr pozitën e dytë në fjali)

Was möchtest du deiner Mutter zum Geburtstag schenken?

Çfarë dëshiron ti me dhuru nënës tënde për ditëlindje? (Vgl.

Kole/Kole 1992, 158)

Fragesätze dienen auch der Informationsermittlung. Solche Sätze werden als Erkundungsfragesätze bezeichnet:

Den Brief wirst du schreiben? (V2 Stellung, Kernsatz)

Letrën ti do ta shkruash?

Es gibt auch Fragesätze, die nicht ausschließlich der Informationsbeschaffung dienen, sondern eine Handlung zum Ausdruck bringen. Solche Sätze weisen vokative Formen auf und drücken eine Behauptung oder eine z.B. ablehnende, skeptische Haltung aus. Es sind mitunter rhetorische Fragesätze.

Wer hat über sie nachgedacht?

Kush e pati mendjen te ajo?

Mit Fragesätzen kann man manchmal auch eine Hypothese, einen Zustand oder eine Bedingung ausdrücken:

Du wirst in Ehre leben?

Ti do të rrosh me nder?

Wird bei einem Fragesatz von einem hypothetischen Zusammenhang ausgegangen, hat der Fragesatz die Form eines abhängigen Bedingungssatzes:

Es wäre gut, wenn er sagen würde, dass er nicht wartet?

Mirë, po sikur të më thotë se nuk pret?

In einem Reaktions-Fragesatz wird oft nur ein Satzteil als fragendes Satzglied verwendet:

Morgen?

Nesër?!

Fragesätze können ähnlich wie Aussagesätze unterschiedliche modale Bedeutungen haben. Im Vordergrund stehen gewöhnlich nicht nur Fragen, sondern auch potenzielle Beweise, Vermutungen, Misstrauen, Zweifel oder Unsicherheit (vgl. ebd., 166):

Die Mutter fragt: „Manfred, hast du deine Hausaufgaben erledigt?“

Die Mutter fragt Manfred, ob er seine Hausaufgaben erledigt habe.

Fragesätze dienen manchmal ausschließlich der Effektivität, zu beachten ist dabei die besondere Betonung. Es gibt keine exakte Grenze zwischen vokativen Fragesätzen und den Ausrufesätzen im Allgemeinen. Am Ende eines vokativen Fragesatzes werden Fragezeichen und Ausrufzeichen nacheinander gesetzt. Manchmal wird nur ein Fragezeichen verwendet (wenn der vokative Charakter des Satzes schwach ist) und nur ein Ausrufzeichen, wenn die Sätze eher ein affektives Verhalten ausdrücken (Wunder, Protest, Ironie, Ablehnung usw.).

Woher soll ich das wissen!? (V2 Stellung, Kernsatz)

E ku ta di unë!? (folja e shtjelluar merr pozitën e dytë në fjali)

Wie wir oben gesehen haben, kann die Frage auch indirekt gestellt werden, als indirekte Rede oder in Form eines Satzes (Schlüsselwort, Objekt, selten Determinante).

Indirekte Fragesätze (fjalitë pyetëse të zhdrejta) sind gewöhnlich einfache Fragesätze. Indirekte Fragesätze können einen Entscheidungsfragesatz oder einen Ergänzungsfragesatz aufweisen. Hier treten auch Partikeln wie *a*, (*ob*), selten *mos*, *vallë* (*ob das nicht*) oder untergeordnete Konjunktionen wie *në* (*in, an*), *nëse* (*wenn, falls*) auf (vgl. ebd.).

Keiner wusste, ob Sokol heute käme oder nicht.

S' dihet në ka për të ardhur a jo Sokol sot.

Der Patient fragt die Schwester, ob er etwas zu trinken bekommen könne.

Pacienti pyet motrën medicinale, nëse ai diçka do të mund të merrte për të pirë.

4 Ergebnisse

Ziel dieser Arbeit war die Untersuchung der syntaktischen und semantischen Unterschiede wie auch Gemeinsamkeiten der Fragesätze im Albanischen und Deutschen, da entsprechende Ergebnisse in der Literatur zum Vergleich beider Sprachen noch fehlen. Beim Fragesatz wird zwischen zwei Untergruppen unterschieden: (1) den

Entscheidungs- und (2) den Ergänzungsfragen. Fragesätze erwarten immer eine Reaktion des Gegenübers, sei es zwischen Sprecher und Zuhörer oder zwischen Schreiber und Leser. Am Ende des Fragesatzes steht in aller Regel ein Fragezeichen.

Es wird zudem zwischen Entscheidungs- und W-Fragen unterschieden (vgl. Eisenberg 1999, 396). Entscheidungsfragen verlangen eine eindeutige Antwort (vgl. Hentschel/Weydt 2013, 370). Diese Antwort kann aus einem Aussagesatz oder einem einfachen „Ja“ oder „Nein“ bestehen. Auch mit Adverbien wie „sicher“, „kaum“ und „möglichlicherweise“ kann geantwortet werden. Im Unterschied zum Aussagesatz steigt hier die Intonation am Satzende an (vgl. Heidolph et al. 1981, 768).

Anders als die Entscheidungsfrage steht in der Ergänzungsfrage die finite Verbform erst an zweiter Stelle, da an erster Stelle bereits das Fragewort platziert ist. Die Stimmführung ist weniger steigend und zum Satzende hin leicht fallend. Die Stellung der Satzglieder ist in beiden Sprachen teils identisch. In Fragesätzen (Entscheidungsfragen), in Aufforderungssätzen und in uneingeleiteten Nebensätzen hat das finite Verb die Spitzenstellung (Stirnsatz). Es steht an letzter Stelle in eingeleiteten Nebensätzen und in einigen Formen von Rufsätzen (V-Endstellung, Spannsatz). Die übrigen Satzglieder sind in ihrer Stellung relativ frei. Damit kommt der Wortstellung im Deutschen eine erhebliche stilistische Bedeutung zu. In einer Satzfrage hat das Albanische eine fast obligatorische Fragepartikel (meistens „a“ oder negativ „mos vallë“). (*Ich weiß nicht, ob du deine Hausaufgaben geschrieben hast? – Nuk e di a ke shkruar ti detyrat e shtëpisë?*) Die albanische Fragepartikel „a“ entspricht dabei dem deutschen „ob“.

Abschließend seien hier einige charakteristische Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede der beiden Sprachen in Bezug auf die Form von Fragesätzen aufgelistet:

- In den albanischen Fragesätzen kann man Interjektionspartikeln gebrauchen, die eine fragend-vokative Funktion haben, wie: *ë, e, a, hë* usw. *Hë, ç`mendon ti? Heh, was denkst du?*
- Satzfragen haben im Albanischen eine eigene Fragepartikel „a“, die häufig, aber nicht ausschließlich verwendet wird. Der Aussagesatz kann in beiden Sprachen durch das Setzen eines Fragezeichens und eine veränderte Intonation zu einer Entscheidungsfrage verändert werden. Die albanische Fragepartikel „a“ wird in diesem Fall entweder weggelassen oder hinzugefügt.
- Im Albanischen sind indirekte Fragesätze gewöhnlich einfache Fragesätze. Indirekte Fragesätze können aus einem

Entscheidungsfragesatz oder einem Ergänzungsfragesatz bestehen. In indirekten Fragesätzen treten auch Partikeln wie *a (ob)*, selten *mos, vallë (ob das nicht)* oder untergeordnete Konjunktionen wie *në (in, an), nëse (wenn, falls)* auf.

- Im Albanischen werden die Fragesätze nach spezifischen modalen Gesichtspunkten in neutrale, dubitative, deliberative und polemische Interrogativität eingeteilt. Die neutrale Entscheidungsfrage erfordert außer der spezifischen Intonation keine besonderen Elemente, die Partikel „*a*“ allerdings, die einen morphologischen Status hat, kann merkmalshaft Interrogativität ausdrücken (vgl. Buchholz/Fiedler 1987, 498).
- Das Verneinungswort „*nicht*“ kann in beiden Sprachen im Entscheidungsfragesatz verwendet werden. Das deutsche „*nicht*“ entspricht dabei dem albanischen „*jo*“.
- Im Deutschen unterscheidet man eine typische Form von Fragesätzen, nämlich die „W-Fragesätze“.
- Im Deutschen wird dann die Konjunktion „*oder*“ („*apo, ose*“) hinzugefügt. Das Wort „*nicht*“ steht dabei hinter der Konjunktion „*oder*“ am Satzende. Im Albanischen hingegen tritt die Konjunktion nicht am Satzende auf. *Kommt Martha morgen oder nicht? - A vjen nesër Martha apo jo?*
- In der deutschen Entscheidungsfrage ist das Prädikat vorangestellt. Der Entscheidungsfragesatz unterscheidet sich im Albanischen vom Aussagesatz ausschließlich durch die Fragepartikel „*a*“ bzw. durch die ansteigende Intonation. Beim albanischen Entscheidungsfragesatz steht die Fragepartikel „*a*“ am Satzanfang.
- Aussagesatz und Entscheidungsfragesatz unterscheiden sich durch die Fragepartikel „*a*“, „*mos vallë*“, „*a mos vallë*“ und das Fragezeichen bzw. den Punkt. Dagegen in einem deutschen Entscheidungsfragesatz nimmt das finite Verb die erste Stellung, die Satzspitze ein (Verberstfragesatz oder Verberstinterrogativsatz). Dieser syntaktische Fragetyp wird besonders häufig mit einer Kontur kombiniert (Frage mit fallendem Akzent).
- Die Wortstellung im Entscheidungsfragesatz ist im Albanischen und Deutschen unterschiedlich. Im Deutschen steht das Verb gewöhnlich am Anfang, danach folgen das Subjekt und die weiteren Satzglieder. Im Albanischen hingegen findet sich bei den Entscheidungsfragen eine andere Struktur. Eine Änderung vom Aussagesatz zu Entscheidungsfragen gestaltet sich dabei im Deutschen einfacher. *Du isst. Ti han.* (Aussagesatz); *Isst du? A po han ti?* (Entscheidungsfrage)
- In den albanischen Beispielsätzen fällt der Fragepartikel „*a (po)*“ als Hauptunterschied auf. Hier besteht ein normaler

Entscheidungsfragesatz demnach aus einem Aussagesatz und einer Fragepartikel. *Spielst du jeden Tag Fußball?* - *A luan ti çdo ditë futboll?* Die Stellung der Satzglieder ändert sich in diesem Fall nicht. Das finite Verb findet sich am Satzbeginn. Die Intonation ist in beiden Sprachen interrogativ.

- Im Albanischen gibt es für die normale Entscheidungsfrage zwei Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten, die aber äquivalent sind. *Bist du in der Fabrik?* - *A je ti në fabrikë? / Je në fabrikë ti?* Im Albanischen ist die Alternativfrage durch die Reihenfolge V+O+S gekennzeichnet.
- Im Deutschen gibt es neben den Antworten „ja“ und „nein“ noch die Antwortmöglichkeit „doch“=„ja“. Im Albanischen existiert etwas Ähnliches mit *por, vetëm, megjithatë*. Bei Entscheidungsfragen mit einem Negationswort verändert sich in der Antwort das Verhältnis von Zustimmung und Verneinung. *Seid ihr mit euren Arbeitsbedingungen nicht zufrieden?* - *A nuk jeni ju të kënaqur me kushtet e punës?* - *Nein, wir sind nicht glücklich.* (Bestätigung) - *Jo, ne nuk jemi të lumtur.* - *Doch, wir sind glücklich.* (Verneinung) - *Mejthatë, ne jemi të lumtur.*
- Im Albanischen werden die Antworten „ja“ und „nein“ ebenfalls verwendet. Man antwortet im Albanischen mit Bejahung, indem das Verb des Entscheidungsfragesatzes wiederholt wird. Im Albanischen wird bei der Verneinung hingegen das Negationswort für „nicht“ – „*a mos*“ – vor dem Verb hinzugefügt. *Gehst du?* - *A shkon ti? / A mos po shkon ti?* – [*Ja*], *gehen wir.* - *Po, ne po shkojmë.* (Bejahung) // [*Nein*], *gehen wir nicht.* - *Jo, ne nuk po shkojmë* (Verneinung).
- Die Vergewisserungsfrage dient der Nachfrage, ob etwas richtig verstanden wurde oder noch gültig ist. Die Vergewisserungsfrage verlangt im Deutschen immer die Partikel „*doch*“. Im Albanischen wird ebenfalls eine Partikel („*apo*“, „*po si*“) gebraucht und an das Satzende gestellt. Allerdings ist die Intonation bei der Vergewisserungsfrage anders. *Du sprichst doch Deutsch?* - *Ti po flet gjermanisht, apo?*
- Das Konjunktionswort „*oder*“ steht zwischen zwei Entscheidungsfragen. Im Albanischen ist das Konjunktionswort „*apo*“ mit dem „*oder*“ äquivalent und wird gleich eingesetzt. Die Partikel „*a po*“ wird hier zusätzlich noch hinter der ersten Entscheidungsfrage eingesetzt. *Kommen sie heute oder (kommen sie) morgen?* - *A po vijnë (ata/ato) sot apo nesër?* – *Agron kommt morgen.* - *Agroni vjen nesër.*
- Das Fragepronomen „*wer*“ ist mit dem albanischen Fragepronomen „*kush*“ äquivalent und steht nicht nur im Deutschen sondern auch im Albanischen an erster Stelle. *Wem hilft der Student?* - *Kujt i ndihmon*

studenti? Hier lässt sich feststellen, dass in diesem Fall das Fragepronomen *wem* bzw. *kujt* im Deutschen und im Albanischen im Dativ auftritt und an erster Stelle steht.

- Es werden demnach alle deutschen W-Wörter an die erste Stelle gestellt, wie dies auch im Albanischen der Fall ist.

5 Ausblick

Das Deutsche und das Albanische stehen nicht zuletzt aufgrund von Migration und kulturellem Austausch in einem fruchtbaren Verhältnis zueinander. Die vorgelegte Analyse der Fragesatzformen beider Sprachen kann sowohl Sprachlernenden als auch Sprachforschern für weiterführende Untersuchungen dienen. Ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit bilden die soweit vorliegenden Analysen einen ersten Ein- und Überblick in die verschiedenen Fragesätze und ihre Konstruktion im Allgemeinen sowie hinsichtlich deren Rollen in der albanischen und deutschen Sprache im Besonderen. So soll die Arbeit im besten Fall als Grundlage für Lehr- und Lernmaterialien dienen und eine Lücke im Forschungsfeld der kontrastiven Linguistik schließen.

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THE FORMAL AND SEMANTIC PROPERTIES OF INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES IN ALBANIAN AND GERMAN USAGE

This paper provides a comparison of two languages that are very distinct in grammar and pronunciation, respectively German and Albanian. Since research opportunities in comparative linguistics are infinite, this paper focuses on interrogative sentences and their sentence types. Through a detailed analysis of sentence examples of the grammar used in Albanian and German, we examine the similarities and differences related to different forms of interrogative sentences. As a framework for the classification of interrogative sentences in both languages, we have distinguished sentences into general

interrogative sentences and complementary ones. In the end, the knowledge gained is summarised in a general overview.

The aim of this work is to compare two languages that are very different in grammar, style and pronunciation, German and Albanian. Since the field of possible investigations in comparative linguistics is endless, the present work focuses on interrogative sentences and their respective linguistic forms. Through the detailed analysis of sentence examples, which are taken from common German and Albanian grammars, the similarities and differences in interrogative sentences are shown. The distinction between yes/no questions and questions that require a supplement serves as a regulatory framework. At the end of the work, the knowledge gained is summarized in an overview.

Since these two Indo-European languages do not share major linguistic similarities, we hypothetically assume with Gerd-Dieter Nehring (2002) that on a grammatical level in the Albanian standard language (ASS) there is a basic system of marking tokens in contrast to German: "The ASL (Albanian Standard language) agrees with German in terms of the division of parts of speech into word classes. However, there are also clear differences. In contrast to the article following the noun, the preceding article in Albanian has no determining function (e.g. *topi i djalit* – 'the boy's ball'), despite their common genetic origin" (Nehring 2002, 51; our transl.). Detailed syntactical analysis demonstrates why the sentence order is flexible in German and relatively free in Albanian, a finding that could form the basis for further research on Albanian-German contrastive syntax.

As an excerpt from a larger research project, this work provides insights into selected areas of German and Albanian grammar. The demonstration of connecting and disconnecting factors between both languages should thus be expanded and deepened. New insights are gained by combining various systematic linguistic methods with semantic and syntactic analysis. Due to the importance and the strong desire for good language skills, this research can be valuable for teachers as well as scholars of German.

The aim of the study is to give an overview of and an insight into a still little researched and discussed part of the theory of interrogative sentences, mainly in the morphosyntax, to explain various examples in both languages and to present the variations of the interrogative sentences. An additional aim of this work is to examine the translations of literary works with regard to possible alternatives, or to clarify to what extent, e.g. the B. position and modes of verbs, intonation and melodic design, allow certain freedoms or, conversely, are bound by grammatical constraints.

With regard to the analytical method used, an attempt is made to isolate the possible syntactic features of Albanian and German in order to bring them forward as relevant factors for distinguishing the interrogative sentences in the two languages. Through this analysis, we aim to show the differences between the two language systems, and as such, contribute to the language comparison between Albanian and German with regard to sentence types. By constantly referring to alternative forms of presentation and representation, knowledge about the linguistic variation of sentence types should also be increased.

Because the structure of the sentences (and this includes not only the verb order in the sentence) significantly affects different types of sentences, when selecting the sentences to be examined, a large number of these factors had to be taken into account or included to a controllable extent. First, the selection of the sentences to be examined follows, as described above, the structural properties discussed in standard grammars. Second, it was also necessary to find examples that have content and linguistic relevance in both languages. And third, the semantic content of the sample sentences was also taken into account.

Based on the research question of how the interrogative sentences in German and Albanian differ from each other, the following aspects and characteristics (which then guided the investigation) could be determined: (1) The sentence formation patterns in German and Albanian differ widely and require a specific focus on the respective semantic content. (2) The usual bracket formation in German does not occur in Albanian. However, what does it correspond to in this language? and (3) In both languages, the verb with its valences is the central element in the sentence. In German, the personal form of the verbal part is usually placed in the second position in the main clause (the declarative clause), but in the subordinate clause, it is usually placed at the end of the sentence. But there are also subordinate clauses with constant verb position, notably in the case of conditional clauses and indirect speech. This different rule for main and subordinate clauses does not apply in Albanian. So, while in German the position of the verbal parts changes in the subordinate clause, in Albanian this is the same as in the main clause. Accordingly, Albanian essentially has a verb in the second position.

Another main goal of the project, albeit only an indirect one (through the practice of the research itself), is to show how a combination of traditional syntactic methods and experiments, which have so far only been used in other disciplines of linguistics, can also bring insights into sentence types that can be used in research.

The interrogative sentence serves to express different types of interrogation. In German, a basic distinction is made between two large groups of question sentences: (1) supplementary question sentences or word question sentences and (2) decision question sentences or sentence question sentences. "The decision question assumes that it is uncertain whether the description of the facts has or will have any relation to reality" (Sommerfeldt/Starke 1989, 261; our transl.). On the other hand, in Albanian a distinction is made between supplementary interrogative sentences and decisive interrogative sentences, as well as direct and indirect interrogative sentences (main and subordinate clauses). According to specific modal aspects, the interrogative sentences are divided into neutral, dubitative, deliberative and polemical interrogation. Polemical interrogativity is expressed in interrogative and exclamatory sentences. Sentences with neutral interrogativity occur as decision and supplementary interrogative sentences (cf. Buchholz/Fiedler 1987, 498-9).

Pitch progressions that fulfill the same linguistic functions form the realization level of the same intonation contours. There is only one indirect

connection here. However, there is an agreement on the subject of interrogative sentences. Here almost all grammars agree on the classification of the following types of question sentences in both Albanian and German: decision questions, supplementary questions, alternative questions and echo questions. A further distinction is made between direct and indirect questions at the syntactic level (cf. Laposa 2003).

Morphological, syntactic, and semantic criteria were created for the structure of the interrogative sentences, as they are also used as delimitation features in many other studies (cf. Buchholz/Fiedler 1987, Sommerfeldt/Starke 1989, Duden 2009 and Helbig/Buscha 2007). A distinction is made between word questions and sentence questions, depending on whether a question word (English: "Wh...?") is used or not. The default answer to set questions is "Ja" or "Nein".

The aim of this work was to examine the syntactic and semantic differences as well as the similarities between the interrogative sentences in Albanian and German, as there are still no corresponding results in the literature comparing the two languages. A distinction is made between two subgroups of questions: (1) the decision questions and (2) the supplementary questions. Interrogative sentences always expect a reaction from the other person, be it between speaker and listener or between writer and reader. There is usually a question mark at the end of the question sentence.

Similarities and differences of the two languages in terms of the form of interrogative sentences:

- Sentence questions have their own question particle "a" in Albanian, which is used frequently, but not exclusively. The declarative sentence can be changed in both languages by placing a question mark and changing the intonation to a decisive question. The Albanian interrogative particle "a" is either omitted or added in this case.
- In Albanian, interrogative sentences are divided into neutral, dubitative, deliberative and polemical interrogation according to specific modal aspects. Apart from the specific intonation, the neutral decision question does not require any special elements, but the particle "a", which has a morphological status, can express interrogation (cf. Buchholz/Fiedler 1987, 498).
- The negative word "nicht" can be used in both languages in the decision question sentence. The German "nicht" corresponds to the Albanian "jo".
- In German, a typical form of interrogative sentences is distinguished, namely the "W-interrogative sentences".
- In German, the conjunction "oder" ("apo, ose") is then added. The word "not" comes after the conjunction "oder" at the end of the sentence. In Albanian, on the other hand, the conjunction does not appear at the end of the sentence. *Kommt Martha morgen oder nicht? - A vjen nesër Martha apo jo?*
- In the German decision question, the predicate is placed in front. In Albanian, the decision interrogative sentence differs from the declarative sentence only by the question particle "a" or by the use of rising intonation. In the Albanian question-and-answer sentence, the question particle "a" is at the beginning of the sentence.

- The declarative sentence and the decision question sentence differ by the question particle “a”, “mos vallë”, “a mos vallë” and the question mark or the point. On the other hand, in a German question-and-answer sentence, the finite verb takes the first position, the top of the sentence (a *Verberst* interrogative sentence or a *Verberst* interrogative sentence). This syntactic question type is particularly often combined with the falling intonation contour (a question with a falling accent).
- The word order in the question sentence is different in Albanian and German. In German, the verb usually comes first, followed by the subject and the other parts of the sentence. In Albanian, on the other hand, decision-making questions have a different structure. A change from the declarative sentence to decision questions is easier in German. *Du isst. Ti han* (Declarative sentence); *Isst du? A po han ti?* (decision question).
- In the Albanian example sentences, the question particle “a (po)” stands out as the main difference. Here, a normal decision question consists of a statement and a question particle. *Spielst du jeden Tag Fußball? - A luan ti çdo ditë futboll?* The position of the clauses does not change in this case. The finite verb is found at the beginning of the sentence. The intonation is interrogative in both languages.
- In Albanian there are two ways of expressing the normal decision question, but they are equivalent. *Bist du in der Fabrik? - A je ti në fabrikë? / Je në fabrikë ti?* In Albanian, the alternative question is marked by the order V+O+S.
- In German, in addition to the answers “ja” and “nein”, there is also the answer option “doch”= “ja”. Something similar exists in Albanian with *por*, *vetëm*, *megjithatë*. In decision questions with a negation word, the relationship between agreement and negation changes in the answer. *Seid ihr mit euren Arbeitsbedingungen nicht zufrieden? - A nuk jeni ju të kënaqur me kushtet e punës? - Nein, wir sind nicht glücklich. (Bestätigung) - Jo, ne nuk jemi të lumtur. - Doch, wir sind glücklich. (Verneinung) - Megjithatë, ne jemi të lumtur.*
- In Albanian, the answers “ja” and “nein” are also used. One answers in the affirmative in Albanian by repeating the verb of the decision question sentence. In Albanian, on the other hand, the negative word for "not" - "a mos" - is added before the verb when negating. *Gehst du? - A shkon ti? / A mos po shkon ti? – [Ja], gehen wir. - Po, ne po shkojmë. (Bejahung) // [Nein], gehen wir nicht. - Jo, ne nuk po shkojmë (Verneinung).*
- Tag questions serve to ask whether something has been understood correctly or is still valid. In German, the tag question always requires the particle “doch”. In Albanian, a particle (“apo”, “po si”) is also used and placed at the end of the sentence. However, the intonation for the tag question is different. *Du sprichst doch Deutsch? - Ti po flet gjermanisht, apo?*

Not least because of migration and cultural exchange, German and Albanian have a fruitful relationship with each other. The present analysis of the different forms of interrogative sentences in both languages can be used by language learners as well as linguists for further research. Without claiming to be exhaustive, the analyzes available so far form a first insight into and an overview of the various interrogative sentences and their respective

constructions in general, as well as with regard to their roles in the Albanian and German languages in particular. In the best case, the work should serve as a basis for teaching and learning materials and close a gap in the research field of contrastive linguistics.

Keywords: German, Albanian, comparative, question, question form, supplementary questions, yes/no-question.

LEXICAL ERROR ANALYSIS IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL EFL CLASSROOM

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Abstract: The main goal of this research is the quantitative and qualitative analysis of lexical errors in spoken discourse in English language teaching of pupils in the 9th grade of primary schools in the northern, central and southern parts of Montenegro. The analysis was carried out between 2013 and 2018. The corpus of this paper consists of audio-recording of 30 English classes, each lasting 45 minutes. This provided relevant data that enabled the identification of errors and the conclusions that are presented in this paper.

Comparative analysis was used to check whether there were significant differences in the number and type of errors among the pupils from the three regions. The quantitative analysis showed that the total number of errors is 1,311. The results show that (1) the largest number of errors in the central part of Montenegro relate to the incorrect use of verbs in translating sentences; (2) in the southern and northern parts the largest number of errors relate to the incorrect use of prepositions; (3) the fewest errors caused by interference appear in the northern part; and (4) the incorrect use of words (in terms of their meaning) was not identified in any of the regions. These results may be interesting for the educational authorities, helping them create adequate curricula and develop appropriate classroom activities in the English language classroom.

Keywords: lexical errors, error analysis, mother tongue interference

INTRODUCTION

Error analysis is a very comprehensive area of EFL methodology as they make an integral part of learning a foreign language. In this paper we will deal with an analysis of lexical errors in English language teaching from the position of an observer of classes. We observed 30 classes, 45 minutes each, in the 9th grade of primary schools in the northern,

central and southern regions of Montenegro. The aim was to identify and classify errors that occur in pupils' utterances and classify them according to type. In addition, we carried out a comparative analysis to establish if there are any differences regarding types of errors among the three regions.

Two factors influenced the choice of this topic. Firstly, lexical analysis of errors in the speech of foreign language learners at the upper elementary level has not so far been the subject of interest among linguists in Montenegro. Secondly, this type of analysis may provide some interesting insights into the teaching of vocabulary and dealing with errors in an English classroom.

The purpose of the paper was (1) to identify lexical errors students make; (2) to identify the type of most frequent lexical errors; and (3) to carry out comparative quantitative analysis in order to identify possible differences among the students from the three regions of Montenegro in terms of the errors made. The results of this analysis may point to possible approaches in teaching English vocabulary in an English language classroom.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The notion of error has been extensively studied in literature, bearing in mind that errors make a constituent part of learning a foreign language. In this part, we will provide theoretical insights into errors, with a special focus on lexical errors.

Difficulties in acquiring lexis

Difficulties in learning, that is, in acquiring a language, can arise through impeded understanding of the form of the language (phonetics, grammar and syntax); of the content of the language (semantics, or meaning); of the social function of the language (pragmatics, or communication) (Hartas, 2005: 28). Linguistic or *communicative difficulties* cause various problems, and the biggest of them is actually the usage and understanding of the language.

The fact is that it is definitely easier to express a thought if acquired, shorter sentence constructions are used, and so, according to Ellis (1994: 273) "it is much more difficult to tell a story if the number of participants in it is increased, than if we have one or two". "What we speak is the result of what has been acquired, not its consequence", says Krashen (1982: 278). Halliday and Hasan (1976:285) claim "that [t]here is always the possibility of cohesion between any pair of lexical items which are in some way associated with each other in the language".

Every experienced teacher is aware of the fact that having a good way of presenting certain teaching units is not necessarily a guarantee that the learner will easily acquire the material which is being worked on, nor that what is being learned in the English language lesson will always remain memorised. It is a fact that the human brain has an innate system (Thornberry, 2001: 37) of how to learn, and that we all have our own personal style¹ of learning and acquiring a language. Thornberry, in his research, came to the conclusion that learners sometimes more frequently make errors with simpler constructions than with more difficult ones. For example, learners have difficulties with some prepositions, and thereby often use incorrect constructions (*at the night, at the morning...*); while on the other hand, correctly use some semantic forms (*lend – borrow*). That can be explained, by the fact that learning a language also includes the process of the conscious, that is, awareness, judgment and skill in order to resolve certain things over time (Thornberry, 2001), so the teacher, no matter how hard he/she tries, sometimes will not succeed in explaining some language dilemmas to the learner, until the learner's brain consciously, on its own, without instruction, manages to find a way of solving problems and reducing the number of errors that have arisen in their speech to a minimum.

Error analysis

On the basis of the assumption that in some way it is expected that learners will make a large number of errors while getting to grips with a foreign language, we can say that errors are an integral part of both learning and teaching. When discussing errors, Farrokh refers to Chomsky:

Universal Grammar, proposed by Chomsky in 1957 and his rationalistic claim that human beings have innate capacity which can guide them through a vast number of sentence generation possibilities, cognitive approach instead of behavioristic viewpoint was emphasized by many scholars. The largest contribution of this new linguistic theory is the interest it raised from researchers into learners' errors as a means of hypothesis formation. (Farrokh, 2011: 677).

Undoubtedly, error analysis has become a comprehensive field of research since then. In this part, we will provide some theoretical insights into errors, their causes and typology.

¹ Auditory style, visual style and kinaesthetic style.

Errors: Glottodidactical approaches and methods

Starting from the historical aspects of approaching errors, we will first give an overview of the *structuralist approach*² which considers an error to be a negative transfer of one's native language³ and sets up studies of contrastive linguistics in the centre of interest with the goal of "predicting"⁴ the errors that will be made. Such a theoretical linguistic approach is actually a mirror of what follows, a new overview of language which is based on the didactical approach whereby "the language and culture of the native language are compared with the language and culture of a foreign one, in order to note the difficulties, which go beyond noting and following" (Lado, 1957: 2, in Selinker, 1992: 10). On the other hand there is a *formalist approach* to the idea of errors, which is seen in the negation of such attitudes, beginning with the fact that, if language is learned through strict rules, there cannot be any negative influence from the native language, that is, any interference.

With the *communicative approach*⁵, the attitude towards errors is radically different. Here creativity in learning a language comes to the fore, both one's native language and a foreign language. This refers mainly to learning a language through imitation, stories and pictures, and comparing the structure and meaning of a foreign language with one's native language, for sake of the easier conception or understanding of constructions, falls into this category. What should definitely be stated, and which relates to the communicative approach, is that here errors are represented as a momentary deviation, that is, an incorrectly expressed thought, which can also be the consequence of an inadequate strategy of learning, and not only the influence of the native language on a foreign one (Ciliberti, 1995: 160).

Given that errors unavoidably enter into the content of learning, that is, they necessarily occur in the process of acquiring a foreign language, it is very important to give a more detailed overview of what causes them, as well as to see in what way they can be classified, then

²Also known as the *audio-oral* approach, the structuralist approach focuses on the oral dimension of language as an instrument of communication, rather than on a collection of rules and structures which need to be obeyed.

³We will later discuss the transferral of one's native language into a foreign language.

⁴Analogous with one's native language, errors can be expected in acquiring a foreign language (word order in sentences).

⁵ With the appearance of the communicative approach "the doors are opening" to a new way of learning language where the focus, the word itself says, on communication. With this approach in some ways "the doors are closing" to the traditional way of learning based on strict grammatical rules.

we for that reason in the next study direct our attention to an analysis of the mentioned segments.

Causes of errors

According to Pit Corder (1996: 2), there are three main causes of errors which he has sorted in the following way:

- (1) Transfer errors
- (2) Analogous errors
- (3) Errors caused by wrong transferring of knowledge.

Bearing in mind the historical overview of the approaches and orientations towards errors made in speech, we note that for a long time period *errors* were considered a negative transfer of one's native language (which we mentioned earlier). According to Spillner (1991), when we talk about *transfer errors* this refers most of all to the influence of the native language on the foreign one. This opinion dates back to the 1960s, and the proponents of this theory are Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1985: 145). This means that in these early phases, before we are familiar with the functioning of the system of the foreign language, the native language, which is the only linguistic system the learner has known until then, contributes to the forming of wrong conclusions about the foreign language. It is not uncommon for children, as well as adults, when translating from their native language into a foreign one, to be led by the analogy of the order of words from their native language, and in this way produce numerous errors in their speech.

The process of acquiring a foreign language also brings with it opposing views. While on one hand there are theories of the negative influence of one's native language, on the other we have the opinion of the Italian theoretician Pallotti (1998), who looks at language transfer from another angle. He considers that one's native language can greatly help in acquiring a foreign language.

There is a considerable difference opposed to Pallotti in acquiring a foreign language, according to Vygotsky (1987). He thinks that a child learns his/her native language unconsciously and unintentionally, while a foreign one – starting from understanding and intention. Therefore it can be said that a native language develops bottom-to-top, while a foreign language develops top-to-bottom.

Although it is not always entirely clear whether a certain error is the result of a transfer from the native language, in speech in a foreign language it is possible to notice many constructions that have come about by the analogous ordering of words from the native language, therefore we can talk about *analogous errors*. According to *mentalist* (Brown, Kreskin, Salem) these errors are inevitable and reflect different

phases in the development of the language of the learner. Mentalists claim that learners create new language data in their head and produce their own rules for their production based on some analogy. The early phase of learning a foreign language is characterised largely by the dominance of the native language, which means that once learners begin to acquire parts of the new system, more and more negative influences begin to be manifested in learning, which over time leads to the creation of some kind of *analogous system of learning*. This means that learners create constructions analogous to the word order of their native language, such as *Every day I go to school* (instead of *I go to school every day*).

While on one hand, then, there are theoreticians who consider that errors appear due to the influence of the native language or even arise according to some analogy, on the other hand there are theoreticians of the opposite opinion who speak about *errors which appear due to inadequate methods of teaching and the materials used for working*. Given that *errors*, which are encountered as evidences of failure, of an inadequate way of teaching or of a lack of control on the part of the teacher him/herself, these theoreticians stick to the opinion that, if the material is well chosen and if the information to be learned is presented in a suitable way and with adequate methods and work techniques, no frequent errors of any kind should be noticed in the learner's speech. What is of crucial importance when we speak about analysing errors is certainly the recognition of the source of the errors, and that would mean that it is very important to notice the errors, then establish the reason for their creation, and then find the best way to correct them.

Some errors are typical through transfer from the native language, some are immediately corrected and disappear, while others are not corrected but thus acquired present a risk of fossilization.

Ellis (1985: 48) covers this point in a succinct definition of fossilization:

Fossilization occurs in most languages and cannot be remedied by further instruction. Fossilized structures can be realized as errors or as correct target language forms. If, when fossilization occurs, the learner has reached a stage of development in which feature X in his interlanguage has assumed the same form as in the target language, then fossilization of the correct form will occur. If, however, the learner has reached a stage in which feature Y still does not have the same form as the target language.

When we talk about difficulties in communication in the foreign-language classroom, we have to be aware of the fact that the influence of the native language can also contribute to impeded communication as well as to the appearance of errors, so in the next section we will deal particularly with that problem.

Interlanguage

In the process of acquiring a language, a learner can adopt language forms which are in between the two languages: the native language and the foreign language. This process is called *interlanguage* and arises as a product of the incorrect application of rules, insufficient knowledge or by using the rules of the native language (word order). The occurrence of *interlanguage* can on one hand be considered a normal phenomenon, since the learner, when acquiring a foreign language, starts from the inputs of their native language. When learning their native language, the learner actually spontaneously adopts both vocabulary and grammar rules. Learning a foreign language can be done spontaneously only in an environment where that language is the native language, while under “unnatural conditions”, such as the foreign language classroom, the learner learns a language which is forced on him/her, using strict rules about the way of learning.

Bearing in mind that the influence of the native language is indispensable in the process of learning a foreign one, we should pay attention to correcting the errors that learners make. On the contrary it can happen that the learner adopts incorrect constructions, and that those errors, since they have already taken root by then, become persistent and it is difficult to get rid of them afterwards. In that case we are talking about fossilisation (which we will go into more detail about later).

Selinker (1969: 54) was the first to use the term *interlanguage*, taken from Weinreich’s term *interlingual* which relates to a language system which a speaker, who is learning a foreign language and is exposed to the language which he/she is learning, adopts. Selinker’s (1992: 67) term *interlanguage* actually relates to a systematic knowledge of a language which depends both on the native language and the language being learned. According to Selinker (1992: 50), the meaning of *interlanguage* relates to a series of mutual systems, which Corder (1967: 4) calls the learner’s “innate plan”. The second meaning relates to the system which relates to one phase of development (interlanguage). The third, a combination of L1 and L2 (for example where L1 is French and L2 English or L1 is Japanese and L2 English).

Selinker (1988: 47-48) states three basic characteristics of interlanguage:

- (1) Whenever a learner attempts to express meaning in a second language, the utterances which he or she produces will not be identical with those which would have been produced by the native speaker of the target language (TL) (in attempting to express the same meaning).
- (2) Learner-produced L2 utterances will not be an exact translation from the native language (NL) but will be formed by a variety of learning and production strategies, language transfer clearly being a major strategy.
- (3) Furthermore, some utterances (and some portions of utterances) may remain [fossilized] in learner speech and writing over time.

Considering the foreign language classroom, this system can be changed by the implementation of various teaching methods, creating a varied linguistic and social context which can improve teaching of the English language, but it can also achieve the opposite effect (Selinker, 1992).

The teacher should initiate communication much more in the class. Given that making errors is part of the process of learning, that is, essential in acquiring a language, we will focus, later on in this paper, precisely both on the idea of *errors* and on the identification and classification of errors, thereby giving an overview of glottodidactic methods and approaches based on the opposing opinions of theoreticians.

Identification and description of errors

Corder (1963), classifies the errors according to four categories:

- (1) *omission* of some required element; Morphological omission (A strange thing happen to me yesterday). Syntactical omission (Must say also the names?)
- (2) *addition* of some unnecessary or incorrect element; In morphology (The books is here.) In syntax (The London.) In lexicon (I stayed there during five years ago.)
- (3) *selection* of an incorrect element ; and in morphology (My friend is oldest than me.) In syntax (I want that he comes here.)
- (4) *misordering* of the elements; In pronunciation (fignisicant for *significant*); prulal for *plural*;
In morphology (get upping for *getting up*); In syntax (He is a dear to me friend.)

Allwright (1988: 172) argues that:

the focus on the teacher treatment of learners' error is to adapt a rather narrow focus because it means concentrating on what might be called the potential crisis points in the process...It is a much broader view point because it attempts to deal with the classroom context in which occur as well as with the errors themselves and secondly because it attempts to take into account the social nature of this context in terms of a complexity of relationships between teacher and learners.

Errors which arise during learning a foreign language, especially in lexis, are an unavoidable part of understanding and acquiring it, and the type of errors which, overall, most often occupy the attention of teachers and learners, because of their complexity and comprehensiveness, are lexical ones, so more attention and a deeper analysis should be given to these.

Lexical errors

In studying speech in the foreign language classroom, that is, noticing those errors which appear in the learners' speech discourse, the focus of interest is, apart from grammatical errors, certainly put on lexical errors which attract the greatest attention because of their size. Lightbown and Spada (2006: 82) point out that "...error analysis has the advantage of describing what learners actually do rather than what they might do..."

Willis (1989: 34) considers that learning lexis in the classroom always comes before learning grammar. Nattinger (1992: 341) hence suggests that teaching the English language should be based on the idea that the production of language is grounded on a concrete situation without deductive learning of lexis, that is, theory should be learned through putting it into practice. Willis (1990) considers that the teaching plan for lexis in the foreign language classroom should be conceived so that it is connected with practical methodological inputs about its application (such a plan should place the emphasis on words and their meanings, but in the context of creating a natural environment for learning).

METHODOLOGY

In this part we will offer a description of the participants included in the research, the aims of the research, as well as the instruments and the procedure used.

Participants

The participants are pupils (9th grade) in Montenegrin elementary schools in the central, southern and northern parts of Montenegro who use English inside the classroom. We observed and recorded 30 English lessons with the 9th graders, each lasting 45 minutes.

Aims of the research

The aims of the research are: (1) To determine whether variations exist in the number and categorisation of errors based on regional differentiations; (2) To determine whether some errors (wrong translation of a sentence with the use of adverbs in inappropriate places) arise under the influence of interference of the native language; and (3) To note whether the most common errors arise in the wrongly used form of the word (wrong suffix/missing suffix, wrong prefix/missing prefix, confusion between the *-ed* or *-ing* forms at the end of words).

Instruments

Given that the corpus of this paper is made up of audio recordings of the students' speech of students from various regions of Montenegro. The students' speech of 45' activities was audio-recorded, and sometimes less, depending on their activities (if they had to write something down and do these kind of activities, those activities were not recorded). It was spontaneous speech based on school lesson plan and programme. The teacher's job was to work spontaneously with them (textbook and workbook activities, role play, dialogues). A method of corpus linguistics which enables the relevant results and conclusions to be obtained on the basis of an analysis of the particular corpus – in this case, the English language lessons in the schools – is unavoidable. The lessons are made up of whole classes (45 min or sometimes less depending on the time students spend on speaking activities according to the lesson plan). This approach enables the separation, with the help of certain tools (Textanz⁶), of lexical and syntactical elements which influence the creation of the overall discourse. In terms of the methodology used in analysing errors, a comparative analysis was chosen in order to test whether there are not any significant differences in the number and type of errors which learners of the mentioned level

⁶ A software program which helps in the analysis of every type of text abundant in lexis and grammar (contributes to faster analysis of words, phrases and expressions; helps with the choice of words, so that words are not repeated, etc.).

make. In the framework of the analysis, a larger number of “different methods of introspection and retrospection (surveys, ‘thinking out loud’ by learners about what they are doing, informal conversations between learners and teachers) (Šikmanović, 2013: 5) were also sometimes used in lessons.

As a model for the idea of creating our own table for the classification of errors, we will use one part of a table from *Common Mistakes in English* by T.J. Fitikides, since this paper will serve the needs of non-native English speakers, we need a clear, precise, concise and, above all, simple overview of all the errors. We will make a practical tabular overview of the lexical errors occurring at the primary school level, which offers the possibility for easier selection of each error, then its sorting into a particular category, and after that for the use of our paper, easier comparison of the error and calculation of percentage frequencies.

Procedure

The analysis is based on a corpus of English language lessons in different regions on Montenegro (central, southern and northern parts). For the needs of the research, thirty lessons in Montenegrin schools (in the central, southern and northern parts of Montenegro) were recorded from the 2013/14 academic/school year until 2016/18. The corpus consists of 1,350 minutes of audio recordings of the regular English language lessons, as well as notes of the errors written down by the teachers themselves (errors in the students speech translation based on listening to and noting down). Students were answering to the teacher's questions based on some conversation topics from their books or some other (lessons were mainly practice lessons) and students didn't have time to prepare their answers. They didn't first write and read their answers. After recording the lessons, transcription of the text – based on listening to and noting down the errors – was carried out. The overall number of lexical errors amounted to 1,311 (central– 482, southern – 473 and northern – 356). After the results of the overall number of mistakes were obtained, calculation of the percentages of the data was carried out.

ANALYSIS

The analysed data⁷ are presented in the table below. It represents the overall number of errors with a cross-section of their frequency. The errors are marked numerically, and in the framework of such an analysis

⁷The data are taken from the doctoral dissertation of the author of this paper.

the degree of occurrence of individual types of errors can be noted, as well as the category into which the errors fall. We will also display the percentages of the quantities and categorisation of the errors.

Table – Type and number of errors per region

Lexical Errors	Central part	Southern part	Northern part	Total
Wrong position of adverbs, adverbs often confused (interference)	47 (4.44%)	44 (4.17%)	21 (2.45%)	112 (8.54%)
Using a wrong preposition	68 (6.43%)	91 (8.64%)	74 (8.66%)	233 (17.77%)
Using a wrong noun	70 (6.62%)	78 (7.40%)	42 (4.91%)	190 (14.49%)
Using a wrong adjective	79 (7.47%)	70 (6.64%)	40 (4.68%)	189 (14.41%)
Using a wrong verb (collocations)	81 (7.66%)	80 (7.59%)	60 (7.02%)	221 (16.85%)
The incorrect word order	60 (5.67%)	78 (7.40%)	54 (6.32%)	192 (14.64%)
Using a wrong word form (wrong word ending, missing word ending, confusion between –ed, and –ing endings)	77 (7.28%)	32 (3.03%)	65 (7.61%)	174 (13.27%)
Miscellaneous examples of some of errors) ⁸	-he also was/he was also -Tennis is a very <i>smart sport/fun, amusing</i> -accidentally you were out/unfortunately -I love this club known <i>about/for</i> -gradulation /graduation - <i>about</i> the world/ <i>around</i> the world - <i>according</i> to my opinion/ <i>in</i> - <i>newest</i> book/ <i>latest</i> -you <i>have</i> wrong/ <i>are</i>	-suffering from <i>tiredness/fatigue</i> - <i>high</i> building/ <i>tall</i> -taking <i>place</i> <i>in/part</i> - <i>sweep</i> your nose/ <i>wipe</i> - <i>put off</i> his coat/ <i>take off</i> -we had a <i>speech/a chat</i> -this is the <i>single</i> phone/ <i>only</i> - <i>In</i> 1999 he came here/he came here <i>in</i> 1999 (interference) -open <i>since/from</i> 9h	-went <i>to</i> <i>seeing</i> /went <i>on</i> <i>seeing</i> - <i>What</i> was he <i>clothing/wearing</i> ? -___five days/ <i>in</i> -an excellent <i>sight/view</i> -go <i>for</i> <i>shopping/go</i> <i>shopping</i> - <i>past</i> century/ <i>last</i> -has she <i>noted</i> our homework?/ <i>marked</i> -mind <i>to</i> <i>wait/waiting</i> - <i>manu /dish</i>	

⁸Model taken from Fitikides (1969).

Lexical Errors	Central part	Southern part	Northern part	Total
	- <i>would</i> collect/ <i>used to</i> - <i>Often</i> he goes/ <i>he often</i> goes -He was <i>wounded/injure d</i> -He visits his parents <i>by week/weekly</i> -let's <i>do a ride/go for</i> - <i>bored/boring</i> - <i>interesting/intersted</i> - <i>understand/understandable</i> - <i>intention/intention</i> - <i>present/represent</i> - <i>notise/notice</i>	- <i>scale/ladder</i> - <i>she said</i> <i>you/told you</i> - <i>I did</i> a <i>mass/made</i> - <i>have ever you been/have you ever been</i> - <i>usually he</i> plays <i>football/he usually</i> plays - <i>go mad</i> <i>with/get mad</i> at - <i>lend/borrow</i> - <i>imimportant/unimportant</i> - <i>safable/safe</i> - <i>fen/fun</i> - <i>unlike/dislike</i> - <i>gader/gather</i> - <i>costom/custom</i> - <i>tripp/trip</i> - <i>prominant/dominant</i>	- <i>this is his</i> <i>woman/wife</i> - <i>at</i> <i>justly/exactly</i> - <i>you are</i> <i>keeping/keep saying</i> - <i>informed</i> <i>you fo r</i> <i>/about</i> - <i>keep</i> <i>silenting/speaking</i> - <i>deskribe /decribe</i> - <i>fesh /fresh</i> - <i>pose</i> <i>/impose</i> - <i>member /remember</i>	
Lexical errors (total)	482	473	356	1,311

The analysis shows that 1,311 lexical errors were identified in the 9th grade or primary schools in Montenegro in all three regions altogether. Given that one of the goals was to determine whether there are variations in the categorisation of errors dependent on the region to which the participant belongs, the results are as follows: the analysis for the central part of Montenegro shows in total 482 errors; for the southern part, 473; and for the northern part, 356 errors. Generally speaking, the largest number of errors in the central part of Montenegro relates to wrong use of verbs in translation, while in the southern part the largest number of errors occurs in the choice of appropriate preposition. However, we can identify the types and number of errors per region.

In the *Central Region*, the most frequent errors are the following:
- use of adverbs (interference) – 47 errors (4.44%)

- use of prepositions – 67 errors (6.43%)
- use of nouns – 70 errors (6.62%)
- use of adjectives – 79 errors (7.74%)
- use of verbs – 81 errors (7.66%)
- word order – 60 errors (5.57%)
- wrong word form – 77 errors (7.28%)

The most frequent errors identified in the *Southern Region* of Montenegro are as follows:

- use of adverbs (interference) – 44 errors (4.17%)
- use of prepositions – 91 errors (8.64%)
- use of nouns – 78 errors (7.40%)
- use of adjectives – 70 errors (6.64%)
- use of verbs – 80 errors (7.59%)
- word order – 78 errors (7.40%)
- wrong word form – 32 errors (3.03%)

In the *Northern Region* the following errors were identified:

- use of adverbs (interference) – 21 errors (2.45%)
- use of prepositions – 74 errors (8.66%)
- use of nouns – 42 errors (4.91%)
- use of adjectives – 40 errors (4.68%)
- use of verbs – 60 errors (7.02%)
- word order – 54 errors (6.32%)
- wrong word form – 65 errors (7.61%)

Comparing the type of errors per region, we concluded the following:

1. The number of errors related to *adverbs* is similar to the central and southern regions of Montenegro (4.44% and 4.17% respectively), while that in the northern region is much lower - 21 (2.45%). Out of the total number of all errors (1,311), these errors amount to 112 (8.54%).
2. In terms of *prepositions*, it is the central region that has the lowest number of errors (6.43%), while the southern and northern regions have balanced results (8,64% and 8,66% respectively). The total number of these errors is (17,77%).
3. The errors referring to the use of *nouns* amount to 70 (6.62%) in the central, 78 (7.40%) in the southern and 42 (4.91%) in the northern regions, which makes 190 errors in total (14.49%).
4. As for *adjectives*, 79 (7.47%) errors were made in the central region, 70 (6.64%) in the southern region and 40 errors (40%) in the northern region. The total number of these errors is 189 (14,41%).
5. The errors occurring when using *verbs* are as follows: 81 (7.66%) in the central region, 80 (7.59%) in the southern region, and 60 (7.02%) in the

northern region. This means that the central and southern region are similar in this respect. The total number of these errors is 221 (16,85%).

6. Regarding *word order*, we came up with the following results: the central part – 60 errors (5.67%), the southern part – 78 errors (7.40%), and northern region – 54 errors (6.32%). The total number of these errors is 192 (14.6%). When the word order is in question, the results are more varied than those referring to the parts of speech.

7. Wrong *word form* as an error is also quite varied: 77 (7,28%) of error in the central part, 32 (3,03%) errors in the southern part, and 65 (7,61%) errors in the northern part of Montenegro. The total number of errors is 174 (13,27%).

It seems that the number of errors regarding parts of speech is more balanced in the central and the southern regions, while the northern region has somewhat different figures, mainly lower than those in the the central and southern region, excluding prepositions where the results are more balanced in the southern and northern regions.

The results show that the largest number of errors (233) relates to wrong use of prepositions, which is 17.17% of all the errors identified, followed by wrongly used verb forms (221 or 16.85%). Where the sentence word order is concerned, the number of errors is 192 or 14.64%. In next place are errors to do with wrongly used nouns (190 or 14.49%), and then wrong adjectives (189 or 14.41%). Usage of the wrong word form occurred 174 times or in 13.27% of all cases.

Speaking about interference from the pupils' native language on their English production, we identified 112 wrongly placed adjectives in sentences, or 8.54% of the overall number of errors, which is the lowest number of errors.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have dealt with an analysis of lexical errors found in speaking activities in English language classes. Two factors influenced the choice of the topic. Firstly, no analysis of these types of errors in the speech of foreign language learners has been carried out so far by linguists in Montenegro. Secondly, this type of analysis may provide some interesting insights into the issues related to possible problems that may occur in teaching vocabulary and provide directions in dealing with errors in an English classroom.

Systematic research of errors in terms of their types and identification of the frequency of lexical errors in the process of learning may (1) provide a clear insight into possible difficulties in learning the

English language, and (2) indicate that making errors is actually an essential and unavoidable part in the process of learning.

The main aim of this research was a quantitative analysis of lexical errors during speaking activities in English classes. The classes in various regions of the country (the central, southern and northern parts) were recorded first, which was followed by processing of the data. A quantitative analysis provided an insight into possible existence of regional differences. The aim of our research was also to draw some conclusions which would offer certain indicators for the creators of syllabi and tests, as well as for the teachers to help them get an idea what are the biggest problem in terms of lexis in English language learning.

After analysis of the results, the following conclusions were formed: (1) There are only insignificant variations depending on regional differentiations, i.e. the largest number of errors in the central part of Montenegro included wrong use of verbs in translation, while in the southern and northern parts, the largest number errors was in the choice of appropriate prepositions; (2) The smallest number of errors caused by interference occurred in the northern part of Montenegro, but we can say that interference, compared with the other errors, is represented in lower numbers; and (3) The wrong use of word forms is not dominant in any region.

Since the subject of interest of linguists is mainly focused on an analysis of errors in written discourse in a foreign language classroom (essays, written work) to a significantly larger extent than in spoken discourse, it is clear that research into errors in this type of analysis was necessary. This type of analysis has its own specific characteristics which have not been the subject of research in the area where the Montenegrin language is spoken.

Above all, this analysis may show the educational authorities, especially those institutions which deal with external testing and creation of curricula for teaching English, as well as teacher training curricula, which aspects of English language teaching need to be addressed when creating these curricula. This particularly relates to a methodological approach to these and similar problems, as well to the use of the obtained results of the research, which represent the basis for further study, but also concrete classroom activities.

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**ANALIZA LEKSIČKIH GREŠAKA
U UČIONICI ENGLESKOG JEZIKA KAO STRANOG
(REGIONALNA ANALIZA)**

Ova analiza se zasniva na korpusu časova engleskog jezika učenika trećeg ciklusa učenja engleskog jezika, a obuhvata najučestalije leksičke greške koje se javljaju u govoru učenika tri crnogorske regije: centralne, sjeverne i južne. Za analizu je odabrana komparativna analiza kako bi se provjerila hipoteza da ne postoje značajne razlike u broju i vrsti grešaka koje učenici navedenog uzrasta prave.

Budući da korpus ovog rada predstavljaju audio snimljeni časovi bazirani na snimljenim časovima od 45', a nekada i kraće) engleskog jezika pripadnika različitih regija Crne Gore, nezaobilazan je i metod korpusne lingvistike koji omogućava da se do relevantnih rezultata i zaključaka dođe na osnovu analize određenog korpusa, u ovom slučaju časova engleskog jezika.

U radu je prikazana cjelovita analiza rezultata do koje se došlo nakon višegodišnjeg istraživanja od 2013 do 2018. Došlo se do zaključka da je ukupan broj leksičkih grešaka 1.311, kao i da je najveći broj grešaka vezan za centralni dio Crne Gore odnosi se na pogrešnu upotrebu glagola u prevodu rečenice, dok se u južnom i sjevernom dijelu najveći broj grešaka odnosi na odabir odgovarajuće prepozicije; najmanje nepravilnosti u pogledu interferencije ima u sjevernom dijelu Crne Gore, a pogrešna upotreba (semantičke) forme riječi nije dominantna ni u jednoj regiji.

Ključne riječi: leksičke greške, uticaj maternjeg jezika, analiza grešaka, rezultati istraživanja.

ENHANCING THE 5E LEARNING MODEL (ENGAGE-EXPLORE-EXPLAIN-ELABORATE-EVALUATE) AMONG UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN KOSOVO

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Abstract: The aim of this study was to investigate the application of the 5E Learning Model (Engage-Explore-Explain-Elaborate-Evaluate) among university teachers, to understand how teachers deliver each 'E' phase at the Faculty of Education, and to evaluate whether they pay similar attention to all phases. The sample of the study consisted of 139 university students who responded to a standardized online questionnaire regarding the 5E Learning Model. The results revealed that all phases of the 5E Model were covered while teaching the tertiary level students; however, the initial phase, the engagement phase, was paid less attention compared to the other 'E' phases. The students also considered that most activities were performed in the exploration and explanation phase, reasoning that they are hands-on phases.

Although all phases of the 5E Model were demonstrated while teaching, the conclusion is that not all are similarly distributed. The study recommends that the same attention should be paid to all phases of the 5E Learning Model. The practice and implementation of each phase while teaching and learning helps develop life-long learning and teaching skills. Thus, it should be thoroughly introduced, explained and revised for the purpose of its further appropriate and easy application by the students at the Faculty of Education in their future teaching.

Keywords: phases of the 5E Model, delivery, future teachers, practical implementation

Introduction

Much has been written regarding educational issues: teachers, methods, students, the teaching environment, the teaching material, attitudes, teaching techniques or other factors that impact education. However, the application of the 5E Learning model at the university level in Kosovo is considered an area that has not been previously elaborated and neither touched upon, nor discussed, even though this model is an important method throughout the world's education system. Therefore, this study discusses and reflects on the educational issues regarding the five phases of the 5E's learning that contribute to students' enhancement (Bybee and Landes 92; Bybee 3). Students' life is full of creativity, criticality and self-direction (Holliday 267), and taking into consideration teacher talking time (TTT) and teachers' impact on student learning abilities, the 5E model can be put in high regard among the students. Since this model relates students' abilities with critical thinking and teachers' instructions, then it will definitely affect the teaching at all levels nowadays (Duran and Duran 55,57; Ürey and Çalik 4; Liu et al. 344-345; Bybee 11; Parveen 724-730; Dodge 34). In fact, Karsli et al. (562) mention other models such as 4Es: engage-explore-explain-evaluate, or even the application of 7Es: excite-explore-explain-expand-extend-exchange-examine, which all trigger students' cognition. Whereas, Parveen (725) supports the 5E model stating that "the 5E model is found to increase the scientific achievement among general students". The understanding of this model (as well as similar approaches), is a unique opportunity to view teacher's thinking and practice, and naturally it may influence teacher education (Ireland, Watters, Brownlee and Lupton 2014). Teachers' responsibility is to make their students more active and more independent (Kugel 324), because students work as an inquiry group, and may "perform better on higher order skills (comprehension and application) than knowledge retention" (Parveen 729). According to this kind of inquiry, this study focuses on identifying the 'E' phase(s) that have a greater impact on university students' learning and to discuss the possible reason(s) for this learning.

As mentioned above, the literature regarding teaching phases is multitudinous and it all focuses on the development of teacher professionalism and creativity. Naturally, modern education offers more opportunities to influence the cognitive development of students (Zhou and Brown 13-14). In addition, new methodologies support the instructor's role to adapt and modify teaching approaches (Hung 36). Based on the views of *how to teach change* (Kugel 323), i.e., shifting from traditional teaching to modern teaching, and emphasizing teachers' self-efficacy that affects their academic attitude (Tan, Polong,

Collates and Torres 100), nowadays various models of teaching facilitate to construct and connect the developmental teaching/learning phases. For example, Post (28-31) explains 7 stages of development: Warming, Forming, Informing, Storming, Performing, Reforming, and Transforming that facilitate understanding of self-directed and transformative learning. Additionally, these phases predict the amount of time and information to be distributed and acquired. Amongst the pool of proposed teaching/learning models and various teaching/learning phases in the pertinent literature, Bybee (2009) identified 5 distinct phases that surprisingly, or purposefully start with 'E'. As such they are known as 5E model where each 'E' represents a particular part of the learning process that assists students in linking their prior knowledge with new concepts (Bybee 5, Karsli et al. 562). Furthermore, Parveen (724) claims that the sequence of this model of the teaching process can be applicable in the development of programs, in every unit and/or lesson, which is also supported by Hu, Gao and Liu (1266) who mention that the 5E method is crucial for the future teachers as it improves the teaching process, where passiveness is turned to activeness (Tan et al. 104). That is, 5E model provides experiences and engages the students in inquiry learning (Dodge 3). Eastwell (82) mentions the theory of social constructivism, as a theory that enables elicitation of students' existing idea, promotion of conceptual change, usage of higher order thinking, reflection of their thinking, social interaction, as well as, assessment varieties, which again are related to the 5E Learning model. Taking into consideration the aforementioned, teachers are the main participants in the educational process who apply the model of appropriate methodology (Holliday 273).

A large number of researchers have already succinctly explained the meaning of each phase of the 5E Learning model (Duran and Duran 51-53; Ürey and Çalik 4; Liu et al. 345; Bybee 5; Parveen 724). Based on their claims, all phases are connected and they make the students become active learners. In fact, the relation between phases is substantial. Dodge (15) even compared this model with five phases of Direct Instruction Teaching Model: Anticipatory set, Link, Presentation, Guided Practice, Independent Practice, again corresponding to the 5E Learning model. Likewise, Duran and Duran (51-53); Ürey and Çalik (4); Liu et al. (345); Bybee (5); Parveen (724), explain the phases of this learning model in the following:

The Engagement phase: Is the initial phase where the teacher helps the students to make connections between prior and present knowledge. It is student-centered and may start with KWL (Know-Want

to know-Learnt), where the students generate curiosity and become aware of their previous knowledge. In addition, “this phase does not serve as a time to lecture, define terms, provide explanations, or record definitions” (Duran and Duran 52).

The Exploration phase: This “hands-on” phase activates the students to incorporate the main inquiry-based activity or experience by communicating, observing, questioning, investigating, testing predictions or hypothesizing, with other peers. In addition, as a student-centered phase, the students conduct cooperative learning without direct instruction from the teacher. However, the students in this phase need time to explore their new ideas and learn new learning skills (Bybee 6).

The Explanation phase: It is also called “a minds-on” phase. It is more teacher directed as more direct instruction is applied and the students are guided toward a deeper understanding of a concept. Following the “engagement” and “exploration” experiences, the teacher focuses students’ attention on a specific aspect. The students are able to compare their newly structured ideas with those presented by the teacher and demonstrate their understanding or skills. In this phase the students clarify any misconceptions that may have emerged during the previous phases i.e., in engagement or exploration phases, and clearly explain the important concepts. This minds-on phase is one of the essential parts of the 5E lesson.

The Elaboration phase: In this phase the students can integrate science with other content areas. “Students are encouraged to adapt new knowledge they have acquired in previous phases to different situations and to associate it with their daily life” (Sakir and Cepni 99). This new knowledge facilitates additional investigations to develop products or to apply their knowledge to other disciplines. That is, the students find answers to the questions posed in the first stage, as well as, share information and ideas. Activities conducted in this phase may also involve technology usage.

The Evaluation phase: As an inquiry-based model, this phase urges for formal and informal assessment approaches in an inquiry-based setting. Duran and Duran (53) enlist non-traditional forms of assessment: performance-based assessment, or journal logs, portfolios, concept maps, and/or physical models that serve as significant evidence of student learning. The process in this phase is ongoing where the teachers observe their students and “monitor how students’ understandings have progressed” (Ürey and Çalik 5); That is, the teachers observe “as the students apply new concepts and skills and looking for evidence that the students have changed or modified their

thinking” (Duran and Duran 53). In addition to this phase, quizzes, exams, or writing assignments as summative experiences, plus self-assessment, or peer-assessment tests are included.

This model is considered to have a simplistic view of cognitive processing. It smoothly moves from one stage to the other and the students are able to acquire new knowledge and utilize that knowledge. i.e., the students gain more by using an inquiry-based teaching approach (Parveen 730). It facilitates nowadays’ education as it shifts from teaching to learning (Kugel 322), making this inquiry focused on attractive and student-driven engagement (Ireland et al. 1746). In reality, Liu et al. (352,355), elucidate the 5E Learning model as major scientific pedagogy, as an inquiry-based scientific effective hands-on and minds-on pedagogy. In addition, Cepni and Sahin (97-99) point out that researchers see a benefit from the 5E instructional model, as it is one of the constructivists learning approach models that enables to get a conceptual change. Therefore, the 5E model has had positive effects in many countries (Liu et.al 2009; Cepni and Sahin 2012; Hu, et al. 2017; Parveen 2017; Dodge 2017; Karcli 2020), adding that each of these five fundamental domains is a complex system if not used appropriately and may lead to students’ misconception. However, it is teachers’ responsibility to offer the students frequent opportunities to express understanding (Zhou and Brown 35; Holliday 269). This understanding is shown to be effective with the application of the 5E Learning model (Cepni and Sahin 104; Parveen 725; Liu et al. 355), as it offers opportunities to address unexpected outcomes and allows students to engage in real scientific experiences (Dodge 18), as well as it enables the students (and teachers) to enact socioculturally appropriate (Hung 35).

In Kosovo, as a post-conflict country, major reforms that have taken place in the field of education, shifting from the competence-based approach to teaching and learning, and the introduction of the new curriculum that changes teacher thinking towards outcomes-based approach (Saqipi et al. 638). However, the 5E Learning model among university students in Kosovo has not been examined yet. Despite the fact that there are calls for varied conceptual changes to methods/techniques (Karsli et al. 566) and the application of different teaching approaches and methods, this study raises the question of how the 5E Learning model is approached by the teachers at the Faculty of Education. In addition, although *other* “higher education institutions rarely provide much pedagogical training for newly-hired faculty members” (Post 28), Kosovar students (future teachers) are offered and taught various teaching strategies and methods (Saqipi et al. 638,642). The application of different approaches triggers new ideas regarding

inquiry-based teaching, adding that the learning tasks nowadays are fine-tuned by the teachers to address individual capabilities (Zhou and Brown 35).

In addition, introduction of this model in Kosovo is significant as teacher preparation programs should not only equip students/future teachers with theoretical knowledge on different teaching approaches and techniques, but also how to integrate these approaches into class, even in science classes (Karsli et al. 560-571). As such, this study is developed based on the implementation of 5E model, to identify the extent of the application of each stage and their effect on the future teachers' achievement. More precisely, it reports on a study of the university teachers' application of the 5E model to teaching and it focuses on the students of the Faculty of Education/future teachers' perceptions regarding the 5Es and Inquiry Teaching.

Hence, this study poses the following questions:

- To what extent are the phases of 5E model applied in classes at the Faculty of Education?
- Is there any significant difference regarding phases evidenced?
- Which phase of the 5E Learning model do students perceive as the most used/ or *useful* in learning?

2. Methodology

Based on the study questions of how the 5E Learning model is approached by the tertiary education teachers and how it is grasped by the students/future teachers, a questionnaire regarding each phase was prepared.

A sample included 139 students from a four-year teacher education program of the Faculty of Education in a public University in Kosovo. The students (future teachers hereafter) volunteered to respond to the questionnaire related to the effects of the 5E on the teaching process among these future teachers.

More precisely, the investigation whether the university teachers apply the 5E model, and if the 5E model enhances students' teaching and learning development was conducted via standardized online questionnaire distributed to all future teachers of all study years of the faculty, i. e. 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th year. The questionnaire was based on the Inquiry (5E) Template from Arizona State University, nonetheless, modified and adapted to the needs of this research (see https://education.asu.edu/sites/default/files/ilessonplaninquiry_based_final.pdf.)

The students’ responses were collected and analyzed. To analyze the data, descriptive statistics were employed then through a comparison of phases they were succinctly discussed, in order to see if there is a distinction among each E phase applied in classes.

Results

As this study’s focus was on university students’ responses regarding the application of the 5E model to teaching inquiry learning, i.e. self-directed learning, and the 5Es’ phases followed when implementing teaching that intends to foster inquiry-self-based learning, the charts below show the findings based on the questionnaires.

Table 1. Students’ opinion regarding the engagement phase

		Engagement phase		
		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Q1	Teachers activate our prior knowledge at the beginning of the lessons	33.10		56
Q2	Teachers try to get our attention by asking questions	33.80		54
Q3	Teachers pose questions in order to make us seek answers	38.80		54
F	(%)	35.23		55

As shown in Table 1, the questions regarding the topic i.e. “how much is already known about the topic”, “what to investigate”, and “how to do it”, are not the teachers’ favorites. Students’ prior knowledge is less sought among the teachers, however there are responses that show that posing questions in the initial phase is evident, however, not in large amounts. Table 1 explains in detail the future teachers’ responses regarding the engagement phase. It shows that although weak, still, this phase precedes the next phase, the exploration. Additionally, the responses in Table 2 show the phase where teachers try to stimulate higher level of thinking.

Table 2. Students' opinion regarding the exploration phase

		Exploration phase		
		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Q1	Teachers link the phase of exploration and explanation to foster a higher level of thinking	68	18	13.70
Q2	Teachers ask extra questions or make questions while the students are "exploring"	77	12.90	10.10
Q3	Students use different materials to find information about the questions posed	79.10	10.80	10.10
F (%)		75	14	11.30

As shown in Table 2, the students are active and they investigate in different materials to come up with the answers posed. The future teachers' responses show noteworthy data compared to the engagement phase: the responses where they agree are approximately the same in all three questions regarding the exploration phase. And this similarity is evident even in two other columns, where they have no response (in neutral) or when they disagree.

Table 3. Students' opinion regarding the explanation phase

		Explanation phase		
		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Q1	Teachers try to model expectations of student performance	61.90	16.5	21.60
Q2	Teachers use an active way to discover information that will help them answer the question posed	67.60	16.50	15.80
Q3	Students have the opportunity to communicate with others what they have discovered / learned	72	12.00	16.00
F (%)		67.17	15.00	17.80

As for the next phase of the 5E model, based on the responses, the explanation phase is less applied compared to Table 2. Again, most students evidence that teachers direct their students for additional

exploration. As an inquiry-based learning phase, the students in this phase collaborate with each other, communicate and share their learning, as shown in Q3 in Table 3.

Table 4. Students’ opinion regarding the elaboration phase

		Elaboration phase		
		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Q1	Students are offered an opportunity to think at a higher level (e.g. A common practice in this section is to ask What if?)	71.90	12.90	15.10
Q2	Students have the opportunity to articulate their understanding of the lesson learnt	79.10	10.80	10.10
F (%)		75.50	11.85	12.60

What is already taught in previous phases of this enquiry- based learning model, the elaboration phase intrigues the students more. The referential question ‘What if...?’ is effective to make the students think out of the box. It makes the students think of what is still neither read nor discussed about. The responses regarding this phase in Table 4 show that most of the teachers fully apply this phase as seen with the 75.5 % of the responses.

Table 5. Students’ opinion regarding the evaluation phase

		Evaluation phase		
		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Q1	I can show / demonstrate the mastery of the learning objective (perhaps not mastery of detailed content)	64.70	18.70	16.50
Q2	I have the opportunity to summarize the great concepts we learned	79.90	15.10	5
F (%)		72.30	16.90	10.75

The results of the last phase of the 5E Learning model – the evaluation phase, show successful completion of this kind of learning (see Table 5). However, the students responded that they are more confident in summarizing the most important concepts of the current

learning, meaning that they are able to seek for more, able to compare initial thinking with the present opinion.

Based on the future teachers' responses regarding the phases of the 5E model, the instruction of this model was somehow full, but dimly applied. This is also the answer to the first study's question. Whereas the future teachers have responded that there are no distinguishing differences found among four phases: exploration, explanation, elaboration and evaluation (see Table 1, Table 2, Table 3, Table 4 and Table 5). However, (un)fortunately, the initial phase - the engagement phase is less applied as seen from the responses in Table 1. On the other hand, the elaboration phase is perceived as the most used phase in learning, slightly more perceived than the exploration phase, which satisfies the third study question.

Discussion

The success of 5E Learning model delivery can be positively interpreted among future teachers, considering it as an essential teachers-student network. Based on the first study question that dealt with the extension of the phases of 5E model applied in lessons at the Faculty of Education, all five phases were evidenced, broadly categorized, each fitting within the model. It corresponds with Kugel (323) pointing out that no matter what methods teachers use, they all try to increase students 'doing'. This 'doing' is accomplished as students are intelligent and capable, and it is necessary to address and interrogate their attitudes, and preoccupations (Holliday 268) within each phase. The activities that the teachers conduct with their students and how they treat these activities take on great impact in each phase.

However, how and why the initiative phase, that is, the engagement phase was less applied, needs more attention. This also answers the second study question regarding differences among phases. As clarified by Karsli et al. (562), various models of constructivism have been launched, and one of them is the 3E Learning model: explore-explain-elaborate, which is also called the learning cycle. In line with the previous studies, this study does not consider deficiency of the engagement phase as hindrance of the successful execution of the 5E Learning model. Even though Bybee (6) explains that the engagement phase is also a connection phase, as it connects past knowledge with the new one, this study shows that the engagement phase is evident, but less tackled compared to the other phases (see Table 1). Bybee (6) also claims that less successful engagement makes the students being less puzzled by, and less actively motivated during the learning activity; however, the students reported more activities in

their learning experiences in other phases as an evidence of a conceptual change which is supported also by Dodge (6). More active learning via 5E phases in this research are evident in the elaboration phase, as it also involves students in interactive activities (Hung 40). Moreover, it is in line with Eastwell (83), because explore, explain and elaborate phases of the 5E Learning model can be considered as inquiry, and meaningful learning occurs with the integration of new information which is based on conceptual framework. That is, since explore, explain and elaborate are inquiry phases, then this study is supported by him (Eastwell 83), as a constructivist approach, too.

Based on Hu et al. (2017, 1266), “[The] instructional design process which is based on the 5E model produces a positive impact on the development and improvement of novice teachers in their efforts at instructional design”. The emphasis and instructions of the 5Es’ phases and this model’s application is especially important to the students of the Faculty of Education, respectively to the future teachers who are in need, and seek teaching-related skills. One thing that must be stressed at this point is that it is not an easy task to make students do things in class (Kugel 323), and these teachers smoothly shift from the awakening phase/the engagement phase to the teacher directed- Exploration phase, where the teachers lead the group (Zhou and Brown 109).

As the 21st century teaching model requires more self-learning, more student autonomy (Holliday 265), less teacher talking time (TTT), and if the goals are clearly explained, then the shift to exploration, explanation and elaboration phase among the students are successfully covered. Regarding the last study question, the results show that, exploration and elaboration of ‘E’ phases are phases with the highest scores obtained. The exploration and explanation phase are perceived as the most used in learning by the students. Naturally, other ‘E’ phases are evident with nearly the same score (elaborate and evaluate), except the engagement phase with the lowest score. Namely, the introduction phase which evokes practice-engagement phase is less tackled.

In these phases the students do not need to be told what they are supposed to learn (Post 32), because the idea of students’ tasks in each phase develops cooperative learning and they *learn to learn* throughout each phase. This cooperative learning, evidenced in exploration-explanation-elaboration-evaluation phases in our study, makes the students adapt and modify their learning based on their (students’) needs through interaction between the information that is encountered, and the students’ procession of that information, that depend on perceived notions and extant personal knowledge (Bybee 8). The relation of what happens within each stage and what happens

between phases should be taken seriously (Kugel 315), especially when the results reveal uneven distribution of phases. Each 'E' phase provides each student with pedagogical framework relevant for teaching global and local issues in more accessible and appropriate ways, and each phase has implication for the understanding, content, and depth of teaching nowadays' global learning.

Following Post's (33) claim that phases of learning to teach "are not intended to be used as examples of how one should develop as a university teacher", but they evolved as stimulants to open windows for personal reflection, and contribute to innovative professional development programs (Post 33), then this study has twofold benefits: the application of the 5E phases by the university teachers, and the future teachers who need to practice teacher-related skills, become 'spontaneously' aware of the 5E model and apply it in their classes.

To recap, this model offers an opportunity to support students' needs and wants, as well as, to adjust their learning, Dodge (6). The emphasis of the 5E Learning model is to facilitate learning and enhance this kind of teaching methodology. The practical implementation of this model nowadays is a potential value for intellectual development that seeks critical thinking of relevant issues of the 21st century.

Conclusion

"Teachers remain the important catalyst for the change and innovation" (Saqipi et al. 637). The implementation of the 5E model in teaching intends to foster the most desired learning which is based on self-inquiry-based learning. The 5E model is found to enhance learning among students in general (Parveen 725-730) and it should be applied to all students, especially the future teachers. It is beneficial to teachers' professional development as it improves the teaching process. It embraces all students' questions and allows students to work through previous opinions (Dodge 6). This model makes the students learn as they are offered various phases and opportunities, time and resources to do the necessary learning (Post 28-31,32).

The present study concludes that the students at the Faculty of Education are being taught by the application of uneven 5E phases. Although it is shown that the 1st phase is less tackled, future teachers have opportunities to compensate this quick shift by being focused on other phases: When the teachers ask extra questions or make questions while the students are "exploring", they make the learning more active and the students acquire more and perform better. It is in line with Sahin and Cepni (98,99-113) findings who claim that the application of different teaching methods within the 5E instructional model is very

important in teaching. The evidence from this study shows that by applying 5E Learning model while teaching and learning to the overall mission of each course, there will be a more long-lasting and deeper impact on students' cognitive development.

In addition to developing teaching and learning initiatives with the 5E model at the university level, the phases of the 5E Learning model support access to new knowledge and promote problem solving activities although with unbalanced attention. Teaching skills, like all other skills should always be improved or better tuned to the situation (Kugel 327) similarly to the dissemination of the phases.

Future recommendations

Based on the aforementioned facts, and noting that the students gain more through inquiry-based teaching, genuine application of 5E model and its phases can be strongly recommended. In order to enhance the 21st century's educational methods, this study recommends promoting teacher training programs and the presentation of this constructivist approach: 5E model to all educative staff, emphasizing the need for inquiry methods. Further, future teachers need to be offered novice ideas that ascertain the adaptability of the 5E phases based on the students' needs, wishes, and their lacks, by applying effective strategies to enhance student achievement. The practical implementation of the 5E model and its presentation among the students, specifically among the future teachers will definitely contribute to innovative professional development (Post 33) as it is the teachers' job to keep on developing (Kugel 327). What is noteworthy is that individual methods of instruction have their strengths, however a combination of methods/blended teaching will best serve students in their learning (Dodge 32).

Attributable to the aforementioned facts, this study hopes to provide some insights to the introduction of the 5E model to various teaching fields. The 5Es appear as a structured unit and can be differently, but appropriately applied. Modifications and adaptations of these phases are allowed, nonetheless, the introduction and the application of this model should definitely take immediate place at all levels of the education system throughout the country.

Declarations

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VERBESSERUNG DES 5E-LERNMODELLS (ENGAGIEREN- ERKUNDEN- ERKLÄREN-ERARBEITEN-EVALUIEREN) UNTER UNIVERSITÄTSSTUDENTEN IM KOSOVO

Das Ziel dieser Studie ist es, die Anwendung des 5E-Lernmodells (Engagieren-Erkunden-Erklären-Erarbeiten-Evaluieren) unter den jeweiligen Universitätslehrern zu untersuchen, um zu verstehen, wie und ob die Lehrer jede E-Phase an der Fakultät für Erziehungswissenschaften durchführen und ob sie auf alle Phasen ähnlich achten. Das Beispiel der Studie bestand aus 139 Universitätsstudenten, die einen standardisierten Online-Fragebogen zum 5E-Lernmodell beantworteten. Die Ergebnisse zeigten, dass alle Phasen des 5E-Modells abgedeckt wurden, während die Studierenden der Tertiärstufe unterrichtet wurden. Jedoch wurde der Anfangsphase, der Engagierungsphase, im Vergleich zu den anderen „E“-Phasen weniger Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. Die Studenten waren auch der Ansicht, dass die meisten Aktivitäten in der Erkundungs- und Erklärungsphase durchgeführt wurden und begründeten dies damit, dass es sich um praktische Phasen handelt.

Obwohl alle Phasen des 5E-Modells während des Unterrichts nachgewiesen wurden, lässt sich schlussfolgernd sagen, dass nicht allen Phasen die gleiche Aufmerksamkeit gegeben wurde. Diese Studie empfiehlt, dass man allen Phasen des 5E-Lernmodells die gleiche Aufmerksamkeit praktisch und gleichmäßig widmen soll.

Die Umsetzung jeder Phase während des Lehrens und Lernens weist eine lebenslange Lern- und Lehrfähigkeit nach. Daher sollte diese Umsetzung jeder Phase im Sinne einer weiteren sachgerechten und einfachen Anwendung durch die Studierenden der Fakultät für Erziehungswissenschaften in ihrem zukünftigen Lehren gründlich eingeführt, erläutert und überarbeitet werden.

Schlüsselwörter: Phasen des 5E-Modells, Übermittlung, zukünftige Lehrer, praktische Umsetzung

STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE FLIPPED CLASSROOM APPROACH IN TERTIARY EFL EDUCATION: A CASE STUDY FROM BANJA LUKA

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Abstract: This paper reveals the results of a small-scale pilot study of the effects of a flipped classroom (FC) model, applied in higher education, with Year IV students of English Language and Literature at the Faculty of Philology of the University of Banja Luka. Students' perceptions of their engagement, motivation and satisfaction with a flipped approach to learning in one of their major subjects, English Language Teaching Methods 2, were explored. Four, out of twelve, lectures were flipped as an experiment, in the winter semester of the 2015/2016 academic year, and the students were later surveyed to hear their perceptions of flipped versus traditional lectures, after the term had finished and they had passed the final exam of the subject in question. Students' comments from the post-semester survey, consisting of a 5-point Likert scale and interview questions, were examined critically and compared with personal, after-class teacher notes. The results show that these students were open and very positive towards the new approach to the organization of lectures. Although the students expressed some skepticism towards a total replacement of the lecture format with the FC model, they acknowledged a higher level of satisfaction, engagement, collaboration, motivation and autonomy than they experienced in traditional lectures. Therefore, they recommend its implementation in a tertiary education context. Our conclusions suggest the future elaboration of the FC approach, its more frequent application in higher education and identifies avenues for further research.

Keywords: collaboration, flipped classroom, higher education, motivation, satisfaction, student engagement, students' perceptions

Introduction

Lecturing has, for many centuries, been the cultural norm of adult education. Great lecturers inspire students and use the class time to efficiently emphasise most important points and explain difficult concepts to students. However, lectures are usually highly teacher-centred and do not accommodate to the needs of all students. Disadvantages of lecture method in university instruction are mostly

related to passivity of the students, inability of students to maintain concentration and inability of the professors to guarantee their understanding and engagement with the subject matter. Could one way of overcoming these problems be to decrease conservative lecturing and increase interactive teaching by using more the Flipped Classroom (FC) model? This paper is reporting a case study that was an attempt to empirically address this issue.

FC is an innovative teaching model, a pedagogical solution with a technological component, which is becoming more and more recognised in various educational contexts in recent decades. It is a highly learner-centred approach, in which the traditional notion of classroom-based learning is inverted, and students are introduced to the learning material before the class, so that the classroom time can then be used to deepen learning, through quizzes, problem-solving tasks, interactive discussions and collaboration with peers and teachers. Teachers applying this model organise and moderate the learning process in a manner that allows students to communicate more freely, have more autonomy¹, i.e. get more choice and responsibility, learn at their own pace, get more involved in decision making and employ more active and deep learning.

By lecturing, teachers dominate in the classroom, inflating their own egos (consciously or unconsciously), whereas by flipping their classrooms teachers significantly reduce their domination in the classroom. They no longer dictate how the classes are going to go, but rather organise and facilitate the learning process, by creating opportunities for the students to communicate more freely, have more independence and be more in charge of their own learning. Other well-known advantages of flipped learning refer to using teacher's time in the most effective way, meeting individual student needs, allowing self-paced learning, having more time-on-task in the classroom for one-on-one help, involving *all* students, and encouraging students to collaborate. Flipped classrooms vary greatly depending on the characteristics of the class, student needs, intentions and methodological expertise of the teacher, and broader educational context.

The purpose of this paper is to identify the advantages and disadvantages of FC model in a tertiary education context, from students' points of view. The main aim of the study was to analyse pedagogical effectiveness of FC when applied in higher education, by exploring the views of the respondents, i.e. university students'

¹ Learner autonomy is 'the ability to take charge of one's learning' (Holec 3).

perceptions of FC after participating in four flipped classrooms, in one of their core subjects - English Language Teaching (ELT) Methods 2. The students are IV year students of English language and literature, Faculty of Philology, University of Banja Luka (UBL), Bosnia and Hercegovina. In this higher education context, the pedagogical intervention of FC was made in order to intensify active and deep student learning, provide innovation to traditional lecturing, by reducing teacher talking time and making students more independent as learners, and more engaged and interactive during lectures.

Important goals of the study were to use the results to suggest future application and improvement of FC approach in higher education area, for the purpose of enhancing overall learning and achievement, and share the findings in order to add to existing research on flipped learning on the global level.

The next chapter will list some characteristics and well-known advantages of FC. Then, in special chapters, the methodology of the conducted empirical research, relevant results and the discussion of the obtained findings in light of contemporary EFL teaching methodology will be described in more detail. The conclusion offers implications for learning and teaching foreign languages for university teachers and teacher trainers.

Theoretical background

Flipped (aka inverted) classroom is one of learner-centred approaches to teaching, in which the traditional notion of classroom-based learning is inverted. Assigning reading material to university students *before* class has often been done by good professors around the world in order to prepare students for more productive discussions in class. This kind of preparation is also frequently done in one-to-one instruction, for the same reason of a better use of face-to-face class time, in presence of the instructor. In FC, in-class activities go beyond discussions. Students are introduced to the learning material before the class, so that the classroom time can be used to deepen learning, make it faster and more dynamic through quizzes, problem-solving, critical and creative thinking, various interactive tasks and collaboration with peers and teachers. In flipped learning, Bloom's taxonomy is flipped on its head. Instead of using the time in class to focus on the lower cognitive functions (remembering and understanding), the students use their classroom time to put into practice the higher cognitive functions (application, analysis, synthesis and evaluation).

Flipped learning is not a new concept nor learning/teaching theory. Only the term is new. The precise origin of the term is uncertain, but

most researchers give credit to two high-school chemistry teachers from Colorado, Jonathan Bergmann and Aaron Sams, who started using recorded lectures in 2006 (Arnold-Garza 8). It is a 21st century term referring to a form of blended learning, describing a new design of well established learning/teaching theories, an innovative way of organising instruction, exploiting technology and accommodating to individual differences in learners concerning age, level, learning preferences etc. In this pedagogical approach “direct instruction moves from the group learning space to the individual learning space, and the resulting group space is transformed into a dynamic, interactive learning environment where the educator guides students as they apply concepts and engage creatively in the subject matter.” (FLN).

Why should teachers use FC in tertiary foreign language education? If applied successfully it will allow higher order cognitive processes to happen in the classroom. Lower cognitive processes, like remembering and understanding, are left to happen outside of the class, while during the class more attention is paid to time on task, and the teacher can monitor applying concepts, analysing, synthesizing, evaluating and creating new knowledge by the students.

When it comes to how to apply FC model, there are enormous variations in implementing it, depending on the class, teacher, and educational context. Still, the basic stages that every FC abides by are the following three:

Stage1 takes place outside the classroom. Basic course content/information is shared with students via some form of technology, and learned by students outside class, importantly at their own pace.

Stage 2 occurs in the classroom. The first step is to check Stage 1 learning by a quizz or test. Also, student questions are answered and the teacher sets tasks involving application, analysis, synthesis, evaluation, creation. Interacting in pair work or group work, students are given more opportunity to communicate with the teacher and each other face-to-face. They develop ideas via discussion, and improve critical skills and deeper understanding of the subject matter.

Stage 3 happens outside the classroom. After consolidating work in the classroom through interactive and challenging activities, students are asked to continue further independent work at home, outside the classroom, alone or in pairs/groups if preferred.

Experienced educators from the Flipped Learning Network, along with Pearson (2013), identified four *Pillars of F-L-I-P*, four essential conditions for flip learning in the form of an acronym, whereby F stands for *flexible learning*, L for *learning culture*, I for *intentional content*, and

P for *professional educator* (FLN). According to them, *flexible learning* signifies that flipped learning allows for a variety of learning modes and spaces to accommodate to how, when and where students choose to learn. Educators are flexible in expectations of student timelines for learning and in their assessments of student learning. *Learning culture* implies that, unlike in the traditional teacher-centred model, where the teacher is the primary source of information, the flipped model deliberately shifts instruction to a learner-centred approach, where in-class time is dedicated to exploring topics in greater depth and creating rich learning opportunities. As a result, students are actively involved in knowledge construction, as they participate in and evaluate their learning in a personally meaningful manner. *Intentional content* is used by educators to maximise classroom time in order to adopt methods of student-centred, active learning strategies, that help them develop conceptual understanding, as well as procedural fluency. The teachers prepare videos, PPT slides, web-based or textual materials, and determine what they need to teach and what materials students should explore on their own. *Professional educator's* role is even more important and demanding than in traditional classroom. During classes, teacher continually observes students, giving them feedback relevant in the moment, and assessing their work. Professional educators are reflective and tolerate controlled chaos in their classrooms. They take on less visibly prominent roles in a FC, but remain the essential ingredient that enables learning to occur.

Although FC is becoming more popular, the existing research on flipped learning in higher education is still insufficient and inconclusive. Most case studies of FC effectiveness in higher education report positive outcomes of flipped learning. It can increase student enjoyment (Given and Lee 62, 77), enhance students' learning process and performance (Hamdan et al 7, 10, 11), facilitate learner autonomy (Brinks Lockwood 1), boost participation and communication (Flores et al 5,6,7, 10). But, results are often mixed. In an Introductory Statistics course, students were less satisfied with how the FC structure helped them with the learning tasks, but were more open to collaborative learning and innovative teaching methods (Strayer 1).

In a meta-analysis of flipped learning, it was found that there was a small correlation between improved learning outcomes and a flipped approach (Låg and Sæle 3), but in the latest meta-analysis of 198 studies, comprising 33,678 students, the authors concluded that FC was beneficial regardless of discipline and education level, with effect ranging from weak to strong (humanities) (Strelan et al 2).

Both meta analyses and scoping reviews indicate that there is a lot of 'indirect evidence emerging of improved academic performance and student and staff satisfaction with the flipped approach', but that there is a lack of 'conclusive evidence that it contributes to building lifelong learning and other 21st century skills in under-graduate education and post-graduate education' (O'Flaherty and Phillips 1).

The present study is the first study of FC efficacy in Bosnia and Hercegovina, and broader ex-Yugoslav area, and reports the first attempt at using FC model in humanities. It aims to add on the existing data, cumulating yearly in the rest of the world, and provide further evidence of FC effectiveness at university level, specifically EFL education.

Research method

In this study, mixed methods were used. Quantitative data were obtained through a post-semester survey consisting of ten statements, the agreement/disagreement with which was to be ranked on the Likert's scale. The qualitative data were collected from students' comments from the interview linked to the survey, and from teacher observation notes, made after four flipped mid-term classes. These findings were examined critically, and conclusions drawn to suggest future application and improvement of FC approach in higher education area.

Since the aim of this research was to identify FC effectiveness in university EFL context, the following research questions were formulated:

1. How satisfied are university students with participating in FC?
2. To what extent does FC model of instruction help university students' active engagement and collaboration?
3. To what extent does this model foster motivation to learn and learner autonomy?
4. How effective would the students find this model in other subjects?
5. How can FC be improved to better suit tertiary level EFL education?

As a part of action research intervention, 4 out of 12 lectures (90-minute each) had been flipped as a pedagogical experiment, and implemented in four weeks during the winter semester of the academic 2015/2016². Informative, rich-in-content Powerpoint slides, with

² The four flipped lectures were on Teaching Reading, Teaching Listening, Teaching Speaking and Teaching Writing, and the interactive activities used in the lectures were:

1. Mind mapping exercises of the read lessons

recommended further reading for each unit, were used instead of videos. The innovation was made in order to activate *all* students in class (not a few or most, as is usually the case in traditional lectures), and increase the students' performance and motivation to learn.

Participants

The participants of this study are fourth, final, year students (N =15) of English language and literature, at the English Department, Faculty of Philology, University of Banja Luka. There were 12 female and 3 male students, ranging in age from 21 to 24. In April 2016, these students were surveyed and interviewed for their perceptions of flipped and traditional lectures they had participated in, after the winter semester had finished, and after they had passed the final exam (of the course ELT Methods 2).

Data collection

Since the research is largely qualitative, the researcher used the methods of observation and interview to collect the data. The quantitative data were obtained in a survey, which included ten statements about the students' perceptions of FC. The observation of the four flipped classes was participant observation.

The survey and the interview were deliberately not conducted face-to-face, but via e-mail, asynchronously. The questionnaire (See Appendix) was sent to the participants as an attachment to e-mail, instructing them to think back, fill it in in their time, and return it completed to the interviewer/researcher in a few days. The researcher explained that their answers would be used exclusively for research purposes, and that the researcher would respect the anonymity and confidentiality principles. The participants were left to interpret the questions by themselves, and the researcher had no influence over the responses.

Instrument

The main research instrument was a questionnaire named Students' Perceptions of Flipped Classroom (see Appendix). It was written in English and self-administered, i.e. the participants filled in the questionnaire by themselves, at their pace and without the influence or

-
2. Quiz preparation by students for other students (informal) with key
 3. Mutual lecturing of students for students
 4. Test preparation by students for other students (formal) with key

involvement by the researcher. The questionnaire consisted of two parts: statements to be ranked on Likert-scale and interview-type questions. The open-ended interview questions were chosen in order to give greater freedom of expression to the respondents and to explore the topic in depth. The first part of the instrument is the five-level Likert scale, consisting of 10 assertions to be rated. The data asked the students to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement, ranking each statement from 1-5 (1 - Strongly disagree; 2 – Disagree; 3 - Neutral; 4 – Agree; 5 - Strongly agree), in order to give the researcher the information on students' preferences and relative importance of each category/indicator from the ten statements. The second part of the instrument is the interview questionnaire, consisting of 5 open-ended essay questions, carefully designed and sequenced in a meaningful manner, to be answered about the students' perceived advantages, disadvantages, possible future applications and improvements of FC in university EFL context, after their participation in four flipped classes. In order to ensure triangulation, after-class teacher observation notes were analysed, and used to compare the findings with those from the survey and the interview.

Data analysis

Statistical analysis was performed using IBM SPSS Statistics 26.0 software to interpret the quantitative data from the questionnaire's statements. Mean values and percentages were evaluated, as well as standard deviations. Qualitative content analysis of multiple data, student ratings and narrative comments from the post-semester survey, as well as after-class teacher notes, was used to detect and interpret the students' attitudes to FC and its effects on learning. The students' answers contained 3015 words. The number of words in teacher's observation notes was 1560. The technique of inductive open coding was used to analyse, evaluate and synthesise the data. After several line-by-line manual coding procedures, a list of codes was made, subthemes and themes determined, and then the main categories, overarching themes decided. An external co-coder was consulted from Pedagogy Department, to assist in data analysis process. The codes from the qualitative data were expected to provide the most useful insights into students' perceptions of FC. They reflect the purpose of the research and are thematically analysed. Constant comparison was used throughout, in order to determine frequencies, similarities and differences, expected and unexpected topics.

Results

The results of this research include students' attitudes towards FC model, measured on a five-point Likert scale, narrative responses of the students in the questionnaire, after participating in the FC project, and their professor's observation notes on the students' behaviour in four inverted classes.

Survey scale results are shown in total in Table 4 (see below). The individual statement results will be shown one by one.

The first statement (S1) was checking students' presence in four flipped classes. The results show that not all of 15 student respondents came to all four classes. Four students stated they were present in all classes, four in three, six in two, and one student in one flipped class (Table 1).

Table 1: Student presence in flipped classes
I was present in all four flipped classes.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Disagree	1	6,7	6,7	6,7
	Neutral	6	40,0	40,0	46,7
	Agree	4	26,7	26,7	73,3
	Strongly Agree	4	26,7	26,7	100,0
	Total	15	100,0	100,0	

S2 and S8 were related to pre-class preparation and student enjoyment of it. They are the indicators of student autonomy, and have strong implications for interpreting the data, since pre-lecture preparation is one of three crucial stages in FC implementation. 12 out of 15 students agreed they had come prepared to all flipped classes they were present in (3 of them strongly) and 3 were neutral. The same number of students claimed they enjoyed watching lectures at their own pace at home, before class (4 of them strongly).

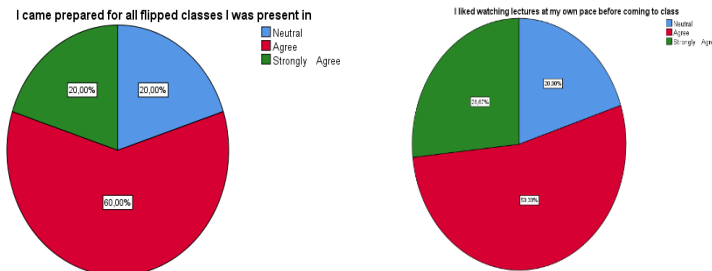


Figure 2: Pre-class preparation (S2) and student enjoyment of it (S8)

S3 was the indicator of student engagement during FC in comparison to traditional lecture. The results show very high level of engagement. All students agreed, and two thirds of these strongly (Figure 3).

FC is more engaging than the traditional classroom

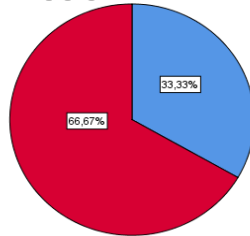


Figure 3: Student engagement indicator (S3)

S4 was the indicator of students' communication in class, i.e. interaction and collaboration. The results show a very high level of agreement with greater communication taking place in flipped than in traditional class (Figure 4).

FC gave me greater opportunities for communication with other students

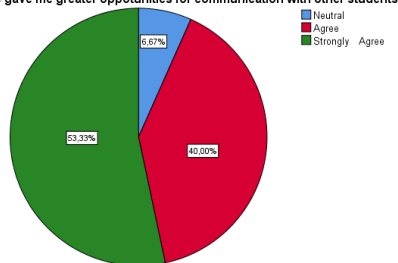
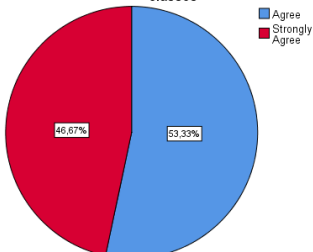


Figure 4: Students' communication in FC (S4)

S5 and S6 assessed students' satisfaction with FC model. Students responded only positively here. More students strongly agreed with recommending it to friends than using it in their own teaching practice (Fig.5).

I would like to use the flipped classroom in my own classes



I would recommend flipped classroom to a friend

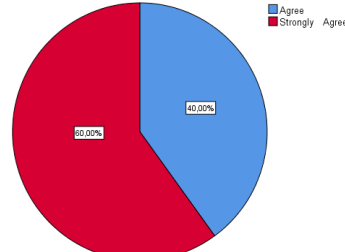


Figure 5: Student satisfaction with FC model (S5 and S6)

S7 was the indicator testing the level of student motivation to learn this subject in a flipped, as opposed to traditional, class. Only one person disagreed, two were neutral, eight agreed and four strongly agreed. The mean value here is 4, i.e. 80 percent (53,33% agree and 26,67% strongly agree) of the students believe they are more motivated to learn in flipped than in traditional class (Fig.6).

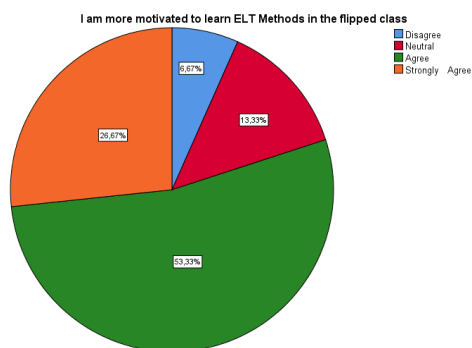


Figure 6. Motivation to learn ELT methods in FC (S7)

In S9, frequencies were counted for the suitability of FC when it comes to exam preparation. Most students, ten out of fifteen (66,7%), opted for Neutral point on the rating scale, while only one student was in favour of FC, and four of traditional class (Table 2). This indicates the students were indecisive about this issue.

Table 2: Suitability of traditional and FC for exam preparation (S9)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	1	6,7	6,7	6,7
	Neutral	10	66,7	66,7	73,3
	Agree	2	13,3	13,3	86,7
	Strongly Agree	2	13,3	13,3	100,0
	Total	15	100,0	100,0	

S10 checked the level of agreement with the applicability of FC for the entire ELT Methods course, rather than just four lectures. Only one person agreed, six were neutral, eight disagreed (three of whom strongly) (Table 3). Similarly to the previous statement, the dispersion of students' answers was high, but most answers were either Neutral (6 of 15) or Disagree (5 of 15), and the mean was the lowest of all the means in the questionnaire (2,33).

Table 3: Applicability of FC model for the entire course (S10).

I would use the FC approach for the entire course

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	3	20,0	20,0	20,0
	Disagree	5	33,3	33,3	53,3
	Neutral	6	40,0	40,0	93,3
	Agree	1	6,7	6,7	100,0
	Total	15	100,0	100,0	

Overall, the means were highest for statements 3, 4, 5 and 6, slightly lower for 7 and 8, and the lowest for 9 and 10. In other words, the students perceived engagement, collaboration and personal satisfaction in FC as higher than in traditional lecture, motivation to learn and learner autonomy similarly high, but they were indecisive about its suitability for exam preparation and applicability for the entire course (Table 4).

Table 4: Descriptive Statistics from Student Survey: Perceptions of the Flipped Classroom

	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Deviation
Gender	15	1,00	2,00	1,2000	,41404
S1. I was present in all four flipped classes.	15	2,00	5,00	3,7333	,96115
S2. I came prepared for all flipped classes I was present in	15	3,00	5,00	4,0000	,65465
S3. FC is more engaging than the traditional classroom	15	4,00	5,00	4,6667	,48795
S4. FC gave me greater opportunities for communication with other students	15	3,00	5,00	4,4667	,63994
S5. I would recommend flipped classroom to a friend	15	4,00	5,00	4,6000	,50709
S6. I would like to use the flipped classroom in my own classes	15	4,00	5,00	4,4667	,51640
S7. I am more motivated to learn ELT Methods in the flipped class	15	2,00	5,00	4,0000	,84515
S8. I liked watching lectures at my own pace before coming to class	15	3,00	5,00	4,0667	,70373
S9. Traditional lectures prepare me better for the final exam	15	1,00	5,00	3,2667	,96115
S10. I would use the FC approach for the entire course	15	1,00	4,00	2,3333	,89974
Valid N (listwise)	15				

Student comments

The first interview question asked the students to state the advantages of FC. The total number of words they used to answer this

question was 667. The most frequently mentioned advantage was collaboration and teamwork (11 of 15 students). They claim that FC allows for more communication, more active engagement and more democratic participation of *all* students in the learning process. Appreciation was also frequently shown for more autonomous and deeper learning, faster pace, enjoyment, creativity and time-on-task in the classroom.

The second question in the questionnaire referred to the disadvantages of FC from the student participants' perspective. There were 469 words in the answers. 11 of 15 students mentioned their colleagues' coming unprepared to a flipped class. Four students commented on "some" students' lack of motivation to learn, three students on their peers' poor motivation to participate in group work, and heavy reliance on stronger peers. One student mentioned lack of access to technology as a potential problem for some students.

The third question required students' opinions of the possibilities of FC application in other subjects. This was the question students responded most extensively to – 957 words in total. 14 out of 15 responses were positive. 8 students find FC suitable for all, or many, subjects, while 6 especially emphasise its applicability in Translation, Literature and/or Language skills (Contemporary English) classes. Three students find it unsuitable for theoretical, linguistic subjects such as Syntax, Morphosyntax, or grammar in general.

In question four, the students were asked to suggest some improvements of FC model for university EFL context. Four students had no suggestions, four recommend more frequent flipped classes, and six comments were related to teacher's finding more ways to activate passive students, not used to this new model of lecturing. One student reiterated the importance of the variety of in-class activities, while two stressed the importance of variety in grouping students.

The fifth, last, question offered the students an opportunity to comment on anything related to the FC that had not been covered by the previous questions and statements. 7 students (almost half) had no further comments. Most comments reiterated the suggestion for more frequent use of FC, and its benefits for the students. Three students showed awareness of a more active role of the teacher needed in this kind of class organisation.

Teacher observation notes

Not all students came to all four flipped classes. This data coincides with the survey finding (S1), and implies that those who did not attend

more than two classes did not have the same chance to fully experience the benefits of FC.

While observing the students' behaviour during the FC project, the teacher had a checklist focusing on the progress in students' satisfaction, engagement, collaboration, motivation to learn, and learner autonomy. These were decided to be the main indicators of students' improvement in active and deep learning from the beginning of the project. All of them were higher than in traditional lectures. Firstly, all students, not most or a few, were interested and actively engaged during these classes, and teacher talk was minimised. Secondly, student behaviour was characterised by a high level of collaboration. Thirdly, these two factors seem to have affected positively student satisfaction and motivation to participate and learn the new material in class. Joy of participation was conspicuous in all flipped classes. Students seemed to enjoy different tasks at a different degree, e.g. some students enjoyed mind mapping tasks very much, some liked writing tests for colleagues etc. Also, these students did not mind changing peers to work with, within a group/team. Learner autonomy was reflected in students' preparedness before every class. A few students came to class unprepared, but this decreased slightly with time, i.e. in the 3rd and 4th flipped class there were fewer unprepared students than in the first two.

The teacher's notes on her experience as the facilitator and organiser of interactive activities, comparing teacher roles in flipped and traditional lectures, point out that in all flipped classes teacher talking time was significantly reduced. The teacher was more aware of the intended learning outcomes defined in the syllabus than she would have been were these lectures traditional. Flipped classes allowed *constructive alignment* of both teaching and assessment tasks with the intended learning outcomes (Biggs and Tang 133), lending themselves more to measuring these outcomes on a continuous basis, i.e. each class included informal, formative assessment of conceptual and procedural knowledge of students. Furthermore, the teacher found preparation time-consuming and demanding. She had to improve her digital competence, and prepare a pool of off-the-cuff activities in order to improvise on the spot, because she could not know in advance how many students may come to class prepared or unprepared. Nevertheless, for this teacher, the flipped classes were more enjoyable, informative and dynamic than the traditional ones.

Discussion

The main indicators of FC effectiveness were the defined expected themes/categories, formulated as overarching themes for 72 codes found after several codings of the students' answers to the interview questions in the questionnaire. These codes were classified into 5 main categories, which provide answers to 5 formulated research questions. They are: student satisfaction, student engagement and collaboration, motivation to learn and learner autonomy, effectiveness of this model in other subjects, and improvement suggestions to better suit tertiary level EFL education.

Student satisfaction

As expected, the students felt very positively about their FC experience. It was seen in the survey results above (S5 and S6), that all students agreed to use FC in their practicum, and all claimed they would recommend it to a friend. They were satisfied with numerous rewarding outcomes. The following quote by an enthusiastic student who attended all classes illustrates most FC advantages other students also mentioned:

St.10: There are many advantages; one of them is students' taking the responsibility for their own learning. They know that it depends on them how much knowledge they will acquire and at which pace. It also gives more time for each topic; if topics were introduced and covered in classes only, students wouldn't have the opportunity to go deeper into the matter and discuss it further. This way, they can do the introduction at home, and in classes they can broaden and extend what they learned from pdf presentations, videos, or whichever medium the information is presented in. It also encourages team work, which is useful for students to work on their communication skills, negotiation, etc. Also, even when all students prepare for the class, someone always knows/remembers something that others don't, so they have to work together to complete given tasks.

Student engagement and collaboration

The very organisation of FC promotes peer interaction and collaboration, focusing on learning rather than teaching, increasing student talking time, which is of particular importance in foreign language learning. Therefore, it was not a surprise to notice that the students recognised engagement and collaboration as the greatest benefits of FC. According to majority, classroom time is used more interestingly, productively, effectively and creatively.

The increased active engagement of *all* students in pair work and group work led to higher ‘focus’ and achievement in all four classes. This finding emphasises the significance of the variety of grouping and tasks, in order to better cater to individual student learning preferences.

Student motivation to learn and learner autonomy

Students repetitively mentioned they were very motivated to learn *during* the flipped classes, which means they enjoyed interactive and peer learning. FC provided more conditions for individualised attention and differentiation than traditional lecture. A few students showed awareness that FC meets individual student needs by having more time-on-task in the classroom.

However, motivation to learn independently, at home, before class, proved to be less frequent. 80 percent of students in the survey claimed they had come to classes prepared (See *Figure 2*) and enjoyed self-paced learning at home, but the narrative analysis suggests that not as many students really came to classes prepared. The biggest disadvantage of FC, most frequently mentioned in the narratives, was in the fact that ‘some students’ come to class unprepared.

FC is meant to foster independent learning, and several students showed appreciation for this. Still, the results of this study indicate that learner autonomy needs more time and practice in order to be acquired by many or all, especially in the educational setting where traditional lecturing is the norm.

Effectiveness of FC model in other subjects

The students suggested implementation of FC in other subjects at the English Department, especially the classes related to literature, language skills and translation. Although many claimed they would like this model, they sometimes showed a degree of caution about FC being implemented during the entire course, and in all subjects. Here is an example of such scepticism:

St. 13: It would be useful in all the classes in which we do exercises, especially translation and literature classes, but it could also be useful in for example literature classes in which we do theory and analyse novels and poems. It is definitely not possible to use it all the time in all the classes since it is not possible to be ready for all the classes simply because of the lack of time, but it would be good if we could come up with a plan for using it, for example one week we would be doing translation and literature, the next teaching methods and syntax, and so on. The timetable should be presented to students at least a week in advance, of course.

The fact that some students find it unsuitable for theoretical subjects, such as Syntax, may be explained by their being used to traditional role of lecturer as explainer, and/or low level of learner independence. As the student above said, continuity in learning regularly at home might be an issue.

Also, FC was a novelty for these students, so, that could mean they might change their mind with time, i.e. after having more experiences of it.

Improvement suggestions to better suit tertiary level EFL education

The answer to the fifth research question is mainly that the students could improve in their pre-class learning, and the teachers should help them in the process. The loss of class time due to unmotivated students coming to class unprepared is an already well-known disadvantage of FC. One of the students who came to all four classes makes a significant suggestion:

St. 10: I believe one of the ways to improve it would be to practice it more often, make it part of the system. That way students would have to accept it eventually and they would become more interested (hopefully). For now, it is pretty much new to them/us, so that is why we are a bit skeptical. If we had a more positive attitude towards it, learning would be more effective.

It was interesting to find out that while students generally approve of innovative teaching models, like FC, some do not readily take responsibility for their learning, but still place a lot of it on their teachers' shoulders.

St.7: If this approach is used all the time, the group might lose interest in the subject or the whole course can turn into a self-study course.

Some students criticised the reliance of weaker students on stronger ones, in group work during the classes. These students, ironically, also showed reliance on teachers, by expressing certain amount of scepticism towards peer learning, which is typically a part of the FC approach.

St.8: The Flipped Classroom doesn't motivate all students to learn more because there are always students who will come unprepared and if used constantly it can eventually lead to the state where teacher loses his/her teaching role in the class.

St.11: The greatest disadvantage of the flipped classroom is that it relies too much on preparation and trust. Both the teacher and the rest of the class have to trust that each student will prepare the lectures at home.

Some students seemed to be stricter judges of their colleagues than others. They showed that their view of the teacher was conservative –

lecturer, explainer or performer, rather than enabler, facilitator or organiser of interactive tasks that include *all* kinds of learners, even 'lazy' students.

However, there were students who were more inclusive, recognising the existence, and importance, of a very active role of the teacher in FC model. One student, who was present in all four classes, summed it nicely up:

St. 13: It seems essential to me to bear in mind that the teacher's role of the organiser and facilitator does not mean that he is a passive observer. Teachers have to be extremely well organised here, even better than in traditional class, and also very active, follow the students' groupwork and discussion, intervening whenever necessary, helping, clarifying etc. Even forcing reluctant students to participate in work is necessary sometimes because many students just come to class to passively sit there.

There is some discrepancy between the students' and the teacher's perceptions of FC suitability for final exam preparation. While students showed indecisiveness about it (see Table 2), the teacher was more certain that the students' active engagement in four classes would prepare them better for the final exam, especially in the activities during which the students were learning by doing, i.e. making relevant exam-like tests in FC for other students.

Limitations of the study

The first limitation lies in the fact that the survey was not anonymous to the researcher. The teacher was also the researcher, and although the survey was done in a different semester from the one in which FC intervention had been implemented, after the students had taken the exam, some students might have wanted to please the teacher or avoid repercussions, and therefore offer answers that do not entirely reflect their opinion.

The second limitation is in the nature of the study. This is a small-scale pilot case study by a single researcher, so the results must be interpreted with caution, and cannot be generalised for larger populations of students taking different level courses, with different teachers.

Despite these limitations, the results of this small sample study open the door for future studies, and provide suggestions for further research, e.g. how different are the students' test performances after involvement in FC? Which particular aspects of test performance show improvement? How to increase assessment washback in FCs? To obtain these data experimental research design would be especially

appropriate, aiming at comparing the test results from the experimental group (participating in FCs) and the control group of students (not participating in FCs).

Overall, the study opens more questions than it answers, and more implementations and studies in different contexts are needed in order to identify how FC effectiveness can be maximised.

Conclusions and recommendations

As seen in the Results and Discussion sections of this paper, the answers to this study's research questions prove many positive effects of flipped learning, relative to traditional lecturing model, in university settings. Undoubtedly, compared to lecture-type classroom, FC allows for greater overall student satisfaction, more active student engagement and collaboration, greater motivation to learn and learner autonomy. Furthermore, it fosters higher-order skills like creativity, promotes interactivity, active, deep and self-paced learning, inclusion, and differentiation.

FC might be unsuitable for some students, who feel less threatened in traditional lectures than in classes where they ought to actively participate, rather than sit back, just listen and take notes. However, their discomfort can be decreased by teacher's positive, inclusive attitude and behaviour. Pre-class preparation needs to be strategically worked on. Especially at university, teachers must come to class well-prepared, but so do the students. However, as this research showed, there will probably always be students who have not done the pre-class readings. In such cases, the necessary input ought to be read/viewed in class by all these students. Only after performing this preparation part in class could these students engage in the deeper learning activities that the rest of the class, who prepared on time, participate in from the beginning.

The students generally recommend a partial use of FC in most EFL subjects in tertiary education. A dose of scepticism some students showed in this study towards FC's applicability in other subjects, and the entire courses, does not imply that professors should not introduce this model ever, but that they could pilot it, learn from the experimentation, and balance it with traditional lecturing. Making lectures more communicative could help professors find balance between domination and emancipation. The finding that some examinees from this study show a certain amount of caution when judging the effectiveness of this innovative model implies that more work needs to be done by teachers in demonstrating FC benefits to students, such as its relation to exam preparation.

By flipping classrooms teachers make classes more obviously humanistic and student-centred. Instead of concentrating solely on delivering content, teachers make more effort in carefully organising and moderating the learning process, by creating opportunities for students to communicate with more freedom and creativity. The role of the highly competent teacher proves to be even more important in this kind of classroom than in traditional one, because it is more obvious that he/she is an advanced interlocutor who, together with stronger students, facilitates the learning of *all* students in a class. FC is more demanding for both the student and the teacher. Since teachers never know what to expect in this kind of class, this way of organising learning seems to be appropriate for teachers willing to take risks, get out of their comfort zone and adopt trial-and-error approach. It also better suits the students who are eager to do the same. It could be concluded that, due to a more active role of the teacher in FC, this model may be more suitable for teachers who have experience in using a variety of teaching methods than for new teachers, or those lacking knowledge in contemporary teaching methods. This conclusion coincides with the recommendation by Voss and Kostka to teachers new to flipped learning – they should do it gradually, and flip a 'small portion of their class' until they become more skilled (Voss and Kostka 19). As Bergmann and Sams pointed out, FC might not be appropriate for 'control freaks' (Bergmann and Sams 111).

Teacher's duties are manifold here – apart from explainer, he/she is an organiser, a guide, enabler, resource and a partner. This study reiterates what has been illustrated in other FC reviews (Hamdan et al. 6) - that 'skilled, professional teachers are critical to success' in a FC. This suggests that teachers need support and training, at least in a set of workshops, before they feel confident to apply competently this *learning-centred* approach in their classrooms.

FC cannot guarantee that all students' learning is going to be deeper, but it is a great potential for a successful attempt of decreasing time-wasting in class, nurturing student engagement and cooperation, motivation to learn and learner autonomy. It can be rewarding for both students and professors, and if organised properly, FC cultivates an inclusive learning community and a real zone of proximal development (ZPD) - "the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem-solving under adult guidance, or in collaboration with more capable peers" (Vygotsky 86).

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Appendix: Research instrument

Questionnaire: Students' Perceptions of Flipped Classroom

1. Please rate (underline or **bold**) each item on the scale provided to indicate your agreement.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
1.I was present in all four flipped classes.	1	2	3	4	5
2.I came prepared for all flipped classes I was present in.	1	2	3	4	5
3.The Flipped classroom is more engaging than the traditional classroom.	1	2	3	4	5
4.The Flipped classroom gave me greater opportunities for communication with other students.	1	2	3	4	5
5.I would recommend flipped classroom to a friend.	1	2	3	4	5
6.I would like to use the flipped classroom in my own classes.	1	2	3	4	5
7.I am more motivated to learn ELT Methods in the flipped class.	1	2	3	4	5
8.I liked watching lectures at my own pace before coming to class.	1	2	3	4	5
9.Traditional lectures prepare me better for the final exam.	1	2	3	4	5
10.I would use the Flipped Classroom approach for the entire course.	1	2	3	4	5

-
1. What are the advantages of the Flipped Classroom?
 2. What are the disadvantages of the Flipped Classroom?
 3. Do you believe the Flipped Classroom would be useful for other subjects? Why or why not?
 4. What improvements would you recommend to improve learning in the Flipped Classroom?
 5. Please state any other comments you wish to make about the Flipped Classroom.

Thank you

**PERCEPCIJE STUDENATA O PRISTUPU OBRNUTE UČIONICE U NASTAVI
ENGLSKOG JEZIKA NA TERCIJARNOM NIVOU OBRAZOVANJA: STUDIJA
SLUČAJA IZ BANJA LUKE**

U ovom radu predstavljeni su rezultati male, pilot studije o efektima modela obrnute učionice, primijenjene u visokom obrazovanju, sa studentima četvrte godine engleskog jezika i književnosti na Filološkom fakultetu Univerziteta u Banjoj Luci. Ispitivane su percepcije studenata o njihovom angažovanju, motivaciji i zadovoljstvu obrnutim pristupom učenju u jednom od njihovih glavnih predmeta, Metodika nastave engleskog jezika 2. Četiri predavanja, od dvanaest ukupno, eksperimentalno su izvedena po modelu obrnute učionice u zimskom semestru akademske 2015/2016. godine, a potom su ispitane percepcije studenata o ovim časovima u poređenju sa tradicionalnim predavanjima, nakon završenog semestra i položenog ispita. Komentari studenata iz ankete, koja se sastoji od petostepene Likertove skale, i pitanja iz intervjua, kritički su ispitani i upoređeni sa beleškama nastavnika nakon časova. Rezultati pokazuju da su ovi studenti otvoreni i veoma pozitivni prema novom pristupu u organizaciji časova predavanja. Iako su studenti bili skeptični prema potpunoj zameni formata predavanja modelom obrnute učionice, oni su prepoznali veći nivo zadovoljstva, angažovanja, saradnje, motivacije i autonomnosti nego na tradicionalnim predavanjima. Stoga i preporučuju primenu novog modela u kontekstu tercijarnog obrazovanja. Zaključci sugerišu razrađivanje modela obrnute učionice u budućnosti, njegovu češću primenu u visokom obrazovanju, i više istraživanja.

Ključne reči: saradnja, obrnuta učionica, visoko obrazovanje, motivacija, zadovoljstvo, angažovanje studenata, percepcije studenata.

**(DE)KONSTRUKCIJA PATRIJARHALNIH OBRAZACA U
UDŽBENICIMA: KOMPARATIVNA ANALIZA UDŽBENIKA
ITALIJANSKOG JEZIKA KAO STRANOG I SRPSKOG JEZIKA
KAO STRANOG**

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Apstrakt: Polazeći od ideje da su u udžbenicima pored znanja iz specifičnih nastavnih predmeta za koje su osmišljeni ucrtane kulturne norme i dominantne ideologije (Curdt-Christiansen 2), u ovom radu ispituje se prisustvo patrijarhalnih ideoloških postavki u prikazu privatne sfere u udžbenicima italijanskog jezika kao stranog i srpskog jezika kao stranog. Metodološki postupak koji koristimo jeste kritička analiza diskursa, koja omogućava demaskiranje ideologija ucrtanih u rodne identitete ženskih i muških likova. Vodeći se idejom Normana Ferklofa (Fairclough 1989, 244), prema kojem kroz obrazovni diskurs postojeći odnosi moći mogu da se transformišu ili reprodukuju, posmatraćemo da li se patrijarhalni obrasci kroz prikaz privatne sfere u udžbenicima potvrđuju ili pak osporavaju. Rezultati ukazuju na to da su u udžbenicima iz korpusa patrijarhalni obrasci centralna komponenta u prikazu aktivnosti u privatnoj sferi. Ipak, uočena je značajna razlika između udžbenika srpskog i italijanskog jezika: u prvom se tradicionalna rodna hijerarhija osnažuje i legitimizuje i kroz kulturno i vjersko naslijeđe slava, u okviru kojeg žena domaćica predstavlja ne samo normu, već i ideal; kao i kroz pozitivno konotiranje patrijarhalnog odgoja čije norme propisuju da ćerke koje kuvaju i obavljaju kućne poslove predstavljaju uspjeh za porodicu i društvo, što sa sinovima nije slučaj. Takođe, u udžbenicima srpskog jezika primjer koji ukazuje na obrtanje tradicionalne rodne hijerarhije uključuje muškarca koji kuva, ali tek u vanrednim okolnostima koje izlaze iz okvira svakodnevne rutine porodične zajednice. Zaključujemo da u ovoj grupi udžbenika prikaz domaćinstva počiva na jednoobraznom, patrijarhalnom modelu koji ženu smješta u privatnu sferu. Za razliku od udžbenika srpskog jezika, u udžbenicima italijanskog se paralelno sa patrijarhalnim razvija i emancipatorni model rodni identiteta, o čemu svjedoče primjeri podjele rada između ženskih i muških likova, kao i uključenost muških likova u kućne poslove.

Ključne riječi: udžbenici; strani jezici; srpski jezik; italijanski jezik; patrijarhalne ideologije.

Iz ugla konstruktivističke paradigme udžbenici se definišu kao sociokulturni materijali, koji su produkt kompleksnih selektivnih procesa uslovljenih političkim odlukama, obrazovnim i jezičkim politikama i kulturnim realnostima (Curdt-Christiansen & Weninger 1). Kako navodi Kurdt-Kristijansen (Curdt-Christiansen 2), u udžbenicima nije sadržano samo eksplicitno znanje iz oblasti specifičnih nastavnih predmeta za koje su osmišljeni, već i društvene norme, kulturne vrijednosti i ideologije, te je pored didaktičke, funkcija udžbenika i ta da ciljnim grupama usadi kulturne vrijednosti datog društva.

Do sedamdesetih godina prošlog vijeka vjerovalo se u neutralnost i ideološku neuslovljenost sadržaja i poruka utkanih u udžbenike, a ključna ideja nove kritičke paradigme u obrazovanju može se sažeti kroz pitanje uticajnog teoretičara obrazovanja Majkla Epla: "Koje i čije znanje treba da se kroz obrazovanje uključi ili isključi?" (Curdt-Christiansen 3).

Udžbenici su važna sredstva u procesu socijalizacije, koji podrazumijeva interiorizaciju društvenih normi, obrazaca i vrijednosti date kulture (Brugeilles & Cromer 14). Ako pretpostavimo da kulturne norme ucrtane u udžbenike nisu ideološki neutralne, to dalje implicira da postoji rizik od toga da u društvima u kojima je izraženiji uticaj patrijarhalnog kulturnog modela vid socijalizacije koji se sprovodi kroz udžbenike istovremeno bude i naturalizacija rodne hijerarhije bazirane na nejednakim odnosima moći.

Prilikom učenja stranih jezika paralelno sa razvijanjem komunikativne kompetencije odvija se i svojevrsni proces akulturacije, koji se u kontekstu nastave stranih jezika odnosi na prihvatanje i usvajanje kulturnih specifičnosti etnije čiji se jezik uči, te je stoga važno da sadržaji u udžbenicima ne reflektuju arhaični, reakcionarni model rodnih odnosa, već da prikažu emancipaciju žena i transformaciju njihove uloge u datim društvima. Stoga, cilj koji se postavlja jeste razobličavanje rodnih identiteta koji se konstruišu kroz udžbenike i njihova interpretacija u kontekstu kompleksnih društvenih struktura kao što su patrijarhalne ideologije, jer se na ovaj način mogu izdvojiti implicitne poruke o položaju i vrijednosti žena u datom društvu. U ovom smislu svaka kritička analiza udžbenika, pa i ova, predstavlja jedan vid društveno angažovane intervencije usmjerene na prevazilaženje rodnih nejednakosti u obrazovnim materijalima i obrazovanju uopšte.

Od sedamdesetih godina naovamo sprovedena su brojna istraživanja (v. Hellinger 1980; Porreca 1984; Gupta & Yin 1990; Sakita 1995; Ansary & Babaii 2003; Lee & Collins 2010; Barton & Sakwa 2012; Kološ 2018) u kojima je dokumentovano prisustvo rodnih stereotipa i različitih vidova seksizma u udžbenicima stranih jezika, za čije su indikatore uzimani faktori poput brojčane dominantnosti muških likova

u odnosu na ženske; stereotipno portretisanje ženskih i muških likova, tradicionalna podjela rodnih uloga koja podrazumijeva da se ženski likovi bave kuvanjem i kućnim poslovima, dok su nasuprot ovome muški likovi aktivniji u profesionalnoj sferi. Svi navedeni aspekti predstavljaju refleks patrijarhalnih ideologija, međutim, treba naglasiti da je ova problematika u naučnim krugovima tretirana primarno kroz prizmu udžbenika engleskog jezika kao stranog. Naime, prema aktuelnim saznanjima, udžbenici italijanskog jezika kao stranog u ovom ključu su analizirani u svega tri studije, dok analizi udžbenika srpskog jezika kao stranog iz perspektive roda do sada nije posvećeno niti jedno akademsko istraživanje, te se stoga kao jedan od ciljeva ovog rada nameće i kritički osvrt na nedovoljno ili posve neistražene obrazovne materijale. Usporedna analiza udžbenika namijenjenih za učenje dva različita strana jezika otvoriće mogućnost da se konfrontira intenzitet uticaja patrijarhalnih ideologija u dva različita obrazovna, ali i kulturna konteksta.

U radu ćemo iz ugla kritičke analize diskursa analizirati prikaz privatne sfere u udžbenicima italijanskog jezika kao stranog i srpskog jezika kao stranog. Ferklof (Fairclough 1989, 244) zastupa ideju o transformativnom potencijalu obrazovanja, a po ovom autoru upravo je obrazovni diskurs ključan, zato što kroz njega postojeći odnosi moći mogu da se transformišu ili pak da se unedogled reprodukuju. Polazeći od ove ideje, posmatraćemo da li se patrijarhalni obrasci kroz prikaz privatne sfere u udžbenicima potvrđuju ili pak osporavaju, što će nam nadalje otkriti u kojoj mjeri su obrazovne politike rodno (ne)osviještene, odnosno, da li je didaktika stranih jezika primarno prostor konstrukcije ili dekonstrukcije patrijarhalnih ideologija utemeljenih na rodnim asimetrijama i nejednakim odnosima moći.

Rodne ideologije i patrijarhalni kulturni obrasci

Prema američkoj feminističkoj teoretičarki Merilin Frenč (French 239) patrijarhat predstavlja manifestaciju i institucionalizaciju dominacije muškaraca nad ženama, koja ima produžetak u dominaciji muškaraca nad ženama u cjelokupnom društvu. Implicira da muškarci posjeduju moć u svim važnim društvenim institucijama i da su žene velikim dijelom lišene pristupa toj moći, ali ne implicira da su žene u potpunosti bespomoćne ili lišene prava, uticaja i resursa. Pejtman (Pateman 2) navodi da je, uprkos društvenim transformacijama koje su u proteklim decenijama doprinijele da se ostvari progres u sveukupnom položaju žena u društvu, u našoj današnjici još uvijek ključna dominacija muškaraca, kao model koji je duboko usađen u sve strukture društva. Neki od pokazatelja snažnog uticaja patrijarhalne kulture na današnje

društvo su većinsko prisustvo muškaraca na pozicijama moći u politici, ekonomiji, vojsci, sudstvu, visokom obrazovanju; nejednaka raspodjela kućnih poslova; ekonomski jaz između žena i muškaraca uzrokovan nižim platama dodijeljenih ženama (Pateman 2). Silvija Volbi (Walby 178) razlikuje dva tipa patrijarhata: privatni i javni. Prvi podrazumijeva ženu u službi muškarca u prostoru vlastitog doma, dok se u drugom potčinjenost prenosi i na prostor javne sfere (Walby 178).

Ukorijenjenost patrijarhalne kulture u sve važne segmente savremenog društva osnažena je kroz rodne ideologije, koje možemo definisati kao skup društveno konstruisanih pretpostavki o adekvatnim rodnim ulogama žena i muškaraca uz pomoć kojih se podijeljenost i nejednakost između njih prezentuje kao prirodno ustanovljeni društveni poredak i unaprijed zadato stanje koje se ne preispituje. U skladu sa navedenim, krajnji cilj rodne ideologije je predstavljanje rodnih nejednakosti kao prirodnih, odnosno legitimizacija asimetričnih hijerarhijskih statusa između rodova (Lorber 30). Naturalizacija ideologija utemeljenih na patrijarhalnim vrijednostima može da se ostvaruje i kroz institucije obrazovanja, odnosno kroz udžbenike. U konkretnom slučaju rodnih ideologija utemeljenih na patrijarhalnim vrijednostima, one mogu da se naturalizuju kroz oslikavanje likova čije su odlike i aktivnosti zasnovane na rodnim stereotipima.

Iz ugla dominantnog stanovišta u psihologiji u srži rodnih stereotipa koji se odnose na karakterne crte žena i muškaraca nalaze se dvije dimenzije – preduzmljivost (eng. *agency*) i bliskost (eng. *communion*) (Haines et al. 2). Preduzmljivost obuhvata odlike kao što su kompetentnost, nezavisnost, autoritet i stereotipno se pripisuje muškarcima, dok bliskost obuhvata ekspresivnost, emotivnu toplinu, sklonost empatiji i brizi za druge, i asocira se uz žene (Haines et al. 2). Rodni stereotipi, koje Talbot (Talbot 473) definiše i kao ideološki uslovljene obrasce očekivanih ponašanja, oblikuju očekivanja o ulozi žena u društvu – s obzirom na to da su po prirodi predodređene da brinu o drugima, njihov domen djelovanja je privatna sfera, unutar koje obavljaju kućne poslove i odgajaju djecu. Ovakva stereotipna shvatanja u potpunosti odražavaju patrijarhalnu rodnu hijerarhiju koja uslovljava, ograničava i isključuje, ne samo žene već i muškarce, te je stoga važno ispitati da li se i u kojoj se mjeri ovi obrasci potvrđuju ili osporavaju kroz edukativne materijale.

Udžbenički korpus

Korpus je sačinjen od ukupno devet udžbenika za učenje i usvajanje stranih jezika – pet udžbenika italijanskog jezika kao stranog i četiri udžbenika srpskog jezika kao stranog. Svi udžbenici koriste se (ako ne

integralno, onda u kombinaciji sa drugim udžbenicima i nastavnim materijalima) u nastavi italijanskog jezika kao stranog i srpskog jezika kao stranog na nivou akademskih studija na univerzitetima na srpskom govornom području u Bosni i Hercegovini, ili preciznije Republici Srpskoj. Udžbenici italijanskog jezika kao stranog koriste se prije svega na studijama italijanistike, ali i na drugim filološkim studijama, kao i na studijama društvenih nauka gdje se italijanski uči kao izborni jezik. Udžbenici srpskog jezika kao stranog koriste se na kursovima organizovanim za strane studente i studentkinje na Erasmus razmjeni, ali i na kursovima koji katedre srpskog jezika i književnosti organizuju za strance.

Prema klasifikaciji Zajedničkog evropskog referentnog okvira za jezike odabrani udžbenici obuhvataju A1 i A2 nivo jezičke kompetencije, i namijenjeni su početnicima, odnosno grupama koje ne posjeduju nikakvo ili tek minimalno predznanje iz datih stranih jezika.

Svi udžbenici su zasnovani na komunikativnom pristupu i nude niz svakodnevnih situacija iz stvarnog života na osnovu kojih se razvijaju dijalozi i aktivnosti likova. Jedini izuzetak je udžbenik *Srpski za strance* koji predstavlja gramatički priručnik, odnosno, svojevrsnu vježbanku u kojoj se gramatičke kategorije utvrđuju kroz različite obrasce vježbi. Takođe, ovaj udžbenik sadrži vježbe za početni nivo, ali je većinskim dijelom prilagođen naprednijim nivoima.

Odabrani udžbenici italijanskog jezika su: *Qui Italia* (2002; *Le Monnier*), *Nuovo progetto italiano* (2006; *Edilingua*), *Chiaro* (2010; *Alma Edizioni*), *Facilissimo* (2014; *Alma Edizioni*) i *Via del Corso* (2018; *Edilingua Edizioni*).

Odabrani udžbenici srpskog jezika su: *Učimo srpski 2* (2006; *Azbukum i Ljubitelji knjige*), *Srpski jezik – početni tečaj za strance* (2012; *Institut za strane jezike*), *Srpski korak po korak* (2014; *Kornet*), *Srpski za strance – priručnik za lektore i studente srpskog jezika* (2011; *Kornet*).

Metodološki okvir

Patrijarhat se suštinski može posmatrati ne samo kao sistem kulturnih vrijednosti ili pak društvenih odnosa koji se vežu za prošlost, već i kao ideologija koja pod plaštom zdravorazumskog razmišljanja i dalje usmjerava i oblikuje vjerovanja i očekivanja o društveno prikladnim ulogama žena i muškaraca. Najpodesniji metod za analizu ideoloških postulata utkanih u diskurs jeste kritička analiza diskursa (engl. *critical discourse analysis*), čijom se primjenom otkriva kako ideologije i odnosi moći oblikuju diskurs, a potom i kakve efekte ideološki oblikovan diskurs ostvaruje na društvene identitete, relacije i sisteme znanja i vjerovanja (Fairclough 1989, 12). Jezik se u paradigmi kritičke analize diskursa

tumači kao vid društvene prakse (engl. *social practice*) (Fairclough 1992, 86), koja je uslovljena društveno istorijskim kontekstom i kroz koju se reflektuje priroda odnosa moći u datom društvu (Janks 329). Ključan pojam za kritičku analizu diskursa jeste *ideologija*, koja prema Ferklofu predstavlja konstrukt, odnosno reprezentaciju koja "doprinosi uspostavljanju, održavanju i menjanju društvenih odnosa moći, dominacije i eksploatacije". (Fairclough 9, cit. u Kolarić 164) Ideologije se u tekstu pojavljuju u formi "onog što je neizgovoreno, ali se uzima zdravo za gotovo". (Fairclough 59, cit. u Kolarić 164) Riječ je dakle o naturalizovanim i automatizovanim pretpostavkama kojima je pripisana vrijednost zdravorazumskog razmišljanja i čiji je krajnji efekat legitimizacija nejednakih odnosa moći u društvu (Fairclough 1989, 2-4). U domenu patrijarhalnih rodnih ideologija krajnji učinak je naturalizacija i legitimizacija tradicionalne rodne hijerarhije koju između ostalog odlikuje i prikaz privatne sfere kao autentičnog prostora ženskog djelovanja.

U ovom radu opredijelili smo se za uporednu analizu udžbenika italijanskog i srpskog jezika kako bismo stekli širu sliku o dominantnim ideologijama u dva različita obrazovna diskursa i ustanovili u kojoj mjeri su podudarni ili pak različiti. Poseban akcenat stavljamo na važnost kritičke analize udžbenika srpskog jezika kao stranog, koji su u dosadašnjim akademskim istraživanjima zanemareni. U toku analize oslanjaćemo se na trodimenzionalni model Normana Ferklofa (Fairclough 1989, 109) koji obuhvata sljedeće etape:

- 1) tekstualna analiza (deskripcija);
- 2) obrada (interpretacija);
- 3) socijalna analiza (objašnjenje).

U toku prve etape izdvojićemo tekstualne i ilustrativne sekvence koje prikazuju uloge ženskih i muških likova u privatnoj sferi, nakon čega ćemo ih interpretirati kroz prizmu patrijarhalnih ideologija, te ćemo u posljednjoj fazi skrenuti pažnju na ulogu udžbenika u procesu (de)konstrukcije patrijarhalnih ideologija.

Rezultati i diskusija

Prema semantičkom kriterijumu aktivnosti i uloge dodijeljene ženskim i muškim likovima podijelićemo u dvije kategorije: kuvanje i ostali kućni poslovi.

U prvom dijelu fokusiraćemo se na primjere iz korpusa putem kojih se patrijarhalni obrasci konstruišu, dok ćemo u drugom dijelu skrenuti pažnju na primjere putem kojih se tradicionalni model dekonstruiše.

Konstrukcija patrijarhalnih obrazaca**Kuvanje: udžbenici italijanskog jezika**

Kada je kuvanje prikazano kao aktivnost koja se obavlja u granicama privatne sfere i ne predstavlja hobi već dužnost, u udžbenicima se tada gotovo uvijek vezuje za ženske likove.

U jednom testu iz udžbenika *Chiaro* Mario opisuje kako protiče dan njegove porodice, a iz opisa saznajemo da večeru priprema njegova supruga:

Verso le sette e trenta Liliana prepara la cena ("Oko sedam i trideset Lilijana sprema večeru".) (De Savorgnani & Bergero 144)

U kratkom dijalogu iz udžbenika *Chiaro* uočili smo repliku koju tumačimo kao rodni stereotip u čijoj je osnovi shvatanje da je poželjno ili čak neophodno da žena voli kuvati:

Karin ama la cucina italiana;

Ah sì...Ma le piace anche cucinare?

("Karin voli italijansku kuhinju";

"Ah tako...A da li voli i da kuva?") (De Savorgnani & Bergero 145)

U *Nuovo progetto italiano* pronalazimo primjer u kojem je tradicionalno shvatanje da je kuvanje dužnost žene još eksplicitnije naglašeno: *Chiara, quando imparerai finalmente a cucinare bene* ("Kjara, kada ćeš konačno naučiti da dobro kuvaš?") (Marin & Magnelli 76)

U istom udžbeniku ilustrovane su dvije situacije kada ženski likovi pripremaju hranu, istovremeno razgovarajući sa partnerima koji čekaju da jelo bude gotovo. Prvu situaciju prati sljedeći dijalog:

Quanto ci vuole per cuocere gli spaghetti al dente? ("Koliko treba da se skuvaju špagete al dente?")

Ci vogliono circa 8 minuti di cottura.

("Treba otprilike 8 minuta kuvanja".) (Marin & Magnelli 14)

Drugi razgovor je ovakav:

Ci metti molto per preparare da mangiare? ("Da li ti treba mnogo da pripremiš hranu?")

Mah, ci metto un quarto d'ora. ("Mah, treba mi četvrt sata".)

(Marin & Magnelli 14)

Dijalozi između ženskih i muških likova odražavaju shvatanje prema kojem je kuvanje prirodna i očekivana aktivnost žene. U oba primjera pitanja muških likova su takva da djeluje kao da im je kuvanje potpuno strano. Prvi lik pita koliko vremena je potrebno da se skuva tjestenina,

koja važi za obrok koji je izuzetno jednostavan i brz za pripremu, dok pitanje drugog lika ("koliko ti vremena treba da pripremiš hranu?") sugeriše da nikada sam nije pripremio ručak. U odgovorima ženskih likova, naročito drugog, primjećuje se izvjesna lakoća, koja sugeriše da je kuvanje aktivnost na koju su naviknute i koju obavljaju bez puno napora.

U udžbeniku *Qui Italia* nailazimo na tekst u kojem se opisuje tipičan dan jednog bračnog para, Artura i Elide (Arturo i Elide). Riječ je o adaptiranoj varijanti pripovjetke *L'avventura di due sposi* Itala Kalvina prvi put objavljenoj 1958. godine, koja govori o svakodnevnim dinamikama u životu supružnika koji kao pripadnici radničke klase rade u jednoj fabrici. Iz konfrontacije originalnog teksta sa varijantom iz udžbenika proizilaze upečatljive razlike u prikazu aktivnosti vezanih za kućne poslove. Naime, u Kalvinovom tekstu ova zajednica velikim dijelom počiva na podjeli rada u kući, pa tako u aktivnostima koje se odnose na kuvanje i uopšte kućne poslove učestvuju oba supružnika. Elementi jednakosti su, s druge strane, iz teksta udžbenika *Qui Italia* posve isključeni, a prikaz supružnika nije samo na jezičkom nivou pojednostavljen, već je i ideološki modifikovan tako da u potpunosti reflektuje tradicionalni patrijarhalni poredak. U skladu s ovim, na osnovu verzije iz udžbenika saznajemo da je, uprkos tome što oboje rade teške poslove u fabrici, žena ta koja po povratku s posla priprema hranu:

Alle 18.30 Elide torna a casa e prepara la cena. Più tardi Arturo ed Elide si siedono a tavola e mangiano. ("U 18.30 Elide se vraća kući i priprema večeru. Nešto kasnije Arturo i Elide sedaju za sto i jedu".) (Mazzetti et al. 126)

S druge strane, u originalnom tekstu pronalazimo posve različite primjere, u kojima je jasno prikazana podjela rada:

Quando Elide tornava, alla sera, Arturo già da un po' girava per le stanze: aveva acceso la stufa, messo qualcosa a cuocere.

("Dok je Elide bila u povratku, uveče, Arturo se već neko vrijeme vrtio po sobama: uključio je šporet, stavio nešto da kuva".) (Calvino 2)

Cominciavano a preparare da mangiare: cena per tutt'e due, poi la merenda che si portava lui in fabbrica per l'intervallo dell'una di notte, la colazione che doveva portarsi in fabbrica lei l'indomani, e quella da lasciare pronta per quando lui l'indomani si sarebbe svegliato.

("Započinjali su sa pripremom hrane: večera za oboje, nakon toga užina koju je on nosio u fabricu za pauzu u jedan noći, doručak za

nju da ponese u fabriku narednog dana i spreman doručak za njega kad se narednog dana bude probudio“.) (Calvino 3)

Poređenjem dva teksta na površinu izlaze ideološke komponente koje oblikuju diskurs udžbenika, te dovode do paradoksa da rodna ravnopravnost koja je ucrtana u tekst iz pedesetih godina, u tekstu iz obrazovnog materijala iz 2002. godine biva cenzurisana, a sam tekst instrumentalizovan tako da reflektuje relacije tipične za patrijarhalne strukture.

Ukorijenjenost patrijarhata u prikazu privatne sfere otkriva se i kroz rečenice u kojima su prikazane paralelne aktivnosti ženskih i muških likova u porodičnom okruženju. Jednu takvu rečenicu uočili smo u udžbeniku *Qui Italia*:

Ieri, mentre parlavo con mio padre, mia madre cucinava. ("Juče, dok sam razgovarala/razgovarao sa mojim ocem, moja majka je kuvala".) (Mazzetti et al. 126)

Sličnu rečenicu pronalazimo i u udžbeniku *Nuovo progetto italiano*. I ovdje je majka ta koja kuva, dok dijete gleda televiziju:

Quando mia madre preparava da mangiare, io guardavo la TV. ("Kad je moja majka pripremala hranu, ja sam gledala/gledao TV".) (Marin & Magnelli 111)

Kuvanje: udžbenici srpskog jezika

I u udžbenicima srpskog jezika kao stranog kuvanje je prikazano kao ženska aktivnost; povrh toga ova ideja je predstavljena na još eksplicitniji i direktniji način, i to ne samo kao prirodan, neutralan poredak stvarnosti, već i kao sistem koji je pozitivno konotiran.

U udžbeniku *Srpski jezik* u lekciji *Dolaze gosti* pripremom hrane za goste bavi se majka, a zajedno sa njom u kuhinji se nalaze i ćerka i muž. Dijalog koji vode otkriva tradicionalnu podjelu uloga: majka i ćerka su usredređene na hranu, dok muž provjerava da li je ponuda pića dovoljno raznovrsna:

Milica: Mama, ovi kolači su odlični! Šta još imamo?

Nada: Pite od sira i mesa. Nadam se da naši gosti vole pite.

Nikola: Imamo li vino i sokove? Marko pije vino, a Silvija sokove.

(Selimović-Momčilović & Živanić 64)

U jednoj od narednih lekcija bračni par Popović uzvraća posjetu prijateljima koje su ugostili. Dijaloške sekvence teksta ukazuju na to da se i u prikazu ove zajednice reprodukuju tradicionalne rodne uloge.

Štaviše, ovdje je taj poredak jasnije hijerarhijski određen – muškarac ženi upućuje naredbu, koju ona ispunjava:

Marko: Naši roditelji su vam poslali domaće vino. Silvija, daj nam čaše da probamo vino. (Selimović-Momčilović & Živanić 118)

U tekstu *Na pustom ostrvu* porodica Popović mašta o tome kako bi provodili vrijeme na pustom ostrvu. Dok ostali članovi navode opuštajuće aktivnosti kojima bi se bavili, majka između ostalog mašta i o tome da ne kuva:

Nada: Ponela bih knjige, puno hrane i naravno, konzerve. Ne bih kuvala, odmarala bih se po ceo dan. (Selimović-Momčilović & Živanić 225)

U ovom primjeru pritisak tradicionalnih patrijarhalnih normi naročito je izražen – pod njihovim uticajem naturalizovano je shvatanje da posao u kuhinji obavlja žena, a budući da ženski lik iz teksta pauzu od kuvanja smješta u okvire imaginarnog prostora pustog ostrva, sugeriše se da uloga žene izvan kuhinje pripada domenu nerealnog. Nakon što se na majčinu želju nadovezuje i ćerka, koja navodi da bi na pusto ostrvo ponijela i muzički uređaj, otac zaključuje:

Nikola: U tom slučaju ja bih radije ostao kod kuće. (Selimović-Momčilović & Živanić 225)

Reakcija oca na želje članica njegove porodice može da se protumači kao šaljiva, ali i u tom slučaju u njenoj srži stoji nagon za očuvanjem „prirodnog“ stanja, u kojem je kuvanje propisano kao dužnost žene.

Iz udžbenika *Srpski za strance* izdvajamo sljedeći primjer: *Jovana sprema dobra jela*. (Čosić 18) Sličan primjer pronalazimo i u udžbeniku *Učimo srpski: Moja sestra kuva odlične ručkove*. (Milićević-Dobromirov et al. 144)

U narednom dijelu izdvajamo primjere iz udžbenika *Srpski jezik* koji pokazuju kako se u srpskoj kulturi patrijarhalne vrijednosti naturalizuju kroz narodne i vjerske običaje. U udžbeniku *Srpski jezik* uočena su dva primjera koja se odnose na tradiciju pripremanja slave, a u oba je žena u ulozi domaćice. U tekstu *Odlazak na slavu* Irina objašnjava svojoj italijanskoj prijateljici Silviji običaje:

Silvija: Šta treba da kažemo kad uđemo?

Irina: Kaže se: „Srećna slava!“ Kad sednemo, domaćica će nas poslužiti žitom. (Selimović-Momčilović & Živanić 291)

U drugom primjeru stoji:

Za praznični ručak domaćica spremi najbolja jela. (Selimović-Momčilović & Živanić 295)

U srpskoj kulturi patrijarhalni ideološki obrasci dodatno se osnažuju kroz narodnu tradiciju slava, uz pomoć koje se održava i zastupa tradicionalna uloga žene kao domaćice. U datom kontekstu žena koja služi nije data samo kao prirodno očekivano stanje, već i kao vrijednost i ideal, te je u ovom smislu odstupanje od viševjekovnog tradicionalnog modela dvostruko stigmatizirano: s jedne strane zbog kršenja tradicionalne rodne hijerarhije, a s druge zbog kršenja narodne i vjerske tradicije, odnosno, onog što je u kulturi naroda percipirano kao sveto. Učinak ideoloških mehanizama u ovom slučaju postaje još snažniji, budući da ideologija svako preispitivanje asimetričnih rodnih odnosa predočava ne samo kao osporavanje zdravorazumskog razmišljanja, već i kao obezvređivanje svetog. Na ovaj način, pozivanjem na viši moralni autoritet (van Dijk 735) legitimizuje se potčinjeni položaj žene, a patrijarhalni ideološki obrasci nastavljaju da usmjeravaju i oblikuju ponašanja i očekivanja unutar zajednice.

U udžbeniku *Učimo srpski* dat je tekst *Od ljubavi deca rastu*, u kojem samohrana majka šestoro djece, koja je "gotovo tri decenije bila u vezi sa jednim čovekom koji nije želeo da je oženi", (Milićević-Dobromirov et al. 28) u svojoj ispovjesti ističe sljedeće:

Ponosna sam na svoju djecu! Moram da kažem da sam zahvalna njihovom ocu. Međutim, nikada mi nije bilo jasno zašto čovek sa kojim sam toliko dugo bila u vezi nije želeo da se venčamo. Nekada mi je to bilo važno. Sada više nije. Kad sam rodila sina, otac moje dece je želeo da se venčamo. Ja tada nisam htela, jer su svi verovali da sam rađala decu dok ne dobijem sina i da je to uslov da se udam. (Milićević-Dobromirov et al. 28)

Vrednovanje muškog djeteta iznad ženskog predstavlja zastarjelo, diskriminatorno nasljeđe patrijarhalnih struktura, te smatramo da i samo pominjanje ovakvog vida promišljanja, u bilo kojem kontekstu, ne treba da ima mjesto u edukativnim materijalima koji se i dalje koriste u nastavnoj praksi. Slično ovome, i naglašavanje dugogodišnje težnje žene da je muškarac kojem rađa šestoro djece oženi implicira da je njen društveni status uslovljen odlukom muškarca da je prizna kao svoju suprugu, te da u suprotnom njen identitet nije potpun. Kao jedini pozitivan aspekt u pogledu osporavanja tradicionalnih normi ističe se odluka žene da se ne uda nakon začetka sina, međutim, sveukupna vrijednost teksta najvećim djelom je u podudarnosti sa tradicionalnim

patrijarhalnim strukturama, o čemu svjedoči i način odgajanja ženske djece, odnosno, usađivanje tradicionalnih rodnih uloga kao sastavne komponente njihovog identiteta, te pozitivno konotiranje modela žene domaćice i u kontekstu ćerki. Naime, hvaleći svoju djecu, ali i svoje odgojne principe, naratorka sa ponosom navodi sljedeće: *Sve moje ćerke znaju da kuvaju i rade sve kućne poslove.* (Milićević-Dobromirov et al. 29) Uprkos tome što ima i sina, ne navodi da sva njena djeca znaju da kuvaju i rade kućne poslove, već ove aktivnosti veže isključivo za ćerke, čime se otkriva da se kroz odgoj djece nastavlja održavanje patrijarhata i rodnih asimetrija koje su njegovoj srži.

Pored toga što se kroz udžbenike reprodukuje patrijarhalna ideologija o prirodnoj datosti porodičnog sistema u kojem samo žena kuva, uočili smo da se alternativne verzije rodnih uloga, u rijetkim slučajevima kada su date, prikazuju kao izuzeci, to jest paralelni modeli koji nisu dio direktnog iskustva, već nečega što su likovi neposredno čuli ili čemu su indirektno posvedočili, i što predstavlja idealizovanu sliku zajednice, koja kao da graniči sa nerealnim. Jedan ovakav primjer uočen je u udžbeniku *Učimo srpski*, u kojem protagonistkinja opisuje sebe, svoje navike i svoju porodicu, nakon čega uvodi kratku paralelu sa svojom drugaricom, čiji život predstavlja antipod njenog i djeluje kao nešto nedostižno i gotovo nerealno:

Zovem se Svetlana Papić. Ja sam arhitekta i radim u agenciji „Moj dom“ u Zemunu. Radim mnogo i na poslu i u kući. Na poslu sam uvek u gužvi. To nije lako. U kući spremam, kuvam, vaspitavam decu. (Milićević-Dobromirov et al. 12)

Svetlana uprkos tome što sve radi sama, ističe da ima divnog muža i divnu porodicu, ali prilikom opisa muža konstatuje sljedeće:

Ipak, ne volim što Milan malo radi u kući. Ne pomaže mnogo. Nikada ne kuva i retko ide u šetnju ili bioskop sa decom. Nikada ne ide u kupovinu. (Milićević-Dobromirov et al. 12)

Kao apsolutni kontrast njenom životu prema propisanim normama, Svetlana navodi primjer njene drugarice Vesne:

A moja drugarica Vesna sa Dorćola, na primer, ima momka Sašu. Saša vozi dobar auto, sprema stan, šeta psa i kuva! (Milićević-Dobromirov et al. 12)

U udžbeniku *Srpski korak po korak* predstavljena su dva međusobno oprečna teksta: u prvom naziva *Jedan dan u životu Svetlane Pavlović* opisana je svakodnevnica protagonistkinje, onako kako protiče kada je situacija u skladu sa predviđenim i ustanovljenim normama, dok

je u drugom tekstu *Neobičan dan*, kako i sam naslov sugerira, predstavljena obrnuta varijanta svakodnevnice, odnosno njena negacija, koja se kosi sa prethodno uspostavljenim, zadatim normama. U tekstu u kojem je opisan uobičajeni dan Svetlanino jutro izgleda ovako:

Radnim danima ustajem rano, oko pola sedam. Dok se spremam za posao slušam vesti na televiziji i prognozu vremena. Moja ćerka Anka se budi u to vreme. Oblačim je i onda spremam doručak. (Danilović 178)

U tekstu o neobičnom danu, jutro protagonistkinje ne prati ustaljene navike:

Krajem nedelje sam obično umorna. Verovatno je to razlog što se nisam probudila na vreme. Ustala sam tek u osam. Brzo sam se istuširala i obukla. Nisam imala vremena da spremim doručak pa sam samo popila pola šolje kafe i izašla iz kuće. (Danilović 179)

U prvom tekstu ne precizira se ko priprema večeru, ali na osnovu Svetlanine rečenice: *Na putu do kuće kupujem sve što je potrebno za večeru* (Danilović 179) može se zaključiti da je za večeru zadužena ona. S druge strane, u verziji obrnute svakodnevnice eksplicitno se navodi da je Svetlana imala težak dan na poslu i da je ovoga puta njen muž Zoran pripremio večeru:

Kad sam došla kući, Anka je već otišla da spava. Zoran je spremio večeru i čekao je da večeramo zajedno. (Danilović 179)

Po dolasku kući Svetlana se izvinjava mužu: *Izvini, ali ceo dan kasnim. Imala sam vrlo težak dan.* (Danilović 179) Nije jasno zbog čega se tačno protagonistkinja teksta izvinjava mužu: razlog može da se dovede u vezu sa njenim kašnjenjem, ali može i da se protumači kao izvinjenje zbog toga što je svoje svakodnevne obaveze oko kuvanja i brige oko ćerke prepustila njemu. U ovom interpretativnom ključu, promjena tradicionalnih rodni uloga, te obrtanje ustanovljenog sistema, poništavaju se kroz izvinjenje, koje implicira da kršenje tradicionalnih normi ima negativnu vrijednost. Paralela između navika koje odlikuju običan i neobičan dan sugerira da su patrijarhalni obrasci norma, dok su odstupanja od istih vanredna, nepoželjna situacija.

Ostali kućni poslovi: udžbenici italijanskog jezika

Primjećujemo da je u udžbenicima italijanskog jezika primjera koji ukazuju na rodnu hijerarhiju u vezi sa raspodelom kućnih poslova znatno manje u odnosu na primjere koji ilustruju poziciju žena i muškaraca u kuhinji. Ipak, i pored manjeg broja uvrštenih primjera, ni

oni postojeći nisu lišeni prikaza u kojima su sadržani patrijarhalni obrasci.

Stereotipni prikaz žene koja obavlja kućne poslove uočen je u udžbenicima *Nuovo progetto italiano* i *Qui Italia*. U već pomenutoj adaptaciji Kalvinove kratke priče *L' avventura di due sposi* iz udžbenika *Qui Italia* detaljno se opisuje dan supružnika koji u različitim smjenama naporno rade u jednoj fabrici. Uprkos činjenici da su oboje zaposleni, kućne poslove obavlja ženski lik:

Quando Arturo esce per andare al lavoro, Elide mette in ordine la casa e va a letto dalla parte del marito che è ancora calda. ("Kad Arturo ode na posao, Elide sprema kuću i odlazi u krevet na stranu muža koja je još topla".) (Mazzetti et al. 127)

Kao i kod prikaza kuvanja, i u ovom slučaju poređenje sa originalnim tekstom razotkriva potiskivanje originalno prikazane ravnopravnosti u korist kreiranja prikaza zajednice koja počiva na patrijarhalnom sistemu vrijednosti. U cilju ukazivanja na postupak ideološke cenzure sproveden kroz adaptaciju teksta u *Qui Italia*, navešćemo primjer iz Kalvinovog teksta u kojima je prikazana podjela kućnog posla:

Certi lavori li faceva lui, in quelle ore prima di cena, come rifare il letto, spazzare un po', anche mettere a bagno roba da lavare. ("Neke poslove je obavljao on, u onim satima prije večere, recimo spremao je krevet, pomalo čistio i stavljao u kupatilo veš za pranje".) (Calvino 2)

Kad je u pitanju udžbenik *Nuovo progetto italiano*, uočavamo rečenicu u kojoj se čišćenje kuće tradicionalno dovodi u vezu sa ženskim likom:

Mentre Monica puliva la casa, sono arrivati gli ospiti! ("Dok je Monika čistila kuću, došli su gosti!") (Marin & Magnelli 112)

Ostali kućni poslovi: udžbenici srpskog jezika

U udžbenicima srpskog jezika za strance pronalazimo mnogo više primjera kroz koje je prikaz kućnih poslova oblikovan prema patrijarhalnim zakonitostima. Kućni poslovi se često pominju zajedno sa kuvanjem, te zajedno sačinjavaju grupu aktivnosti koje obavljaju ženski likovi. I ovdje kao relevantan izdvajamo prethodno navedeni primjer iz udžbenika *Učimo srpski: Zovem se Svetlana Papić. Radim mnogo i na poslu i u kući. U kući spremam, kuvam, vaspitavam decu.* (Milićević-Dobromirov et al. 12) Pored ovoga, protagonistkinja teksta eksplicitno navodi da joj muž ne pomaže dovoljno oko kućnih poslova: *Ipak, ne*

volim što Milan malo radi u kući. Ne pomaže mnogo. (Milićević-Dobromirov et al. 12)

U udžbeniku *Srpski za strance* tradicionalna rodna hijerarhija¹ je veoma izražena u svim segmentima. U pogledu kućnih poslova, izdvojićemo sljedeće primjere:

Marina nikako da odnese veš na pranje, a već toliko dugo stoji da su neke stvari moljci skroz pojeli. (Ćosić 40)

Luna je naučila kako da postavi sto. (Ćosić 40)

U udžbeniku *Srpski korak po korak* lik majke u porodici Jovanović koncipiran je prema tradicionalnom modelu:

Majka se zove Milena Jovanović. Ona je po profesiji bibliotekar, ali sada ne radi. Ona ima mnogo posla u kući. (Danilović 59)

U istom udžbeniku majka Mileninog supruga, starica od 78 godina, prilikom predstavljanja ističe da je još uvijek dobrog zdravlja, te navodi da sve kućne poslove i dalje obavlja sama, što u njenoj percepciji ima pozitivnu vrijednost:

Živim zdravo - svakog dana šetam pored reke, a u kući sve sama radim. Imam i malu baštu u kojoj gajim povrće. (Danilović 144)

I ovaj primjer možemo tumačiti kroz prizmu uticaja patrijarhalne kulture, u okviru koje je ustaljeno shvatanje da se sveukupna vrijednost identiteta, ne samo žena, već i muškaraca, u značajnom stepenu mjeri kroz rad u kući i doprinos domaćinstvu.

U udžbeniku *Učimo srpski* uočene su izrazito zastarjele, stereotipne postavke koje ne samo da reflektuju inferiornu poziciju žene unutar privatnog patrijarhata, već je prikaz koji na ovakvim postavkama počiva predočen u pozitivnom svjetlu. Iako se ne radi o naglašavanju aktivnosti u vezi sa kućnim poslovima, primjeri su veoma indikativni, jer se kroz njih reprodukuje ideja prema kojoj je kuća autentični ženski prostor. Percepcija uloge žene unutar kuće reflektuje potčinjenost muškarcu, odnosno, pasivnu, poslušnu ženu koja ostaje u kući, te sa zadovoljstvom prihvata da čeka muškarca koji aktivno učestvuje u društvenom životu. Prvi primjer koji ilustruje pomenute patrijarhalne obrasce odnosi se na

¹ U ovom udžbeniku uočeni su primjeri koji ne samo da odražavaju rodne stereotipe i asimetrične odnose moći, već su i veoma uvredljivi i imaju seksističke konotacije. Izdvojićemo sljedeći primjer: *Vlada je mladić koji nikad ne izlazi sa ružnim devojkama.* (Ćosić 60) U udžbenicima italijanskog jezika kao stranog primjeri poput ovog nisu uočeni.

tekst o slavnom glumačkom paru Mileni Dravić i Draganu Nikoliću, u kojem stoji da glumica iznosi sljedeće:

Dragan posle svih hobija koje ima tokom dana ipak najviše voli da ga čekam, da budem kod kuće kada se vrati. Ja, kao i mnoge žene, čekam svog čoveka. (Milićević-Dobromirov et al. 21)

U drugom srodnom primjeru iz istog udžbenika jedna prijateljica drugoj tumači rezultate psihološkog testa. Kao i u prethodnom slučaju i ovdje se egzaltira vrijednost kuće i muža, što je još jedna potvrda da se kroz udžbenike perpetuiraju vrijednosti svojstvene privatnom patrijarhatu, ali i da se sva odstupanja od istih, poput iskazivanja pritužbi na muža, cenzurišu i kritikuju:

Čup pun zlata, to je tvoj muž, draga moja. I ne želim da čujem više nijednu optužbu na njegov račun! Kuća je tvoja ličnost! Ti si velika i lepa ličnost, kao i tvoja kućica iz snova. (Milićević-Dobromirov et al. 41)

Dekonstrukcija patrijarhalnih obrazaca

Kuvanje: udžbenici italijanskog jezika

U udžbeniku *Qui Italia* pronalazimo tekst o godišnjem odmoru jednog para u kojem se tradicionalne rodne uloge obrću, te je muški lik taj koji obavlja pripremu doručka, dok ženski lik odlazi u nabavku namirnica:

La mattina ci svegliavamo verso le dieci, lei andava a comprare il pane e io preparavo la colazione... ("Ujutro smo se budili oko deset, ona je odlazila da kupi hleb a ja sam pripremao doručak...") (Mazzetti et al. 169)

U udžbeniku *Via del Corso* imamo još jedan primjer podjele rada između ženskih i muških likova - prvi pripremaju večeru, dok drugi postavljaju sto i prave salatu:

Bruno: Uhm che profumino...è pronto? (Bruno: "Uhm kakav miris...da li je spremno?")

Carla: Quasi. Voi avete finito di apparecchiare la tavola? ("Skoro. Jeste li vi završili sa postavljanjem stola?")

Bruno: Sì, mancano solo i bicchieri. Abbiamo preparato anche l'insalata. (Bruno: "Da, nedostaju samo čaše. Pripremili smo i salatu".) (Marino & Diadori 134)

Iako i ovaj prikaz sadrži opšte mjesto žene koja kuva, smatramo da su primjeri poput ovoga načelno pozitivni i da predstavljaju važan doprinos ka prevazilaženju patrijarhalnih kulturnih obrazaca, budući da se kroz

njih razvija netradicionalni model rodni odnosa, koji podrazumijeva podjelu obaveza, odnosno aktivno učešće muškaraca u kuhinji, i uopšte kućnim poslovima.

Jedan od najupečatljivijih primjera prevazilaženja rodni nejednakosti uočen je u udžbeniku *Via del Corso*, u kojem je u vježbi posvećenju usvajanju istovremenosti u imperfektu upotrijebljena sljedeća rečenica:

Mentre mia moglie guardava la televisione, io preparavo la cena.
("Dok je moja supruga gledala televiziju, ja sam pripremao večeru".) (Marino & Diadori 187)

Primjer ukazuje na značaj obrtanja tradicionalni rodni uloga kroz rečenice u kojima su prikazane paralelne aktivnosti ženskih i muških likova, s obzirom na to da se u njima patrijarhalni ideološki obrasci često prenose kao dio automatizovanih, prirodnih i zdravorazumskih pretpostavki o prikladnim društvenim ulogama žena i muškaraca (kao npr. u rečenici iz *Qui Italia*: "Juče dok sam razgovarao/razgovarala sa ocem, moja majka je kuvala".) (Mazzetti et al. 126)

Kuvanje: udžbenici srpskog jezika

U udžbeniku *Srpski korak po korak* uočen je primjer u kojem protagonista Stiv Bond, Englez koji zbog posla živi u Srbiji, priprema večeru zahvalnosti prijateljima koji su mu pomogli da pronađe stan: *Stiv se zahvalio Jovanu i Mileni i pripremio im je odličnu večeru u novom stanu.* (Danilović 109) Iako je riječ o prikazu muškarca koji preuzima tradicionalno žensku ulogu, budući da je riječ o samcu, ne stičemo uvid u rodne relacije i odnose moći koji se mogu očitati kroz prikaz porodične ili partnerske zajednice. Iz ovog razloga smatramo da primjer samo djelimično doprinosi dekonstrukciji tradicionalne rodne hijerarhije, s obzirom na to da stvarna transformacija patrijarhalnog poretka zahtijeva da muškarci preuzmu odgovornost ne samo kao pojedinci u kontekstu individualnih potreba, već kao sastavne komponente porodične ili partnerske zajednice koju grade i čijem funkcionisanju je neophodno da podjednako sa ženama doprinose.

Ostali kućni poslovi: udžbenici italijanskog jezika

Prikaz muških likova koji učestvuju u obavljanju kućnih poslova takođe je više zastupljen u korpusu italijanskih nego u korpusu srpskih udžbenika.

U *Qui Italia* u jednoj od vježbi posvećenju iskazivanju istovremenosti u imperfektu date su ilustracije na osnovu kojih je neophodno formulirati rečenice. Na jednoj od tih ilustracija prikazan je

ženski lik koji čita, dok muški lik za to vrijeme kosi u dvorištu. Iako je košenje u tradicionalnoj podjeli rada tipično muška aktivnost, smatramo da se ovaj primjer načelno udaljava od tradicionalnog rodnog modela, jer predstavlja ženu koja odmara, dok muškarac radi poslove vezane za održavanje kuće:

Slika 1.



(Mazzetti et al. 159)

U *Via del Corso* pranje suđa prikazano je kao aktivnost koju obavlja muškarac:

Slika 2.



(Marino & Diadori 85)

U istom udžbeniku data je rečenica u kojoj je prikazana podjela kućnih poslova, odnosno, zajedničko učešće i muškarca i žene u čišćenju kuće:

Paolo e Chiara stanno mettendo in ordine la casa perché arrivano gli ospiti. ("Paolo i Chiara sređuju kuću zato što dolaze gosti".)
(Marino & Diadori 193)

U udžbeniku *Via del Corso* prikazana je veoma upečatljiva ilustracija na kojoj je dat netradicionalni portret oca koji obavlja različite aktivnosti vezane za prostor privatne sfere: odlazi po namirnice i brine se o djetetu. Samu ilustraciju prati rečenica koja potvrđuje da je muškarac itekako aktivan i uključen u aktivnosti koje se tradicionalno dodjeljuju ženama: *Ti vedo un po' stressato. Carlo, che c'è? Troppe cose da fare?* ("Vidim da si malo pod stresom. Karlo, šta se dešava? Previše stvari za obaviti?") (Marino & Diadori 174)

Slika 3.



(Marino & Diadori 174)

Ostali kućni poslovi: udžbenici srpskog jezika kao stranog

U korpusu udžbenika srpskog jezika kao stranog nisu uočeni relevantni primjeri muških likova koji preuzimaju tradicionalne ženske uloge u domenu kućnih poslova, iz čega proizilazi da prikaz privatne sfere u ovom segmentu ne predstavlja drugo do reprodukciju rodnih relacija tipičnih za patrijarhalne društvene strukture.

Zaključak

Polazeći od ideje da udžbenici, kao produkti obrazovnih politika uslovljenih društvenim kontekstom, kulturnim realnostima i odnosima moći unutar njih, nisu ideološki neutralni (Curdt-Christiansen & Weninger 1), u ovom radu fokusirali smo se na analizu prikaza privatne sfere u udžbenicima italijanskog jezika kao stranog i srpskog jezika kao

stranog, kako bismo demaskirali patrijarhalne rodne ideologije koje su u njih utisnute. Krićka analiza diskursa pokazala je su aktivnosti ženskih i muških likova koncipirane tako da reflektuju tradicionalnu rodnu hijerarhiju tipičnu za patrijarhalni poredak: ženski likovi najčešće kuvaju za sebe i druge unutar porodične ili partnerske zajednice; od ženskih likova se očekuje da umiju kuvati; uloga žene u kuhinji predočena je kao prirodno zadati, očekivani društveni normativ koji se ne dovodi u pitanje.

Uočeno je da su patrijarhalni obrasci mnogo izraženiji u udžbenicima za srpski kao strani jezik, te da se oni dodatno osnažuju, legitimizuju i čak idealizuju pod uticajem vjerske i narodne tradicije koja se najjasnije ispoljava kroz kulturu slava i slavskih običaja, koji su u potpunosti modelovani prema patrijarhalnom sistemu vrijednosti, unutar kojeg žena svoj identitet zaokružuje kroz ulogu domaćice. Takođe, uočen je upečatljiv primjer majke koja sa ponosom ističe da sve njene ćerke znaju kuvati (iako ima i sina, on se u ovom kontekstu izostavlja), što svjedoči o tome da su patrijarhalne vrijednosti percipirane kao načela dobrog odgoja, te da se njihovo transgeneracijsko prenošenje konotira u pozitivnom svjetlu. I u kategoriji ostalih kućnih poslova patrijarhalni obrasci znatno su upečatljiviji u udžbenicima srpskog jezika kao stranog, zato što u njima ove aktivnosti ne samo da su dodijeljene ženskim likovima, već se u nekim uočenim primjerima eksplicitno navodi da partneri odbijaju da pomažu u kući, da žene imaju mnogo kućnih poslova (bez pominjanja podrške partnera), a jedan od primjera implicira da je sposobnost žene da samostalno obavlja kućne poslove i u poznim godinama vrlina i uspjeh. Takođe, uočeni su primjeri koji sugerišu da je privatna sfera autentični ženski prostor gdje žena ostvaruje puni smisao svog postojanja, određen prema njenoj relaciji sa partnerom.

Iako se kroz udžbenike srpskog jezika otkriva intenzivniji uticaj patrijarhalnih obrazaca, jedan od najupečatljivijih primjera u ovom pogledu pronalazimo u italijanskom udžbeniku *Qui Italia*. Naime, u ovom udžbeniku uočena je adaptacija sadržaja jednog od tekstova kroz postupak koji je moguće okarakterisati kao jedan vid ideološki uslovljene cenzure, budući da su elementi rodne ravnopravnosti iz originalnog teksta čuvenog književnika Itala Kalvina isključeni iz verzije prezentovane u udžbeniku, a zadržani samo oni koji odražavaju tradicionalnu podjelu rodni uloga tipičnu za patrijarhalni sistem vrijednosti.

Ipak, paralelno sa konstrukcijom patrijarhalnih obrazaca u udžbenicima italijanskog jezika kao stranog razvija se i alternativni model rodni odnosa kroz koji se tradicionalne rodne uloge osporavaju,

a patrijarhalni obrasci dekonstruišu. Ova tendencija je naročito vidljiva u kategoriji kućnih poslova, gdje se izdvajaju primjeri podjele rada između ženskih i muških likova, ali i primjeri potpunog obrtanja tradicionalnih rodni uloga (npr. u rečenici *Mentre mia moglie guardava la televisione, io preparavo la cena*. ("Dok je moja supruga gledala televiziju, ja sam pripremao večeru".) (Marino & Diadori 187) Ovakvi primjeri najviše su prisutni u udžbeniku *Via del Corso* iz 2018. godine. U udžbenicima srpskog jezika kao stranog situacije kada muški likovi preuzimaju aktivnu ulogu u privatnom domenu prikazane su kao izuzeci, to jest kao odstupanje u odnosu na prirodno ustanovljeni poredak.

Kritički osvrt na obrazovne politike Srbije i Italije u domenu udžbenika stranih jezika ukazuje na to da su patrijarhalne ideologije daleko ukorijenjenije u srpskom obrazovnom sistemu, dok se u italijanskom paralelno sa tradicionalnim ponegdje uočava i emancipatorni rodni narativ, kao protivteža patrijarhalnim strukturama. U skladu sa Ferklofovom (Fairclough 1989, 244) idejom o dva suprotstavljena potencijala obrazovanja, zaključujemo da se kroz udžbenike italijanskog jezika kao stranog nejednaki odnosi moći jednim dijelom transformišu, dok se kroz udžbenike srpskog jezika kao stranog oni reprodukuju.

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THE (DE)CONSTRUCTION OF PATRIARCHAL VALUES IN TEXTBOOKS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ITALIAN AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE AND SERBIAN AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS

In this paper, foreign language textbooks are interpreted from a social constructivist perspective, as sociocultural products that contain not only specific subject knowledge, but also social norms, cultural values and ideologies (Curdt-Christiansen 2). From the point of view of *critical discourse analysis* ideology is a construct based upon assumptions and beliefs that reinforce, reproduce and legitimate asymmetrical power relations between different social groups. In line with this, we employ CDA to examine the presence of patriarchal ideologies in the depiction of the private sphere in a corpus composed of five textbooks of Italian as a Foreign Language and four textbooks of Serbian as a Foreign Language. Since the issue of patriarchal legacy in FL textbooks in previous research is primarily addressed in relation to English FL textbooks, one of the objectives of the present study is to shed a light on Italian FL textbooks that are insufficiently explored, and to compare them to Serbian FL textbooks, that are especially relevant as they were until now never approached from the perspective of gender. All the textbooks are employed in the specific educational context of foreign language teaching and learning in the post-secondary education in Republika Srpska, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The

importance of the critical analysis of FL textbooks is emphasized because foreign language acquisition includes not only the development of communicative competence in the target language, but also represents a complex process of acculturation, during which students learn and incorporate the cultural values and customs of other countries. In this vein, we argue that FL textbooks used in class should not contain outdated gender stereotypes that convey the message that Italy and Serbia are places where patriarchal cultural values and inequalities are commonly accepted as undisputed societal norms; instead, it is argued that textbooks should promote a more emancipatory discourse and support the transformation of traditional gender roles that has occurred in the past decades in both Serbian and Italian society. This standpoint reflects the epistemological concerns of critical theory, oriented towards human emancipation and liberation from oppressive narratives. The practical implications of critical theory are connected to education and rely on its transformative potential. According to Fairclough (1989, 244), education can have a decisive role in determining whether the existing relations of power are to be reproduced or transformed. In reference to this claim, the objective of this study is to examine whether textbooks from the corpus, through the depiction of the private sphere, promote emancipation, collaboration and equal contributions from both women and men, or whether they continue to perpetuate patriarchal ideologies that present women's subordinated position within the private sphere as something natural and taken for granted. In the first part of analysis textual and illustrative sequences containing values and norms related to patriarchy were identified, while in the second part we focused on the examples in which traditional gender hierarchy is subverted. The results revealed that in both Italian and Serbian FL textbooks, cooking is depicted as a female activity; however, the weight of the patriarchal legacy is far more affirmed in Serbian FL textbooks, especially through the exaltation of *slava*, a well noted Serbian cultural and religious tradition that not only prescribes and reinforces traditional gender roles and identities, but it also idealizes them. In these terms a housewife who cooks food and serves it to others is an ideal woman, loyal to the traditional values of her people. In this particular case, the transgression of traditional gender hierarchy is viewed as a transgression of national and cultural identity, which furthermore illustrates how patriarchal values in Serbian society are closely related to the perception of ethnic identity. Similarly, through one of the examples the idea about traditional upbringing is connoted in a positive manner, more specifically, it is implied that female children ought to know how to cook and do housework. Even though the protagonist of the text has a son too, he is never nominated in this particular context. In the Serbian FL textbooks, housework is also depicted as a female activity, while in the Italian FL textbooks several examples of men helping in the house, doing housework and cooking were also identified. In the Serbian FL textbooks, we identified one example of a male character cooking dinner, however it was presented as an exception in comparison to the ordinary daily routine in one Serbian family. The overall results of the study indicate that patriarchal values are still a very strong component of the gender identities

depicted in Serbian FL and Italian FL textbooks. However, unlike in Serbian FL textbooks, where the depiction of the private sphere relies almost exclusively on patriarchal values and traditional gender roles, in Italian FL textbooks, an alternative emancipatory discourse is also being constructed. As such, we conclude that Serbian FL textbooks are ideological instruments that reproduce and legitimize the archaic views of gender roles, while in Italian FL textbooks unequal power relations are at least partially transformed and disputed.

Keywords: textbooks; foreign languages; Italian language; Serbian language; patriarchal ideologies

**CODE-SWITCHING IN THE INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS OF
PRISHTINA: A STUDY OF ALBANIAN/ENGLISH
BILINGUALISM**

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Abstract: This paper examines the speech of Albanian students who are highly exposed to English. They are educated in international schools at the primary and secondary level, with English as their medium of instruction. However, they reside in an otherwise monolingual society with the majority of the population speaking Albanian. Among other bilingual phenomena, code-switching is examined in terms of whether and how much it occurs in their naturalistic speech. The initial hypothesis expressed at the outset was that code-switching is a prevalent linguistic behavior among Albanian bilingual students observed in informal environments within international schools. Furthermore, while Albanian remains their primary language, English insertions within an Albanian syntactic frame are common. The data gathered from the students through participant systematic observation reveal that the Albanian language is influenced by English. Students are noticed to switch back and forth between English and Albanian. But this varies among different age groups under investigation as proven by quantitative analysis. Furthermore, in terms of structure, Albanian set the morpho-syntactic frame of the mixed clause, while English is the embedded language inserted within an Albanian clause.

Keywords: Language contacts, bilingualism, code-switching, English, Albanian

1. Introduction

It is well known that the interactions between English and Albanian have varied over time. However, a stronger connection is known to have existed in Kosova's post-war period, when the presence of many international missions necessitated the learning of English, which led to

frequent interactions with foreigners. This also corresponded with globalization, in which English has taken on the role of *lingua franca*, serving as a common language for numerous languages. The Albanian language is no exception to this new reality.

Many parents send their children to international schools within the country or abroad in the newly established reality, with the growing importance of English in almost every field. The medium of instruction at these international schools is English. The children enrolled in international schools within the country will be the focus of this research. Accordingly, they live in an otherwise monocultural (monolingual) society, in their native land, where Albanian is spoken by the vast majority of the population. Therefore, the kind of bilingualism we may be talking about in this research is language-only or monocultural bilingualism (also known as intentional bilingualism) which comes as a matter of choice rather than as a matter of necessity (qt. in Hurajová 339-340).

Language contact gives rise to bilingualism as a social phenomenon. Lexical borrowings, CS, calques, hybrid compounds, and other bilingual phenomena have all been researched extensively. Lexical borrowings, for example, are embraced even by monolingual people and this is known to be a diachronic process. At first, new terms enter the recipient language as code-switches, but then, the most frequently switched terms eventually lead to adapted forms as borrowings.

On account of the fact that this is rather a synchronic approach, the aim of this paper is to examine whether and how much CS is occurring in the naturalistic speech of Albanian bilingual students. They are observed in informal settings within campuses, such as during recess time, on the playground, and so on when they communicate with each other, and when they are not under the pressure of choosing one language over another. Secondly, this research is aimed at determining the significance of extra-linguistic factors in the choice of language and code-switch type by means of statistical tests. Also, the paper tackles some structural aspects of code-switching, such as the combination of constituents from the two languages within the mixed clause.

2. Literature Review

For a long time, authors of diverse communities (Poplack, 1980, 2004; Gumperz, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1993, 2002, 2008, 2017; Auer, 1998; Muysken, 2000, MacSwan, 2005, etc.), particularly those that were in daily contact with more than one language, have labeled code-switching (hereafter CS) as a highly prevalent bilingual phenomenon in multilingual cultures and communities. However, there has been a lot of

interest in CS during the last fifty years (Gardner-Chloros 9). Furthermore, Gumperz's work in 1982 drew a lot of attention, and since then, the study of CS has been going strong with no signs of decline (*ibid.*). Gumperz, a sociologist and anthropologist, expanded the term 'code-switching' more thoroughly (e.g., Riehl 25). As Alvares Caccamo (*qt. in* Auer 32) points out, Vogt (368) was the first to mention "code-switching" and to refer to it more explicitly and accurately at an early stage: "Code-switching in itself is probably not a linguistic phenomenon, but rather a psychological one, and its causes are obviously extralinguistic" (368). According to Auer (27), the term "code-switching" was first mentioned by Roman Jakobson in 1952, who drew analogies between language switching, co-existing phonemic systems in borrowing, and information theory, even though the term had previously been coined. CS has been translated into Albanian as "këmbim kodi" (Ismajli/Rugova/Munishi, 197), Munishi refers to CS as "ndërrim kodi", while it is adapted as "kod-suiçing" by Schader (248). There has been a lot of discussion in the literature about the difference between borrowing and CS. From a synchronic standpoint, Myers-Scotton (153) underlines that there is no need to make this distinction, although Riehl (22), Poplack (590), and MacSwan (321-334) regard the borrowing versus CS distinction to be crucial. CS is a transition from one language to another, so the languages do not change, but during the lexical and/or grammatical transfer, one language incorporates something from the other, changing its form in the process (e.g., Riehl 22). Scholars like Riehl (2014) refer to single-word insertions as 'ad-hoc' borrowings, in 2004, Poplack (590) refers to them as 'nonce borrowings', whilst MacSwan (7) recognizes them as 'novel borrowings'. By referring to the Minimalist Program, MacSwan (321-334) has elucidated the distinction more thoroughly. According to whom, because phonology is more sensitive, CS between stem and affix is not possible.

According to Poplack (589), intrasentential CS refers to switches that occur within a sentence, whereas intersentential CS refers to switches that occur at the sentence's boundaries. While tag-switching is the process of switching a tag phrase or a word from one language to another.

Some authors, on the other hand, consider single-word insertions to be CS (e.g., Myers-Scotton 153). In this regard, it was Myers-Scotton, among others, who challenged Poplack's stance by establishing the MLF model (Matrix Language Frame), according to which the ML is the dominant language and sets the morpho-syntactic frame of the clause within which there can be lexical insertions from the embedded language. It is the embedded language, according to her, that follows

the ML rules. As a result, they should not be seen as two independent phenomena, but rather as a diachronic continuum: loanwords enter the recipient language as code-switches at first, and then become integrated eventually (Gardner-Chloros 12). The main focus of the study was not on borrowings, but rather on the CS phenomenon. Regardless, a distinction between the two is important and relevant to the research. As a result, embedded language insertions that got ML affixes were classified as nonce borrowings rather than CS.

2.1. Code-switching studies on the Albanian/English pair

CS has been studied extensively in immigrant communities with societal bilingualism¹. Nuhiu (2013) conducted a series of diachronic research studies in America to examine the impact of English on Albanian heritage speakers. The English lexical borrowing into the Albanian language is one of the outcomes of linguistic interactions between the two languages at hand that has received a lot of attention so far (e.g., Nuhiu, 2013a, 2013b; Gërmizaj, 2009, 2013; Munishi, 2013, 2020, and so on). However, CS has emerged as a linguistic behavior of Albanian language speakers who are in everyday contact with English since Albanian and English have been in more direct contact in the last twenty years or so due to the status of English as the lingua franca of the global world. Nonetheless, as far as we are aware, just a few papers have been published in this regard² (e.g., Mustafa, 2005; Kryeziu, 2017, Shabani, 2018). Mustafa (137-160) is the first and one of the few studies to look at the sociolinguistic elements that influence code-switching in Albanian language speakers, with a particular focus on international organizations in Kosova. Using a range of qualitative methods, she found out that participants' code-switching behavior varied, which she examined using Gumperz's three situational categories: participants, topic, and situation. Similarly, Kryeziu (487-500) did a qualitative

¹ Schader (2005) studied the contacts of Albanian and German languages in Switzerland. CS of Albanian-heritage speakers is investigated using tape-recording and questionnaires for examining the reasons for CS from actual conversations, determining language choice based on situational parameters such as topic, participant, and location, as well as quantitative analysis using questionnaires as a primary source to reach conclusions.

² Instead, studies on Serbian - Albanian pair have been thoroughly analyzed due to the long coexistence of the language contacts of the two. In this regard, Munishi (2020) talked about the coexistence of these two languages for a long time and the asymmetrical bilingualism that existed in Kosova, also in former Yugoslavia, with Serbian as the more dominant language and Albanian as the less prestigious one.

investigation of written informal language on social networking sites. Shabani (291-302) then goes on to conduct another tape-recorded study in which bilinguals' focus group discussions were observed. The focus was on the structure and function of CS.

To reveal the social meaning of CS, the authors use deductive generalizations, as well as a symbolic description of the structure that characterizes the grammar of CS involving English and Albanian. Accordingly, the goal of this study is to go beyond simply listing the causes of CS. Because no quantitative studies of the CS phenomenon in the Albanian/English language pair have been conducted to account for the extralinguistic factors that influence language choice, this paper aims to provide information on language choice among participants using the statistical preponderance of languages. Also, the MLF model of Myers-Scotton will be used for determining the matrix language in a mixed clause.

2.2. Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model by Myers-Scotton

According to the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model (1993), the contributions of the participating languages in codeswitching are not equal. The Matrix Language (ML) is the language that contributes more, while the Embedded Language is the language that contributes to a less extent (EL). More participation in codeswitching, according to Myers-Scotton (15), does not necessarily imply more morphemes, but this is frequently the case. Instead, it refers to a more abstract structure or a specific type of structure. To put it another way, the ML can be distinguished from the EL using two MLF model principles: the Morpheme Order Principle (MOP) and the System Morpheme Principle (SMP).

The Morpheme Order Principle (MOP)

A given constituent type in any language has a uniform abstract structure and the requirements of well-formedness for this type must be observed whenever the constituent appears. In the bilingual speech, the structures of the Matrix Language are always preferred, but some Embedded structures [...] are allowed if Matrix Language clause structure is observed. (Myers-Scotton 15)

The System Morpheme Principle (SMP)

In [... mixed] constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituents (which participate in sentences thematic role grid) will come from the Matrix Language. (Myers-Scotton 15)

Accordingly, ML provides both content and system morphemes (early system morphemes and late system morphemes - bridge and

outsider morphemes), whereas EL's contribution is limited to content morphemes and early system morphemes. The distinction between content and system morphemes is based on their participation in the sentence's thematic grid; content morphemes (for example, nouns, adjectives, verbs, and prepositions) assign or receive thematic roles, whereas system morphemes do not. Verbs and some prepositions, for instance, assign thematic roles to nouns and adjectives, and nouns and adjectives receive thematic roles of agent, actor, or direct object. System morphemes, on the other hand, do not assign or receive thematic roles (e.g., function words and inflections). Myers-Scotton's "bridge" and "outsider" morphemes are said to build the clause structure (Myers-Scotton 21), so they are not activated at the lemma level. Bridge morphemes depend on information rather than the head of their maximal projection, and outsider morphemes depend on information outside their maximal projection. Thus, through the development of the 4M model, Myers-Scotton focuses on the distinction between content morphemes and system morphemes which is essential in the study of the grammatical constraint of code-switching. Late system morphemes are not switched and are provided by the ML. Early system morphemes are activated earlier than other types of morphemes at the level of the lemma. But they do not assign or receive thematic roles as content morphemes do. Early system morphemes are provided by the ML or EL.

3. Methodology

Participants were observed systematically, focus groups were held, interviews were conducted, and tape recordings were made. During the fieldwork, there were taken notes and conversations were recorded while observing students in their natural conversations so that the transcript can be excerpted later. Following that, the focus group included students who code-switched the most while being observed, as well as interviews to examine the reasons for their language use and code choice in specific settings. Furthermore, quantitative analysis, such as the Chi-square test, alongside qualitative analysis, is included in the analysis of CS.

3.1. Detailed fieldwork procedure

One of the most efficient approaches for obtaining authentic, original, and objective data is participant observation. At the same time, it is recognized as one of the most difficult data collection methods, because fieldworkers face various challenges in striving to make the most out of their lengthy process of acquiring original, relevant

information as well as naturalistic and spontaneous language. Apart from the fact that you are the strangest person in the field, staring at participants with a notebook, listening to what they say, and taking notes, they may perceive you as a detective watching what they do, or a suspicious supervisor who will inform the principal about their behavior during recess (this was implied based on our experience there). Although participant observation is one of the most common methods for collecting data in Sociolinguistics, it still lacks specific information on its description when researchers utilize it in fieldwork (Li Wei 70-72). When we mention "detailed information," we're referring to information regarding the fieldworker's approach to the audience and the relationships they established with the participants, as these factors should be considered when evaluating the outcomes.

3.2. Participants

Table 1 shows the number of participants in the study, their age, and gender. This study is based on a corpus of 16 hours and 8 minutes of audiotaped conversation among Albanian-English bilinguals in the American School of Kosova (ASK) Prishtina High School (PHS), and the Finnish School (FS). The conversations were transcribed in full and underwent a detailed analysis.

It is important to mention that getting their permission for doing research of such a nature was very difficult, especially during the pandemic when the schools' representatives were skeptical due to the close affinity of the fieldworker with the students. Eventually, we managed to have their permission to do the research, regardless of the many hesitations from the side of schools' managements, including ASK, PHS, and FS.

Age	N of males	N of females	Total
9-11	3	5	8
12-14	4	4	8
16-17	5	3	8
17-18	3	3	6
Total	15	15	30

Table 1. Distribution of participants according to age and sex

After a descriptive observation, i.e., an overall description of their linguistic behavior, 30 informants (Albanian native speakers) were chosen for a thorough investigation of their language, and the cases where they code-switched or employ other bilingual phenomena in their speech. It was more convenient to observe the students during lunch break, which was followed by recess time, which lasted around 20

minutes and was followed by another 20 minutes. Other circumstances, such as when fifth-graders were ready to leave for the lunch break, their interaction with their court teacher, who always speaks to them in English regardless of whether they reply in their mother tongue or in English, and their connection with each other, were also considered. Another area to meet middle-schoolers was clubs, which are attended by students with a variety of interests and hobbies, such as dance, drawing, movies, karaoke, and so on.

We approached them and turned on the recorder in some situations, while in some others we also got involved in their conversations. The students were aware that a research project was underway and that they were a part of it, but they were not informed of the true purpose behind the research for their language to remain unaffected. Because students are observed by several teachers during lunch and recess throughout the week, the fieldworker was eventually perceived as a supervisor as well. This is the impression we got as they frequently sought permission from the fieldworker to engage in certain activities at that time.

These thirty students are divided into four groups: primary school students (9-11 years old), middle schoolers (12-14 years old), and two groups of high school students (16 to 18 years old) whom the fieldworker observed on Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays. In addition, three teachers from the respective schools agreed to assist the fieldworker with the data because they were aware of her intentions, so they would record or take notes whenever they observed their kids interacting or switching codes. This latter method of data collection would be particularly useful for the fieldworker's grammatical examination of the switches.

Except for the Albanian language class, all courses are offered in English. In our situation, 40 percent of the teachers are English native speakers, while the rest, or 60 percent, are Albanian native speakers who are proficient in English.

3.3. Corpus

Data comprises spoken language used in informal environments, such as interactions during lunchtime, recess, and playgrounds within campuses. Data was collected by means of field notes from direct observations with the recording device on throughout all the time.

3.4. Hypothesis

Based on everyday unsystematic observation and earlier studies on the subject, one could argue that more research is needed to once again illustrate the influence of English on the Albanian language and test the following hypotheses:

- Code-switching is common among Albanian students highly exposed to English.
- Albanian continues to be their primary language, with English serving as a secondary language in informal conversations.

3.5. Research questions

- To what extent is code-switching practiced among students in Prishtina international schools?
- Which constituents are switched, and how are they combined within the mixed clause?

4. Results

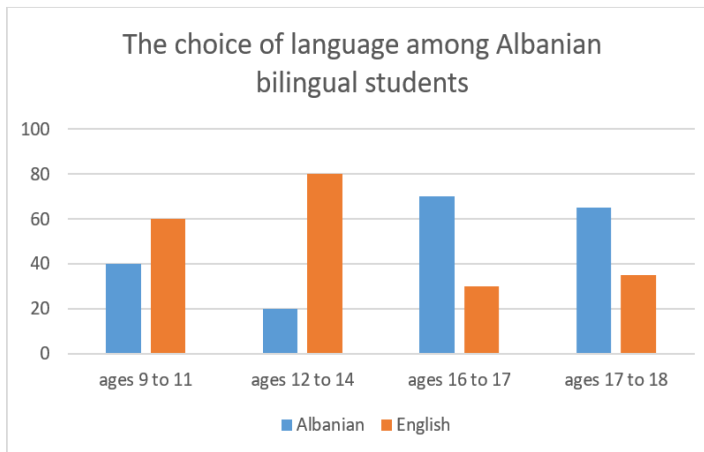
4.1. The extent of participation of the two languages in Prishtina international schools and the direction of the switches

The hypothesis presented at the outset of the research project was that the Albanian language would be the matrix language (base language) among bilingual students at Prishtina international schools. Their speech, on the other hand, is marked by a high number of insertions from English as an embedded language. Given that the data consists of informal, intra-group communication in vernacular speech, the hypothesis was designed to address informal contexts where students are allowed to choose any language they wish and where spontaneity plays a role. Otherwise, English is the unmarked choice in more formal settings, particularly when communicating with teachers — after all, English is the language of instruction at school.

The results show different linguistic preferences among age groups. Using Myers-Scotton's MLF model was not enough in setting up the matrix language frame as it only accounted for switching within the sentence. For that reason, the language of interaction was defined by the statistical preponderance of words in one language or the other, owing to the fact that switching was not only within the sentence but also between sentences.

As for the switching of the intrasentential type, in all the cases, Albanian was identified as the matrix language. That is, the morpho-syntactic structure of the clause was provided by Albanian, with lexical insertions from English. One of the reasons that facilitated switching

intrasententially into an Albanian frame we assume is that, viewed from a typological point of view, English and Albanian are SVO. Although Albanian is highly an inflective language with relatively free word order. This is probably why the students did not prefer to insert Albanian in an English language framework, the order of which is rather strict. On the contrary, if they are fluent in English, they will switch entirely to English. Thus, CS at the boundary level is their dominant linguistic behavior. However, they both have a post-verbal object, where the verb and also the noun are followed by complement, so both languages belong to the languages where the head precedes complement (Koleci & Turano 37).



Graph 1: The choice of language by Albanian students under observation

Out of 661 cases of code-switching identified from the transcribed conversations, 310 or 46.89% belong to intrasentential type, or switching within the sentence, while 275 cases make intersentential switching, or switching at sentence boundaries. Tag switching, also known as emblematic switching, is not frequently used among age groups under investigation with only 76 cases identified or 11.49%. These percentages are divided according to the age groups given in the graph above. As can be seen, in the age group 10-11 years, or 5th graders, intersentential CS dominates. Out of a total of 159 CS or 24.05%, 80 switches belong to intersentential CS or 50.31%. Intrasentential CS accounts for 60 cases or 37.73%, while tag-switching with only 19 cases or 11.94%.

Ages 12-14 years, or lower secondary school students, changed the code in 142 cases or 21.48% of the total number of CS, of which 95 or 66.90% belong to intersentential CS. Insertions from English into the syntactic framework of Albanian were observed during conversations

with us (as outsiders), of which 35 cases or 24.64% are classified under intrasentential CS, while tag-switching is still the least used type with a total of 12 cases or 8.45%.

Ages 16-17 showed quite a different language behavior compared to the two previous age groups as intrasentential CS finds greater use. The total number of CS identified in this age group is 183 CS or 27.68%, of which 105 cases or 57.37% are classified as intrasentential CS. This number is halved when intersentential CS is expressed, where a total of 53 cases or 28.96% have been identified in this age group. As is common in other age groups, tag-switching accounts for 25 cases or 13.66%.

Even high school students aged 17-18 years old appear to prefer English-language insertions into the Albanian structure. Out of a total of 177 instances with CS, or 26.77 percent, 110 cases (62.14 percent) belong to the latter, whereas the second, intersentential CS, has a substantially smaller percentage, with 47 cases (26.55 percent). Tag-switching has the lowest percentage, with 20 cases accounting for 11.29 percent.

4.2. The contribution of extra-linguistic factors in the occurrence of CS

The Chi-square test was used to determine the extent to which extra-linguistic factors influence the choice of Albanian over English and vice versa, as well as the occurrence of CS types. Each pair of factors was subjected to separate experiments to determine their relative

importance.

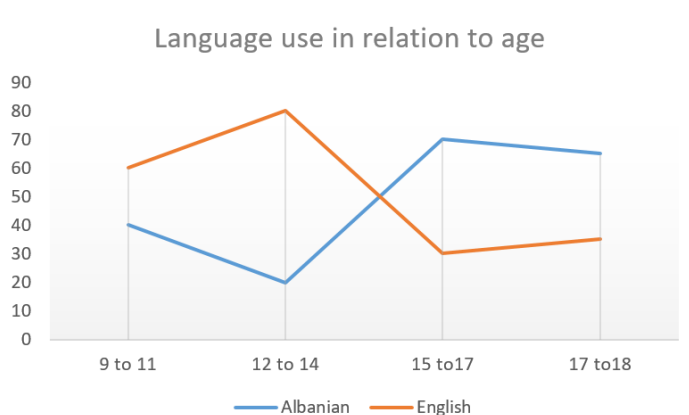
$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$$

Age factor:

Regarding language choice, the statistical value is smaller than .05 in the Alpha table. Hence, age appears to be a significant factor in the choice of language. That is, the earlier they have been exposed to English, the more native-like their ultimate attainment is, and the more they are compelled to choose English as their base language. Age factor and age of L2 acquisition turned out to be in the right proportion in our study. That there is a correlation between age of exposure to English and its final attainment is confirmed in other studies also, such as Johnson and Newport (60-99).

The bilingual speakers under investigation were divided into two groups: A – fifth graders and middle schoolers, and B – high schoolers in an attempt to see whether age is a significant factor in predicting CS type. In turn, age was found to be a significant factor in the selection of the code-switch type. Having calculated the number of occurrences for

each age group, the results show that primary schoolers (78% of them) favor switching between sentences, or switching entirely to one of the languages. Whereas group B (68%) favored switching of the insertional type to a greater extent.



Graph 2: Language choice in relation to age

Age of L₂ Acquisition:

The age at which the L₂ is acquired turned out to be a significant factor in predicting code switch type also. The earlier one learns the second language, the greater they use the two languages on stage, and in interaction with their peers. In our case, intersentential CS is preferred by those early catchers of the L₂, practiced among those who learned the second language at an early age and shows the highest percentage of intersentential CS, or switching entirely to one of the two languages in disposition. They are, as the graph above illustrates, English-dominant and prefer to keep languages separately. Whilst those that were considered “newcomers”, were identified as Albanian dominant who practiced or favored tag-switches and single word insertions from English into an Albanian base.

Gender factor:

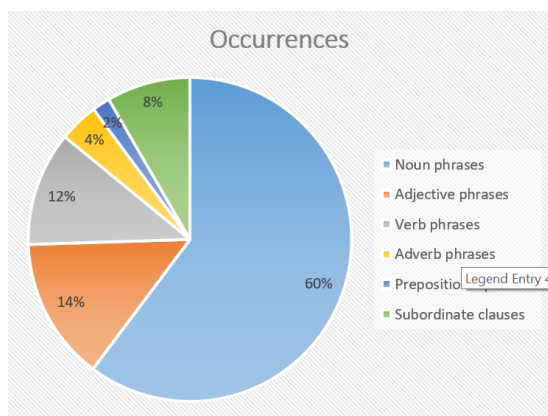
The null hypothesis (H_0) in that there is no significant difference in the choice of CS type based on gender was rejected. Looking at the probability level table of the two-degree of freedom number, the sex of the speaker turned out to be a highly significant factor in predicting code-switch type at the 0.001 level. Female speakers favor intersentential CS (70%), or switching entirely to English or Albanian. Where in fact, male speakers prefer insertions of English origin within an Albanian clause (66% of the switches are of this type).

4.3. CS in terms of structure

4.3.1. Types of CS identified

As has already been stated, languages in contact bring about different results taking into account the intensity of the contacts, speakers, typological differences between the languages, and other factors. Hence, this requires a great deal of attention to account for the kinds of analyses using the data we collect through participant observation. When dealing with content that has been learned in English, the speakers have a predisposition to use English words; however, they did do so particularly when interacting with outsiders, such as the fieldworkers. This implied that they felt compelled to explain things to strangers, which is why no similar behavior is observed when they communicate with each other.

Although the Albanian bilingual speakers in this study live in an Albanian-speaking society, their education is in English. As a result, they frequently mix languages, with the majority of switching being done into English from an Albanian base. We may conclude that intra-sentential switching is extremely productive and occurs smoothly among the sample students under investigation, given that it involves not only single nouns or NP insertions from English but also other lexical-syntactic categories. The graph below shows the percentage distribution of the respective categories.



Graph 3: Categories from English inserted into the Albanian syntactic frame

Noun phrases are the most switched category, accounting for 66% of the data, followed by adjective phrases, which account for 16% of the data. The second most commonly switched category comprises verbs, which make 12 percent of all switches, followed by subordinate clauses, which account for 8%, and adverb phrases, which account for only 4%.

Prepositional phrases remain the least switched category, accounting for only 2% of all occurrences.

Switching at sentence boundaries was also very frequent among age groups under investigation, alongside intra-sentential switching. However, the distribution of the switching types varies according to age, specifically. Younger participants, or 5th graders, seem to prefer inter-sentential switching. In fact, they are English-dominant, and whenever they switch, they do it entirely in one or the other language. Middle-schoolers exhibit monolingual mode. They are either English- or Albanian-dominant. As for high-schoolers, they prefer CS of the insertional type into a frame provided by the Albanian language, and rarely the other way round.

4.3.2. The most frequent combinations of elements from two languages

It's worth noting that these combinations initially helped us in determining which of participating languages is the matrix language, referring to Myers-Scotton's explanations.

The Albanian verb with an English complement is one of the most prevalent combinations used in the syntactic framework offered by the Albanian language.

- (1) Kemi pasë assignments all the time.
Have-us had assignments all the time.
'We had assignments all the time.'
- (2) I di my job requirements edhe çka ka me bo unë.
clitic know my job requirements and what have to do I.
'I know my job requirements.'
- (3) Vërehet accent
Recognized accent
'Accent is recognized.'

An English verb with an Albanian complement, on the other hand, is uncommon. Here are a few examples of minor cases that have been encountered.

- (4) Me rent shtëpiza të drurit.
To rent lodges of wooden
'To rent wooden lodges'
- (5) Ta set up një theme.
Clitic set up a theme.
'To set up a theme.'

- (6) Me *deposit* pare.
 To deposit money.
 'To deposit money.'

The second most frequently encountered combination is an Albanian preposition combined with a complement from English. This is supported by MLF, according to which, prepositions as system morphemes are provided by the ML unless they assign thematic roles (Myers-Scotton and Jake 347). Thus, morpheme classification depends on "the specific morpho-syntactic features of the morpheme within a clause and not its lexical category".

- (7) Në *recess* janë do njerzi
 In recess are some people
 'There are some people in recess...'
- (8) Prej *big whales*
 From big whales
 'From big whales'
- (9) Investon në *research*
 Invest-3PSG in research
 'He invests in research.'

Not a single case of an English preposition followed by an Albanian complement was identified.

Further, a combination often encountered was an Albanian determiner followed by an English noun.

- (10) Çdo *club* është interesant.
 Each club is interesting
 'Each club is interesting.'
- (11) Nuk është ndonjë *big deal*
 not is any big deal
 'It is not any big deal.'
- (12) Ta jep një *self-esteem* jo të teprume.
 Clitic give-2PSG a self-esteem no of
 excessive.
 'It gives you not excessive self-esteem.'

Albanian nouns, on the other hand, are not preceded by English determiners. Existing models account for the absence of English determiners in this case. According to the MLF model, since the Albanian language is established as the ML, the categories preceding the noun that fall under the determiner term are not switched. MacSwan (18) also predicts that speakers will utilize gendered language determiners, i.e.,

determiners from a language with grammatical gender, such as Albanian in this case.

Another common combination is an Albanian copulative verb followed by an English adjective that serves as a predicative complement. But, no case was identified when a popular English verb preceded an Albanian adjective, complying with the MLF model.

(13) *Është weird në asi mënyre*

Is weird in that way

'It's weird in such a way...'

(14) *Jena punctual*

Are-we punctual

'We are punctual.'

(15) *Nuk është mutually exclusive.*

Not is mutually exclusive.

'It is not mutually exclusive.'

Adjectives from English are also modified by Albanian adverbs known as intensifiers, making a really productive combination. Albanian adjectives, however, are not preceded by English adverbs as no single case was identified.

(16) *Shumë hostile*

Very hostile

'Very hostile'

(17) *Ka diçka shumë wrong me librat.*

Has something very wrong with

books

'There is something quite wrong with the books.'

(18) *Shumë crazy*

Absolutely crazy

'Absolutely crazy'

One combination which represents the variety spoken in Prishtina is the use of the Albanian particle combined with the English verb in its infinitive form. This form resembles the non-finite form of Albanian verbs known as *Gheg infinitive (paskajore gege)*. On the other hand, this form is not recognized in the standard language, instead, the only recognized form is the subjunctive form of the verb (a form frequently used among Tosk-based dialects of the southern part of the Albanian territories).

(19) *Me practice*

To practice

'To practice'

- (20) Me *choose*
 To choose
 'To choose'
- (21) Me *put less chocolate*
 To put less chocolate
 'To put less chocolate'

Verbs from English in the Albanian sentence are often observed in combination with the verb *do* (*bëj* – standard language, while *bo* – *Gheg dialect*), in which case, the English verb remains unassimilated.

- (22) Nëse ke bo *upload*...
 If have-you do upload
 'If you have done upload...'
- (23) Jau ka bo *add* krejt njerzve...
 Clitic have-3psg do add all
 people...
 'He has added all the people.'
- (24) Me bo *pick* edhe me *attach* te *answer book*.
 To do pick and to attach at answer book.
 'To pick and attach at answer book.'

In CS literature, this phenomenon is common and such verbs are known as "light verbs", the purpose of which is to keep the verb from the other language in its original form (Wohlgemuth 102; also Myers-Scotton & Jake 353). According to Wohlgemuth (102), these verbs contain all the grammatical information of the resulting compound predicate, while the semantic information is largely associated with the part of the borrowed word of the complex verb (102). So, not uncommonly, verbs constitute the most borrowing-resistant category, as is usually the case in linguistic contact situations. These examples thus illustrate the most common composition encountered among different corpora across language pairs in the world, i.e. *do + infinitive*, where the verb from the EL language functions as a complement of the verb *do*.

5. Discussion of findings

CS was initially stigmatized as a linguistic practice of bilinguals, and Weinreich's "ideal" bilingual does not change the code within the sentence (73). Subsequent investigations have revealed that CS is a unique linguistic skill due to the fact that it does not appear randomly anywhere in the sentence. As a result, the speaker qualifies as a "skillful switcher" if he is familiar with the systems of both languages. Can we,

nevertheless, use CS as a criterion for gauging bilingual competence, despite the fact that studies on the subject are divisive?

The current findings reveal that age and other extra-linguistic factors appear to be significant in predicting language choice and code-switch types. However, Poplack's hypothesis that there is a relationship between the use of intrasentential switching and bilingual's proficiency is refuted. Contrary to her findings, early catchers of L2 in our study use intersentential switching to a great extent, whereas those students that learned it at a later stage favored CS of the insertional type. This is in line with a range of other studies such as, Backus (1992), Bentahila/Davies (1991) (qt. in Alfonzetti 6), etc. Considering that Poplack's hypothesis is controversial, it is suggested that intra- and inter-sentential switching may not be enough in determining language proficiency (Alfonzetti 6).

The systematic observation of four different age groups thus revealed various characteristics which can be divided according to the language used. Some of these groups were observed to use predominantly English; others, predominantly Albanian; followed by another third group who seem to mix up the languages. Thus, the hypothesis is confirmed by high schoolers who still seem to use the Albanian language as their primary language in informal settings. But code-switching is part of their speech also.

However, this was not the case with middle schoolers who showed differences in the degree of participation in the two languages at hand. They are divided into two groups based on their linguistic behavior and the way their monolingual mode was displayed. A number of middle schoolers use the Albanian language extensively in informal settings therefore they are Albanian dominant. While the remaining part used English constantly in the playground or elsewhere where they usually spend their recess. The students that used Albanian extensively have got an Albanian background, many of them are newcomers that have been transferred to the schools recently – thus making Albanian the 'ingroup' language of peer interaction. At the same time, they all share the same mother tongue, Albanian which does not require them to use English in informal settings such as recess. As for the remaining part who are English dominant, the main reason for using English observed was that they are surrounded by international students who do not have knowledge of the Albanian language. We assume, for that reason, they use English all the time.

Among the younger children investigated in our study of fifth-graders specifically, they seem to mix languages a lot. They use both languages when organizing the game, when showing their emotions, when talking about peers, when organizing events, etc.

6. Conclusions

Initially, this paper aimed at examining the speech of Albanian students who are highly exposed to English in an attempt to see whether code-switching is occurring in their speech and to what extent. And then to ascertain the significance of extra-linguistic factors in language choice and code-switch type among participants under investigation. Moreover, referring to Myers-Scotton's MLF model, the purpose of this paper was on determining which of the participating languages dominates the structure of the mixed clause.

Overall, among the participants in this study, CS behavior varied with age and other extra-linguistic characteristics. This was revealed using statistical analysis, such as the chi-square test. Both of the initial hypotheses are thus confirmed, indicating that CS is a prevalent linguistic behavior among participants who are highly exposed to English. Furthermore, Albanian is the more dominant language for CS of the insertional type.

In regard to research questions raised at the beginning of this research, the results suggest that code-switching is a common linguistic behavior among Albanian students highly exposed to English. Switching within the sentence was mostly unidirectional, with English content morphemes inserted within an Albanian syntactic frame. Prepositions, auxiliary verbs, copulative verbs, personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, intensifiers, and clitics were not offered by English in the grammatical framework of the Albanian language, except for the cases when whole complex phrases were inserted as embedded islands. Unassimilated words taken over from English include nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. This complies with the MLF model.

One implication is that if we were to test particular models/approaches for the analysis of CS and the combinability of elements is to conduct experimental studies where bilinguals would judge whether or not certain sentences involved in CS are acceptable or right. This is because the study at hand used observation of participants in natural conversations and this resulted in few cases of the combinations we were looking for. Hence, these are non-representative examples.

6.1. Recommendations for further research

This study aimed at observing Albanian bilingual speakers in naturally occurring environments within international schools of Prishtina. The results only show how they use the languages among themselves. One recommendation would be to observe them when they

interact with outsiders, for example, to see whether they exhibit similar or different language behavior.

There is a lack of studies in psycholinguistics with respect to Albanian/English pair; therefore, another recommendation would be to conduct psycholinguistic studies to examine, compare, and contrast monolinguals vis-a-vis bilinguals and test their reactions in various congruent and incongruent tasks in order to determine the effect of bilingualism on them.

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PROMJENA KODA U MEĐUNARODNIM ŠKOLAMA U PRIŠTINI: STUDIJA O ALBANSKO-ENGLESKOJ DVOJEZIČNOSTI

Ovaj rad ispituje govor albanskih studenata koji su stalno izloženi engleskom jeziku. Oni se obrazuju u međunarodnim školama na osnovnom i srednjem nivou, sa engleskim kao medijumom nastave. Međutim, oni inače žive u jednojezičnom društvu u kojem većina stanovništva govori albanski. Između ostalih dvojezičnih fenomena, preklapanje koda se ispituje u smislu da li se i koliko javlja u njihovom naturalnom govoru. Prvobitna hipoteza podrazumijeva da je prebacivanje koda kao preovlađujuće lingvističko ponašanje među albanskim dvojezičnim učenicima uočeno u neformalnom okruženju u međunarodnim školama. Štaviše, dok albanski ostaje njihov primarni jezik, umetanje engleskog u albanski sintaksički okvir je uobičajeno. Podaci prikupljeni od učenika kroz sistematsko posmatranje učesnika otkrivaju da je albanski jezik pod uticajem engleskog. Primijećeno je da se učenici prebacuju sa

engleskog na albanski i obrnuto. Ali to se razlikuje u različitim starosnim grupama koje se istražuju, što je dokazano kvantitativnom analizom. Nadalje, u pogledu strukture, albanski je postavio morfo-sintaksički okvir mješovite rečenice, dok je engleski jezik ugrađen u albansku rečenicu.

Ključne reči: Jezički kontakti, dvojezičnost, prebacivanje kodova, engleski, albanski

REVIEWS
RECENZIJE

ZORANA SOKOLOVSKA: LES LANGUES EN DÉBAT DANS UNE EUROPE EN PROJET

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Review

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Even for those who do not work directly in the field of languages, the Council of Europe and its language policies have had a significant and wide-ranging influence on the lives of millions of Europeans since the end of the Second World War. In her first monograph, *Les langues en débat dans une Europe en projet* [Language debates in the making of Europe], the sociolinguist Zorana Sokolovska, assistant professor at the University of Fribourg in Switzerland, delves into the relevant supranational debates and discussions that have shaped the Council of Europe and its language policies between 1949 and 2008. In addition to using sociolinguistic approaches, Sokolovska also integrates insights from anthropology and discourse analysis to highlight the fundamental role that the Council of Europe has played in creating and promoting a common European identity through the prisms of language and plurilingualism. Separated into six chapters, together with an introduction and conclusion, the book is based on the author's doctoral thesis, which received the 2017 dissertation prize awarded by the European Parliamentary Association.

The opening chapter provides an overview of the theoretical aspects underpinning the work, which include an analysis of the links between languages, nations, and institutions through the lens of power and (post)nationalism, accompanied by a sociolinguistic panorama of the international institutions. In terms of discourse analysis and ideologies, the author indicates the relevant keywords utilised in the work, which are: *language*, *linguistic diversity*, and *plurilingualism*.

In chapter 2, the author explores the anthropology of the Council of Europe itself. Accordingly, she describes the events that preceded the organisation's foundation in the immediate post-war era, as well as necessary information about its legal status. The bipartite structure of the organisation – consisting of a Committee of Ministers and the Parliamentary Assembly, together with a Secretary General – is also

outlined, as are the Council of Europe's various specialised committees and commissions. This overview is supplemented by analysis of the Council of Europe's institutional archives, which the author uses to provide the foundation for the selected discursive events that are the object of the analysis – i.e., those fundamental debates central to the research focus of the work.

In addressing the role of languages as part of Europe's common heritage, the third chapter of the work presents the 1954 European Cultural Convention as a means of promoting cultural cooperation in the immediate post-war era. As such, the author draws attention to relevant debates which took place on institutional multilingualism within the Council of Europe itself, outlining the reasons which justified its choice of French-English bilingualism; this can be compared, with the broader official language policy adopted by the precursors of the modern European Union institutions. The chapter continues by presenting notions of a common European identity through language, before early – but ultimately unsuccessful – attempts to offer Esperanto as a neutral institutional language are also outlined.

The fourth chapter of the book presents and analyses the Council of Europe's relevant debates relating to language pedagogy. Here, the importance of language learning and the practical promotion of plurilingualism is highlighted, as well as what these factors represent for wider Europe. As a consequence, the author observes changes in how languages have been taught – including moves towards a learner-centred approach – as well as how European language policy has evolved to focus more prominently on linguistic diversity. As such, this has led to greater awareness that language policy does not merely deal with official and national languages, but also the full range of Europe's diverse linguistic heritage.

Indeed, the latter is the point of departure for the work's penultimate chapter, where regional and minority languages are the principal focus. With the fundamental role of the Council of Europe in the development of the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages being well-known, the author provides insights into debates relating to the construction and legitimisation of plurilingualism and linguistic diversity in this regard, with particular attention paid to the relevant legal framework. Therefore, key perspectives on this important and historic initiative for the linguistic topography of modern Europe are provided.

In the sixth and final chapter of the book, the relevant Council of Europe debates underpinning the concept and development of two further major contributions are outlined: the Common European

Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), which has had an immense impact on the learning, teaching, and testing of languages across the globe, and also the European Day of Languages. With the latter now an annual event celebrated on 26 September, Sokolovska details how this motor for social cohesion through multilingualism came about, notably as a successor to the European Year of Languages (2001), as well as through the expansion of the Council of Europe to include many new member states after the fall of communism in Central and Eastern Europe. The work concludes by summarising the complex relationship that Europe has with its languages, and how these debates are reflected at the institutional level, thus highlighting their importance in the pursuit of a European linguistic ideal.

To conclude, this innovative volume provides an in-depth analysis of a hitherto understudied area. The author reveals behind-the-scenes information about the debates, events, and perspectives relating to the key debates on plurilingualism which have shaped modern Europe. In a masterful way, the work draws together different scholarly domains, and thus is of interest not only for sociolinguists, but also for specialists in political science, history, and related disciplines. In summary, Zorana Sokolovska's *Les langues en débat dans une Europe en projet* is an important contribution to the literature that richly deserves to be translated into other languages that richly deserves to be translated into other languages.

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